GUIDE TO THE AE5 MIAO FILE

/The Miao (called "Meo" in northern Southeast Asia), with a long history of migration under pressure from the Chinese, are the most widespread of all non-Chinese minority groups originating in southern China. They are found today not only in their traditional center of Kweichow and neighboring provinces, but also in northern Thailand, Laos, and North Vietnam. Throughout this area the Miao are dispersed into isolated, swidden-farming groups hidden away in the more remote mountain valleys and hillsides. In effect these various Miao groups exist as small cultural islands surrounded by peoples of other ethnic background - most notably the lowland wet-rice-growing Chinese and Tai.

There are three main regional divisions of Miao: (1) the South China Miao, who call thmselves Hmong, Hmu, or Hmung; they are located mainly in Kweichow province, but also in some adjacent areas of Hunan, Szechwan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The principal groups in this region are the Red Miao, Black Miao, Blue Miao, White Miao (known as Ch'uan Miao in southern Szechwan), and the Flowery Miao. There are also numerous smaller groups or subgroups such as the Cowrie Shell Miao and the Sheng Miao (the latter belonging to the Black Miao). Social organization is characterized by patrilocal extended families, patrilineal descent, and patrisibs. Villages are politically independent, but in the past groups have united in a type of loose tribal federation for purposes of military resistance.

(2) The Indochina Meo, who call themselves Miao or Mnong; they are located in North Vietnam and Laos. In northern Vietnam there seem to be five principal groupings: White Meo, Flowered Meo, Red Meo, Black Meo, and Meo Mong Sua. Evidently all have patrilineal kinship systems. In Laos they are most

heavily concentrated in Xieng Khouang province. Some sections have independent villages, whereas others have district chiefs. The White Meo of Laos are described as having exogamous patriclans.

(3) The Thailand Meo, who call themselves H'moong (Mong); they are located mainly in Nan, Chiengrai, and Chiengmai provinces of northern Thailand, but there are scattered settlements as far south as 16°30'N. The majority are evidently either Blue Meo or White Meo. According to Bernatzik (q.v. below), these groups have nonlocalized, exogamous patrisibs, but the significant land-owning group is the patrilocal extended family. The village is the highest level of political integration.

Miao and Yao are classed together as a single language family which some linguists tentatively consider to be a separate branch of Sino-Tibetan (for all the above cf. Frank M. LeBar, Gerald C. Hickey, and John K. Musgrave, Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia, 1964: 63-81).

The file consists of 12 sources, four of which are translations from the Chinese. All but two of the sources are based on fieldwork with various groups of South China Miao. 7: Clarke, our earliest source, describes mainly the Miao of Kweichow, but also has chapters on the Chung-chia and Lolo (Nosu). Clarke spent more than 20 years as a missionary in Kweichow. His account focuses on religious life, but includes some information on social organization and relations with the Chinese. 12: Wu and Ch'en describe various groups, particularly two sub-groups of the Hê (Black) Miao: the Short-Skirt Hê (pop. 40-50,000) and the Sheng Miao (pop. ca. 10,000), both in southeastern Kweichow. Detailed data are presented on dress, cultural differences, religion, folklore, and daily life. 6: Ch'en depicts the religious life of the Miao (especially the Ch'ing and Hua Miao) and Chung-chia of the An-shun region of Kweichow. 4: Mickey is a good but brief general ethnography of the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai in Lung-li hsien, south central Kweichow, while 5: Hudspeth

presents a brief general cultural description of the Flowery Miao of northwestern Kweichow and northeastern Yunnan (pop. ca. 50,000).

Moving outside of Kweichow, 2: Ling and Ruey present a broad range of ethnographic data on the Miao of western Hunan. Three sources by Graham (nos. 8, 9, and 10) focus on the Ch'uan Miao in southern Szechwan, providing a brief but fairly comprehensive cultural coverage. 11: Yang, Beh, and Morse discuss blood-group distributions among these same Ch'uan Miao, and include a short description of their musical instruments.

It is questionable whether 1: Wang and 3: Moninger should be in this file. Both sources are on the so-called Hainanese Miao, on Hainan Island, but some modern authorities believe these people are probably Yao. Wang presents a general ethnography, while Moninger concentrates on material culture.

In addition to the 12 sources noted above, this file also contains significant amounts of data from sources processed for other files. These data pertain mostly to the Indochina Meo and the Thailand Meo. Perhaps the most extensive data are from 39: Bernatzik in the AO1 Thailand file. Bernatzik did fieldwork with three Miao tribes in Thailand — the White Meo, Black Meo, and Flowery Meo. 155: Abadie and 158: Diguet, both in the AM1 Indochina file, describe the Meo in the Tonkin area. Abadie says they have a population of about 40,000, the main groups being the White Meo, Black Meo, Red Meo, Meo of the flowers, and Meo-moung-cha. 69: Lewis, AM1 Indochina file, is a more general source on the Meo in northern Vietnam and Laos. It should be added that Bernatzik's material is translated from the German, while Abadie and Diguet are translated from the French./

Processed in 1955-1962

/ii cont'd/
for a comparatively longer period and had collected more material, I obtained special permission from the chief of our commission to use the materials in my private possession in writing up two books: Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island/ and this small volume entitled Hainan Tao Chih Miao-jen /The Miao of Hainan Island/.

/iii/ We spent four months on this expedition—leaving Canton on February 4, 1937, and returning to the University on June 4 of the same year. Excluding the time spent in traveling and a short delay caused by illness, we were actually in direct contact with the aborigines for more than two months. During these two months or so, we spent about three-fourths of the time in the study of the Li and only one fourth in the study of the Miao. The reason for this was very simple: the Li were the chief aboriginal people of Hainan, and also Hainan was the only native locale of the Li people. It can truly be said of the Li people: "This is the only establishment; there are no other branches!" It was hence wholly fitting that we made them the chief subject of our studies. The study of the Miao was only incidental. Since our working time was so short, our investigation of the Miao was limited to a group of Miao villages in the vicinity of the Ta-ch'i area of Pao-t'ing hsien /district/. This book is the result of a study of this small area within a short period. The contents of this volume, of course, are far from satisfactory. Fortunately, however, we have touched upon every phase of the Miao's life. By reading this book, the reader will have no difficulty in comprehending the general way of life of an individual Miao.

The Li and Miao have lived intermingled for several centuries. With this uninterrupted contact with each other, it was inescapable that they mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, the lives of both have progressed along a common road of sinicization. Therefore, it can be observed everywhere that the present ways of life and cultural patterns of the Li and Miao are identical in many ways. To avoid repetition, I have only summarized in this book those points which I have already discussed in detail in my previous

1: Wang--1 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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Chapter 1. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from out- 101 side areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

"There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or 101 more families living in ten villages; including men and women they [161] number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104]

/* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 101 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period 175 /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[181] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/1 cont'd/

101 175 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains [41] and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the 279 present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people [291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. [48] They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where [221] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned [224] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are [754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] */Former title of a lieutenant colonel.--Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/2 cont'd/
101 in the Ch'ang-hua Hsien Chih /Annals of Ch'ang-Hua District/,
175 published in the Kuang-hsü period /1875-1908/. It is to be noted that the story in this text was based on the historical facts of the suppression of the Li uprisings led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i fang t'ung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501) of Emperor Hsiao-tsung.

In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku stated:

"... In the past the ringleaders of the uprisings were only the rebels in the Ch'iang-shih-sung area. Their strength was rather isolated. At the present, however, they are allied with the bandits in the Ch'ang-hua and Kan-en areas. Their forces have been increasing from day to day. If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-inforcements." (See Cheng T'ing-ku's Shih-hu I-chi /Collected Works of Shih-hu*/. The author lived during the Chia-

/* This is Cheng's hao, or literary name.—Ed./

ching period of Emperor Shih-tsung (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty.)

In every aspect, there are points of very noticeable difference between the two tribes, the Li and the Miao. They cannot be discussed as if they are of one people. The name Li-Miao, however, appears both in the Ch'iung-chou Fu-chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture/ and the Kan-en Hsien-chih /Annals of Kan-en District/, which treat the Miao as a branch of the Li people. It is quite obviously an error. Nevertheless, both annals give a clear description concerning the place from which the Miao migrated and the period and circumstances of their migration. According to the Tao-kuang /1821-51/ edition of the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, the Li uprisings during the Ming period became serious only after the reign of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, for instance, the Li rebellion led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i-fang Tung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501). After the first year of Cheng-teh (1506) of Emperor Wu-tsung, and other t'ungs in Yai-chou revolted several times, and the government

/2 cont'd/

101 also repeatedly sent out numerous troops to suppress them. Miao
175 troops must have been sent there at various times during this period. Hence, it has been only about 500 years since the Miao migrated to Hainan. There are some additional primary sources which show that the Miao migrated from Kwangsi province. /3/ During my last field trip to the Miao area, I acquired the family register of a certain Lin family, in which there is the following statement:

127 "This is a certified copy of the register of the family and its
101 branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-an Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien /sic/ province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Min-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They lived on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, [illegible] Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. X-X had only one son, Lin Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng. Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to [illegible] A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

At the same time I obtained another important document from the family of a Miao headman, which concerns the origin of the Miao. It is copied as follows:

"With the approval of the Heavenly Emperor,
While the world is in peace.

101 Our ancestors for generations have been the descendants of P'an.
175 The Prince and his followers of Peking entered Ch'i-hsien T'ung in the K'uai-chi Mountains after falling into adversity. They proliferated down to the time when our imperial ancestor P'an's descendants went out and settled down in every district. Emperor Ch'u-p'ing issued them a grant certificate to the law-abiding mountain people, permitting them to go at will to the deep recesses of the mountains where only birds had been living, from where they could look out over the clear mountains and make their living. Moreover, they were neither subject to Imperial taxation, nor forced labor, nor harassment by troops. They could cut wood in the forests and could use ferries without paying. The Chinese people were not allowed to

/3 cont'd/

101 burn incense and candles at their altars and temples; nor were the
175 Chinese allowed to associate with them. Chinese peasants were not to take their women by force as wives. /The original text is: "...were not to take their t'ien-tzu...." T'ien-tzu literally means "son of heaven." It probably is a miswriting of nü-tzu which means woman. —Tr./ Any violaters of this rule were to be sent to the government to be tried and sentenced. The certificate indicated that the mountain people had their own boundaries and should not farm in the Chinese peasants' fields or ponds. They had their own region of secluded cliffs, mountains, and peaks. Monkeys were their companions and birds were their neighbors. They hunted on the mountains and made their living by cutting wood and planting. The Chinese were not allowed to cause trouble to them. Those who did were to be sent to be tried and sentenced by the officials at the district courts. The certificate conferred on our imperial ancestors was originally issued to the descendants of our ancestor P'an. Each law-abiding mountain person received a copy of it. They were not to feed the Imperial treasury. They were to watch over the mountain fields. Their bird guns, bows, and crossbows were to be used only for hunting wild boars, horses, and deer. Since they are law-abiding, when they move or pass through the various districts, they must be allowed to pass freely by the collectors of transit tolls. This was the certificate issued to our ancestors, and here is a copy. To whom it may concern.

It is certified as above.

217 /4/ The honorable titles of those in the Royal Court who recom-
175 mended this certificate are as follows:

Recommended by the Department of Certification of Documents of the Royal Court

Recommended by the President of the Board of Civil Appointment

Recommended by the President of the Board of War

Recommended by the President of the Board of Public Works

Recommended by the President of the Board of Rites

Recommended by the President of the Board of Punishments

Recommended by the President of the Board of Finance

It is hereby recommended that the descendants of our imperial ancestor P'an, in accordance with this imperial certificate of the

/7 cont'd/

171 lived in Ling-yün district since before the Ming period, we may not be too far off in concluding accordingly that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Ling-yün district in Kwangsi province. (It is to be noted that Ling-yün is in the northwestern part of Kwangsi, which is adjacent to the southwestern part of Kweichou and north-
171 eastern part of Yünnan. In the Ming period, this area was under the
175 jurisdiction of Szŭ-ch'eng and T'u-chou and was occupied completely by the aboriginal peoples.) Furthermore, we can also adduce some evidence from the above cited family register of the Lin family of the Hainan Miao, which states: "They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious." /8/ It is worth noting that there was a Szu-en Fu in the Ch'ing period; it was also called Szu-en Fu in the Ming period. During the Sung and Yüan periods, it was called Szu-en chou. Since the Republic, it has been under the jurisdiction of Nan-ning tao /district/. Its location is in the northern part of Kwangsi adjacent to the southern part of Kweichou. From ancient times, it has been a land of uncivilized wilderness. At the end of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505) of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the Ming period, it was brought under the liu system /i.e., it became a normal administrative unit under the local government/. It is beyond doubt that the "Szu-en Fu" written in the family register of the Lins is a miswriting of the above "Szu-en Fu" /the "Szŭ" in the register is indicated by a different character. —Ed./. Hence, there should be no question that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Szŭ-en Fu of Kwangsi, although until we have historical documents and reports from firsthand investigation; we cannot be sure whether the Lan-tien Yao people lived in the Szŭ-en Fu area during the Ming and Ch'ing periods or whether a part of them is there at the present time. This is all we can say about the question concerning the part of Kwangsi from which the Miao migrated to Hainan.

101 However, there is another question confronting us. Since the
171 Miao of Hainan Island originally were derived from the Yao of

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101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
[221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243] "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this
[166] kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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H 648 response to it was cool, and no enthusiasm was shown. However, the especially negative attitude of the few Li leaders of the landlord group was for different reasons. Previously, these Li leaders were landlords who held enormous mountain landholdings with rich animal yields. They were the privileged class in the society, who could act like kings. For the preservation their special privileges and standing, they were opposed to any outside influence. This situation was clearly reflected in the antagonism between the district government and the Li leaders. The movement against the purchase of land by returned overseas Chinese which was said to have been initiated by the populace in reaction to the threat to their existence, might also have been due to the selfish motives of a few Li leaders who wanted to preserve their personal interests. Therefore, we must make a thorough investigation of such complex internal conditions, in order to get a real explanation of anything that concerns the Li.

M 648 101 /117/ Now let us turn to the relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book we learned that the Miao migrated into Hainan during the Ming period. At that time the coastal area was already occupied by the Chinese, while the interior plains were occupied by the Li. Hence the Miao were compelled to live in the deep mountainous area and to make a living from planting on mountain slopes. They usually had very little connection with the Chinese. Therefore, the corrupt officials of successive dynasties had very little to do with them. As a result of this isolation, they have had no bad feelings against the government and the Chinese. What bothered them the most were the Li in the adjacent areas and the few influential Chinese merchants who took advantage of them. Hoping to be freed from this kind of oppression, they enthusiastically looked forward to the government governing them directly and developing the area. The establishment of the three districts in the Li area brought them a certain amount of comfort. At this time, however, I personally saw a certain incident in Pao-t'ing district: A certain Chinese merchant, who had been doing business in the Li area for many years, possessed a great deal of farm property—level fields and mountain slopes. He was an

M 648 736

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133 Mountain ranges. — The most important mountain is the La-erh Shan. The section "Hsien Yao K'ao /Strategic Posts/" in Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "The Great La-erh Shan is situated 70 li to the west of the city (Feng-huang) and is more than ten li high. The mountain appears enormous, astride the two provinces of Hupeh and Kweichow. In the east Ya-yu, Hiang-shang /pronounced K'ang-shang in the north/, in the south Li-lin and Yu-ni, in the west K'ang-chin and Hsiu-nao, and in the north Hu-lu and Kan-tzu-yao, are all branches of this [361] mountain, spreading over an area of more than a hundred li, where there are many Miao villages. Hence, old chronicles ofter refer to the defeat of the Miao in Hupeh and Kweichow as being in the La-erh Shan." The La-erh Shan begins at Cheng-ta-ying, Kweichow, from where it extends irregularly to the middle of the Miao area, where a fault occurred, forming a plateau. This plateau is dotted with Miao villages, [361] whose inhabitants defend themselves by taking advantage of the favorable terrain. It has always been known as the den of the [101] Sheng Miao /"the uncivilized Miao," i.e. those who have not been brought under Chinese administration/.

Rivers. — The main courses of the Yüan, the Yu, and the Ch'en rivers flow only along the borders of the Miao frontier region. The most important rivers within this area are all tributaries of these three rivers, the largest of which is the Wu Ch'i, a tributary of the Yüan Chiang, and also known as the T'ung Ho. This branch extends deep into the Miao area and has three sources: the Wu-ch'ao Ho (Illus. 4)[1] in the west, the Wan-yung Chiang in the middle, and the Kao-yen Ho (Illus. 5)[2] in the north. The Wu-ch'ao Ho rises at Hsiao-t'ien-hsing-chai /village/ in Feng-huang, and flows westward to where the Niang-shui-t'o, and the Lung-chüeh-t'ung tributaries joint it. Further westward it passes Ta-hsin-chai and flows around Shang-hsia-yüan-hou-chai, veering southward to where the Ma-chung and the Hsiao-feng-huang-ying tributaries joint it from the east. It then flows southeastward, passing through Ma-ching-t'an and around Sheng-hua-shao to where the T'i

1, 2 [See cat. 116, p49 - ANALYST]

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/Information on the historical identification of the Miao will be found in category 116, pp. 1-46.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

[p.40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 162 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, principally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered-head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 114 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-róe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

more restricted in distribution. All other 563
names apply to sub-groups.

These often seem to be rather in the nature 101
of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians.

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played 301
and still do play various roles in China. From 436
very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger[7] quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in [76]
Dynasty they used cowrie in trade." Mates

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER I

WHO ARE THE FLOWERY MIAO?

101 175 WHEN the first Chinese inhabitants came from the West, they encountered a half-savage population whom they were frequently compelled to fight. One of these races, the Miao-tzu, is still to be found in several provinces of China. The name means "Shoots", i.e., sons of the soil, and was probably given by the invaders. Originally nomads and hunters, the Miao-tzu have now settled in the mountain districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, in Western and Southern Szechuan, Hunan, Kuangtung and Kwangsi, where they cultivate the soil and hunt whatever prey may be found. Divided into a great many tribes, numbering, it is said, more than fifty, they are often called, from the colour of their dress, Black Miao, White or River Miao, Red Miao, Magpie Miao, West-of-the-water Miao and Flowery Miao. All the Miao people look back to a common ancestor chieftain Ch'ih-Yu, who was defeated by the Yellow Emperor of China at a date prior to the days when Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan. Of Ch'ih-Yu these aboriginals still

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5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary
175 defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these
262 that this book is mainly concerned. All are
[241] agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

6:Ch'en--1 E-5· (no date)1942 AE5 Miao AE5

Religious Beliefs of the Miao and I
Tribes in An-shun, Kweichow

An-shun is a center of the Miao and I tribes in Kweichow province, where there are two Miao tribes, the Ch'ing /green/ Miao and the Hua /flower/ Miao, and one I tribe, the Chung-chia. Although there are various groups of Miao-I with different customs, from the point of view of religious beliefs they are all polytheists. In recent decades due to contacts with the Chinese people a portion of the Chung-chia have been assimilated. Besides setting up family altars and worshipping ancestors, they believe in Kuan-yin /goddess of mercy/, Confucius, Kuan-kung /a deified hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the god of war/ and other gods. The Catholics and the Protestants have also exerted in recent years a strong latent influence on the Miao and I villagers. [101] 771

The following is a brief study of the religious development and beliefs of the Miao-I tribes.

/89/ The Catholic church in the city of An-shun is known as Shan-tsung T'ang /hall of goodness/ with four branch halls at Kung-pu, Mo-wan-tung, Shui-tang-chai and Ch'iu-chow. They all hold properties which are yearly on the increase. It is said that the Catholic Church at An-shun was established by a certain French priest some fifty years ago. Today, it is administered by Lengkuohsien /transliterated/ and Chailiszu /transliterated/, both French, and the expenses for maintaining it comes from the Catholic headquarters in Kweiyang. The church maintains an elementary school, studying chiefly the Bible, and the enrollment is about from 30 to 40 boys from Catholic families. Within the hsien district there are about 2000 Catholics, one-half of them being the Chung-chia people. 797 [162]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of
443 protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessaries as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means "family" or "tribe."
563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the "Miao tribe" or
101 "tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsi*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

of speaking of them. People, unless they wish to be rude, should speak and write of them as *Miao*, or *Miao-chia*. 563 101

Of the four races mentioned above, the Miao-chia and Chung-chia are numerous and important, the I-chia not so numerous but still important. Later on these will be dealt with at greater length. The Keh-lao, however, are now nearly extinct; many of them have married into Chung-chia and Old Chinese families. Some writers have spoken of them as extinct. As far as we know, there are now only several hamlets of them in the Anshun prefecture, which altogether do not number more than two or three hundred families. 563

These people claim, and rightly, we believe, to be the real aborigines of that region. In some parts of the province the Miao claim to be the aborigines, but where the Miao and Keh-lao occupy the same district, the Miao allow that the Keh-lao were there before themselves. From the similarity of names, we might suppose that these Lao or Keh-lao are the same as a branch of the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, southern Yunnan, and other regions. This, however, we think is not so, as we have good reason to conclude that the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, and elsewhere, are the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER II

THE LANGUAGES AND CUSTOMS OF THE MIAO

Chinese and non-Chinese—How named—How differentiated—Miao languages and dialects—Lack of literature—Love of litigation—Dacoits—The Black Miao—Other Miao—Moral condition.

162 If we estimate the population of Kweichow at eight millions, half of these as Chinese and the rest as Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia, we shall not be far from the truth. The Chung-chia are probably as numerous as the Miao-chia and I-chia together, and the Miao-chia much more numerous than the I-chia or Lo-lo. The I-chia are only to be found in the west and north-west, and even there are still outnumbered by the Miao. As the Miao were probably in what is now called Kweichow before the Chung-chia, and in most parts of it before the I-chia, the Miao may be first described.

101 The Chinese say there are seventy tribes of Miao, but one Chinese work makes that number

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

include every sort of non-Chinese people, and is therefore misleading. As far as our observation goes, the Chinese who live in those regions make no mistake about the different races, and call them by their proper Chinese names. Many of the Miao men, as already mentioned, dress much the same as the Chinese peasants, but the women of all the tribes wear a costume peculiar to themselves, and it is from these differences that the Chinese name them. Thus, the women of the *Heh* or "Black Miao" wear a dark chocolate-coloured embroidered costume; the men of that tribe also often wear calico of a dark-brown or chocolate colour. For this reason the Chinese call them Black Miao. The *Ya-ch'io*, or "Magpie Miao," are so called because the dark-blue and white costume of their women suggests the magpie. There are the *Hua* or "Parti-coloured Miao," the *Peh* or "White Miao," and so on. Some few of them, however, are otherwise named, as the *Sa*, or "Shrimp Miao," because they catch and sell fresh-water shrimps. There are also the *Shui-hsi-Miao*, "West of the water Miao," the water here referred to doubtless being the river flowing between Anshunfu and Tating.

The most numerous and most important of these tribes are the Heh Miao in the south-

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

101 east and the Hua Miao in the west and north-west. In some parts the Hua Miao are called the Ta-hua-Miao. Here *Ta* means "great," and that adjective is probably used because there are so many of them and because they extend over so large a district. Some of the Miao are also found in the province of Yunnan, and some in the province of Hunan. But who is to decide what constitutes a tribe, and hence how many tribes there are? The Hua Miao of Anshunfu, both men and women, dress quite differently from the Ta-hua-Miao of Weining, but their language is much the same, and they are evidently the same tribe. The Heh Miao of Singyifu in the south-west are manifestly the same in dress and appearance as the Heh Miao of the south-east, though so widely separated geographically. Those of Singyifu moved, or were moved, from the south-east to where they are now, since the time when the great Miao and Mohammedan rebellions nearly depopulated the south-west of Kweichow. The Ya-ch'io Miao of Tating district speak almost the same dialect as the Peh Miao of Kao-san, about forty miles to the north-east of them. In Hwangping Chow there is a small tribe called the Keh-teo Miao living among the Heh Miao, but quite different from them in dress and appear-

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101 ance, being shorter and coarser looking than the Heh Miao. They speak also a dialect more like that of the Hua Miao of the west than that of the Heh Miao among whom they dwell. Probably they were where they are now before the Heh Miao moved into that region. For our part we think it a waste of time to try and count how many tribes of Miao there are. Any one who could speak three or four of their dialects would in all probability understand and be understood by them all.

Some writers have mentioned the Yao or Yao-ren of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and say that some of them are to be found in the south-east corner of Kweichow, and that they are a tribe of Miao. The *Yao* probably means "wild dog" or "jackal." Whether they are to be found in Kweichow or whether they are a tri of the Miao we cannot say; we never met or heard of any of them in Kweichow. But missionaries or travellers in that out-of-the-way corner of the province might inquire about them. From the lists of words of the different languages spoken in Kweichow, printed in the Appendix, the student may be able to discover if the Yao-ren are related to the Miao or to any of the other tribes of Kweichow.

Other writers mention the Li-ren or Li-mu,

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of these two most dissimilar dialects are compared, it is easily seen that they are both variations of a common speech. Naturally these variations are most marked in cases where the tribes are most widely separated geographically. But the differences of dialect in tribes which are only thirty or forty miles apart are sometimes very great. In some of these cases it is very often the commonest words which show the greatest changes; for instance, the pronouns, the negatives, and such common words as the verbs "to be" and "to have." This striking difference of speech among people who must at one time have spoken the same language suggests that they have not only been separated geographically, but have also been apart for long periods of time.

The Heh Miao call themselves *mp'eo* or *de mp'eo*. *De* is merely a personal prefix. This word or sound *mp'eo* also means embroidery. The Heh Miao women, and the women of most of the other Miao tribes, wear a good deal of embroidery in their costume. The amount of embroidery on the clothing of a Heh Miao young woman is astonishing. It takes them years to do the embroidery on the jacket and skirt in which they hope to be married, and one of the commonest sights in a Heh Miao village

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291 is a group of young girls, sitting round the door
531 of one of the houses, laughing and chatting and doing their embroidery. When the costumes are finished, they are worn on gala days before they are married and on festive occasions for years afterwards. I have asked my teacher and others if they call themselves *mp'eo* because of the embroidery their women wear, but none of them was able to say why they call themselves by that name.

• 101 The Ya-chio Miao of Tatung, who live about one hundred miles distant from the nearest Heh Miao, call themselves *mp'ü*, which is the same word and means "embroidery" also with them. They also were not able to tell me why they are so named. The Hua Miao call themselves *hmung* and *hmung-a-li*. The Shui-hsi Miao and Peh Miao also call themselves *hmung*, and some of the other Miao call themselves *hmao*. Now all these words *mp'ü*, *mp'eo*, *hmao*, *hmung* are doubtless the same word, but whether *hmao* and *hmung* also mean embroidery or not in those dialects we are not at present able to say.

173 As these people have no literature, they can say very little that is trustworthy about their own origin and history. The Heh Miao say they came from Kiangsi province, and that is where the Chinese place the San Miao in the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The word Ch'uan 川 means river but it is also an abbreviation for the word Szechwan 四川. Szechwan means four rivers. The Szechwan people are often called Ch'uan Jen 川人 and Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵 Apparently the Ch'uan Miao have been given this name because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao 苗 means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The word Miao sounds like the Chinese word cat, and it is very likely that the name Miao was given to these people by the Chinese because their speech sounded to the Chinese like the mewing of cats. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to aborigine groups in West China.

The Miao call themselves Hmoŋ and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmoŋ Bo or ancient Miao because they believe that they belong to a very ancient race. The Hua Miao are called Hmoŋ Ndˢʌu or old Miao* and the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 are called Hmoŋ Ntgwa or dark Miao.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 There are frequent references to the Miao in the Chinese Classics. The accounts state that failing to pacify them by peaceful methods, the emperor exiled many of the Miao to the Province of Kansu on the extreme west of China, where they have apparently disappeared.† Other groups of the Miao who refused to be absorbed have been driven south and south-west into the highlands of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, southern Szechwan, the Island of Hainan and Tongkin. There are historic records of the forced migrations of Miao from Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. One such migration occurred in 1733 during the reign of the Emperor Yung Chêng. 雍正.

Historians[3] indicate that the Miao were living as far north as the Yellow River, nearly four thousand years ago

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*Another name for the Hua Miao is Hmoŋ LʌU, which also means old Miao.

† Mr. Chuang Hsüeh Pên 莊學本, a representative of the Chinese government who has travelled extensively in the Si K'ang region, and was with the Panchan Lama at the time of his death, has studied and taken pictures of a Miao tribe in Kansu northeast of Kokonor, which is called the Pai Miao 白苗. It is very likely that the Pai Miao are the descendants of the Miao who were exiled into this region many centuries before Christ. There is a tribe or ethnic group of Miao west of Kwanhsien in the region of Mowchow 茂州.

3. Faber, E., Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, p. 4.

Li Ong Bing, Outlines of Chinese History, p. 2.

Müller, E. Max, Sacred Books of the East, Vol III, The Shu King, The Shih King, The Hsiao King, pp. 41, 54.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came. 175

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago. 173 171 174

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmong Gis or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao 101

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 are also called TΛu TΛu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老瓦灘 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoɔ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包穀飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine. [278]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木坪. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

By David Crockett Graham

(With 24 Plates)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

101 The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deepholes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are [491] generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[164] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 供縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung Ning 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow, south in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü [361] Kiang 徐江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[145] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.[1]

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

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[1] Clarke, S. R., Among the tribes of Southwest China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

10: Graham E-5 (192?-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 463 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan 353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

Il: Yang Beh & Morse D-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impractic-
able to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
161 Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[P. 66a]

[2 cont.]
175 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the
563 Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic groups with different habits and customs.

101 We are here concerned with the origin and history of the
175 Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early
[563] Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man" [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u [a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with
[133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys, and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

[2 cont.]
101 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began
175 migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time.
[648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest.
000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed
131 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of
161 several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of
161 whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the
000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

[3 cont.] With such a large population in
101 184 Kweichow, there are apt to be many ethnic varieties of the Miao-I, whose names are generally given by the Chinese and tacitly acknowledged by the Miao-I themselves. Most of these tribes live in high mountains and deep valleys and are isolated one from the other with the result that there are notable differences in locations, languages and customs. Thus they are often classified according to the colors of their costumes and other characteristics.

For instance, there are, according to the colors of the clothes the Ch'ing [blue or green] Miao, the Hê [black] Miao, the Pê [white] Miao and the Hung [red] Miao. Those who are differentiated according to the areas they live in are known as the Kao-p'o [high slope] Miao, the P'ing-ti [level ground] Miao, the Yueh-pien [boundary] Miao, the Shan [mountain] Miao, the Pa [embankment] Miao, the Tung [east] Miao, the Hsi [west] Miao, and the Ch'ien [bamboo grove] Miao. Those distinguished by the names of places in which they live are the Shui-hsi Miao, the Chia-ch'ê Miao, the Kun-tang Miao, the Ch'ê-chai Miao, the Hung-chou Miao, the P'ing-fa Miao, the Ch'ing-chiang-he Miao, the Kê-meng-ku-yang Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Tzu-chiang Miao and the Hsi-chi Miao. Those distinguished by the flower designs of their clothes are the Hua [flower] Miao, the Ta-hua [big flower] Miao, the Hsiao-hua [small flower] Miao, and the Hua-i [flowery dress] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their skirts are the Chang-ch'ün [long skirt] Miao, the Ai-ch'ün [short skirt] Miao, and the T'uan-ch'ün [circular skirt] Miao. Those distinguished by their trades are the Ta-t'ieh [blacksmith] Miao and the Tz'u-ku [water-plant?] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their ornaments are the Ku-hsün Miao, the Chen-tou Miao, the Tieh-tung Miao, the Chien-ting Miao, the Hê-chüeh Miao, and so on, the list being [4] inexhaustible.

According to the Pai-Miao-t'u [One Hundred Miao Pictures], sold in the secondhand bookstores in Kweiyang, there are 124 different Miao groups in all strange and quaint manners. The first 82 groups belong to Kweichow and the rest to Yunnan. Among those 82 groups, nine are Ch'i-lao, six are Chung-chia, five are Lung-chia, and two are Lolo. The others being all different, I

4 [i.e., about 4,000,000 in the author's estimation.—Analyst]

[4 cont.]

101 184 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classification the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

181 [147] 3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in [276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

[14 cont.]

000 to consolidate them, to advance their civilization, to improve their living conditions, to plan for their welfare and to alleviate their sufferings. The eighth article in the Declaration of the Fifth National Convention [15] says: "All political policies should be made for the welfare and in the interest of the local inhabitants." It is also hoped that our Miao-I compatriots will realize our mutual racial interest in the face of enemy aggression. Only by rising and resisting the enemy will we be able to ensure our ultimate freedom.

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[16]

General Conditions of the Short-Skirt Hê Miao in Kweichow

Wu Che-Lin

1. Introduction

101 131 The Miao-I people in Kweichow occupy at least forty percent of the total population of the province. Except in the area north of the Wu River, where the population is entirely Chinese, the Miao-I are in a great majority in all rural communities farther away from the cities and larger villages, in which the [161] Chinese mostly congregate. But these 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 Miao-I people are different in languages, customs, and costumes as well as in cultural background. Therefore, their names (given them by the Chinese) total more than a hundred, such as the Ch'ing Miao, the Hê Miao, the Pê Miao, the Hung Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Ta-tieh Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Hua-ch'un Miao, the Chung-chia, the Sui-chia, the Tung-chia, the Ts'ai-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chi-tou, the Mu-lao, and so on. The Tuan-ch'ün

[16 cont.]
131 Miao [short-skirt Miao] is a branch of the Hê Miao, distributed
101 over a very extensive area in southeast Kweichow at Hsia-chiang, Yung-chiang, Chien-ho T'ai-kung, Tan-chiang, Pa-chai, Lu-shan and Ma-chiang. They total about 40,000 to
[161] 50,000 people. Although they have among them more or less the same costumes, customs and language, their cultural levels vary to a large extent. The present article deals only with those Short-Skirt Hê Miao who are located in the region contiguous to Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Pa-chai and Tan-chiang, and may not be representative of the entire group.

2. Costumes

[17] A common method to distinguish the various tribal
101 groups among the Miao in Kweichow is by the style of their
291 women's dresses, because the men's are generally similar to those of the Chinese farmers. The women's costumes, however, still retain their original native style. The so-called Ch'ing Miao [blue Miao], Hê Miao [black Miao], and Pê Miao [white Miao] are distinguished by the colors of their womenfolks' clothes, which are either predominantly blue, black, or white. The
291 Short-skirt Miao is one group of the Hê Miao, their women's clothes being uniformly black. They are called the Short-skirts because their skirts are shorter than those worn by the other groups. In fact, aside from the length of the skirt, the other parts of their costumes are quite different too. To describe, we start from the head. First of all, they never use make-up,
302 but their hair is always well-trimmed and shiny. They often
[515] wash their hair by the river bank and afterwards apply tea-seed oil to give it a glossy finish. They comb their hair backwards first and leave a bang of about two to three inches falling down on the forehead in the shape of a small black umbrella. On the crown the hair is coiled up in a chignon and fastened by a small wooden comb three inches long, rather like the headgear of a Japanese woman.

12: Wu and Ch'en--38 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

[31 cont.]

other, then the many millions of Miao-I people can be made into a powerful new force to assume special responsibilities in the war of defense and national reconstruction.

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[77]

The Life of Women among the Sui-chia

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

M S 101 184

There is no doubt that Kweichow is the center of the Miao-I people. As to the exact number of these people estimates vary from 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 to as high as 5,000,000 or 6,000,000. The final figure probably has to await the outcome of a more accurate census in the future. Among these many million people the spoken languages, customs, styles of clothing, and cultures in general are markedly different. They themselves recognize these differences although they all belong to the same Miao ethnic group. Because of the differences in their costumes and locations the Chinese call them by different names. Currently, there are more than a hundred groups of them, such as the Hê Miao, the Ch'ing Miao the Pê Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Sheng Miao, the Kao-pu Miao, the Chung-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chen-chia, the Sui-chia, the Ch'i-tou and the Mu-lao. There is a central area in the distribution of each Miao group. From the point of view of anthropology and linguistics they may be classified in the same ethnic group, but judged by their living conditions they have marked differences. The following is a brief account of the life of women among the Sui-chia.

12: Wu and Ch'en--71 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[130]

The Ancestral Myth of the Sheng Miao

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Who are the Sheng Miao?

101 184 The Sheng (wild) Miao and the Shu (assimilated) Miao are two antithetical terms, with which the early scholars distinguished the various Miao tribes. These two names are self-explanatory. The Sheng Miao are those Miao who live in the wild and distant mountains without any intercourse with the Chinese. Their nature is wild and cannot be disciplined; their foods are hard and uncooked. The Shu Miao, on the other hand, reside in the [177] nearby mountains, where they learn to speak the Chinese language and trade with the Chinese. They plant and cultivate the land in almost the same way as the Chinese. Originally, before the Miao were civilized they were all vaguely called the Sheng Miao. But after the lapse of a great deal of time, the Chinese population in the Miao areas increased and their relations with the Miao became closer so that a part of the Miao who were assimilated by the Chinese became known as the Shu Miao. The other part of the Miao who were backward and unassimilated continued to be called Sheng Miao. The "Man-chuan" [Record of the Savages] in the Kweichow T'ung-chih [Kweichow Gazetteer] says: "Those Miao who have t'u-ssu [headmen] are the Shu Miao, and those without them are the Sheng Miao." This division is based upon the fact whether they are ruled by native chieftains or not. Again, according to Hu Ting's "Miao-Man pu-lo k'ao" [Studies in the Miao and Man Tribes] in Li-p'ing-fu chih [Gazetteer of Li-p'ing Prefecture]: "As to the Miao ..... those who live near the fu [prefecture] and hsien [county] areas are the Shu Miao; they pay taxes and contribute labor more or less like the Chinese. Those not living in these places are the Sheng Miao, who however greatly outnumber the Shu Miao." Later, as the Miao society progressed, the 101 Shu Miao gradually outnumbered the Sheng Miao, who were confined to certain remote areas. Regarding the various Miao

[130 cont.] Regarding the various Miao

101 and Man tribes, the Ch'ien-shu [History of Kweichow] has this to
131 say: "Who are the Sheng Miao? The Ku-lin at Ting-fan, the Ch'iu-ku at Hsing-lung, Ch'ing-p'ing and P'ien-ch'iao, the Tzu-chiang at Tu-yün, the Ch'iu-hsing and Ch'iu-ming at T'ien-pa, the Hê Miao at Cheng-yüan, the Hung Miao at T'ung-jen, the Yang-tung and the Lu-han at Li-p'ing are all Miao." As the nature of these Miao people was ferocious, the Manchu government was very much [131] worried and put them all in the same category as the Sheng Miao. Today, the original settlements of the Sheng Miao cannot be traced with certainty even after extensive investigations in the Miao area by the writer of this article. The Miao in the above stated areas have all been assimilated and are no longer called Sheng Miao. Actually, there is only one remnant Sheng Miao group left. When the writer went to Hsia-chiang hsien in the southeastern corner of Kweichow, he discovered a group of genuine Sheng Miao. The ch'ien-nan
[113] chih-fang chi-lüeh [An Official Report on South Kweichow] compiled by Lo Jao-tien, Provincial Treasurer of Kweichow during the Ch'ing Dynasty, has the following to say regarding the Sheng Miao in the Hsia-chiang area.

"At Hsia-chiang there is a group of Sheng Miao, generally considered good-natured, weak and easily cheated, who are always taken advantage of by the Hung Miao at Ch'u-nan and Yung-feng. The Sheng Miao cultivate the highlands, and are more ignorant and primitive than those at T'ai-kung and Ch'ing-chiang. When they sell their fields they use carved wood [as a sort of contract].

The name Sheng Miao, of course, is given by the Chinese, but without their sensibility being hurt they call themselves "ta-meng-niu," the Miao word for "Sheng Miao." The name, however, conveys more or less an idea of contempt. Sometimes they also call themselves "ta-meng-feng-pai," meaning the "High-slope Miao." This indicates their residence on the high ground. According to the writer's findings, Kao-p'o Miao [High-slope Miao] is another name of the Hê Miao. The Sheng Miao at

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a few differences in language, costumes and customs between them, [184] but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive, and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu," meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and have always been an independent community, so the Chinese call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang, surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves, forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two entrances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200 [sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the highest peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the total population about 10,000. The writer has visited altogether
361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu, Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

CHAPTER XIX

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

101 131 IN the sense that least is known about them, the Meos are the most mysterious of the twelve principal races of Indo-China. This Mongolian people is to be found at altitudes higher than 3000 feet over the whole of Indo-China north of the 21st parallel of latitude. They are utterly incapable of bearing, even for the shortest time, other than cool and temperate climates. Being self-supporting, they rarely come down to visit the markets of the plains and valleys, and when obliged to cultivate fields below the 3000 feet line, they always return to their villages to sleep.

175 The Meos' territorial aspirations are purely vertical. By their disastrous method of cultivation, which completely exhausts the soil in a few years, they have been forced steadily southwards from China. In migration, as in the year 1860, when they crossed the frontier of Indo-China, they will fight their way savagely and effectively across low-lying country, only to split up and disperse immediately the mountains are reached. An ethnographical map of northern Indo-China is pock-marked with groups of Meos. Since 1860 they have travelled about 400 miles and are now filtering slowly southwards down the Annamite Chain, where from time to time a new group is reported on a mountain top. They are said to have been attacked in recent years by government forces in northern Siam, but it is unlikely that anything short of extermination can stop their slow, silent movement through the mountains. Europeans who have studied them superficially believe them to be of Esquimaux origin; a theory which is offered to explain their horror of warm climates. These authorities report that they possess legends of eternal snows and of arctic days and nights. But the short description published in 1906 by Commandant Lunet de Lajonquière says nothing of this, and no other scientific account of the Meos has appeared.

[147] [Blank page in original text.]

[148] CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

[149] CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

10 13 The name "Méo" is applied to the peoples of a very characteristic type which inhabit the highest regions of Upper Tonkin.

The Chinese call the "Meo" "Miao-tseu," while often including them in the general designation of "Man" (rude barbarians).

In their dialects the "Méo" designate themselves by the name of "Mung."

In Tonkin, the various "Méo" tribes form a total of about [161] 40,000 individuals, of whom the densest groupings are located in the regions of Dongvan, of Pakha, and of Muongkhuong where they constitute the majority of the population.

Other relatively important settlements of "Méo" are also found towards Upper Laos.

162 [175] Like the other groups previously studied, the "Méo" have their origin in the mountainous regions of the south of China, from which they have been pushed back little by little towards the south by the Chinese pressure and expansion. There still exist in Yunnan and in Kweichow very important groupings of "Méo" whose numbers it has been impossible to estimate, even approximately. These groupings appear to have conserved a certain independence in the high valleys and mountains which form their habitat but continue to undergo the migratory movement which is pushing them towards the south.

131 67 175 The groupings which have settled in Tonkin, while following the various mountainous ridges, have little by little spread themselves the length of the north and northwest frontiers as far as the great Annamite chain of mountains. This movement of [150] migration has most often taken a peaceful form, but several cases of violent invasion are reported, notably in the region of Dong-van at the beginning of the nineteenth century and towards 1860.

[150 cont.]

At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of
167 "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their
175 passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw
[361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after
175 the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would
147 perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper
361 Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low alti-
175 tudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the
101 region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little
[184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature,
142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the
[147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well
[163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate
[165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare
[143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every oppor-
273 tunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts
[164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he
147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have
241 carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not
361 live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage-
609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

158: Diguet--127 G-3 (ca. 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Y 420 AE6
773 M120 AE5

They know the legend of the flood which they end in a special manner: "The young sister married to her brother was sterile, and a spirit gave her eight beans so that by eating one bean each year she might have eight children. Overcome with happiness, she swallowed them all at once and was soon the mother of eight twins who were the founders of the eight Pa Teng families."

000 /128/ /A photograph entitled "Meo flutist" appears here. --Translator/

/129/

CHAPTER VII

THE MEO ETHNIC GROUP

Section 1

The Meo--Their Name--Their Origin and Immigrations. --Their Favorite Habitat

M
101 The Meo are called by the Annamese by the name Man Meo (wild cat). The first of these words is the one under which they mingle all the mountaineers, and the second is applied especially to those who dwell on the highest peaks and have the reputation of climbing like cats. It seems preferable to designate this ethnic group simply by the second word and exclude the first. It will be better to reserve the latter for the Yao in order to avoid confusion between these very different groups. The Chinese call them Miao tse and they call themselves Mong.

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161 Their number may be estimated at 7 percent of the total popula-
131 tion of the high region of Tonkin. The most important settlements where they live are located: 1) on the Chinese frontier between Dongvan and Quanba, between Pakha and Muongkhuong; 2) on the right bank of the Red River, between Nghialo, Van Bu and Tu Le; and finally, 3) on the Black River, to the north of Vau Yen.

M
175 They immigrated into Tonkin relatively recently. At first they
167 migrated in two masses which invaded the Tonkinese mountains, throw-
131 ing everything into disorder during their passage, one mass at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the other about 1845, at the time of the Tai Ping rebellion. Tribes coming down towards the south, family by family, following the crests of the mountains, have

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration 175
occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods des- 167
cended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, 131
pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants 175
tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was 609
ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself 643
noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later.

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the 131
Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow.

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into 101
seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing.

/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their 000

/5 cont./

T 128 Vienna, but again the work suffered greatly as a result of the terminal fighting in 1945. This time, however, at least the composed type was saved along with the original drawings. Since Akha und Meau is a scientific work without political implications and therefore timeless, I can now present it to the reader without changes.

I am also indebted to Mrs. Maria von Mannstein who helped me with the final work on the manuscript and to Dr. Christl Arnold who made the indices. As soon as time and circumstances permit the present work is to be followed by two volumes in which I shall deal with the Lahu in Siam, whom I visited, and the Moi tribes in Indochina.

Dr. Hugo Adolf Bernatzik

Graz, in the fall of 1946.

/6/.

Chapter 1

M 101

Derivation of the Names Akha and Meau

Much has been written by competent authors, some of it quite contradictory, on the meaning and origin of the name Meau.

Von Eickstedt (1) reports: "The name Miao, after appear-

1. III.

ing once in the oldest literature (San-Miao), occurs only from the Sung Period. Before that, as far as we can see, the eastern groups of the Miao, who lived in Honan, were always designated as Man, the name which, before the Sung Period, was also used for the Yao. The western Miao seem to have been referred to by the name Fan."

Miao AE5

/6 cont./

101 If one keeps it in mind that during my investigations in Farther India I discovered again and again that even today the valley peoples constantly confuse the Yau /Yao/ and Meau, although, especially in northern Thailand, for example, there are very pronounced differences even in externals between the two tribes, one cannot but assume that in former times the situation was no different in the Chinese territories. Credner (2) be-

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2. IV, p. 166.

lieves that the Meau were named after cats by the Chinese, an opinion which is also held by E. Lunet de Lajonquière (3), who

3. Page 296.

maintains that the word Meau is the Sino-Annamese pronunciation of a written character meaning "cat." According to him, however, the Meau call themselves "mung," or rather "h'mung." Marabail's accounts (4) also agree with these opinions: "In the

4. Page 451.

Annamese language, Meau means cat, perhaps because the dialect reminded the Chinese of the mewing of cats or because the Meau are actually as nimble as cats. One need only observe the /7/ suppleness with which they climb rocks." In referring to the tone color of the Meau language, Von Eickstedt (1) also

1. V, p. 53.

traces the name back to "cats" and calls the word onomatopoeic. He points out, however, that it might also characterize the catlike skill of the Meau in climbing their mountains; also, contemptuous expressions such as "despised like cats" may have played a role. On the other hand, the old Chinese historical work, Mong-tse, compares the language of the Meau with the howling or cry of the hyena.

/7 cont./

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174 In addition to the conclusions based on "cat" for the name Meau, there are attempts by others, for example, M. Terrien, to explain it on the basis of the agricultural activities of the Meau. To be sure, he points out that the ancient character for "Meau" represented a cat's head and was supposed to mean cat, because their highly vocalized language reminds one of the mewing of cats, but he further states that the ancient Sinologists translated "Miau-tse" as "son of the soil." But this, he says, was an error brought about by the modern analysis of Chinese writing. According to Terrien, the character for Meau consists of one part meaning "plant" and another meaning "field." In translating tse as "child," the meaning "son of the soil" resulted. Witek (2),

2. Page 38.

who has a different interpretation of the word, also discusses the undertone of contempt mentioned by Von Eickstedt (1) /see footnote 1 above/. According to Witek, the Chinese use Meau or Meau-tse to designate foreigners, that is, non-Chinese, and, to be sure, with reference to the "tillers of the soil," "the peasants," and therefore Meau-tse are the people of the soil, the farmers, who do not belong to the "Great Nation." Witek goes on to say that the Chinese give the word a certain contemptuous undertone in the sense of "boorish peasant" or "country bumpkin." Ordinarily, and especially if the word is supposed to have this meaning, the designation tse is added, hence Meau-tse. Imbert (3), at any rate, shares the opinion that the character

3. Page 3.

"Meau" corresponds to agriculture. Witek's (2) /see footnote 2 above/ information concerning the use of the expression Meau for all non-Chinese corresponds to the evidence of Schotter (4), who

4. Vol. III, p. 405.

points out that Meau can be used as an adjective and as a noun.

/7 cont./

101 According to him, it is often used in the latter sense in
174 Kweichow to designate non-Chinese. /8/ Furthermore, Schotter is of the opinion that the words Yau and Meau have the same meaning and that Yau-Meau is merely the reduplication of one and the same expression. In the ancient Chinese legends he finds the expression Tche-Yeau as the name of the chief of eighty-one brothers, by which the tribes of the Meau are to be understood. And in fact, according to Wieger (1), Ch'ih'yu was

1. Page 10.

the leader of the Meau when the latter were decisively beaten near Cho-Chon by the Chinese under the leadership of Huan-Yuan (Huang-ti). Although the Meau and Yau are undoubtedly two altogether different peoples, Schotter's attempted derivation of the name Tche-Yeau is still possible. Finally, as Savina (2)

2. II, p. 175.

states, according to P. Wieger, the word Meau means "rice planter," an interpretation which, all things considered, seems to be more plausible than the derivation from "cat."

101 The Meau are given different names by the various peoples and tribes with whom they come into contact. According to Witek (3), the Thai of Kweichow call them Yeou; in South

3. Page 44.

China they are said to be called Mro; in Tonkin and French Laos, however, Mang, Mong, M'long, and finally H'mong, which is what they call themselves. In the Meau language this latter expression means simply "human being," a designation that would correspond to those of many other peoples. The Siamese, Lao, Kamuk, Yau, Schan /Shan/, and Tin call them Meau, the Chinese, Méaotsé. The Meau in Thailand call themselves "Moń." Accordingly, the groups of White Meau which I investigated were called "Moń kleo"; the Black Meau, "Moń klü."

/19 cont./

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Savina (2) writes that in the first centuries of Chinese his-

2. II, p. vii.

tory they had waged war in the basin of the Yellow River as well as in the basin of the Hoai. He says that since it is a fact that they had settlements along the lower course of the /20/ Yellow River in Honan at the time of Hoang-ti, the Meau there can be traced back about twenty-five centuries before our era. Marabail (1), too, relies on ancient sources and reports: "In

1. Page 133.

his book, Ouen Hieng-Tong-Kao, Ouang-Ki, who lived in the sixteenth century, says: 'These people are descended from [101] ancient tribes who are called San-Meau and who are already mentioned in the Chou-King. They are very numerous in Tschang-Cha, in the provinces of Youen and Chin, and to the south in the Ye-Lang country, where the Chinese call them Nam-Man, i.e., southern barbarians.'"

Savina (2) reports further that five centuries after the time

2. II, p. vii.

of Hoang-ti Chinese historical writing is silent about the Meau in the basin of the Yellow River. Other Chinese sources, however, report that these Meau were pushed toward the bend of the Yellow River in the direction of present-day Chensi and Kansu. The Meau from the basin of the Hoai, however, crossed the Blue River /Yangtze/ migrated toward the Tungting and Poyang Lakes, wandered as nomads in Hou-Pé, Kiangsi, and Honan, reached the mountains that separate the basin of the Blue River from that of the West River, and finally came to Kweichow from where the Chinese have not been able to expel them up to the present time. Von Eickstedt (3) also opposes

3. III, p. 4.

/20 cont./

175 the view often held by the Chinese that the Meau were located
648 only in present-day Kweichow and therefore remote from the ancient China of Hsia and Shang. He points out that the assertion of the Schui-djing-dschu (sixth century B.C.) that San-Wei was located on the upper course of the Wei-Ho is very plausible. The Meau of the Hsia are submerged under the term "western barbarians" or under the names of widely dispersed groups of Tibetan affinity, such as the Tjang. After this it is not until the Tang and Sung Periods (816 to 907 and 960 to 1279, respectively) that the foreign peoples who live in western Szechwan and eastern Tibet, but also far into Kweichow, again emerge. Thus they already appear in the nuclear area of the present-day Meau, but still retain those regions through which the ancient San-Meau must have passed during their southward infiltration. The author continues: "Actually, with San-Miau, Tjiang, Fan, and Miao, this brings about, step by step and with extensive overlapping, a southward shift of tribal /21/ names whose ethnic substratum is most closely related. Since the Sung
[101] Period, however, the name Miau has been applied to a definite tribal group which is now found chiefly in Kweichow."

131 Today, these Meau in Kweichow are split into two large
175 surviving blocks. The Chinese administration there can best
648 be described as a kind of protectorate. Even today, however, the Meau exist as an independent nationality, and this after four thousand years of historically confirmed struggles and continual repulsion (1). Retaining Kweichow as their settlement area,

1. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 16.

they gradually spread into the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the south and into the provinces of Szechwan in the north and Yunnan in the west, as well as into Indochina (Tonkin), Thailand, and Burma. Savina comes to the conclusion that the present-day Meau in Tonkin came from Yunnan, but those in Laos from Tonkin. He says that the latter steadily pursued their way to the south and today have reached the twentieth degree of northern latitude in the Annamese Corderilla.

M /23 cont./
174 to Stübel, on the other hand, their clothing is identical with
[197] that of the Meau of Kwangsi.

Summarizing, it may be said with Von Eickstedt that the
M Meau come from the high-mountain steppes where Tibet,
174 Mongolia, and Old China converge, perhaps even from Siberia.
131 The majority of the Meau today live in two large, compact
[101] groups, separated from one another, in Kweichow; vast numbers of them are also settled in the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Szechwan, and especially in Yunnan. Considerable groups have also occupied Tonkin as far as the Annamese Cordillera, and others entered Thailand, where they reached the central cordillera at 16° 15' north latitude. /24/ During the past decades advance units of these people have also entered Burma. On the other hand, it has not been unequivocally determined whether Meau are actually found among the mountain peoples of the island of Hainan; if this should be the case, however, they would not have reached the island in the course of a natural migration, but would have been settled there forcibly by the Chinese. In accordance with geographical and population-political possibilities, the migratory movement necessarily always proceeded from the north to the south and has not yet ceased even today.

M A great number of Meau, perhaps even the larger half,
174 were forced by the most severe political pressure to give up their allegiance to tribal customs and, with the loss of their cultural and ethnic identity, have been absorbed by the neighboring tribes. Undoubtedly the Chinese especially have absorbed much Meau blood. The culture of the ancient Meau was presumably an element which, among others, formed the foundation for the building of the Chinese high culture.

A As for the original homeland of the Akha, Davies (1) and
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1. Page 395.

the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (2), as well as Heine-Geldern (3),

2. Part I, p. 590.

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe
[241] culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets; Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

/27 cont./

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3. IV, pp. 137, 138.

the level of the forest hoe-culture tribes there is the elevation of the mountain tribes... Having come from the north they stay in areas where the climate corresponds most closely to that of their countries of origin, that is, at altitudes up to 2,600 meters... The Thai tribes stayed in the lowest parts of the country. Their counterparts in the high areas are the migratory mountain tribes, who, as the most recent arrivals from the north, are gradually occupying the settlement-free space in the peaks of the mountains. They are the Tibeto-Burman Lahu and Lisu and the Siamo-Chinese Miao and Yao(4).

4. Credner, IV, p. 147.

Von Eickstedt (5) writes: "The Chinoisants (among whom

5. VI, p. 54.

he includes the Meau, note by Dr. Bernatzik) are the masters of the mountains and are spreading. The Monkhmer Ka /Mon-Khmer Kha/ live on the wooded slopes, but are shot off by the Chinoisants and pushed aside by the Lao. The latter, in turn, live a few altitude levels lower, preferring the rice fields of the smaller valleys, whereas, finally, the Annamites and Chinese occupy the large troughs of the base centers lying in the lowermost valleys."

361 Savina (6) likewise deals with the habitation areas of the

6. II, pp. 173 ff.

Meau and concomitantly with their reasons for choosing the high altitudes: /28/ "The customary habitation sites of the Meau are the mountains. Only on the heights are they in their element; elsewhere they are rootless and do not feel comfortable."

[174] ... "However far one traces the history back into prehistory, one always finds them in the mountains. In the course of time this

½ [ie - "Killed off" - ANALYST]

/321 cont./

291 184 [101] The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 531 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 482 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 531 [552] [292] The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/452 cont./

162 Meau now live on the Tran-Ninh Plateau, which forms the
131 bridge from Tonkin to Laos (Vientiane). He estimates them, with 20,000 persons in round figures, as about a third of the population of the district.

According to Lajonquière (3), the Meau in "Tonkin

3. II, pp. 296 and 297.

septentrional" always constitute significant population groups. In the region of Dongvan, Yen-Minh, Quan-Ba, on the one hand, and the region of Pakha, Muong-Khuong, they are the most numerous population, and to be sure 9,920 Meau as against 7,240 members of other ethnic groups live in the first region, and 5,984 Meau live among 5,540 persons of other tribes in the second.

According to Abadie (4), the various Meau tribes in

4. Page 149.

Tonkin add up to about 40,000 individuals, with the strongest groups found in the region of Dongvan, Pakha, and Muong-Khuong, areas in which they form the majority of the population. Other relatively /453/ important Meau groups are encountered in Upper Laos. Savina (1), on the other hand, speaks of 200,000

1. II, p. 193.

Meau for the Tonkin and Laos region.

101 The statements in the literature vary greatly concerning
162 the number of the different Meau tribes. Jaeger (2) mentions

2. Page 272.

61 tribes in one album. There is a great number of such albums whose year of origin as well as author are for the most part unknown. In them, too, the number of Meau tribes given varies considerably.

/453 cont./

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Bridgman (3) speaks of 82 different "sketches," an

3. Pages 257 ff.

expression that is used by him for tribes. The same number is also mentioned by Li-Tsung-fang (4) and Schotter (5), and the

4. Ch. 3, p. 9b.

5. Vol. III, p. 405.

latter also reports an album in the possession of a mandarin, in which 108 Meau tribes are said to be mentioned. Schotter adds, however, that this number is a sacred Buddhist number. Since otherwise nothing is known about this album mentioned by Schotter, his information at first glance seems to be of little significance. Now, however, Chang-Kong-Chiu has published an album in which the author adds explanations concerning "The Culture of the Miao-tse, according to Older Chinese Sources." This interesting work shows that undoubtedly a number of mountain peoples were classified by the Chinese with the Meau, who in an ethnological sense have little or nothing to do with them. Marabail (6), too, confirms that this is the case: "The famous

6. Page 133.

Tsai-Chen (1167 to 1230) in his commentary of the second part of the Chou-King seems to believe that the Meau are the same as [175] the Yau, for the prisoners who at that time were taken from among the Yau /Yao/ of Hou-Nan usually called themselves Meau."

The Chinese classification and the resulting variation in the number given for the Meau tribes are understandable, however, if one keeps in mind that "Meau-tse" referred to all non-Chinese (see the chapter, "Derivation of the Names Akha and Meau"). At any rate, the ethnologist can only set up uncertain hypotheses as long as the affiliation and identification of the individual tribes is uncertain.

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/453 cont./

Witek (7) tries to find distinguishing marks for the in-

7. Page 45.

dividual tribes /454/ of the Meau and mentions, for instance, the differences in the clothing of the White and Black Meau or refers to the skin color or the "barbarity" (in contrast to the "refinement") as distinguishing features. Moreover, he quotes Liétard, who for his part draws on social stratification for the differentiation. Other authors, too, have sought to determine the number of Meau tribes both generally and for their narrower area of study. Maurice Abadie (1), for instance, says that there

1. Page 150.

are more than 50 different Meau tribes, but in his smaller area of study, Tonkin, only five tribes. Lajonquière (2) states: "The

2. II, p. 301.

Meau are said to be divided into 70 tribes in their narrower homeland. In Tonkin, however, we can find only a far smaller number of tribes." The missionary, P. Proux, whom Schotter refers to as an authority, speaks of 30 different tribes in Kweichow, and a Chinese author, of 39.

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Scott (3), on the other hand, comes to the conclusion

3. II, p. 598.

that there are three principal tribes of the Meau, which are called the Red, the White, and the Black Meau by the Chinese. The differences are said to lie in the clothing and in the language. This difference in language in turn is disputed by Savina (4), who divides the Meau into six large and four or five

4. II, p. 187.

/454 cont./

101 small tribes, about a dozen in all. Then he goes on to say:
162 "We are far from the 40 or more tribes which some like to
291 enumerate." According to him, the tribes differ only in the
184 color and form of the clothing, to the peculiarity of which the names White, Black, Yellow, Green, Striped Meau, and Meau With Horns are to be traced back. The name of the last-named tribe is said to be derived from the horn-shaped hairdo. Otherwise, each tribe is said to have special customs and a language only somewhat divergent. Seidenfaden (5), too, says that the

5. II, p. 101.

Meau tribes differ from one another principally in the attire of the women.

101 If some authors report a strikingly large number of Meau
162 tribes, there can be no doubt that they included other mountain
114 peoples, for example, the Yau, Lisu, and perhaps the Lolo tribes, with the Meau. This problem, however, cannot be finally settled until ethnographic fieldwork, for Kweichow at any rate, is completed, at least in broad outlines, /455/ for the investigation of the mountain peoples of South China has not yet gone beyond the first beginnings.

101 According to my own experience, in the case of the vari-
162 ous Meau tribes it is only a matter -- at least in Thailand -- of
291 very slight differences in the clothing of local groups, which
184 cannot by any means be regarded as independent tribes. Moreover, tribal names seem to have developed from nicknames which were given to individual Meau sibs. Such nicknames cannot, of course, be given the value of a true tribal designation.

In Thailand I myself had the opportunity to investigate three of the so-called Meau tribes, the White, the Black, and the Flowery Meau. My Lao informants tried to explain the name of the Black Meau by the lack of cleanliness of these families in particular. This did not correspond with the facts, however, inasmuch as the cleanliness among all the Meau tribes known to me leaves much to be desired, and the "White Meau" do not distinguish themselves in any way by special cleanliness. At

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 101 162 291 184 [582] A 131 162 [167]

/455 cont./

any rate, it turned out that the "Black" and the "Flowery Meau" are identical with the "White Meau" and actually differ only in that the women of the one Meau wear dark-blue skirts with stylized floral patterns in batik work, while those of the other Meau wear white skirts. Neither in the language nor in any racial or cultural element did further differences come to light. For judging the matter it seems to me to be especially decisive that the tribal endogamy which is otherwise strictly observed in practice does not apply between these three Meau tribes; thus, Black and White Meau may freely intermarry.

The Akha, too, like the Meau, reached the region inhabited by them today only in the course of their wandering. Among them, too, their continuous migratory movement obstructs any demographic coverage. With respect to Burma, the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1) of the year 1900 stated that the

1. Vol. I, p. 588.

Akha belonged among the most numerous and most widespread mountain peoples of Kengtung. This supposedly could be stated positively for the eastern uplands. At any rate, they were supposed to be a people more numerous than most of their neighbors. Telford (2) /456/ considers them the numerically strongest

2. Page 90.

mountain people in the state of Kengtung and states that their homeland, like that of the Katschin /Kachin/ and Lahu, was China. Consequently, they are of "Mongolian origin."

The census of the state of Kengtung gives for the year 1931 12,968 Akha (6,484 houses). It is certain that only a part of that portion of the people living in Kengtung is included in this figure. The official Burma Census Rep. (1) of the same year

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 183.

gives 40,407 Akha for Burma as against 34,265 individuals in

31: Scherman--27 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Miao AE5

101 [167] Still another Yunnan tribe, the Miao (tse), which is also found frequently in Laos, has migrated to Kengtung--1911: 646 (20). The

20. About their relation to the Mon-Khmer, good material by H.R. Davies, Yun-nan (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 337 ff. About their housing construction: UBG I, 1, pp. 599 ff. Other ethnological material with good illustrations by S.R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in South-West China (London, 1911) and by A. Schotter, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Kouy-tcheou (Chine)," /Ethnographique Notes on the Kweichow Tribes (China)/ Anthropos Vol. 3 ff. who considers the Yao (cf. above, fn. 19) as a subdivision of the Miao Anthropos Vol. 4, pp. 318 ff.; cf. 3, p. 405.

people excel in their clothing, architecture, and household management through outstanding
342 cleanliness and neatness. Their houses in the British-Burmese area where, being immigrants, they certainly do not represent their complete, original type, are built much better and stronger than those of the neighboring people. Wherever they are not made of mud (this seems to be the older, original construction method) /214/ the houses are built with strong wood and shingled roofs and have mud or stone terraces. Sometimes they are built on piles. The pile house has certainly developed under the influence of the building style of the Burmese countries. The interior is much more carefully furnished than are the Burmese houses. In the large rooms; which
[352] are divided by small walls into compartments, are bamboo bedsteads, couches, and low chairs, mats and furs. An attic is formed by a ceiling

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Chart of position of Maps of Illustration 1.

p. 48a	p. 48c
p. 48b	p. 48d

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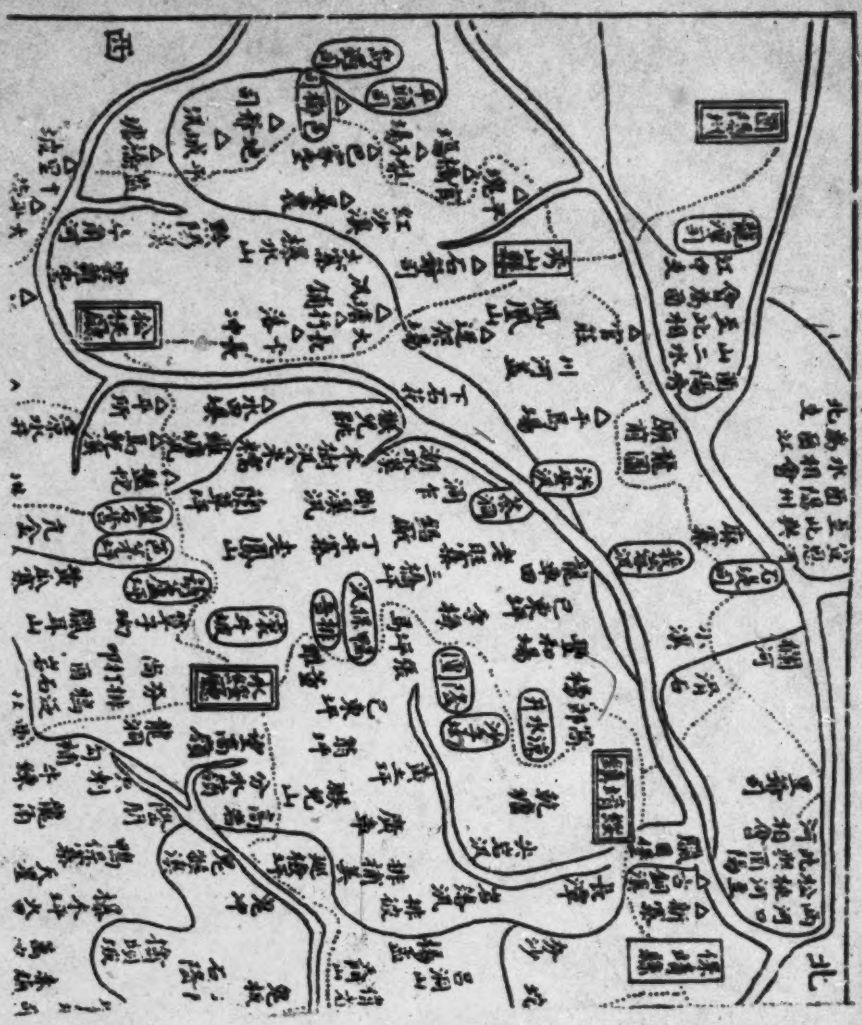

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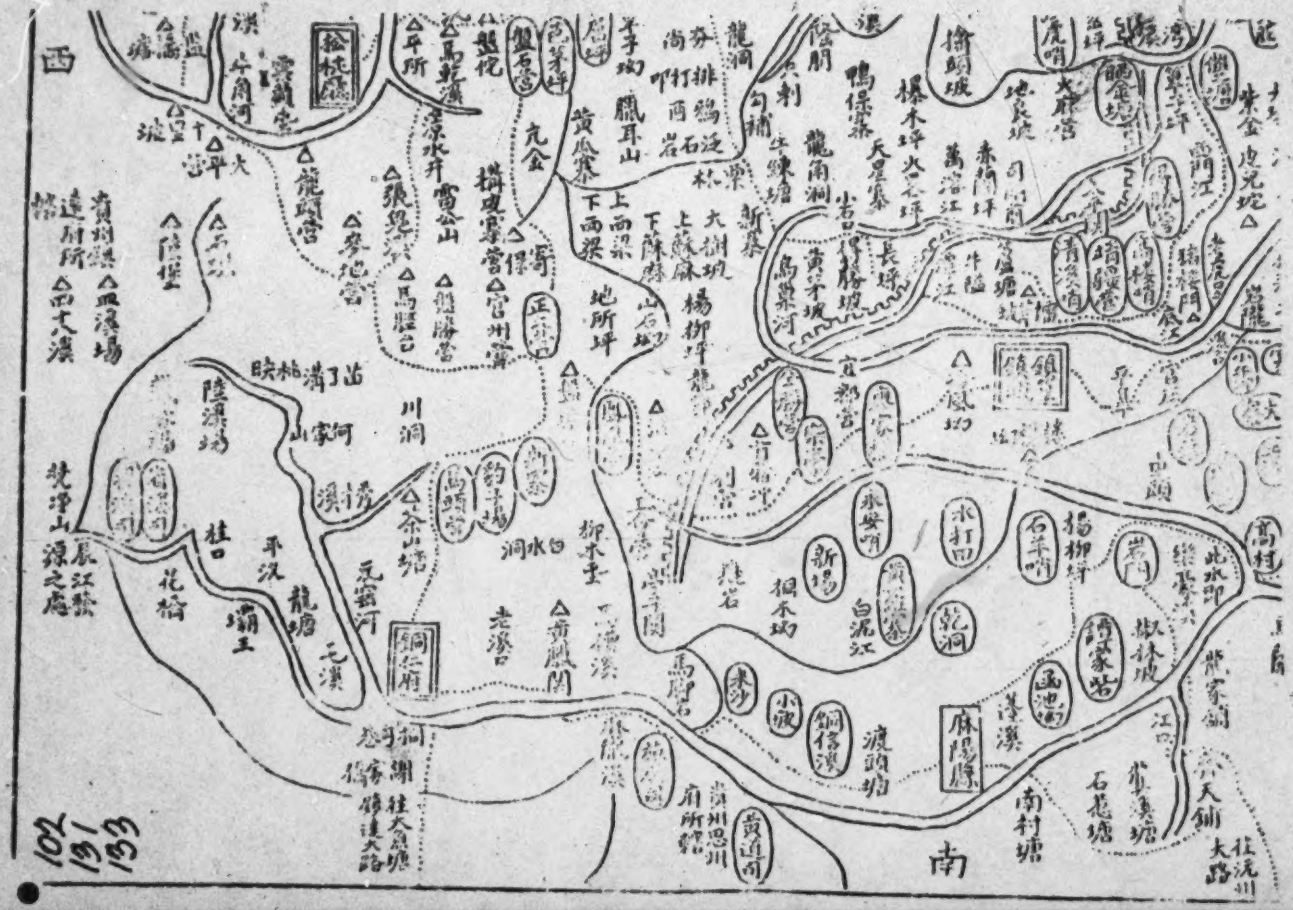
Illus. 1. Full Map of the Miao Frontier (according to Miao Fang-pei Lan by Yen Ju-yü)

Lower left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乾洞
白泥江
桂口
花橋
平汲
元溪
元寶河
洞水口
柳木壩
馬鞍石
黃鹿關
黃沙
小溪
銅倉溪
楊柳坪
石羊哨
楊柳坪
新場
桐木壩
赤安哨
水打田
函池河
椒林坡
鎮遠府
鎮遠縣
龍家寨
高村
天鋪
石花塘
江口
黃道河
黃沙
龍洞
龍角河
龍頭營
張兒營
馬鞍台
參地營
陸溪場
陸堡
黃茅坪
黃鹿寨
上面梁
下面梁
地所坪
楊柳坪
龍角河
龍角洞
鴨保寨
天星寨
楊木坪
長坪
黃茅坪
黃鹿寨
黃茅坪
黃鹿寨
黃茅坪
黃鹿寨

Upper right

2:Ling & Ruey--48c E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Lower right

銀簟鎮城
麻陽縣
辰溪縣
此水即辰江九江之一
流江正河
白銅頂入
瓜州界
山塘驛
往雲貴大道
往流州大路
鎮陽頭
舊縣
龍家鋪
齊天鋪
馬蘭
此水即
樂溪
樹林坡
楊柳坪
石羊嘴
岩門
乾河
水打田
新場
桐木坳
白泥江
馬鞍山
米沙
小坡
銅鼓滩
渡頭塘
蓮溪
南門港
南
楊柳坪龍郭
大樹坡
上蘇麻
新寨
龍洞
勾浦
牛埂塘
龍南洞
鴨保寨
楊木坪
火墓坪
長坪
黃牛坡
高巢河
岩龍
宜都宮
風坳
東家橋
剌營
白宿沖
東頭
岩落
連雲
平草
宮庄
大泰
上海坪
武岩
踏虎
巴斗山
狗尾石
大塘
河溪
漢口
大塘
朱金
皮兜坡
西門江
太平關
高樓嘴
青溪嘴
瞭金坡
楊勝宮
地長坡
火麻宮
蒸溪江
蒸蘭坪
牛埂
潭江
長坪
岩龍
小牛沖
武岩
踏虎
巴斗山
大泰
上海坪
高村
馬蘭
此水即
龍家鋪
齊天鋪
往流州大路
江口
龍溪塘
石羊坡
南門港
蓮溪
桐木坳
白泥江
馬鞍山
米沙
小坡
銅鼓滩
渡頭塘
楊柳坪
石羊嘴
岩門
樂溪
樹林坡
乾河
水打田
新場
桐木坳
白泥江
馬鞍山
楊柳坪龍郭
大樹坡
上蘇麻
新寨
龍洞
勾浦
牛埂塘
龍南洞
鴨保寨
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樹林坡
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乾河
水打田
新場
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白泥江
馬鞍山
米沙
小坡
銅鼓滩
渡頭塘
蓮溪
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M 2:Ling & Ruey--48e E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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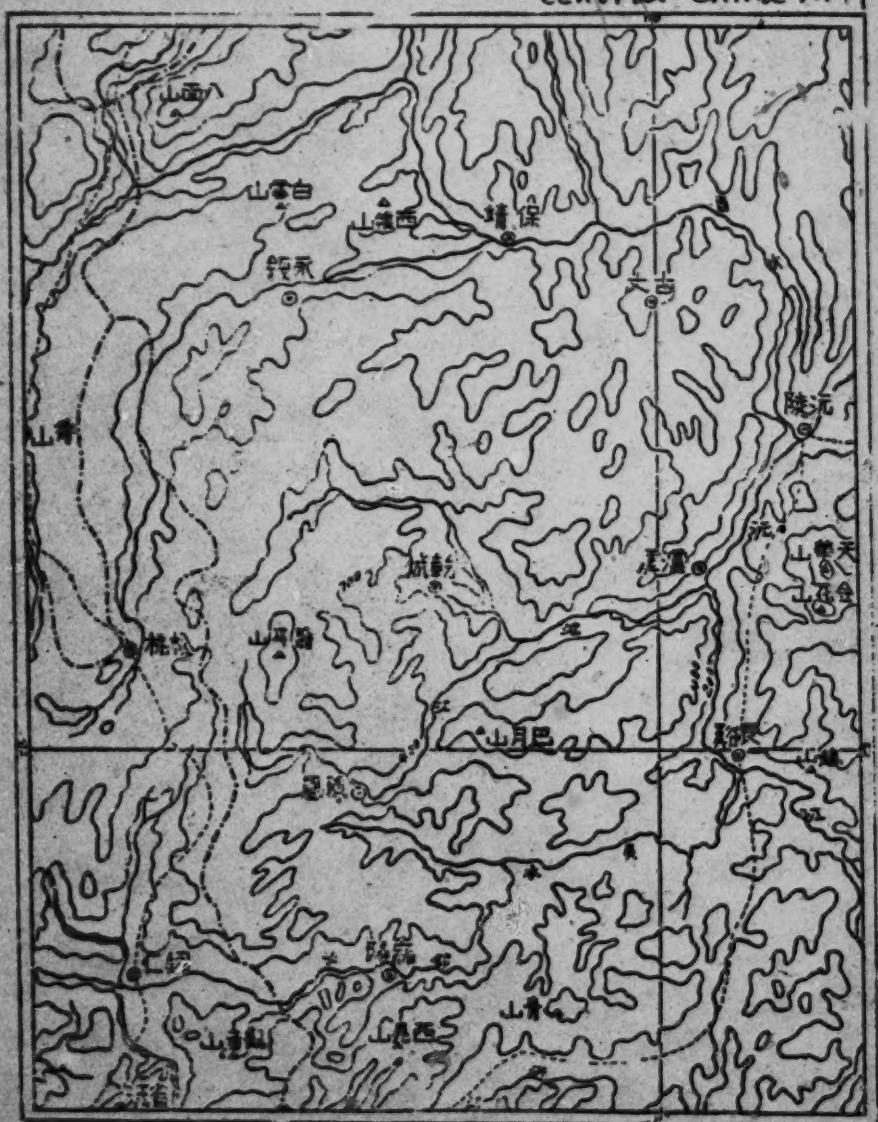

Illus. 2. Sketch Map of the Topography of the Miao Frontier

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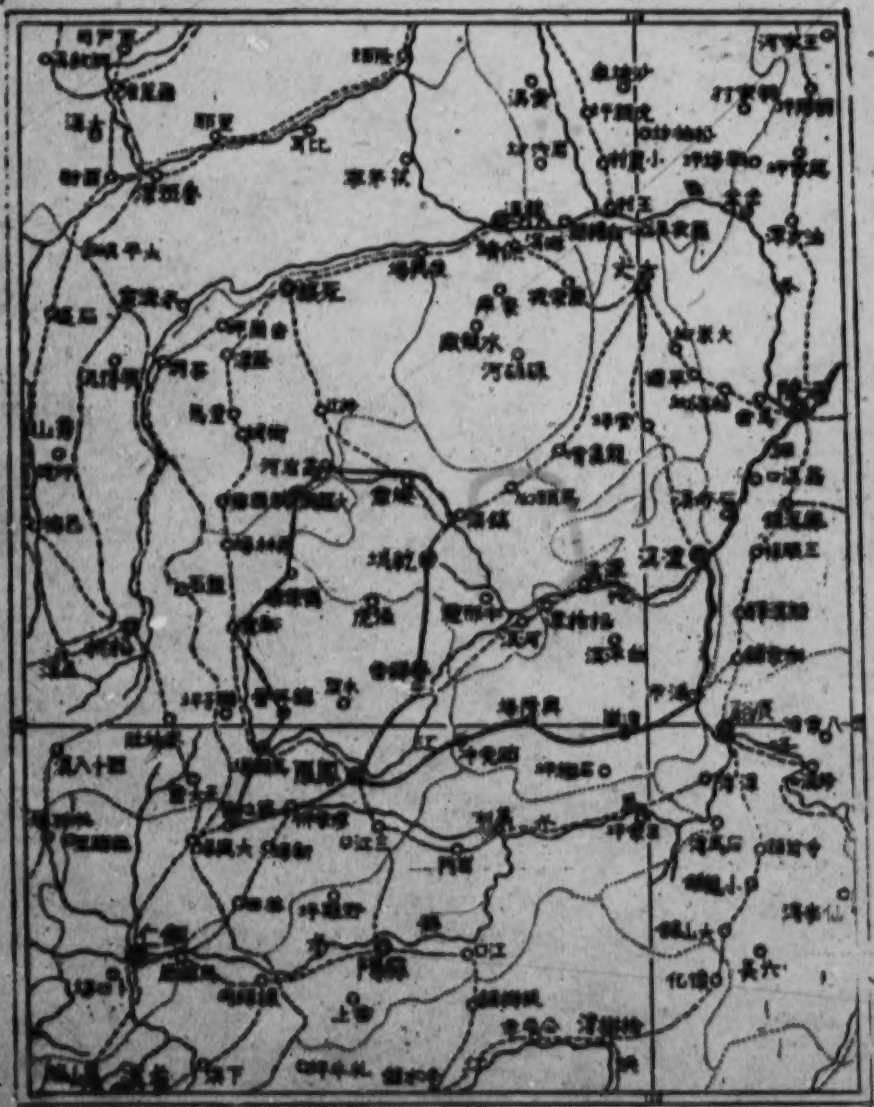

Provincial Boundary ····· Hsien Boundary ---- Highways
Lines of the Investigation

Scale 1: 500,000

Illus. 3. Map of the Lines of the Investigation in the Miao Frontier

2:Ling & Ruey--56a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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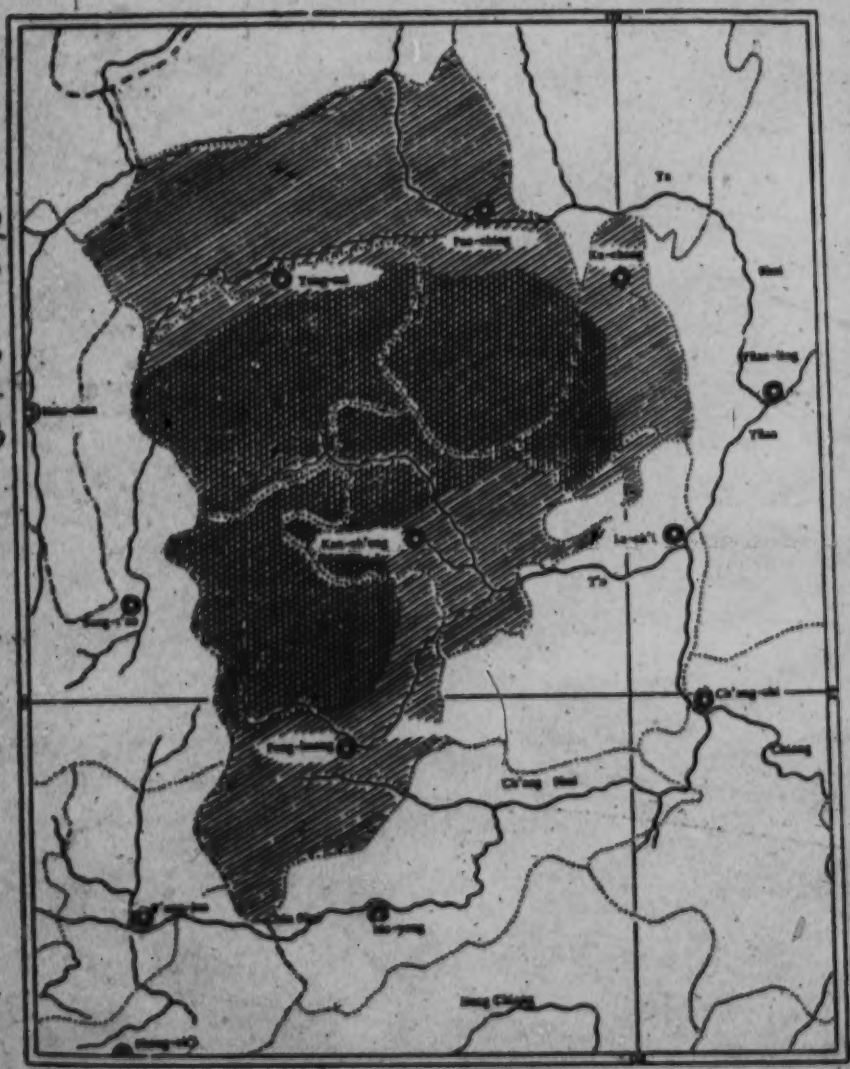

Illustration 5. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Hung-kiang, Lien-ch'eng, Tung-ch'ang, and Ch'ang-ch'ang.

4 Mickey E-5 (1940-31947 AES Misc AES

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Fig. 1. Map of Kweichow.

[iv]
[pp. i-iii blank]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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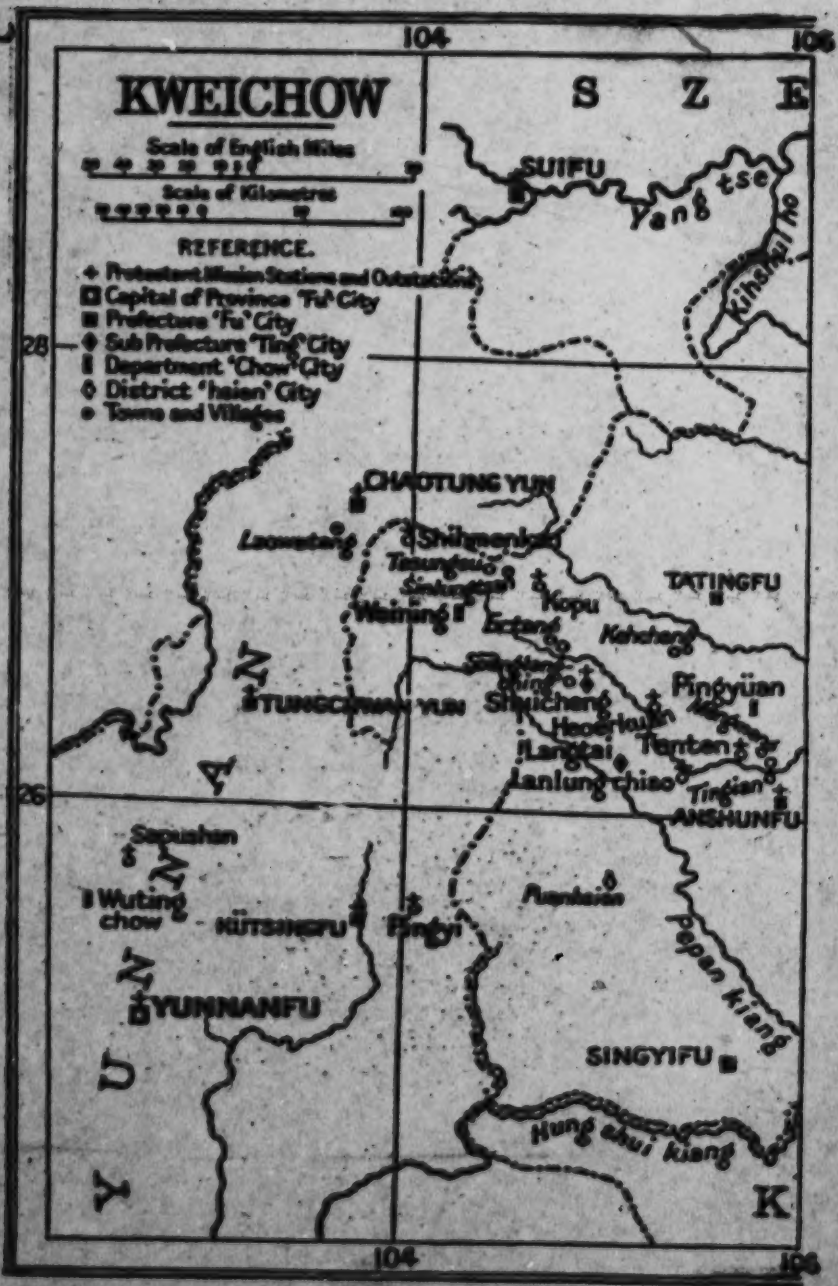

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "AMONG THE

For the area around Sapushan

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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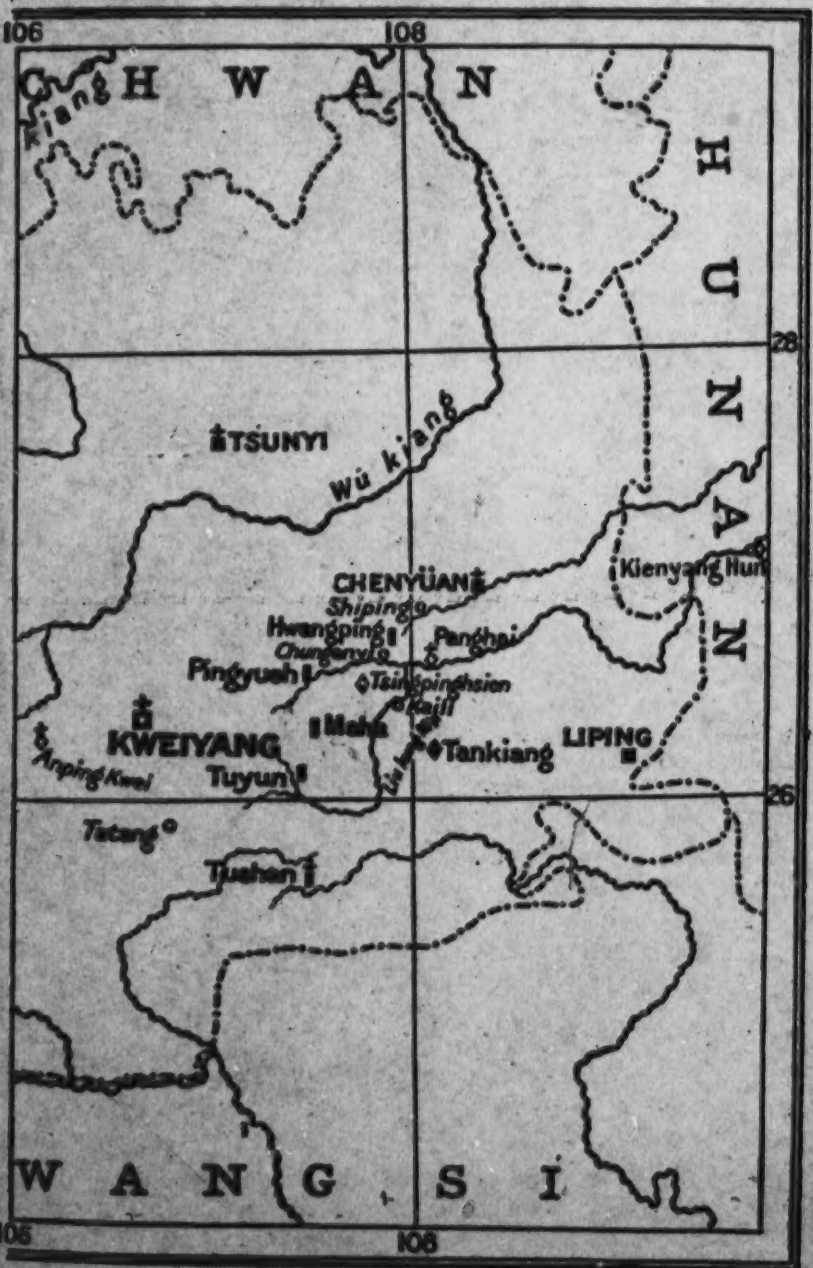

Stanford's Geog. Estab't, London.

TRIBES IN SOUTH-WEST CHINA."

In Yunnan, see next page.

[P. xvii]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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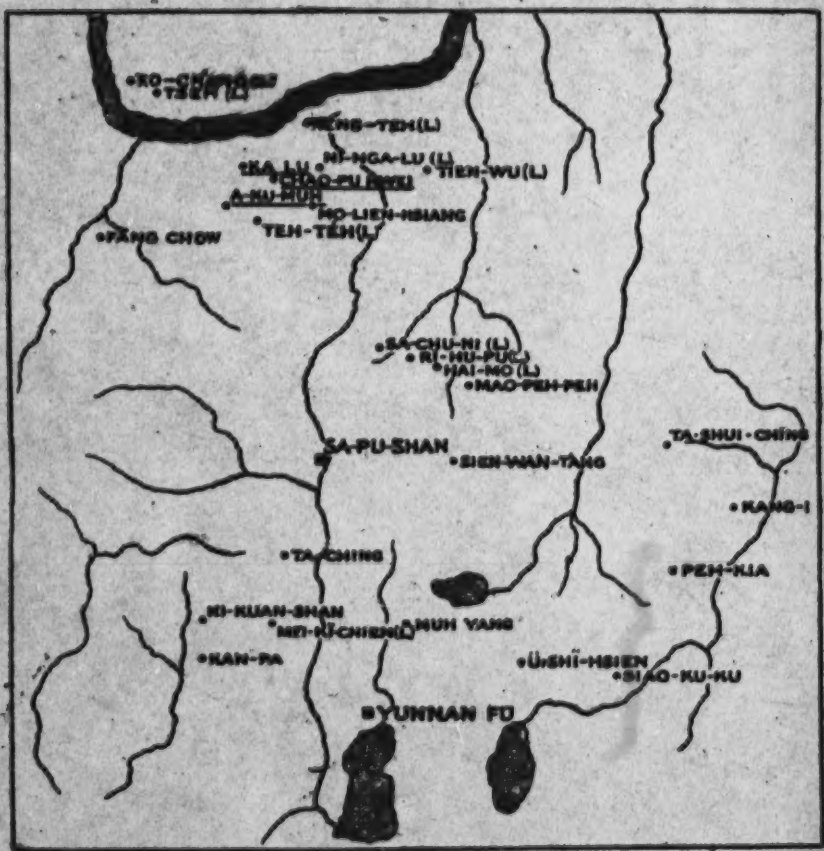

MAP, SHOWING CENTRES ROUND SAPUSHAN WHERE CHAPELS HAVE BEEN BUILT BY MIAO CHRISTIANS.

The names with an (L) after them are places where the Le-su tribe live. The three names underlined are occupied by La-ka, and the rest by Hwa Miao. There are about one hundred and ten villages in the whole district, where services are held every evening. Where villages are too far from Chapel centres the Christians meet in some house. The Miao and Le-su tribes have Scripture portions, and morning texts for each day in the year, in their own language. These are used by the leaders at the prayer meetings. There are nearly eight hundred Church members, and about three thousand catechumens —most of them living in Christian homes. At Sapushan the Chapel is large enough to seat eight hundred worshippers, and is built of sun-dried brick, and tiled.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

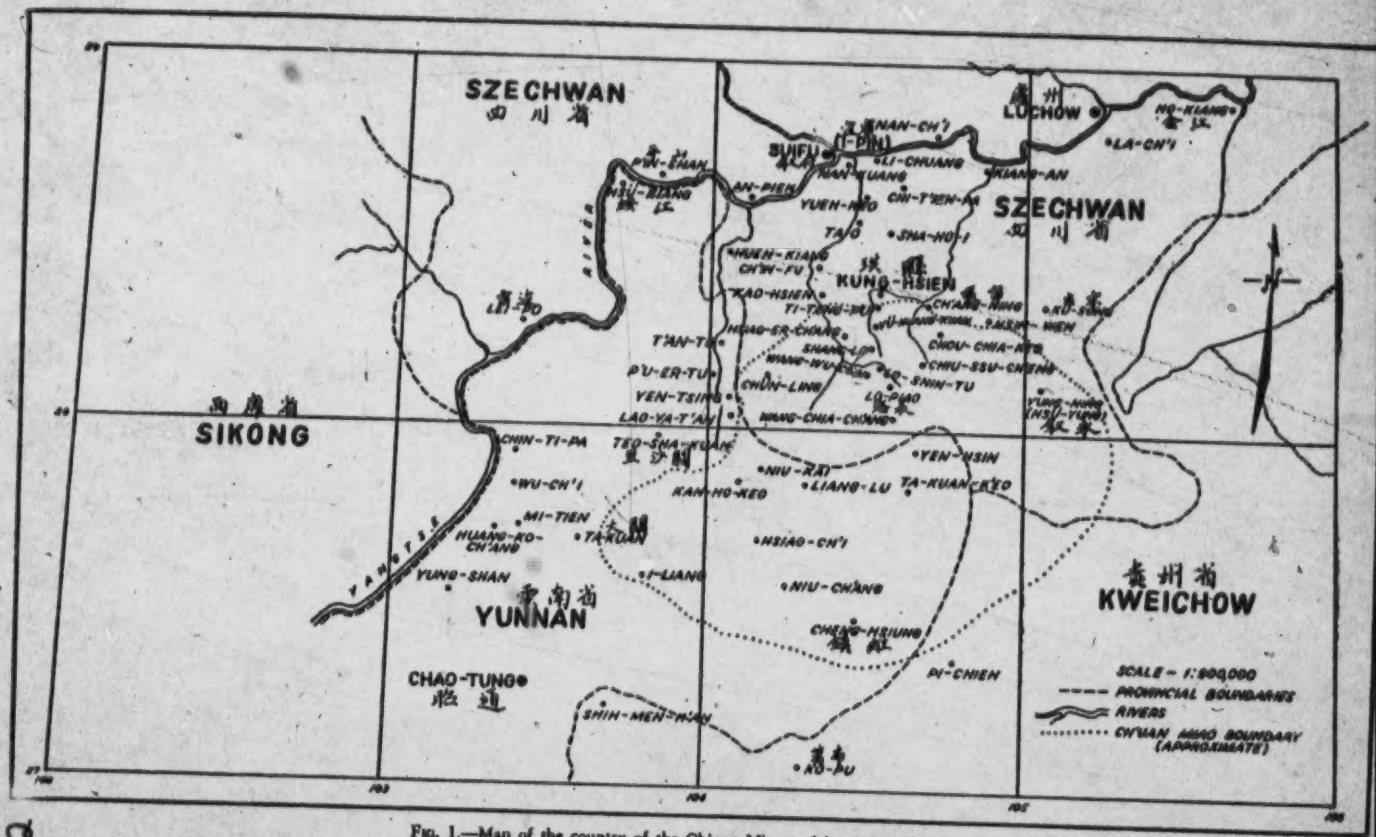

FIG. 1.—Map of the country of the Ch'uan Miao and bordering territory.

39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5

Detail Map
of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

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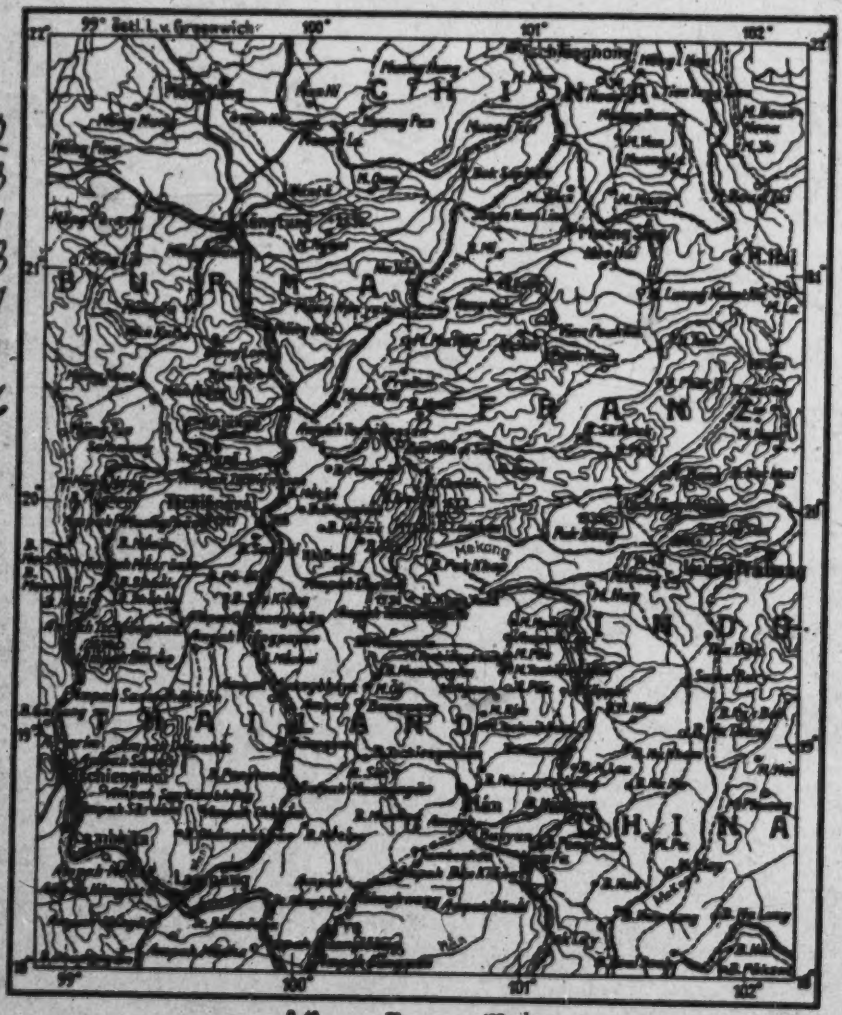

0 10 50 100 km.

Route — Railroad — Highways — Roads — Footpaths — State boundaries

Contour lines from 500 to 500 meters

General Description. Ting-shui-pa (see fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles long and half as wide, with mountains and hills surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told her they called the mountains to the north Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman, 131 133 103

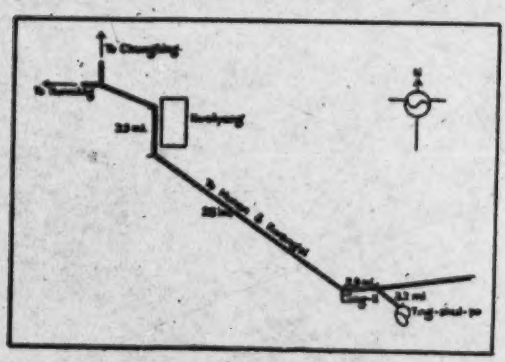

FIG. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

and those to the east the Mountain of the Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley was from the wayside shrine at the top of a pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent from the motor road. About a mile from the pass the road led between high hedges which screened the village vegetable gardens and the large pond from the road. Beyond the pond lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone road went on. At the further edge of a wood it divided, one fork going straight on into the other part of the valley separated from this one by low hills and beyond to the south. The other ran between the other side of the wood on its left and a group of grave mounds on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo thickets separated the road from a meadow where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little way beyond the village another turn, to the 131 133 361

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

175 desirable regions of the west and south-west.
177 This process of absorption has been going on since the days of Yao and Shuen, 2356 B.C., and may be observed at the present time in the province of Kweichow. In that province many of the Chinese have Miao wives or concubines, and the children of such marriages always claim to be and are looked upon as Chinese.

121 The writer has neither the intention nor the ability to recall the history of the Miao tribes from the earliest times. His purpose, so far as he is able, is to describe briefly the different peoples now inhabiting the province of Kweichow, more especially the non-Chinese peoples. West China, Tibet, Burma, Tongking, Annam, and Siam are inhabited by many tribes, and it is impossible not to ask such interesting questions as: Who are they? Whence came they? and When? After a residence of more than twenty years in the province of Kweichow, where we have learned something about these tribes, it is our purpose to set down what we know.

• 103 The two characters *Kwei-chow* as they are now written, and have been written for about six hundred years, mean "Precious or Honourable Region." But eighteen hundred years ago, during the Han dynasty, the name was written

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

with the character *Kwei* meaning "demon" and thus would mean "Demon Region," that is, "the region inhabited by demons." Sometimes it was written *Kwei Fang*, "demon place" or "land of demons." The inhabitants were also called *Lo-sï Kwei* or "Lo-sï demons," which probably had reference to the spiral form in which some of them did up their hair.

What is now Kweichow was only constituted a province, with Kweiyang Fu as its capital, about two hundred years ago. Previous to that time that portion of the present province north of the Wu-kiang or "Crow River" was part of the province of Szechwan. South of that river were semi-independent kingdoms; *I-chia* or *Lo-lo* who call themselves *No-su* in the west, and *Miao-chia* in the east. Hundreds of years previous to that time Chinese armies had marched into Kweichow and left garrisons in different places.

One hundred and fifty years ago, when Roman Catholic missionaries made a map of the Empire, some parts of southern Kweichow were put down as occupied by *Sen Miao* or "Independent Miao." Evidently at that time some of the Miao were still independent, for if they had in any way admitted Chinese sovereignty they would not have been reckoned

39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5

Detail Map
of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

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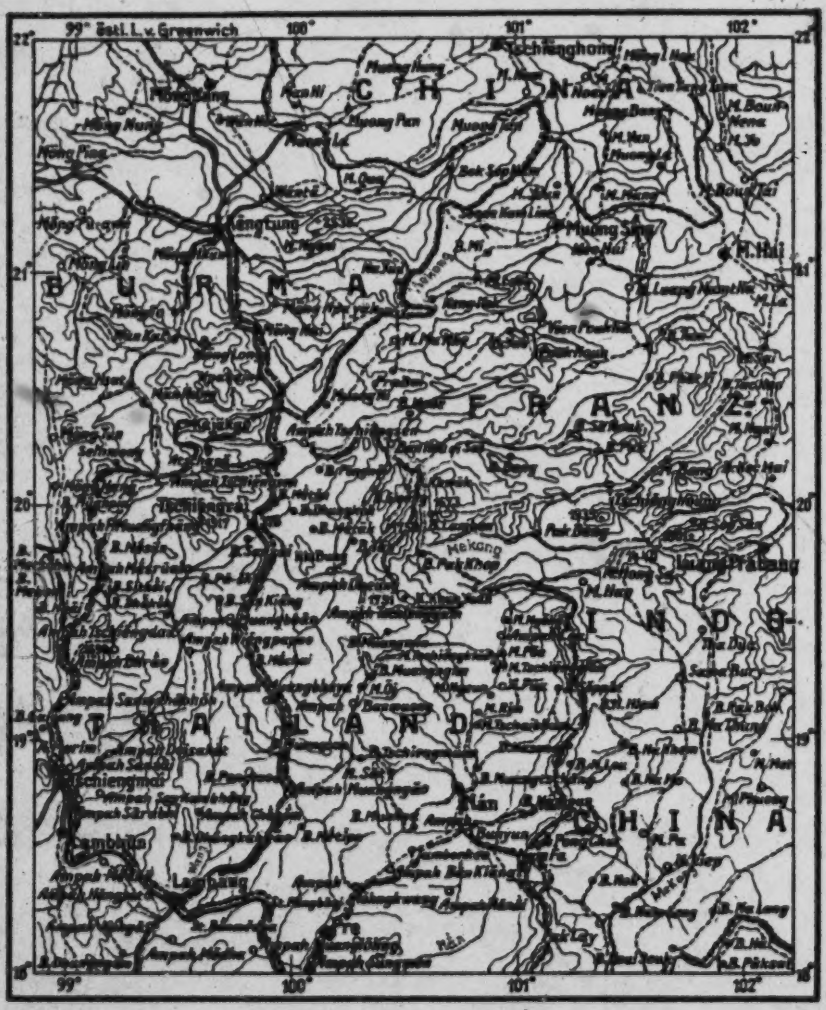

0 10 50 100 km.

Route — Highways — Footpaths
Railroad — Roads — State boundaries
Contour lines from 500 to 500 meters

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa [103] (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore rep- [574] resents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and [351] vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens. /

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 We did not come across any fortified villages among the 712 Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

[1] [See cat 116, p707- ANALYST]

/1/

Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from out- 101 side areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

101 "There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or [161] more families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104]

/* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are 101 very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 175 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[181] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/1 cont'd/

101 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao
175 troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains
[411 and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the
279] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people
[291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like
[48] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where
[221] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned
[224] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are
[154] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] *Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

● 104

chai - Miao settlements

chiao-tzu - implement of divination (two bamboo splints on which are written the character chiao)

hsien - district (Chinese)

Kuei - spirit (devil, ancestral spirit, god)

lao-shih - sorcerer-priest

pao - fort (Chinese)

pa-pa - maizé baked into a crust

shen - spirit (of Chinese origin)

t'un - small scale fortification (smaller than a pao) (Chinese)

A M 124 /4 cont./

shamans or from men who were reputed to have magic faculties. I believe that I thereby succeeded in reducing to a minimum the errors and misunderstandings that are unavoidable in ethnographic studies.

A M 128 As a result of present conditions, the number of illustrations originally planned was reduced by the publisher. Hence I was unable to show through reproductions of original photographs (Ill. 1 to Ill. 108) supplementing the text all the cultural elements which would be pictorially comprehensible. I have tried to bridge this gap by inserting line drawings in the text (Fig. 1 to Fig. 431), most of which are based on original drawings by my wife. The chapters "Settlement and House Construction," "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," and "Clothing and Ornaments" were written independently by my wife.

A M [114] T A M 104 Since this book is not a linguistic study and the language samples are merely necessary supplements to the ethnographic data, the spelling of native words has been simplified to correspond phonetically with German pronunciation. Where additional sounds were needed, English and French pronunciations were used. This gives the following pronunciations:

ń	like ng in the /German/ word "Menge"
h	like ch in the /German/ word "nicht"
x	like ch in the /German/ word "Nacht"
s	like sch in the /German/ word "Schule"
v	like the English "v"
w	as in the English word "water"
th	as in the English word "thousand"
y	as in the English word "yes"
ã	nasal, like the French "an"
ẽ	nasal, like the French "vin"
õ	nasal, like the French "on"
ũ	nasal, like the French "un"
.	under a closed vowel, for example:
ę	as in /the German word/ "See"
-	under an open vowel, for example:
ę	as in the French "mère."

T A M 104

/4 cont./

The other consonants are as in German; "äu" and the other diphthongs are pronounced as such; if disyllabic, this is shown by accent marks.

- ´ = accent mark
- - above = symbol denoting length
- ˘ above = symbol denoting shortness
- ↑ above = rising tone
- ↓ above = falling tone.

I do not distinguish between a rising tone and an interrogative tone, and for other matters concerning the Meau language see the detailed study by Savina, I.

/5/ I must also call attention to the spelling of tribal names, which often varies considerably among different authors. I standardized it in accordance with German phonetics. This was also done in quotations translated into German from other languages. In the case of German authors, however, I retained the spelling of the author concerned.

T 128

In the manuscript, which was completed in 1942, I called the country "Siam" and its inhabitants "Siamese." Following the change of name later decided upon by Siam, everything had to be changed to "Thailand" and "Thailanders." At the end of the Second World War the original name was re-adopted. To take note of this recent change of name would have entailed not only expensive resetting, but also a new preparation of the offset clean-proof and offset films, which were not available at the time of printing in the fall of 1946. I was therefore obliged to forgo a second correction.

T. [126]

Readers interested in the technical aspects of the expedition are advised that the photographs were made with Contax cameras and Zeiss lenses, and Klepper tropical-tents were used.

The publication of the present book was considerably delayed by the outbreak of the Second World War, especially since literature from foreign countries, chiefly the Chinese sources were insufficiently accessible, if at all. It was not until 1942 that the manuscript was finished and the typesetting completed in Leipzig, when an attack by bombers destroyed everything. I immediately began preparing a new manuscript, this time in

39: Bernatzik--48 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand A01
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/34 cont./

b) Kinship Terminology

T 128

In order to provide a comprehensive survey, I am herewith giving, besides the kinship terms of the Meau and Akha, also those of the other tribes of Thailand investigated by us, so that a comparison of eleven languages of Farther India will be possible.

T A M 104

ñ like ng in the /German/ word "Menge"	ã nasal, like the French "an"
h like ch in the /German/ word "nicht"	ẽ " " " " "vin"
x like ch in the /German/ word "Nacht"	õ " " " " "on"
š like sch in the /German/ word "Schule"	ũ " " " " "un"
v as in English	̣ under a closed vowel, e.g.:
w as in the English word "water"	ę as in /the German/ as in "See"
th as in the English word "thousand"	̲ under an open vowel, e.g.:
y as in the English word "yes"	e as in the French "mère."

´ = accent mark
– above = symbol denoting length
˘ above = symbol denoting shortness
↑ above = rising tone
↓ above = falling tone

/A table of kinship terms appears here between pp. 34 and 35./

105, 113 Miao AE5

/For a cultural summary of the Miao of Kweichow, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 82-84/

113, 592, 131, 563, 105 Miao AE5

[For information pertaining to the household size, distribution, and tribal subdivisions of the Miao, see 2: Wiens AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 282-284, 286-287. For a cultural summary of the Miao, see ibid., category 116, Pp. 51, 318. --Analyst]

1k Yang, Deh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

Some Ch'wan Miao Characteristics.—The Ch'wan Miao are a very isolated, segregated, financially poor group of people almost certainly with no European contacts. They live in the mountains at an elevation of about 3,000 feet. They are mainly an agricultural people, although they are also pastoral and some are hunters. They travel entirely on foot. Their crops are mainly maize and rice. They eat very little meat (mostly mutton) and few vegetables; their chief diet is maize and/or rice. 105

The Ch'wan Miao have been permeated very considerably by the culture of the Chinese and the grade of that culture is not low. Given equal advantages the Miao are as intellectual as the Chinese. Some students, under great handicaps, have persevered and graduated from our University. 177

They have a distinct unwritten language, which differs markedly from the Chinese. Many of the males are bilingual. Their folklore, songs and music are distinct from those of the Chinese. They have a peculiar bamboo wind-instrument; it consists of a body of a bamboo tube 6–8 inches long by 3 inches in diameter. To the centre of 197 534

[P. 67a]

[132 cont.]

443 Even today they do not have a single market fair within the area and this shows how circumscribed is the sphere of their economic activity. Their only means of livelihood is agriculture. Almost 243 all the fields are terraced according to natural topography, rising from the bottom of the slope to the top in several hundred layers. The shape of the field is long and narrow, producing rice, wheat, corn and barley. These terraced fields are not fertile [242] and the Sheng Miao do not know how to apply fertilizer. Further- [132] more, the temperature in the whole area is very low, and a plentiful harvest is not possible. The proverb says that "when the soil is barren, the people must be poor." Although the 511 Sheng Miao toil all year round in the hard struggle for survival, they can only eke out a bare existence. Being in direct contact with them, the writer could watch at close quarters their extremely miserable conditions, which are pitiable indeed. Because of their ignorance they do not know how to save or to improve the method of production. In case of famine they cannot escape starvation, [133] which is the most important reason for the decrease in their population.

105 In our study of the Miao culture we find it varies with different ethnic units and localities, each having its peculiar traits. The distinguishing features of the Sheng Miao, who differ a great deal from the other tribes, are as follows:

1. Ignorant and straightforward, they are easily duped. They are ready to proclaim themselves "kings" and to create disturbances.

2. The men are black in complexion, red-eyed, dishevelled, and tall and big in stature.

3. Up to this day not a single one of them can talk fluent Chinese.

4. There are peculiar styles of costumes for men and women.

5. Their staple food is glutinous rice, supplemented by raw meat, raw blood, bees, locusts, centipedes, earthworms, tree worms, sand worms, water worms, mountain rats and lizards.

6. The women are fond of smoking leaf tobacco.

[133 cont.]

105 7. In marriage cattle are used as betrothal gifts. Men may have two or three wives.

8. According to their customs marriage between cousins is a matter of course.

9. Their men and women are used to premarital affairs.

10. When a woman dies after marriage her parents are entitled to "bone money" from her husband.

11. The aged are weary of life and willing to be buried alive. This is in line with the ancient story of taking one's life on completing the cycle of sixty years.

[134]

12. They still have a "black-ear" slave system.

13. Every village has a village head, and in case of urgent events announcements are made by sending out wooden tablets.

14. Huan-ku-chang [lit., to settle an old account] is an important festival occasion, celebrated with beef or pork.

15. There is current a story of "the changed woman."

2. Three Versions of Their Ancestral Myth

121 773 What was the origin of the ancestors of man? Every ethnic group has its own hereditary myth, which in modern mythology is known as the ancestral myth. The ancestral myth of whatever group is always an account of inconceivable miraculous events, from which, however, we can have a glimpse into the infantile psychology and the living condition of the primitive people as well as their conceptions of the universe, creation, and ancestors. Therefore, when an ethnologist is lucky enough to acquire the ancestral myth of an ethnic group he has a very valuable material in his possession. When 773 the present writer went to the Sheng Miao area at Hsia-chiang, to make a systematic investigation he gathered a great deal of material worthy of study especially the original regarding their ancestors. The Sheng Miao are the most primitive among

21: Credner--289 K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
Miao AE5
Yao AE6

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clear by us in the population map (Plate 12, Map 6). Here we are now concerned with discussing way of life among these mountain peoples, in a more detailed fashion, insofar as the scanty literature on the subject and the brief visits that the author was able to pay their villages will permit.

a. The Southern Chinese Mountain Peoples

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We call the Miao and the Yao southern Chinese mountain peoples according to their provenience from the south of China, where they are still found in great numbers south of the Yangtze River in the mountains. By way of bodily type both are very close to the Chinese. The Mongoloid physical peculiarities, especially the Mongolian eye, have developed in a very characteristic fashion among them. They mostly have slender figures which, to be sure, are much more reminiscent of the graceful Southern Chinese in their proportions than the tall and mostly somewhat heavy-boned Northern Chinese. The mountain peoples of southern China have after all probably become racially mixed with the southern Chinese population, just like the Thai who are also still found in groups interspersed among the population of the Chinese South.

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Of the southern Chinese mountain peoples we know the most about the Miao, who call themselves 'Mong' and have only been called "cats" (Miao) by the Chinese. Numerically, they occupy by far the first place among the mountain peoples of Siam. Savina (1),

1. F. M. Savina, Histoire des Miao [History of the Miao] (Hongkong, 1924).

who lived for years among them as a missionary and was able to use their language as well as being able to take down their traditions, has presented us with a valuable description of their life. Even though his experiences were obtained outside the boundaries of Siam, in the highland regions of French Laos and Tonkin, it is nevertheless also possible to apply them to the Siamese Miao according [167] to my observations.

21: Credner--290 K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
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The Miao of Siam are the southernmost offshoots of this people which inhabits the highland regions of eastern Yünnan, of Kweichow, Kwangsi, and finally the northern sections of French Indochina. Everywhere they settle in the high parts of the mountains, genuine mountain people faithful to the proverb: To the fish the water, to the birds the air, to the Miao the mountains.

Only in most recent times, in the course of the last half-century, have they moved into the highland regions of northern Siam, as we have shown above. It is very difficult to determine to what extent this most recent southward migration is a natural one, in accordance with the general migratory tendency of these peoples; to what extent, on the other hand, political changes induced them to migrate as for instance France taking possession of Tonkin and Laos, or economic forces, as for instance, the increase of the Chinese population in Siam and the government opium monopoly, through which the market conditions for this important product were improved.

In any case, this most recent step of immigration is in the same direction as, and accords with, the extensive re-locations that this tribe has behind it, of which its own traditions have created the most vivid images. When the Miao sit around their hearth fire in the evening, visited, perhaps, by the Miao traders that migrate with their wares from mountain to mountain, or on the evening of New Year's day, at a wedding celebration or festival in commemoration of the dead, then they sing their old tribal songs which treat of the origin of the human race, of the scattering of the peoples, and, above all, of the migrations of the Miao. In this tradition, which is still alive today among all the Miao from Sechuan to Siam, even though always in somewhat altered form, it is stated that after the breaking up of the languages and the scattering of the peoples, the Miao first of all came to a high plateau district, and subsequently to a region high in the north covered with ice and snow. Day and night they stayed here for six months. There had been only few and very small trees there. Even the people there were small and had worn hides as clothing. Thence they came, so state the legends, to northern China and in constant battle with the Chinese they migrated southward step by step.

Certainly one cannot interpret this tradition simply as the actual course of the migrations, and, as Savina would like to do, attempt to establish cartographically the routes of migration which he has proceeding

21: Credner--291 K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
Miao AE5

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from the Near East through Turkestan to Siberia. Yet it is nonetheless true that in the oral transmission of these migration myths handed down from generation to generation the direction of these migrations, which in essence went from north to south, is clearly expressed.

The extensive distribution of the Miao has lead to their splitting up into different tribes distinguished from each other in language, clothing, and customs. Mostly they have their own chieftains, without being simultaneously organized in any way along the lines of a civil state. The members of these tribes, who, are designated as white, red, flowery and black Miao depending in each case upon special characteristics of their clothing, often live scattered far apart from each other, and all of them, individually, live in constant friction with the peoples of the plains in whose mountains they have settled. No continuous territory exists [168] for them. In this way, the loose tribal organization seems to be more of a relic from times of migration when the living conditions of the people were still different.

The direction of the migration from north to south is also reflected in the Miao's economy, especially in the plants cultivated peculiar to them. They cultivate both plants of the temperate zone, and bring them far south in their mountain heights, as well as plants of the tropics which they have taken up as new into their plant stock in the course of their migration. In Yünnan they cultivate millet, buckwheat, wheat, and American maize, while rice is much less important. The Miao I encountered confined themselves exclusively to cultivating rice, and in addition had only kept a little maize. The rice that they cultivate is not, however, the glutinous rice of the Lao and the forest hoe-culture peoples that emits a glassy substance, but white rice that they have brought with them from the north out of the Chinese cultural area.

It is not an easy matter to arrange the Miao's form of economy systematically. Wherever I met Miao in the north of Siam, they were genuine hoe farmers, that is to say, they cultivate mountain rice along gentle slopes while employing hoe and digging stick. In no case did I meet irrigated rice paddies for which it would have been necessary to use buffalo or cow as plow animal in order to work them. In no case did I observe artificial terracing along the slopes as is necessary

21: Credner--292 K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
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for installing irrigated rice paddies. At the same time in most instances they possess the large domestic animals, buffalos, cattle, and horses. Of these, the latter are kept for riding and pack animals, while the cattle and buffaloes are kept merely as pasture animals sold to the plow farmers of the plains. On the plateau of Tranin in French Laos, situated below the same degree of latitude, according to Savina it seems that the Miao also practice plow agriculture with irrigated rice. Thus the absence of this form of cultivation in Siam perhaps depends on the lack of such extensive, high, level areas as are found in the cordillera of Annam in the plateaus.

The hoe culture of the Miao in Siam, which is geared almost exclusively to mountain rice, would then, first be a function of the southerly location of their habitat, so that rice is the most suitable for plant cultivation. Secondly, it is a function of the relief which, because of mature dissection, does not offer any sufficiently extensive, high-lying, level areas for constructing irrigable paddies. In addition to food plants, the Miao also cultivate poppies. From the seed capsules they extract opium sap partly for their own requirements, and partly for smuggling to the public market. As an article of contraband the intoxicant poison extracted, a black, sticky mass, finds secret buyers on the markets in the Chinese.

The settlements of the Miao throughout are small villages with five to six households. Very seldom does the number reach 15 households. This is connected with the fact that in the highland mountain regions mostly only small areas are available for habitation and, on the other hand, it is connected with the comparatively great need of each individual household for space. The latter requires cleared areas to meet its needs for food and pasturage for the animals.

Although the Miao are cattle breeders, meat plays only a very small role in their nourishment. Of the large number of swine that one sees rooting about near each of the houses, only one is fattened as a pig for slaughter. [Opposite pp.168 and 169, Plate 14. Illustrations 23, 24, 25 and 26]

[169] While the animals are ordinarily in the habit of finding their food themselves and receive food prepared for them on the hearth fire only once, in the evening, the pig for slaughter is tended with great love. All refuse from the meals are given to it, and during the cold season of the year, while the other swine are freezing outside

21: Credner K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
Miao AE5
(p. 292a)
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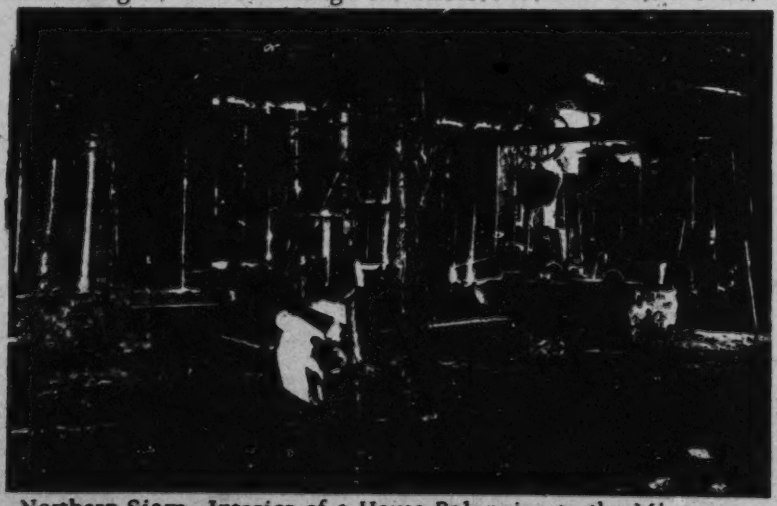
[opp. p. 168] Plate 14

Abb. 23. Northern Siam. Miao Girls on the Way to the Forest. The Miao belong to the southern Chinese mountain peoples. Coats and jackets are indigo blue with colorful, partly embroidered, ornamentation. Silver bands are used as neck ornaments. Artistic headgear. Ban Miao (about 1,200 meters) in the highland region of the Doi Pulangka, east of Muang Poa. Photo.: W. Credner, Feb. 16, 1928.



Northern Siam. Interior of a House Belonging to the Miao.
Abb. 24 High hearth, table and benches have been brought with them as a Chinese cultural heritage. In the foreground is the simple loom for weaving. Ban Nam Loa (about 1,100 meters) in the highland region of the Doi Puka west of Bo Klua. Photograph: W. Credner, February 14, 1928.

21:Credner--293 K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
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in their sties, the pig for slaughter is permitted to make itself comfortable underneath the large hearth-stove in the living room. The Miao also like to keep the young pigs here in the living room, especially during the night, because they are safer inside the house from predatory animals that roam during the night. Buffaloes and cattle live in the open pasture in the wilderness of the mountain forest. No one looks after them, only from time to time do they come to the houses in order to satisfy their need for salt. They are also lured into the village by means of salt whenever the question of picking out animals to be brought to the market comes up. In the market places the people of the plains gladly purchase the powerful animals that have grown up in the open mountain air. At most the Miao slaughter animals that have lost their value due to sickness or accidents. In this way, rice and maize constitute the most important food plants, and in order to meet the household's requirements in these articles, it is necessary here too among the mountain peoples to shift the usually very steep paddies frequently, that are exposed to rain wash. The great extension of the area required for living by the individual family depends on this form of hoe culture with temporary cleared spaces. Frequently this area for habitation extends even from one summit region to a neighboring one, so that sometimes in order to reach the remotest digging fields, it is necessary first to descend down deep into the valleys and then go up again, that is to say, to march for many hours. In laboring at clearing and tilling the fields, the men frequently stay away from the village for weeks on end and live in temporary huts in the fields, where they must be supplied with new provisions from the village, from time to time.

The village settlements themselves usually present a rather neglected aspect, and during the rainy season the irregularly scattered houses can only be reached by jumping from rock to rock, since the ground is so muddy, rooted up by pigs and chickens. The houses stand on level soil and are thus distinguished from all other house types occurring in Siam. The foundation is only roughly levelled, and the walls have been built on the lower structure consisting of field rocks or tree trunks. The walls consist of pine trunks split lengthwise and rammed into the ground. Pine rafters or bamboo rods form the framework of the roof, covered with shingles or rice straw. Two doors lead into the house, one of them, the main entrance, located along the cross wall, the second, which is smaller, serves as a side entrance in

21: Credner--294 K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
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the gable end. Usually the house has only one main room and an adjoining bedroom. Sometimes a special kitchen area has also been separated off crosswise. In a corner the tall hearth is found with the large oval, iron cooking bowl which has been firmly embedded in the wall. In the main room, mostly on level ground, on the stamped earth floor, a second fireplace is found which forms the center of the family life during the cool season and in the evening. A table and a few benches, Chinese cultural heritages, are always present (Plate 14, Illustration 24). There are no windows. Light penetrates through the crevices between the boards of the walls, through which heat and cold, wind and moisture also find access. All kinds of utensils lie and stand on the floor and hang [170] from the walls in a confused tangle. These include field tools, traps used in hunting, pack saddles for the horses. On one of the poles that prop up the roof, in the middle of the room, the simple weaving loom has been installed. Ears of corn, the seed for the following year, hang down from the ceiling, and rice is stored in baskets and back-baskets, as well as roots of the forest and, above all, the valuable salt.

Stables are provided only for riding horses, the main possession and pride of each Miao. He devotes his entire love to it, and his first trip in the morning is to his pony to which he throws hay and in whose crib he pours maize, while the pack horses on the other hand, are forced to seek their own food outside in the forest. A roofed-over crude lattice for the swine, firmly joined at night as a protection against predatory animals, the tiger and the leopard, completes the farmyard which is situated on the forest clearing without any kind of fencing around it.

From these farmsteads the men and the women go out to work while the children, usually naked or clothed with a few rags, play in front of the house with dogs, chickens and swine. In tilling the fields and during the harvest, the children share the work with the women. Cultivation and processing of the main textile plant, hemp, is entirely in the hands of the women. They produce crude materials for clothing at the loom, which they are able to adorn with beautiful embroidery. Three Miao girls who are on their way to get food from the forest for the pigs are shown in Plate 14, Illustration 23. The clothing is adapted to the temperatures of the mountain altitudes, and the headgear permits one to recognize quite a high development of

21: Credner--295 K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
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M
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culture in the clothing. The technique of braiding is likewise highly developed, and it serves for the production of the many different baskets and back-baskets, as well as carrying baskets for the pack saddles. Men usually do this braiding. The men are the only ones who go down to the markets, usually just once a year, in order to exchange their own products, skins of cattle and buffalos, the horns of these animals, and stags' antlers, drugs and medicinal plants and last, but not least, the smuggled opium, for the most important article that they require from the outside, salt.

The path to the market, often over 100 kilometers in distance, brings annual change into the life of the highland inhabitants. But they only stay in the fever-infested lowlands for a short period of time, as brief as they can possibly make it. Once exchange and trade have been brought to a conclusion, they hurriedly go back up to the uplands with the resounding ring of the bells that adorn their pack and riding saddles.

These mountain peoples are also temporary guests in their own areas of habitation. No sense of homeland ties them to the highland region in which they have been born. As soon as another mountain peak seems to promise better harvests, they have no qualms about moving. Savina, a man profoundly acquainted with the life of the Miao, describes such a migration (1). Long before the migration

1. F. M. Savina, Histoire des Miao [History of the Miao] (Hongkong, 1924), pp. 182 ff.

gets under way, they have carried out the tasks of clearing and tilling the fields as much as possible in the new area. After they have tied together their few bundles, they set out one day at dawn. The house, the graves of the members of the family, are left behind. Without so much as casting a backward glance, without any sign of attachment, or of regretful departure, the crowd sets out on its way. At the head is the leader of the family with [171] a heavily burdened back-basket. From time to time he drops a handful of rice so that the swine will follow close by him. Then come the buffaloes and cows, driven on by the women and children who are all loaded to the limit of their capacity. The pack animals have hurried ahead in a long caravan--

21: Credner--296 K-5 (1927-1929) 1935 AO1 Thailand AO1
Miao AE5
Yao AE6

T 563 M 105

since, after all, several households usually move together--with the young people in order to prepare the camp for the night. In this way they proceed like nomads, full of hope for the new place of settlement, without any strong ties to the place which for many years was their homeland.

Just as though there remained in them still some remnant of nomadic life far back in time, they also differ from the other hoe-culture peoples known to us in their religious concepts. The basic traits of their world of religious conception include not an abundant belief in spirits as among the last-named peoples, but rather, if Savina gives a correct picture (1), clearly monotheism,

1. Ibid., pp. 249 ff.

the belief in one God, who is the creator of the world and their life, the belief in man's immortal soul and the soul's continued existence after death. These mountain peoples of Indochina, who have so far been little explored, thus present an abundance of unsolved, cultural historical and ethnological psychological problems in their ways of life, their religion and mythology.

T 563 Y 105

The Yao, the second of the southern Chinese mountain peoples, are extraordinarily similar to the Miao in physical characteristics and in cultural picture. Their habitats in southern China frequently extend eastward beyond those of the Miao. There they extend all the way into the highland regions of Kiangsi and Fukien, of Kwangsi and Kwangtung, and like those of the Miao, also into Tonkin. From this region they moved into the mountains of Siam in most recent times. Their language diverges from that of the Miao and, like the latter, has not been clearly fitted into the system of Asian languages, so far. Their form of life, however, is exactly the same as that of the Miao. On Siamese soil they have come to resemble each other so much that there they are able to live next to each other in one and the same settlement. Indeed, in one case I was even able to establish the fact that a Yao had married into a Miao family, probably a rare instance, since the Miao are ordinarily endogamous in their own tribes.

22: Graham G-3 (ca. 1900-1920)1924 AO1 Thailand AO1
Chong
Kha AM7
Miao AE5

K 583 836 K 755 K 764 K 241

to a mutual understanding, based upon practical experiment, before the arrangement of the marriage is published. As in other tribes practising ante-nuptial free love, infidelity after marriage is almost unknown. The Kaché have little or no knowledge of medicine; the properties of a few herbs are known and these are used for certain maladies, but the usual treatment for any sort of disease is the exorcising of the evil spirits causing sickness, by sacrifice and by blowing, whistling, singing, dancing and other incantations, variations of which are common throughout Further India. The dead are always buried, usually in the jungle at the edge of the village clearings. Burial ceremonies are of the most primitive, cleansing the body of evil spirits and eating and drinking heavily in its honour being the principal observances. All the Kaché clans practise agriculture in temporary clearings made on the forest-clad mountain slopes. Here they grow rice, maize, millet, a little tobacco and other produce, but chiefly rice, planting a clearing once or sometimes twice and then making another. They are skilful fishermen and trappers of game.

T 563

The Chong are a small and scattered tribe inhabiting the mountain range north of the Chantabun province. They are in an exceedingly primitive condition, have no settled habitations and subsist chiefly by the collecting of jungle produce such as resin, beeswax, wood-oil and rattan, which they barter with the Siamese for food-stuffs. Their customs, beliefs and language have much in common with those of the Kaché, and though some writers have sought to class them with the Negritos, they are more probably of Môn-Annam stock.

Tibeto Burman.

M 105

Meao. The first impression on encountering the Meao is that here is something different from the usual hillman of Further India. Instead of the almost naked

23: Graham G-3 (ca. 1900-1920)1924 AO1 Thailand AO1
Miao AE 5

M 105

men and the generally dirty and sparsely-clad women, to whose frowsy appearance and unwashed Mongoloid faces the traveller in this part of the world has grown accustomed, there appears a neat and sturdy people, in whose features the Mongolian type is slightly modified; of a bright, cleanly and intelligent appearance, and of industrious habits. They are divided into eleven, some say twelve, clans the majority of which are not, however, represented in Siam, and from long contact have acquired many points of resemblance with the Chinese of Yunnan, the most remarkable of which are their language and the abbreviated pigtails and the costume of the men. The dress of the women varies greatly in the different clans, and borrows nothing from the Chinese. The men wear loose trousers and short coat, a waist-band, sometimes with embroidered tassels, and a large blue turban occasionally replaced by a Chinese cap fitting close to the head. All carry an embroidered bag which serves as a capacious pocket, and many go armed with a dah, or sword, and a cross-bow. The women of the clans found in Siam wear a pleated skirt descending below the knees, and a cross-over coat embroidered at the edges, with sleeves down to the wrist. They also wear a many-coloured turban and sometimes swathe their legs in strips of cloth as a protection against thorns. The women wear their hair in a top-knot which, however, is usually concealed by the turban. McCarthy records that in one of the clans the coiffure of the ladies is an elaborate affair kept in position with beeswax and so constructed as to last for several years without remaking. They have very little jewellery but both sexes often wear a silver torque, to which a pendant inscribed with Chinese characters is sometimes attached.

M 105 177

T 563 167

With the advance of the French across the Mehkông Siam has lost the greater part of her Meao subjects, but a certain number of villages are to be found in the province of Nan and in other parts of Northern Siam,

22: Graham G-3 (ca. 1900-1920)1924 AO" Thailand AO1
Miao AE 5

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563

and as the long-prevailing southward and westward movement of the various clans of this people still continues, more communities are continually being established within the present Siamese border.

M
105

The Meao live in strongly-built houses with timber or mud walls and stone floors, generally perched on or near the crest of the highest available mountains. They use a rough bedstead, stools and tables, all of which are conspicuously absent from the houses of the Kaché. Their agriculture is carried on in forest clearings on the sides of the mountains on which they have their settlements, and they grow rice, maize, tobacco, hemp, vegetables of sorts and opium. They keep cattle, goats and a few ponies. The women are much occupied with weaving and embroidery, the results of their labour being often of artistic value. The Meao are monogamists and their marriages, which are usually preceded by a period of irregular co-habitation, are accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. Their religion is the usual spirit-worship, observed by means of sacrifice, by heavy eating and by the copious drinking of rough, strong spirit distilled from rice. They practise burial of the dead, and their custom of placing a white cock beside the corpse to do battle with the great lizard supposed to bar the passage of the soul to paradise may possibly denote some remote connection with the Chinbok tribes far away to the west, on the other side of Burma. The Meao say they once had a written character but have lost it. They now use the Chinese, in which a small proportion of their men are proficient. They also use the Chinese calendar. There appears no reason to warrant affiliation of the Maeo with the races of Môn-Annam stock, while language, customs and, to some extent, appearance, seem to hint at connection with the Tibeto-Burman races. They are therefore now included among the latter, though subsequent investigation may possibly prove such classification quite wrong.

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[177]
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[144]

1: Wang, Hsing-ju. Hainan Tao chih Miao-jen [The Miao People of Hainan Island]. Chung-kuo Pien-chiang Yen-chiu Shin [Institute for Chinese Frontier Studies], Chu-hai University, Series B, No. 2. Canton: 1948.

Pp. v, 146; 4 plates; tables; 1 map

Translated from the Chinese for the Human Relations Area Files by Te-Kong Tong.

[The "Miao" of Hainan Island, according to Inez De Beauclair and others should probably be considered as Yao. This study is the companion volume to the author's Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island (which is still in manuscript form), based on the field work of 1937. The author aims to cover "every phase of the 'Miao' life" and includes discussions of the following: origin, distribution, population, language, economic conditions, social organization, daily life, customs and practices, religion, superstitions, songs and legends, and intergroup relations between the Chinese, the Li and the "Miao." The author's diary kept in the field is included as the appendix. This study is primarily based on the author's observations and interviews, but also on family registers and some "Miao" scripts kept as family heirlooms by headmen. The author is a native of Hainan and understands local dialect. He was a member of a joint commission for the investigation of the Li and "Miao" of Hainan Island. Although there are some ambiguous points and inevitable errors

1: Wang, Hsing-ju.

involved in the transcription of any oral materials, the texts of legends and songs in Chapter VIII provide a valuable source for further analysis. Singing, an important aspect of Miao life, is a formalized medium of communication between men and women in love, guests and hosts, the priest and congregation at the funeral, wedding, feasts, etc. --Analyst.]

Field date: 1937
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Social Scientist-5
Processed in 1962

2: Ling Shun-shêng and Ruey Yih-fu. Hsiang-hsi Miao-tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao [A Report on an Investigation of the Miao of Western Hunan]. Academia Sinica, The Institute of History and Philology, Monographs, Series A, No. 18. Shanghai, 1947.

Pp. /xxiii/ 479; 120 illustrations; 3 fold-out maps (illustrations 1-3)

Yale: Fvh15 + Acl25 18 /HRAF MS. pp. xi, 356/

Translated from the Chinese for the Human Relations Area Files by Lien-en Tsao.

/Omitted from files: Chapter x, Folklore/

/This study is an investigation of the Hunan Miao visited by the authors in the spring and summer of 1933. The field work was proportioned in the following manner: Ling Shun-shêng, whose data appear in the first eight chapters, studied

2: Ling & Ruey.

the geography, life customs, drum dances, etc.; Ruey Yih-fu wrote the three chapters on folklore (not translated), folk songs, language, and parts of the chapters on magic and religion, and Yung T'u-heng (not mentioned above in the bibliographical citation), supplied the photographs, drawings, and cartography. Some of the data presented in this source, however, are from secondary sources--historical records and documents as for example in the chapters on history and geography and in chapters 6 and 7 on Miao officials and the T'un system of defense. Ethnographic data appearing in this source pertain to: cultural identification and geographical distribution of the Miao, geography, economics, family organization, marriage, funerary practices, political organization, magic and religion, and dances and amusements. General bibliographical citations appearing as footnotes to the text will be found in category 116, but when these references clearly refer to the Miao, they have also been marked for category 113. There is much information in this source on Miao religion, especially in regard to propitiation ceremonies for the purposes of curing, insuring luck, etc., and on the various Miao dances. -- Analyst/

Field date: 1933
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologists - 5
Processed in 1964

111 AE5 Miao

3: Moninger, M.M., The Hainanese Miao. Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. Lii, pp. 40-50, Shanghai, China: 1921.

Yale: Fd 12. R 826. II 52.

/This brief article describes the material culture of the Miao people on Hainan Island. The author visited the Miao for about six weeks. --Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1955

111 AE5 Miao

4: Mickey, Margaret Portia. The Cowrie Shell Miao of Kweichow. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XXXII, No. 1. Cambridge: 1947.

Pp. x, 83; 20 text figures, including 8 plates.

Yale: C52. 011. 32/1

[This source is a general ethnography of the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai in Lung-li hsien, Ting-shui-pa valley, south central Kweichow. The author describes ceremonial and ritual practices more fully than social structure ("Institutions"). There are some vivid illustrations of the nature of Chinese-Miao contacts, focussing attention on the degree to which the Cowrie Shell Miao of Yang-chia-sai village have become Sinicized. There is a section on ceremonial bull fighting by Dr. Wu Tzu-lin, which originally appeared in a local newspaper. --Analyst]

Field date: 1940-?
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1955

5: Hudspeth, William H. Stone Gateway and the Flowery Miao. London: The Cargate Press, 1937.

Yale: Ma 2. H869

Omitted from files: Chapter V through Epilogue, pp. 57-86.

Pp. 87.

[The author, an English Methodist missionary, writes of his work with the Flowery Miao. The background material provides us with one rare, if not unique, English language source with an overall sketch of the culture of these primitive farmers and hunters. Material of purely inspirational or missionary relevance has been omitted from the files. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Leslie L. Clark

Evaluation: Missionary--5
Processed in 1955

111 AE5 Miao

6: Ch'en, Kuo-chun. Kweichow An-shun Miao-I ti tsung-chiao hsin Yang. [Religious Beliefs of the Miao and I Tribes in An-shun Kweichow.] Pien-chen Kung-lun [Frontier Affairs], Vol. I, No. 7, 8. pp. 88-92. Chungking: 1942.

Yale: Bj. la. P59.1 [HRAF MS pp. i, 14]

Translated from the Chinese for the Human Relations Area Files by Lien-en Tsao.

[The religious life of the Miao and Miao-acculturated Chung-chia of the An-shun area is described. Attention is given to the following topics: Chinese influence on religion (including ancestral tablets); Catholic and Protestant missions; mediums, both male and female; the spirit theory of disease; magical and mental therapy; native deities; purification ceremonies; ancestor worship; medical killing of children (sic); divination; and sorcery. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1956

7: Clarke, Samuel R. Among the Tribes of South-west China. London: The China Inland Mission, 1911.

Pp. xx, 315

Yale: Mjp32.C55

Omitted from the Files: Part II (pp. 137-302)

[Drawing upon his own observations and experiences and those of some fellow missionaries, the author has written short enthnographic accounts of 3 non-Chinese groups inhabiting Kweichow, in southwest China. There is an opening chapter describing Kweichow, its history, its topography and its inhabitants. There follow three chapters on the Miao and one each on the Chung-chia (Shan) and the Lolo (Nosu). Mr. Clarke pays special attention to the religious life of the peoples he describes; there is also some coverage of their social organization and relations with the Chinese. Two appendices in the back of the book give sample vocabularies from various tribal languages in southwest China. Two maps at the front of the book indicate clearly the area described by Mr. Clarke.

111 AE5 Miao--2

7; Clarke, Samuel R.

Portions of this source have been marked for other files as indicated:

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3. Pp. 313-315.
Lolo AE4. Pp. 112-136; 305-315.
Shan-Thai AL3. Pp. 89-111; 305-312. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Missionary--3
Processed in 1956

8: Graham, David Crockett. The Customs of the Ch'uan Miao. Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Vol. IX, pp. 13-70. Shanghai: Thomas Chu and Sons, 1937.

Chicago Natural History Museum: 508.6/W.524

/A fairly complete (for its size) general ethnography, this source deals with the following topics: language (grammar and phonology especially); historical background; subsistence; dwellings; measures; furniture; clothing; embroidery; family life; kinship terminology; ethnocentrism; village government; sports and games; music; sex; ceremonials; marriage; life cycle; magico-religious practitioners; divination; sacrifice; burial and mourning; festival-ceremonial calendary; legends; eschatology; supernaturals; amulests; and missions. Six of the 13 plates are excellent reproduction of Ch'uan Miao clothing and embroidery; the rest are concerned with clothing,

8: Graham, David Crockett.

ceremonial, and kinship terminology. The Miao people described here are probably Szechwan Hua (Flowery) Miao; however, they may be White Miao. For further information on the Ch'uan Miao, see 9: Graham and 10: Graham.--Analyst/

Field date: 1921-1936
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1956

111 AE5 Miao

9: Graham, David Crockett. The Ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao. Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Vol. IX, pp. 1-2, 71-119. Shanghai: Thomas Chu and Sons, 1937.

Chicago Natural History Museum: 508.6 / W. 524

Translated from the Miao into Chinese by Hsiung Ts'ao-sung. Translated from the Chinese by David Crockett Graham, with the assistance of Hsiung Ts'ao-sung.

[The contents of this source are three essays written by natives who are not scientifically trained observers (two of these informants are farmers and the third, a mo priest). The first text is a description of some of the activities of the tuan kung (curer or "medicine man"); the other two are descriptions of the activities of the mo priests with special reference to mortuary practices and ancestor worship. The Miao described here are probably Szechwan Hua (Flowery) Miao; however, they may be White Miao. For further information on the Ch'uan Miao, see 8: Graham and 10: Graham. --Analyst]

Field date: 1921-1936
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1956

10: Graham, David Crockett. Songs and Stories of the Ch'uan Miao. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 123, no. 1, pp. iii-xi, 1-336. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1954.

24 plates.

Yale: A52. 60. 123

Omitted from Files: pp. 11-336.

[The pages of this source included in the files are the introduction to an article which is a collection of songs and stories of the Ch'uan Miao. The introduction contains brief information on the indentity, economy, social organization, religion, and language of the Ch'uan Miao. The author spent many years with these people. The Miao people described here are probably Szechwan Hua (Flowery) Miao; however, they may be White Miao. For further information on the Ch'uan Miao see 8: Graham, AE5 Miao and 9: Graham, AE5 Miao. --Analyst]

111

AE5 Miao--2

10: Graham, David Crockett.

Field date: 1921- ?
Analyst: Ada Farber

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1956

111 AE5 Miao

11: Yang, Stephen C.H., Y.T. Beh, and W.R. Morse. Blood Groups of the Aboriginal Ch'wan Miao of Szechwan Province, West China. Man, Vol. 38, pp. 65-67. London: Royal Anthropological Insitiute, 1938.

Yale: Nk10. M31.v. 38-39.

/This source is a short account of a physical-anthropological research project conducted in Southwest China among both Chinese and aboriginals. In this article the blood-group distributions of the Szechwan Hua Miao are given. It is concluded that, compared to the Han Chinese inhabitants of Szechwan, the Ch'uan Miao are very low in A and high in B. There is a short description of Ch'uan Miao musical instruments. For further information on the Szechwan Hua Miao see 8: Graham, 9: Graham, and 10: Graham.--Analyst/

Field date: 1936-1937
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Physician--5
Processed in 1956

12:Wu Che-lin, Ch'en Kuo-chün and others. Studies of Miao-I Societies in Kweichow. [Kweichow Miao-I shê-hui yen-chiu.] Kweiyang: Wen-t'ung Book Co., 1942.

Library of Congress: D825 W95

Translated from the Chinese for the Human Relations Area Files by Lien-en Tsao.

Omitted from the files: Several chapters of doubtful value.
[Foreign text has not been reproduced for technical reasons.]

[This source consists of eight chapters which deal with the non-Chinese inhabitants of South China. In addition to the Miao, the Shan-Thai are covered, and two chapters dealing with them exclusively have been marked for the Shan-Thai (AL3) file. In addition to a general coverage of the area, detailed descriptions are given of the dress of various Miao groups, their cultural differences, religion, folklore, and daily life. --Analyst]

Field date: 1939-1941
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologists-5
Processed in 1961

113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622

Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

105, 113 Miao AE5

/For a cultural summary of the Miao of Kweichow, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 82-84/

113, 427, 563 Miao AE5

/For a short description of the relationship of the Miao and the Lolo (Yi), and the effects of Communist rule on this relationship, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 83-84/

113, 592, 131, 563, 105 Miao AE5

[For information pertaining to the household size, distribution, and tribal subdivisions of the Miao, see 2: Wiens AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 282-284, 286-287. For a cultural summary of the Miao, see ibid., category 116, Pp. 51, 318. --Analyst]

/1/

Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao
162 of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives
167 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from out-
101 side areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu
[113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

"There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or
101 more families living in ten villages; including men and women they
[161] number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104]

/* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market;
101 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period
175 /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 18 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[182] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

2:Ling & Ruey--1 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/1/

CHAPTER ONE

CHANGES IN NAME OF THE MIAO TRIBE

*101 The name "Miao" is commonly used to refer to the tribal peoples of southwest China in general. Actually, there are today more than one hundred non-Chinese groups with different names scattered over Szechwan, Yunnan, Hunan, Kweichow, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi. After studies made by Chinese and western scholars in the last few decades, these groups have been divided into at least four large categories: 1) the Miao-Yao group, 2) the Ts'ang-Mien /Tibeto-Burman/ group, 3) the T'ai T'an /Thai-shan/ group, and 4) the Meng-chi-mieh /Mon Khmer/ group. The Miao tribe is only one branch of the first group and cannot include all the tribal peoples that exist in the southwest. But as this customary usage of the term has existed for a long time, it is not easy to correct it in a day. Therefore, we can only accept the fact that the term "Miao" has both a broad and a narrow meaning. In the broad sense Miao refers to all the tribal peoples in the southwest; in the narrow sense it refers to the true Miao. (1) The subject of

[113]

1. Torii, Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Miao/ also makes these two distinctions: Miao in a broad sense includes the Miao, Yao, Chuang, Li aborigines, and the Lolo; in a narrow sense it refers to one particular group of Miao. (National Translation Bureau's translation, page 19.)

/5 cont./

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*175

Furthermore, San Miao as a state was destroyed by Yü; had it been a race, then inasmuch as they are stated to have been destroyed, how would there be any descendants left today? (I)

[113]

1. Rebuttal against the argument that the Chinese were preceded by the Miao in China, National University of Peking Monthly Publication, Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 113-27.

From the above citations we understand that San Miao was a name of a state and not of a race /chung tsu/, and far less the name of the Miao people today. But a state must be peopled. What was the original race that peopled San Miao? According to the previous quotation from Cheng Hsüan, they were the Chiu Li. Those descendants of Chiu Li who scattered to the western frontier were known as the San Miao. Therefore, Ma Yung said that the San Miao were western frontier people, descendants of Chin Yün. (See previous citation.) Chia K'uei said in an annotation of the History of the Five Emperors in the Shih Chi: "Chin Yün, surnamed Chiang, was a descendant of Yen-ti." Fan Hua said in the history of the Hsi Ch'iang in the Hou Han Shu: "The Hsi Ch'iang /western Ch'iang/ derive from San Miao, Chiang being another surname. Their country was located near Nan Yüeh, and when Shun sent into exile the four wicked men, they were sent to San Wei, which is the present Ch'iang country, southwest of the Yellow River pass." According to this, the ancient San Miao were descendants of Yen-ti /Emperor Yen/, whose ruling family was surnamed Chiang, and who were the ancestors of the Hsi Ch'iang.

The ancient state of San Miao, according to old records, had an extensive area. The "Wei Ts'e" section of the Chan Kuo Ts'e says: "Formerly, the San Miao's domain was to the left of the waves of P'eng-li Lake and to the right of the waters of

HAINAN AE2
YAO AE6

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/1 cont./

from the continent. They belong to the same race as the Thai and the Shan, forming one related group with the Chuang-jen and the Tu-jen in present-day Kwangsi, the Pai-i and the Nung-jen in Yunnan. They are neither Man nor Miao.

(3) The Ancient "Man" Are the Present-day Yao and Yü

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From the above investigation we can see that the present-day Miao are also not the ancient Chiu Li. But Miao and Man have a phonetic resemblance according not only to Mr. Lü but also Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao by Torii Ryūzō and to the recently published Chung-kuo Min-tsu Shih /History of the People of China/ by Lin Hui-hsiang. (2) The present writers have stated

2. See page 188, Vol. II, Ling's book.

previously that in the light of current materials the two are not of the same tribe. We will now elaborate on this theory.

The name "Man" has both a narrow and a broad meaning. The name Man in its broad sense is identical with Miao in its broad sense. Before the T'ang dynasty the term Man was used most frequently; after the Sung dynasty, the term Miao was used, or else both terms were used interchangeably. In the narrow sense the Man say they are the descendants of P'an Hu, and may be called the P'an Hu tribe, but the modern names are not uniform. Those who are distributed in Hunan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan are the Yao; those in Fukien and Chekiang are the Yü. Only those in northern Tonkin, Indochina /Chinese Annan/, still call themselves "Man"; but they are known to the Chinese as Yao. For instance, the Ta Pan Yao call themselves "Man Coc," (3) the Hsiao Pan Yao, "Man

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[113]

3. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional /Ethnography of Northern Tonkin/, pp. 216-17.

/10 cont./

*101 the southwest. As Wei Yüan says: "Those tribes that do not
*175 have chiefs and have no political jurisdiction over each other are the Miao; those whose chiefs occupied a definite territory are the Man. For instance, the Chuang and the Li of Kwangtung, the Yao of Hunan and Kweichow, the P'o and the Sheng Fan of Szechwan, the Lo and the Yeh Jen of Yunnan — all are without chiefs and do not rule over each other. Are they Miao?" (1) Wei Yüan's reference to the Miao is Miao in the

[113]

1. Wei Yüan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 7, on the Record of Migration of the I in the southwest during the reign of Yung Cheng. According to Ch'ing Shih Kao, Tu Szu Ch'uan, the term Miao includes the Chuang, Li, Yao, Lolo, Sheng Fan, Yeh Jen, etc., as Wei Yüan would have it.

broad sense used in this book.

*101 Today's pure Miao, or Miao in the narrow sense, call themselves "[mun]." The following are the results of investigations of Chinese and European scholars:

(1) H. Parker: "The Miao tribe is known as Hmung." (2)

[113]

2. H. Parker: Up the Yang-tse, p. 272.

(2) Paul Vial: "The Miao in Kweichow are known in the Miao language as Hmong and are divided into several branches: the Kan Miao (Hmong Sha), the Hei Miao (Hmong-tlo), the Hua Miao (Hmong-dou), and the Pai Miao (Hmong-bea), etc.(3)

[113]

3. P. Vial, Les Lolos, p. 35-36.

/10 cont./

*101 (3) Torii Ryūzō: "The Ch'ing-yen Hua Miao (mu), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of An-shun (mǔn), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of Mi-lùh (mǔn), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of Wu-ting (Amǒn), the Ch'ing Miao in the vicinity of Ch'ing-yen (mon), the /11/ Pai Miao in the vicinity of Ch'ing-yen (mōn), the Hei Miao in the vicinity of Shih-p'ing (Hǎw), the Ta T'ieh Miao at Ting-fan (^{n}Hun)." (1)

•[113]

1. Torii, Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (National Translation Bureau's translation), p. 16.

(4) Lunet de Lajonquière: "The Miao in the northern section of Tonkin, Indochina, consists of the Pai Miao, the Hei Miao, the Hung Miao, the Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, the Han Miao, the Kao-shan Miao, and the P'ing-ti Miao. They called themselves "mung" or "h'mung." (2)

[113]

2. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-301.

(5) In the course of their investigations at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the writers noted that the Han Miao called themselves [mu̯ŋ sua], the Hei Miao, [muŋ ʂero], the Hua Miao, [muŋ dzu], the Ch'ing Miao, [muŋ ɕi]. Moreover, the Hung Miao in western Hunan called themselves [ɕioŋ].

Considering all the self-designations of the Miao themselves as recorded by various authorities, except for Hǎw and ^{n}Hun, [ɕioŋ], (Torii believes that Hǎw and ^{n}Hun derive from mun and mon. The present writers are of the opinion that they are more likely a derivation from [ɕioŋ]. The meaning of [ɕioŋ] will be given below.) The majority are [muŋ] or close
*[175] to [muŋ]. The Mao [illegible] / and Mao [illegible] / of ancient times,

/13 cont./
*101 name for the people who wore red belts, whom they called the
*175 Hung /"red"/ Miao. (1)
[113]

1: Yen Ju-yü in Miao Fang-pei Lan Feng-su K'ao /A Study of Miao Customs/ says: "Those who wear red belts are the Hung Miao." According to Torii Ryūzō in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao: Those who wear red clothes are the Hung Miao. Actually the present-day Hung Miao in western Hunan no longer wear red clothes nor red belts. Previously they might have had this custom, but today it is no longer practical.
[291]

*175 The spirit most venerated by the Hung Miao today is Pai
776 Ti T'ien Wang, who also is one of three brothers. According to the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih /Annals of Lu-ch'i Hsien/: "The boy found in the bamboo as recorded in the story of the southwest barbarians in Hou Han Shu grew up to be the Marquis Yeh Lang and was killed by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. His three sons were all respected by the southern barbarians, and among them the third was the bravest. Posterity regarded the Bamboo King, since he was not born of flesh and blood, as a spirit
[778] and built a temple in his honor. Today, the idol, San Lang, worshiped in the temples, has the fiercest appearance and is held most in awe by the Miao. It must be the spirit of the third son. The Yung-sui T'ing Chih also says: "Large T'ien Wang
[346] /heavenly king/ temples are found in all localities, of which the one at Ch'ao-shui-ch'i is the oldest. This is the Ch'ao-shui-c'hi of Wei-ch'eng. The present-day Ch'ao-shui-ch'i has

2:Ling & Ruey--27 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/15 cont./

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[113]

1. Ting, Wen-chiang: "Man Yu San Chi" /Miscellaneous Notes on a Rambling Trip/," Tu Li P'ing Lun /Independent Review/, No. 8.

*[101] according to the Englishman, S.R. Clarke, who came to the conclusion after 20 years of investigation in Kweichow, the indigenous peoples of Kweichow are the Ch'i Lao not the Miao, the latter having immigrated from elsewhere. (2) As a result

[113]

2. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, p. 13.

of his study of Miao migration legends, the Frenchman, F.M. Savina, concluded that when the Miao first arrived in China they lived in Honan, whence they emigrated to Kweichow, next to Szechwan, Yunnan, Tonkin, and to Laos. (3) This

[113]

3. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao /Miao Stories/, p. 247.

corresponds roughly to the above-mentioned theory that the Mao tribe emigrated from Shansi to Honan, then to Szechwan, to Yüeh-hsi, and to Kweichow, except that Mr. Savina has the order of Szechwan and Kweichow reversed. This is more *[101] evidence that the present-day Miao are not the ancient San Miao, as the location of the ancient San Miao was between Tung-t'ing and Peng-li lakes, which are not mentioned in the Miao legends.

The trend of Miao migration since the time of recorded history has been as stated above. As to their moves in the

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/16 cont./

We may divide the present distribution of the Miao tribe into seven areas, namely, Kweichow, Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, Yunnan, Indochina /Yüeh/, and Burma, as follows:

M *101 C 563

Kweichow. — There are 82 subgroups of the Miao in Kweichow, according to Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo. (2) But among

M *101 ●113 C 563

2. Ch'ien Miao T'u-Shuo /Pictures of the Miao in Kweichow with Explanatory Text/ compiled by Chen Hao, a sub-prefect in charge of Miao affairs at Pa Fan, according to Ch'ing Chi /Kweichow Record/ by Li Tsung-fang of the Ch'ing period. The woodcut edition is rare, but there are many hand-copied, hand-drawn editions under various names. There are 82 subgroups according to what is recorded by the Japanese, Torii Ryūzō, in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (see Chapter II); and given in the Englishman E.C. Bridgman's Translation of Sketches of the Miao-tsze, Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. III, pp. 1-26; and George W. Clarke's Translation of a Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chow Miao-tzu, Appendix of Archibald R. Colquhoun's Across Chryse, Vol. II, pp. 363-94. There are two sets in the archives of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, one

2:Ling & Ruey--30 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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containing only 80 pictures, and the other with pictures, but no text, of 82 subgroups. The following are the 82 names according to these two sets and the records of Torii Ryūzō: He Lolo, Nü Kuan, Pe Lolo, Sung Chia, Ts'ai Chia, Ch'ia /K'a/ Yu Chung Chia, Pu Lung Chung Chia, Tseng Ch'u Lung Chia, Kou Erh Lung Chia, Ma Teng Lung Ta T'ou Lung Chia, Hua Miao, Hung Miao, Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, He Miao, Tung Miao, Hsi Miao, Yao Miao, Nung Miao, Ta Ya Ch'i Lao, Chien T'ou Ch'i Lao, Chu Shih Ch'i Lao, Hung Ch'i Lao, Hua Ch'i Lao, Shui Ch'i Lao, Kuo Ch'üan Ch'i Lao, P'ei P'ao Ch'i Lao, Mu Lao, Ch'i Chuang, P'o /?/ Jen, T'u Jen, Man Jen, Shan T'ung Jen, Yao Jen, Yang Pao, Yang Kuang, Chiu Ku Miao, Pa Fan Miao, Tzu Chiang Miao, Yang Tung Lo, Han Miao, K'e Meng Ku Yang Miao, Tung Miao, Ch'ien Miao, Ling Chia Miao, Tung Chia Miao, Shui Chia Miao, Liu E Tzu, Pe E Tzu, Jan Chia Man, Chiu Ming Chiu Hsing Miao, Yeh T'ou Miao, Tung Tsai Miao, Pa Chai Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Miao, Lou Chü Miao, He Shui Miao, He Sheng Miao, Kao P'o

2:Ling & Ruey--31 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
SW China AF16

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Miao, P'ing Fa Miao, He Chung Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Chung Chia, He Min Tzu, Pe Tou Tzu, Pe Lung Chia, Pe Chung Chia, T'u Ch'i Lao, Ya Ch'üeh Miao, Hu Lu Miao, Hung Chou Miao, Hsi Ch'i Miao, Ch'e Chai Miao, Sheng Miao, He Chüeh Miao, He Lou Miao, Tuan Ch'ün Miao, Chien Ting Miao, Lang Tz'u Miao, Lo Han Miao, Liu Tung I Jen, Ch'ing Chung Chia, and Ku Lin Miao.

them, /17/ many of different names belong to the same group. Furthermore, as the non-Chinese tribes in Kweichow in general are called Miao, there is also a difference between the broad and the narrow senses of the term. In the narrow sense the term Miao refers to the real Miao tribe. There has been very little scientific study made of the tribes in Kweichow, and there are insufficient data to make an accurate classification of them. According to S.R. Clarke, they may be classified into four main tribes according to their languages, namely, the Ch'i Lao, the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia. (1) The Ch'i

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1. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, pp. 1-15.

Lao has been hitherto regarded as a subgroup of the pure Miao, but according to Terrien de Lacouperie's view, the Ch'i Lao are the remnants of the Ka Lun (Karen) in Burma, because of the similarity in language and in grammar between them. (2)

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2. Terrien de Lacouperie, The Cradle of the Shan Race, p. 48.

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South China AF17
SW China AF16

/22 cont./

M #101 CC 563

In western Hunan, besides the Miao of the three sub-prefectures there are Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning, and Ch'eng-pu hsiens. There are Yao in Hsü-p'u, Ch'ien-yang, Wu-kang, Tao-hsien, and Yung-ming hsiens. There are T'u Jen in Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Ku-chang, and Lung-shan hsiens, /23/ and Ch'i Lao in Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng hsiens. In recent times the non-Chinese people in west Hunan have been regarded as Miao, but actually only the Hung Miao in the three sub-prefecture and the Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien and T'ung-tao hsiens are pure Miao. Others like the Yao in such hsiens as Hsü-p'u and Ch'ien-yang are different from the Miao; the Ch'i Lao at Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng are the same people as the Ch'i Lao of Kweichow. The language of the Tu Jen of such hsiens as Yung-shun and Pao-ching belongs to the Thai-Shan language group with Tibeto-Burman influence. They may be remnants of the Liao people of ancient times. (1) All of them are not Miao.

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1. Terrien de Lacouperie: The Languages of China before the Chinese, p. 149.

M #101 SoC 563

Kwangsi. — The Miao in Kwangsi are generally distributed over the areas bordering Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces, in the following 16 hsiens: Ling-yün, Pe-se, Tung-lan, Szu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Szu-en, I-pe, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lin, and Chen-pien. The Miao in Kwangsi for the most part are recent immigrants, and those on the Kwangsi and Yunnan border are still more recent. They are called by many names but broadly belong to the Pe Miao, Hua Miao, and He Miao.

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M #101 SoC 563

Szechwan. — The Miao are also found along the Szechwan-Kweichow border. There are many Hung Miao in the south-eastern corner of Szechwan and also in an area between Szechwan, Hunan, and Kweichow, including such hsiens as Yu-yang and

2:Ling & Ruey--44 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Burma AP1

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1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

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Burma. — Having stopped at the Tonkin plains, the migratory trend of the Miao turned westward through Lao-chua /Laos/ (2) to such places as Meng-hsin and Ching-tung in the territory

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2. G. Ayme: Monographie du Ve Territoire Militaire /Monograph on the Ve Military Territory/, pp. 59-60.

under the Nan-shan headmen in Burma, but also stopped on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. (3) But their number is not

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3. J. Jeorge Scott: Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Part I, Vol. 1, pp. 296-299.

large, and only a few villages are inhabited largely by Pe Miao. (4)

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4. C.C. Lowis: The Tribes of Burma, p. 40.

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The foregoing is a general survey of the present geographical distribution of the Miao. It reveals two obvious characteristics: 1) the regional distribution is very widespread, and 2) the vertical distribution is very high.

Regional distribution. — What is called regional may also be called plane distribution that is to say: a people's area and directions of distribution, and an explanation of the reasons for this. (5) The present extent of Miao distribution on four

*101 131 [113]

/24 cont./

5. Ling Shun-sheng:
Yunnan Min Tsu te Ti Li Fen Pu /The Geographical Distribution of the Peoples of Yunnan/, pp. 11-14.

sides is as follows: in the east it reaches west of Kwei-chiang River; in the west it stops on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River; in the north it ends at the north bank of the Ya-lung-chiang River at the territory under the Mu-li headman; in the south it reaches the hilly country above the confluence of the Hung-ho and Li-sien-chiang rivers. This area is the most extensive occupied by any one of the peoples of the southwest. *101 131 167 The migration of the Miao in recent times, due to the repeated disturbances in Kweichow, has reached eastward only to the west of the Yüan-chiang River, and northward to the south bank of the Yangtze River. Since further on in their two directions the terrain becomes less hilly and is more densely populated, there is no land for the Miao to move into. Even if there were land available, the damp, hot climate would be unsuitable for them to live in. The spread of the Miao southeastward was along the Nan Ling mountains /25/ and stopped west of the Kwei-chiang River. Their movement westward met no obstacles because Yunnan, Tonkin, and Laos are all spacious and thinly populated, and now they have reached the east bank of the Nu-chiang. The emigration of the Miao is the latest among the movements of the peoples of the southwest. Yunnan and Indochina, although spacious and thinly populated as stated, have their arable areas in the mountains already occupied by the Lolo and other hill people. When the Miao arrived last they could not find extensive hilly country for living together as a tribe, and were forced to scatter, each to find his own way. Furthermore, being refugees from political turmoil, they lacked organization and definite destinations. In general, depending on hilly areas where they could settle down, they moved farther and farther, and thus their area became increasingly extensive.

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
[113] 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[187] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
769 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
[113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[556] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when
782 a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

2:Ling & Ruey--152 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

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C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622 C [669]

After the voluntary change from the native headmen in the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the Miao and bring them under the administration of government officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions. As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances, so that the unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's

M [113]

6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

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C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 425 C M [701] C [651] the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

C 651 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

M [113]

/178 cont./

175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
776 In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

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1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk
[773] Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen;[1] and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

1 [for this ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280. - ANALYST]

/185 cont./

*782 *[787] to utter the chien-ling, chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. For each of these incantations the sheng chiao is sought, but for kou-hsiao the yin chiao will do. After the incantations are over, the gong and drum are sounded and the horn is blown. Then the horn is placed in the crook of both arms (as in the rituals for seeking a son and wheeling in money). The helpers burn the paper money, and the sorcerer does the three-step walk, simultaneously uttering the wheeling in money incantation. After a passage he turns toward the door, blows the horn once, and continues to recite another passage. He then turns toward the inside, blows the horn, and chants again, and again blows the horn. After the incantation is over, the sorcerer takes a rest. The helpers and the host and his relatives eat supper together, /186/ which is known as Hsia Ma Fan /the meal taken after dismounting from a horse/.

*782 533 The thirteenth part is the singing of the No song. The sorcerer-priest in his red headkerchief sits in front of the Peach Spring cave, while assembled friends and relatives of the host also sit in a circle in front of the cave. First the sorcerer begins to sing the No song, followed by each of the friends and relatives in turn, and then all in unison. There is no fixed length to the verses nor a fixed number of singers. The singing goes on until no one continues it, when they consider it ended. The texts of the verses cover a wide area. In addition to the verses telling of the No shen's virtues and requesting good fortune, and those for driving away misfortune, calamities, and difficulties, there are the "Song of the Origin of the No Shen" and the "Song of Duke No and Mother No," relating the story of the origin of the No shen. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1. The Myth about the Flood /not translated/.) The Miao think that [773] [776] Duke No and Mother No were brother and younger sister and that the Miao today are the descendants from the marriage between these two. (1) In addition they also sing and perform

[113] 1. See Ruey Yih-fu: Miao Tsu Hung Shui Ku Shih yü Fu Hsi Nü

[of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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/186 cont./

Wa te Ch'uan Shuo
/The Story of the Flood
among the Miao and the
Legend of Fu Hsi and
Nü Wa/, in Jen-lui
Hsüeh Chi K'an
/Anthropological Review/,
Vol. 1, No. 1.

the play, "Meng Chiang Nü," and the friends and relatives who come to see it toss out cash as "praising the song money."

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The fourteenth part is checking in the troops. (This part of the ritual is performed only when the host desires to drive away evil influences, otherwise it may be omitted.) Rice straw is spread before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is laid a fine bamboo mat. The sorcerer, with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding two spears, stands on the mat and does the three-step walk. A helper picks up the colter of a plow and puts it in the fire until it is red. The sorcerer sings, swinging the spears. He first checks the troops in the five directions, eact, south, west, north, and center. For the east, north, and center he faces the inside of the house, whereas for the south and north /sic/ he faces outward. Next he checks the names of the 12 piao /body of troops/ leaders, and then the soldiers of the 12 months. After this checking, holding the two spears in his left hand and taking the chiao-tzu in his right hand, he divines. If the yin chiao appears, it is considered that Duke No has mounted his horse; the yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the sheng chiao shows that all the other shen have mounted their horses. When the divination shows that all the shen have mounted their horses, the gong and drum are struck, the sorcerer priest blows his horn and grasps the spears, which have been in his left hand, separately and waves them to the left and right, does the three-step walk, and at the same time utters the hua-piao /"transforming the spears"/ incantation. After one passage, he goes

*[787]

[of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

M 175 184 *535 /203/

to perform a native dance.
One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
which sounded like gnats. After
a good while some tens of them,
turning side by side, danced.
They called it the shui-ch'ü."

to the ch'ü-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty (1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

M [113]

1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya,
Vol. I, sections on the
T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the Pe Miao, have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known. Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to describe the singing and dancing. However good the description, it is only a simulation. The Li Shan annotation on the phase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums," sets in order all the phrases. On reading it one gets a better understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance. The ancient Hsin ch'eng Ao-lo-kung Tz'u says: 'The p'an drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven P'an Dance/, Chang Heng says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

M 114 *535 C 535 C [175]

4:Michay E-6 (1940-7) 1967 AES Misc AES

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[836]

[130 cont.] Regarding the various Miao

101 and Man tribes, the Ch'ien-shu [History of Kweichow] has this to
130 say: "Who are the Sheng Miao? The Ku-lin at Ting-fan, the Ch'iu-ku at Hsing-lung, Ch'ing-p'ing and P'ien-ch'iao, the Tzu-chiang at Tu-yün, the Ch'iu-hsing and Ch'iu-ming at T'ien-pa, the Hê Miao at Cheng-yüan, the Hung Miao at T'ung-jen, the Yang-tung and the Lu-han at Li-p'ing are all Miao." As the nature of these Miao people was ferocious, the Manchu government was very much [131] worried and put them all in the same category as the Sheng Miao. Today, the original settlements of the Sheng Miao cannot be traced with certainty even after extensive investigations in the Miao area by the writer of this article. The Miao in the above stated areas have all been assimilated and are no longer called Sheng Miao. Actually, there is only one remnant Sheng Miao group left. When the writer went to Hsia-chiang hsien in the southeastern corner of Kweichow, he discovered a group of genuine Sheng Miao. The ch'ien-nan
● [113] chih-fang chi-lüeh [An Official Report on South Kweichow] compiled by Lo Jao-tien, Provincial Treasurer of Kweichow during the Ch'ing Dynasty, has the following to say regarding the Sheng Miao in the Hsia-chiang area.

"At Hsia-chiang there is a group of Sheng Miao, generally considered good-natured, weak and easily cheated, who are always taken advantage of by the Hung Miao at Ch'u-nan and Yung-feng. The Sheng Miao cultivate the highlands, and are more ignorant and primitive than those at T'ai-kung and Ch'ing-chiang. When they sell their fields they use carved wood [as a sort of contract].

The name Sheng Miao, of course, is given by the Chinese, but without their sensibility being hurt they call themselves "ta-meng-niu," the Miao word for "Sheng Miao." The name, however, conveys more or less an idea of contempt. Sometimes they also call themselves "ta-meng-feng-pai," meaning the "High-slope Miao." This indicates their residence on the high ground. According to the writer's findings, Kao-p'o Miao [High-slope Miao] is another name of the Hê Miao. The Sheng Miao at

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Miao AE5

port it, although, in general, this corresponds to the trend of the route of Miao migration traced by Ling and Jui. 167
This would also refute the contention that the present Miao are descendants of the early San-Miao whose territory was in the north Hu-nan area. 174

We thus come up against the problem of the connection between the so-called San-Miao and the modern Miao. Some Chinese writers have contended that the Miao of today are the descendants of the ancient San-Miao, and moreover, according to Chu Hsi-tsu, "make the absurd claim that the Miao preceded the Han-Chinese in China".[32] Hirth, however, accepted the fact of the descent of the modern Miao from the San-Miao. He wrote:

According to one of the commentaries, the Glutton, or T'au-t'ie, was identical with a personage or tribe (for it appears to be an ethnic name) called San-miau, whom the emperor banished from his dominions and who originally occupied the regions about Mt. Hong-shan and the shores of T'ung-t'ing Lake in the present Hu-nan province. From these ancient seats the emperor is said to have banished them to a place called San-wei, which Chinese commentators have identified with a locality now known as San-wei-shen in the neighborhood of Tun-huang-hien in northwestern Kan-su. The San-miau are considered the forefathers of the Tangutans, or K'iang, the southern neighbors of the Yue-chi, or Indo-Scythians, before their great migration westward in the second century B.C. and of the Miau-tzi tribes. If Klaproth's derivation, based on Chinese notices, of the origin of the Tibetan race from these K'iang tribes holds good (Cf. S. W. Bushell, The Early History of Tibet, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 439), the legend of the banishment by the Emperor Shun of the San-miau, their ancestors, may be looked upon as a symbolic allusion to the shifting of their aboriginal seats. It would appear from this tradition that Tangutans, Tibetans, and Miau-tzi originally occupied the north of Hu-nan province and were thence driven westward, owing to the rapid growth of the Chinese race. [113]

Less cautious than Hirth, Eickstedt[34] had no hesitation in saying that it is clear from the evidence that the Miao are derived from the San-Miao, who according to 174

1: Wang--i S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

Preface

114 In the spring of 1937 a joint commission for the investigation of the Li and Miao of Hainan Island was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University of Canton, and the Institute for the Study of the Societies of Southwest China at the privately operated Lingnan University. Dr. Yang Ch'eng-chih, a professor at the National Sun Yat-sen University led this commission, of which I was one of the members. It was indeed a happy circumstance in my life that just after an expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area in Kwangtung province, I had another opportunity for a firsthand investigation ~~of these~~ peoples of the Southwest. (In the winter of 1936 I had participated in the expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area of Kwangtung, which was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University.) As I am a native of Hainan and understand the local dialects, I was instructed to stay in the Li and Miao region for a longer period with Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung of Lingnan University. I was especially gratified to have this opportunity to make more detailed observations.

Not long after our return from the expedition, the Marco Polo Bridge incident occurred on July 7. The program of editing and printing the commission's report was to a great extent affected by wartime uncertainties in South China. Now over a year has passed, and it has not yet been carried out. The original purpose of our investigation
121 was, on the one hand, to open up a new field for academic studies in China with some new material; and, on the other hand, to provide our government and the public with more information concerning our frontier peoples in the hope that it would help them to understand the frontier situation and to carry out administrative operations there.
114 Since both objectives are extremely important, the Chinese intellectual community as well as the public must be anxiously waiting for the results of our studies. It is very regrettable that our report cannot yet be published. Because I had stayed there and conducted my investigation

M /ii cont'd/
114 for a comparatively longer period and had collected more material, I obtained special permission from the chief of our commission to use the materials in my private possession in writing up two books: Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island/ and this small volume entitled Hainan Tao Chih Miao-jen /The Miao of Hainan Island/.

M H 122 /iii/ We spent four months on this expedition—leaving Canton
114 on February 4, 1937, and returning to the University on June 4 of the same year. Excluding the time spent in traveling and a short delay caused by illness, we were actually in direct contact with the aborigines for more than two months. During these two months or so, we spent about three-fourths of the time in the study of the Li
H and only one fourth in the study of the Miao. The reason for this
[101] was very simple: the Li were the chief aboriginal people of Hainan, and also Hainan was the only native locale of the Li people. It can truly be said of the Li people: "This is the only establishment; there are no other branches!" It was hence wholly fitting that we made them the chief subject of our studies. The study of the Miao was only incidental. Since our working time was so short, our investigation of the Miao was limited to a group of Miao villages in the vicinity of the Ta-ch'i area of Pao-t'ing hsien /district/. This book is the result of a study of this small area within a short period. The contents of this volume, of course, are far from satisfactory. Fortunately, however, we have touched upon every phase of the Miao's life. By reading this book, the reader will have no difficulty
H in comprehending the general way of life of an individual Miao.

M 101 The Li and Miao have lived intermingled for several centuries. With this uninterrupted contact with each other, it was inescapable that they mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, the lives of both have progressed along a common road of sinicization. Therefore, it can be observed everywhere that the present ways of
M life and cultural patterns of the Li and Miao are identical in many
114 ways. To avoid repetition, I have only summarized in this book
[128] those points which I have already discussed in detail in my previous

/iii cont'd/

114 [128] book, Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao. If the reader is not bored by details, it would be better for him to refer to these two books at the same time. This is my humble hope.

If this book has made any academic or social contribution, the credit should not go to the author alone; it belongs to all the members of our commission (a list of the members of our commission is printed in the Appendix, "Journal of the Investigation"). I, myself, must express my gratification and, even more, my thanks to those others who have allowed me to write out what was the collective work of all of us. /iv/ The one to whom I am especially obliged, how- [164] ever, is Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung. In that uncivilized region infested with malaria, where other people usually fear to go, we lived close together for a long time. We "comforted each other for the same kind of sickness" (actual physical sickness) and were of assistance to each other. To assuage our loneliness, we sometimes talked far into the night with our beds set next to each other. This experience will leave an indelible impression upon me for the rest of my life.

121 I have always been of the opinion that ethnology is not only a branch of pure science but also a practical study. We ethnologists should present the results of our studies not only to the academic world but also to our people and our country. In other words, we hope to offer some contributions toward the solution of our frontier problems. The last chapter of this was written for this purpose. Everything discussed therein concerns the most practical problems which are very important for the future development of Hainan Island. I should feel greatly honored if my writing could draw the attention of our government and the public to working out a proper solution.

Wang Hsing-jui
Graduate School
National Sun Yat-sen University

July 22, 1938

/125 cont'd/

H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 178 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

1: Wang--148 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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Postface

●114 This small volume and my other book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, which contains more than 200,000 characters, were both written in the summer of 1937 in Canton after I had returned from a field trip to the Li area on Hainan Island. The two may be said to be sister works, which I had originally planned to publish simultaneously.

However, not long after I had finished the writing, the war of resistance against the Japanese broke out and spread vigorously; Canton was soon lost to the enemy. The original plan for publication was consequently given up. The two manuscripts, therefore, accompanied the author all over southwestern China. In the fall of 1939, Professor Ku Hsieh-kang, Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Ch'i-lu University, kindly accepted the manuscript of the Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island as a volume in a series of studies to be published by the Institute. It was sent to Shanghai to be published by the K'aiming Bookstore. In the winter of 1940, I received a letter from Mr. Liu Chung-hsi (alias Liu Hsien), who was in charge of the printing at Shanghai, saying that all the printing plates had been made, and the book would be printed soon. Suddenly the Pearl Harbor incident occurred. The situation at Shanghai changed overnight. After that I heard nothing more about the publication. After the war was over, I was informed that the original printing plates had survived the war. However, owing to the uncontrolled inflation in postwar Shanghai, the K'aiming Bookstore did not intend to print the book. As to when the Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island will be published, I am unable to say.

Since the publication of the book on the Li was delayed, I temporarily gave up getting the book on the Miao printed. Furthermore, the war of resistance against the Japanese was followed by a civil war, which spread over every corner of the land. A purely academic work could not offer help for the real starvation and homelessness of the people, and therefore its publication did not seem an urgent need of

/146 cont'd/

114 the time. It was only very recently when the movement for the development of Hainan was revived that, with the encouragement of two of my close friends, Mr. Ch'en Chia-wu and Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, I decided to send this book for publication again. Thus a part of the humble desire which I have long cherished has materialized.

122 For the publication of this book, I am indebted to the aid of Chu-hai University. My teacher, Mr. Chou H'ai-pin, gave me the title; Mr. Chiang Ying-liang kindly lent me his precious photographs, and Mr. Lo Pao-t'ien drew the map. Their kindness is hereby respectfully acknowledged.

The Author

June 3, 1948, at the Western Village of Canton

2:Ling & Ruey--ii E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

The present book went to press in 1940. After one year of typesetting and proofreading, the Pacific War began and Shanghai was occupied. The printing of the book was suspended. Fortunately, the hand-set type was intact when the war was over. However, as the book was written in 1939 many revisions were necessary, but the type already set could not be changed. Moreover, first-grade art paper was intended for use in the printing of the book, but due to the shortage of supplies newsprint is used instead, resulting in the defective reproduction of the plates for the illustrations, for which we beg the readers' indulgence.

2:Ling & Ruey--iii E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

114 In the last one hundred years many European missionaries and scholars have come to China and have done considerable work in ethnological and philological research. Their published writings can be used, in great measure, as source material for academic studies. However, little has been done on the Miao tribe in western Hunan. In 1902 Torii Ryūzō of Japan traveled extensively in the southwestern provinces of China, investigating the life of the Miao. Although he traveled through western Hunan he was unable to enter the Miao area to work. Therefore, the Miao area of western Hunan can still be described as a virgin area for ethnological study.

In the spring and summer of 1933 the writers visited western Hunan for an investigation of the Miao. We left Nanking on May 1, following the Yangtze westward and passing through Wuchang, Hankow, and Changsha, to arrive at Changteh and Taoyüan; and again going westward along the Yüan River to P'u-shih in Lu-ch'i hsien, and thence abandoning the boat we traveled overland to Feng-huang. In the border area of the three hsien Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui, we made on-the-spot investigations and inquiries concerning all phases of Miao life. We returned to Nanking on August 1, after a period of three full months.

Three months is naturally too short a time for a thorough investigation of Miao life. However, we were greatly aided in our mission by the authorities of western Hunan, as well as by the Miao themselves, whose enthusiastic cooperation facilitated our work in every way. Through the division of labor among the three of us, day and night, we were able to shorten the time required for our work. The distribution of our work was as follows: The geography of the Miao territory, and the life, customs, and drum dances, etc. of the Miao people were undertaken by Ling Shun-sheng; the language, folk songs, and folklore, [126] etc. by Ruey Yih-fu; and photography, films, drawing, and

/1 cont./

114 cartography, etc. were the responsibilities of Mr. Yung T'u-
[116] heng, who accompanied us. The Miao gentlemen who helped
[115] us were Messrs. Wu Wen-hsiang, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Tsung-
nsüan of Feng-huang; Mr. Shih Ch'i-kuei of Kan-ch'eng; and Messrs. Lung Lin-chang, Lung Ting-kuo, and Lung Sheng-fa of Yung-sui, who were with us day and night ready to answer our questions. After we left western Hunan Messrs. Shih Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang undertook /2/ supplementary investigative work that we designated, for a long time. Thus, although our trip was short, the work accomplished would have taken a year or at least more than half a year had it been conducted by one person alone.

128 After our return to Nanking, as we were organizing the material collected during our trip, we were called upon to investigate the Yü tribe, and so we went to southern Chekiang in the spring and summer of the following year. That autumn Ling Shun-sheng was invited to Yunnan by the Yunnan Board of Education; Ruey Yih-fu was engaged in fingerprinting and body-measurement work. In the Autumn of 1935 both of us participated in the Anglo-Chinese Border Commission for the demarcation of the southern section of the Chinese-Burmese frontier, and had to travel to the Yunnan border. Not until the summer of 1936, after our return to Nanking from Yunnan, were we able to utilize part of our time to reorganize and study our material from western Hunan. A year later half of the draft of the present report was completed, when the Lu-kou-ch'iao//Marco Polo Bridge/ incident took place, which disturbed our minds terribly. The writers first followed the Institute's move to Hunan, then to Kwangsi, and finally in 1938 to Yunnan, before we were able to resume writing. At the end of the year the first draft was completed. Last spring and summer the books of the Institute arrived in Yunan, and with the references thus made available we were able to check and revise the first draft, and then to make final copies of the manuscript. By winter the entire work was ready, but Ruey Yih-fu was asked to go to Kweichow to investigate the folk art

/3 cont./

000 Administration, Hsü Tzu-lin, the principal of the United Normal School of the three hsien of Feng, Kan, and Ma, Shih Ai-san (Hung-kui), the private secretary of the hsien government of Feng-huang, Wang Yüeh-yen, and the gentry of western Hunan, such as the gentlemen Messrs. Chen Shao-nan, Chen Tzu-kuang, Tso Wei-I, Chen Yin-sheng, T'ien Jen-wen, and Liu Tsu-p'ing. They accompanied us to many Miao villages in the Feng, Kan, and Sui hsien areas for on-the-spot investigations. In addition the following persons helped us greatly on the spot: at Feng-huang, district magistrate Chou Yao-nan and the principal of the Model Primary School, Liu Fu-lin; at Hsin-chai, Commissioner T'ang Wen-ju of the Feng, Kan, Sui Three Hsien Border Pacification Commission; and at Kan-ch'eng, district magistrate T'ien Yao-liu. Their hospitality and assistance were deeply appreciated. Among the Miao people we desire [115] to make special mention of Messrs. Shin Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang, who contributed considerable material.

114 Finally, special thanks are due to Yung T'u-heng, who accompanied us to western Hunan and worked tirelessly. After his return to Nanking he helped us in arranging part of the material. The photographs and drawings in this book are all his.

000 The report in its completed form was approved by Director Fu Meng-chen (Szu-nien) of the Institute. The two chapters, "Language" and "Folk Songs," were checked by Li Fang-kuei and Chang Tz'u-yao. To all of them we express our appreciation.

Ling Shun-sheng
Ruey Yih-fu

April 30, 1940
Institute of History and Philology
Pao-t'ai Mountain
Lung-ch'üan Chen
Kunming

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
148 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely with-
out reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. - Due to the lack of meteorological records the
climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
[114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not repre-
sent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-
chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparent-
ly on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals can-
not see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

2:Ling & Ruey--80 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts. Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

114 177 [439]

241 [114] Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/: "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

/54 cont./

241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer
refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence
there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
[243] various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The
inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years
of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary
to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land
to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its
fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it
the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the
recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao
fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then
set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the
field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and
burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields
which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is
called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of
cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buck-
wheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[22] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the har-
vesting in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
[221] fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in
August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous
and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are
found in small number only in the small basins in the moun-
tains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the
rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water
from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30)
are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

/127 cont./

121 771

Joseph Needham, translated into Chinese by Li An-che, Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao yü Shen-hua, page 1, The Commercial Press.

According to the report

114 771 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation Bureau's Chinese translation, page 259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept 771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been 177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

776 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese, 771 "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/. [177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have [192] supernatural power; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits, or gods, they are all called "kuei," [kuey] in the Miao language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

[p. 40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, princi-
162 pally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered-head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend
114 periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

563 go through one of their villages while the women were away in the fields without knowing that he had seen non-Chinese people, for their faces look no different, and the costumes of the men are the same, while the houses, though perhaps poorer, do not deviate from ordinary rural Chinese architectural standards except for the layout of the village. Unless he were a very persistent and hardy traveler, however, the chances that he would reach such a village are remote, for these people inhabit refuge areas, and their homes are tucked away in the higher valleys and on the less fertile mountain slopes. Along the larger rivers, the main highroads of China, the traveler would see only Chinese.

The one province of China which is least fertile, least productive, and least influenced by the far-reaching arm of Western culture is Kweichow. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kweichow contains a larger proportion of non-Chinese "aborigines" than the other provinces of southern China. With more aborigines and fewer Chinese, and with less immediate Chinese influence than elsewhere, Kweichow is the ideal place in which to study the non-Chinese — in this case the Miao. That is why, in 1940, Miss Portia Mickey went there.

114 121 Before she undertook to study the daily life of a Miao village, Miss Mickey had had some ten years of experience in China, during which time she acquired a knowledge of Chinese. Aside from her linguistic qualification, she is a natural field ethnographer. Quiet and unobtrusive, she masks with her mild personality keen powers of observation, discrimination, and persistence. To go alone into the most backward part of the most backward province of China in war time, to live there under local conditions of nutrition and sanitation, and at the same time to keep detailed records of everything that went on, was a feat of no little courage and endurance for a small woman no longer young, on her first anthropological expedition.

roughly comparable to our county.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

from the wise and prudent. They may also have an important bearing upon the questions of missionary methods and missionary qualifications which are exercising the minds of not a few just now. Above all, they certainly emphasise the importance of belief in and dependence upon the working of the Holy Spirit.

Until the last few years, little has been known about the non-Chinese tribes of south-west China. With the friendly and even intimate relationships now established between the missionary and some of the tribes that ignorance is passing away. Hitherto, however, comparatively little has been published about them beyond a number of isolated articles in missionary magazines and some small booklets. The official reports of Mr. Colborne Baber and Mr. Consul Bourne are perhaps the chief exceptions. The present work it is therefore hoped will meet a distinct need.

114 The author, the Rev. Samuel R. Clarke, who for thirty-three years has been a missionary in China, by reason of a residence of more than twenty years in Kweichow, and his careful study of the tribes, their customs, and some of their languages, has special qualifications for the writing of a more detailed account. It should be mentioned that the author, when he came home on furlough, had no thought of writing a book. He has therefore not had the advantages of reference to his own library and notes. This

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

volume, however, is his kind response to a request that he would publish the story of the work of grace among the non-Chinese tribes of Kweichow, and it will, we feel sure, find many grateful readers. The book, as it will be seen, is divided into two parts, with Appendices. Part I. deals with the Tribes and their Customs, etc., and Part II. with the work done among them. The Appendices, with their philological tables, will be of special value to the student. There may be some who may prefer to read the Second Part first, but those who may do so will hardly fail to want to know the facts about the people themselves recorded in Part I.

It is a remarkable fact that in the provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan, where work among the Chinese has been notoriously barren and unfruitful, this great work of grace among the non-Chinese tribes should have broken out. Communities which a few years ago were ignorant, degraded, and immoral, are now pure and Christian. Scores of villages have become wholly Christian, and hundreds of other villages are nominally Christian. One worker has estimated that, as the result of the work of the last seven or eight years, there are now some 50,000 of these people at least nominally Christian.

The strain upon those engaged in this work is not small. The area over which the work extends is many thousands of square miles, and the country is mountainous, some of the villages

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

000 Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

114 The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To^{3} nʌn^{6} or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo^{5} or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝崇, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO *TUAN KUNG* 端公 TO^{3} NʌN^{6}. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

755 First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used.
789 The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/954 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

123 I first came into contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 in 1921. During the previous year there had been a severe famine in Kweichow 貴州, and many of the tribespeople of that province, to save themselves from starvation, ate grass and the leaves and bark and roots of trees. One Hua Miao 花苗, called Chang Sa Kai or Zaccaeus Chang because of his short stature, left his home in Kopu 葛布, Kweichow Province, and came to Suifu 敍府, now called I-pin, where I was stationed. From him I learned of the Ch'uan Miao, and by his help I was able to make friendly contacts with them. I visited the Ch'uan Miao at Chou Chia Keo 周家溝, Wang Wu Chai 王武寨, and other places, and a Ch'uan Miao boy named Yang Fong Tsang went with me to Suifu, where he attended the junior and senior primary schools. For years he was an almost constant companion on my journeys, and he assisted me in my attempts to learn the language and customs of these people.

914 During the following years I visited the Ch'uan Miao in their homes as often as possible, listening to their songs, hunting with them, talking about their customs, taking anthropometrical measurements, and watching them play their wind instruments and dance, or perform their ceremonies.

In 1932 I was transferred to Chengtu 成都, the capital of the province, and was made curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology. From this time on I made more determined efforts to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. I spent several summers with them, and on one of these expeditions I was accompanied by W. R. Morse, M.D., and Gordon Agnew, D.D.S. Dr. Morse made anthropometrical measurements and observations, and Dr. Agnew studied their diet and their oral conditions. At one time when it was impossible, because of brigands, to go to their homes, several Ch'uan Miao came to Suifu and for weeks aided me in my study. At other times one or more Ch'uan Miao men came all the way to Chengtu. Believing that their music was very interesting and of high quality, I brought three of their best musicians to Chengtu where for several weeks Dr. Agnew and other musicians studied and transcribed their music, and published an interesting article on the music of the Ch'uan Miao in volume 11 of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society.

126 At first my method was to listen to a song or story as it was sung by a Ch'uan Miao man or woman, then write it down sentence by sentence as it was explained by the singer. Later I obtained the help of a Ch'uan Miao who could read and write Chinese and sent him to different parts of the Ch'uan Miao region to collect songs and stories. He would write them in Chinese in little booklets, which he would send to me at Chengtu. Later, with his help, I would translate them into English. The final stage was reached when my knowledge of the Ch'uan Miao language and the international script had improved enough to enable me to write down the Ch'uan Miao words in the international script, then transliterate them, and finally render a translation. I would always go over my final translations several times

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B. Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Blood Groups : China With Plate E. Yang : Beh : Morse

BLOOD GROUPS OF THE ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA.

By Stephen C. H. Yang, Y. T. Beh, M.D., and Professor W. R. Morse, M.D., West China University College of Medicine and Dentistry, Chengtu. With Plate E.

121 66 This paper presents data on the blood groups of an aboriginal ethnic group called the Ch'wan Miao. There is included in this report some previously unpublished data on the blood groups of the Chinese of the province of Szechwan, practically all of whom were inhabitants of the Chengtu Plain.

Introduction.—In pursuance of a plan to make physical anthropological measurements and observations[1] on the Chinese and aboriginal tribes of Szechwan Province, one of the authors (M), with some help from Chinese medical doctors and students who were trained by him for anthropological work, have examined some 1,746 Chinese and 1,304 aboriginal tribesmen.

The aboriginal ethnic groups examined were mainly Tibetans, Chiang, Gia or Chia Rong, Hsi or Shi Fan, Bo Lo Tsi, Noso (Lolo) Black Bones and White Bones, Ta Hwa Miao, Ch'wan Miao and Chung Chia. The Chinese came from quite widely separated areas of the Chengtu Plain and the aborigines from the highlands and mountains to the north, west and south of that Plain.

The statistical analysis of these measurements is now being worked out.

There were over 70 physical anthropological measurements and observations taken on individuals of nearly all of these groups. Most of those examined were adult males, although several hundred adolescent male and female Chinese were included. Sixty of the Chinese were dissecting-room subjects, and their bones, except the skull, were preserved. Photographs were taken of many individuals.

These data have been gathered over a period of some fifteen years, during which time W. R. Morse has organized and made eleven expeditions into different sections of the province wholly or partially occupied by the aborigines. Roughly speaking, this territory is included within Lat. 27° 30′ N. to 32° 30′ N.; Long. 102° E. to 104° E., or from Songpan (Szechwan) in the north; Chao Tung (Yunnan) in the south; Yachow or Yaan (Szechwan) in the east; and Tatsienlu or Kangting (Shikang) in the west. The Ch'wan Miao occupy an area near Lat. 27° 30′ N.; Long. 140° E.

The data accumulated include blood-pressure observations on the Noso (Lolo), Ta Hwa Miao and Ch'wan Miao[2]. Blood-pressure and blood-grouping, colour-blindness, etc., are to be observed on the Tibetans, Chiang, Gia Rong and Shi Fan, by an expedition, almost entirely for that purpose, during the months of July and August, 1937.

121 In correspondence with Professor R. Ruggles Gates of King's College, University of London, during 1935–36, Dr. Gates raised the question of blood grouping of the Tibetans and requested Dr. Morse to obtain those data. Owing to the acute activity of the Communists in and about

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[1] A schedule of these measurements and observations is now in press, published by W. R. Morse, as a supplement to Jour. W. China Border Research Society, VIII.

[2] 'Blood Pressure Amongst Aboriginal Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province, West China,' W. R. Morse, Y. T. Beh, *The Lancet*, Vol. 232, p. 964, 1937.

[P.65]

lk Yang, Seh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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121 114 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan Miao probably number about 100,000, and their 161 place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political 167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liso and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not 175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

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12: Wu and Ch'en--1 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

General Conditions of the Miao-I in Kweichow

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Introduction

114 121 The year before last I was commissioned by certain organizations to investigate the conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow. After having received the order, I left for the Miao-I areas of the various hsien districts to start work on the spot. Unfortunately, the references I had previously gathered were of little use. After I had reached the Miao-I district, all that I had seen and heard through personal contacts in the wild mountains and lonely hamlets I recorded faithfully on the spot in the midst of fatigue and traveling. In three years I covered the whole province, and the amount of material I collected was immense. Before it had been organized and put into shape, inquiries came from many quarters concerned with the welfare of the Miao-I people, but these could not be replied to one by one. Furthermore, conditions in the Miao-I areas are quite different from those in the interior, and people who have never been there are prone to picture the Miao-I as a mysterious people and to distort the facts about them. The present article "General Conditions of the Miao-I Societies in Kweichow" serves as an introduction to a knowledge of the Miao-I areas. It is hoped that the readers will be pleased with this survey.

2. Racial Groups

175 563 1) Origin and History. Among the 450,000,000 Chinese nationals, there are a large number of ethnic groups. According to ancient history, there were the Hua-hsia, the Tung-i, the Ching, the Wu, the Pa-yueh, the Tung-hu, the Su-shen, the Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh [Turks], the Ch'iang, the Hsi-ts'ang [Tibetans], the Miao, the Yao, and many others. After a thousand years [2] of assimilation and amalgamation, those who

[122 cont.]

539

Two halves of a millstone from east and west of the river?"
And, so brother and sister hurried back
To the boat and there rolled down the bank the millstone.
And who would imagine that the two halves were united

[123]

Not only once but as many as four times!
Then brother and sister no longer hesitated,
But husband and wife they became.
Looking back at the shore, Chih Lai saw
A pheasant stand there on yonder rock,
And picking up a piece of iron, he aimed at it.
Who would imagine that the iron hit the rock
And there from the crevice sparks came forth.
The sparks burnt the grass on the rock
As flames and smoke curled up to the skies.
Now brother and sister had fire to cook their food.
All on earth was once again in a peaceful mood,
And the universe returned to its primeval calm and ease.
The myriad things thrived; men and spirits lived in peace.
The flood was gone and the world in harmony.
Brother and sister loved each other tenderly;
From their wedlock sons and daughters sprang.
The eldest son was Chao Yung,
The second son Chao Yang;
And the third son Chao Yao.
For myriads of generations the people in the world
Were their descendants all.

[114] (This song was translated [into Chinese] by Mr. Yang Han-hsien and published in Kweichow jih-pao [Kweichow Times], "The Social Studies Supplement," No. 9, edited by the Social Science Research Institute of the Ta-hsia University.)

[129 cont.]

171 773 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many changes later.

174 From these myths we can gather some material regarding the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive people originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from the American Indians to show that the method of friction preceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of 174 372 the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire, and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with localities, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of our attention.

114 (This article was first published in the "She-hui hsün-k'an" [Social Studies, a publication appearing every ten days], Nos. 4-5, of the Kwei-yang Ke-ming Jih-pao [Kwei-yang Revolutionary Times], May 19, 1938, and has been slightly revised in its present form.)

[148 cont.]

[114] (First published in Shê-hui yen-chiu [Sociological Studies], No. 20, March 25, 1941.)

[180]

The Festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun

Ch'en Kuo-chün

805 796 The calendar used by the various Miao-I tribes at An-shun is the lunar calendar, but as a rule nobody remembers dates or knows the exact time of the New Year's day, those having almanacs at home being very few. To count the days they generally use the symbolic animals of the twelve cyclical branches, -- rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar -- because the markets are held on days named after these animals. But those who can calculate the days according to them are very few. Indeed the majority of the people do not even know the day and month in which they were born. The occurrence of an event on a particular day cannot be recalled with accuracy a month hence, and after a year it is relegated to limbo with at most perhaps a vague notion that it took place at the time of peach blossom, or in the planting season, or during harvest time.

796 Although the calendar used by the Miao-I is identical to that of the Chinese and likewise the year is divided into twelve months, the festivals observed are somewhat different in importance. The Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia, for instance, regard the sixth day of the sixth month as the greatest festival. The following is a month by month account of the festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun during the year.

The First Month. The first day of the first month is the beginning of the year. The Miao-I in this district would stick up paper money on the door of the house, which is also decorated with red peppers strung together with scented rice straw. Some of the Chung-chia people imitate the Chinese by asking calligraphers to pen symmetrical New Year verses for the door,

M [186 cont.]
7% tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
M bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day
[777] all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

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[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S The southern border region of Kweichow province has a sub-
161 tropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

[203 cont.]

No. 7

539 The seventh day of seventh moon
Is pheasant hunting season soon:
The pheasant flies across the pass,
My girl and I are alone at last.

No. 8

The gold tipped chopstick falls
Where the pretty maiden calls:
I purposely toss it around
So that my maiden can be found.

No. 9

This road to Kweichow, winding and long;
Vehicles run all night till dawn:
Reaching homestead with a pang
Of joy, for soon it is Kweiyang.

No. 10

Birds in heaven fly in pairs;
The man in clouds assumes stupid airs —
Hey, you fool!
There's none prettier than she who's there.

(b) The songs of the Ching-miao. (Free translation from
[114] the Miao language into Chinese, but faithful translation from the Chinese into English.)

Ordinary Love Songs (Serenades for Kan-piao)

No. 1

The moon rises in the gloaming,
With our lovers we go roaming;

12: Wu and Ch'en--127 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[265 cont.]

No. 6

539

The high mountain is so near yonder;
To the deep water there we wander;
On the bridge the maid eats meal,
But in the cow shed our love will seal.

Wine Song (Sung at feast)

Here's some gift to relation sent;
To receive it a fair cousin smiles:
For us a table and benches set,
And the host runs home many miles.

A crowded table is not our worry;
Your wine is what we fear:
For to eat and drink and all a-flurry,
To be intoxicated here.

(c) The Songs of the Chung-chia (Free translation from
114 the Miao language, but faithful translation from the Chinese.)

No. 1

The pouch is chiselled on two sides;
We share the road from different homes:
To talk to you - my yearning urge,
But fear some one's vengeance surge.

No. 2

Three scarves hidden by a screen;
A maid has her good husband seen:
Others move on silently,
Bending, tearful, mournfully.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Miao AES

the middle-ancient sources of the 3rd century B.C. recognized unquestionably descendants of these early (San) Miao still in the Nan Shan (Ch'i-lien Mts.) in Kan-su, a northern region of mountain steppes. Truly the entire economy, clothes, way of living, and social organization is derived from this type of landscape, - mountains, mountain-steppes, or steppe. The Miao of the plain are not really Miao any longer; for on cultural and economic grounds they must become T'ai or Chinese. 174

Without denying the validity of his statement that the early ancestors of the Miao may have been steppe or mountain-steppe dwellers, it ought to be pointed out that philologically, the grass radical over a field in the character Miao does not necessarily refer to steppe or grassland, and, in fact, may not refer to such vegetation or landscape at all. The Tz'u-Hai Encyclopedia[35] gives one definition of Miao as rice-plant shoots before the rice matures. Before maturity, rice plants are called Miao; after maturity they are called Ho. Miao also is given as an ancient place-name north of the Yellow River in Honan. While the vegetation here may be steppe where the land is not planted, it is hardly mountainous or even hilly. The K'ang-hsi Dictionary refers to a classical line of poetry during the Chou or Han period which freely translated reads "Large rats, do not eat up my tender plant shoots (Miao)". Thus, this character appears to picture cultivated fields rather than wild grass-lands. The danger inherent in this sort of evidence is perceivable.

Eickstedt said that many Miao in talking to him raised their hands in horror at the very thought of settling on the plains, and, no doubt, as he points out, if we take their general cultural situations, the Miao, Fan and Ch'iang belong on the cold mountain heights, in contrast to the Wu-man and Liao on the warm slopes, with the T'ai people in the hot, steaming valleys. But he appears to be going too far in saying that from the foregoing, i.e., his preceding description, it follows that around the 2nd Millennium B.C., the San Miao were found neither in the rice plains of the Yang-tzu as inhabitants of Ch'u nor as solely inhabiting the mountains of distant Kuei-chou but that they were partly or solely to be found in the cool steppes or steppe mountains of the north.[36] The Miao preferences may merely reflect the historical conditioning of a habitat forced upon them. 114 133

Having viewed one side of the argument, let us examine the other side. In the first place, according to Chiang Ying-

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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liang, historically the San-Miao of the Shang History who were driven from the Yellow River Plain to the northwest by the Han-Chinese have no relation to the San-Miao described by Han Fei-tzu in the Book of History.[37] The latter were a southern people living between the P'o-yang Lake and the T'ung-t'ing Lake. If this be so, then the proponents of the preceding arguments have confused a southern San-Miao with a northern San-Miao which has no relation to the southern one. However, Chiang gave this as his evaluation of conflicting evidence. The authorities that many Chinese historians have used to contend that the Miao are descendants of the Hsia Dynasty San-Miao are the Chan-kuo-ts'e (Warring States Records) (B.C. 403-221) and the Wei Ts'e (Records of the Wei Dynasty: A.D. 220-277). These state that the habitat of the San-Miao is to the left of the T'ung-t'ing (looking at it from the north), and to the right of P'eng-li (P'o-yang Lake). Because the character Miao in San-Miao is the same as that for the modern Miao, and because the modern Miao are found in the same locality, the connection appears to be plausible and has been assumed to be a fact. Nevertheless, after the period of the Ch'in and the Han, the historical records do not carry the nomenclature of Miao until the beginning of the Sung and Yuan, 700 to 1000 years later.[38]

The pre-Ch'in historical works refer to three terms using the character Miao as applied to an ethnic group (1) San-Miao (2) Yu-Miao and (3) Miao-min. Various explanations have been offered for the meaning of the characters San ("three"), Yu ("there are"), and Min ("people"), especially in writings since Han and T'ang times. Ling Shun-sheng considered that San was not meant to limit the number of Miao tribes to three, but that it was used merely in the Chinese fashion to indicate that there were more than just one or two. In the same way, for instance, the Chiu-Li (Nine Li) were not necessarily limited to nine tribes or groups. (Ling referred the reader to Wang Chung's article in the first issue of Shu Hsueh entitled Tz'u San Chiu (an interpretation of "three" and "nine"). The character Yu in Yu-Miao is a modifier added for the sake of euphony and rhythm.

Writers on the classics since the Han and T'ang have largely taken San-Miao as the name of a state, according to Ling. Thus, Ma Jung said: "In the western frontier, San-Miao is the name of a state. Its nobles are the descendants of Chin Yün." Or the writers referred to San-Miao

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Miao AE5

as the name of the gentry or clan of a state. Thus, Cheng Yung wrote: "The Miao-min are the princes of the Chiu-li. These princes were corrupted by Shao Hao and abandoned virtuous ways. Like Ch'ih Yu, they were punished heavily." Ling asserted that the Ch'ing Dynasty scholar Wang Ming-sheng was among those misinterpreting the connection between the modern Miao and the ancient Miao. Wang wrote: "The San-Miao are the descendants of the Chiu-li. The Li and the Miao were both names for the Nan-Man (Southern Man), and are similar to those of today." Japanese historians, in Ling's opinion, also have added to the misinterpretation, so that many present-day Chinese and western scholars have accepted it without question.[39] 174 114

Ling, however, argued that not only is there no connection between the San-Miao of ancient times and the Miao of modern times, but that there is a distinction between the early San-Miao princes or San-Miao State and the subjects of the San-Miao. He presented evidence to show that the subjects of the San-Miao of the north Hu-nan area were the Chiu-li. As to the princes of San-Miao, the Shih Chi says that Chin Yun's clan had the surname Chiang and that they were the progeny of Emperor Yen (B.C. 2737-2697). Evidently, according to this line of argument, the San-Miao princes perhaps with or without a portion of their Chiu-li subjects were banished to San-wei in Kan-su for refractory behavior. The rest of their subject Chiu-li tribesmen were left behind in the Hu-nan area.

On the basis of the banishment of the San-Miao to the Tun-huang area of Kan-su, the T'ang Dynasty writer Tu Yu appears to have drawn the conclusion that the Chiu-li were the forefathers of the Hsi-ch'iang or Western Ch'iang. This runs up against an obstacle in modern ethnography, since the Western Ch'iang are found to be the forefathers of the modern Lolo, whereas the Chiu-li are supposed to be directly related to the Chuang or T'ai group of Li tribes, who are entirely different culturally.[41] A logical hypothetical solution would solve the dilemma if the San-Miao princes were of a culturally different group from their Chiu-li subjects, but this would have to be proved

According to the ancient Chinese records, prior to the Chou Dynasty, the distribution of the peoples in South China were as follows: South of the Yang-tsu, the Chiu-li were the most powerful group, occupying the area between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. West of this area were the Man (presumably in the west Hu-nan and Hu-pei area). 166 174

A M 114

/2 cont./

My journey and the working-up of its results enabled me to correct a great many contradictions and obvious errors which appear in the available literature on the Meau. Moreover, I was able to fill in gaps in the ethnography of this tribe as it was known to us. As far as the Akha are concerned, the hitherto available literature contains such scanty information about them that until now this tribe could be regarded as virtually unknown, except for a partial study of the religion by Telford and the little information by Scott.

Unless a source is expressly mentioned, the present work contains my own findings throughout. As a basis for the conclusions on colonial ethnology, I used my article, "Aufgaben der Kolonialethnologie /Problems of Colonial Ethnology/," in Vol. I of the Grosse Völkerkunde. This applies also for the terminology. On every ethnographic expedition the problem of coming to an understanding with the natives creates special difficulty, and this often becomes the source of errors unless linguists trained in the language of the people to be studied take part in such an expedition. In our case this difficulty was overcome relatively well. Bun Ma, a Lao from Pre in northern Thailand, who, as a former teacher in a mission school, had mastered spoken and written English besides his mother tongue, proved to be an excellent interpreter and otherwise distinguished himself. In addition, I had hired a Chinese from Canton, named Ju Tschang, who for many years has resided in the Lao village of Nam Pun in northern Thailand. He spoke Haw, Meau, Lao, English, and some Phi Tong Luang and was at my disposal from time to time. Moreover, most of my Meau informants, especially the extremely intelligent chief, Tsin Tsai, from Nam Fa on the Thailand-Indochina border in northern Thailand, had mastered the language of the Haw as well as Lao. Thus, for my surveys among the Meau, good opportunities for reaching an understanding were provided by the Lao, Haw, /3/ and English languages. In practice this meant that I could have each sentence translated either by a Meau into Lao or by a Chinese or Lao interpreter into English.

M 124

A /4 cont./
M shamans or from men who were reputed to have magic faculties.
124 I believe that I thereby succeeded in reducing to a minimum the errors and misunderstandings that are unavoidable in ethnographic studies.

A As a result of present conditions, the number of illustra-
M tions originally planned was reduced by the publisher. Hence
128 I was unable to show through reproductions of original photographs (Ill. 1 to Ill. 108) supplementing the text all the cultural elements which would be pictorially comprehensible. I have tried to bridge this gap by inserting line drawings in the text (Fig. 1 to Fig. 431), most of which are based on original drawings by
A my wife. The chapters "Settlement and House Construction, "
M "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils, " and
[114] "Clothing and Ornaments" were written independently by my
T wife.

A Since this book is not a linguistic study and the language
M samples are merely necessary supplements to the ethnographic
104 data, the spelling of native words has been simplified to correspond phonetically with German pronunciation. Where additional sounds were needed, English and French pronunciations were used. This gives the following pronunciations:

ñ	like ng in the /German/ word "Menge"
h	like ch in the /German/ word "nicht"
x	like ch in the /German/ word "Nacht"
s	like sch in the /German/ word "Schule"
v	like the English "v"
w	as in the English word "water"
th	as in the English word "thousand"
y	as in the English word "yes"
ã	nasal, like the French "an"
ẽ	nasal, like the French "vin"
õ	nasal, like the French "on"
ũ	nasal, like the French "un"
.	under a closed vowel, for example:
ẹ	as in /the German word/ "See"
-	under an open vowel, for example:
e	as in the French "mère."

/18 cont./

175
648

Finally Abadie (1) comes to the description of the history

1. Page 163.

of the Meau in the twentieth century. Here he mentions an uprising of the Meau of Dongvan in 1911 under a Chief Sioung. This movement was quickly suppressed. Then an uprising by the Meau in upper Laos during the World War 1914 to 1918 made it necessary to send an expeditionary force there. I was told that this revolt was fomented by agents of one of the powers in the war. Concerning this uprising, Savina (2) reports briefly

2. II, p. 235.

that in July, 1918, the Meau in the province of Laokay had revolted, and in the Luang Prabang district the uprising had lasted until March, 1921. Lajonquière (3) gives a similar account:

3. II, pp. 297 ff.

"The last minor revolt took place in 1928 in French Laos. Of greater importance were the uprisings that broke out in July, 1918, in the province of Laokay, which caused the French administration considerable difficulty and could not be suppressed until March, 1921, in the region of Luang Prabang."

Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ then discusses the causes of the uprisings of the Meau and comes to the conclusion that the Meau had always revolted "because they are a people without property. They have no homeland and no king." It seems to me, all things considered, that this is a somewhat rash statement. I shall come back to the probable actual causes, and not only for the revolt of 1918, which I have already briefly mentioned, at length and upon a sound basis in the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," in the section on "Causes of the Migrations."

[114]

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special intermediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, [448] who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

[435] For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy about seventy, are paid. The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but

1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

they are not refuted by any other author.

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
596 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organiza-
M tions are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the
571 Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the
114 existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans.
614 Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also
592 the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves.
[736] In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
[842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/36 cont./

M always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused
592 whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an
937 individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled according to the social organization. Such survivors of an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they can to be useful to the community.

A Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free
466 and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however, do not live in the house of the employer and are completely "free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha
A solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of
937 old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their position as "free" Akha.

A Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense
M of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-
567 slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," M section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese
[648] traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-
M right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would
571 be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right,
●114 totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

/37 cont./

A M 571 114

Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

M [171]

2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/

Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

M 631

From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

M [648]

regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

Miao AE5
Akha AO4

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly observed that they tortured the animals without interference on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

A M [262] A [857]

On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

½ [see cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/82/

7. Mental Development

A M 114 125 145 Unfortunately I was unable to test adequately either the children of the Akha or those of the Meau. A number of difficulties blocked this, especially the shortage of porters, which did not permit moving our test material. Moreover my test forms were designed for the mental world of primitives and could not be applied without further ado to a mountain people of Farther India with the mental capacity of the Akha, much less that of the Meau. It would have been necessary to revise my test forms, but we did not have the time to do this, especially since our funds were limited.

A M 157 856 According to our observations, however, the children of the Meau are more highly developed and surpass those of all the mountain tribes of Further India, including the Akha. Particularly striking among the Meau is a marked individualism, or rather a strong differentiation in comparison with the other tribes mentioned, which is already apparent even in small children. At the age of four or five distinct differences of character and talent are already evident. The Meau children begin to talk when they are one year old, those of the Akha somewhat later; at this age they are already able to say "father" and "mother" and a few other words. There are, however, some gifted children who speak even earlier and some without talent who are hardly this far at the age of two. One can say, however that at an average age of three and a half years the language of the children is almost equal to that of the adults.

A M 153 861 157 At the age of two the children are not yet able to eat by themselves; they learn this during their third year. The Meau children begin asking questions at the age of five, those of the Akha at the age of six. The children of the Meau do not bother to think up explanations of their own for things that are unknown to them, but rather in each and every case ask their parents or other adults of their community, and in this respect they are decidedly vivacious and active. The children of the Akha are less persistent in this questioning than those of

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/84 cont./

A M 125 532 145

Pictorial representations are also foreign to both peoples. Though the children had never before seen pictorial representations, at the age of three or four they recognized drawings and photographs that I showed them, provided, of course, the representation was within their range of conception. Archers with crossbows or pictures of work in the fields or of the slaughtering of pigs immediately aroused their attention, and they tried to imitate the scene portrayed or the position, for instance, of the crossbow-archer. /85/ When I showed them pictures of European settlements and houses, however, I was immediately assailed with questions: "What is this? Why do you live in such houses? What do you eat? Are there as many children among you? Are they as white as you?" If I showed a child a photograph in which he himself was represented amidst his comrades, he recognized his companions immediately, but only in exceptional cases himself. On the other hand pubescent girls or boys sometimes did find themselves in the pictures. At any rate, the old idea that such children do not recognize pictures or drawings was refuted time and again.

In order to test their drawing ability, I had children of both sexes and of all age levels make drawings. I gave the one to be tested paper and pencil and left him alone for an hour (Ill. 67). The choice of subject was completely free. I prevented any influence from a third party and gained an insight into the mind of the child being tested. I have discussed the results of these experiments in detail in a special study (1) dealing

A M [114]

1. Bernatzik, VII.

with the drawings collected by me among various primitive peoples. In this present work it can merely be said that the boys of the Meau, as well as of the Akha, began to outgrow the scribbling stage at the age of ten, while at the age of fifteen or sixteen almost all the subjects tested were able to draw true to life. In each case I immediately afterwards wrote down the explanations given by the person tested. Sometimes I confronted a child days later with the drawing and asked him

[see cat 116, p511 - ANALYST]

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/88 cont./

M 832 883 123 seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together. Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because, they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love, and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels himself very much the center of attention and declares that if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

M [515] M [533]

A M 836 [548] [431] That purely materialistic considerations play only a minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M ●114 548 836 In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported, without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[772] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
[688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p.154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
[626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's
[684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter
[851] is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

● 114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

/93 cont./

M 914 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said,

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

[163] In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [513] [833] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

/101 cont./

184 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ
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2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps out-
[574] side the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food
[201] and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."
[114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great
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2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the patents of his future wife.
[583] This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

Miao AE5

/102 cont./

184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

● 114 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,
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1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The
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[584]

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

Miao AES

/103 cont./

184 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when ap-
585 propriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the relatives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's
[583] parents demand 'ngõn sin sot,' the money which is required for the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals ....
[426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 This extending of credit for the purchase price is con-
426 firmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II, p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by
[114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which
184 we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to
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4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile.

/104/

114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
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3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other. These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young
[533] men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

Akha A04
Miao A05

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [736] to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648 Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563 Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. M [114] Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/110 cont./

A 835 614 178 [574] of the family participate. For this gathering pigs are slaughtered, and rice and alcohol are served. Then the two eldest divide the younger members of the family into two groups, each of which is placed under one of the two heads. Then the two elders decide to form different families from then on. From this moment on the members of the two newly-formed groups may intermarry, no matter what their actual blood relationship may be. /111/

A 582 Otherwise the great importance attached to the obstacles to marriage may be seen from the social customs, which in part are observed in such a way that the young people cannot be tempted to violate the existing obstacles to marriage (see the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

A M 582 [614] [621] Theoretically local exogamy does not prevail among either the Akha or the Meau. In the small Meau villages in northern Thailand, however, which are usually inhabited by only a single sib, it is observed in practice, since bearers of other family names are rarely found in one village. Except for the marriage restrictions described, however, there is a free choice of mates; among ~~either~~ the Akha nor the Meau can an individual be forced to select his partner from a certain sib or a certain village. Savina (1) speaks in general of exogamy.

A M [114]

1. II, p. 284.

It seems to me, however, that he does not interpret the concept quite correctly, for from his description of the conditions it becomes unmistakably clear that true tribal endogamy is involved.

g) Dissolution of Marriage

M 587 Upon the death of one of the spouses, the surviving party may marry again among both the Meau and Akha.

A [589] If the wife dies, the husband as a rule simply takes a new wife as though he had never been married (see the section on

/113 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
[583] price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same

[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),

[184]

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

/114 cont./

M 595 114

I did not find confirmation for Seidenfaden's assertion (1)

1. II.

that childless wives seek concubines for their husbands. It would be illogical anyway, because the husband can either acquire children from elsewhere through adoption or put an end to his childlessness through a new marriage, wholly as he wishes.

M [597]

A 586 [264] [252]

Among the Akha the husband may send his wife away at any time, and theoretically he alone is entitled to obtain a divorce. If he has such an intention, he has his wife prepare, not the customary disjointed chicken, but a whole one. Then both eat of it, and the husband bids his wife to be on her way. In practice, however, the Akha wife is also in a position to obtain a divorce. In such a case she simply runs away and asks her brother or some other male relative to go to see her husband and redeem her. To this end the husband is paid ten pieces of silver.

The wife's laziness and the husband's inability to support his wife are grounds for divorce. Property, house furnishings, and the like, as well as the legitimate children, remain with the husband; Telford (2) also reports this concerning the

2. Page 149.

A [422] [851]

children. Personal ornaments and clothing, however, belong to the wife, who, after the divorce, returns to the house of her parents, unless she was seduced and marries the adulterer. If there are children from such an adulterous relationship, they always belong to the lover who has taken the woman.

A 586 837

In case of adultery, the lover must pay a large pig and /115/ 36 pieces of silver to the deceived husband, but the adulteress goes to the seducer. A wife deceived by her husband, however, returns to the house of her parents and takes with her all the house furnishings and the kitchen equipment. Moreover, the adulterer has to pay ten pieces of silver and defray

Miao AE5

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II, p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II, p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1).

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; more-
[789] over, a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In
[767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member
775 of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2).
[114]
[562]

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.
765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

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Miao AE5

/120/

M 764 [114] [789]

Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

1. II, p. 229.

M [787] [775] [825]

A 764 628 [203] [765]

The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in the mourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764

Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into M [778] [782] [413] which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of M Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting [532] [114] nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood sculpture.

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though not universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to A [891] nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

1 [See cat 116, p 120 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

/141 cont./

539 whom the mothers sing in the evening awaken in the morning with the first light. Why then do mine, who have already slept so long, never awaken anymore?

"Every spring when the peach trees bloom by the houses, the little swallows return and again fill their old nests on the smoky roofs with eggs. Why do my children never return anymore to look at their poor little beds?

"Every year when the maize is in bloom in the fields, the cuckoos return to see once more the lonely trees on the mountains and the rocks on the banks /142/ of the turbulent river. Why then do my poor children never return to see their old mother?

When the fruits fall from the tree, they sprout and come up beside it. Why do my children, who sank down at my side, never rise again?

"The grains of rice send out shoots in the water of the rice fields, as do the kernels of maize in the fields surrounded by rocks. Then why do the children of poor mothers never grow up again out of their cold graves?"

● 114 533 The texts of these songs show that Abadie's statement (1),

1. Page 169.

"The songs in the language of the Meau are always humorous and even erotic," corresponds as little to the facts as the report by Lajonquière (2): "Their songs are always erotic and almost

2. II, p. 312.

never depart from the following theme: the singer addresses a woman who is passing by, asks her what the news is, invites her to sit down beside him, becomes obtrusive. When she continues on her way, he scolds or mocks her."

539 832 To be sure, there are songs which have such a content: "I have come to you in your house, and now you do not want to grant me your favors. Now I shall go to another house and there buy water for my money. The water there is colder than your's. When I drink it, I am happy, for then another girl loves me."

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] A M [177] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When M ●114 533 538 Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

[1] [See cat 116, p124 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
171 Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instru-
171 ment, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
533 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
534 form (Ill. 75)[4] among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral in-
[778] strument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as
[562] women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

4 [see cat. 116, p 574 – ANALYST]

/145 cont./

534 For the manufacturing process, the length of the pipes, which, along with the diameter, determines the pitch, is always chosen so that their tone is somewhat lower than the one actually aimed for; finally the instrument is tuned by appropriately shortening the tubes. Each pipe is provided with a /Figs. 24-27 appear here/ blow hole that leads into the body of the mouth organ, and with a keyhole that is stopped with a finger. The tone is produced by stopping the keyhole and blowing into the pipe. In addition the vibration parts for the mouth organ are so constructed that the same tone is produced by blowing air in or by sucking it out. Not until the end of the process is the silver mouthpiece put on. The construction of this instrument makes it possible to breathe while playing. Thus, during the sacral dances one can play uninterruptedly. This is very [535] important since the players always dance and play at the same time. The actual use of the instrument is best shown by the drawings and photographs. While the intervals between the individual pipe tones are fixed, the absolute pitch of the basic flute is left to the taste of the manufacturer; it also depends on the size of the instrument. Thus the mouth organs differ considerably from one another in basic pitch, but agree melodically. The use of the pitch pipe is not customary.

[533] /146/ Another instrument of the Meau, which is especially popular among lovers and is played by both sexes, is the jew's-harp (Fig. 27). It consists of a sheet of brass or bronze with a vibrating tongue in the middle. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the right thumb; the oral cavity acts as the sounding board (Ill. 77). 1

Furthermore, there are two kinds of flute. The simple rod flute (Ill. 76) 1 consists of a wooden or bamboo body and has six finger holes on the upper side and one on the under side tuned in major. /Figs. 28-29 appear here./ The hole on the under side is sometimes stopped. The simple construction of the flute is shown in the drawings (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). Both sexes play this flute as well as the one described below. [114] Lajonquière (1), too, mentions flutes and mouth organs. He [562] [533]

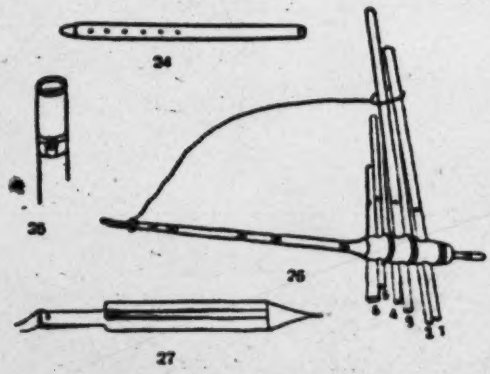
1. II, p. 311.

1 [see cat 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His
[114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs
[562] with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau
[533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages
[463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area.
533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the
[243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

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c) Dancing

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In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

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The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

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they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

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M I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a
114 definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the
535 festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of
796 the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New
[769] Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate
535 than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example, but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the
A Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the
[832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the
A Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with
[832] love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the
M vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only
535 the young people take part in these dances, no married women
883 of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both

[1] [see cat 116, p 131- ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", p 132- "]

/155 cont./

A 527 273 "Outside, on the open areas between the houses, the young people begin to assemble. They come hurrying from all directions, light-hearted from the good food and slightly intoxicated from considerable quantities of the rice liquor.

A 535 527 "As we step into the open, the sun is already sinking, but after the gloom of the house we must close our eyes in the piercing light. Here and there mouth organs are heard; the young men practice a little, gather in a circle, and begin to play and to dance even here between the houses. It is amazing how they can maintain the melody during the difficult dance steps, the bending of the body, and the leaps. The girls stand around admiring them and are an appreciative audience for the dancing skill of their friends. Little boys join the young men and try to imitate the steps of the adults. Toward sundown it becomes quieter in the village. Gradually the gay young dancers disappear and move to the nearby dancing places, where the girls' dances now begin and with them the moonlight frolics of the Akha young people."

/156/

Chapter 9
Religion and Magic

M 771 776 [114] The religion of the Meau is described by various authors as either a vague belief in spirits with a god of heaven as the chief spirit or, if it is more in harmony with an author's attitude and world view, as a monotheistic religion. Dhuraratsadorn (1), for

1. Page 172.

instance, speaks of "spirits of the clouds and ancestors." Lajonquière (2) reports: "The Meau vaguely worship a god of

2. II, p. 312.

the heavens, 'To,' and a god of the earth, 'Ang,' the spirits of the mountains, 'Sien-Chen,' the spirit of thunder, 'Lu-Chen,' the ancestors, 'Dang,' and the goddess, 'Kouan-Yin,' who blesses human beings and animals, but whose story they do not

/156 cont./

know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
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3. Page 168.

same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of

4. II, p. 253.

heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

177 Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
771 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
776 Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course
[782] of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated.
Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[795] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan,
the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the
dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

/157 cont./

771 114 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially important to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau. The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incantations and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning religion, before persons who do not belong to the community. Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

123 [753] [774] Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, became sick. His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wandering and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sickness for the Meau. [164] I told the chief that many little evil spirits had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood. Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the ceremony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction. Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/159 cont./

774 sib comes into the world. It makes no difference whether the
775 person to whom the soul belonged was good or evil in his
614 previous lifetime.

In contrast to this, Lajonquière (1) reports: "Human be-

1. II, p. 313.

ings have three souls, 'pli,' which arise again after twelve months when they enter the body of a pregnant woman. The souls of evil men are reborn in a frail child which is doomed to a miserable life and speedy death. Those of young unmarried girls haunt the paternal home, as do the souls of small children, which are reborn in the same family. All these conceptions, which are generally vague and sometimes contradictory, appear to us more like fortuitously discovered
[114] stories than native doctrine." Although Abadie (2) has borrowed

2. Page 169.

these statements, too, almost literally, they have not gained in probability, at least for the Thailand area. There is much more of an impression that both authors -- for whatever reasons -- did not probe deeply into the complex religious conceptions of the Meau. I was able to determine the following:

753 According to the view of the Meau, a person becomes
774 sick when the soul does not return, but then, too, the soul leaves the body when a person becomes sick. One notices this by the fact that the person loses the zest for living and seems
775 to be absent-minded. When a person dies, /160/ the soul is always absent. It then returns to the dead body and takes up residence in it until it is buried. Then it leaves the dead body, but remains for three days in the vicinity of the grave. During this period it is given food which is placed on the grave by the survivors. Then it returns to the house and takes up permanent residence there until it is reborn. If the direct family dies out, the soul takes up residence in the house of the nearest blood relatives. When I asked what would happen if the

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was [828] no explanation for fainting.

769 When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they 114 have been informed of the change of location through a special [775] ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in

II, p. 319.

case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is 774 commonly assumed, as was said, that evil spirits prevent it from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes [761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead 761 body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

/168 cont./

231 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect
776 a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters
from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here
[731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a
[789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading
the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is
[243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom
[775] of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is sup-
posed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of
spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the
ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all
the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have
human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the
earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers,
"high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female
at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the
[114] Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pĕ dŏ. Savina (1)
[775]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this
chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I
was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is
turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in-
[931] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore espe-
cially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals
[825] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high
[224] Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him
with their request for rich booty.

[993] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who
created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the
chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who
[821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear concep-
[626] tion as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They pre-
sume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

/186 cont./

756 the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks
[764] concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves
[787] supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my
[114] own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is
789 the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both
224 among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or
223 the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the
756 weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil
[769] spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

Miao AE5

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484 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having
782 its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moder-
574 ate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so
782 that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means
● 114 for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-
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1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau
[796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time
[776] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the
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796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/215 cont./

A 782 [778] [241] to him there (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter). On certain occasions each year sacrifices are regularly offered to a number of spirits, as has already been reported in the section referred to.

A 782 796 [769] Among the Akha, too, the New Year's festival has great importance with regard to sacrifices, since at this festival, which, as among the Meau, lasts four days, sacrifices are likewise made to the ancestors and all of the spirits in accordance with their significance. Telford (1) has found similar conditions

A [778] 1. Page 109.

among the Akha in Kengtung: "The New Year's festival lasts four days. The people eat rice cakes and chickens and drink tea and liquor. Part of this is offered to the spirits, for the core of this A [769] festival is the feeding of the ancestral souls."

Aside from the fixed times, among the Akha -- as among the Meau -- sacrifices are offered whenever special occasions require it, such as sickness, misfortune, death, and birth, but also in A [688] case of a violation of a taboo and similar occurrences. Sacrifices are primarily offered by the shamans, but also by the village elders, the family fathers, and, substituting for them, their wives.

Fig. 56
Little sacrificial house of the Akha. 1/40 nat. size.

A M 782 [231] /216/ Both tribes use food, meat or whole animals, field products, and alcohol, as sacrifices. The pig is the most important sacrificial animal, followed by chickens and dogs. Pieces of the meat of all the other animals eaten are to be sure, similarly sacrificed, as are those of every other food, which is shared with the ancestors and spirits, but these animals are not A M associated with the cult. Savina (1) reports that the Meau in

[764] [114]

1. II, p. 200.

/216 cont./

A M 782 764 114 Indochina slaughter six buffalo when a chief dies and two upon the death of a common man. Scott (2) reports that upon the death of

2. Page 275.

an Akha five buffalo are killed. Unfortunately, however, in all the cases it is not apparent whether these are sacrifices or merely roasted meat for the survivors and guests, or both.

M 114 266 782 Like the Meau, the Akha, too, do not know human sacrifice or the offering of human flesh. The statement in the old Chinese literature (3) that the Meau eat their slain enemies raw,

3. Album Gotha, No. 38.

A [782] as well as the general remark (4) that cannibalism occurs, prob-

4. Eberhard, II, p. 266.

ably has nothing to do with sacrifice or religion. In my opinion the Chinese authors simply wanted to impute to their mortal enemies a crime which is particularly wicked in the eyes of the Chinese.

A 825 178 [782] Among the Akha there is a noteworthy custom of taking the skull and lower jaw of certain animals taken while hunting, such as bear, muntjac, and wild pig, and fastening them for the house spirit in front of his little niche between the two rooms of the dwelling (see section, "Deities and Spirits," of the present chapter). In some places among the Akha one finds rows of monkeys' skulls nailed to the roofs. Today the Akha explain this custom as an attempt to beautify the dwelling of the house spirit and sometimes the house itself. The question was sometimes answered: "We do this because our ancestors did it." In other words, tradition was given as the reason for the custom. A [727] [174] Might this perhaps be a relic of a lost head-hunting cult? The taboo on killing the hornbill, which will be mentioned later, likewise points in this direction.

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A 784 All these prohibitions are in force for all the Akha who are in a situation connected with a taboo, for instance, pregnancy or sickness. There is no taboo that embraces social or political groups.

Every taboo is strictly observed. Transgression do occur, of course, but only through carelessness. The transgressor always A [688] hastens to the shaman and immediately tells him what has hap- [787] pened, whereupon the shaman questions the offended spirit as to [756] the form of expiation required of the transgressor.

The prohibition that strangers may not walk about alone A in the village borders on taboo. I was told that such an act of- 123 fends the spirits, whose wrath is then felt, not by the stranger, 609 but by the inhabitants of the village. I had the impression, how- 784 ever, that this was more a pretext to prevent our investigations in the villages, since it was apparently disagreeable to the Akha A to be watched by us. I therefore, for example, had to take my [126] photographs with telescopic Tessar lenses from a great distance.

A If one tries to obtain an explanation for the taboos, the 178 answer is always: "Because the spirits wish it and our /220/ an- 784 cestors did so." The prohibitions were therefore handed down [756] from ancient times and cannot be modified or moderated by the shamans, just as they likewise do not have the power to create A new taboos.

As numerous as the taboo rules are, the Akha, too, do not 779 have any totemistic conceptions in any form.

/221/ Chapter 10

Myths and Fairy Tales

M Undoubtedly myths and fairy tales must be present in 114 considerable numbers among all the mountain peoples of Farther 538 India. Nevertheless, relatively few became known to me from 773 the Meau in Thailand, and even in the literature I was able to find little about the fund of Meau myths.

/223 cont./

539 happened with two coins. Thus the will of heaven had become apparent, and brother and sister cohabited. Their child, however, had neither a head nor hands and feet; it was round like an egg. Perhaps the child is sitting in the egg, they thought, but that was not the case. The pieces which were cut from the egg, however, turned into children. For this reason the egg was divided into as many pieces as possible. The result was an endless number of children, and the earth became repopulated."

114 539 797 Savina reports a number of myths which show an astonishing similarity with Old Testament accounts. He stresses the precise and unaltered transmission of tradition by the Meau. Among the Meau in Thailand I likewise found several myths which, on the whole, seem similar in content to the narratives given by Savina, but they show considerable deviations at decisive points. There are two explanations for these differences. Either the author, under the influence of his own world-view, has involuntarily influenced the statements of the Meau, or the ancestors of the Meau studied by him were at one time under the influence of Christian missionaries. This would not be impossible since it is known that Christian missionaries have been active for centuries in the old territories occupied by the Meau in South China, though the Meau there deserted these territories as a result of the various struggles previously discussed in the chapter, "History." Thus, it is conceivable that the Christian elements adopted, which /224/ show a remote resemblance to the peculiar conceptions of the Meau, were woven in, and Savina then regarded this mixture as characteristic manifestations of the Meau. Under these circumstances the ethnological conclusions that Savina ties in with this fund of myths which he discovered are to be accepted with caution.

539 Savina (1) relates in detail the Meau legend concerning

1. II, p. 243.

the creation of the earth:

"The Lord of Heaven, Ndo Chu or Chu Lau, created heaven and earth in seven days, first heaven, and then earth. The earth

/227 cont./

539 756 to revive their dry bones. Mad with grief, they threw their medicine into a cave and decided to die. Their countrymen tried in vain to prevent them from doing so. They did not succeed, but Ngionggi and Xigi consoled them by saying: 'After our death shall appear to some of you in your dreams in the shape of a virgin and teach you how to cure the sick. Consult these men when you are ill, and you will recover!' Since that time the Meau consult their shamans whenever they are sick."

539 114 I could not find any legends that tell of the historical development of the Meau, nor have other authors, so far as I know, published such legendary material. Only Von Eickstedt (2)

2. II, p. 52.

recorded a legend of the Meau, and a similar version is also reported by Leuschner (3). Von Eickstedt asserts that it is a Man

171 539

3. Page 44.

legend, which, however, is also claimed by the Meau:

/228/ "The Chinese emperor Ti Ku (about 500 B. C.) is said to have promised the hand of his third daughter and the advantages accruing from this to the one who would rid him of his most dangerous enemy, who would kill the latter and bring his head. A yellow dog by the name of Pan Hu heard this, accomplished the deed, and married the princess, who bore him six sons and six daughters. From these stem the various Man tribes. A division of the realm took place, according to which the Chinese were given the valleys and the Man the mountains."

Von Eickstedt correctly concludes that when the Chinese, during an attack by presumably northern warlike nomads, turned to the neighboring mountain peoples for help and the latter actually defeated the enemy, the chief of the mountain peoples was given a daughter of the imperial house along with the political advantages connected with it.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/231 cont./

A M 164 According to the symptoms that became known to me, other epidemics can seemingly be traced back to diarrhea, typhoid fever, and dysentery.

114 Unfortunately, nothing has as yet been published on the susceptibility or resistance of the mountain peoples to the various diseases. To be sure, the Census of Burma (1), for example, gave

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 112.

some statistics on the various diseases, but most of the mountain peoples were undoubtedly able to avoid inclusion in the statistics /232/ -- at least a substantial part of them is in practice not included at all (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"). Furthermore, the Census of Burma confounds the natives of various races and cultures. I need only point out the example of the relatively strong resistance of the Schan /Shan/ peoples to malaria, or the catastrophic susceptibility of the mountain peoples, especially the Meau and Akha, to this disease, in order to show how useless the statistics of the Census are for this purpose.

A M 164 753 A 443 753 Both peoples are well aware of the fact that they contract malaria in the lowlands, even though the belief in spirits is drawn upon for an explanation, as is shown by the example of the Meau village that was moved because of malaria. Even the Akha who travel to Kengtung on market days in order to sell their wares never spend the night in the city, but on the heights of the surrounding mountains. Even if they have sold only part of their wares and a longer stay in the city would facilitate their business, they prefer to return to the city on the following day and to take the wearisome trip back and forth in the bargain. They explain this custom by saying that in Kengtung there are evil spirits who would send them fatal sicknesses during the night.

A M 164 Among the endemic illnesses occurring in the two mountain peoples there are plague, bubonic plague, typhoid fever, amoebic dysentery, bacillary dysentery, and various forms of worms, especially hookworm and trichinosis. One often sees

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [754] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

/237 cont./

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.
832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
757 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
278 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
114 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine! It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.
752 They are most skillful, however, in the treatment of bone fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of
[845] abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.
278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manufacture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of certain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

/250 cont./

683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 622 634 [689] Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

674 114 Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, [454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only [634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 439 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the
[114] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the
[184] authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 1[illegible].

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how-
[262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer,
[312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the
[241] rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the
[278] fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of
278 men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the 241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [248] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II, p. 185.

● 114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.
1 [See cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

/376 cont./

252 The blood of slaughtered animals, either fresh or cooked,
252 is happily eaten. Cooked, it is also added to other dishes.

A meatless dish consists of ground millet which is mixed with green vegetables and maize meal to form dumplings and cooked in water.

252 The eggs of all birds are eaten raw or cooked.

/377/ Without anything further, it is obvious from these descriptions that the preparation of the meals can indeed not be designated as primitive. It can be assumed that in the regions of Indochina, which are in every respect more favorable, the Meau will not practice simpler cooking, since more things in larger quantities are available to them. Nevertheless, Lajonquière (1) writes: "The preparation of food is primitive.

1. II, p. 303.

Rice, maize, and the other cereals are eaten cooked in salted water or made into mush. Vegetables are usually cooked in water, and meat is roasted in kettles. We shall always remember our first visit to the kitchen of the Lytruong of Pakha. There, whole quarters of buffalo were roasting and cooking in tremendous kettles, without any other ingredients than a few handfuls of salt, a little water, and their own fat. It was immense in quantity, but ignoble in preparation."

[114] [171] Aside from the fact that the author probably did not observe the preparation of food in detail, he is undoubtedly comparing Meau cooking with Chinese cooking, or with Annamese cooking, which is extensively influenced by the Chinese. In comparison with the excellent and highly sophisticated culinary art of these peoples, Meau cooking seems primitive indeed.

264 From Savina's description (2) we get an impression of

2. II, p. 192.

the everyday, very modest way of life of the Meau: "The Meau have two meals a day, one in the morning before going to the fields and one in the evening upon return. Often,

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that M [562] the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and [114] children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

M [763] [757] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

/401 cont./

283 string is produced from the thinner one. Heavy cord is obtained by twisting in rattan fibers by means of a wooden fork.
[237] The Meau twist strong ropes out of strips of skin, those of bearskin being regarded as the strongest.

/402/ In addition to the twisting process, braid-like ropes,
[492] bands and wide belts for the saddles of the pack animals are also plaited. For this purpose the Meau use three to twelve threads each time. This plaiting is done solely with the hands
[412] and without any tool; only in the making of straps are iron awls used for preliminary piercing.

286 The ancient Chinese literature (1) already mentions re-

1. North China Br., 1859, p. 264; Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 38.

peatedly that the Meau are good spinners, weavers, and dyers. For the manufacture of the cloth for clothing, the Meau primarily use hemp, rarely cotton. They sow hemp (mǎń) in their
248 rice and poppy fields. Lajonquière (2) likewise mentions hemp

2. II, p. 311.

in Indochina and writes that the Meau there cultivate it at the same time as maize and harvest it six to seven months after the sowing. The fibers of banana leaves, on the other hand, were never used, according to my observations and findings. And
[114] since I could find nothing about this anywhere else, a mistake by Seidenfaden, who reported on it, must be assumed. Cotton is cultivated in special fields and is used in a fashion similar to that among the Akha (see pp. 441 f.).

The hemp seed is set out with the planting stick among the Meau in northern Thailand; the period of cultivation falls between the end of April and the beginning of May; the harvest is about three months later. The stalks are cut with the sickle, the leaves are removed, and then the stalks are placed in water
[283] so that they will rot. Afterward they are dried, and the woody

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
[171] the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put on the still undyed material by the women with a special
[413] instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and
[184] Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
439 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)
114

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which
[323] was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [326] knowledge of pottery!

[323] The author continues his observations with a description [184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

39: Bernatzik--581 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/431/

Chapter 25

Time-reckoning and the Division of the Day

805

The Meau reckon by days. This is already shown by the designation for day, dŏ nŭ, literally, day-sun. The month, ĭs dĭ, of the Meau has thirty days; the year, tsŭn, is reckoned by moons. Twelve moons are one year. It begins with the new moon in December and is ushered in with tremendous festivals (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). If circumstances occur which prevent a proper appreciation of the beginning of the new year, the festivities are postponed to a more suitable time.

[796]

805 114 171 [796]

This custom seems to have given the impression among outside observers that the Meau have no calendar and celebrate the beginning of the new year at very different times (Savina (1)).

1. II, p. VII and p. 222.

Some people have even arrived at the view that the time reckoning of the Meau is of Chinese origin, as Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 314.

maintains, or even Dhuraratsadorn (3), who states concerning

3. Page 172.

this that the New Year's festival of the Meau coincides with that of the Chinese. On the contrary, the divided year of the Meau is fundamentally different from that of their neighbors, the Chinese, Yau /Yao/, Lahu (Mushŏ /Musso/), and Lisu, whose new year begins in January, or that of the Lao, which begins on April 14, and that of the Thailanders, which begins on March 31.

/431 cont./

805 114 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a [527] division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (III. 97). 1/1 For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at [825] night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up [221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use [824] any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that [825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1/1 [see Cat 116, p 663- ANALYST]

/438 cont./

A 462 [342] [313] [252] The division of men's and women's work is quite similar among the Akha, who are not inferior to the Meau in industriousness. Among them, however, housebuilding is exclusively a task for the men, whereas the preparation of firewood, for which large trunks must often be chopped up, is one of the tasks reserved for the women. Cooking and the hulling of rice in the mortar are, to be sure, tasks of the Akha women, but the men very commonly help them.

A 461 857 No differently than among the Meau, there are scarcely any tasks for the Akha children that are to be performed exclusively by them; the situation in this respect is the same as among the Meau.

/439/ Chapter 27

Anthropology

M 165 When one considers the poor hygienic conditions in association with the hardest physical labor (see the chapter, "Medicine"), it is truly astonishing that one comes across relatively many old people among the Meau. Also, I cannot agree with Marabail (1) who in his work advocates the view that the

M 145 [114] 1. Page 463.

Meau grow old prematurely. On the contrary, I often marveled that the women, in spite of their work load, which was too hard for them physically, and even though no notice was taken with regard to the menstruation periods, actually do not lose their bloom any earlier than among our own people and in any case much less rapidly than among the southern Europeans.

M [841]

A M 141 The Akha as well as the Meau are definitely small in stature. From the 20 women and men measured, the average heights amounted to:

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/439 cont./

A
M
141

	Meau:		Akha:
Men	1580 mm.	Men	1574 mm.
Women	1478 mm.	Women	1492 mm.

The tallest individual measured:

Man	1642 mm.	Man	1683 mm.
Woman	1562 mm.	Woman	1511 mm.

The shortest individual measured:

Man	1532 mm.	Man	1430 mm.
Woman	1431 mm.	Woman	1420 mm.

M
114
141

If one considers that the stature of the Meau makes them one of the smallest of all the mountain peoples, he cannot agree with Scott (2), who maintains that with regard to the Meau it is

2. Page 589.

a matter of a "tall-statured race in relation to their neighbors." Savina's statements, too, as well as Abadie's (3), which maintain,

3. Page 151.

"Medium /440/ height for the men, short for the women," or those by Witek (1), based on figures taken from the literature,

1. Page 88.

of 1540 mm. to 1580 mm. for men and 1520 mm. to 1570 mm. for women among the Meau, seem too large to me, at least for the Thailand Meau. Lajonquière (2) comes closest,

2. II, p. 301.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

M /440 cont./
114 describing the Meau as short of stature and with short legs.
141 The men of both peoples are slender and gracile; the
M women, especially those among the Meau, are plumper. I
142 could not find any confirmation for Seidenfaden's (3) statement
114

3. II, p. 153.

that the Meau are powerfully and solidly built and have a tendency toward obesity.

M According to Marabail (4), the Meau is not tall and is
[141]

4. Page 453.

almost as white as the European; his forehead high, the eyes brown, his countenance alert and congenial. Marabail (4)
A /see footnote 4 above/ and Scott (5), and along with them
[114]
[142]

5. Page 589.

several other authors, make the assertion that, in general, the skin color of the female sex among the Meau and Akha is lighter than that of the males. I myself found the skin of the Meau light-yellowish. The skin of the Akha is always brownish,
A lacking the yellow tone. In the sun a dark brown with a reddish
142 cast develops. Scott's (5) /see footnote 5 above/ expressed
114 opinion that the darker skin color of the Akha comes about because of their aversion to bath water is not justified. Lowis, however, also speaks of a "dark-colored tribe of people."

A The Mongolian spot is the rule among the Meau, as well
M as among the Akha, Yau /Yao/, Lahu, and Lisu; it disappears
143 about five years after birth.

M The skull of the Meau (Ills. 52 to 56)[1] is brachy- to
141 mesocephalic, an observation that is confirmed by Schotter (6),

6. VI, p. 318.

A too. Among the Akha (Ills. 1 to 5)[2] it is as a rule mesocephalic,
141 but dolichocephalic types also occur sporadically among these people. [1][see cat. 116, pp 365-367- ANALYST]
[2][" " " pp 11- 13 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/440 cont./

A M 141 Both sexes are characterized by a high, relatively vertical forehead, slightly sloping off toward the back in isolated cases. The frontal angle does not exceed or fall below the range of variation for Europoid races and as a rule is somewhat larger among the male sex than among the females. I did not find any skull formations such as are described by Seidenfaden (7). I therefore

A M [114]

7. II, p. 154.

assume that this was a matter of pathological abnormalities.

/441/ The face is characterized among both peoples by extraordinary individual variation. Otherwise, among the Meau, it is flat (Ill. 54), and among the Akha projecting toward the nose (Ill. 1). Neither among the Akha nor among the Meau did I find any prognathism of the lower part of the face, in contrast to Lowis, who speaks of the jaw of the Akha as unnaturally developed for the region. The zygomatic arches usually stand out sharply among the Meau, sometimes very sharply, less among the Akha and sometimes not at all.

A M [114]

The chin among the Meau is generally round, often tapering below to a point, as among the Lapps. Among the Akha it extends more ovally, but it likewise often tapers to a point below.

The lower jaw among both peoples is gracile and slightly receding.

A M 142 The mouth among both peoples is wide, but it does not exceed the range of variation for Europoid peoples. Among the Meau it is often very small with extremely narrow lips, among the Akha not as small and often with considerably broader lips, and usually well-shaped among both peoples. Even among the Akha, however, protruding lips never occur, although the women in particular often have markedly broad lips. In general, the lips of the Akha are broader than those of the average European, but narrower than those of the Thai.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A /442 cont./
M
141 The legs of the Meau are short, especially those of the women. Short and very rapid steps are therefore the rule. The feet are narrow and strikingly small and gracile. In contrast
M to this, the legs of the Akha are longer, but above all the feet
[481] are large and rather clumsy.

Among both peoples the arms seem long in relation to the legs; the hands are well-shaped and, like the feet, narrow and small. The hands of the Akha are likewise narrow, but large.

A The body hair among both tribes is black. But whereas
M it is almost absent among the Meau, particularly the arms and
142 legs of the Akha are very hairy. Both peoples have only a slight development of pubic hair.

Among both the Akha and the Meau, the head hair is black, bristly, and has a bluish shimmer. The hair of the Meau
M is somewhat thicker than that of the Akha, the growth of hair
[143] very abundant, and baldness rare, not observed by me at all.

The hair of the men reaches down over the shoulders among both peoples, among the women often to the hips.

M Witek (1) mentions, besides the black hair-color of the
142
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1. Page 92.

Meau, also brown hair among the men and among the Meau women, besides black, also finds brown and even blond hair. Abadie (2), too, confirms /Ills. 80-85 appear here on unnum-

2. Page 151.

M bered pages/ /443/ the not infrequent occurrence of blond and,
[143] in the case of albinos, white hair. In contrast to this I myself was unable to find a single case of any hair color other than black or bluish black.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/443 cont./

A M 144 up a light red under the crust on the cheeks of young girls. Such Europoid or Europiform elements also appear among the Lolo in Yunnan.

"The skin coloring of the people is often actually Europoid light. Under the /444/ armpit tones of 3, 7 and 10 (according to v. L. /von Luschan/) are very common, but the faces show 14-17, with a strong yellow tone that the table does not cover. The features of the Miao, however, are Sinoid, not at all Paleo-Mongoloid, and not even especially frequently Southern Sinoid. From the Central Sinoid type the range of variation goes to Tungoid flatness on the one hand and on the other hand to decidedly Europiform, narrow-faced, aquiline-nosed types."

This Europoid element is also reported for the closest relatives, according to Von Eickstedt -- direct ancestors would be better -- of the Meau, the Tjiang, still hardly investigated even today. Torrance, too, writes that the latter are definitely of a western and not Mongolian type."

M 144 174 It is noteworthy that Von Eickstedt (1) confirms from the

1. II, p. 59.

anthropological aspects the assertions of the Meau concerning the absence of any close relationship with the Man (Yau /Yao/): "A glance at the broad, more delicate, light-yellow faces of the Man again shows, as in Nieng Pu, that racially they represent a quite different mixture. They are far more Southern Sinoid than the Miao." With this Von Eickstedt unequivocally refutes M [114] Marabail's (2) assertion that the Meau, with all the differences

2. Page 131.

of the customs, are identical with the Yau /Yao/ (Man) in anthropological respects. Von Eickstedt (3) finally comes to

3. II, p. 53.

/444 cont./

144 the following general conclusion: "From an anthropological
174 standpoint, the homeland and the linguistic relationships lead to the assumption that here it is a matter of another, second part of the Central Sinoids -- a second part besides the Thai -- which, in the eastern mountains of Central China, poured over or pushed out the older Mon-Khmer Paleo-Mongolians similar to the way that this happened in the western part through the Central Sinoid Thai."

/445/

Chapter 28

Language

193 The language of the Meau is a monosyllabic tone language with five different tones. [illegible]t expert on it, P. [illegible] Savina (1),

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1. II, p. [illegible]

writes concerning the language of the Meau that it is spoken with the nose as well as with the mouth and that it differs from all other languages. Marabail (2), too, stresses the independence

2. Page 131.

of the "dialect" of the Meau. Savina emphasizes its dissimilarity in relation to the languages of the Lolo, Chinese, Annamese, Tho, and Yau /Yao/. Seidenfaden (3), on the other hand, doubts

3. II. p. 198.

the dissimilarity of the languages of the Meau and Yau, just as the Census of Burma (4), in direct opposition to Savina,

4. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 200.

classifies the Meau language with the "Man Group," which

/445 cont./

114 197 would be made up of solely the languages of the Yau (Man) and the Meau. Since, however, no linguistic samples from the Yau were offered by either author, no position on this can be taken.

According to the samples of the languages of the Meau and the other peoples settled in Thailand, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Phi Tong Luang, Moken, White Karen, and finally the various Thai peoples, recorded by me, Savina's findings are essentially correct. For the time being, however, that means very little in view of our inadequate knowledge about the peoples of northern Burma and Assam. On this account, the conclusion drawn by Savina, that by reason of their language a very special exceptional position should be given to the Meau, also seems to me to be at least premature at the moment. On the other hand, the classification made by Major Davies and, probably following him, Lowis (5), according to which the Meau language is classi-

5. I, pp. 40 ff.

fied with the Mon-Khmer languages, is undoubtedly in error. [192] The comparative words offered by Davies do not mean much, since the Meau language certainly contains a multitude of loan-words from the language of the original inhabitants. The assertion by Marabail (6), who assumes that the syntax of the Meau lan-

6. Page 131.

guage is identical with that of the Yau (Man) language, likewise means little, /446/ since no proof at all is offered for it. I myself for the present classify the Meau language with the Siamo-Chinese language group of the Indochinese language family, which also corresponds with Credner's (1) provisional

1. II, p. 137.

classification.

39: Bernatzik--603 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/446 cont./

114 197 Of the older authors, Davies and Clarke published short vocabularies, as did Dhuraratsadorn (2). By far the best and

2. Page 175.

most comprehensive are the French-Meau and Meau-French dictionaries which Savina compiled. A comparison of these dictionaries with the surveys of the other authors on the one hand and my own linguistic data on the other hand shows considerable differences in places, which leads one to conclude that there are certain differences in the Meau speech of the various regions. Undoubtedly the Meau of the individual regions have taken over [192] a greater number of expressions from the Chinese and from the languages of other neighbors as loanwords. Since, however, as was said, these neighboring languages in large part have not yet been studied, no definite statements can be made concerning this, and all the less so, to be sure, since the accounts of the authors in question here, with the exception of Savina's publications of this type, give the impression of being very incomplete. It seems as though these authors were not completely familiar with the matter; misunderstandings in their conversations with the Meau can easily be imagined. After all, I myself in working with the Meau have dealt for the first time with a tone language, and a comprehension of it is by no means easy for European ears.

[197] Under these circumstances it is very regrettable that the missionaries working in South China, who have had contact with the Meau for centuries, have so far, to my knowledge, published nothing concerning this language and in fact, for the most part, give instruction in Manchu. We are therefore completely dependent on the observations and conclusions of individual authors. According to Von Eickstedt (3), the languages of the Meo and

3. II, p. 57.

Yau differ, to be sure, but are nevertheless closely related, at

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /446 cont./
114 any rate, more closely related to each other than, say, to the
197 Chinese or Thai, though, undoubtedly, here, too, there are deeper connections. Usually, the linguists solved this dilemma by regarding the Meau-Man group as an independent group next to the Chinese, Thai, and Mon-Khmer.

M /447/ Seidenfaden (1) goes into the grammatical structure
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1. II, p. 198.

of the language in greater detail. According to him, the various nouns do not have any gender and are not declined by time, mode, or number. In a sentence, the subject comes before the verb and the object after it, the adjective after the substantive and the adverb after the verb to which it relates. More informa-
M tion concerning the language can be found in Savina's work (2)
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2. II, pp. XIX-69.

and in his dictionaries already mentioned. Of special interest is his comparative word list, pp. 42 and 43, which gives expressions in the Meau, Man, Lolo, Thai, Annamese, Tibetan, Tatar, Malay, and Stieng. In this connection a reference should be made to my comparative word list of the kinship terms of the Meau, Akha, Lisu, Lahuna, Lahusi, Biet, Dseray /Jarai/, Radé /Radhe/, Karen, Lao, and South Thailand languages.

A The language of the Akha has been provisionally classi-
197 fied by Lowis (3) in the "Lisu Subgroup" of the "Burman Group."
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3. I, p. 85.

The Linguistic Survey of India (4) follows him and regards the

4. Pages 382 ff.

language of the Akha as related to the Lahu and Lihsaw (Lisu),

39: Bernatzik--606 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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/448 cont./

A M 114 197 Recapitulating, it must be stated that neither the language of the Meau or that of the Akha has been investigated scientifically. An urgent task for the linguistics of Farther India is to concern itself with the basic problems involved.

/449/ Chapter 29

Writing

M 114 212 A [212] Whereas there is no information concerning any writing of the Akha, and the Akha groups studied by me had no letters at all, the information available concerning the writing of the Meau is rather contradictory.

Lajonquière (1), Abadie (2), and Dhuraratsadorn (3)

1. II, p. 321.

2. Page 151.

3. Page 171.

regard the Meau as complete illiterates. It is said that there are only very few Meau who know a few and at that Chinese characters, which they pronounce with Chinese phonetics. It is reported of other Meau in China that they write and speak Chinese (4).

M [191]

4. Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 42.

M [175] In any case, these authors say nothing about the Meau having a writing of their own. In contrast to this, Seidenfaden (5)

5. II, p. 195.

/449 cont./

114 212 [175] mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

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Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 175 648 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven out of their original homeland and in places were completely destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an [163] [842] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and

/454 cont./

101 small tribes, about a dozen in all. Then he goes on to say:
162 "We are far from the 40 or more tribes which some like to
291 enumerate." According to him, the tribes differ only in the
184 color and form of the clothing, to the peculiarity of which the names White, Black, Yellow, Green, Striped Meau, and Meau With Horns are to be traced back. The name of the last-named tribe is said to be derived from the horn-shaped hairdo. Otherwise, each tribe is said to have special customs and a language only somewhat divergent. Seidenfaden (5), too, says that the

5. II, p. 101.

Meau tribes differ from one another principally in the attire of the women.

101 If some authors report a strikingly large number of Meau
162 tribes, there can be no doubt that they included other mountain
114 peoples, for example, the Yau, Lisu, and perhaps the Lolo tribes, with the Meau. This problem, however, cannot be finally settled until ethnographic fieldwork, for Kweichow at any rate, is completed, at least in broad outlines, /455/ for the investigation of the mountain peoples of South China has not yet gone beyond the first beginnings.

101 According to my own experience, in the case of the vari-
162 ous Meau tribes it is only a matter -- at least in Thailand -- of
291 very slight differences in the clothing of local groups, which
184 cannot by any means be regarded as independent tribes. Moreover, tribal names seem to have developed from nicknames which were given to individual Meau sibs. Such nicknames cannot, of course, be given the value of a true tribal designation.

In Thailand I myself had the opportunity to investigate three of the so-called Meau tribes, the White, the Black, and the Flowery Meau. My Lao informants tried to explain the name of the Black Meau by the lack of cleanliness of these families in particular. This did not correspond with the facts, however, inasmuch as the cleanliness among all the Meau tribes known to me leaves much to be desired, and the "White Meau" do not distinguish themselves in any way by special cleanliness. At

39: Bernatzik--649 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

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(Die grosse Völkerkunde (1)) with the problems relating to this;

1. Vol. II, pp. 198 ff.

/479/ in the same place I have also discussed the problem of the original population. The migration of a third group of peoples, and to be sure that of the Thai peoples, on the other hand, can already be followed historically and prehistorically. The valleys and lowlands demonstrably formed the migration routes for these peoples; this can also be assumed for the earlier waves of peoples. On the other hand, the most recent migratory movement, which is still in progress today in Farther India and especially in Thailand, is being carried out by the true mountain peoples, such as the Meau, Akha, Yau /Yao/, Lahu, Lisu, and Katschin /Kachin/. The direction has probably remained the same, but the migration routes now run on the tops of the mountains. I have tried to explain the reason for the strange fact that these peoples obviously avoid the lowlands in the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." In the present volume I have now dealt with this, to me seemingly important problem of the mountain peoples and in so doing have discussed the Meau in particular, as by far the strongest representative, both in number and vitality, of this group of peoples, as well as the Akha.

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As is brought out in the chapter, "History," we are able to follow the Meau over a span of time of almost 4,500 years. To be sure, the old sources must be evaluated critically since they deal with testimonies of the Chinese, who from ancient times have been at war with the Meau. Moreover, the descriptions of customs in these sources are very scanty and presumably mention only cultural elements that differ from those of the Chinese. In addition, they are faulty, since the authors frequently confused the various mountain tribes. In the literature of the past decades, which we owe primarily to European observers, those cultural elements that strike the casual traveler,

39: Bernatzik--650 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

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such as clothing and settlements, are always dealt with, but everything else is almost totally ignored. I therefore strove to record all the cultural elements of the Meau, as well as those of their neighbors, the Akha, within my area of investigation, in order to create, at long last, an unobjectionable basis for research. It is shown from these elements presented by me in the present work that the Meau culture is by no means to be regarded as homogeneous culture, but rather as a mixed one. The various cultural influences correspond to the migration routes known from the history of the Meau. Cultural goods from Mongolia and Siberia and such of Tibetan /480/ origin are frequently mixed with Chinese elements. In judging the latter, caution is required, because the early Chinese also absorbed cultural possessions of the Meau; therefore elements that today are regarded as Chinese in origin may conversely stem from the Meau. The anthropology confirms the cultural picture. It is regrettable that, despite various existing studies, the language of the Meau, like that of the Akha, has not been unequivocally classified by comparative linguists and therefore could only partially be drawn upon for proof. The works of other authors also supplement my observations. Koppers (1) and Shirokogoroff,

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1. Pages 304 ff.

for instance, indicate cultural connections with the Tungus. Eberhard (2) rejects a uniform Meau culture and speaks of a

2. II, pp. 271 and 274.

mixed culture in which elements of the Chuang and Yau predominate. He also mentions Tibetan influences. On the other hand, I cannot agree with his proposal to regard the Meau as originally Yau who have strongly interbred with the Chuang and are only secondarily overlaid with Wuman, as well as viewing the Fan as alleged ancestors of the Meau, since the old Chinese sources, which he used as evidence, are too unreliable for the reasons already discussed, but above all the

/480 cont./
cultural elements drawn upon for proof are too few in number
174 and moreover in large part not characteristic for the Meau, and
[114] are often to be regarded as environmentally conditioned.

It is an interesting question whether the Meau may be classed in the circle of those peoples whose very ancient cultures are brought into relief from their surroundings by, among other things, megaliths, certain forms of animal sacrifice, and head-hunting. It is well-known that this culture is still alive today among the Naga and wild Wa and their neighbors. Relics in many places in Farther India, Hindustan, Indonesia, and beyond into the South Seas and traces in northwestern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East show that its spread must have been far greater in former times. -- I myself was able to identify the so-called "Moi peoples" of Indochina as belonging to this group, as I shall report in detail in another place. Judging by the available facts, there can be no doubt that the Meau do not belong to this cultural complex, even if the /481/ classification of the Meau language with the Mon-Khmer languages (see the chapter, "Language"), which is absolutely erroneous in my opinion, should be proved correct.

[325] For the question of the origin of the culture of the Meau, a bronze drum allegedly made by the Meau and cast by dead mold, which is in the possession of the ethnographic museum in Vienna and has not yet been described up to now,* is of special

* During the printing of the present work, a few statements about this drum by F. M. Schnitger appeared in the Archiv für Anthropologie, 1943, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

[534] significance. The shape of the drum is shown in Figures 423 and 424. The diameter of the striking surface is 70.5 centimeters. The drum is hollow, open at the bottom, and four bronze handles are attached to the side walls. It belongs to the group of bronze drums that Heger discussed in his work, Alte
[532] Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien /Old Metal Drums from Southeast Asia/. /Fig. 423 appears here./ /482/ The drum

/132 cont'd/
Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

/133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

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114 [116] 115 cartography, etc. were the responsibilities of Mr. Yung T'u-heng, who accompanied us. The Miao gentlemen who helped us were Messrs. Wu Wen-hsiang, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Tsung-hsian of Feng-huang; Mr. Shih Ch'i-kuei of Kan-ch'eng; and Messrs. Lung Lin-chang, Lung Ting-kuo, and Lung Sheng-fa of Yung-sui, who were with us day and night ready to answer our questions. After we left western Hunan Messrs. Shih Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang undertook /2/ supplementary investigative work that we designated, for a long time. Thus, although our trip was short, the work accomplished would have taken a year or at least more than half a year had it been conducted by one person alone.

128 After our return to Nanking, as we were organizing the material collected during our trip, we were called upon to investigate the Yü tribe, and so we went to southern Chekiang in the spring and summer of the following year. That autumn Ling Shun-shêng was invited to Yunnan by the Yunnan Board of Education; Ruey Yih-fu was engaged in fingerprinting and body-measurement work. In the autumn of 1935 both of us participated in the Anglo-Chinese Border Commission for the demarcation of the southern section of the Chinese-Burmese frontier, and had to travel to the Yunnan border. Not until the summer of 1936, after our return to Nanking from Yunnan, were we able to utilize part of our time to reorganize and study our material from western Hunan. A year later half of the draft of the present report was completed, when the Lu-kou-ch'iao //Marco Polo Bridge/ incident took place, which disturbed our minds terribly. The writers first followed the Institute's move to Hunan, then to Kwangsi, and finally in 1938 to Yunnan, before we were able to resume writing. At the end of the year the first draft was completed. Last spring and summer the books of the Institute arrived in Yunan, and with the references thus made available we were able to check and revise the first draft, and then to make final copies of the manuscript. By winter the entire work was ready, but Ruey Yih-fu was asked to go to Kweichow to investigate the folk art

/3 cont./

000 Administration, Hsü Tzu-lin, the principal of the United Normal School of the three hsien of Feng, Kan, and Ma, Shih Ai-san (Hung-kui), the private secretary of the hsien government of Feng-huang, Wang Yüeh-yen, and the gentry of western Hunan, such as the gentlemen Messrs. Chen Shao-nan, Chen Tzu-kuang, Tso Wei-I, Chen Yin-sheng, T'ien Jen-wen, and Liu Tsu-p'ing. They accompanied us to many Miao villages in the Feng, Kan, and Sui hsien areas for on-the-spot investigations. In addition the following persons helped us greatly on the spot: at Feng-huang, district magistrate Chou Yao-nan and the principal of the Model Primary School, Liu Fu-lin; at Hsin-chai, Commissioner T'ang Wen-ju of the Feng, Kan, Sui Three Hsien Border Pacification Commission; and at Kan-ch'eng, district magistrate T'ien Yao-liu. Their hospitality and assistance were deeply appreciated. Among the Miao people we desire [115] to make special mention of Messrs. Shin Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang, who contributed considerable material.

114 Finally, special thanks are due to Yung T'u-heng, who accompanied us to western Hunan and worked tirelessly. After his return to Nanking he helped us in arranging part of the material. The photographs and drawings in this book are all his.

000 The report in its completed form was approved by Director Fu Meng-chen (Szu-nien) of the Institute. The two chapters, "Language" and "Folk Songs," were checked by Li Fang-kuei and Chang Tz'u-yao. To all of them we express our appreciation.

Ling Shun-sheng
Ruey Yih-fu

April 30, 1940
Institute of History and Philology
Pao-t'ai Mountain
Lung-ch'üan Chen
Kunming

/22 cont./

173 This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom
[115] I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tsu tên, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/
[648] In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands in China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nyă lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

174 The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been re-
[131] ported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan
[197] actually are Meau and not peshaps Yau. It is significant, at any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

/386 cont./

411 Among the offensive weapons of the Meau, there were formerly spears, which have been retained today in crude [115] form only very sporadically. One of my interpreters, a Chinese trader, whose calling took him from one village to another, reported long thrusting spears with a double-edged, poisoned iron-point which was attached to a wooden shaft about four meters long. Even my best informants, however, could not remember such spears. In the old Chinese literature the use of [175] long spears is mentioned several times (2). Furthermore, wooden

2. Eberhard, II, pp. 245, 252, and 259.

clubs were used, which, however, are no longer found anywhere today. This /387/ club, round and about as thick as a thumb, with an egg-shaped handle, was made flexible at two points by the insertion of three chain links at each one.

As weapons for close combat the rice sickle (Fig. 271) is used, which for this purpose is equipped with a handle of about one and a half meters.

In addition, peculiar slings are used. They consist of perforated iron balls of about six centimeters in diameter, which are attached to a thin rope 20 fathoms long. One now grasps this rope half a meter behind the iron balls, whirls them in a circle, and lets them fly. When this sling has hit its target, it is pulled back by the rope.

On the other hand, there was no device for throwing spears. Nor were bow and arrows or battle-axes used, though [412] in close combat the Meau use their wood ax (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273) as a weapon.

411 One finds small knives (see chapter, "House Furnishings, 412 Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 161-164) in daily use, which, in case of war, are used as pointed weapons in close combat. /Fig. 305 appears here./ The large bush knives (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 272) have versatile utility as a jungle knife and as a hunting and war weapon, as does the slightly curved, double-edged saber with a thin blade.

/467 cont./

426 576 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 576 As "please," the Meau use the word tǎu or tǎu mĕn yē, which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tŏ tsē, but one usually says tŏ tsē hŏ lŏ, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kŭ tsĭ ŏa. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lǎu sĭ yŭn; veneration = lǎu sĭ lŭ lē; contempt = hŭ yŭ; fear, horror = hŭi; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ŏŭ.

156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the 115 Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some 156 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is 622 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced 123 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

/468 cont./

115 156 622 123

"Chief Tsin Tsai is a wonderful fellow. When he sits cross-legged on the ground, his long back hair knotted, the long tobacco pipe in his hand, his high forehead furrowed in thought, tensing the muscles of his lean jaws, /469/ stroking his sparse beard which hangs down from his strongly projecting zygomatic arches, he is so remarkably the typical representative of his industrious people, and yet he towers above their average. Not for a moment is he idle or unoccupied. Now he plaits a basket; scarcely finished, he cuts up a piece of game and distributes the meat, and now he sharpens his knife on a stone and goes into the bush for a few minutes. There he digs up some edible roots and brings them to us as a welcome supplement to our monotonous diet in the camp and visits my husband at his work in order to propose a hunting trip together. As soon as my husband has consented, he goes into his house to lay out a stick oracle and ask the spirits in which direction he must turn in order to have success, what kind of booty he can expect, and more of the same. During this time his people have come back from the fields. They quietly wait for the oracle and then turn to the chief with a series of questions. Quietly and decisively the latter now gives his orders and then is off on the hunt."

[224] [787]

A few pages further in her journal my wife returns to the chief: "It is a pleasure to watch Tsin Tsai at work. He is friendly and helpful, offers us every service, carries the hand luggage, and regards no work as 'beneath his dignity.' Moreover, he is clever, circumspect, and prudent; he sizes up the situation immediately and is able to differentiate between the essential and the nonessential. He answers questions with brief, logical, and sensible replies. If one asks him for advice, he always supplements his information with detailed reasoning. To be sure, in matters dealing with hunting, he always judges for us on the basis of his own experiences, so that sometimes differences result. He maintains, for instance, that, after a shot, tigers come along to search for wounded game, whereas our experience was that they immediately disappeared, never to be seen again. Moreover, wild animals were generally much more timid than he expected, probably because there were more of us than he was accustomed to-

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

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HAINAN TAO CHIH MIAO-JEN
(The Miao People of Hainan Island)

by

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/Title page/

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Preface

114 In the spring of 1937 a joint commission for the investigation of the Li and Miao of Hainan Island was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University of Canton, and the Institute for the Study of the Societies of Southwest China at the privately operated Lingnan University. Dr. Yang Ch'eng-chih, a professor at the National Sun Yat-sen University led this commission, of which I was one of the members. It was indeed a happy circumstance in my life that just after an expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area in Kwangtung province, I had another opportunity for a firsthand investigation of these peoples of the Southwest. (In the winter of 1936 I had participated in the expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area of Kwangtung, which was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University.) As I am a native of Hainan and understand the local dialects, I was instructed to stay in the Li and Miao region for a longer period with Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung of Lingnan University. I was especially gratified to have this opportunity to make more detailed observations.

Not long after our return from the expedition, the Marco Polo Bridge incident occurred on July 7. The program of editing and printing the commission's report was to a great extent affected by wartime uncertainties in South China. Now over a year has passed, and it has not yet been carried out. The original purpose of our investigation
121 was, on the one hand, to open up a new field for academic studies in China with some new material; and, on the other hand, to provide our government and the public with more information concerning our frontier peoples in the hope that it would help them to understand the frontier situation and to carry out administrative operations there.
114 Since both objectives are extremely important, the Chinese intellectual community as well as the public must be anxiously waiting for the results of our studies. It is very regrettable that our report cannot yet be published. Because I had stayed there and conducted my investigation

M /ii cont'd/
114 for a comparatively longer period and had collected more material, I obtained special permission from the chief of our commission to use the materials in my private possession in writing up two books: Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island/ and this small volume entitled Hainan Tao Chih Miao-jen /The Miao of Hainan Island/.
M H
122 /iii/ We spent four months on this expedition—leaving Canton
114 on February 4, 1937, and returning to the University on June 4 of the same year. Excluding the time spent in traveling and a short delay caused by illness, we were actually in direct contact with the aborigines for more than two months. During these two months or so, we spent about three-fourths of the time in the study of the Li
H and only one fourth in the study of the Miao. The reason for this
[101] was very simple: the Li were the chief aboriginal people of Hainan, and also Hainan was the only native ~~locale of the~~ Li people. It can truly be said of the Li people: "This is the only establishment; there are no other branches!" It was hence wholly fitting that we made them the chief subject of our studies. The study of the Miao was only incidental. Since our working time was so short, our investigation of the Miao was limited to a group of Miao villages in the vicinity of the Ta-ch'i area of Pao-t'ing hsien /district/. This book is the result of a study of this small area within a short period. The contents of this volume, of course, are far from satisfactory. Fortunately, however, we have touched upon every phase of the Miao's life. By reading this book, the reader will have no difficulty
H in comprehending the general way of life of an individual Miao.
M
101 The Li and Miao have lived intermingled for several centuries. With this uninterrupted contact with each other, it was inescapable that they mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, the lives of both have progressed along a common road of sinicization. Therefore, it can be observed everywhere that the present ways of
M life and cultural patterns of the Li and Miao are identical in many
114 ways. To avoid repetition, I have only summarized in this book
[128] those points which I have already discussed in detail in my previous

/iii cont'd/

114 book, Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao. If the reader is not
[128] bored by details, it would be better for him to refer to these two books at the same time. This is my humble hope.

If this book has made any academic or social contribution, the credit should not go to the author alone; it belongs to all the members of our commission (a list of the members of our commission is printed in the Appendix, "Journal of the Investigation"). I, myself, must express my gratification and, even more, my thanks to those others who have allowed me to write out what was the collective work of all of us. /iv/ The one to whom I am especially obliged, how-
[164] ever, is Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung. In that uncivilized region infested with malaria, where other people usually fear to go, we lived close together for a long time. We "comforted each other for the same kind of sickness" (actual physical sickness) and were of assistance to each other. To assuage our loneliness, we sometimes talked far into the night with our beds set next to each other. This experience will leave an indelible impression upon me for the rest of my life.

121 I have always been of the opinion that ethnology is not only a branch of pure science but also a practical study. We ethnologists should present the results of our studies not only to the academic world but also to our people and our country. In other words, we hope to offer some contributions toward the solution of our frontier problems. The last chapter of this was written for this purpose. Everything discussed therein concerns the most practical problems which are very important for the future development of Hainan Island. I should feel greatly honored if my writing could draw the attention of our government and the public to working out a proper solution.

Wang Hsing-jui
Graduate School
National Sun Yat-sen University

July 22, 1938

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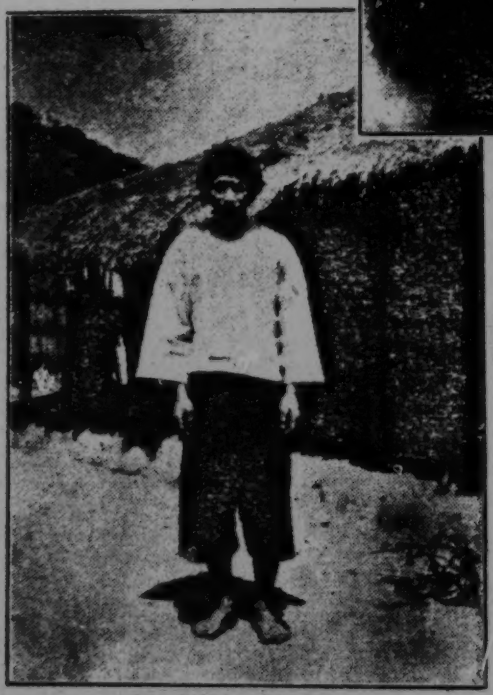
A Miao Woman



A Miao Man

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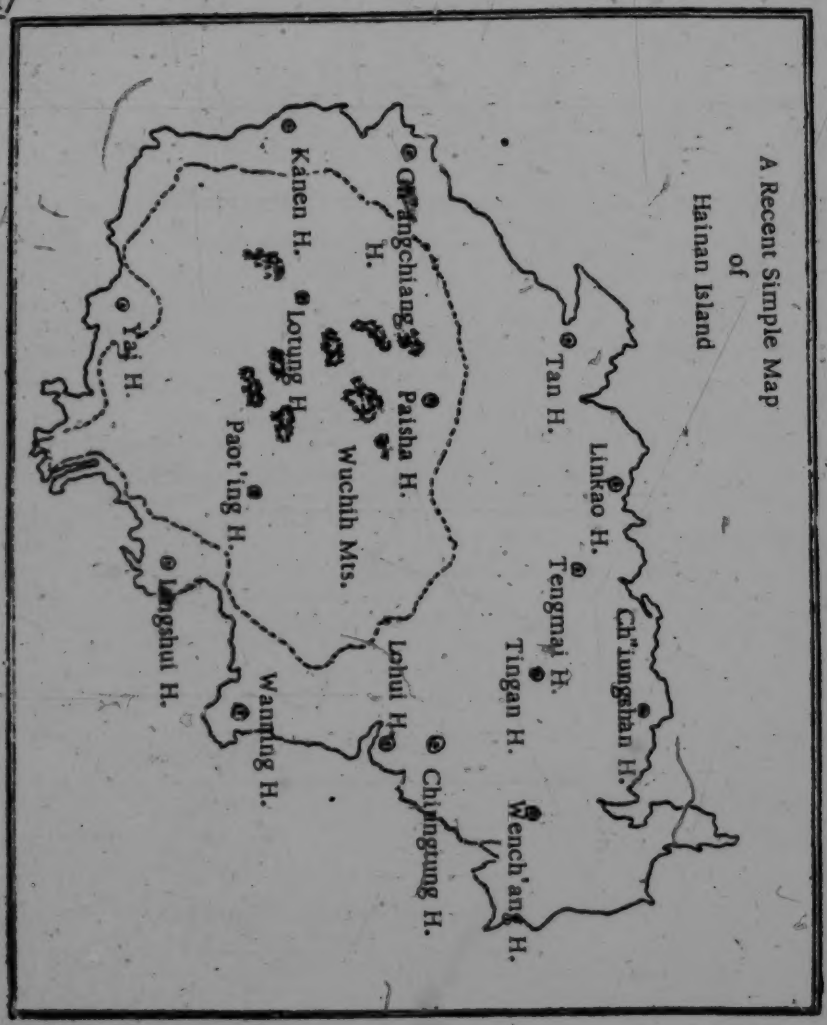

162 The space encircled by the broken line is the Li area where both the
53 Li and the Miao are intermingled, although the Miao people live in
361 the more remote area high in the mountains. The actual distribution of the Miao population in the three hsien (Pai-sha, Lo-tung, and Pao-t'ing) has not yet been investigated in detail, but its general distribution can be roughly estimated.

/1/

Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from out- 101 side areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

"There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or 101 more families living in ten villages; including men and women they [161] number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104] /* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed.

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 101 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period 175 /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[181] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/1 cont'd/

101 175 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains [411] and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the 279 present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people [291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like [481] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where [221] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned [524] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are [754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] */Former title of a lieutenant colonel. —Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/2 cont'd/

101 in the Ch'ang-hua Hsien Chih /Annals of Ch'ang-Hua District/,
175 published in the Kuang-hsü period /1875-1908/. It is to be noted that the story in this text was based on the historical facts of the suppression of the Li uprisings led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i fang t'ung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501) of Emperor Hsiao-tsung.

In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku stated:

"... In the past the ringleaders of the uprisings were only the rebels in the Ch'iang-shih-sung area. Their strength was rather isolated. At the present, however, they are allied with the bandits in the Ch'ang-hua and Kan-en areas. Their forces have been increasing from day to day. If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-inforcements." (See Cheng T'ing-ku's Shih-hu I-chi /Collected Works of Shih-hu*/. The author lived during the Chia-

/* This is Cheng's hao, or literary name.—Ed./

-ching period of Emperor Shih-tsung (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty.)

In every aspect, there are points of very noticeable difference between the two tribes, the Li and the Miao. They cannot be discussed as if they are of one people. The name Li-Miao, however, appears both in the Ch'iung-chou Fu-chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture/ and the Kan-en Hsien-chih /Annals of Kan-en District/, which treat the Miao as a branch of the Li people. It is quite obviously an error. Nevertheless, both annals give a clear description concerning the place from which the Miao migrated and the period and circumstances of their migration. According to the Tao-kuang /1821-51/ edition of the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, the Li uprisings during the Ming period became serious only after the reign of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, for instance, the Li rebellion led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i-fang Tung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501). After the first year of Cheng-teh (1506) of Emperor Wu-tsung, and other t'ungs in Yai-chou revolted several times, and the government

/2 cont'd/

101 also repeatedly sent out numerous troops to suppress them. Miao
175 troops must have been sent there at various times during this period. Hence, it has been only about 500 years since the Miao migrated to Hainan. There are some additional primary sources which show that the Miao migrated from Kwangsi province. /3/ During my last field trip to the Miao area, I acquired the family register of a certain Lin family, in which there is the following statement:

127 "This is a certified copy of the register of the family and its
181 branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-an Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien /sic/ province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Min-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They lived on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. X-X had only one son, Lin Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng. Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

At the same time I obtained another important document from the family of a Miao headman, which concerns the origin of the Miao. It is copied as follows:

"With the approval of the Heavenly Emperor,
While the world is in peace.

101 Our ancestors for generations have been the descendants of P'an.
175 The Prince and his followers of Peking entered Ch'i-hsien T'ung in the K'uai-chi Mountains after falling into adversity. They proliferated down to the time when our imperial ancestor P'an's descendants went out and settled down in every district. Emperor Ch'u-p'ing issued them a grant certificate to the law-abiding mountain people, permitting them to go at will to the deep recesses of the mountains where only birds had been living, from where they could look out over the clear mountains and make their living. Moreover, they were neither subject to Imperial taxation, nor forced labor, nor harassment by troops. They could cut wood in the forests and could use ferries without paying. The Chinese people were not allowed to

/3 cont'd/

101 burn incense and candles at their altars and temples; nor were the
175 Chinese allowed to associate with them. Chinese peasants were not to take their women by force as wives. /The original text is: "...were not to take their t'ien-tzu...." T'ien-tzu literally means "son of heaven." It probably is a miswriting of nü-tzu which means woman.—Tr./ Any violaters of this rule were to be sent to the government to be tried and sentenced. The certificate indicated that the mountain people had their own boundaries and should not farm in the Chinese peasants' fields or ponds. They had their own region of secluded cliffs, mountains, and peaks. Monkeys were their companions and birds were their neighbors. They hunted on the mountains and made their living by cutting wood and planting. The Chinese were not allowed to cause trouble to them. Those who did were to be sent to be tried and sentenced by the officials at the district courts. The certificate conferred on our imperial ancestors was originally issued to the descendants of our ancestor P'an. Each law-abiding mountain person received a copy of it. They were not to feed the Imperial treasury. They were to watch over the mountain fields. Their bird guns, bows, and crossbows were to be used only for hunting wild boars, horses, and deer. Since they are law-abiding, when they move or pass through the various districts, they must be allowed to pass freely by the collectors of transit tolls. This was the certificate issued to our ancestors, and here is a copy. To whom it may concern.

It is certified as above.

217 /4/ The honorable titles of those in the Royal Court who recom-
175 mended this certificate are as follows:

Recommended by the Department of Certification of Documents of the Royal Court

Recommended by the President of the Board of Civil Appointment

Recommended by the President of the Board of War

Recommended by the President of the Board of Public Works

Recommended by the President of the Board of Rites

Recommended by the President of the Board of Punishments

Recommended by the President of the Board of Finance

It is hereby recommended that the descendants of our imperial ancestor P'an, in accordance with this imperial certificate of the

/4 cont'd/

217 Ch'u P'ing reign period /190-94 A.D./, be allowed to go to the
175 provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Ch'ao-chou, Hu-kuang, and Hupei, traveling on roads and waterways and living in the high mountains by wood while wood-cutting and cultivating, cutting and planting.

This is the due document to act as proof in perpetuity.

This certificate was filed for reference on the 16th day of the fifth month in the fifth year of Ch'u P'ing.

217 It is still a mystery where and when they had gained this "certificate," which up to the present is still carefully kept by them as their most precious treasure. From the description in the last paragraph, we are sure that the Miao of Hainan not only had direct relationship with the Miao (?) of Kwangsi but also had the same origin as the other Miao tribes (?) in different regions throughout South China.

173 From what has been said above, there is no doubt that the Miao of Hainan migrated from Kwangsi during the Ming period. However, I am very doubtful that the Miao of Hainan are actually the same as
197 the Miao of Kwangsi, because from the linguistic point of view, the languages spoken by them are very different. On the contrary, the spoken language of the Miao people of Hainan is very similar to that of the Yao people; particularly it is similar to, and almost identical with, the dialect spoken by the Lan-tien ("blue indigo") Yao tribes living in the Ling-yün area. The chart which follows may be helpful for reference. (Note: The vocabulary of the Miao of Hainan shown in the following chart is in my own romanization. The romanization of the vocabulary of the different Yao peoples of Kwangsi is based upon Kuang-hsi Lin-yün Yao-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi/, jointly compiled by Yen Fu-li and Shang Cheng-tsu. The romanization of the words of the Miao of Kwangsi province is based upon Liu Hsi-fan's Ling-piao Chi Man /The Aborigines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi/. In Liu's book, however, Chinese phonetic symbols are used. For the sake of uniformity I have used romanization in the present writing.)

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	The Miao Tribes		The Yao Tribes in Kwangsi Province			
	Kwangsi	Hainan	Lan-tien	Red Head	P'an Ku	Long Hai
one	chŭ	ā	a	i	nŏm	i
two	hwŏ	ĭ	i	au	i-(nŏm)	aŏ
three	bei	bo	bo	be	buo	bu
four	saw	bā	bie	djia	bie	djua
five	jei	bà	bia	biu	bia	bia
six	dŭ	kŭr	djio	dsŭ	djio	du
seven	shen	njē	nje	thang	sjê	sang
eight	i	z	jet	yu	chet	jo
nine	yōu	dŏ	ndu	dsŭ	duo	dsŭ
ten	shu	sip	shap	dsŭ	ds'ep	dsŭ
nose		bŭ-jong	bu-djong	bi-biau pa-	bu-kot	
eye		ngwie		djan-many pa-	me'-dsing	ge-mang
ear		blom	mo-nom		mo-nom	ge-mia
mouth		jet	djet		dsui	
/6/ hand		bŭ	bu	go-po-be	bu°-du	ba
foot		tou	thou	go-dau	dsau-de	do
son	dà	sā		dung	don	dung-djing
daughter	dăr pīe	sā-sar			thiê	
dog		clō		du-djê	dju°	dsja
sheep	li	jon	yong	du-yang	yung	du-ang
pig	mēi	dung	dŭng		dung	
house		ber	biau	lu-bi	piau	bia
bunch		dung	dang		dang	dong-yo

/6 cont'd/

197 yellow		^vung	wang	fan	wiang	guan
192 sun		gong-nog	mo-neu			
ox	lo	ngong	ngong	du-wǒ	ngong	wau
moon		ngàr	la		tha	hlo
eat		en	ning	nong	njien	nang
drink		hop	hop	hu	hop	hu
sleep		fěi	fei	foi	bu	ba

197 171 /7/ If, outside the physical type, language is a comparatively reliable standard for the classification of the races of man, we may then say, in accordance with the chart given above, that the Miao of Hainan are of the same people as the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi rather than the Miao of Kwangsi. (Concerning the physical type of the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi, Mr. Fei Hsiao-t'ung has apparently made a scientific investigation, the results of which have not yet been published.) It is said that the name of the "Lan-tien" Yao of Kwangsi was derived from lan-tien /"blue indigo"/, which was the chief product of the region. The lan-tien is a plant, Polygonum tinctorium, which the Yao pick to make dye. With regard to this industry, the Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi /see above/ has given a detailed study (pp. 13-14). During my last field trip to the Miao village of Ang-ch'i in Ta-chi, I saw a Miao woman making dye from a plant. I regret that at the time I did not notice whether this plant was the lan-tien. The Miao women of Hainan, in any case, are skilled in dyeing. This fact may be considered as contributory evidence.

171 If the aforesaid conclusion is in accord with the facts, then we can also deduce from which part of Kwangsi the Hainan Miao came. We are still not certain about the distribution of the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi either in the past or the present. However, according to the Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi, it is a fact that there are at present Lan-tien Yao in Ling-yün district. If we may make the tentative deduction that the Lan-tien Yao have

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171 lived in Ling-yün district since before the Ming period, we may not be too far off in concluding accordingly that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Ling-yün district in Kwangsi province. (It is to be noted that Ling-yün is in the northwestern part of Kwangsi, which is adjacent to the southwestern part of Kweichou and north-
171 eastern part of Yünnan. In the Ming period, this area was under the
175 jurisdiction of Szŭ-ch'eng and T'u-chou and was occupied completely by the aboriginal peoples.) Furthermore, we can also adduce some evidence from the above cited family register of the Lin family of the Hainan Miao, which states: "They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious." /8/ It is worth noting that there was a Szu-en Fu in the Ch'ing period; it was also called Szu-en Fu in the Ming period. During the Sung and Yüan periods, it was called Szu-en chou. Since the Republic, it has been under the jurisdiction of Nan-ning tao /district/. Its location is in the northern part of Kwangsi adjacent to the southern part of Kweichou. From ancient times, it has been a land of uncivilized wilderness. At the end of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505) of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the Ming period, it was brought under the liu system /i.e., it became a normal administrative unit under the local government/. It is beyond doubt that the "Szu-en Fu" written in the family register of the Lins is a miswriting of the above "Szu-en Fu" /the "Szŭ" in the register is indicated by a different character. —Ed./. Hence, there should be no question that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Szŭ-en Fu of Kwangsi, although until we have historical documents and reports from firsthand investigation, we cannot be sure whether the Lan-tien Yao people lived in the Szŭ-en Fu area during the Ming and Ch'ing periods or whether a part of them is there at the present time. This is all we can say about the question concerning the part of Kwangsi from which the Miao migrated to Hainan.

101 However, there is another question confronting us. Since the
171 Miao of Hainan Island originally were derived from the Yao of

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101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
17 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243 "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still
166 the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/9 cont'd/

131 175 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 166 221 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly. (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

621 551 162

Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/10 cont'd/

Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

/11 cont'd/

175 "If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise
161 Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-enforcements." If these "Han-ta troops," "Lang-t'u soldiers," and the "Lang-mu," the "Ta-shou," etc., all were Miao troops, or if Miao troops constituted a part of them, we may conclude that the Miao troops who were repeatedly moved there could not have numbered less /12/ than 10,000. Another important question is whether these Miao troops brought their women along with them, or whether it was only in a later period that they began to increase prolifically through marrying the women of other groups in the Hainan
175 area? This is a very interesting question worthy of study. It is, of
162 course, closely related to the physical type of the present Miao people, and it is also directly related to the question of the number of original Miao immigrants. As far as I know, even at the present
[582] time, marriage among the Miao is still limited to their own group. To marry members of other groups (such as the Chinese, Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and others) is forbidden. Thus it is very probable that the Miao troops brought their women with them when they first came. There might have been an equal number of women accompanying
161 the original 10,000 Miao troops. Hence, the number of earliest Miao
175 immigrants would have been over 10,000 at the very least.

[27] Secondly, we shall examine the numbers recorded in the local annals. In the annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, it is stated that the Miao in Tan-chou consisted of "about 90 families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than a thousand." Since they numbered "less than a thousand," we may suppose that there were 500. An average village might consist of ten families of five members each. According to the same source, there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district. To use the same method of statistical averages for measurement, the five villages might have consisted of 50 families with 250 individuals. According to the annals of Kan-en district, there were "several hundred Miao families" in this particular district. Let us suppose that there were 500 families. Using the same method of calculation, there might have been 50 villages with a total population of 2,500, not counting those who

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161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/13 cont'd/
244 311 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li." This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 175 144 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 175 144 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the family register of the Lin family:

178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

162 144 178 Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname, who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung

162 /14 cont'd/
144 district. This tendency for the Miao to become Chinese or Li is in-
178 deed unfavorable for an increase in the Miao population.

/15/ Chapter II. Language

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English	Miao	English	Miao
Cardinal Numbers		Cardinal Numbers	
one	ă	twenty-one	nī sip jā
two	i	twenty-two	nī sip ngǐ
three	bo	twenty-three	ni sip tum
four	bā	thirty	tum sip
five	bă	forty	tā sip
six	kŭr	fifty	ngon sip
seven	njē	sixty	ngŭ sip
eight	z	seventy	kat sip
nine	dŏ	eighty	bid sip
ten	sip	ninety	shŭ sip
eleven	sip jā	one hundred	ă bā
twelve	sip ngǐ	two hundred	i bā
thirteen	sip tum	three hundred	tum bā
fourteen	sip tā	one thousand	á coon
fifteen	sip ngon	/16/ ten thousand	à tin
sixteen	sip ngŭ	one hundred thousand	à dū
seventeen	sip kat	a million	à bē
eighteen	sip bid		
nineteen	sip shŭ		
twenty	nī sip		

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English	Miao
Ordinal Numbers	
first	dē it
second	dē ngǐ
third	dē tum
Time	
today	nǐ noy
yesterday	com bō
day before yesterday	ngûr noy
tomorrow	tung deo
day after tomorrow	ngū deo
day	gong-noy
night	ngim

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English	Miao
Parts of the Body	
head	bě
eye	ngwǐe
ear	blom
nose	bǔ-jong
mouth	jet
hair	bā
tooth	yà
tongue	bǐd
heart	tim
back	cà-tun-cun
belly	youū
hand	bǔ
finger	bū-ndō-kin
leg	tou-tswie
foot	tou
Human Relationships	
person	moon
man	moon-fà
woman	moon-ou
child	moon-sa
/17/ boy	moon-ton-kin
girl	moon-sà-kin
father	fà
mother	jǐ
son	sā
daughter	sā-sǎr
elder brother	kō
younger brother	zū
elder sister	or

/17 cont'd/

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English	Miao	English	Miao
younger sister	mǔ	elder first cousin on father's side	kō
old man	kō-moon	younger first cousin on father's side	zū
old woman	ko-bǔ	father's sister	ma
paternal grandfather	kong	mother's married sister	mǔ
paternal grandmother	kō	wife's father	sin-shà-fà
paternal grandfather's elder brother	bě	wife's mother	sin-shà-jǐ
paternal grandfather's elder brother's wife	chǔ	son-in-law	lung
paternal grandfather's younger brother	jū-sop	husband's father	fà
paternal grandfather's younger brother's wife	tǐ	husband's mother	jǐ
father's elder brother	bě	daughter-in-law	jim
father's elder brother's wife	chǔ	/18/	
father's younger brother	jū-sop	husband	moon fà
father's younger brother's wife	tǐ	wife	moon ou
husband's elder brother's wife	zū	maternal grandfather	kong
husband's younger brother's wife	tǐ	maternal grandmother	kō
brother's son	sā ton	sister's son	ngoy ting
192 brother's daughter	sā tī	**Household Furnishings, etc.**	
		village	ngung
		market	shaw
		field	ngin
		well	tin
		house	ber
		door	king
		table	tom

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English	Miao
chair	ěr
stool	dung
bed	tsau
lamp	tung
Animals	
ox	ngong
horse	mǎ
sheep	jon
pig	dung
dog	clō
cat	mou
rat	dō-kin
chicken	chei
duck	up
goose	ngàr
fly	bom-ǧim
ant	sep-blou-long
snake	noun
bee	dong
fish	bū
Plants	
tree	ngoung
/19/	
flower	fung
grass	wa
vegetable	gā
bamboo	lou
leaf	non

English	Miao
Weather	
clouds	bun
wind	jou
rain	bon
hot	kim
cold	num
Colors	
black	kyà
red	ti
green	kyà-ti
yellow	vung
Adjectives	
few	mō-dong
good	gong
bad	mà-gong
big	lō
small	kin
long	dou
short	mà-ning
old	kō
young	gon
beautiful	quī
ugly	tou
Time (2)	
year	ngung
month	ngàr
morning	kon dom
evening	kon gim

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English	Miao
Positive and Negative	
yes	zā
no	mozā
Short Sentences	
I see	yà wong
you see	moy wong
I hear	yà nom
you hear	moy nom
I smell	yà hom
you smell	moy hom
I eat	yà en
you eat	moy en
I drink	yà hop
you drink	moy hop
I speak	yà kong wa
you speak	moy kong wa
I take	yà yao
you take	moy yao
he runs	mein ning
he comes	mein dei
he comes in	mein yā dà
he goes out	mein sat ning
he goes up	mein tou ning
he comes down	mein yur ning
he gets up	mein qur
he sits down	mein et
I sleep	yà fei
you sleep	moy fei

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192 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao
802 language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in
171 other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but
193 sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ǐ but sip ngi. This is a notable
171 difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say "blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue," "mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind of syntax.

191 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in
184 Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas
245 may be seen occasionally.

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [415 powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao 28] people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 171 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. 231 511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated 556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, [227] tun, sàr co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

/27 cont'd/

here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets, boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/28 cont'd/

386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done; the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

437 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
438 similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
439 commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above. Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the
[443] Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district, one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third, they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of li away but many are a hundred li away. Since the Miao all live a simple life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a month at the most.

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[582 limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/31 cont'd/

595 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness of single men" would be inevitable.

When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided 428 among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons, his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose husband comes to live in her family. A son adopted as an heir also has 597 the right to inherit.

591 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539 /32/
601

MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS
A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS
MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS — BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture inKwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

/32 cont'd/

537 601 auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different. /

Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng; Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

602 With this kind of family register, although a family has increased and scattered to different places, the relationship of the family members is maintained without interruption. Consequently, those of the same surname related by blood are forever connected and the awareness of the kin group is very deeply rooted. There were a number of Miao who were able to tell us in great detail about the localities from which they had migrated and distant localities in which they still had many cousins living. The Miao headman, Mr. Wang Fu-shou of Pao-ch'a village in Ta-ch'i, frequently called me lao-tsung /"venerable kinsman"/. /The author, Wang Hsing-jui, has the same surname. / This was an expression of a feeling of kin group relationship. Since the kin group consciousness still exists, it is very natural that the feelings of the people of the same surname thus extend even to those not closely related.

[22] 61 Since their livelihood is chiefly dependent upon farming on the mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the 121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured. [171] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 592] There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several [361 311] families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed, 622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/34 cont'd/

622 whether there was also a property qualification. It is a fact, however, that the present chia-ch'ang, successors of the former shan-chia, all appear to be better off than the ordinary Miao people. Shan-chia is the keeper of knowledge for the Miao people. In his home he keeps the almanac, the Confucian classics, and other kinds of books. The public affairs of the village are under his direction and are all decided upon by him.

[527 787] According to an old Miao custom, on the eve of the New Year, the entire population of the village usually gathered in the shan-chia's home to present him with jars of wines and to offer congratulations. They sang and asked the shan-chia about things of the coming year. From his experience and greater learning, the shan-chia would answer them one by one. The song that they sang was called "The Old Villager," the words of which are as follows:

539 Creating the heaven, creating the earth—Emperor P'an has done;
He made the rites followed by later men.
In accord with the rites, dinner is served for two;
A bare table would trouble the venerable official.
The first cup, we offer to him to drink,
After the second and third cups, the sands turn to gold.*
Thousands of cups are for all the stars to drink,
So that the venerable tree /unc[redacted] sitting at the table may not be bored!
The golden/?/* cup is now respectfully put on the table,
Like a moon among the stars in the sky.
As two rows of stars now line the hall,
Also hope that the sun, standing above all the rest, will protect them.
In P'eng-cheng hall, all the stars are now sitting,
Without rest, without settling down, they await the difficulties of the coming spring.
Virtue spreads out to all the stars,
May the country be prosperous and the people be secure for ever!

/34 cont'd/

539 Is the year chia-tzu an intercalary year without an intercalary day?

/35/ We ask you, venerable sir, to tell us:
Where may we find the greatest benefit?
What is the most auspicious direction for the door to open toward?
Will we be fortunate again this year, or will no leaves grow?
Where is the best place for planting crops?
We beg you, venerable sir, to tell us:
Will all the stars be safe and happy for a million years?
On which side of the mountain shall we live safely?
Will the world be peaceful and the people have plenty of food?
This year has passed and the next year approaches.
We ask you what your plan is for scattering and settling down.
Once your plan is made known to the stars,
Prepare the horses and things for the journey.
We ask you, venerable sir, about the tree of the Official of the Spring,
And how much water and fish there will be for the coming year.
What amount of fish should be caught and animals be hunted?
How will be the spring rain and the sprouts of grain?
We beg you, venerable sir, to tell us.
This is why all the stars have come here.

/* This Miao folk song is very obscure even in the Chinese text. Many words were obviously miswritten by the original Miao copyist who miswrote the Chinese characters replacing them with those having the same sound. For instance, the character chin ("the present") in the sixth and ninth lines may be a miswriting of chin ("gold"); kan-tai a miswriting of kan-t'ai ("a dry or clean table") in the eighth

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr./

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[32] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

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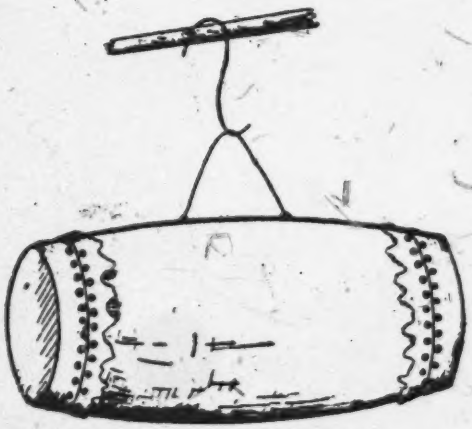

This is the large drum being preserved in the home of the chia-ch'ang. The drum is made of deer skin and each drum has two drum sticks.

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [431] 276] neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[428] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

/37 cont'd/

427 amount. If the property is rented, the duration as well as the rate of rent /38/ is fixed. It is to be paid either in one payment or by yearly instalment. After the contract has expired, they are either to move away or to renew the contract, which is determined by mutual agreement. If the property is purchased, the price is usually
423 greater than if it were rented. After the contract is signed, the rights of the mountain are transferred to the Miao purchaser, who may make use of it as he will. The original seller no longer has any rights whatever. The reason why some people among the Miao are able to remain for relatively longer periods in one locality is that they have acquired the ownership of the mountains they live on.
[675] Whether the mountain is rented or purchased, a contract is signed by both parties. The name of the mountain, the price or rent, and the duration if it is rented, are clearly stated. There are many mountains which have been purchased with joint funds of the villagers,
[622] but on the contract only the name of the shan-chia or chia-ch'ang is written, because he is the representative of the whole village during the negotiations and the contract is also kept by him. In the home of a Miao chia-ch'ang, we saw many different contracts of this kind. Some of them are translated as follows:

675 "We, the signers of the contract for Ya-nan Mountain, T'ung
539 Li, Lao Ta-k'ai, Shih Chün and Ying Kuo-ying-chi, having ex-
423 amined the vegetation and marked the soil, hereby agree that the price of the mountain shall be 66 dollars. The expenses of tao-ping /the commission?/ shall be 350 cash and a peck of rice from each family. The mountain products, ching-pi, shan-ma, deer horn, bear gall, red and white rattan, are all the property of the owners of the mountain; they shall not be stolen or sold. The Miao will be allowed to cut wood on this mountain for the next 25 years. This contract shall not be revoked on any pretext. Since oral agreement is subject to dispute, this written contract has been drawn as evidence.

Witnessed by Ch'iu K'ai-i

/38 cont'd/

675 This contract is signed in public on the fifteenth day of the
539 second month of the twenty-sixth year of Kuang-hsü, the year of
423 Keng-tze /1900/."

"Again: On the preceding day, the Miao people signed an agreement to pay 270 silver dollars for the mountain land of Mao-kai Mountain. This contract is signed on the seventh day of the first month of the sixteenth year of the Republic /1927/."

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675 /39/ "The rent of Mt. Mao-jui shall be roughly one peck of
423 rice, 350 cash, one jar of wine, and one chicken, to be collected
427 every year."
436

"Wang Kung-ch'ing

427 A new contract has been signed in the year ting-mao of the
675 Republic /1927/; every family is to pay four dollars in the spring of every year. The expenses for tao-ping /commission?/ shall be 305 cash from each family; the expenses for shih-sheng /?/, 100 cash; one chicken, one peck of rice, and one jar of wine from each family.

Black beans, edible fungi, and other mountain products are all included."

The above are contracts for renting mountains.

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423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased from
675 the sellers Li Yüng-sheng, Li Yüng-sheng /sic/, and Mei Ch'ang-sheng. Mt. Mao-jui has been purchased in the twenty-second year of Kuang-hsü /1896/. The price agreed upon is 100 large silver dollars."

/39 cont'd/

423 675 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung /1909/ from P'an Chao and Li Yüng-sheng, who hereby jointly sell the land to Lao Pan at the agreed price of 60 large silver dollars."

"Again: In the second year of the Republic /1913/, Chang Ming-yao has raised /the price?/ 12 dollars."

"Again: Chin chia-ch'ang has purchased the lands of Mt. Mao-jui. Chang Ming-yao sells the aforesaid land to Chin Chia-ch'ang. The agreed price is 200 large silver dollars. This certificate of purchase is signed and executed in the fourteenth year of the Republic /1925/. /40/ The undersigned Chang Ming-yao, Huang Hsing-li, Ch'en Ch'en-chou, and Li Hsi-ch'ing together with the Li people purchase Mt. Mao-jui which is to be transferred to Lao Teng and Lao Chin for cultivation. The agreed price is 350 silver dollars. Sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/."

"Mt. Nan-shih-lung has been purchased at the agreed price of 576 large silver dollars, on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of the Republic /1912/."

"The sellers of Mt. Nan-shih, Wang Kai-lung and Wang Kai-ch'un sell the said land to Teng Chia-ch'ang at the agreed price of 130 large silver dollars. Tenth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of the Republic /1929/."

421 The above are contracts for the purchase of mountains.

423 621 Since these mountains are based or purchased through funds contributed by each family of the whole village, they are, of course, community property. Each family of the village has an equal right in the use of the land. In other words, people of the

/40 cont'd/

421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sún Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V: Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [265] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and 262 have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 252 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [416] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/42 cont'd/
000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
276 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco ~~smoked is~~ of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

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Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him.
551 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the
584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well
[622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with
787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage-
583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of
[831] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are
583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui
591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in-
608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

/47 cont'd/

585 Before the wedding someone is invited by both families to select an auspicious day for the wedding in accordance with the hour, day, month, and year of birth of both the girl and boy. Once the date is selected, both families then begin to prepare for the wedding. If the wedding is of the ch'ü-hsi type, the bridegroom's family comes to the bride's family to go to meet the bride. Otherwise, the bridegroom is received at the home of his wife.

123 At one time, the author attended a Miao wedding ceremony of the chao-chui type. The following account was written in accordance with what I saw that day. It may help the reader to understand the usual manner in which a Miao wedding is celebrated.

585 On the wedding day, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were very busy. All their relatives and friends gathered at their homes to offer congratulations. Cows and pigs were slaughtered. All day long, the bride's family particularly, was in a turmoil. Not until evening, however, did the principal part of the wedding ceremony begin. The bridegroom wore a long gown, a riding [292] jacket, socks, and shoes. His head was covered with a large pointed kerchief, which also covered most of his face, as if the bridegroom was very shy. He was carried out from his home on the back of a male go-between. Close behind them another man holding a wide open cloth umbrella to cover him followed step by step. They were preceded by another male go-between followed by a man who carried the wedding gifts. The wedding gifts consisted of wine and [43] tobacco leaves. The two go-betweens and the men who carried the umbrella and the wedding gifts were formally dressed in long gowns, riding jackets, socks, shoes, etc. After the bridegroom had come a few steps from out the door, the go-between at the front of the procession fired a few firecrackers and the procession paused. Not until they heard the explosion of the firecrackers set off by the bride's family did they continue to go ahead. (In this wedding, the two families happened to be close neighbors. The sound of the firecrackers could be heard from either side.) After they had walked halfway they stopped once more. In a moment two young girls sent ahead from the bride's family (called pan-niang, "bridesmaids")

/47 cont'd/

585 came forward to greet them. They then alternately walked and sang, and the umbrella carriers also sang in response to them. They all stopped walking while singing. In the intervals between singing they proceeded ahead for a few steps, then stopped and sang again. This process had been repeated four times before they reached a small house adjacent to the bride's home. /48/ While this wedding march was in process, the boys and girls looking on also had a good deal of fun. Some of them had encircled the go-between who walked at the head, asking for tobacco leaves; others—mostly girls—closely hemmed in the bridegroom, making fun of him, teasing him, striking him with their hands, or kicking him with their feet; some of them suddenly took away his kerchief and put a battered bamboo rain hat on his head. The bridegroom, however, remained like a wooden dummy without daring to move. Fortunately, he was protected by his male escorts, otherwise, he might have been torn apart.

After the bridegroom's party had reached the small house, the first part of the wedding ceremony was over. The small house had been previously rented /by the bride's family/ for 200 cash, but the owner of the house had to entertain the bridegroom and his escorts with a dinner of chicken and wine, costing more than the rent he received. Having finished their dinner in the small house, the go-betweens and the gift carrier, holding betel nuts in their hands (or using tobacco leaves as a substitute), went to the bride's house where their counterparts were ready waiting for them. There was a dinner with wine prepared on the table in one of the side rooms, and some friends and relatives of the bride's family had been invited to sit there to await the arrival of the bridegroom's party. The go-betweens walked up to the girl's house but stopped outside the door. Only one man was sent in to get admission from the guests at the feast. After awhile he returned and led the others into the room. After they were seated facing the guests invited by the bride's family, they drank toasts to each other. Then both sides sang back and forth. The singer from the bridegroom's family was the umbrella holder; that of the bride's party was one of the guests previously

/48 cont'd/

585 designated. The two singers sang alternately. When they finished
[533] singing, the go-betweens returned to the small house /to join the bridegroom/. Then a humorous act was put on in the small house. It was called t'ao ch'ien-liang ("to collect land tax"). The act began with two persons representing the bride's family coming there to demand tobacco leaves. During this act, there was a very humorous and interesting dialogue. Prior to leaving the house, the two "tax collectors" sang a song outside the door.

After the humorous act was over, one of the go-betweens then carried the bridegroom on his back toward the bride's house. The order of the procession was the same as before. /49/ The bridegroom's party walked to the bride's house and stopped in front of the door of the side room where they were greeted by an usher from
[533] the bride's family. He greeted the bridegroom with a song. One of the go-betweens sang a song in reply. Between the bridegroom and the usher, there was a winnow in which were placed a wine pot and a wine cup. The usher then offered the wine to all the groom's party except the bridegroom. At this time, the young girls of the village again started making fun of the bridegroom, who stood still like a dummy. After singing and drinking, the go-betweens led the bridegroom to the central room of the bride's house. The interior decoration of this room was as follows: On the left side of the front door there was a censer and on the right side there were a pair of scissors and a sickle. In the center of the room, there was a big betel-nut shell with charcoal burning in it. Beside the betel-nut shell, there was a table on which a bottle of wine, two wine cups, two bowls of rice, and a bowl of cooked pork liver were set. When the bridegroom arrived at the door he stopped.

A man from the bride's family stood inside the door, holding the scissors and the sickle in his hand. Facing the bridegroom, he began to perform a ritual and to recite incantations. (It was said
[703] that this ceremony was to drive away the devils /from the body of the bridegroom/.) After that the bridegroom was invited into the room. Stepping over the charcoal, he passed in and was seated at the table. The two go-betweens and the umbrella carrier were

/49 cont'd/

585 seated with the bridegroom in two rows facing each other. In a short time the bride was led out by a bridesmaid from the inner room and seated beside the bridegroom. Her head was also covered with a pointed kerchief which also covered half her face. After they were all seated, the bridesmaid and the go-betweens began offering wine to the bride and groom. After the wine they were offered the rice and pork liver. Then the go-betweens and the bridesmaid respectively took away the kerchiefs from the heads of both the bride and the bridegroom. As soon as their faces had been revealed, the couple immediately left their seats. The bridegroom hurried back to the small house and the bride to her room. The others, however, still continued to drink and sing for a long time before they dispersed. Later they gathered together in one of the side rooms. This time both men and women participated; they sang and drank till dawn.

The next morning the bride's family held a formal dinner in the side room to entertain all the guests. The bridegroom was led by one of the go-betweens to offer wine to each guest. At the same time one of the guests stood up and delivered a speech, the gist of which was advising the bridegroom to respect his elders, to work hard, to live a happy married life, to cooperate with his wife in the management of domestic affairs, etc. After listening to this advice, /50/ the bridegroom went into the main hall of the bride's house and offered wine to the elders and other members of the family. After this was done, he went directly to the bride's room but returned shortly to the small house to rest. What he did in the bride's room, I did not find out.

In the same afternoon the bride, escorted by a woman and followed by a young girl who carried a bundle of her clothes on her back, walked to the bridegroom's home. The bride was dressed as follows: Holding a oiled-paper umbrella, she wore a new dress and
F912 293 a round cap but was barefoot. In the bridegroom's home the scissors, sickle, and charcoal were also set up in the same way as in the bride's home the day before. Before entering the house, the bride

/50 cont'd/

585 stood outside the door waiting for a Taoist priest to perform the ritual before entering the house. After that she entered the house escorted by a woman. In the evening the bridegroom's family also held a dinner to entertain their relatives and friends, and that brought an end to the wedding ceremony. After the wedding was over, the two bridesmaids were each rewarded with 300 cash and three catties of pork. The cash was given by the bride's family and the pork by the bridegroom's.

On the morning of the third day, the new couple went back to the bride's home; but on the fourth, they went over to the bridegroom's home again and returned to the bride's home the day after.

585 Thereafter, the bridegroom remained in his wife's home and became
608 a member of her family, sharing all the privileges and obligations. After the death of his parents-in-law, he may either move away from his wife's family with his wife, or change his surname to that of his father-in-law so that he becomes a member of that family forever.

585 I did not have the opportunity to observe personally the manner in which the wedding of the ch'ü-hsi type is celebrated. However, it was said that it is entirely similar to the wedding of the chao-chui type except that the roles of the families of the man and woman are reversed.

587 There is no ceremony when a widow remarries, nor are there any betrothal gifts. When they decide to be married, the man merely furnishes a chicken, which they eat together, and the marriage is concluded.

There are some additional points worth noting about marriage among the Miao.

582 /51/ (1) Those who have the same surnames are not allowed to marry one another. However, if they are sure that they have no particular blood relationship but simply have the same surname, the marriage is sometimes permissable.

(2) The average age to marry for either sex is about twenty.

585 (3) The Miao people avoid getting married in the third month of the lunar year, when the cotton flower and a plant called toon

/51 cont'd/

585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[793] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[768] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese: /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/52 cont'd/

765 for one day, two, three, or five days. What I observed was a two-day service which actually lasted two days and two nights.

[713] The tso-chai service was conducted by Taoist priests. On the occasion which I observed, they invited more than ten Taoist priests of two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests. The two groups paid honor to different gods, chanted different liturgies, and performed different rituals. (See the following chapter.) The tso-chai service was so complicated that it can hardly be described in detail. Therefore, I shall only describe it in a general way. The tso-chai ceremony formally began on the night of the first day of the service. The Taoist priests of the two groups hung up portraits of their respective gods. At the same time they chanted liturgies and leaped before the gods until midnight. Next morning they performed the chao-hun /"spirit calling"/ service. It was in general as follows: A wooden platform was erected in an open space outside the house. The two groups of chanting Taoist priests holding pennants in their hands ascended the platform in turn. Facing the sky, they called the spirit of the dead man to come back.

765 796 That afternoon a Taoist initiation ceremony was held. Since it was not directly included in the tso-chai service, we will discuss it in the following chapter. On the morning and afternoon of the third day the chanting of liturgies and the dancing continued, but the details were entirely different from that of the day before. The tso-chai ended near evening in a humorous act, "Devil Dance." The dance was performed as follows: A priest was dressed up as a devil wearing a dreadful-looking mask and hid behind the curtain. Two boys dressed as girls drew the devil out from behind the curtain. After seeing the "girls" the devil then became sexually excited, and holding a male sexual organ two to three feet /ch'ih/ long (made of straw), he began dancing while chasing the two "girls." The show was so indecent that it made a person feel ashamed to watch it. In the morning of the fourth day, the hosts entertained the priests with wine. Guests and hosts sang alternately while drinking, and that brought the tso-chai to an end.

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765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan
171 Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 4. Festivals and Sports
527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered
[782] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
773 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
775 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

779 /55/
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San Tsu	Tou-fu San Kuan	Wu-shang-hui
Hsi-tao wu-shang	Shih-erh Shang-ping /The twelve wounded soldiers/	P'in-pu-chi
Hao Kung-Chi /The good cock/	Shih-wu Shang Kung-chi /The fifteen injured cocks/	Shang-yüan-p'ou-hsiang
Chung-yüan Lo-p'a	Hsia-yüan Lo-p'a	Shih Kung-tsao /The four clerical officers/
Chao Shuai /General Chao/	Ma Shuai /General Ma/	Teng Shuai /General Teng/

776 As to which gods belong to the military group and which ones to the civilian group, I do not know. Each god seems to preside over a particular business. Their different duties are clearly divided. [532] Hence during the tso-chai ceremony, they only hung up ten or more pictures of gods who are in charge of the business of this particular ceremony. Because the pictorial representation and the duties of each god differ, the texts for each also are different. To save space in this book, I have merely copied the text of the Chiu-niang /the ninth lady/ section which is as follows:

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539

You, drummer, beat the drum of yang-shou;
Beat again the drum of chao-yang.
Hearing the tunes of the drum turned to yang,
Chiu-niang, highly praised, dismounted from her horse.
This morning you were in the temple of Fa-t'an.
The kung-tsao officer was ordered to bring you the invitation.
After you received the invitation from the kung-tsao,
The precious horses were prepared for you to go to the place of ceremony.
You dismounted in front of the altar,
And were welcomed to the ceremony, enjoying the burning incense.

/55 cont'd/

779 While the worship-settling wine was served at eight tables,
539 The boys were singing the song of yüan-chang below the tables.
/56/ Has the personal story of Chiu-niang not been told?
Every spring has its source, and every flower has its root.
The wind was blowing from peak to peak;
The current of the water flooded over falls and falls.
Bought up by her parents, she was a clever child.
Niang was very calm and pretty.
Her eyes were as bright as the Seven Stars, and her eyebrows, were like the crescent moon.
Her face was as smooth as the paper made in the Easter Capital;
Her head and feet were equally beautiful.
The flowers she wore were as fresh as the morning stars in the eastern sky.
There was a san-shan cap on her head;
It was decorated with gold dust.
Her blouse was embroidered with pearls;
Her eight-piece silk slip was long enough to touch the floor.
Her elder brother's name was T'ang T'ai-pao;
He was a very handsome young man.
To her parents were born a boy and a girl before Niang.
She, T'ang Chin-niang, was her parents' youngest child.
One morning she entered the garden;
Inspired by the lushness of the flowers, she pondered for a while.
Going through the Upper Village, there was not a handsome one;
Passing the Lower Village, there was not one gallant.
There was a cousin named Yang-erh who lived in the Middle Village;
He had a handsome bearing and a gallant personality.
Awakening at dawn the next morning,
She was waiting for him on the roadside where people passed carrying water.
There she met Cousin Yang-erh.
"Cousin Erh, please, listen to me.

/56 cont'd/

779 I have been waiting especially for you this morning;
539 I should like you to be my companion tonight."
/57/ "Listen to me," Yang-erh replied.
"If you are willing to think of me.
You are an excellent gown maker;
Make a pair of long gowns for me,
And a pair of short ones,
And a pair of under garments,
On which are embroidered a drake and duck with fine silk.
Were all my clothes made by you, Niang,
I would look fine and handsome."
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Listen to me, Cousin Erh,
Whatever food and wine you like, I have all ready in the kitchen.
I'll prepare the wine whenever you like.
The wine is the Ninth Month Wine,
That I will drink with you for remembrance."
Yang-erh then turned to Chiu-niang and said:
"Chiu-niang, please, listen to me:
'I won't drink the wine served in a gold cup,
I would like to taste it through your lips."
The East Hall was opened, set with tables and chairs.
Dragons, phoenixes, and drakes and ducks were displayed,
And Yang-erh was received in her home.
He was entertained with different dishes and wines.
Three kinds of food and five kinds of flavors were put on the table;
Boiled pork and choice fish were in the center.
Fruits were offered to him while they were drinking the first cup.
She took away his long robe while the second cup was served.
She became tipsy after the third cup was emptied.
Her face was as pink as a row of /red/ flowers;

/58/

779 He also became dizzy after the third cup
539 And went into the inner room to look for Chiu-niang.
The tables and dishes were taken away and the chairs were rearranged.
They went to the bedroom hand in hand.
After sitting a while in the inner room,
They both began undressing.
The long gown was hung up on the gold hook.
The short gown was hung on the beams of her bed.
The head kerchief was put on the bamboo clothes holder;
The shoes were put in her shoe box.
With both hands, he slid open her silk mosquito net,
And asked her where the double pillow was.
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Cousin Erh, why do you speak so thoughtlessly;
Before this, I have been a maid living in the inner room,
I don't know why I should have a double pillow."
During the first tien of the first keng they slept together,
Like a pair of bamboo.
During the second tien of the second keng he was sleeping by her feet,
Which looked like a pair of ivory combs.
They were sleeping so deeply during the third keng,
Just like two dead persons on the high bed.
The cocks began to crow during the fourth keng;
At the fifth keng, it seemed there were hundreds of flowers waving around them.
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Cousin, please, listen to me.
I have a golden cock which has not yet crowed.
My silver cock will report to me at dawn."
They kept sleeping on the same pillow, just like
A pair of blooming flowers.
/59/When Chiu-niang awoke it was dawn,
She asked Yang-erh to get dressed.

/59 cont'd/

779 She led him from the East Hall to the West Hall.
539 From the West Hall they reached the North Hall, which was too long,
Where they met her sister-in-law who said:
"You, sister-in-law, have had a man at home!"
Her brother also saw them.
Soon the neighbors gathered.
They arrested Yang-erh and put him in irons.
They fastened his legs with hemp ropes and iron locks.
They beat Yang-erh out of his skin.
The beating was so painful that
Yang-erh began to cry out and shout to Chiu-niang,
Who then came to her brother.
"Brother," she said, "please listen to me.
I saw you beating Yang-erh as if you were beating me.
You will violate the law if you beat Yang-erh to death.
Chiu-niang then began to think of a scheme;
Later she did hit upon one.
With her left hand, she took off her dragon-and-phoenix hair pin.
With her right hand, she set the granary afire.
Her brother turned away to fight the fire;
Niang then set her lover free to go home.
He was freed with a voiceless cry.
He was freed like a released lamb.
After Yang-erh had gone about three or five li,
Chiu-niang then called him back and said to him:
"You should prepare agates, pearls, and four pecks of silver.
Each peck containing eighty thousand pairs of cash.
/60/ You should save numerous strings of cash, and
I will go into exile with you never to return.
You should take up the silk clothes /business/.
You must not gamble to make me worry.
You must not amuse yourself in the brothels,
That will make you spiritually sick.

/60 cont'd/

779
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There will be plenty of wine in the shop when you want to drink,
Soup and grain when you are hungry.
If you want to eat meat, please eat the finely cut parts;
Don't eat the bones which might choke you to death.
If you want to build a house, build a high one.
Don't build a low one for that would make other people jeer at you.
To desire fine ladies is the habit of all men in the world,
But who else has a deeper heart than mine?"
They said good-by at the crossroad;
Chiu-niang returned to her room.
She was thinking of hanging herself;
Yet she had not taken leave of her parents.
First, she prayed: "My brother and his wife
Should take good care of our parents.
They must not serve cold rice to our father to eat;
They must not serve cold wine to our father to drink."
Second, she said farewell to the bamboo clothes holder:
"You will never again see your lady hanging up her clothes."
Third, she said good-by to the red silk mosquito net:
"You will never again see younger sister return to her room."
Fourth, she bade farewell to her scissors and measures:
"You will never see younger sister measuring and cutting cloth."
Fifth, she bade farewell to the seven red boxes:
"There will be no more clothes for you to carry."
/61/ Sixth, she prayed in farewell to the six relatives of the nine lanes:
"Yoy will never again see younger sister walking about the countryside.
You will never see her washing her face in the morning;
You will never see her come home at night."
Seventh, she bade farewell to the rivers and piers:
"You will never see her washing clothes."
Eight, she prayed in farewell to the family altar and incense:
"You will never see younger sister burn the incense sticks."

/61 cont'd/

779 Ninth, she prayed in farewell to her dear parents:
539 "Your daughter has committed suicide and entered the world of drunkards."
Finally, she prayed in farewell to gallant Cousin Yang-erh:
"We two will be separated forever!"
She hung herself during the first keng:
She was dead at the second.
In the third keng, her spirit appeared in a dream of her parents.
Her father was wakened by a nightmare.
Holding a lamp, he went to the room of younger sister.
At the first glance in her room, he saw her,
She was hanging from the high beam.
Lady T'ang began to cry.
Over and over, she called, "Chiu-niang."
Then she said, "Every girl in the world loves gallant young men;
Why shouldn't I think about /Chiu-niang/."
Then she began to call: "T'ang Tai-pao, my son.
Hurry up, take the long ladder and bring her down."
Her body was washed with incense perfume;
Dressed up in red silk clothes.
A coffin made of camphor wood was bought.
Chiu-niang's body was put into it.
The East Hall was cleaned up for her coffin.
The South Hall was used for the memorial service.
/62/ A geomancer was invited to look for a good grave site.
The wide road leading southward was a good place for spreading a reputation.
Her coffin was carried across the royal river of nine turns.
Her coffin was carried cross the royal river of nine turns.
She was buried at the entrance of the wide road to the south.
The tomb of the victim of love was seen by everybody who passed by.
The tomb was protected by a green dragon on the left;
And by a white tiger on the right.

/62 cont'd/

779 Hundreds of birds bowed in front of it.
539 The goddess of jade protected her from behind.
When a Taoist priest passed by, he would repeat the name of Buddha;
When a Buddhist priest passed by, he would burn some incense.
When an old man of sixty passed by, he would say mournfully:
"What a pity that one so bright died young!"
When an old woman of sixty passed by, she might say sadly:
"What a pity one so bright did not live long!"
When a young fellow of eighteen passed by, he would murmur:
"Why am I not so lucky as to court a clever girl like her?"
When a young girl of eighteen passed by, she might say with grief,
"Why did such a clever girl have to be buried so young ?"
Men and women are kindly advised hereby,
If you have children, think early of their futures.
Should your neighbor to the east have a son, his marriage must not wait long!
Should your neighbor to the west have a daughter, must she not be married while young?
One must not follow the example of Sister Chiu of the T'ang family,
Without a husband, she died like a blossoming /rose/.
Chiu-niang is now here in person to bless those in front of the altar.
You, Chiu-niang, give your blessing to whoever is leading the horse.

779 195 The Taoist books of the Miao are mostly written in this poetic style with seven words in each line. They have nothing to do with the preaching of Taoism. This aspect is /63/ worthy of study.

793 795 Both the civilian and military Taoist priests use wooden seals inscribed with different symbols. The civilian Taoist priests have two rectangular seals of the same size, (See illustration). The military Taoist priests also have two wooden seals, one of which is inscribed with symbols similar to those of the civilian Taoist priests.

1: Wang--63a S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (1)

The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (1)

(The black part is raised, the white recessed.)

The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (2)

/64/

532 The other one is inscribed on four sides of the seal with the symbol of a man, a dog, a dragon (?), and a pheonix (?) respectively. It is very interesting that the second seal is entirely different from the first one. (See illustration).

/65/Usually whenever a ceremony is performed both the civil-
796 ian and military Taoist priests are present. This was the case in
793 both the tso-chai and the chung-jen chai ceremonies that I personally observed.

The Taoist priesthood is open only to men. A man who intends
793 to be a Taoist priest must undergo a kind of Taoist initiation ceremony, one of which I once attended. It took place at the time of a tso-chai ceremony. As to whether they also have a particular ceremony for initiation at a fixed time and place, I do not know. The initiation rites of the civilian and military groups were conducted in much the same manner.

The manner in which a military priest was initiated was as follows: The candiate wearing a red Taoist robe were seated on a red rug (each priest has a red rug) in front of the altar. A piece of thin paper was put on his head. A picture of a god was fastened with red strings hung from his forehead. A group of old (referring to rank regardless of age) Taoist priests chanted and walked around him. Periodically at every stop of the chanting, they all kneeled down, tearing apart the thin paper on his head, after which they again walked around him. This was done three times. A pause in the ceremony was now announced.

After a short time the candidate was led into an open yard by the old priests and followed by other priests playing gongs and drums. While they were proceeding to the yard, the oldest /i.e. leading/ priest put a grass rug on the ground on which he turned several somersaults. In the yard the candiate was seated in front of a wooden platform. The old priests then took turns in going up the platform upon which they chanted and danced. When the chanting was over, a large net made of tree bark was spread out. The candidate was thrown into it and was lifted up and turned around

532
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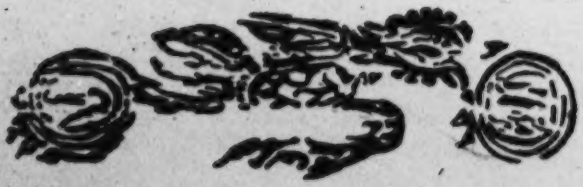
The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (2)

(b)

(a)

(c)



(d)

/65 cont'd/

793 several times and then put back on the ground. After that he was entertained with a meal and wine. Then they returned to the altar. The ceremony was now over.

The initiation ceremony of the civilian Taoist priests was similar to that of the military group. The only difference between them was that they did not have the part performed in the yard. Moreover, at the time the civilian priests chanted before the altar, when they kneeled down after chanting, they combed the hair of the candiate with a wooden comb, which was not done by the military priests.

793 554 /66/ After the Taoist initiation ceremony, the new priest was given a Taoist name. The names given by the two groups were entirely different. Either group, however, has a set of five characters any one of which is used as a prefix to another character in formulating a two-character name. The five characters of the civilian group were "Yin, Yün, Tao, Miao, and Wan," and those of the military group were "Ying, Sheng, Fa, Hsien, and Wan." The method of formulating a Taoist name was to put any one character after one of the five characters. For instance, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village was a civilian Taoist priest. His Taoist name was Yin-ts'ai. Thus every Taoist priest's name clearly indicates whether he is a civilian or military priest. Moreover, the order of the Taoist names is followed by father and son. As Lu Tsun-ying's Taoist name is Yin-ts'ai, his son's Taoist name would be Yün-X. His grandson's Taoist name would be Tao-X. At the end of the series, they start over again at the beginning. There is no age limit for the Taoist initiation. During the initiation ceremony which I observed there were five candiates, of whom the oldest was about twenty and the youngest one was a two- or three-year-old unweaned child who was carried by his mother. Right after the initiation the older ones begin to learn to chant the liturgies and to perform other ritual matters from the older priests, and after some time they could carry out their duties as priests. The younger ones have to wait for a period of years, before studying but once one is initiated, one is qualified to have the status of a Taoist priest.

/66 cont'd/

715 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
713 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/68 cont'd/

4. Magic

754 The Miao have a kind of "black magic," which is intended to injure other people. If a man has a bad enemy, he requests a Taoist priest to avenge him through sorcery. The method is to write the enemy's name on a piece of paper, which is nailed up in a grove of trees. The enemy's soul is thus confined, and he will fall ill with a strange disease and slowly sink into a half-alive state. The only way the victim can be saved is to get hold of the sorceror and compel him to release the soul from imprisonment.

755 This was what I heard from the Miao. Whether this magic was really workable I still do not know. However, I once encountered a disabled man in the home of a Li headman. I was told that this disablement was due to the fact that when this man was a follower of a Li headman who had attacked the Miao, he had killed a great many people. For revenge, the Miao had confined his soul. Might this story be true!

5. Superstition

823 The Miao believe in feng-shui /Chinese system of geomancy/. When I was in Ang-chi village, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang, told me that the reason the Miao people there were so poor was because the feng-shui was not good there. He also pointed out how the feng-shui was poor. The mountain peaks were too sharp, there was a lack of springs, and the aspect was too narrow, so that there was nothing from which wealth could issue. His cousin, a pao-ch'ang,
756 also asked me whether I knew how to practice feng-shui. I gave him a negative answer. He said that he would save more money to enable him to engage a good master of feng-shui, who would find for him a place of prosperity.

787 They also believe in fortunetelling through horoscopes and the practice of physiognomy. While I was there a number of them asked me whether I knew how to read horoscopes and practice physiognomy. /69/ There are some aspects of their social life that have led the Miao to believe in such superstitions. We will discuss it in detail in the next chapter.

/70/

Chapter VIII. Songs and Legends

(1)

533 Singing is an important aspect of Miao life. Regardless of sex and age, almost all of them are talented singers. When we were traveling in the Miao mountains, the clear voices of Miao singers always struck our ears. In the deep woods of the high mountains with no one in sight, it usually gave us the poetic feeling that,

"The singing has ended; no one is in sight;
Only some mountain peaks remain green above the river."

831 Singing is the most natural medium of communication between
152 human hearts. The Miao have made full use of it. When a man
533 and woman fall in love, they sing to each other in order to express their mutual admiration. Inexpressibly happy at a reunion after a long separation, they sing to each other to express their happiness. Bidding farewell at a crossroad, they sing to express their sorrow at parting. Worn out during the busy seasons of agricultural work, they sing for physical relaxation. On festive occasions, they sing to add to the gaiety. In short, all their emotions—misery and happiness, grief and joy—are frankly expressed by singing.

533 Usually they sing their songs in dialogue style—such as between a man and a woman or between a host and a guest, etc. Due to long use, many of the songs have become formalized, so that the words of the replies are fixed. The ability to sing is very important in Miao social relations. For instance, their marriage is usually
584 based upon love. And singing is the principal means of courting.
533 /71/ On the fine spring days, Miao boys and girls usually go out in groups to sing to one another on the neighboring slopes. As the singers gradually draw closer, at this point, if you are a talented singer capable of answering your counterpart in the proper way,
533 victory will be yours. Otherwise, if the singing beauties move
[571] away because of poor answers, how depressed you would feel! At a fine banquet, when the hosts and guests sing alternately to each other, the good singers are always admired by the audience while

/71 cont'd/

533 poor ones cannot help being laughed at. Singing is an indispensable talent for the Miao in their social relations.

(2)

Their songs differ according to locality, and in general can be divided into two groups in accordance with two different styles, i.e., the free songs without set words and songs with fixed words. Generally speaking, the love songs and other songs of pleasure or sorrow are mostly of the former group, and every singer is a spontaneous composer. They sing what they feel at the moment.

533 The formal songs, which are sung at wedding feasts, in re-
571 ligious ceremonies, or between hosts and guests, are of the latter group with fixed texts and are uniform throughout the Miao area. These are not natural outflows of feeling but rather songs of still formality. Everyone can recite these by heart without requirement of talent. The free songs, however, are more flexible; whether the song is good or poor depends upon the talent of the individual singer.

Because the free songs have no fixed texts and because of language difficulties, we did not record them, which is a pity. However, there were copies of the fixed songs in almost every Miao family, as they are taught from generation to generation. We had a chance to collect a few samples. But they were all stiffly formalized. Hence, as far as artistic value is concerned, they can hardly be compared with the free songs cited before which were natural expressions of feelings.

533 /72/ Every aspect of the Miao life is expressed in singing.
536 The contents of their songs are, therefore, complex, multi-faceted, and all-comprehensive. We did not succeed in acquiring many of these songs. We shall now attempt to classify here those we did get:

(1) Songs relating to economic life, such as those sung during certain ceremonies in the process of ploughing or harvesting:

/72 cont'd/

539
241

Bringing in the Crops Song

Bringing our grain crops home,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti* are with us as we bring our crops home,

* Shen Nung was a legendary emperor
who is the supposed teacher of husbandry.
T'u-ti is a term for a local divinity.

Escorting us all the way home to their shelter.
Safely placed in the granaries, these crops will draw the envy of the emperor.
Thank you,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti,
For escorting and protecting the crops all the way home.
When the emperor bestows his attention on us, we'll think of you.
From the palace in the capital, a messenger will be sent us,
And much glittering gold will accompany him.
The tenure of a hsiu /title of government office/ is only three years,
But riches and honor come to an official.
For all this we will be much indebted to you,
And your kindness will be borne in the mind of the emperor forever.

533 (2) Songs connected with social activities, such as the one cited
539 in Chapter IV; "The Song of the Old Villager."

(3) Songs related to love between the sexes. For example, when
533 an unmarried man and woman happen to run into each other in the
539 street, the following is frequently sung:
831

First admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
Show how you feel according to your heart's desire.
What you desire is seen by others,

/72 cont'd/

533 Just as plainly as the sun on the east and the sky on the west.
539 /73/ Second admonition to you, my precious flower, in this
831 world,
If one drinks as much as one wants at a feast,
People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water—
Drinking as much as one wants is a waste.
Third admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you are willing, for 10,000 autumns,
We'll join hands together;
On the bridge over the tangling rivers, we'll walk side by side.
Fourth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you find someone to join you at romantic eighteen;
You can live happily up to sixty.
Unhappy and middle-aged, that is a waste.
Sixth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When your brother comes here to stay for a while.
If he is against me, I will not please him even if I slaughter
a dragon to treat him.
If he is agreeable, he will be pleased with a glass of cold water.
Seventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you hide a man in your room, that is a waste.
Moreover, I fear your man will be killed.
His life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never re-
turn.
Eighth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
You should not loan your money too freely, if you are rich.
You should be satisfied and not press, even if you cannot get
back your principal.
Otherwise, you will feel regretful if someone kills himself.
Ninth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When you are in possession of a cow and a piece of land,
You should not hesitate to consider the coming of spring.
When you have no cow you cannot get an early start, even if
spring is here;

/73 cont'd/

533 And a home without a cow is lost.
539 Tenth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
831 You should not stay idle when you see others learn to write,
/74/ Someday should you get involved in a lawsuit,
You'll know the difficulty of getting someone to write for you on a blank sheet of paper.
Eleventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
[161] Don't curse and utter foul words to your parents.
You are indebted to your parents for raising you.
Otherwise, your life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Twelfth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When the immortals come to fetch you to the king of the wheel,
You will be referred to the renowned king to receive judgment;
He may decided that you are to be reborn in your youth.

The following songs are frequently sung during such occasions as when a man and woman meet in a rendezvous, or when they bid each other farewell, feeling lost and sorrowful on seeing the loved one depart.

539 I. Seeing off my flower,
831 As the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky—
The dark clouds are escorting the moon, and in a little while will escort you,
Back to your melancholy land and melancholy home.
Farewell!

II. First farewell to my precious flower who will soon be returning home,
Like the clouds I see leaving the sky.
Looking at the clouds leaving the sky, how sad my humble heart is!
I am hiding my sadness at parting from my love.
Second farewell to my precious flower, from the dragon's noble land,

/74 cont'd/

530
631

Who is leaving this noble land to return home.
In tears I am seeing my flower off;
My tears are hidden in my heart.
Third farewell to my young, romantic sweetheart,
Leaving this noble land, unmindful of herself.
Fourth farewell to my young, noble sweetheart.
Seeing my flower glib and clever, I cannot bear to let her go.
/75/ If you feel sick at heart.../obscure/
Why no come back when halfway, and you'll not have to worry any more!
Fifth farewell to my angel from heavenly T'ao-yüan /an Arcadia/.
With sad thoughts, my tears are falling on my breast.
For you, angel flower, I remained alive.
For you, my flower, I'll end my life.
Sixth farewell to my romantic one— with great pain in my heart.
My grief is piercing my heart like a sharp knife.
There is much danger on the road;
Take care of yourself, while you are far away.
Seventh farewell to my precious dragon flower—with great pain in my heart.
It is like fire burning in my breast.
If fire burned my breast, I would not wish to die.
But if I did not need you /?/, my dragon pearl, I would wish to die.
Eighth farewell to my precious flower, take care on the road.
Pairs of teardrops flow down my breast.
I feel pain in my heart that you are risking your life.
Come back when halfway, and you'll not need to worry anymore.
Ninth farewell to drake and duck*, wealth and fortune are split and scattered.

/75 cont'd/

/* Symbol of conjugal fidelity and happiness. —Ed./

539
831

Every step forward on the road step by step separates us.
Dark leaves are falling off the flowers, birds are leaving the trees.
Thinking sadly of my flower, I cannot bear to let her go.
Tenth farewell, the clouds and rain and the singing are drifting away.
Together we happily dallied here in this place;
Now I am returning to my gloomy house, with tears in my eyes.
Sorrow and depression will be found in the flowers and trees.
Farewell!
I think of our meeting again in the future.
I am staying here in my own native place.
I will wait for you for the next two or three years.
Farewell!
/76/ One day apart means ten thousand days' thinking of you.
After three years' waiting, heaven cannot bid over our wills:
The tie which our former lives predestined will bind us to no more.

III. Riding through Wu-chou Fu on horseback,
Turning my head, I met the fairest one.
Together we were so happy after I met my fairest one with goose-shaped brows.
At night I looked at the five planetary gods /i.e., the stars/, and bowed,
That wealth might befall heaven's gate before the trip,
And gently drop thirteen points better than my own wish.
Water flowed down our faces as we parted /?/,
Separating from my flower, we shall not meet again in this age.
Best wishes to you, my flower, the Goddess of Mercy,

/76 cont'd/

539
831

Like the clouds drifting and turning away from the hills.
Clouds leaving the hills, my thoughts are endless.
Thinking of you, I feel empty and lost that we shall meet no more.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Hsien-pei seeing off Ying-t'ai,
Ying-t'ai returned to the Jen-ch'a mountains.
But Hsien-pei grieved to death for his flower.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Tou-nü /"bean girl"/ bidding farewell to Mi-shen /god of rice/,
Mi-shen was bewitched by Tou-nü;
But Tou-nü changed her heart and married another.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Shih-nü /"tenth girl"/ bidding farewell to T'ang-hsien,
T'ang-hsien went to the capital and was appointed to the office of hsiao-kuan.
And on the way back he met Tuan-yang-ch'un.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like San-nü /"third girl"/ bidding farewell to Han-p'ing.
/77/ Han-p'ing died for San-nü,
As Tsung-huang lost his head because of covetousness.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Shao-nü /"young girl"/ taking leave of Wen-lung,
I hope that you will remain as fair as Shao-nü.
Like Tung-yung taking leave of Yang-ch'un,
Who sold his body to bury his parents.
I wish I could sell my body at my precious one's native place.
Farewell, my fairest, the autumn lotus.
We shall pursue different roads on our way;
" " " " " " " ".
The moon splits into two parts to return to her path.
Farewell!
With the brush in my hand I'll paint you;

/77 cont'd/

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The picture will be so exactly like you, your face and your brows.
Thinking of you, I'll look at it from time to time.
Farewell!
I'll write about my deep feelings on the Pa-hsien desk;
Writing often will somehow quiet my feelings.
I will not write my verses in double lines.
Clouds and rain bid my autumn lotus away;
Like drawing the knife to cut through the binding vines.
Cutting the vines into two will not cut my fairest from me—
The autumn lotus will resist the cutting without anyone knowing it.
Farewell!
They say my flower hastens past the mountain,
/The next two lines are too obscure to be translated. —Ed./
Farewell, my flower!
Seeing my flower off past Shih-huang,
/78/ Seeing my flower off just past Shih-huang,
Shih-huang draws his hands and does not turn his head.

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(4) Songs sung and answered by the hosts and the guests, taking reciprocal turns, at wedding feasts, are showin in the following several sections:

I. Many thanks to the p'ing-tung /go-between/ who matched this couple.
They have come here today and have met in front of this table.
Carried by ts'ai-huo from Tien-men, village,
They arrived at the bridge; their arrival was announced by the eight carriers.
They passed over the bridge without turning.
Their horoscopes were destined by Heaven.
The alliance was checked in the Wen-ch'ü-an, /?/
They did know that it was stated that they too should meet.
They were not then drake and duck /yüan-yang/ at the House of Yüan-yang.

/78 cont'd/

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But they are now judged to be yüan-yang on this earth.
Now they are going back to the House of Yüan-yang,
To sit and decide whereto they should fly together.
/Two lines omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The Dipper and its seven stars together give them judgment;
The Southern Dipper and its six stars will fly with them,
To go and visit the chuang-yüan /In China the leading graduate of the Hanlin Academy/—and with much eloquence on their lips.
The book with tzu-wei /name of a constellation?/ will record all this.

/Song II omitted because of obscurity in meaning.—Tr./

/79/III. Tonight we have the mighty dragons as our guests.
We have no golden tables and polished chairs for them to sit on.
Chairs made of white wood will have to do for the officials to sit on.
They will have to sit here before bare tables.
See the officials have arrived!
See the officials come in through the door!
See the officials, so witty, sit at the tables!
We have no golden tables nor polished chairs for them.
Good water from the well!
The water from the well flows clear and clean in all directions:
One flows down the green-silk hall,
And the other flows down the tower of the Noble Gate.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the dragons face to face.
We are poor people and we have nothing to offer;
We have to serve cold water as tea for the mighty dragons.
We are a humble family;
We are poor and miserable and have nothing good to eat.
As for a drink, we have neither tea nor wine.
Don't let us offend the honored ones.

/79 cont'd/

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If the wine is not good,
If is like offering well water to officials.
Cold water is offered to the noble officials to drink.
One cup will make the officials feel good.
This is a humble family without golden wine cups.
White stones placed in a line on the table will be the cups;
White stones as cups are not right—
They will not look in line, no matter how you put them on the table.
/80/ We have no golden wine cups; we have only earthenware.
Nor have we golden tables or polished chairs for you.
The officials have red sedans with polished chairs.
We are poor and miserable and cannot afford all this.
We offer drinks to the noble officials with our hands.
After one cup, they will feel good.
We know you honorable ones are disgusted with the taste of our wine;
We know you are disgusted with our rough hands.
You are grumbling because we cannot afford to offer big baked cakes.
Grape myrtle /?/ and green vegetables are placed on the table.
" " " " " " " " " "
Plain vegetables on the table are tasteless—even with salt.
We are miserable!
We think of whatever we can do—our humble hearts are good. /?/
The kindness of the dragon's heart is shown more than when he is in his palace;
It is our rare honor to have them come to our feast.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the tigers face to face.
On these big, bare tables we can offer nothing.
It is like the eastern sea cutting off the sandy net. /?/
We cannot give the honored ones everything.
Ashamed that our lowly family has not yet established a house—

/80 cont'd/

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Without tables, without chairs, we are not yet established,
Without bowls and without plates, there is nothing we can put on the tables in lines or rows.
Rice is served!
We offer rice to the honorable officials with our humble hands.
/81/ The honorable ones who have come here have no chairs to sit on,
Like swallows sitting on a crossbeam,
And falling on the ground, the noble ones get hurt.
Their clothes are torn, making them feel bad.
Our family is poor and has no golden chopsticks.
Green bamboo and polished chopsticks we offer to the officials to hold.
Red sedans and golden chopsticks are in Kwangtung—
They are too rare to fall into our hands.
The honorable and witty officials have come from a long distance,
And sit here now as if before bare tables.
Before bare tables, with no wine to drink,
Your hearts are becoming unfriendly.
In the hall five tables /...obscure/ are used up,
Like six pairs of drakes and ducks joined together.
In the hall a group of stars are now sitting at the tables,
...to wish fortune to the family.
When one goes into the woods to cut some bamboo, one stirs the trees.
When one goes down to the water to draw out the fish nets, one arouses the dragon.
First, may our landlords' houses have riches and honor,
May strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed.
May all our landlords enjoy long life,
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu*.

/* The Methuselah of China./

/81 cont'd/

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Second, may our masters seek to become immortals.
Once one cultivates Buddhist immortality, it will lead to becoming chuang-yüan /highest graduate of the Hanlin Academy/.
A chuang-yüan's virtue is seen seeking the way to immortality.
And each man will be seen as naturally intelligent.
Third, may our masters' houses be favored with riches and honor,
May their stalls be full of livestock: pigs, sheep, cattle, and horses;
And when they are released from the stalls,
May no eagles, birds, or big snakes dare to touch them. /82/
Fourth, may our masters have long lives,
Long lives like P'eng Tsu's.
P'eng Tsu, many years; our masters, many years!
P'eng Tsu, many springs; our masters, many springs!
Fifth, when our masters sow their seeds,
May the crops grow and multiply five-fold.
Flourishing so that every year nine granaries of grain will be harvested.
Sixth, as our masters pass on the mountain roads,
And arrive at the yellow mountain,
May the mountain horses and yellow deer reach it,
Climbing with all four feet without faltering.
Seventh, when our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets;
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
Eighth, may our masters enjoy long life—
Lives as long as green silk stretching over a hundred thousand feet long;
May you talk with eloquence to the judge in the other world,
So that no sickness nor evil spirits will dare to befall your families.

/82 cont'd/

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Ninth, may our masters' work in burning be successful,
So that each /?/ year light will appear at the shrines,
And fields will be bright without ploughing,
And your sons will grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
Tenth, may all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials.
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans
May the high families before us be endlessly blessed,
So that we small stars facing them will not know how to act, /83/
And bamboos and firecrackers break forth the good tidings to old and young.
/This next line is obscure./
Eleventh, may our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
Twelfth, may you rise to a new office as a distinguished official of the highest degree,
With five boys and five girls lined up before you,
With your pigs producing dragons and your hens producing phoenixes,
With people, tens of thousands of them, under your office.
Three steps forward, three steps backward;
Three steps backward, the wedding will be over.
Two young branches with pure thoughts
Pray that you go up to the ... tables
That all the stars will be seated
And hasten to eat and drink tea.
With hands on our breasts we thank the distinguished ones.
All the stars are now leaving to have a walk outside,
Strolling in a line, two in a row.
We have great feeling for you at the moment you pass by here.

/83 cont'd/

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IV. All the various officials have been wandering about looking for the moon.
We have found the moon.
We have had the luck to receive their honorable favor.
When first we were summoned,
It was somewhat like the eastern capital summoning us to the moon.
This is a wedding matched by the six points.
Coming into this flower place, we look around,
And hope the son of heaven /the hosts/ will guide our steps.
We come into the autumn (...) bamboo tree mountain,
We come into the Tower of the Noble Gate,
/84/ The Tower of the Noble Gate is so well furnished,
Polished chairs line up on the four sides.
Our hosts offers us the best white rice—
Placed on the table, its fragrance spreads over the whole feast.
Even before eating it, one feels good in the heart.
Our honorable host's family has riches and honor.
Gold bowls and silver cups confront us.
This is like the occasion in the palace of the Jade Emperor at Peking—
Dragons and phoenixes in lines and rows shining all over the sky.
Our hosts offer us the best golden chopsticks—
Their ends and tips are coated with gold,
Glittering and brightening all the corners of the hall.
Our hosts' house has riches and honor.
The bright table in front shines up toward the sky.
This is like the city river at I-fu,
With dragons and phoenixes in rows and lines reddening the four sides with brightness.
Our hosts have everything, thousands and tens of thousands.
Gold wine cups are placed in lines on the feast tables,
This is like the dazzling stars appearing in the sky.

/84 cont'd/

539 Wine placed in them gives off a bouquet reaching the sky.
585 Our hosts have the best of wine and rice;
Placed on the feast tables, its fragrance reaches everywhere—
Its fragrance reaches a distance of four li,
It can be compared to the dragon's liver....
For two years they prepared for the southern stars.
Our hosts, honorable and rich, sit by the line of tables,
Offering us rice and drink out of golden bowls.
All the stars feel good after drinking so much. /85/
/Two lines omitted here because of omissions in the text./
Golden vases are placed at the line of tables,
In rows and pairs to match the heavenly stars.
Our host has many riches and much honor
The bouquet of the jade wine and the gold cups spreads over the whole feast
Having drunk it this year is an immense pleasure.
The bouquet will grace our mouths for sixty years.
To travel by horseback to the drake and duck
Is like receiving the courtesy and hospitality of a Literary Chancellor.
We very much hope that the honorable ones will guide us in our manners,
And lead us around the four corners with open hands.
The Southern Dipper and the Six Ranks all appear here.
All have come to pay a visit at the Hall of the Son of Heaven.
Officials have come on foot to visit the learned ones;
We have come from a distance for the wedding.
Letting loose the horses and holding a pearl, we enter the hall.
When the new officials are published before the emperor,
On the list will be clearly listed all of you,
To be entered and commented on forever.
We very much hope all the stars /hosts/ will guide us in our manners,

/85 cont'd/

539
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Like the bright moon guiding the stars in roaming around.
Endless words and phrases cannot be exhausted to express our feelings,
For getting the stars back in the mazy river /of heaven/.
If so many high and wise ones will condescend to hear us:
We draw our hands to give our wishes for the coming winter and the four seasons.
We all give our wishes for the coming winter and the four seasons.
May sickness and evil spirits dare not come to your house,
/86/ And every season of each year may safely befall you,
And may you have lives as long as green silk stretching over ten thousand feet long.
May riches and honor come to our landlords,
And strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed,
Precious things in gold caskets at the head of the bed.
And may silken cloth and satin embroideries fill the whole hall.
Moreover, riches and honor to our landlords,
Riches and honor greater than Shih Tsung's,
And may our landlords have everything that can be had,
And for ten thousand years may they be known as wise.
Moreover, may our masters seek to become immortals.
In the other world the chuang yüan /the highest graduate/ will be at peace in the former heaven /Taoist term for previous existence/.
The T'ien Shih /"heavenly teacher," a term for the head of the Taoist sect/ will mark this on his golden list.
Divine powers will carry the spirit to the Jade Palace.
Riches and honor to our masters' house.
May herds of cows and horses multiply in all the stalls.
When they are released from the stalls to go outdoors,
May no eagles, birds, and great snakes dare to touch them.
Long life to our masters—
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu, who lived so long.

/86 cont'd/

539 When our masters plant grain,
585 May the crops multiply five-fold,
Rich grains growing to the tips,
Yielding crops enough for ten full granaries every year.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
That when you reach the mountain, fish and meat will come.
May the mountain horses and jade deer on which you come
Climb with all four feet without faltering.
/87/ When our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets.
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
May our masters' path go in ten directions:
May incense burn at the shrines every year.
May horses come from four directions for you to sit and ride.
May your sons grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
May all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials,
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans.
This year we judge this couple here to take their seats at the wedding ceremony.
Next year there will be another pair at the wedding feast.
Two judgments and two weddings match two couples.
Two couples will multiply so that two will become two by two.

533 The third and fourth songs of the above are sung by hosts and
585 guests, each taking the role of singing and answering. The hosts sing the song first (No. III above), and the guests answered with

/87 cont'd/

533 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part
585 mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The
[571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest
533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days.
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder.
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible. —Tr./

/88 cont'd/

533 We have copied a great many of the Miao songs above. These songs, because they have been made rigid through writing, have lost their original freshness and spontaneity. Moreover, the errors the Miao made in /89/ writing them out have rendered the songs sometimes almost unreadable. It is a great pity that the real charm and wit displayed in Miao songs cannot be appreciated from the pages here!

(3)

538 The moods conveyed to us by Miao songs, when they were sung,
152 were not those of loftiness and tragedy, but rather those of tenderness and delicate pathos. There are many breaks in the singing, but the tune during these breaks merely lengthens and weakens, the lingering sounds of the music not breaking off. Thus, it takes a
533 fairly long time to finish the singing of each song. Those songs which are sung as counterparts are started first by one in a group of persons. He stops at the end of the fourth line, and the opposite party will continue the singing with an answering part for another four lines. Then the first singer will pick up the singing again. In this manner, the singing is kept on with every four lines sung alternately by the two opposing parties. The form of Miao songs, as can be seen from the examples given above, is of two kinds: One kind has seven characters to a line. Most of the Miao songs are of this kind. The other kind has three-character lines alternating regularly with seven-character lines. Because of the difference in form, these two groups of songs are sung in different ways, which will be illustrated here. For example, in the singing of a song of
538 the first kind, take the following words:

539 "Jen hua tu ch'uan pu k'an shui, yin chiu t'an to yeh shih hsien."

/People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water, drinking as much as one wants is a waste./ (Excerpt from a Miao song). They are sung in the following manner:

(The dash between the words indicates the lengthened, carried-over tones from the preceding words).

/89 cont'd/

533 Jen hua /people say/ O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — tu ch'uan /rowing
539 a boat/ — pu k'an /ignoring/ — clo shui /water/ —
ā hā — hum — yin chiu /drinking/ — clà t'an /as one
wants/ — to /much/ — yeh shih /is/ — hsien /waste/ —
O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hum — tu ch'uan — pu k'an — clà
shui — tī hā — hum — yin chiu — t'an to O hoy — ǔ
Vǐt — shih — hsien — yeh /particle of emphasis/ —
shih — hsien — hā

/90/ Every two lines make up one unit in the song. Each unit is always sung as above, but a short pause is given between units.

Songs of the second kind are sung in the following two ways:

(a) Take the following words:

"Fen li le, yi szu tsai hou te hsiang feng." /Farewell, I am thinking that we shall meet again in the future./ They are sung in the following manner:

Fen li le /farewell/ — a hā — hum — yi szu /thinking/ — tsai /in the/ — hou /future/ — te /get to/ — hsiang /each other/ — feng /meet/ — hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hum — fen li clo — le tī hā — hum — yi szu — tsai hou O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hsiang — feng — te — hsiang — feng — hā —

(b) Take the following words:

"Sung hua ch'ü, wu yün sung yüeh kuo t'ien hsin."
/Seeing off my flower, (as) the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky./

They are sung in the following manner:

Sung /see off/ — hua /flower/ clo — ch'ü /go/ ā hā — hum — wu /dark/ yün /clouds/ — sung /see off/ lo — yüeh (moon) — kuo /across/ — t'ien /sky/ — hsin /heart/ — hoy — sung hua clo — ch'ü tī O hā — hum — wu yün sung yüeh O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — t'ien hsin — kuo — t'ien hsin — hā —

/91/

533 Every two lines in this kind of song also constitute one unit. If seven-character lines follow in the sequence, singing will be done in the manner of singing songs composed of seven-character lines.

This is all that we know about the ways Miao songs are sung. If there are other ways of singing them, we are not aware of them at present.

(4)

538 The legends of the Miao may be divided into two classes: One comprises those which are indigenous, and the other comprises those which have been introduced from outside. This distinction is immediately apparent when we take a look at the contents of the legends. Moreover, the legends may be divided into two classes from the point of view of form: those which have the same form as the songs, and those which do not. The legends with the same form as the songs are either the texts of the civilian and military Taoist priests, or the various songs for social occasions. These are easily available, since they have been written down. As regards those legends which are not in song form, they have been handed down entirely through oral transmission, and collecting them is difficult.

Of those legends which are indigenous, the most interesting are the ones which explain the process of the creation of heaven and earth and the origin of their ancestors. Two of this kind will be re-
539 773 corded as follows:

(a) The Little Girl of Fu-chi Sings:
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! The drum is turned to Yang —
The little girl of Fu-chi arrives at the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Fu-sang Temple.
The kung-ts'ao /"merit official"/ was ordered to send you an invitation.
At the invitation of your masters,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the site of the altar.

/92/

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You dismounted in front of the Heavenly Hall.
You were received at the royal feast to sing your first graces.
You looked at the Emperor and the Empress before you began to sing,
To sing the song of the little girl of Fu-chi:
There is in the official records of the olden days: thunder fell to the ground.
Honorable Chang with his feet kept it in the heart of Ts'ang.
Honorable Thunder said to Honorable Chang:
"Take a basin of water and wash yourself all over.
Take a basin of water and ... all over.
I think it will work to get me out of the heart of Ts'ang."
When Honorable Thunder finally got out of Ts'ang,
He offered his teeth to acknowledge the favor.
The teeth he granted were the seeds of felicity —
In three generations all debts were redeemed.
Then there were a brother and his younger sister to whom Honorable Thunder said:
"Take a knife with sharpened edge and put it in the heart of the stove."
They took a knife with sharpened edge and put it in the heart of the stove.
Then they carried wood and water and put them into the heart of the stove.
When they had filled the stove with wood and water,
They had a dream that in the east there rose a cloud.
The cloud did not seem like a cloud,
It truly was an extraordinary cloud.
Rain fell for seven days and seven nights.
For seven days and seven nights it darkened heaven and earth.
For seven days and seven nights the Flood rose.
The stove was thrown up to the level of heaven.
After seven days and seven nights the Flood subsided;
And the stove fell into the Koulkun Mountains.
Next morning they got up early.

/92 cont'd/

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They had seen in a dream that there was peace but there were no men.

/93/ When they walked past the foot of the /Koulkun/ Mountains,

They met Green Bamboo in the woods.

Then the brother and his younger sister inquired of Green Bamboo:

"Are there any people in the world?"

To the brother and sister Green Bamboo replied:

"There is not a single man in the world,

There is not a single ghost in heaven,

And there is not a single soul on earth,

As all men in the world were drowned by the flood."

He earnestly proposed that the brother and sister should become man and wife.

But the brother and sister were offended.

They chopped Green Bamboo's root with a big sword, and said:

"If you, Green Bamboo, grow together as before,

We, brother and sister, will get married and become man and wife.

If you do not grow whole again,

The world will certainly be without mankind."

If one walks past the foot of the Koulkun Mountains,

One will see the body of Mr. Green Bamboo:

Originally he was without nodes and joints —

Now one will see the scars left by the sister's sword.

Next morning they got up early.

As the cock crowed they ate breakfast, then again went into the woods.

There they inquired of Tortoise:

"Are there any people in the world?"

To the brother and sister Tortoise replied:

"There is not a single man in the world,

There is not a single ghost in heaven,

And there is not a single soul on earth,

/93 cont'd/

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773

As all men in the world were drowned by the flood."
He earnestly proposed that the brother and sister should become man and wife.

/94/ But the brother and sister were offended.
They chopped Tortoise with a big sword, and said:
"If you, Tortoise, grow whole as before,
We, brother and sister, will get married and become man and wife.
If one walks past the foot of the Koulkun Mountains,
One will see the reborn body of Tortoise:
Originally he had a smooth and shining shell —
Now one will see the sword scars there.
Then the hearts of the brother and sister were still unwilling.
They bought and burned incense whose fume rose up to the clouds.
They burned incense in two places;
The fumes of the two crossed and reached the heart of the sky.
They made a vow that they, brother and sister, would become man and wife,
And their marriage lasted spring after spring,
For three and five years as man and wife.
For three and five years they had no child.
Then they gave birth to a lump of blood.
They thought of a plan to make mankind from it.
They made people under three hundred and sixty surnames.
Half of them were officials and the other half were common people.
Mankind did not have rice to eat:
They ate leaves of trees and hearts of rattan.
Mankind did not have clothes to wear:
They used leaves of trees to make gowns and skirts /i.e., women's clothes/.
There were more men than women:
That is why there are bachelors in the world today.
There was once a mouse at the top of Tzu-wei Mountain.

/94 cont'd/

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773

He was looking around with a seed of grain in his mouth.
Shen Nung /legendary emperor, supposed teacher of husbandry/ took the seed and planted it.
That was the origin of grain.
/95/ That is why today there is enough to eat in the world,
Passed straight down for generations to the present.
Now whosoever believes in him will prosper.
Looking beyond the high mountains the sacred divine one will return.
Shen Nung will arrive at the temple to guard and bless us in person,
To protect us from calamities from heaven and eradicate suffering and ills according to the heart of heaven.
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! the drum is tuned to Yang.
P'an Ku /legendary being who created the universe/ descends to the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Ch'ing-tsao Temple.
Because respect was bestowed on you by the masters, you were invited to sing your first graces.
At the words of invitation,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the scene of the aerials.
You dismounted in front of the Heavenly Hall.
You were received at the royal feast to sing your first graces.
You entered the feast and received a drink of An-ch'ih wine,
And sat at the feast and began to sing your first graces.
You looked at the Emperor and the Empress before you began to sing,
To sing of P'an Ku himself.
In the old, old times Emperor P'an Ku
Opened up the first day, in the person of P'an Ku himself.
There was not yet heaven nor earth,
No sun, no moon, nor that which is between heaven and earth.
But there was first the Jade Emperor, as it was told by P'an Ku.

/95 cont'd/

539 773 "The Jade Emperor and I were produced together.
We were not reared by a father and mother.
But we were born out of many-colored dark clouds.
The Jade Emperor evolved many changes in heaven.
He created heaven, earth, and all that which is between heaven and earth.
/96/ The Jade Emperor has three hundred and six transformations of his eyes.
P'an Ku had three hundred and six transformations of his body.
The left eye became the sun;
The right eye became the moon.
The earth on top of the mountains are what was on his head.
The fish in the deep waters are what was his liver and heart.
His teeth became money and jewels.
And his bones became great rocks.
His flesh became golden earth.
His red blood became flowing water in the rivers.
His fingernails became trees in the mountains.
His hands and feet became stars.
His stomach and entrails became the nine bright pearls.
His feet and toes became ponds and pools in the fields.
And the bones and flesh in his whole body were all changed,
The stars and trees were from his body.
Today he comes here to bless us in person,
To eradicate sickness and calamities according to the heart of heaven. (End)

539 (b) Song to be sung at the temple. (The following song is in the form of questions and answers. The words in the parentheses are the answering parts.)

(The first part of the song is omitted here.)

Who opened the sky and established the earth? (Prince P'an)
How many pillars were used in making heaven and earth? (Five)
How many chang between heaven and earth? (Ninety thousand)

/96 cont'd/

539 How many chang (Ninety thousand) to heaven and how many wide? (Ninety thousand)
What countries are eight days to the east?
How many provinces are eight days to the south?
How many countries are eight days to the west?
How many people are in the provinces of the eight days to the north?
/97/ How many stars appear in the central sky?
We ask you, officials, to let us know.
We ask you what year was the flood?
Under which emperor were the people killed by the flood?
Which year was it when the flood subsided?
In the beginning how many emperors (Five) crossed the oceans.
Where (The transformed corpse of Buddha after death) did the branches begin to divide?
Which emperor (Li) was born in which palace? (T'ang)
Where did he succeed and how well?
Which emperor (Li) fulfilled which emperor's (P'an's) rule?
Which emperor (P'an) was capable of ruling the world?
Which emperor (P'an) delimited boundaries at which place? (Fu-tze Mts.)
He opened up how many paths (Five) and established what custom? (Marriage)
Which prince (P'an) first established this ceremony?
When it was set up in the world, what was sought? (Descendants)
As for the system of matching horoscopes of betrothed couples, who (Grandson Lü) made it?
What was it made for on this earth? (Marriage)
When matching horoscopes how many characters (Five) are offered...?
When this is done, the characters set up what? (Marriage)
When Emperor P'an was born who brought him up? (Wu...)
He was brought up in what place? (Ch'u Hsien)
Emperor P'an married what family's (Hsien) daughter?

/97 cont'd/

539 Who (Prince P'ing) arrived at making what (Go-between) custom?
The sacred register was produced in what (T'ang) dynasty?
In which dynasty (Ch'ing) was set up what custom? (Wang Ch'ien)
On what day did the wedding of the Emperor P'an take place?
When was the couple united?
How many (Five) daughters were born to Emperor P'an?
Then /he beckoned for marriage into his family/ what gentleman (Shan-ju) of how many surnames? (Five)
/98/ The first daughter married what surname? (Teng)
The second daughter married what family's young man? (Chiang)
The third daughter married what surname? (Chao)
The fourth daughter married what family's young man? (Li)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how long are parents cared for?
Prince P'an in his lifetime lived how many years? (Five hundred)
Graciously added were how many (Six) tens of springs?
When Emperor P'an made the world, what kind did he make?
He made what kind (Heaven and earth) and set up what custom? (Marriage)
When he made metals, wood, water, fire, and earth,
How did he have being born and dying?
From what (Hair) did he make the Huang-mao Mountains
From what (Bones) did he make Ta-shih /"great stone"/ Mountain?
From what (Hands) did he produce mountain bamboo?
From what (The viscera) did he make mountain rattan?
Who (The Jade Emperor) decided on the rules governing heaven and earth?

/98 cont'd/

539 Who (T'ien Shih*) first settled peace in the world?

/* "heavenly teacher," head of the Taoist sect. —Ed./

In the beginning what (P'ing) prince first sat in the palace?
He sat in what chou /district/? (Peking)
He ruled in what dynasty? (T'ang dynasty)
Emperor P'an delimited boundaries in what place? (Fu-tsu Mountains)
How many (Five) paths were opened up and what custom was established? (Marriage)
We ask you what year (The first year of Chia-tzu) did Ko-tou /?"singing bean"/ die?
Who (Hsien, "immortal") took him and buried him on what mountain?
He was buried on what (Nan, "south") mountain facing what direction?
How many (Five) hundreds of mud bricks were put up in a heap?
/99/ Talk of ancient times is endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

539 (c) (The name of this song has been lost; it is also of the
173 question and answer form.)

(Preceding part omitted.)

When heaven was opened and earth established, who did it?
When heaven and earth were made, how many pillars were there?
How many chang were there between heaven and earth?
How many chang to heaven, how many chang wide?
There was both birth and death.
Eight days to the east are what kind of countries?
Eight days to the south are what kinds of gates /?/ ?
Eight days to the west are what kinds of countries?
Eight doors to the north are what kinds of gates?

/99 cont'd/

539
173

Flowing from the center, how many stars appear?
We ask you, Spring Officials, let us know.
We ask you when was the flood?
Under which emperor were the people killed by the flood?
We ask you in which year (The first year of Chia-tze) did the flood subside?
It flowed in what direction? (Koulkun Mts.)
In the beginning how many (Five) princes crossed the oceans?
Where (Transformed corpse) did the branches begin to divide?
What (P'an) prince was born in what palace? (Me-shui Palace)
Where did he succeed (Ch'ing Dynasty) and how (Ten thousand soldiers) well?
Which emperor (Li) fulfilled which (P'an) emperor's rule?
Which (P'an) emperor was capable of ruling the world?
Which (P'an) emperor delimited boundaries at what place? (Fu-tze Mts.)
He opened up how many (Five) paths, and established what custom? (Marriage)
/100/ In the beginning this rule was made by whom? (Emperor P'an)
When it was set up in the world, who (Descendants) was sought?
As for the system of matching horoscopes of betrothal couples, who (Lü Tsai) devised it?
When it was devised in the world, it concluded what custom? (Marriage)
When matching horoscopes, how many (Seven) characters are offered...?
When this is done, how many (Eight) characters conclude what custom? (Marriage)
As for Emperor P'an, who (Wu-yün) brought him up in the beginning?
He was brought up in what place? (Ch'u Hsien)
The sacred register was produced in what dynasty? (Ch'ing)
Which (Ch'ing) dynasty set up what custom? (Imperial Gate)
Emperor P'an married what (Hsien) family's daughter?

/100 cont'd/

539 Who (Emperor P'ing) proposed the use of go-betweens?
173 As for Emperor P'an ... how many daughters?
Then he beckoned /for marriage into his family/ what young men of how many (five) surnames?
The first daughter married what (Teng) surname?
The second daughter married what (Chiang) family's young man?
The third daughter married what (Chao) surname?
The fourth daughter married what (Li) family's young man?
The fifth daughter married what (The family register is unclear) surname?
In the world today what is the custom for union? (Marriage)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many springs?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how are parents cared for?
The fifth daughter respectfully cared for them
And her parents lived a long time for many springs.
Her kindness was exalted and endless.
The record even though unclear mentions this and tells us about it.
Emperor P'an in his lifetime lived how many (Five hundred) years?
Graciously added to his life were how many (Sixty) springs?
/101/ Talk of ancient days are endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

533 Because these historical legends are all rhymed songs made of
538 lines of seven words each, they are frequently sung: The first, (a),
173 is sung by the Taoist priests during the "tso chai" ceremony. The next two, (b) and (c), are sung at wedding feasts with groups of men and women as the opposing singing parties. Interestingly, the contents of these legends provide answers to questions related to the origin of mankind, such as the creation of heaven and earth, the calamity of

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This is not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a
773 daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/101 cont'd/

539 they were children of a dog. One day /102/ when the dog, feeling
773 lazy, did not go to the mountains to hunt, he was beaten by the two children. Upon this, their mother scolded them severely and told them the truth. She said that they were born of her union with the dog and that the dog was in fact their father. She further told them that since they were children of a dog, nobody would ever want to marry them. It was thus wise that they should marry each other in order to continue the line. After the brother and sister were married, they had two boys. When they grew up, the two boys were not able to get along with each other and often quarreled. Their mother became disgusted and drove them out. One fled up to the mountain, and the other down to the sea. The one who went up the mountain became the ancestor of the Miao; the one who went down to the sea became the ancestor of the Tanka /boat people of Canton/. Henceforth, the descendants of these two groups have not walked on the prince's land nor paid taxes.

773 This legend gives us a picture of how the ancestors of the Miao were symbolically conceived of by them (i.e., born of a dog), what kind of economic life they led at the beginning (i.e., hunting), and what kind of marriages between those of the same blood originally existed among them (i.e., marriage between brother and sister), and also what the relationship between the two groups, Miao and Tanka, was like, etc. What important implications all this revealed to us in our study of the Miao social system!

538 As regard to the legends which were brought to the Miao from outside, these are numerous. Due to limited space here, only the following sample, which consists of a section of the sad and romantic story of a Mr. Yen Hui and a Miss Chang Meng-wo is given here:

539

The Ancient Song of Meng-wo

Speaking at leisure of old tales and books,
Let me sing the story of Meng-wo.
Thousands of other old tales have been told over and over again,
Let me sing now the story of Meng-wo:

/102 cont'd/

539 Mr. Chang lived in a place both high and low.
He lived in a place named Chang Pai Ch'ang.
The family had three thousand strings of cash .
East, west, south, and north they had established farms.
/103/ Mr. Chang had no son but had two daughters.
The two of them made a couple, which excelled any son:
The elder daughter was named Precious Gem;
And the younger one was named Chang Meng-wo.
The elder one had natural skill in weaving thin brocade embroidery;
The younger one had natural skill in weaning silk gauze.
They wove the Yellow River with nine turns.
They wove ducks and drakes paired with male and female phoenixes,
They wove male and female unicorns paired with lions.
They wove fierce tigers paired with leopards.
When their needlework was compared,
The tapestry was no better than the silk gauze.
Everything that was woven by them was real:
It is good art to write like the teacher and to render the tiger real.
The elder daughter was married at eighteen to a secretary of state.
584 539 The younger at fifteen left her parents.
When Meng-wo was about seventeen or eighteen,
She had never stepped outside the front door.
Now in the Upper Village there was a knowledgable old woman named Huang.
She wrote out young girls' fortunes and acted as a go-between.
She wrote out fortunes in all the chous /districts/.
In the nine chous and ten districts /hsien/, she was without parallel in this.
She came then to try her book, at the house of the young gentleman Yen,
Who was highly literate and knew the Three-Character Classic by heart.

/103 cont'd/

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People say it was in the third month when flowers bloom in wild profusion.
The two sisters wanted to go out to look at the fragrant flowers.
This morning they did now know what their fate would be during the year.
The two bowed deeply and said:
"If you, father and mother, give us the word,
We 'll go back to comb and dress ourselves.
/104/ If you, father and mother, do not give us permission,
We shall not dare go out the door."
Their father and mother replied:
"Listen to what we say, daughters,
When you go, take your horoscopes.
Go together and come home early, both of you."
Upon these words from the mouths of their father and mother,
They went to comb and dress themselves up for the trip.
Their hairdo had been in the style of a coiling dragon's moustache;
Now they made one of the style named "Looking for a Husband."
They looked in the bronze mirror placed in front of them.
Their faces were like that of the young girl of the village in the Peach Paradise.
Long and short golden hairpins were inserted all over the hair,
Well stuck in on the four sides, high and up.
They walked like Kuan Yin /Goddess of Mercy/ when about to come out from the sea,
And sat like the immortal of the village in the Peach Paradise.
Passing through the east street to the south street,
Across the west street and back from the north street,
And at the crossroads and thoroughfares,
Their looks excelled that of all the people in the whole district of Tuan-lieh.
The district of Tuan-chou did not have /sic/ thousands and tens of thousands,

/104 cont'd/

539
584

But only Meng-wo's looks stood out.
Walking further they came to a flower garden village.
Behold, flowers flourished on the trees,
They saw tender peach blossoms just opened up.
Half of the leaves on the trees were green, and the other half yellow.
Yellow bees pierced the flowers in pairs,
Butterflies sojourned on trees in couples.
Yen Hui, attired in finely embroidered silk and satin,
Passed by on horseback and saw Meng-wo.
/105/ "Little girl, whose family do you come from?
What do your father and mother call you?"
Meng-wo replied to Yen Hui,
"Hsiu tsai*, please listen to my words.

/* A graduate of the former first degree in the Chinese examination system. /

My father is called Elder Chang,
He produced me as the little girl named Chang Meng-wo.
May I inquire hsiu tsai's honorable name?
What is your order in the family?"
Yen Hui replied to Meng-wo, saying:
"Beautiful one, please listen to my words,
I am the third son of the Hui family.
I have come here to have a look at the flowers."
They did not dare to tarry too long in the garden of flowers,
They returned to their respective homes.
Their affinity had been set in a previous life,
Now they met as drake and duck.
Returning home and sitting in his private room,
Yen Hui began to think in his heart,
During the day he thought endlessly and did not eat.
At night he thought endlessly and could not sleep.
Mr. Yen, hearing of his son's tears,

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Talked the matter over with his wife.
"We have brought you up to an adult, Yen Hui.
A man's life is like the autumn grass."
Yen Hui immediately replied:
"Father, please listen to my words.
If you want me to marry someone, don't choose a girl from another family.
I wish to take pretty Chang Meng-wo."
To this Mr. Yen immediately replied:
"My son, please listen to my words.
/106/ Man and wife are predestined in the previouls life.
What is regulated in the previous life determines a couple.
If it is predestined, you will meet each other.
If it is not predestined, the two of you will part."
Yen Hui replied to his father and mother,
"Father, listen to my words.
If I can have the Chang family's daughter,
I am willing to die on the third day."
Hearing these words, Mr. Yen began to think in his heart.
The next morning he called for the old woman Huang.
And asked the old woman Huang to act as go-between.
He asked that the old woman Huang hurry,
And go to the house of Chang to act as go-between.
She went to Mr. Chang's and sat in the doorway.
Mr. Chang invited her into the upper hall.
And asked the old woman Huang to sit down in the upper hall.
Tea and boiling soup were prepared in the kitchen.
After the tea came and before they had drunk three cups,
Then the old woman Huang began to talk.
"What have you come here about, old woman Huang?"
The old woman Huang blushed as she was about to speak.
Mr. Chang said to the old woman Huang:
"Whatever you have to say, please do so freely."
The old woman Huang replied to Mr. Chang:
"Please listen to my words.

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People say that your family has a daughter,
Who is now at the proper age of eighteen."
Mr. Chang replied to the old woman Huang:
"If the horoscopes are in harmony, then a union may be made."
/107/ The old woman Huang replied to Mr. Chang, saying:
"There are also the betrothal gifts which should come in pairs of gold and silver."
Mr. Chang replied to the old woman Huang, saying:
"Please listen to my words.
First, there must be five hundred strings of copper coins.
Second, there must be three pecks of pearls.
Third, there must be fifty pairs of gold hairpins.
Fourth, there must be fifty pairs of spun silks.
Fifth, there must be fifty pairs of gold hens.
Sixth, there must be ten pairs of dragon geese.
Seventh, there must be fifty pairs of large pigs.
Eighth, there must be fifty pairs of silky sheep.
Ninth, there must be thirty-six containers /?/ of wine.
Tenth, there must be silver cups to cover the container tops.
If you can get all these ten gifts,
You can make a match for Meng-wo."
When Yen Hui heard these words,
He immediately began to think in his heart.
Opening up the south storehouse of betrothal gifts,
He took out gold and silver by tens of thousands.
He took out copper coins by the thousand and tens of thousands strings.
He took out three pecks of pearls.
He took out fifty pairs of gold hairpins.
He took out fifty pairs of spun silks.
He took out fifty pairs of gold hens.
He took out fifty pairs of silky sheep.
He took out fifty pairs of large pigs.
He took out fifty pairs of dragon geese.
He took out thirty-six containers of wine.

/107 cont'd/

539 He took out silver cups to cover the container tops.
584 /108/ Eight hundred men carried the wealth of gifts,
On the way to the betrothal of Meng-wo.
831 But not half a month after the betrothal was made,
539 Yen Hui fell ill and lay on the high bed.
First they wrote a letter reporting that he was ill.
Second they wrote a letter reporting that he was dead.
The letter arrived while she was eating.
Tears blowed in her eyes, dropping in pairs.
She pus down her chopsticks and read the message.
Read it once, then read it again.
In the message there were no idle words.
There was but sad news that the two were parted.
Meng-wo undid her coiling dragon hairdo and put on the mourning sign.
She took off the gold hairpins and put them inside the dragon box.
Mr. Chang went to the Upper Village to borrow a big horse;
Meng-wo went to the Lower Village and borrowed a sedan chair.
Mr. Chang mounted the horse and went with bowed head.
Meng-wo was behind him still proud and fine.
Mr. Chang turned his head and scolded his daughter:
"Whose family ever brought up a girl to go looking for a man?"
Meng-wo answered her father, saying:
"I am going to the house of Yen to burn filial incense.
Where has there ever been an ox yoked with two yokes?
A horse saddled with two saddles?
A bow fitted with two arrows?
Or a girl who married two husbands?
It is difficult for a horse with two saddles to carry passengers on his back.
A girl married to two men would be the laughing stock of all."
They arrived and were seated in the main hall of the house of Yen.

/108 cont'd/

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They opened up the coffin and took a look at the corpse within.
/109/ Meng-wo's tears flowed in streams.
Then she said to Mr. Yen:
"With the heart to raise your son you did not have the heart to save him.
Now my feelings are in a turmoil.
Livestock, big and small, must not have been slaughtered.
White paper and incense must not have been burned.
Who did not make wishes before the gods?
Who did not burn incense before the altar?"
Hearing Meng-wo's words, Mr. Yen replied:
"Little girl, please listen to my words.
We raised our son with our whole hearts to provide against old age:
To store up grains is to guard against famine in the distant future.
Livestock, big and small, have been slaughtered.
Thousands of pieces of white paper, gold and silver have been burned.
In the morning we killed pigs and sheep as offerings to the ghosts.
At night we killed chickens and ducks as offerings to the five shang /persons who died young/.
Containers of wine were continuously placed on the altar.
Wine was poured before the shrine to make a paste.
Everything was done, but our good wishes were of no avail.
'I'll never get out of bed.'
We replied to our son, saying:
'My son, what has caused your ailment?'
Yen Hui replied to us, saying:
'Please listen to my words now:
I am now struck with a serious illness.
My life will shortly end, and I'll see Yen Wang (king of hell).
When the oil is burned up the light in the lamp coldly dies.
Giving up life, I shall shortly come to Yen Wang.'

/109 cont'd/

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To this we replied, saying:
'Son, why do you utter these words?
/110/ You have been betrothed for only half a month on this earth.
Why do you give up life and go to the place of the departed?'
Yen Hui replied to us, saying:
'Father and mother, please listen to my words.
When death arrives, there is no distinction between old and young.
The breath in my throat is getting short—I cannot bear it for long.
Everyone in the world wants to live a hundred years.
I am unlucky, and my life cannot be long.
Yen Wang does not care whether a person is old or young.
He does not think of it when he marks with his pen in the register.
Everyone wants to be a son of heaven.
My luck is short, and I cannot desire so much.
Please send word to my betrothed:
I pray that Meng-wo will marry another man.'
Then his body was bathed with scented water,
And placed in a coffin of red silk.
Before yellow leaves have fallen, a green one has dropped.
We sent cassocks everywhere for people to wear.
We know that Meng-wo's gods have taken his life away.
We know that our son's life was short."
When Meng-wo heard these words
She meditated for a long time.
Then she took a key and opened a basket.
She took a key and opened a box.
She took out red silk cloth two changs long.
She took out red silk cloth two changs long.
At the first night watch she hung herself, at the second night watch she was dead.
Husband and wife both lay dead in the hall.

/110 cont'd/

M 831 539

Then they bought a long plank of wood,
For Meng-wo to be put upon.
/111/ When the Taoist priests had finished the funeral ceremony,
Husband and wife were sent up the hillside.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
On the left there was the Green Dragon, on the right the White Tiger.
From behind the Jade Goddess protects their grave site.
In front the scarlet bird* comes to pay its respects.

/* A position in geomancy./

At the back were fierce tigers facing spotted leopards.
Sing to the end the ancient tale of Meng-wo.
So that it will be spread over the five lakes and the four seas.

M 538

In addition to the above, there are the Song of San Pe Ying T'ai /" the three heroic elders"/, the Song of Chiu Niang /" the three girls"/, the Song of T'ang Hsien Chang Shih Niang /"the ten women of T'ang Hsien Chang"/, the Song of Mai Ch'en, etc. All of them are well engraved in the heart of every Miao. Because they are all lengthy pieces, space does not permit us to include them in the present report.

/112/ Chapter IX. Intergroup Relations between the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao.

(1)

M H 648 121

The Chinese constitute the majority of the inhabitants of Hainan Island. Next are the Li and the Miao. The intergroup relationship of the three ethnic groups—the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao, particularly the first two—has constituted an /important/ part of the history of Hainan, and naturally it still will be at the core of problems

H /112 cont'd/
M of Hainan Island in the future. Therefore, in order to understand the
648 history of Hainan or to solve problems of that region in the future, it
121 is very important to understand the intergroup relations among these three peoples. Let us now begin our discussion on relations between the Chinese and the Li.

H In the second chapter of my book Report on an Investigation of
175 the Li of Hainan Island, where the "racial and geographic origins of
101 the native Li people," is discussed, I have assumed that the Li migrated from Nanhai /of present Kwangtung province/ to Hainan during the Stone Age. I do not yet have concrete proof whether this assumption is close to the fact or not. However, it is beyond doubt that the Li have lived here since the prehistoric period. According to the most reliable historical research, the Chinese moved to Hainan during the Ch'in dynasty /221-207 B.C./. In 110 B.C., Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty established two provinces there, Chu-yai and Tan-erh. This is recognized as the official date when Hainan Island was brought under China's sovereignty as a part of her territory. It also dates the beginning of intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li. It has been more than two thousand years since then! During these two thousand years, Chinese immigrants to Hainan increased from year to year. The Chinese immigration was carried out more intensively after the Sung period /960-1278 A.D./. (For further /113/ reference see the author's History of the Development of Hainan Island.) The expansion of the areas occupied by the two groups
H naturally caused complicated conflicts. Moreover, Hainan Island
648 traditionally has been considered an "area beyond /Chinese/ civili-
175 zation" by the governments of various dynasties. They established no suitable policy for governing the Li. Outside the negative actions of "suppression" and "appeasement," they did very little actual constructive work. (For further reference see in the author's book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, the chapter concerning policies adopted by governments to govern the Li.) Hence they could not win the good will of the Li and only increased the troubles between the two groups. This traditional deficiency has come down to modern times, and still causes trouble between the

/113 cont'd/

175 two groups from time to time. Take, for example, a recent occur-
648 rence: After the peaceful settlement of the Liang-Kwang incident in the summer of 1936, when the country was more solidly unified, the central government of China began to pay more attention to the constructive development of Hainan Island. Consequently, the challenge of opening up Hainan Island became very popular both in government circles and among the public. It reached its climax after the visit to that region by T. V. Soong, member of the Standing Committee of the National Economic Committee. After that, exploratory teams sponsored by various groups on the mainland were sent to Hainan Island, one after the other. Following this, like a wind blowing up a burst of clouds, there followed an investment competition. Capital was raised from various sources and sent to Hainan to purchase land in the Li area. Among them the returned overseas Chinese, possessing an abundance of capital, formed the most aggressive group. Their investments, made with the assistance of the local government, were the most profitable. However, such a competition to purchase land, without any plan, finally aroused the doubts of the Li, who began to oppose it. Especially, a few landlords who had large mountain holdings were vigorously opposed because of the damage to their interests. A few days after my arrival during my recent field trip to Pao-t'ing, a Li chia-ch'ang /headman/ complained to me: "When they buy up land so recklessly, how are we to live afterward?" He posed this question and waited for my answer. In addition several young men protested even more vigorously. It made me realize that the problem was very serious. Indeed, after Wang Chao-i, a Li leader, came back from Canton to Pao-t'ing, he started a movement against the purchase of land in all the different localities. Before taking the action, Wang wrote a long letter to Huang Mo-ching (alias Huang Ch'iang), the magistrate of the Ninth Administrative Inspection Area. His attitude can be seen in the following letter:

648 539 /114/ "To His Excellency Mo-ching: I respectfully acknowledge receipt of your telegram. In order to develop industries in Ch'iung-yai /i.e. Hainan Island/, Your Excellency's idea is

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448 absolutely correct. To utilize the capital investment of the
539 returned overseas Chinese has also been my idea. Hence, some years ago I joined the Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid Society. It has always been my sincere hope to attain the objective of mutual help. As to the present conflict caused by the returned overseas Chinese buying land, it is not that I do not want to do my best to bring about mutual help; it involves many difficulties that we are unable to bear. Let me explain this to you as follows:

423 "The land is controlled by individuals. The trustees of the
425 t'uan do not have the right to sell the land that the people hold.
539 Now when these returned overseas Chinese buy land, they give each t'uan 500 dollars, inveigle a contract with the district government before the fact, and then, through political pressure, force the trustees of the t'uan to sell the land by attaching their signatures to the sale. This has caused the trouble. It is not right either from the legal point of view or on the basis of reason. This is the first point.

311 "The people of the interior (i.e. the Li) usually make their
539 living through planting on the mountain slopes. Without their mountain land to plant (and they do not possess level fields either), they would certainly be forced into perpetual slavery, or at the most would not be able to exist. This is contradictory to the principle of 'equalizing land ownership and control of capital' as indicated in /Sun Yat-sen's/ Principle of Livelihood. This is the second point.

423 "As we understand it, each t'uan usually includes several
361 hundreds of li, with several hundreds of families. Whose mouth
539 would not water over buying such a large area of land for so little money? Following this precedent, the land of the 40 to 50 t'uan of Pao-t'ing district could be bought up for some 20,000 dollars. Accordingly, the land of the three districts in the Li area could be bought up for less than a hundred thousand dollars. After such a purchase what would happen to the living of the several hundred thousand Li and Miao in that area? This is the third point.

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539 "The Li and the Miao are uneducated. They live a primitive
185 life as in ancient times. They should be educated and further civilized, so that their production might be increased and they could enjoy equal treatment. No one should take advantage of their backwardness and take away their land unjustly, making them poorer, with no means to live by. This is not the proper way to treat /minority/ groups. This is the fourth point.

648 /1. 5/ "The local people welcomed the returned overseas
167 Chinese in the hope that they might invest their capital in agri-
539 culture and set up a good example for the local people to learn to increase agricultural production. Now the interests of the local people have been completely jeopardized, and they cannot live together peacefully. This is the fifth point.

"If the district head recognizes the right of the t'uan trustees to sell the property of their t'uan, he, as the head of a district, would accordingly have the right to sell the property of his district. This is the sixth point.

"Moreover, news of the central government's program for the Ch'iung-yai area (Hainan Island) has been widely spread. Capitalists all know that land prices in Hainan will rise rapidly. Therefore, under the pretext of organizing a district for the returned overseas Chinese, they buy up land beforehand, eagerly scheming to make a profit. This is the natural tendency to which more attention should be paid." (The part following is omitted.)

648 In spite of the polite wording of his letter, it is easy to see that his heart was full of anger. What the people were directly opposing then was the returned overseas Chinese who were purchasing land. But the district government was also indirectly involved. This letter shows how angry he was at the t government. However, owing
[184] to the complicated financial interests among the Li themselves, their reactions toward the land-purchase problem were by no means uniform. As far as I know, some of the Li leaders signed special contracts with returned overseas Chinese. This action led to dissension among the Li. Such complicated troubles involving the conflicts of

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648 different elements consequently developed into a great stumbling block to the purchase of land. However, these troubles were interrupted by the Marco Polo Bridge incident which brought the government development program to an end. The storm, therefore, was over.

However, there were also many other reasons that caused disharmony between the Li and the Chinese. For centuries the Chinese government had not paid proper attention to governing the Li. It neglected the qualifications of the officials appointed to the Li area. The appointed Chinese officials in charge of administration in the Li area were generally cruel and corrupt. They were only interested in acquiring property in the Li area. Taking advantage of their backwardness, they oppressed the Li and took away their property at will. This corrupt administration began as early as the Han dynasty. Sun Hsin and his son, Pao, were the /116/ first. Officials in later dynasties followed their example or became even worse. The records of corruption appear everywhere in history. In addition, there were local rascals who made illegal use of official titles to cheat the people. Chinese merchants who went to the Li area on business also took advantage of the backwardness of the natives to make illegal profits or to lend money at high interest rates. These people added more burdens to the already bankrupt Li, who became poorer from day to day. In consequence, they became reckless and resorted to uprisings. The Li uprisings under different dynasties actually arose for these reasons. Even at the present time, the Li are still suspicious of the Chinese. We felt this strongly as soon as we arrived in the Li area. We were surrounded by suspicious eyes and unnatural behavior. It was hard to get them to trust us. They were even more suspicious toward government officials. In recent years, the government has carried out much propaganda work to "civilize the Li" with considerable success, but this kind of lack of mutual understanding cannot be removed at once. In 1935, the Kwangtung Provincial Government divided the Li area into three districts, Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, and in the next two years made plans for developing the Li area. These were important matters for the Li, yet their

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H 648 response to it was cool, and no enthusiasm was shown. However, the especially negative attitude of the few Li leaders of the landlord group was for different reasons. Previously, these Li leaders were landlords who held enormous mountain landholdings with rich animal yields. They were the privileged class in the society, who could act like kings. For the preservation their special privileges and standing, they were opposed to any outside influence. This situation was clearly reflected in the antagonism between the district government and the Li leaders. The movement against the purchase of land by returned overseas Chinese which was said to have been initiated by the populace in reaction to the threat to their existence, might also have been due to the selfish motives of a few Li leaders who wanted to preserve their personal interests. Therefore, we must make a thorough investigation of such complex internal conditions, in order to get a real explanation of anything that concerns the Li.

M 648 101 /117/ Now let us turn to the relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book we learned that the Miao migrated into Hainan during the Ming period. At that time the coastal area was already occupied by the Chinese, while the interior plains were occupied by the Li. Hence the Miao were compelled to live in the deep mountainous area and to make a living from planting on mountain slopes. They usually had very little connection with the Chinese. Therefore, the corrupt officials of successive dynasties had very little to do with them. As a result of this isolation, they have had no bad feelings against the government and the Chinese. What bothered them the most were the Li in the adjacent areas and the few influential Chinese merchants who took advantage of them. Hoping to be freed from this kind of oppression, they enthusiastically looked forward to the government governing them directly and developing the area. The establishment of the three districts in the Li area brought them a certain amount of comfort. At this time, however, I personally saw a certain incident in Pao-t'ing district: A certain Chinese merchant, who had been doing business in the Li area for many years, possessed a great deal of farm property—level fields and mountain slopes. He was an

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648 influential person in the locality and often took advantage of the
736 Miao of the area. Once a Miao man who had picked a few catties of edible tree fungus on another mountain passed through his mountain. He then arrested him on the ground that the Miao had stolen the fungus from his land. In addition to the confiscation of the fungus, the Miao was fined several tens of dollars. The Miao then began to appeal for justice to everyone he met. His Miao neighbors were sympathetic and wished to help him. They advised him to petition the district government. Anxious to have the affair settled, they sent agents to the government everyday to find out the result and waited for the trial. Days passed, and there was no response from the government at all. We could imagine how disappointed they were. Later when I came back from the Miao villages and went to inquire about it at the district office, I was told that no such case had been received, and the district government had /118/ heard nothing about it. What happened? I really felt bad about it.

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648 Now let us turn to the relationship between the Li and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book, we mentioned that originally the Miao were sent to Hainan to help the Chinese government suppress the Li uprisings. Therefore, the two groups had no reason to like
175 each other. However, neither the Li nor the Miao possesses a written history. These ancient conflicts could not have remained in their minds. Their antagonism, therefore was due not to historical factors but to economic reasons, or, more correctly, to their connections with the land.

As mentioned before, the Miao were the last group of immigrants to Hainan Island. The fertile land was already occupied by the Chinese and the Li by that time. Consequently, they were compelled to live in the deep mountains, enduring terrible hardships. Yet these mountain lands by no means belonged to them but were rented from the Li under contracts of different terms, because long before the Miao moved into Hainan these mountains had already been occupied

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648 by influential Li leaders. Hence, even at the present time, almost without exception all Miao land is rented from the Li (a small part also belongs to Chinese merchants who have made their for-
648 tunes in the Li area). From the economic point of view, there-
466 fore, the relationship between the Li and the Miao has been the relationship between landlords and tenants. The Miao have to pay a certain amount of annual rent to the Li leaders (landlords); sometimes they even have to contribute personal service without compensation. They have to make a contribution toward running the Li schools and t'uans equal to that of the Li participants, but they are not allowed to participate in their administration. Moreover, the ownership of the land belongs to the Li, who can take the land back from their Miao tenants at any time should the latter
648 be disobedient. /119/ During last year's call to "develop Hainan," many shrewd Li leaders declared that they would take the mountain lands back from the Miao to cultivate themselves. Some also took forest preservation as a pretext and forbade the Miao to burn the mountains. When this news reached the Miao community, they were scared to death and did not know what to do about it. Among these unreasonable arrangements, the most cruel one is that the mountains are rented to the Miao tenants, but they are forbidden to enjoy any of the mountain products other than the crops that they
[822] cultivate. Some Miao pick some of the mountain products, such as edible fungus from trees and rattan, which they may bring out to barter with the Chinese. If they are caught on the way to market by the Li, all the commodities they carry with them are usually confiscated, and in addition they are heavily fined. Commodities subject to confiscation even include the animal skins which the Miao might have hunted in the mountains. Under such circumstances, the Li leaders and the Chinese landlord-merchants usually cooperate because their interests are identical. When I was in the Li area, I personally saw how these /Chinese/ merchants expressed their anti-Miao feeling. One can imagine how hard Miao life is. When I had just arrived in the Miao area, they all approached me with countless complaints about how they were badly treated by other peoples and how hard their livelihood was. They begged me

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648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
648 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

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181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

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157 people. They must work hard so they can overcome nature and in-
461 crease their production. They must be frugal so they can make the most effective distribution of their hard-earned produce in order not to be anxious about starvation. All visitors who have been in Miao villages are surprised by how hard they work. The women usually get up before dawn to do their various domestic chores. Early morning is also the time for them to hull rice. The thumping of pestle and mortar occasionally wakes up the sleeping guests. After sunrise they separate and go up the mountain to cut wood or do some kind of farm work. The men work on the same schedule from sunrise to sunset. The busiest season for them is the period from the second to the fifth month. Within this period they have to cut wood, burn the mountains, and sow. Every type of work requires much physical strength. They usually make the best use of every inch of the land.
M Their frugal life is equally praiseworthy. Though most of the men
273 drink and smoke, they do so only to a certain extent. There are almost no drunkards in Miao society. Except on a few festive occasions, they seldom drink. Some of the women do drink, but none of them smoke. /122/ This is in sharp contrast with Li life. Furthermore, under the double oppression of both Li leaders and Chinese merchants, the Miao are an underprivileged people. For the sake of living they have to learn how to obey and be submissive and patient, but at all times they never give up fighting for a better life. Therefore, in personality they are firm of purpose.

H The Li are not like this. In the Li area, though level fields
13 are very rare, yet the endless mountain slopes are invaluable property
313 given by nature, full of lumber, rattan, wild animals, etc., free for exploitation. The slopes of the small mountains are the best land for raising grain. It is only necessary to start operations and then gather in the crops. Since their supply of foodstuff is com-
H paratively sure, their spending is also freer. It is of no use for them
181 to pile up their savings. "Be drunk while you have wine today";
273 let tomorrow take care of tomarrow. Furthermore, they can move
276 from place to place rather freely. From mountain to mountain, they need not worry about seeking a place to live. Hence drinking

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H 181 273 276 [148] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

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H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

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648 economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and
439 the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

H
M In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought
177 about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading
191 position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and
H the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest
M way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both
[87] the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

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M We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems
648 exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

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M This, of course, is the responsibility of the government. However,
C48 they by no means can be solved through verbal service. It is necessary to understand the core of the problem first, so that the disease may be cured by the use of the proper medicine. As has been mentioned before, troubles between the Chinese and the Li are caused by corrupt officials, land rowdies, dishonest merchants, etc. To adjust intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li, the prerequisite is to get rid of these bad elements. This is a purely political measure. In the future, if the government selects better administrators for the Li area, intensifies discipline, and checks corruption, the Li will naturally come to the support of the government and the obstacles between the two peoples will gradually disappear. In the near future, as to the land problem, which is a natural result of the movement for the development of Hainan, the government should set up an over-all program and measures for a satisfactory solution so that disaster may be avoided before it breaks out. The relation between the Chinese and the Miao is comparatively simple. It is easy to improve. But the frictions between the Li and the Miao should be given more attention. The antagonism between them springs entirely from the land problem. /125/ Within limits so that the Li interests are not jeopardized, we should give some satisfaction to the Miao with regard to their demand for land. In this way the Miao would be satisfied while the Li would not be scared of their "bed" being occupied by other people. If the source of trouble is removed, the antagonism between them would disappear, and intergroup friendship would naturally improve.

However, these passive measures are by no means enough for further improvement of intergroup relations. We have to do something actually constructive that would link the two groups spiritually. The removal of the source of trouble relies upon political power, while the improvement of spiritual relations relies primarily upon cultural forces. As regards the latter, Chinese culture should be utilized to the utmost. That is to say, we have to develop to the fullest extent the good elements of Chinese culture and make use of them to improve the lives of the Li and the Miao so that they will

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H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 178 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

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Appendix

Journal of the Investigation

A complete journal of the investigation of the Li and Miao has already been included in the author's Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. The following excerpt, covering the period from the 18th day of the second month to the 15th day of the third month (1937), is given here because this particular section is related to the investigation of the Miao, and the reader may use it as a reference for the main article.

Second month, eighteenth day. (Thursday)

133 At eleven o'clock in the morning, with Wang Chao-i's younger brother, Chao-ch'in, as guide, the investigation party set out from Pao-t'ing for Ta-ch'i, with 22 hired bearers to carry the baggage and a horse borrowed from Wang Hsün so that we could take turns riding. As we left the city gates, an uneven ridge of mountains rose and fell before our eyes, but Mount Ch'i Chih /"Seven Fingers"/ stood out as especially imposing, with its peaks visible from afar, sticking up like seven fingers, from which it has received its name. As we proceeded along the way, there was nothing but mountain paths, which were steep, rugged, and difficult to negotiate. By three o'clock in the afternoon we had passed the Chiu Ch'ü mountains, which were precipitous and dangerous, and we puffed from our exertions in climbing them, and when we reached the summit, all the mountains lay spread out at our feet, and we could see for a distance of hundreds of miles.

On either side of a narrow defile lay luxuriant growths of primeval forests, which could truly become an inexhaustible source of wealth if scientific methods and management were used. Passing over from the front to the rear of the mountains, the road was short and actually wound back and forth nine times.

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133 The configuration of the terrain was so steep and dangerous that one could truly say that "a single man defending it could withstand 10,000 of the enemy." I learned that Mr. Wang's father, Wang I, had been ambushed and murdered here. When we had crossed the [142] mountains, I was exhausted and tried to ride the horse instead of walking. /128/ I had never ridden a horse before and sitting on its back, I swayed back and forth and was in constant danger of falling off. As the road was so steep and rugged, I finally felt that it was too dangerous to ride, so I had to dismount and go on foot. At five o'clock we arrived at Ta-ch'i and went to Wang Chao-i's house to spend the night.

In Ta-ch'i Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and Miao all live together, and it was really an ideal place for investigation. Wang Chao-i's house was situated on top of a small hill, and in front of it was a fish pond and a vegetable garden. On all four sides were cultivated fields and beyond the fields lay the hamlets of the various groups; still farther on were countless rows of mountains. Looking down from this height, there were boundless vistas of scenery, the beauty of which could hardly be equaled. The house was made of rows of bricks and was unusually sturdy, and beside it was a stone house; its interior arrangements were lovely, almost comparable to that of an upper-class Chinese home. As I looked at it while leaning against the balustrade, a floating vision of the feudal castles of medieval Europe came before my eyes.

Second month, nineteenth day. (Friday)

124 Today a funeral service in a Ch'i-Li family was being held in the neighboring village of Yen-sheng, and at eleven o'clock in the morning, after an early meal, we went there to watch. We also visited Huang Kung-ch'ing, the t'uan trustee of the Yen-sheng t'uan, whose two sons had once studied at the Chiang-ts'un Normal School in Canton. At Huang's house, we also met Li Hsi-ch'ing, a merchant from Lo-hui district, who told us that his father had come here to trade. Later on he inherited his father's business, and with his good

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business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

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755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

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Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

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000 This allayed their suspicion. We then took out our phonograph and
126 turned it on, which attracted swarms of Miao to gather around us.
Upon our request to look at the Miao scripts, which Headman Lu kept,
122 he let us peruse a number of them, among which were some very
treasured ones, depicting the origin and history of the Miao people.
511 Headman Lu talked to us at length about the hardships of the Miao;
their indescribable and hard-to-imagine low living conditions brought
forth our deepest sympathy. There were 12 families in this village,
under the family names of Lu, Teng, and P'an. Their main occupa-
tion was farming on lands rented from the Li people.

000 Limited by our schedule, we decided to cancel our trip to Pao-
ch'a village. We left Ang-chi at five-thirty to return to Ta-ch'i.
They gave us a warm farewell, asking us to return to their village
again. Upon our return, we found that Mr. Wang Chao-i had come
back from Pao-t'ing, and we had supper together, during which he
talked at length about his experiences in the Li area. His stories
fascinated us and sounded like fabulous legends.

Second month, twenty-third day. (Tuesday)

226 After breakfast we went to Wen-hua River to watch the Li carry
on their collective fishing. The two banks of the river were crowded
with men and women, about 60 or 70, each carrying fishing gear.
The stream was rather narrow, and the depth of the water was hardly
up to the knee. First, a section of the stream was selected, and then
large stones and rocks were put in the water to block the flow from
upstream, and small ditches were dug on the lower part of the stream
in order to half empty out the water. Then the poison was poured in.
When the fish touched this poison, they were immediately knocked
out and floated on the surface of the water. The Miao then rushed to
catch them with their nets. Today, the job was rather poorly done
because the water from upstream had not been dammed completely
enough to prevent the flow downward, thus preventing the emptying
out of the fishing area. Since the poison could not have its full effect
in the water, /132/ only a small amount of fish was killed and caught.

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755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [582] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/132 cont'd/
622 217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we 122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

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our dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were 262 difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

765 /134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and we joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

828 In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had a good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

765 To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and [262] bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

764 A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

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764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second mo[illegible] twenty-seventh da[illegible] (Saturday)

The program for [illegible]hai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call bac[illegible] soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests, 554 793 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each [179] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

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554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

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361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, 574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, [34] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers
585 assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

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Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[193] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[136] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

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000 At Ta-ch'i we opened our box of medicines at Mr. Wang's house, but could not find any drug for dysentery. Mr. Wang's workmen 278 told us about a herb, used frequently by the Miao and said to be a kind of miracle drug to cure dysentery for the Miao. I suggested to Yüan-chiung that he should try it, as it might not do him any harm. He instantly resisted the idea and said he preferred death to taking the Miao drug. As we were put in such a predicament, with no medical facilities of any kind around this place, a thought suddenly struck me. As a child I had seen countrymen in my native place mix honey with tea to cure dysentery. Mr. Wang happened to have honey in his house, and we had brought along several kinds of tea with us. I mixed some and let Yüan-chiung drink it. Its effect is yet to be seen.

000 When we were at Ang-chi, though it was a filthy place, I was able to amuse myself by talking with the Miao. Back at Mr. Wang's house, it was like living in a castle; the place was much more comfortable, but I felt overcome with loneliness.

Third month, sixth day. (Saturday)

Originally I had thought that we should start for Pao-t'ing today, if Yüan-chiung was not any better. But after taking the drink of 278 honey in tea that I gave him yesterday, he has felt an immediate 164 effect. His dysentery has become much less frequent, and his spirits are much higher. As a complete cure seems in sight, we are glad to be able to cancel our previous plans.

After breakfast at ten o'clock, we set out for Wen-hua trading center, intending to take a closer look at the trading conditions of 226 the Miao and Li. At Wen-hua ten or more boys were making fish bombs, which they threw into the river to explode among the fish. We bought some 20 firecrackers for ourselves and asked the children to make a fish bomb for us. With it we caught about half a catty of fish, and we brought them back for supper.

243 The Li in the neighborhood were busy sowing and planting rice, and during the day we walked about the fields and talked with them.

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Third month, seventh day. (Sunday)

There was a dense fog this morning, and as we could not go out, I wrote several letters. As one of Mr. Wang's workmen intended to leave Oao-t'ing today, I gave him the letter to mail. Yüan-chiung's sickness was completely over by this time, and he had recovered his spirits. We roamed all day long in the neighboring Ch'i and Hsiao villages. In a number of places we saw Hsiao girls at work hulling rice, /140/ but, seeing the approach of strangers, they hid away immediately, so that we had no chance to take pictures of them.

136 444 [135] In the afternoon a Chinese peddler came from Pao-t'ing with a load of black fish for sale. We bought two and a half catties for two hundred copper coins, and they made a rare dish in this deep mountain valley.

Third month, eighth day. (Monday)

361 This morning the fog was again dense till eight o'clock when the sun broke through. We walked leisurely to the lower Hsiao village on the other side. The village was occupied entirely by Hsiao, ten families in all, with three names, Li, Liu, and Huang. Headman /pao chang/ Li welcomed us warmly to his house, and we had a long, pleasant conversation together. When we were leaving, he sent his workmen to carry several catties of potatoes to be brought back with us. In return we gave him gifts of salt, kerosene, candles, etc.

587 In the afternoon we went to the upper Hsiao village to attend a Hsiao wedding. The bride was already thirty years old and had been married before to a Hsiao of Ta-pen village. When her husband died, she had brought her son and daughter back to live with her mother. Now she was to be married for the second time to a Hsiao of the same village. The bridegroom was of about the same age. At the ceremony the couple did not appear in any special apparel; they wore just plain clothes, a little cleaner than usual.

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587 In the evening the bride was accompanied to her husband's house by a female go-between. She carried her small not yet weaned baby boy at her breast. The groom welcomed her to the banquet which had been prepared, to which he had invited many friends and relatives. As wine flowed into their mouths, songs flowed out. First the guests took turns singing songs to the bride, and the bride answered them, one by one. The bride then moved to sing songs reciprocally with the parents of the groom. But all the time, the groom stood aside, attending everyone, and did not drink or sing. We turned on the phonograph at the door to add to their good spirits and were dragged in to have a drink with them. I forced a few mouthfuls down, then hurriedly, on the pretext of going to change the record, sneaked out from their company. Since I was not used to liquor, it would have been embarrassing if I had let myself join them in their drinking spree.

/141/ Third month, ninth day. (Tuesday)

585 In the afternoon we moved out of Mr. Wang's house to stay in
574 Wen-hua center. On our way through the upper Hsiao village, we saw a family having a big wedding banquet with a lot of guests. The bridegroom, upon seeing us, rushed out to block our way and insisted upon our joining their wedding party. After resisting in vain, we were dragged in to the party. Yüan-chiung, not able to understand their dialect, was lucky to have escaped their dragging. At the house I was rushed to the head seat at the table. I declined stubbornly, excusing myself by saying that I had to attend to my luggage which was following me and could not stay too long. The host placed a large cup of strong wine in front of me and another for himself, insisting that we both should empty the cups before I left them. His manner was so earnest and serious that I felt there was no room to retreat. I was so taken aback with this large cup of wine that I thought of a scheme. I took half a cup, and, while he was not noticing, I spit it out on the floor, with a handkerchief covering my mouth. The host was still insistent that the cup should

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585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

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755 disappointed. We were later told by the villagers that ever since this old woman had become sick the year before, several cows and numerous pigs had been slaughtered for the performance of the t'iao niang ritual.

Third month, eleventh day. (Thursday)

008 After breakfast at ten o'clock, a resident of the center, a certain Ch'en, took us to Fu-an village to look around. After walking about two hours we reached the village. This village had been a piece of wasteland before, but after Mr. Wang Chao-i had invited some Li and Hsiao to move here several years ago, it has become a beautiful place, excelling any of the Li villages we have so far visited. In the village there is a school, the Fu-an Primary School. The building and equipment seemed pretty good. The residents of the village looked cleaner than those of other places, and they had very good manners. This was certainly a model Li village. The consequences of education and acculturation clearly could be seen. At this time most of the men and women had gone out to catch fish in a stream near by. We thought we would observe how they fished, and so we went upstream, and in about half an hour, we caught sight of several hundred people crowding on the banks of the narrow stream. A strikingly large variety of fishing gear were displayed during the fishing, and we watched for a long time, fascinated by the scene, before we went back.

At night Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing served a big banquet for us. The 6 food was delicious, more so than any we have had since we came into the Li area.

/148/ Third month, twelfth day. (Friday)

A wedding took place today in Ang-chi village. In the morning Headman Lu sent a man to take us down there, and we stayed in the same little reed hut we occupied last time. It was only a few days 872 since we had been there last, but, when we came this time, we saw

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582 that a primary-school building had been set up—a concrete manifestation of their pressing desire for education. A teacher, a native of Wan-ning had also been hired and had arrived. However, the question of his salary was still being negotiated.

585 The bride was a niece of Headman Lu, she had been brought up in Lu's family after having lost her parents in childhood. The bridegroom was also of the same village. We knew the families of both from before. We had bought several boxes of firecrackers at Wenhua center, which we had brought along as a wedding present. The wedding took place right after sunset. This time it was the groom who was to be married to the bride and who was taken into the latter's home. The groom covered his face with a red kerchief and was carried over on a man's back, followed by a procession of men serving as "bridemaids." The females on the bride's side began to shower extravagant jokes on him; some teased him with words, and others pushed him when he was not on guard to knock him down.

585 171 The groom stood there stiffly like a wooden cock, completely enervated, afraid even to take the red kerchief from his face. Onlookers sweated for him at the sight, and several companions came to his rescue and tried to get him away from the siege of these mischievous women. The series of jokes played on the groom reminded me of the Chinese custom of carrying on horseplay at weddings except that here the object was the groom instead of the bride. There were a great many more ceremonies and practices after the groom arrived at the bride's home. We watched till one o'clock in the morning before we went home to go to bed.

Third month, thirteenth day. (Saturday)

In the morning the groom presented a cup of wine to the bride's parents, to whom he showed great respect in his conduct, a custom closely resembling that of the Chinese, in which the bride presents wine to her parents-in-law with great ceremony. At noon the bride visited the groom's family for the first time. She had barely come in when a Taoist priest was asked to perform the simple ritual of ch'ü sha /"expelling baleful influences"/.

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Today I ordered a fat chicken, given me a few days ago by Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing, to be killed to entertain the headman /chia ch'ang and pao ch'ang/. At the banquet, I informed them of our scheduled departure the next day, and they showed much regret at our leaving them. To console them, I told them that, as a native of this place, I would come back for more visits as communication was getting better everyday. But, in my heart, I sensed that this, my first trip, might also be my last to this island.

Third month, fourteenth day. (Sunday)

In the morning as I was strolling outside the village, the clear sound of singing came to my ears from the opposite hills, breaking the silence of the whole world, and leaving a nostalgia feeling in my heart.

At nine o'clock we left Ang-chi to return to Mr. Wang's house at Ta-ch'i. Headman Lu and others saw us off.

In the evening we went to an empty area outside Yen-sheng village to watch some Li play at swinging and dub sa. The participants were all young men and women, who appeared to be enjoying themselves very much. I remember that when I joined them for a try, I felt great pleasure. I was told that this sport would be played from now until the fourth or fifth month when it would stop during the busy farming period. This is the most popular sport among the Li, which also provides the best opportunity for romance and love among the young men and women.

Third month, fifteenth day. (Monday)

We have decided to leave Ta-ch'i tomorrow, and so today we made the last round of visits in the neighboring Li villages, during which we bought many things of their everyday use.

After supper we returned to the sport of swinging. As we passed through Yen-sheng village, a Li who was accompanying us pointed out a small reed hut and explained that this was the young people's

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831 fang liao (rendezvous) house. I had heard about these houses but had
584 never had a chance to see one. Out of curiosity I asked to be taken in there for ~~a look~~. Upon entering the house, I saw three pretty girls
[276] smoking by the fire. Seeing us, /145/ they hurriedly rose and courteously gave us the seats. One of them took out a nose flute and began to blow on it. Its sound was low and slow, plaintive and sad, and engagingly touching. When I asked if she would sell me her flute, she smiled but did not answer, and stared with her eyes softly bright, causing a man to feel bewitched. Inexperienced as I was in such a situation, I did not respond as was expected. Excusing myself to get back to my group, which was waiting at the swinging place, I got up to go. She immediately held me back, and insisted that I stay there till after supper. I didn't dare remain alone, and left without looking back. Not long after I had reached the swinging grounds, the girl and her companions also came and joined in the swinging. During the game of dub sa, she made overt attempts to be intimate with me. At around nine o'clock at night, as we began to leave for home, she spotted me and followed us all the way. When we passed through the village, I headed directly toward Mr. Wang's house. Seeing that I did not intend to go to the little hut, the girl became frantic. Raising high her torch, she began to shout at me, her voice arousing the barks of all the dogs in the neighborhood. At this sight, my friends laughed aloud at me; I was so flustered that I hastened my steps. But to this day, I cannot help still thinking about this girl; her passion for me has not faded from my heart.

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Postface

114 This small volume and my other book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, which contains more than 200,000 characters, were both written in the summer of 1937 in Canton after I had returned from a field trip to the Li area on Hainan Island. The two may be said to be sister works, which I had originally planned to publish simultaneously.

However, not long after I had finished the writing, the war of resistance against the Japanese broke out and spread vigorously; Canton was soon lost to the enemy. The original plan for publication was consequently given up. The two manuscripts, therefore, accompanied the author all over southwestern China. In the fall of 1939, Professor Ku Hsieh-kang, Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Ch'i-lu University, kindly accepted the manuscript of the Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island as a volume in a series of studies to be published by the Institute. It was sent to Shanghai to be published by the K'aiming Bookstore. In the winter of 1940, I received a letter from Mr. Liu Chung-hsi (alias Liu Hsien), who was in charge of the printing at Shanghai, saying that all the printing plates had been made, and the book would be printed soon. Suddenly the Pearl Harbor incident occurred. The situation at Shanghai changed overnight. After that I heard nothing more about the publication. After the war was over, I was informed that the original printing plates had survived the war. However, owing to the uncontrolled inflation in postwar Shanghai, the K'aiming Bookstore did not intend to print the book. As to when the Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island will be published, I am unable to say.

Since the publication of the book on the Li was delayed, I temporarily gave up getting the book on the Miao printed. Furthermore, the war of resistance against the Japanese was followed by a civil war, which spread over every corner of the land. A purely academic work could not offer help for the real starvation and homelessness of the people, and therefore its publication did not seem an urgent need of

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114 the time. It was only very recently when the movement for the development of Hainan was revived that, with the encouragement of two of my close friends, Mr. Ch'en Chia-wu and Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, I decided to send this book for publication again. Thus a part of the humble desire which I have long cherished has materialized.

122 For the publication of this book, I am indebted to the aid of Chu-hai University. My teacher, Mr. Chou H'ai-pin, gave me the title; Mr. Chiang Ying-liang kindly lent me his precious photographs, and Mr. Lo Pao-t'ien drew the map. Their kindness is hereby respectfully acknowledged.

The Author

June 3, 1948, at the Western Village of Canton

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AE5 Miao

[For the materials on tso-chai service, see 765. Since tso-chai service is held within one or two years after the death of a Miao and not the funeral service it is classified under 765.]

[For materials on Yao of Hainan Island, see I: Wang AE5 Miao.]

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Hai nan tao chih miao jên

珠海大學中國邊疆研究室邊疆叢書

乙類第二種

海南島之苗人

王興瑞著

珠海大學出版

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

海南島之苗人 目錄

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第七章 宗教迷信及其他
第八章 歌謠傳說
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附錄 考察日記
後記

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自序

二十六年春，廣州國立中山大學研究院文科研究所及私立嶺南大學西南社會調查所合組海南島黎苗考察團，由中大教授楊成志博士領隊出發，作者忝爲團員之一，繼廣東北江瑤山考察（二十五年冬，作者參加中大研究院文科研究所廣東北江瑤山考察團）之後，又得一實地考察西南民族機會，眞屬平生快事。而作者以精隸海南，通曉方言，奉命與嶺大何元烱君勾留黎苗境獨久，觀察較詳，尤爲欣幸！

考察歸來，未久有七七蘆溝橋事變發生。全面抗戰以還，華南形勢弛張靡定，考察團報告書的編印計劃，深受影響，遲遲未能實現，至今已過一周年。原來我們考察的目的：一方面是想爲我國學術界開闢一個新園地，提供一點新材料；另方面則在給我們的政府和社會人士報導邊地民族情況，以爲他們明瞭邊情以至治邊工作進行之助。這兩方面的意義都是非常重大的，學術界和社會人士對我們一定存着懇切的期待。我們的報告書未能早日出版，殊可惋惜！作者以考察時間較長，所得材料較多，特徵得考察團主持人的同意，先把自己的材料整理出來，結果寫成兩部書：一部是海南島黎人調查報告；另一部就是這本薄薄的海南島之苗人。

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此次考察，計自二月四日從廣州出發，至六月四日返校，全程剛爲四個月。其間除旅途及臥病就擱少部分時間外，和土人接觸時間實得兩月有餘。在茲兩個多月中，用於考察黎人者佔四分之三，用於考察苗人者則僅四分之一。原因很簡單：就是黎人是海南島主要的土族，同時海南島也是黎人唯一的根據地，眞可說黎人「只此一家，並無分店」，我們把他們做爲主要的考察對象，是有充分理由的。至於考察苗人，則只是附帶工作罷了。時間這麼短促，我們考察的範圍，就只限於保亭縣大岐附近的一部分苗村。本書便是用這麼短短的時間在這麼小小的範圍內考察的成果，內容顯然是未能盡滿人意的，可幸各方面情形都已有了一點，讀者不難從這裏看出一個苗人生活的輪廓罷！

苗、黎兩族雜居已數百年，彼此不斷接觸，勢必互相發生影響；同時他們的生活又不約而同地向着漢化的軌道行進：所以今日苗、黎兩族的生活方式和文化狀態相同相似之點甚多，隨處可見，爲着避免敘述重複，遇有這樣情形時，凡已詳於海南島黎人調查報告中者，這裏概從簡畧，讀者如果不厭求詳，最好把兩書來互相參閱，這是作者一點小小的期望。

本書對學術、對社會如果有些微貢獻的話，那麼這個勞績，並非我個人所有，而是屬於考察團同人的（考察團同人姓名見本書附錄考察日記）。以大家的勞作，由我來執筆寫

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成，我個人不能不引爲欣幸，尤不能不感謝他們。最使我感念的是何君元烱，在那他人視爲畏途的蠻地瘴鄉，我們形影不離地住了頗長的時間，我們曾同病（眞的病）相憐，互助扶持，曾聯床夜語，藉破寂寥。這一段生活在我個人的生命史上，是深深地值得回憶的！

我常常說，民族學（Ethnology）不僅是一種科學，而且是一種實用的學問。我們民族學工作者，不僅要把我們的工作成果貢獻給學術，更要貢獻給我們的民族國家。換句話說，我們希望在解決邊疆問題上盡點貢獻。本書最後一章，便是爲此而寫，其中所指出的，都是些實實在在的問題，對於今後開發海南島所關非常重要，若能引起政府和社會人士的注意，共謀合理解決，作者便感到榮幸了！

二十七年七月廿二日王興瑞自序於廣州中山大學研究院

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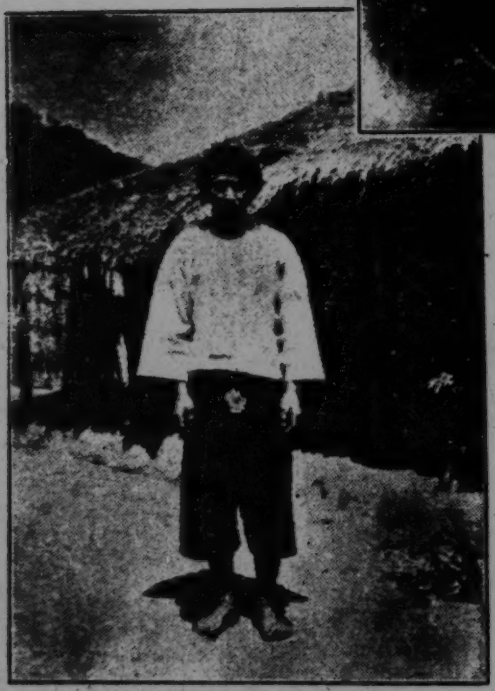
(上圖)苗人女子



(下圖)苗人男子

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第一章 來源分佈及人口

世人都知道海南島有黎，而不知有苗，這緣於史籍上關於海南苗人的記載特少之故。而史籍記載所以特少，又是因爲苗人並非海南土著民族。今日海南的苗，都是近世纔從外面遷殖來的，然則從什麼地方遷移來的呢？道光瓊州府志卷二〇說：

儋州又有苗黎，凡十村，約九十餘家，男婦不滿千人，所居近馮盧峒，歸該峒黎總兼管。性最恭順，時出調南市貿易，從無滋事，蓋前明時，剿平羅活峒叛黎，建樂安城，調廣西苗兵防守，號爲弩手，後遷於此，即苗裔也。

民國感恩縣志卷十三亦說：

又有一種苗黎，凡數百家，今加蕃盛散居，縣境有之，性最恭順，從無滋事。蓋前明時，剿平羅活、抱由二峒，建樂安營，調廣西苗兵防守，號爲藥弓手。後營汎廢，子孫散居山谷，仍以苗名，至今猶善用藥弩，辮髮衣履，與民人同，惟婦女黎裝，皆能升木如猱，不供賦役，不耕平土，僅伐嶺爲園，以種山稻（黎人仿之），一年一移，嶺茂復歸，死則火化，或懸樹抄風化。善製毒藥着弩末，射物雖不見血

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亦死，兼有邪術，能以符法制伏人禽，最爲生熟黎所畏服。

其他地方，有所謂「狼目」「打手」及「狼土兵」等名稱，想也是指的這些苗人，如王佐平黎記：「……是日分佈將軍，以進取路，以新塲海田頭寨，賊之北門，中堅所在，參將馬澄將中軍，以兩廣漢達軍狼土兵一萬攻中堅。（文載光緒昌化縣志卷九藝文，按本文所記，係孝宗弘治十四年（一五〇一年）平儋州七方峒黎符南蛇亂事）」。

鄭廷鵠平黎疏：「……前日倡亂，不過止強石松諸賊，其勢尙孤，今連昌化感恩之寇，其黨日熾，若進兵，非調狼目，募打手，加集數萬人不可。（文載鄭氏石湖遺集，按鄭氏爲世宗嘉靖（一五二二——一五六六年）時人）。

苗黎兩族，無論從那方面觀察，都有很顯著的不同之處，是不能混爲一談的，然瓊州府志及感恩縣志俱用「苗黎」之名，把苗看做黎族的一支，顯然是錯誤的；但苗人從何處移殖，以及移殖的年代和經過，兩志都說得明白了。據道光瓊州府志，明代黎患，自孝宗以後始烈，如弘治十四年（一五〇一年）儋州七方峒黎符南蛇之亂，武宗正德（起一五〇六年）以後崖州羅活等峒屢叛，政府對於歷次變亂，也屢調大兵痛剿，苗兵當於此時先後被調而來，是苗人之移殖海南島，至今也不過五百年左右罷了。其自廣西而來，尙有直接

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材料可證，作者茲次入苗山考察，得一林姓家譜，其中有云：

契寫立抄本地宗棧簿，居住耕種，直在廣西福建省司恩府紅里村林明修林明開林明養三兄弟起屋住在東方，向在西南方，吉利。明開兒林得眞林得龍林得生林得朝。□□兒林老張，本命庚申年七月廿一日午時建生；林老張兒林盛源，本命庚午年三月十五日辰時建生。

同時又在一位苗頭的家中得一重要文件，和苗人的源流有關，錄之於下：

天皇准奉　治世之時

高祖歷代盤子孫北京君臣頹入會稽山七賢峒分至盤皇子孫前往各州縣地方樂業初平王出帖執付良善山子任往深山之處鳥宿之方自望清山活躬養生並無皇稅官不差兵不擾斬山不稅過渡不錢不許百姓神壇社廟煙火不得交通不許農民強押天子爲婚如有強佔者送官究治帖付指揮山子各有界至不耕百姓田塘自有四山八嶺幽壁之處猿猴爲畔百鳥爲隣尊山打獵砍種養生不許百姓生端滋事如有生事者出到州縣朝庭赴官究治給出年皇祖帖付與盤皇子孫良善山子每人一道收照不食皇稅鎮守山場鳥銃弓弩射除野猪馬鹿存心良善搬移經過各州縣巡司隘口稅部卽便放行高祖勅帖備錄者通知此示

右具如前

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

朝庭保舉列開尊職　保舉京朝驗書　保舉尚書吏部　保舉尚書兵部　保舉尚書工部
保舉尚書禮部　保舉尚書刑部　保舉尚書科部　保明盤皇子孫舉爲平皇勅帖任往廣
東廣西福建潮州湖廣湖北各省水路遊行砍種高山安居樂業養生須至帖者萬代爲憑永
遠執照
初平皇五年五月十六日執帖存照

這張「執照」，不知何時怎樣得來，他們至今尚視爲至寶而珍藏之。由末段數語，我們知道海南苗人不單和廣西苗（？）有直接關係，卽和華南各地苗族（？）也是同一源流的。

由上所論，海南苗人係明代自廣西遷來，當已不成問題。可是，海南苗人是否就是廣西的苗人呢？我覺得頗有疑問。因爲我們從語言上考察，海南苗人的語言，和廣西苗人的語言相差頗遠，反之，和儋人的則甚相近，尤其是和凌雲藍靛儋的幾乎完全一致，茲表列於下，以資參證。（附注：下表中海南苗人的語言係作者親自採訪而得，廣西苗人的語言則根據顏復禮商承祖合編廣西凌雲猺人調查報告，廣西苗人的語言則根據劉錫蕃著表紀蠻，但劉氏係以國音字母拼音註出，茲爲統一起見，特改用英文拼音，附帶聲明。）

	廣西苗	海南苗	廣西藍靛傜	廣西紅頭傜	廣西盤古傜	廣西長髮傜
一	chŭ	à	a	i	nŏm	i
二	hwŏ	ĭ	i	au	i-(nŏm)	aö
三	bei	bo	bo	be	buo	bu
四	saw	bā	bie	djia	bie	djua
五	jei	bà	bia	biu	bia	bia
六	dŭ	kûr	djio	dšu(朱)	djio	du
七	shen	njē	nje	thang	sjê	sang
八	i	z	jet	yu	chet	jo
九	yōu	dŏ	ndu	dsu(濁)	duo	dšu(濁)
十	shu	sip	shap	dšu(住)	ds'ep	dsu(住)
鼻		bŭ-jong	bu-djong	bi-pa-biau	bu-kot	
目		ngwie		djau-pa-many	me'-dsing	ge-mang
耳		blom	mo-nom		mo-nom	ge-mia
口		jet	djet		dsui	

手		bŭ	bu	go-po-be	bu^{e}-du	ba
足		tou	thou	go-dau	dsau-de	do
子	dà	sā		dung	don	dung-djing
女	dàr pīe	sā-sàr			thié	
犬		clō		du-djé	dju^{e}	dsja
羊	li	jon	yong	du-yang	yung	du-ang
猪	mēi	dung	dŭng		dung	
房屋		ber	biau	lu-bi	piau	bia
條櫈		dung	dang		dang	do^{ng}-yo
黃		vung	wang	fan	wiang	guan
日		gong-nog	mo-neu			
牛	lo	ngong	ngong	du-wó	ngong	wau
月		ngàr	la		tha	hlo
吃		en	ning	nong	njien	nang
喝		hop	hop	hu	hop	hu
睡		fĕi	fei	foi	bu^{i}	ba^{i}

假如除了體質之外（關於廣西苗傜的體質，似乎只有費孝通先生做過科學的測量，但還未見整理發表），語言是人種分類上比較可靠的標準，那麼，根據上表，我們與其說海南苗是廣西的苗，無寧說是廣西的傜，或者可以更確定的說，就是廣西的藍靛傜。按廣西藍靛傜之所以得名，據說乃由於藍靛爲該地的主要產物之故。藍靛係蓼科植物（Polygonum tinctorium），傜人摘取之以爲染料，廣西凌雲猺人調查報告（頁一三—一四）記之甚詳。作者此次在大岐昂吉苗村，曾親眼看見苗婦取一種植物來做染料，這種植物是否就是藍靛，可惜當時沒有注意到，不過海南苗婦精於染術，却是萬確的事實，這也未嘗不是一個旁證！

假如上面的推測是合事實的話，那麼，海南苗人自廣西何地移殖而來，也可得而推知了。按，藍靛傜在廣西遍佈和現在的分佈狀況如何，我們尚不甚了了，不過根據廣西凌雲猺人調查報告，凌雲縣今日有藍靛傜則是事實，如果能讓我們暫時推斷凌雲在明以前已有藍靛傜盤踞，那麼我們便可斷定：海南一部分苗人係自廣西凌雲移殖而來，也不會離開事實太遠罷？（按，凌雲在廣西西北部，和貴州西南部及雲南東北部接壤，明代屬泗城土州，其地當時全部爲壁族所盤踞）其次，由上引海南苗人林姓家譜所云「寅在廣西福建省司恩府紅里村林明修林明開林明美三兄弟起屋住在東方，向在西南方，吉利，」也有一點線

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

索可尋。按清代廣西有思恩府，明代也叫思恩府，宋元兩代爲思恩州，民國屬南寧道，其地居廣西之北部，和貴州南部接壤，古來爲蠻荒之地，至明孝宗弘治（一四八八——一五〇五年）末始改流。林姓家譜中之司恩府，必爲思恩府之字訛無疑，是海南島苗人另一部分從廣西思恩府移來，當可不成問題，雖然我們在未有史志上的材料和實地的調查報告以前，未能斷定明清以來以至今日思恩府有沒有藍靛傜的存在。關於海南苗自廣西何地移殖而來這一問題，現在我們所能解答的，只有這麼一點了。

至此，我們要問：海南島的苗既然原來是廣西的傜，爲什麼遷到海南後，地方志上都稱爲「苗」呢？甚至他們也自稱爲「苗」呢？作者目前尚尋不出一個合理的解答，也許廣西的苗傜本是一族而異其名？或者今日廣西之傜，即爲昔時之苗？這已涉及西南民族的整個問題上去，甚至成爲中國民族史上一個重要問題了。

其次，我們談到海南苗人的地理分佈。如感恩縣志所說，「（苗人）不耕平土，僅伐嶺爲園，以種山稻，一年一移，嶺茂復歸」。現在情形還是如此（詳見本書第三章）。像這樣遷徙無常，我們要找到他們固定的地理分佈，是永不能辦到的。舊志上所記苗人分佈，除儋州和感恩縣已見上引外（瓊州府志卷二〇載儋州的苗村其數僅有一，村名叫做打山苗，屬龍頭峒黎總管轄），據瓊州府志（卷二〇），瓊山縣也有苗人村五，屬軍屯外峒

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

峒長管轄，村名如下：

針嶺苗人住上　針嶺苗人住下　番否苗人住　水上上苗人住　水上下苗人住

此外，苗人原初既爲剿羅活抱由等峒黎亂及防守樂安營而來，當初必以樂安營爲大本營無疑，後來雖然四散遷移，但未必全部遷淨，其必留有一部分（無論多寡）住在原地，自意中事，按羅活抱由等黎峒及樂安營，清代俱屬崖州界，是崖州境內有苗，雖不見於地方志，我們却是可以推知的罷？

清代苗人的地理分佈，所能知者僅有這些，玆進而談談分佈現狀。

今日的苗人，還是和過去一樣，遷徙無定（作者玆次親見大本村苗全部向別處遷移），欲求其確定的分佈地區，也同樣的不可能。查海南黎境現已分設保亭、樂東、白沙三縣，黎苗向來雜居，所以今日三縣境內皆有苗，閒尤以保亭縣爲多。保亭縣境內苗人的分佈，據苗人甲長王福壽爲余口述如下：

村名(譯音)	包含家數	住戶姓氏
報茶	十餘家	王、盤、張諸姓
菴慢	三十餘家	單姓
麻醉		鄧姓居多

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

床坑	五六家	
南浩	六七家	
毛港	十家	盤姓
毛邁	七八家	石姓
十潘		
昂吉	十一二家	盧姓
志婆	十二家	鄧姓
臘打峒	七八家	黃姓
牙臘	五六家	陳姓
三喂	四家	石姓
毛什	八家	盤姓
仙運	八家	黃姓
臘蜀	五家	廖姓
床文	十家	孔姓
二遠	五家	
看遭	七家	石姓
菁什	七家	盤姓

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

又據保亭縣職員楊宗堯君所述，縣屬尚有苗人的團（每團包含若干村）和村名如下：

加多團
合水團
南茂團
中平仔村
崩嶺村
高提村
大坪村
小妹村

其餘樂東，白沙兩縣則不詳。

海南苗人人口總數究有多少呢？現在毫無一點統計材料可供稽查，不得已，我們試從下三方面來考察：第一，從初自廣西調來時的苗兵數目上考察，王佐平黎記中有「參將馬澄將中軍，以兩廣瀆達軍狼土兵一萬攻中堅」之句，鄭廷鵠平黎疏中也有「若進兵非調狼目募打手，加集數萬人不可」之句，假如這些「瀆達軍」「狼土兵」及「狼目」「打手」等都是苗兵，或其中苗兵佔一部分，那麼大體上我們可以推測，陸續調來的苗兵總不會在

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

萬人以下罷！還有一點要注意的，就是這些苗兵初來時有沒有帶着苗婦女來呢？還是後來纔在海南和其他族婦女結婚而生育蕃殖呢？這是一個有趣而值得研究的問題，和今日海南苗人的體質是有重大關係的，而直接和最初苗人人口數目有關，更不消說。據作者所知，現在苗人通婚，還只限於自己的種族裏，和別族（如漢、黎、歧、侍等族）通婚是被禁止的，由此反證，苗兵初來時帶着他們的婦女而來，很有可能，那麼一萬名的苗兵，再加上差不多數目的婦女，苗人最初的人口總數，至少也有萬餘人了。

第二、從地方志上的記錄數目來考察，據瓊州府志儋州苗「凡十村，約九十餘家，男婦不滿千人」，所謂「不滿千人」，我們姑定爲五百人，則平均每村約十家，每家約五人；又據同志瓊山縣有苗村五，依上平均數計算，則有五十家，約二百五十人；又據感恩縣志該縣苗「凡數百家」，我們也姑定爲五百家，同樣用上面算法，則有五十村，約二千五百人；此外，再加上崖州的數目：爲清醒眉目起見，製表如下：

州縣別	村數	家數	人口數
儋州	一〇	一〇〇	五〇〇
瓊山縣	五	五〇	二五〇
感恩縣	五〇	五〇〇	二五〇〇

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

崖州

總共約數千人，這只是可得而推知的數目，其餘各州縣所有的尚不在內。（清代海南島共分三州十縣，純屬於漢人的只有文昌會同二縣）

第三，從實際調查的數目來考察，合王福壽和楊宗堯兩君所舉數，現在保亭縣境有苗團三，苗村二十五，姑定每團包含三十村（約畧根據保亭縣各團所轄村數之平均數）則保亭共有苗村一百一十五，每村以十家計，共有一千一百五十家，每家以五口計，共有五千七百五十人，假定樂東白沙兩縣也有同樣的數目，則今日海南苗人總人口爲上數之三倍，即一萬七千二百五十人。（附註：陳銘樞等海南島誌頁八五云：「苗性喜居山，往往焚山而耕，既又棄而他徙，幾于住無定所，儋州馮虛峒附近，樂會南茂峒，定安思河附近，臨高番打番陳志遠東門四村，陵水大旗山谷中等處，皆爲其火耕區域，其人數則遠在黎下。」這可當做未闢三黎縣以前苗人的地理分佈看。）

最後，有一個和苗人人口相關的問題，值得附帶討論：就是今日的苗人有沒有保持着他們純粹的血統？換句話說，苗人裏頭有沒有異族分子羼雜進去。從婚姻上來看，苗人一向禁止和異族通婚，他們保持着純粹的血統是可能的；可是事實上，却又不盡然。據作者所知，保亭縣大岐昂吉村的苗甲長盧尊英因年老無子，乃買黎人之子以爲嗣；又據報茶村

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

苗甲長王福壽親對作者說，原初苗人只有盤、石、李、鄧四姓，其餘諸姓都是後來增加的，他不能說出理由，使人不能無疑原爲他族而後變苗者；就王福壽本身，有人說他原是黎人，後來變爲苗的。總之，苗人中 入異族分子是一種事實，這對於苗人人口的增加是有利的。在相反方面，却又有苗人變爲異族的事，林姓家譜中的話可爲明證：

東地面盛貴住在黎峒變黎；盛和旺（？）到山村嫁在苗人。

此外，盧尊英曾親對作者說，他們還有同姓兄弟住在瓊東縣加積市附近，這種苗人變黎或變漢的趨勢，對於苗人人口的增加則是有損的。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

第二章 語言

名稱	苗語	名稱	苗語
數目		數目	
十八	sip bid	一	à
十九	sip shŭ	二	i
二十	nĭ sip	三	bo
二十一	ni sip jā	四	bā
二十二	nĭ sip ngĭ	五	bà
二十三	ni sip tum	六	kûr
三十	tum sip	七	njē
四十	tā sip	八	z
五十	ngon sip	九	dŏ
六十	ngŭ sip	十	sip
七十	kat sip	十一	sip jā
八十	bid sip	十二	sip ngĭ
九十	shŭ sip	十三	sip tum
一百	à bā	十四	sip tā
二百	i bā	十五	sip ngon
三百	tum bā	十六	sip ngŭ
一千	à coon	十七	sip kat

名稱	苗語
耳	blom
鼻	bŭ-jong
口	jet
頭髮	bā
牙	yà
舌	bĭd
心	tim
背	cà-tun-cun
腹	youū
手	bŭ
手指	bū-ndō-kin
腿	tcu-tswie
足	tou
人倫	
人	moon
男人	moon-fà
女人	moon-ou
小孩	moon-sa

名稱	苗語
一萬	à tin
十萬	à dū
百萬	à bē
次序	
第一	dē it
第二	dē ngĭ
第三	dē tum
時間(一)	
今天	nì noy
昨天	com bō
前天	ngûr noy
明天	tung deo
後天	ngū deo
日	gòng-noy
夜	ngim
身體	
頭	bĕ
眼	ngwie

名稱	苗語	名稱	苗語
伯父	bĕ	男孩	moon-ton-kin
伯母	chŭ	女孩	moon-sâ-kin
叔父	jū sop	父	fà
叔母	tī	母	jĭ
妯	zū	子	sā
娌	tĭ	女	sā-sâr
姪	sā ton	兄	kō
姪女	sā tĭ	弟	zū
堂兄	kō	姊	or
堂弟	zū	妹	mŭ
姑母	mā	老頭子	kō-moon
姨母	mŭ	老媽子	kO-bŭ
岳父	sin-shà-fà	祖父	kong
岳母	sin-shà-jĭ	祖母	kō
女婿	lung	伯祖父	bĕ
家翁	fà	伯祖母	chŭ
家姑	jĭ	叔祖父	jū-sop
兄嫂	jim	叔祖母	tĭ

名稱	苗語
動物	
牛	ngong
馬	mà
羊	jon
猪	dung
狗	clō
貓	mou
鼠	dō-kin
鷄	chei
鴨	up
鵝	ngàr
蒼蠅	bom-ǧim
蟻	sep-blou-long
蛇	noun
蜂	dong
魚	bū
植物	
樹	ngoung

名稱	苗語
夫	moon fà
妻	moon ou
外祖父	kong
外祖母	kō
外甥	ngoy ting
家具	
鄉村	ngung
市	shaw
田	ngin
井	tin
房屋	ber
門	king
桌子	tom
椅子	ěr
櫈子	dung
床	tsau
燈	tung

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

名稱	苗語
形容詞	
少	mō-dong
好	gong
壞	mà-gong
大	lō
小	kin
長	dou
短	mà-ning
老	kō
幼	gon
美	quī
醜	tou
時間(二)	
年	ngung
月	ngâr
早晨	kon dom
晚上	kon gim

名稱	苗語
花	fung
草	wa
菜	gā
竹	lou
葉	non
天時	
雲	bun
風	jou
雨	bon
熱	kim
冷	num
顏色	
黑	kyâ
紅	ti
綠	kyâ-ti
黃	vung

名稱	苗語	名稱	苗語
我說話	yà kong wạ	肯定與否定	
你說話	moy kong wạ	是	za
我拿	yà yao	不是	mozā
你拿	moy yao	短句	
他跑	mein ning	我看	yà wong
他來	mein dei	你看	moy wong
他進來	mein yā dà	我聽	yà nom
他出去	mein sat ning	你聽	moy nom
他上去	mein tou ning	我嗅	yà hom
他下來	mein yûr ning	你嗅	moy hom
他起來	mein qûr	我吃	yà en
他坐下	mein et	你吃	moy en
我睡	yà fei	我喝	yà hop
你睡	moy fei	你喝	moy hop

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

從上表中，我們可看出苗語的一個特點，就是數目的算法。普通十進數以上數目的讀法，都是十和其他數目字兩音之和，例如漢語「十一」爲「十」與「一」兩音之和，「十二」爲「十」與「二」兩音之和，餘類推。可是海南苗語則不然。「十一」不讀爲"sip a"，而讀爲"sip ja"，「十二」不讀爲"sip i"，而讀爲"sip ngi"，這是可注意的。此外，廣西傜人語言中有一特點（或謂爲一切泰族語言之共同特點），爲倒轉句法之運用，即將名詞前之形容詞倒置其後，如漢語云：藍衣服，高山，小鷄，傜人則曰衣服藍，山高，鷄小等是。（廣西凌雲猺人調查報告頁二六）海南苗人有沒有這種語法，作者當時未注意到，殊屬遺憾！

海南各地苗人的語言似也非完全統一的，前表所列，乃作者親得自保亭大岐昂吉村苗人之口，惟據陳銘樞等海南島誌，崖縣（今屬樂東）臨高（今屬白沙）等處苗人的語言與此又有異，茲併轉錄於後，以供參攷：

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

陵高縣苗語	崖縣苗語	
a	ji	一
i	in	二
to	dam	三
ti	se	四
ta	ngn	五
cho	luk	六
nann		耳
ngan		目
yup		口
cham		鼻

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

第二章 經濟狀況

(一) 地理環境與經濟生活

人類經濟生活的內容，往往免不了要受地理環境的影響，這在苗人尤爲顯明。我們已經知道，苗人是明代纔移殖到海南島的，當他們來到的時候，島上沿海平原地帶已佈滿着漢人，他們是不能插足了，腹部山地又爲黎族所盤據，也不容他們立脚，最後便被逼跑上最中部的高山大嶺上去。在那裏，水田很少很少，幾乎完全沒有，這使他們農業的發展受到很大的限制；可是，深山茂林却是飛禽走獸的家鄉，這又是自然界賜予苗人的豐富禮物，因此他們打獵之風，特別發達；同時，畜牧也很適宜；不過，河流在那裏是很缺乏的，漁業便卑不足道了。綜觀苗人經濟生活，係以農業——種山爲主，打獵也相當重要，再其次爲畜牧，捕魚則無足輕重：這完全是受了地理環境的支配。下面依次分述之。

(二) 農業

苗人農業有耕田種山兩種，然如上所述，其地山多田少，故農業之中，又以種山爲

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

主，耕田爲副。

種山的工作，是每年廢曆二月間開始的。先把山上的林木斬伐了，便暫時停手，讓日光把地面的樹枝晒枯後，乃放火焚燒，灰燼便是天然的肥料，然後以鋤鎡掘穴，播種其中。種的以旱稻爲主，玉蜀黍和豆類也不少。播種之後，不灌溉，不施肥，只待稻長大時加上一番剷草工夫，至八九月便可收穫。

耕田的方法，和漢人差不多，也於每年春初開始工作，其用具有犂，有耙，皆以牛挽之，播種插秧的方法也同。不過灌溉、施肥、耘草等等，却是不甚注意的。水田每年可耕種收穫兩次，卽自正月至五月爲一期，六月至九月爲一期，旱田則只有後一期，前期若非種雜糧，便是休耕，但是事實上，每年可收穫兩造的水田，在黎境本已寥寥無幾，落到苗人手裏的，更是有限得很了。

苗人收穫，還不知用鐮刀割刈，只以手把禾穗捻取下來，一束一束地紮起，拿回來陳在禾倉裏面，讓和風涼乾，或日光曬乾。禾倉全部用竹搭成，爲長方形，四面開朗，僅倉頂以茅蓋之，中架長木板，禾穗便陳於其上。待其乾後，始搬入穀倉中。穀倉則以木板搭成，上覆茅草，也爲長方形，脚浮起，周身密封，僅正面開一門，以資啓閉。一束一束的禾穗整齊地放在倉裏，要用時纔取出來，置於長方形的木臼中，以木杵舂之，使之脫穀。

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再舂穀於木臼中舂之而成米，舂米的臼爲圓椎形，和黎人的米臼完全相同。

普通苗人的糧食，幾乎全部都從種山得來，只有很少數比較富有的苗人纔出資置田。然而每塊山地，至多只能繼續種上二三年，地力耗盡，便須休種。譬如一個山嶺，全部面積雖然不小，但是在十年八年之內，因輪流休種，就不難把牠種完，全部地力在短期內是無法恢復的，這時便不能不覓地他徙。所以苗人往往數年一遷移，至多也不過十餘年，生活像飄蓬般流轉不定。這種現象，是作者在考察期內親眼看見過的。

他們很少種蔬菜，甘蔗和香蕉却有時可看到。

(三) 打獵

苗人居深山中與鳥獸爲伍，因此他們男子一閒着無事便出獵。打獵的主要武器是火藥鎗，這是漢商輸入的，所以形式和用法完全和漢人相同，只有牛皮製成的火藥袋，纔是他們自製的。苗弓也是一種厲害的獵器，以木爲弧，以麻繩爲弦，射巨獸用鐵鏃，射飛禽則僅用竹箭。聽說他們有一種很猛的毒藥，是用某種樹葉及蛇膽等物混合製成的，塗於箭端，以之射擊野獸，觸及皮膚，頃刻立斃。平時毒箭係盛於筒中，密封之，至用時始取出，若取出後久而不用，毒氣消散，便不能致獸於死命。毒箭誤傷及人時，也有解毒之

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法，據說苗人把酒糟埋藏在地下，經數年之後，酒糟中的水分昇化，變成硬塊，人被毒箭誤傷，取而服之，其毒立解云。

在苗山，隨時可以碰到苗人三五成羣，荷鎗持弓，尋伺鳥獸，他們是射擊的能手，幾乎每發必中，黎人也是趕不上的，而尤以射箭的準確見稱。

（四）畜牧

苗人的地理環境，本是最宜於畜牧的，可是事實上，苗人的畜牧並不發達，像黎人那樣每家擁有數十隻或數百隻山牛的事，苗人是絕對沒有的，他們至多只有數隻，有些家庭連一隻也沒有。推其原因：不外下面數端：第一，苗人是一個無產的民族，一般都很貧乏，他們沒有買多量的牛的資本；第二，他們的生活是遊移不定的，沒有長期的定居，畜牧蕃殖不起來，同時常常遷移，帶着多量的牲畜也感不便；第三，牛在農作上可助人耕田，但是他們並非家家都有田可耕，因此養牛也非普遍。

他們養牛係用野牧法，即把牛放入深山中，不加繩索，也不需看守，任其自由行動，只於牛身上各家自作記號，以資識別。這種牛野性很猛，不易收捕。有一次，我們曾親眼看見一苗人家舉行婚禮時，特地派人持鎗上山去把他的牛轟斃，抬歸宴客。馬也是野牧的

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，平時不加銜勒，任其奔馳，要騎時纔四面八方去找歸來，養馬的只限於少數比較富有的人家，普通人家是不養的。養狗最普遍，家家皆有，因爲牠是出獵時必不可少的幫手。此外，猪、鷄也有，鵝、鴨則少見，因沒有水田之故。

（五）捕魚

苗人雖然住在高山上，但也常常到山下河澗中來捕魚。漁具和黎人的完全相同，有網網，有 tun，有 sir Co，有 lung，有 tun kū，有魚搭。（各種漁具的形狀及用法，詳見拙著海南島黎人調查報告一書，茲不複述。）可是他們捕魚的方式和規模，却沒有黎人的那麼宏偉，他們除了有時參加黎人的集團捕魚外，平常只有個人或少數人的行動，捕魚在他們經濟生活上是沒有甚麼地位的。

（六）手工業

苗山多竹，製造竹器頗發達，其出品有籮，筐，簸，篩之類，除供自家使用外，常以剩餘產品和黎人交換米穀，以補糧食之不足。製造木器也爲男子專長，家中的枱、櫈、凳、槽之類，皆出於自造，造屋工程甚敏捷，桁桷自備，但粗陋是不用說的。

婦女善紡織，可惜詳細情形未曾目擊。而染色尤爲苗婦專長，值得稱述。苗境有一種

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植物，其液爲藍色，苗婦採其葉，浸入水缸中，染時，於白布上塗以蜂蠟，隨意繪畫各種花紋，然後投入藍缸中，少頃卽取出，把蜂蠟洗去，花紋便現於藍色的布上。此法有人稱爲「蠟纈法」，烏居龍藏在貴州苗人中也見之，述之頗詳，轉錄以供參攷：「其先，畫布於某處，於其上投以火熔之蠟少許，然後任意繪以花紋，在此花紋完全繪成時，則紺染之。此種技術，甚爲困難，若處理不善，則投上之蠟花紋，或至破損。是此種技術所需要者，卽熟練與注意是也。若經一次紺染之後，則用清水洗之，然後置於日光透照之廣場將其曬乾，則除去所投之蠟。如是，完全之蠟纈花紋由此製成矣。」（苗族調查報告中譯本頁二六七）

婦女還用麻繩織成一種麻袋，出門時縛在背上，一切零星雜物都放進裏面去，恰似廣州一帶婦女背上負着小孩一樣。

（七）交易

苗人與苗人之間，因生產力的幼稚和生產物的大致相同，連單純的物物交易也不常有，而他們和黎人間的交易雖然已經發生，但也未曾超過物物交換的階段，如上述以竹器換米是。眞正的複雜的交易，只有在他們和漢人之間始有之。這有幾種形態：第一種是行脚小漢商挑着貨物巡行於苗村之間喚賣，同時兼收買苗山的產物；第二種是他們不定期的

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跑到黎境的墟市中來和漢商交易，如保亭縣城及縣屬大岐文化市中常見附近苗人足跡；第三種是他們跑到更遠的漢人墟市中去做買賣，這也是無定期的，什麼時候缺少了必要的東西，便什麼時候出去購買。他們居在深山裏，和這些漢人墟市的距離都相當遠，少則數十里，多則百里；加以他們生活簡單，需求無多；所以他們出來漢人墟市交易的次數是很少的，每個月中至多也不過一二次罷了。

物物交易和貨幣交易在苗漢交易上同時存在，如他們以米和漢商交換貨物屬於前者，或則用金錢購買是屬於後者。（民國廿四年政府公佈白銀國有，以紙幣代替銀幣，全國率行，惟黎苗則全不知使用紙幣，拒絕接受，交易所用，仍爲銀元銅元。）苗漢交易的情形和黎漢之間的完全相同，漢商輸入的貨物種類，以及各種貨物的價目，在拙著海南島黎人調查報告一書中已有過詳細的敘述，茲不複贅。苗境輸出的貨物，有米、穀、木棉、木耳、獸皮之類，可是出口數量並不大。間有一二積資較豐的苗人，也置有一二座出產木板和藤料的山嶺，僱幾名長工長年住在山上，製板採藤，同時又養幾隻山牛，以爲拖運板藤之用。這些板藤運出漢人墟市中發賣，獲利頗厚，如大岐昂吉村苗首盧尊英即其一。像他這樣擁有這麼一點資產的人，在苗人中已算是鳳毛麟角了，然而比於黎人的大地主，則不啻小巫見大巫呢！

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第四章 社會組織

(一) 家庭

家庭是苗人社會組織的基本單位。大家庭制和小家庭制同時存在着：三代以上同居的是大家庭；二代以上析居的是小家庭。比較起來，大家庭制似較佔優勢，因此我們常見有些苗人家庭的人口，多至十人八人，父子祖孫同居在一間茅屋中。

每個家庭的成員，至少都包括一對夫婦及其子女。父是當然的家長，主持全家事務。每個家庭成員，在工作上要聽他的指揮，在行動上也每受他的干涉。譬如子女的婚姻，家長聽任男女自由戀愛而結爲終身伴侶者雖多，但悍然不顧，僅憑已意給他們免強撮合者也不少，在這種場合，子女是無法反抗的。一般說來，苗人家長的權威是比黎人要大得多的，同時也莊嚴得多的。

在另一方面，家庭中男女的地位也有顯大的差別。苗人婦女是馴服的，聽從的，和黎人婦女的氣象完全不同。一個苗人男子很容易支配着他的妻子，黎人男子則不能這樣做。然而使人奇怪的是：多妻制度在苗人社會中是絕對禁止的。不管你有錢無錢，不管你有子

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無子，妻子在時，你是萬不能娶妾的，除非她死後你可續絃。譬如苗首盧尊英，總算是有錢有勢的了，現已五十歲，尚無子嗣，可是他並沒有娶妾的念頭。這種制度產生的背景，我們尚不能明白指出來，下面兩點，或者尚不失爲可能的解釋：一是他們的土地有限，生活艱難，藉此可以減少人口生產的過剩；另一種是，他們是行着嚴格的種族內婚制（即只允許苗人和苗人通婚），而全部人口又無多，爲保持着男女分配的平衡，不得不限制一夫只許娶一婦，否則打破了這個平衡，便不免「野有曠夫」了。

家長死後，產業由諸子均分（假如析居的話），無子則由親人承繼。女子無承繼權，但招婿入贅者則例外。或有買螟蛉子以爲嗣者，遺產也歸之。

（二）姓族

苗人之有姓，當是移殖海南島以前的事了，同姓人之間有沒有什麼特殊社會關係呢？這是值得探討的。

苗人每家都有簡單的手抄的家譜，我曾看見一本昂吉村林姓的，封面如下款式：

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長生保命　萬年
書本林應連立抄宗枝簿書壹本千年收照
福禧南山　留傳

裏面把各代男女的名字，生辰，死日都記得很清楚，試抄其中一頁，藉見一斑；

契寫立抄本地宗枝簿居住耕種直在廣西福建省司恩府紅里村林明修林明開林明養三兄弟起屋住在東方向在西南方吉利明開兒林得眞林得龍林得生林得朝兒林老張本命庚申年七月廿一日午時建生林老張兒林盛源本命庚午年三月十五日辰時建生

有了這樣的家譜，家屬雖然隨時間而逐漸擴大下去，同時也便是逐漸分散出去，但是家屬世代的關係，仍然是保持不斷的。推之，凡是有血緣關係的同姓人之間，也因之有了永久的連繫，宗族的意識自然提高。有些苗人曾對我們縷述他們是從什麼地方遷來的，什麼地方現在還有他們的同宗兄弟居住着；又大岐報茶村苗首王福壽曾對作者連稱「老宗」「老宗」不住：這都是宗族意識的表現。宗族意識既然存在，同姓人之間的情感當然要格外親密的。

但是，苗人以種山爲生，遷移無定，聚散靡常，漂泊的生活使他們的宗族關體永遠不

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能確立。空間隔得愈遠，時間過得愈久，原有密切的血緣關係的，也漸漸疏淡下去了。反之，異姓人之間，因同居既久，生活利害且一致，感情易於融洽，便非疏遠的同姓人可得而比擬了。

綜觀苗人宗族成立的主觀條件已相當完備，只要他們的經濟生活有新的轉變，整個社會組織便會爲之改觀的。從這一點上來觀察，苗人社會進化又比黎人進一步了。

（三）村

普通每個山上都只住着一個苗村。村是苗人社會組織最重要的一環，牠不單是地域的自然團體，而且是一種經濟共同體，此點留在下節論述，現在只談村的外貌及其他方面活動。

村有兩種：一種是由兩姓以上組成的；另一種則只包含一個姓。比較說來，前者實佔最大多數。每村的戶數大者十餘家，小者數家而已。各家毗鄰而居，形成一團簇。村之周圍，普通都有竹木圍繞着，中間開一門，以便出入，然也有四面開朗，無圍無門者。可耕的山地都在村外，村內只有少數的菜園。村中的主腦，自政府在黎苗境施行保甲制度以來（詳見拙著海南島黎人調查報告），現已改稱爲保甲長之類，在以前，總說是叫做「山

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甲」，由村人公推年老的男子任之。當選山甲的主要條件，是識漢字，有智識，有經驗，且兼有道士身分。至於財產是不是條件之一，殊未能斷定，但今日的甲長（前身卽爲山甲）經濟狀況都比一般苗人充裕，却是事實。山甲是智識的保存者，他的家裏藏着曆書、經書及其他文字，村中公共的事，都聽他指示，都由他決定。苗俗舊例：當每年廢曆除夕，全村的人便齊集持酒到山甲的家中去賀禧，並唱歌向山甲詢問明年內一切事情，山甲憑着他的豐富的智識和經驗，逐一解答。村人唱的叫做村老歌，歌詞如下：

開天立地盤皇皂　盤皇造禮後人尋
兩立此筵行此禮　旺立空筵動老官
一盞獻此老人飲　第二二盞沙成今
千盃萬盞衆星飲　難爲老樹坐肝迫
今盞排恩肝迫上　如同月呀三天星
兩星財排今迫殿　也望太陽柚首這
衆星坐在彭政殿　無安無落看春難
世上闌德衆星仕　國泰民安是不休
甲子運年不運日　問你老人傳報知

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大利便等何方搏　開門便向何方尋
今年再泰不生葉　田地種禾何處生
也望老人問口報　衆星安落萬千年
何方山中安衆樹　平安世上仕吞食
今年滿了名年到　問你穩圖是落安
穩圖祝報衆星樹　莊馬財財一路飛
問你老人春官樹　名年巳水巳灘魚
巳魚是灘巳隻肉　己分春水己分禾
也望老人開口報　衆星回判篆來爲

在這首歌裏，他們把山甲比做太陽，把衆星比他們自己，衆星要依賴太陽來拖護（第六行便是此意，下句「這」爲「遮」之訛），猶如他們要依靠山甲保護一樣。他們問道：明年是不是閏年（第九行上句「遇」爲「閏」之訛）？利在那一方（第十行）？什麼地方可耕植（第十一行）？過年後要不要遷居，還是仍然住下去？如要遷移，請告訴大家知道，一齊備馬起行（第十四、十五行）。他們又問：明年幾時可捕魚？幾時可打獵？幾時可種禾？（第十六、十七行）從這裏，我們可知道山甲的職務是何等煩重！他的地位是何等重要！

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

每個山甲的家裏都懸着一隻大皮鼓，有事的時候，便鳴鼓集衆討論。我們在苗村考察時，有一天，天纔剛剛放亮，便聞鼓聲蓬蓬自戶外傳入，起身出門探望，原來是甲長鳴鼓召集村人來討論做「衆人齋」（見下），村人聞鼓聲，也果然陸續前來。此外，我們還親眼見過擇吉日結婚的事也是由甲長來担任的。

村中有公共土地，有公共牧場，有公共坟場。村人之間，生活上時時保持着密切的連繫，互助是他們的天職，舉其要者言之，有：

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

（a）經濟上的互助——如村中某一家有婚喪等事件，其他各家俱助以錢米，使其減輕負担。

（b）工作上的互助——如村中某一家有頗重的工作要請他人幫助時，主人便帶着一點烟絲去向對方請求，如果對方接受了，便是答應幫他的忙。工作完畢後，主人以酒飯款待之。

（c）精神上的互助——如有喜事則互相慶賀，有哀事則互相慰問是。

村以上沒有更大的組織，可是異村人之間，仍然是有經常的往來和種種的互助的。（苗人因環境關係，頗能團結，詳見本書第七章）

自保甲制度成立以來，苗村組織頗起變化。保之上有甲，甲之上有團，原來的苗村或爲一保，或爲一甲，保隸於甲，甲隸於團，其間的關係，顯然是擴大了，複雜了。黎苗境現行保甲制度詳情，拙著海南島黎人調查報告一書已詳述之，茲不贅。

（四） 土地制度與貧富

苗人是一個無產民族，現在他們居住的山嶺，都是全村各家平均出錢，集攏起來，從黎人或漢商（漢商先從黎人手裏把山買過來）手中租來或買來的。租則有一定期限，租

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

金也有定額，或一次過付完，或每年分納，期限滿後，或續租，或他徙，雙方再定。買則一次付較高的金額，一經成交後，該山嶺所有權便屬於苗人，任由苗人自由支配，賣主永不得過問，苗人中有些能在一個地方做較長久的定居，就因該山嶺已屬他們所有之故。無論租山或買山，雙方都立有契約，載明山名，價錢，租金，年限等等，有些山嶺，本是村人共同租的或買的，但契約上也只寫着山甲或甲長的名字，因爲當交涉時，他是全村的代表，契約也就由他保存，我們在苗人甲長家中，曾看見許多這種契約，茲抄錄數條於下：

立批牙喃山字人同離咾達開和士君應國應記單和合心將到牙喃山批寄留土當來蓋宅價山頭銀六十六元鈎刀柄錢每家三百五米每家一斗京皮山馬茸角熊膽紅藤白藤一應山主收不得偷買此山任照苗人入伐廿五年不得生端反悔口言不憑立字爲照

的筆中人邱開意

光緒廿六庚子年二月十五日當衆立批

× × × ×

又前日苗人批毛蓋山嶺土洋銀二百七十大員

民國十六年正月初七日批

× × × × ×

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

毛瑞毛租每年米乙斗錢三百五酒乙罈鷄一隻每年納到

× × × ×

王公青

民國丁卯年新批每家銀一春四元

刀柄錢每家三百五石生錢一百每家鷄一隻米一斗酒一埕

烏豆木耳山物一應包了

——以上爲租山契約

美昌盛

又買毛瑞山嶺土賣山客人李永盛光緒二十二年買毛瑞山嶺土議價洋銀一百大元

李永盛

× × × ×

又宣統二年買毛瑞山嶺土共客人潘 李永盛 狗賣與老盤大議價洋銀陸拾大元又民國二年張

明耀抗洋銀十二元

× × × ×

又覃甲長買毛瑞山嶺土張明耀賣與覃甲長議定價洋銀二百大元民國十四年買收單手

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

執

黃毛瑞山嶺土字人 張明耀 黃興利 陳臣洲 黎錫清 同黎人買毛瑞山嶺交與老鄧老單開種食議定價洋銀叁百五拾元民國廿二年弍月拾陸日買

× × × × ×

喃什隴山嶺土買定洋銀五佰七拾陸大元

民國元年買二月初七日

× × × × ×

喃實山嶺土賣客王開龍 奉賣與鄧甲長買議定價洋銀一百叁拾大元民國十八年三月初十日買

——以上爲買山契約

這些山嶺，既然是由全村各家共同集資批來或買來的，那麼，牠當然是全村人的公有財產了。牠的支配權由全村各家平等享受，也就是說，只要是本山上的人家，他都可以自由地在山上任何一塊地方開墾耕種，無人干涉，反之，別個山嶺的人，是不許越界的。享用土地的方法是：如有人家欲在某塊地方耕種，選定以後，便在地面的樹枝上打個記號，

1:. Wang AE5 Miao AE5

這塊地的使用權便暫時歸他所有，後來的人看見，知道已爲人先佔，乃另覓地方。待這一家收穫之後，地復歸公有。

以上所述，是苗人土地公有制的事實。然而另一方面，土地私有制也同時存在着。因爲苗人既以家爲社會組織單位，各家財富的累積，貧富自然是不能完全一致的。比較富有的人家，除了和村人合資置公有地外，同時又出私財獨向黎人或漢商批山買山，置爲私業，有些還積資買了不少水田，生活更好一點了。譬如大岐昂吉村甲長盧尊英家裏便有田有山，還僱幾位長工在山上製造木板發售，獲利頗不薄。可是事實上，像他這樣富有的人家，在苗人中是不可多見的。

此外，一切財產皆爲各家私有，不相混淆。

總之，私有財產制度在苗人社會中雖然存在，但是由於資本累積的機會非常有限，私人不能創造出較多量的財富，而且大部分主要生產手段——土地尙屬公有，因此，貧富的差別便不十分顯著。隨貧富的懸殊而產生的初期社會階級的對立，如奴隸主與奴隸的對立，地主與農奴及佃農的對立等等現象，在他們中間是幾乎看不見的。每一家，每一個人都是生產勞動者，他們沒有奴役，只有互助。「大貧小貧」一語，我覺得用於苗人社會中是再適合沒有的。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

第五章 日常生活

(一) 飲食

苗人生活艱苦，糧食常虞不足，造成了他們一種儉約的特性。除宴會或節期纔吃白米飯外，平常每日三餐，都是吃的稀粥或其他雜糧，平時絕沒有肉食（獵獲野獸時例外），又鮮種蔬菜，故僅以鹽下飯，也有採野菜烹食之者。

惟逢佳期宴會始宰牛殺猪痛飲，但不知調味，外人嘗之，難於入口。宴客時，煮飯的方法也頗特別：即先下白米於大鍋中煮得半熟，便取出倒入木桶中，再連木桶置於鍋中蒸之。木桶高約三尺，爲圓形，其底有孔，鍋中放水少許，水爲火熱變成蒸氣，從木桶底下的孔中衝上，飯徐徐熟，據說這種蒸熟的飯味道特別好，可惜我們沒有嘗試過。他們所用的箸碗盤碟之類，與漢人同。取水之法，也有足述：苗山上固然沒有河流，連小溝也不多見，除雨天外，平常食水也很感困難。他們乃把竹管連接起來，竹管上端銜接着較高地面的水源，這種水源都是很細的，一滴一滴地順着竹管往下流，取水的人，便把竹桶（以較粗大的竹筒爲之，高約三四尺）緊接着竹管的下端，及盛滿然後挑之回家，蓄於缸中。這

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

些水，因爲水源太小，且隨時有污穢之物攙入，故異常不潔，外人飲之，最易生疾病。

一般男子都嗜烟酒，婦女間有飲酒者，吸烟則絕無僅有。他們吸的烟有烟絲、烟葉兩種，用的是竹管製成的水烟筒，紙捲烟不常吸。他們飲酒很有分寸，鮮見有喝得淵醉的事，除宴會外，平時也是不常喝的。吃檳榔也可說是他們一種普遍嗜好。

（二）服裝

苗人男子衣服很簡單：上身穿的是大襟短衣，襟向右開，扣鈕有三四枚，或有領，或無領。下體穿着漢裝的長褲。頭髮四圍剃光，僅頂部留着一團，或留辮披髮，盤捲於頭上，額前常用長巾重重包裹，惟兒童則戴小瓜帽。脚部日間赤露，晚上則跨木屐。

女裝：上身穿對襟衣，其長及膝，無領，僅有一扣鈕，於腰際以帶圍之，使胸部不露，下體穿短裙，內無袴，裙爲上衣所掩，僅稍露而已。裙上有「蠟纈法」製成的花紋，一律是三角形，很整齊地排列着。頭披尖角包頭巾，面部半掩，似不欲以全部頭面示人，巾上則繡着各種花紋。幼女盛裝時喜戴一頂圓帽，用紅黃藍各色布相間製成，其上也繡花，頗爲美觀，婦人則無之。脚常踝，腿部綁帶，與軍隊之綁腿帶無異。裝飾之物有耳環，手鐲，惟不戴頸圈。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

因長期和漢人不斷接觸的結果，今日苗人男子御漢裝者已不少，而青年尤喜漢裝，他們頭戴氈帽，身穿對襟短衫，長褲，脚着膠底鞋，儼然與漢人男子無異。

（三）居住

苗人的住屋，以竹爲牆，糊之以泥，頂則以茅蓋之。屋爲長方形，大門開在正中，屋簷向前伸出甚濶，可作走廊及休息之用。內部：左右兩方用泥牆隔爲小房，作爲寢室，中間則爲正廳。灶亦設在廳中，用石頭叠成。臥牀用竹編成，下以長木橼承之，上敷蓆席，間有用蚊帳的，殊使人詫異，因海南漢人中等之家用蚊帳亦不多見也。禾倉、穀倉皆設在住屋之旁，家畜皆野牧，鮮見有牛欄猪欄之類。

（四）行

苗人居高山上，從山脚到山頂，中間距離就不短，而且一般山路都是傾斜崎嶇，坎坷難行，我們在考察途中，每訪問一個苗村，無不弄到神疲力竭，非休息多時不能恢復。可是試觀苗人，無論男女老幼，無一非矯捷如飛，連翻幾座高山，也無倦容，而且他們一律都是赤着脚走，銳石荆棘，視若無事，而且永遠不會受傷的。他們趁漢人墟市時，往來至

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

少要一百里，早上出去，黃昏歸來，無事不會多躭擱一天半天。只有少數比較富有的人家纔以馬代步。

（五）往來

苗人親戚朋友互相往來，頗重禮貌。臨別，主人送客出門外，恭立，身向前微彎，頭低垂，雙手則舉起，高與頭等，客亦如之。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

第六章 風俗習慣

(一) 出生

苗人孩子生後十二日，作「十二日」，滿一月則作「彌月」，家中殺鷄烹肉，請道士來酌神命名，所取名字多爲「亞大」「亞二」之類。滿一週年則作「對歲」，儀式不詳。

(二) 結婚

苗人普通至二十歲左右始定婚。有由父母之命，媒妁之言而定婚的，有青年男女先發生戀愛，始稟於家長，遣媒定婚的。在後一種塲合，雙方家長常常都尊重子女的意見，爲之撮合，但是苗俗，定婚前須把男女雙方的年庚（苗人男女生辰都載於家簿中）請識曆書的人（普通爲甲長）去「合命」，要他們的命不相尅，及不尅雙方家長的命，婚事始成，否則只好放棄。因此熱戀的男女，縱得家長的同意，但命也不諧，終不能成眷屬，許多爲情犧牲的慘案，便由此而生。聘金從前爲十元以下，現已漲至二十元左右，此外尚須酒三醆，米三斗，猪肉三十斤。結婚方式有兩種：一爲「娶媳」，一爲「招贅」。娶媳者，雇

聘由男家負担，招贅則由女家負担。

結婚之前，雙方家庭又把男女的年庚去請人選擇吉日。婚期既定，雙方便從事準備。如果是「娶媳」便由男家上女家來迎親，反之，則新郎被迎到女家去。

作者曾親自參加過一次「招贅」的婚禮，特將當日經過情形記述於下，藉見苗人結婚儀式的一斑：

到了結婚那一天，雙方家庭都忙碌起來了，親戚朋友齊來慶賀，宰牛殺猪終日忙個不休，女家方面尤爲熱鬧。然而正式婚禮却是在黃昏後纔開始的。新郎這時身穿長衫馬褂，脚穿鞋襪，頭戴尖角形的大頭巾，把面部遮掩，僅露出下部少許，若不勝其害羞然。由一男媒人把他從屋中負出，旁有一男子手持張開的布傘遮之，步步緊隨，另一男媒則先行爲導，後邊又隨着一位挑禮物的男子，禮物的一邊是酒，另一邊是烟葉。兩位媒人及持傘和送禮者，皆全副服裝：長衫、馬褂、鞋、襪俱備。新郎出家門未數步，由先導的媒人放鞭炮數響，一行人便暫停止不前，待女家方面也放過鞭炮（那次男女兩家距離很近，鞭炮聲可互相聽聞），纔繼續前進，至中途又停步。稍頃，女家派兩位少女（叫做「伴娘」）前來迎接，她們邊行邊唱歌，持傘護新郎的男子應聲和之，一唱一答，此伏彼起。唱歌的時候是停着脚的，每唱完一段始進行數步，便又停下來續唱，如此者四次始行抵一間靠近女家

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

的小屋中。在前進途中，旁觀的青年男女還玩着許多把戲來點綴熱鬧：有些把先導的媒人包圍着，向他索取烟葉；有些——尤其是女子——把新郎重重包圍起來，向他開玩笑，或講話諷刺他，或用手推他，或用脚踢他，或出其不意把他的頭巾揭開，或給他戴上破鴉笠，新郎却如木頭一樣，動也不敢動，幸得旁邊有護駕的男子給他招架，否則恐怕要給她們瓜分了。

新郎一行人等，行抵該小屋後，儀式暫告一段落。這間屋子是暫借別人家的，依例須付租錢二百文，但屋主照例也須殺鷄備酒請一行人等吃一頓飯，眞是白白虧本。一行人在那裏用過晚餐後，媒人和送禮物的便手捧檳榔（以烟葉代之）過女家這邊來。女家事前已在偏屋中擺好一張酒席，請親朋數人坐其上，專候男家人的到臨。媒人等行抵女家，停於戶外，僅派一人入屋中，徵得席上客人的同意，然後復出帶一行人進屋，與席上客人對面排坐，互相敬酒。然後雙方唱歌互答，担任唱歌的，男方是持傘的男子，女方是預先指定的席上一位客人。唱完歌，媒人等復退返小屋中。接着，屋中演出一幕「討錢糧」的滑稽戲，即女家派兩個人到那裏去向媒人索討烟葉，雙方有一番滑稽有趣的對話，「討錢糧者」臨退去，還在門外唱歌一闋。

滑稽戲演過後，媒人便負新郎向女家過來，行列如初出自家門時。新郎一行來到女家

偏屋門外便止步，女家預先派一人候於門口，等其到，就唱歌歡迎，媒人和之。雙方中間的地面上，放一米簸，中置酒碗酒杯各一，女方的代表依次向媒人等一一獻酒，惟不獻於新郎。這時候，村中青年女子又向新郎開一次大玩笑，新郎仍然木立不動。唱歌獻酒既畢，媒人等即逕導新郎到女家正屋。這時女家正廳中是這樣佈置的：近門口的左邊置一香爐，右邊置剪刀鎌刀各一，中間置一滿盛火炭的椰子壳，其旁擺酒席一張，上置酒一瓶，酒杯二隻，白飯二碗，熟猪肝一碗。新郎行到門口就止步，門內有一人手持剪刀和鎌刀，面向新郎唸咒作法，（聽說有驅邪之意）然後延新郎入，跨木炭而過，坐於筵席上。新郎和兩位媒人及持傘者四人分爲兩排，相對而坐，少頃，由一伴娘把新娘導引出來，和新郎並肩坐着，新娘也同樣披着尖角形的頭巾，面部半掩。坐既定，伴娘及媒人就向新郎新娘獻酒，次獻飯，次獻猪肝。接着媒人及伴娘分別把新郎和新娘的頭巾揭開，兩位新人露出面目，便立刻離席，新郎奔返小屋中，新娘則奔入自己的房間。可是席上的人却仍然繼續飲酒唱歌，良久始散，復在偏屋席上聚飲，這時男男女女都來參加，邊飲酒，邊唱歌，直至達旦始終席。

翌晨，女家在偏屋中張盛筵宴客，媒人導新郎來對客人一一敬酒，同時席間有一人起立向新郎訓話，大意誡他以後要善事家長，勤苦工作，夫婦和諧，共理家務等語。新郎聽

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

訓後，復入女家正廳向家長等人敬酒，敬完酒，即直進新娘房中，少頃就出，逕返小屋休息。在新娘房中所做何事，則不得而知。

是日下午，新娘由一婦人引導步行來男家，後面有一少女負包袱隨送。新娘的裝束：身穿新衣服，赤脚，頭戴圓形帽，手裏執着一把油傘。男家屋中事前也同樣佈置鎌刀、剪刀、火炭等物，新娘來到，立於門外，待道士作法後始入屋，由婦人導進房中。是晚，男家設筵席歡宴親朋，婚禮就此結束。事後，對兩位女伴娘各酬錢三百文，猪肉三斤，前者由女家担負，後者由男家担負。

第三日上午，新婚夫婦同返女家，第四日復返男家，第五日再返女家，實行同居矣。新郎自此長期住在岳家，正式爲岳家之一成員，同享一切權利，同盡一切義務。待岳父母身故後，或携妻子別居，或改稱岳姓，永遠爲岳家人焉。

「娶媳」的儀式未曾目擊，但據說與「招贅」的完全一樣，不過男女兩家倒而行之罷了。

孀婦再醮，沒有什麼儀式，也無聘金，雙方同意後，只由男子出鷄一隻殺之共食，便可成事了。

此外，關於苗人結婚尙有幾點要補述的：

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

(1)同姓的人不相婚，但知道沒有血緣關係的同姓人，有時似亦可通融。

(2)男女結婚年齡，普通爲二十歲左右。

(3)每年廢曆三月，木棉花和一種所謂"toon dong"（譯音）花開放，苗人最忌在這時候結婚，據說犯者將不吉利。結婚最盛的時節，是十一、十二及正月這三個月裏。

(三) 喪 葬

苗人死後，隔日就治葬事。不待主家的請求，村人咸自動來幫助治喪。斲木爲棺，將屍體納入其中，然後抬之出大門外，棺前燃香三枝，是時有一人手持大刀，向棺唸咒。蓋棺後，道士二人向死者禱祝，據說是祈他在陰間保佑遺下的兒女。棺蓋上面置繩三條，由道士持劍斬斷之，聞其意爲告訴死者，陰陽異路，從此判別。繼經孤哀子女在棺上印過指模後，便由四人抬棺赴穴地埋葬，有簡單樂隊隨送，孤子護棺至葬地，若年紀太少則送到村門卽折回，女則不送。埋葬之後，萬事皆畢，像漢人風俗的「作七」、「作對年」「作三年」、掃墓等事皆無之。治葬時，孤哀子女俱於帽上纏以麻繩，以誌守孝，葬事畢卽除去。

苗人迷信，以爲人死後，必須「做齋」，則死者靈魂始有歸宿。所謂「做齋」卽與漢

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

俗的「建醮」超度無異，苗俗普通於人死後一二年內舉行之。齋期聽說有一日二日三日五日數種，作者親眼看見的，是二日的一種，實際就是二晝二夜。

做齋由道士來主持。那次請來的道士，共有十餘人，分爲文武兩班。文武兩班所奉的神，所誦的經書，及做法的方式，完全不同。（詳見下章）做齋的經過情形，無法做詳盡的描寫，這裏只能舉其大概：做齋儀式正式開始於第一天晚上，文武兩班道士各把所奉的神像懸掛起來，同時誦經跳神，至深夜始息。第二日，上午爲「招魂」大概情形爲：於屋外曠地上搭一木台，文武道士輪流登台，手持竹幡，口中唸經，向天招死者靈魂歸來。下午爲「傳道」，非關做齋本身事，留待下章詳述。第三日上下午繼續誦經跳神，但情節又與第一日全不相同。傍晚，做齋完結之前，殿以一幕「跳鬼」的滑稽劇。劇情是這樣的：由一道士扮演魔鬼，戴着假面具，狀甚猙獰，藏在幕後，另由兩男童扮裝女郎，把鬼逗引出來，鬼一見女郎，獸性大發，舉起長可二三尺之陽具（禾稈紮成），左跳右跳，向女郎追逐，狀殊穢褻，使人不敢逼視。第四日清晨，主家置酒欵待道士，賓主唱歌互答，齋事也就此完結。

總觀苗人「做齋」的儀式，和漢俗「建醮」相同之處甚多，做齋時給死者焚化的紙具（如紙衣服，紙屋，紙轎，紙金錢……之類），也和漢俗完全無異。兩者之間，似有傳

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

播關係。

（四）節期與遊戲

苗人於廢曆元旦日，依例「作年」。是日殺鷄宰猪祀神，村人互相拜賀。

他們每年又照例做「衆人齋」兩次，於廢曆正月及六月中舉行之。日期由甲長及老人依據日曆選定，然後向衆公佈。屆時，由村中文武道士數人各取出所奉的神像懸掛起來，焚香點燭，誦經跳神，助之以鑼鼓。齋期或一日二日不等。將結束前，每家科白米二升，銅仙二三十枚，置酒飯共食。做「衆人齋」的用意，據說是祈禱本年內全村的平安和豐年。

苗人的遊戲，所可知者有打鞦韆一種，於春夏之交舉行之。鞦韆架的製造法和玩法，和黎人的完全相同，已詳拙著海南島黎人調查報告一書，茲不贅。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

第七章 宗教迷信及其他

(一) 道士

道教是苗人唯一的宗教，牠在苗人社會生活中起着重要的作用。宗教儀式的執行者是道士，道士分文武兩班，各班所奉之神及經書等俱不相同。就在「做齋」中所見，文道士所奉之神爲李斜王、祖公、神農、斗公等，武道士所奉者，則爲玉清、上清、太清、上元、中元、下元、陽虎等，各神皆有畫像，凡文道士之神，其頭必大，武道士之神，其頭必小。上舉十餘神，尚未能包括苗人道教神名之全部，作者曾從道士的經書中檢出諸神名，知道至少尚有下列諸神：

壇官	九官		陳十五官
李新聖	貢皇		家官
地司	案壇川光		九娘
伏啓小妹	玉皇		雷家民官（雷公）
境主	家先		當年瘟主

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

三祖　斗府三官　五傷回
西道五傷　十二傷兵　貧婆鷄
好公鷄　十五傷鷄公　上元拋香
中元羅帕　下元羅帕　四功曹
趙帥　馬帥　鄧帥

至何者屬於文班，何者屬於武班，則無從分別。各神所司人間事，似各有職守，不相混淆，「做齋」時，所以只掛十餘位神像，便是由於他們專司這部分工作之故。各神因其形像不同，職司不同，而經書也互異，茲爲省篇幅起見，只抄「九娘」神的經書於下，以見內容一斑：

喬手你打陽首古　復古又打古朝陽
聽得古聲調了陽　九娘下馬介名香
今早你在法壇廟　功曹得狀去傳章
你受得同公曹請　莊安寶馬赴壇長
來到壇前跪下馬　接歸筵上領名香
八筵領受安壇酒　下筵童子唱元章

未唱九娘身出處　水出有元花有根
風過山頭嶺過嶺　水落洒頭灘趕灘
父母生長娘令利　生娘端正十分強
眼是七星眉似月　面相東京紙一張
首似落鄉脚似好　花相東方太白星
頭山便帶三山帽　帽頂不離个金霜
身着珠依衫一令　八福羅裾到地長
先生一男唐太保　眼容眉貌十分強
先生一男并一女　後生一女唐九娘
今朝入到花園里　將着貪花思一長
上村看盡無个好　下村看盡無个強
中村出得兄陽二　風流眉貌甚高強
第二日朝清早起　担水凖頭等一長
當時遇着兄陽二　二兄聽我說言章
今朝我來正等你　與兄今夜話成雙

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

陽二答言九娘道
你但有心來念我
長衫與郎着兩衿
貼肉汗衫着兩衿
一身都是娘壯過
九娘答言兄陽二
要吃酒飯厨內有
此酒便是九月酒
陽二答言九娘道
金盞載酒郎無吃
打開東廳排棹椅
接得陽二歸家坐
三般五味排枱上
一盞與郎吃菓子
娘吃三盞坤昏醉

你今聽我說言章
有衫壯過十分強
短衫與郎着兩雙
靈羅絲帶秀鴛鴦
風流眉貌甚高強
二兄聽我說言章
吃酒之時開酒漿
與兄吃了目思良
九娘聽我說言章
娘口含來郎便嘗
排出龍鳳及鴛鴦
三般五味及蕩漿
剪魚煮肉在中央
二盞與郎收依長
面相排花色養強

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

郎吃三盞坤昏醉　走入深房尋九娘
袖起枱盆烈起椅　二人牢手同歸房
入到深房坐一陣　二人坐落解衣裳
長衫掛在金鈎頂　短衫掛在妹床樑
頭巾掛在郎干竹　脫鞋放在妹籠箱
雙首撥開娘羅帳　問娘連枕在何方
九娘答言兄陽二　二兄說話不思良
昔日深房作小妹　不知連枕在何鄉
一更一點共娘作　正同下員竹一雙
二更二點共娘足　正同象牙節一雙
睡到三更睡不醒　正同死去在高床
鷄啼正是四更定　百花繚亂五更長
九娘答言二兄道　兄今聽我說言章
我有金鷄未報曉　我有銀鷄報曉娘
二人排頭連枕睡　花發枕上正成雙

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

九娘得見天光亮　叫取陽二着衣裳
東廳引過西廳過　西廳引過北廳長
只有个兄大嫂見　云姑引得也來人
只有个兄都見了　四邊鄰舍孰莊裳
祝得陽二把鎖縛　麻絲鐵鎖縛脛長
打得陽二皮盡斷　十分打痛斷千長
陽二口口聲聲叫　口口聲聲叫九娘
九娘答言大哥道　大哥聽我說言章
你打陽二如打我　打死陽二犯官方
九娘心中思一計　又思一計在心長
左手脫下龍鳳髻　右手點火去燒倉
□得大哥去救火　娘便放郎歸本鄉
足得如同無語叫　解脫如同放脫羊
陽二走得三五里　九娘叫住說言章
瑪□珍珠銀四斗　每斗眞錢八萬雙

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

便把銅錢無數貫　與兄作客莫回鄉
能取絲羅並絲綢　莫要賭錢敗悶娘
花街柳巷兄莫逛　莫逛花林心里煩
要吃酒時店上有　肚飢買肉煮湯粟
吃肉便吃鬆頭肉　莫吃骨頭卡死郎
起屋便起高樓屋　莫起低樓人笑郎
世上貪花人人有　人心不比妹心長
拾字路頭相祝別　九娘退步龍歸房
娘欲思量吊頸死　不曾辭別妹爹娘
先祝我哥共大嫂　好聲服侍我爹娘
莫把冷飯我爹吃　莫交冷酒我爹飲
二別一條郎干竹　今番不見掛衣裳
三別房中紅羅帳　今番不見妹歸房
四別房中剪刀尺　今番不見妹才郎
五別房中紅七籠　今番不見載衣裳

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

六別六親并九巷　今番不見妹行鄉
早朝不見妹洗面　夜晚不見妹得鄉
七別江河并水埠　今番不見洗衣裳
八別家堂并香火　今番不見妹燒香
九別堂前親父母　女兒舍命入醉鄉
十別風流兄陽二　二人祝別斷千長
一更吊頸二更死　三更托夢報爹娘
爹睡醒來夢不好　手托燈籠照妹房
入到娘房打一望　妹見吊頸在高樑
唐婆口口聲聲叫　口口聲聲叫九娘
世上貪花人人有　如何我心不思量
便叫我太唐兒保　急把長梯解下娘
先把沉香來洗淨　後把紅羅裝過娘
便買一副樟木板　相來裝哉唐九娘
擡起東廳戰棺槨　又把南廳作道場

請取先生來點地　南容大路好傳揚
扛過皇河九曲水　扛過王河九曲江
葬在南容大路口　人人行過看情娘
左邊清龍來朝護　右邊白虎護坟塲
前面百雀來朝拜　後頭玉女護坟塲
道人行過也念佛　僧人行過也燒香
六十公公行過呌　可惜聰明命不長
六十婆婆行過呌　可惜聰明不□長
十八後生行過呌　可惜聰明不到郎
十八女兒行過呌　好昔聰明命不長
奉勸世間男共女　有男有女早思量
東家有男早招婿　西家有如早招郎
莫學引州唐九妹　欠夫花發自身亡
九娘到壇親斬保　你來保羅馬前人

苗人道士經書的內容，大半是這樣七言歌體的故事，和道教本身全無相關，這是很耐人尋

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

味的。文武道士畫符所用的鈐印同是用木刻成，但圖案則各異：文道士印共有兩隻，皆爲長方形，大小也相若，其圖如下（黑地爲凸出者，白地爲凹入者）；

文道士印（一）

文道士印（二）

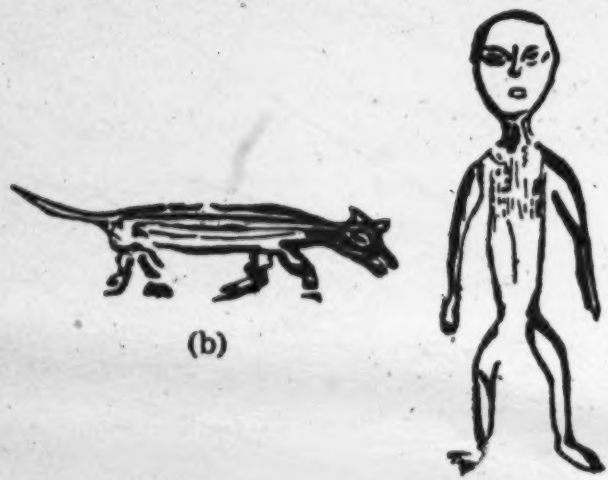
武道士印也兩隻，一隻和文道士印同樣刻着橫直線的符號：

武道士印（一）

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE6

另一隻則四面都有圖案，而且刻的是人物和狗，龍（？）、鳳（？）等動物之形，和上數印迥異，頗堪玩味。

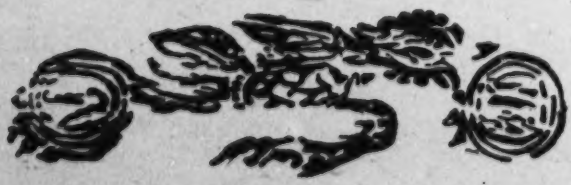
武道士印（二）



(b)

(a)

(c)



(d)

1; Wang AE5 Miao AE5

大概每次做法事時，文武兩班都必同時參加，作者在「做齋」和「做衆人齋」中所見都如此。

道士僅限於男子始得爲之，男子也必經過一種傳道洗禮，始能取得道士資格。作者曾在他們「做齋」時參觀過一回傳道儀式，似是附帶舉行的，此外還有沒有一定的舉行時間和地點，則不得而知。傳道儀式文武兩班大同小異，茲將當時大概情形記之於下：

武道士傳道儀式：受傳道的男子是日身穿紅色道士袍，頭頂加薄紙一張，額前掛一筆畫之神像，以紅線牢穩，正襟危坐於神壇前地面的紅氈中。（每位道士都各有紅氈一張）由老道士（指資格而言，與年齡無關）數人繞之而行，且行且誦經。每誦完一段，即同時跪於地面，將受傳道者頭上之薄紙撕破，然後再起繞行，如是者三次，儀式告一段落。

少頃，老道士們把受傳道者帶到曠地的法場上去，鳴鑼搥鼓隨其後，途中一老道士手持草蓆數地連打幾回斗筋。既抵法場，受傳道者坐於法台下（法台以木搭成），老道士們輪流登台，一面誦經，一面跳舞。誦經畢，便張開以樹皮織成的大網，共舉受傳道者拋入其中，抬起廻旋數回，復置於地面，饗之以酒飯，然後復返神壇，儀式遂告完畢。

文道士傳道儀式異於武道士者，惟無赴法場一節，然文道士在神壇前誦經時，每誦完一段，跪下後必以木梳梳受傳道者之髮，則又爲武道士所無。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

男子受過傳道洗禮後，便有一個法名。文武兩班的法名互異，而字號則各有一定，文班的爲「寅、雲、道、廟、完」五字，武班的爲「應、勝、法、顯、完」五字，取名的方法，是其中某一字之下再加上任何一字便得，如昂吉甲長盧尊英是文道士，其法名爲「寅才」，使人一望每道士之名，便知道他是文是武。而且法名的次序是父子相承的，如盧尊英法名既是「寅才」，則其子法名必爲「雲某」，其孫法名必爲「道某」，週而復始。受傳道的年齡沒有限制，作者親自參觀的那一次，受傳道的共有五人，其中大者約二十歲，小者則僅二三歲，乳臭未乾，由其母抱來。大者於傳道儀式舉行之後，便隨老道士學習誦經和做法事，過了些時便執行道士職務；小者則須達相當年齡纔開始學習，然而他的道士身份却是早已確定了的。

道教在苗人生活上既演着這麼重大的作用，道士們在社會上便顯得重要；而且要具有道士資格的人，纔有機會讀經書，也就是享受唯一的文字教育，他從此便獲得許多特殊智識：因此，道士們的社會地位比普通人要高出一等，並享有許多特權。在這種情形之下，除非是經濟狀況特別困苦（因舉行傳道儀式是要花錢的）的人家，是沒有不給他的兒子舉行傳道儀式的。如上述乳臭未乾的小孩也抱來參加，便可見爲父母者對這件事是如何的心急和重視！

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

（二） 重要神名

苗人崇拜的神甚多，據他們口述，其中最重要的是以下諸神：

（a） 玉皇——天上神之至大者；

（b） 土地公——地下神之至大者；

（c） 敬主公——山神之至大者；

（d） 海龍王——水神之至大者。

（三） 圖騰崇拜遺跡

我們從下章苗人傳說中，知道狗是他們的始祖，也就是他們的圖騰。圖騰崇拜的遺跡，在今日他們生活中仍然存在：他們每家雖然都養狗，但絕對不吃狗肉，不是任牠自己老死，便是把牠和附近黎人交換東西，後一種情形，作者曾經目擊，這顯然是圖騰社會中「禁止殺害圖騰動物」的禁條遺傳下來的。此外，上面所插的武道士鈐印上所刻的狗的圖像，或與此也有關係，值得注意。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

（四） 魔術

苗人有陷害他人的黑魔術(Black Magic)。凡與人有深仇者，便請道士來弄法報復：用紙書對方之名，然後把牠在樹林中釘起來，對方的靈魂從此被禁錮，便生奇病異症，慢慢陷於半生不死的狀態。被害的人，要把弄法者拘得，逼他自動解禁，纔能得救。

以上係得自他們口述，但這個魔法靈不靈，却不知道。不過作者曾在一個黎首的家裏看見一位患廢疾的男子，據人家說，是因他從前隨黎首征苗時殺人太多，被苗人弄禁的。也許有這回事呢！

（五） 迷信

苗人迷信風水。作者在昂吉時，甲長盧尊英曾對余云，該地苗人所以多貧乏者，係由於風水不好之故，他並指出風水怎樣不好，說：山尖，缺乏水源，形勢狹窄，無發大財之理。其堂弟爲保長者，又問余識不識看風水，余答不識。他說，將來必積多金，從外面請位名地師來相地，以期發達云。

他們又信命信相，作者在那裏時，他們向余問識不識算命看相者也不少。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

苗人這種迷信意識的發生，自有實際生活的背景，並非全無因由的，這一點，留待最後一章來說明。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

第八章 歌謠傳說

（一）

歌唱是苗人生活的要素，他們無論男女老幼，幾乎個個都是歌唱的天才。我們在苗山旅行，不時聽見嘹亮的歌聲向耳邊傳來，可是山深林密，人影杳然，無由引起你的「曲終人不見，江上數峯青」的悠然遐想！

歌唱是傳達人類意志的最自然的工具，在苗人是完全利用到了。男女相逢，兩情繾綣，他們會用歌唱來表達彼此傾慕的心曲；久別相遇，樂不可言，他們會用歌唱來互道相思的情懷；歧路言別，不忍遽離，他們會用歌唱來傾訴離情別緒；在胼手胝足，農事正忙時，他們會用歌唱來排遣軀體的疲勞；在佳期宴會，少長咸集時，他們會用歌唱來點綴熱鬧。總之，他們一切苦樂悲喜，都在歌唱中赤裸裸地表現出來了。

他們的歌唱，係以對答式爲主體的，如男女互答，賓主互答等是。有些歌詞因久唱而變固定了，於是對答的詞句常常是有一定的。一個人歌唱的天才好不好，在苗人社會中關係是很重大的。譬如他們男女的結合，常常是出於自由戀愛的，戀愛的媒介便是歌唱，當

1; Wang AE5 Miao AE5

陽春佳日，風和日暖，萬物回春，生意蓬勃，於是男女成群，隔着遙遠的山，唱歌互答，歌聲漸漸自遠而近，這時如果你是歌唱的能手，把對方唱來的歌都回答得恰到好處，那勝利自然便屬你的了，否則美人巳杳，只好望洋興嘆而巳。又如盛大宴會席上，賓客互答，善唱的人，每每受聽衆的讚嘆，反之，低能的歌唱者，却免不了要受人家譏嘲的。歌唱成爲他們社交上不可缺少的技能了。

（二）

他們的歌詞，因境地不同，大體上可別爲固定的和不固定的兩種。大抵男女唱答，無聊遣懷等場合，都是觸景生情，脫口而出，不假思索，自然成章，這些歌詞多是不固定的；至如佳期宴會，賓主應酬以及祀神等，則歌詞都有一定，各地皆同，這種歌唱，多不是情感的自然流露，而變成一種僵硬的儀式了。固定的歌詞，是人人都記得爛熟的，沒有什麼高低之別，至於不固定的，因天才有差別，其所表現就有優劣之殊了。

不固定的歌詞，因其是不固定的，而且語言的隔膜，我們沒法把牠記下來，很是可惜！只有固定的，他們每家幾乎都有抄本，前後傳授，因此我們纔能搜集得一點，但是這些歌詞都巳硬化，比起前者出自情感之自然流露，其價值要差得多了。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

他們一切的生活都表現於歌唱中，所以歌詞的內容，是複雜的，多方面的，無所不包的。但是我們所得並不多，現在試分類舉例於下：

（一）關於經濟生活的歌，如農作過程中舉行某種儀式而唱的：

送禾歌

送　禾　去　神農、土地送禾回
送到家中招庇主　放落倉中萬歲貪
多　謝　你　神農土地送禾回
送到家中招庇我　萬歲得貪念你師
天樞府里差人引　己多黃金托盡來
秀福不過三年士　招財富貴能官人
多得各師引今寶　萬歲念情水在心

（二）關於社會活動的歌，如第四章所錄的村老歌便是。

（三）男女戀愛的歌，如曠男怨女，道中相逢，便常唱下一首歌：

奇勸貴花在世上　報花內里依貪心
妹能貪心有人見　東有日頭西有天

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

二勸貴花在世上　筵中飲酒依貪多
人話度船不看水　飲酒貪多也是閑
三勸貴花在世上　貴花同意萬秋連
貴花同意齊合手　迷河橋上兩同行
四勸貴花在世上　風流十八有人連
有福守得六十歲　無福半世也爲閑
六勸貴花在世上　家兄到此依爲閑
無心殺龍貪不好　有心冷水自聞良
七勸貴花在世上　妹屋有員也是閑
也怕妹員殺命死　命落太山恕不回
捌勸貴花在世上　有錢放債依貪多
不得本錢也着退　入家殺命也難當
九勸貴花在世上　有牛有地早思春
春到無牛難起早　家裏無牛也是閑
拾勸貴花在世上　見人寫字依爲閑

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

有年有月官士到　白紙求人也是難
拾壹勸貴花在世上　□報花亂罵癸癸
貴花恩望癸癸養　命落太山恕不回
十二勸貴花在世上　仙人引到轉倫皇
轉到名王把筆判　判你少年再轉生

又如男女幽會，當告別之際，難免依依不捨，此時常唱下面諸歌：

(其一)送　花　去　烏雲送月過天心
烏雲送月少送貴　送回愁地判愁鄉
分　離　了

(其二)壹別貴花小廻去　如同伝望轉離天
伝望離天心暗乙　小令離妹暗愁心
二別貴花龍貴地　字拋貴地轉廻鄉
戌汎拋花小廻去　暗戌眼汎在心中
三別諷流年少妹　轉離貴地願忘身
四別官員年少妹　見花冷利也難拋

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

痛在小心不愿甭　字回半路甭愁身
五別桃元天仙女　暗思眼淚落胸前
報你仙花留命守　賤命亡時位花令
六別風流多痛在　便能細刀殺內心
路上小亡是位妹　妹在遠鄉妹不知
七別龍花多痛在　如同火燒在胸前
火燒胸前不願死　甭了龍珠愿死身
捌別貴花路上守　雙雙眼淚花胸前
拾痛在心弄拋命　退回半路甭愁身
九別鴛鴦財分散　脚踏路頭步步離
烏葉離花鳥離樹　思花愁悶也難拋
拾別伝雨歌堂散　依恩此地共花遊
戌淚博回愁鄉殿　人傳愁悶位花枝
分　離　了　衣思在後得相逢
博身自回在本地　有心守等兩三年

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

分　離　了　一日分離萬日思
守等三年天不博　兩今前世無恩緣
(其三)坐馬行遊五州府　回頭半路遇運迫
遇着鵝眉伴快樂　夜望五皇稽首這
財朝天門先京路　安落十三勝內良
水流面前恩相過　離花一世不相逢
一祝小年官音女　如同云望轉離山
雲望離山思不斷　空思內里是難逢
別　了　貴　如同仙伯送英台
英台回處人茶嶺　仙伯愁死爲花枝
別　了　貴　如同豆女別米神
迷神一心連豆女　豆女過心嫁別官
別　了　貴　如同十女別唐仙
唐仙入朝孝官舉　回頭德見斷陽春
別　了　貴　如同三女別寒憑

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

寒憑身亡爲三女　宗皇頭斷爲貪心
別　了　貴　如同少女別文隆
愿你秀身能少女　如同東永別陽春
東永賣身葬父母　愿賣我身在貴鄉
供妹秋蓮分離了　一路分開兩路行
一路分開兩路行　月頭丹專兩丹回
分　離　了　枅筆落台寫你形
寫得你形莊頭背　御時思著御時看
分　離　了　八先台上寫里書
不定寫書內心落　言里雙柱寫不成
雲雨秋蓮分離了　此能抽刀割斷藤
抽刀斷藤少斷妹　秋連格斷無人知
分　離　了　報花匆匆過山行
你見清楚口打子　我吾三云供你回
送　花　去　送花送過十皇前

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

送花送過十皇下　十皇抽手勿回頭

（四）新婚宴飲席上，男女主客們唱答的歌，茲舉數首於下：

（其一）多謝馮冬引媒博　到此枱前伝兩逢
才火抬□天門里　八夫橋上兩明聲
一點過橋不成轉　八字有員天注分
一口兩點文曲案　不知有員伝兩逢
改伝飛來中央坐　二位在後判相這
□字不成鴛鴦府　下凡同篆判鴛鴦
口卜內遊不成寶　四珠同篆判相台
今星齊朝鴛鴦府　勾坐同迎何處飛
北斗七星判又字　南斗六全結岑飛
參相狀元多令利　紫微同篆命口分
（其二）正是托飯合珠寶　台前是望五廉這
五財廉這明珠寶　坐在朝門萬歲春
進住台前合珠寶　是望朝廷家樹這

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

丹千難這天明月　也望四邊雲篆這

(其三)今夜得見勝龍到　本無金粘校椅莊

白木作櫈献官坐　献官坐落判空筵

見　官　到　見官令利入門來

見官令利坐檯上　本無金檯校椅排

好　井　水　井水清清四半流

一條流落青絲殿　二條流落貴門樓

不　好　聽　不好面前打動龍

是位家窮無何献　令水作茶獻勝龍

家　中　苦　家窮若苦無何食

茶也無茶酒無酒　抽手上凶寃了難

酒　不　好　如同井水献官員

令水托献勝官飲　官飲一盃心里良

是位家貧無金盞　白石作盃檯上排

白石作盃不能養　排三排四不成行

士盞排檯無金盞　也無金檯較椅莊
紅轎較椅官人有　家窮若苦是空思
雙手托献勝官飲　官飲一盃心里良
知是你歎酒不好　知是你歎兩手粗
怨了家窮無大餞　紫微青菜判台前
紫微青菜放檯上　淡菜檯前鹽無恩
千　般　苦　千般思盡無般良
龍肝恩在勝龍殿　人傳難得到筵中
不　好　聽　不好面前打動虎
旺莊空筵無末献　如同東海斷沙羅
不能官人千般有　意莊何方百養財
百養爲齊枱中在　恩献淡甘養養寅
自笑賤家不成屋　無檯無櫈不成人
碗也無碗碟無碟　排來檯上不成行
托　飯　到　面前抽手献官員

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

諸官到此無樵坐　如同燕子坐樑頭
坐落泥中打破貴　打破衣裳乙在心
是位家窮無金筷　青竹修筷献官持
紅轎金筷廣東有　也難得到手中持
令利官員行遠路　坐落如同空判檀
空判枱前無酒飲　乙在心中斷了情
筵中五枱兩上盡　如同六合結鴛鴦
殿上置枱衆星坐　兩財抽首保家人
入山斬竹打動木　落水抽罟打動龍
一保房東家富貴　床頭錢貫叠成行
齊保房東壽萬歲　壽命如同彭祖春
二保主人求仙路　一種仙陀帶狀元
狀元德見求仙路　每人得見自聰明
三保主家多富貴　豬羊牛馬滿欄生
放出欄前滿街衢　鷹鳥大虫不敢收

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

四保主人命長久　壽命如同彭祖春
彭祖已盡主己衰　彭祖已春主己春
五保主人種禾路　一枝分做五枝生
桑禾同根生到尾　每年收了九倉禾
六保主人抄山路　到山黃肉意來朝
山馬黃獸來到此　四脚上天不斷蹬
七保主人打魚路　桑魚四方意來朝
拋網幕江纏魚死　雙手發罰伝啓吟
八保主人命長久　命能賣絲萬丈長
官羅口舌善別處　大病鬼行不到家
九保主人燒工得　角年光現在龍情
田地不耕自得光　養男不教自聰明
十保面前舟是貴　今年不遇種明官
得種明官傳天下　癸癸父母坐橋鵝
高氏面前保了壹　細是面前不知行

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

竹報一堂衆老幼　大人衣過小人情
十一保主人求財路　出門三步遇橫財
出門遇逢橫財寶　招財進寶能官員
十二保新官狀元貴　五男五女面前齊
養豬生龍鷄生鳳　萬士千方百樣齊
脚踏三步退三步　退回三步散婚姻
兩個幼枝內思滌　祝你上系萬判檔
殿上櫃樣衆星坐　衆星匆匆飯盃茶
抽手胸前報衆樹　歲星退落出行遊
一堂官前兩行過　衆星衣過一時情

（其四）一品六全尋月遊　一品六全尋月上
抽頭得見好官情　初　傳　到
小是東京初傳月　是位婚姻六合來
進入花林抽頭看　望恩天子引行移
入山秋□山竹木　入門秋□貴門樓

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

□貴門樓莊得好　四邊校椅坐侵齊
自□主人好白飯　托來檯上滿筵香
不吃自聞心里落　開口不食心里良
自□主人家富貴　金盆銀碗面前財
此能北京玉帝殿　龍鳳平排照滿天
自□主人好金筷　筷頭筷尾用金鑲
筷頭筷尾金鑲過　照得滿筵堂上光
自□主人家富貴　明檯前面照當天
此能城江一府正　龍鳳平排四邊紅
自□主人千般有　金盞排來筵上齊
此能迷何星斗現　內里酒想香到天
自□主人好酒飯　放落筵中四方香
放落筵中香四里　比能龍肝明字傳
兩年安排南星斗　主人富貴坐連檯
敕出金鑲筵中飯　衆星飲了萬般良

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

□ 是 □

金瓶托在連檯上
自□主人多富貴
今年吃了千萬好
坐馬轉遊鴛鴦位
多望衆行引禮二
南斗六全初出兒
官脚行朝會有仕
拋馬托珠入堂里
榜上排明齊全了
□仕天般難話盡
多望衆星引禮義
面前千般話不盡
萬仕高低才放落
齊保逢冬年四季

□花富貴萬般才
成行成對能天星
金鑲玉酒滿筵香
六十年長口恩香
遇着宗師禮義齊
開掌四邊引二遊
篆到朝門天子堂
小來路遠爲婚姻
皇前開杈種明官
萬歲扶提注在春
細聲祝報衆親枝
如同明月引星遊
收退迷河星斗回
兩才抽手保逢冬
大病鬼行不到家

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

每年四季德安落　命能青絲萬丈長
才保房東家富貴　床頭錢貫疊成行
床頭金箱在好寶　絲羅繡緞滿堂莊
才保房東家富貴　富貴榮華勝石宗
房東千般得有盡　萬歲人傳是有明
才保主人求仙路　陰府狀元天先安
天師排明在金榜　五攝安排玉殿才
才保主人家富貴　豬牛牛馬滿欄生
放出欄前行滿地　鷹鳥大虫不敢收
才保主人命長久　壽命如同彭祖春
彭祖己歲主己歲　平祖己春主己春
才保主人種禾路　一枝刀前五枝生
榮華同□生到表　每年收子十倉豐
才保主人求財路　到山魚肉意來朝
山馬玉麝來着鎖　四脚上天不斷藤

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

才保主人求魚路　落江四方魚來朝
拋網落江纏魚死　雙手發回□啓良
才保主人十方路　每年香進在龍前
四處得聞坐馬請　養男不教自聰明
才保主人求財路　出門三步遇橫財
出門遇逢橫財寶　召財富貴能官人
才保面前丹星貴　今年不過種明官
種得功名傳天下　父母坐巍鵝
今年兩判人婚位　明年人判兩婚筵
兩判人婚人成對　人判兩婚兩得雙

以上其三其四二首，是主客對答的，主人先唱（其三），賀客後答（其四），故歌詞一聯一頌，尖峯相對。

（五）普通應酬的歌，茲舉兩例：一是有遠客來居村中，夜間村人對客唱的，其詞如下：

名鵝守盡判天日　竿堂枯盡在潭中

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

孝堂科長進堂里　京卷扶提萬仕涼
□將狂起判天日　團員星斗先安排
堂里讀字同面□　燈籠內里早照光
人但北京天子落　四邊老幼篆來這
堂里□衍多日守　下凡世界是難爲
天寒城頭雷打草　爲吹木葉亂紛紛
愿天十五春水到　竹樹運新生葉這

一是苗人「做齋」完畢，道士將散去，主婦以歌送之，其詞爲：

神師踏到雲元府　踏到天樞應陽□
應天府里開條水　陰陽□了萬年良
村動迷阿衆星現　宗師抽手引平遊
三元台前把筆判　一判衆星二判花
主人起切□恩位　金沙敷地□陰陽
陰陽領了□般作　沙□自有福來塡

上面抄了一大堆。這些歌詞本來已是硬化了的，無甚精彩，再加上他們抄寫的誤訛，

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幾至不能讀下去，所以苗歌內容的美妙之處，在這裏是領畧不到的，眞眞可惜！

（三）

苗歌唱起來，給我們感覺到的，不是慷慨悲壯，而是一種溫柔纏綿，其中頓挫的地方很多，但頓挫的音調却是綿長而微弱，餘音不絕如縷，所以每一首歌都要經顏長的時間纔唱完，對荅的歌，唱時先由一人開頭，唱完四句便停止，待對方荅唱，也四句而止，第一人再續唱，這樣每四句一停一續，一直唱下去。苗歌的體裁，由上所舉的例，可知有兩種：一種是全部都是七字一句，這佔苗歌的最大部份；另一種是三字一句和七字一句相間着的。因體裁不同，唱法也各異，玆舉例以示之。前者的唱法，譬如「人話度船不看水，飲酒貪多也是閑」（苗歌中的句子，下同），便是這樣唱的（直線表示上字之永聲）：

人話O hoy—ū vit—度船—不看—clo水—ā hā—hum—飲酒—clà貪—多—也是—閑—O hoy—ū vit—hum—度船—不看—clà水—tī hā—hum—飲酒—貪多O hoy—ū vit—是—閑—也—是—閑—hā

每兩句爲一組，每組都是一樣唱法，不過中間稍停一停。

後者的唱法，又可分爲二種：

(a)譬如「分離了，衣思在後得相逢」，便這樣唱：

分離了——ā hā——hum——衣思——在——後——得——相——逢——hoy——ū vit——hum——分離clo——了tī hā——hum——衣思——在後O hoy——ū vit——相——逢——得——相——逢——hā——

(b)譬如「送花去，烏雲送月過天心」，便這樣唱：

送——花clo——去ā hā——hum——烏雲——送lo——月——過——天心——hoy——送花clo——去tī O hā——hum——烏雲送月O hoy——ū vit——天心——過——天心——hā——

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也同樣是每兩句爲一組，如果下面接着是七字的句子，便照七字句的唱法唱下去。

苗歌唱法，所可知者只有這幾種，此外還再有沒有則不得而知了。

（四）

苗人的傳說，可分爲兩種，一種是他們自己固有的，另一種是從外面傳進去的。這，一看各傳說的內容，便不難辨別出來。然若從體裁上看，則又可別爲歌體的和非歌體的兩種。歌體的傳說，或則爲文武道士的經書，或則爲各種應酬的歌，有文字紀錄下來，得之頗易；至於非歌體的，則全賴口傳，所以難於搜集。

關於他們自己固有的傳說，最有趣的，是對於天地創造過程和他們祖先來源的解釋，茲錄二首於下：

（a）伏啓小妹唱用

番手你打陽首鼓　復首又打鼓紛紛
聽得鼓聲調了陽　伏啓小妹到翅心
早間你在扶桑廟　功曹得狀去傳身
你受得聞師狀請　莊安寶馬赴壇心

來到天庭超下馬　接歸筵上唱元恩
未唱前皇並后看　且唱伏啓小妹娘
正卷愿年雷落地　張公足禁在倉心
雷公答言足□道　你把盆水公洗身
你把盆水共□□　想來計較出倉心
雷公出得倉外去　便把牙齒答還恩
便把牙齒下圓種　三朝圓圓報清清
雷公答言兄妹道　把刀開口入爐心
把刀開口入爐內　担柴運水入爐心
担柴運水都完滿　夢見東邊起朶雲
朶雲不見朶雲樣　朶雲正是剎人雲
雨落七日並七夜　七日七夜暗乾坤
七日七夜洪水淹　□爐拋上到天心
七日七夜洪水落　□爐跌落昆崙山
第二日朝清早起　夢見太平不見人

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

行過□□山脚下　得見青竹在山林
兄妹答言青竹道　世上有人是無人
青竹答言兄妹道　世上全無一個人
天上全無一個鬼　地下全無一個人
世上人民水淹死　盛留兄妹結爲婚
只有兄妹心不服　大刀斬斷青竹根
若你青竹先和合　我兄自妹結爲婚
若你青竹不和合　必定世上無人民
行過崑崙山脚下　得見青竹先生身
當初青竹全無節　如今得見妹刀痕
第二日朝清早起　鷄啼吃飯入山林
兄妹答言鳥歸道　世上有人是無人
鳥歸答言兄妹道　世上全無一個人
天上全無一個鬼　地下全無一個人
世上人民水淹死　盛留兄妹結爲婚

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

若有兄妹心不服　大刀斬斷烏歸痕
若你烏歸先和合　我兄自妹結爲婚
行過崑崙山脚下　得見烏歸再生身
當初烏歸光汨汨　如今得見有刀痕
從此兄妹心不伏　買取沉香燒上雲
買取沉香兩處燒　香烟交結到天心
願我兄妹同夫婦　娶婚嫁弟春過春
結發夫妻三五歲　三年五歲無兒身
生下一塊圓圓血　想來計較造人民
造成三百六十姓　一半作官半作民
造得人民無飯吃　眞吃木葉共藤心
造得人民無衫着　永把樹葉作衫裙
造得男多女又少　如今世上有單身
紫微山頭有隻鼠　口含禾谷近前尋
神農播界接下種　接播下界種禾根

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

如今下凡合得吃　世代留傳直到今
今日信主有伏清　高山朝望聖還云
神農到壇親祈保　收災除患上天心
番手你打陽首鼓　後首又打鼓紛紛
聽得鼓聲調了陽　先天盤古降翅心
早間你在青草廟　師重過相唱元恩
你受得聞如此語　莊按御馬赴翅心
來到天廷超下馬　接歸筵上唱元恩
入筵領受安翅酒　坐筵重子唱元恩
未唱前皇並后看　且唱先天盤古身
大極先天盤古帝　開闢元天盤古身
未曾有天未有地　未有日月及乾坤
先有玉皇盤古道　我共玉皇同出身
我兩不是爺娘養　五色綠雲生我身
玉皇在天多變化　造天造地造乾坤

玉皇三百六化眼　盤古三百六化身
左眼化成太陽日　右眼化成月太陰
嶺上黃□是頭上　深潭魚心是肝心
牙齒化成金錢寶　身骨化成大石頭
身肉化成金□土　紅血化成江水流
手甲化成山樹木　手兒脚下化星辰
九□明珠化肚臟　田塘都是脚□□
一身骨肉都化了　天星樹木是雲身
今日到□藐祈保　收除病患在天心（完）

（b）唱坐殿歌用（此歌爲問答體，括弧中字卽答語）

（前畧）

開天立地何人造（盤王）　造天這地幾枝柱（五）
從天到地有幾丈（九萬）　幾丈（九萬）到天幾丈橫（九萬）
東方八天何樣國　南方八天幾省門
西方八天有幾國　北方八天幾省人

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

中央幾下星上現
問你何年（昆□元）洪水淹
問你何年洪水退
當初幾皇（五）同過海
何皇（李）出世在何府（唐朝）
何皇（李）滿了何皇（盤）管
何皇（盤）分界在何處（佛子嶺）
此禮當初何王（盤）造
昏書當初何人（侶孫）造
合婚書字幾（五）貫□
盤皇生主何人養（烏□）
盤皇婚娶何家（仙）女
出聖篆在何（唐）朝國
盤皇婚娶何日子
盤皇一世幾（五）个女

問你看官傳報知
淹死何皇首下人
葫蘆流落在何安
何處（化屍佛祖）領頭分散枝
定德何方何樣良
何皇（盤）管得世間人
分開幾路（五）立何方（婚姻）
造來世上破何尋（子孫）
造來世上立何方（婚姻）
□成何字立何方（婚姻）
養在何方峒里（出賢）安
何人（平王）托到作何（媒）方
何朝（清）國里立何方（王前）
何時匹配合成雙
便□幾（五）姓是何郎（山入）

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

第一个女嫁何姓（鄧）
第二女嫁何家郎（蔣）
第三个女嫁何姓（趙）
第四女嫁何家郎（李）
第一女養爺幾歲
第二女養爺幾春
第五女養爺幾歲
世今幾養个爺娘
盤王一世有幾歲（五百）
恩添領頭幾（六）十呑
盤皇在造世何樣
造成何樣（天地）立何方（婚姻）
造成金木水火土
何有生天何有亡
何樣（頭毛）度成黃茆嶺
何樣（骨頭）度成大石山
何樣（手兒）變成山竹木
何樣（肚腸）度成山里藤
何樣（玉皇）定得天地政
何樣（天師）定元世上安
當初何（平）王初坐殿
坐在何州（北京）國界追
盤皇出世在何府（唐朝）
正在何列（唐朝）國界邊
盤皇分界在何處（佛祖嶺）
分開幾（五）路立何方（婚姻）
問你何年（甲子元）歌豆死
何人（仙）收葬在何山
葬在何（南）山對何面
幾（五）百堤磚起上坵

面前古言難話盡

(c)(歌名已殘缺，亦爲問答體)

(上畧)

開天立地何人造　造天造地幾枝柱
從天到地有幾丈　幾丈到天幾丈橫
造成何般到今世　也有生天也有亡
東方八天何樣國　南方八天何樣門
西方八天何樣國　北方八天何樣門
中央注來幾星現　問你春官傳報知
問你何年洪水淹　淹死何皇首下人
問你何年(甲子元)洪水退　何樣流落在何方(皇嵩山)
當初幾(五)王同過海　何處(化屍)嶺頭分散枝
何(盤)王出世在何府(墨水殿)　定得何般(清朝)何樣(萬士)良
何(李)皇滿了何(盤)皇管　何(盤)皇管下世間人
何(盤)皇分界在何處(佛子嶺)　分開幾(五)路立何方(婚姻)

勸龍放落面前遊

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

當初此例何人(盤皇)造
昏書當初何人(侶才)造
合昏幾(七)字工民□
盤皇當初何人(烏云)養
出聖篆到何朝(清)國
盤皇婚娶何(仙)家女
盤皇□□幾個女
第一個女嫁何(鄧)姓
第三個女嫁何(趙)姓
第五個女嫁何(亂篆嫁)姓
第一女養爺幾歲
第五女養爺幾歲
五個女兒齊齊養
恩爲地高知不盡
盤皇一世有幾(五百)歲

造來世上何人(子孫)尋
造來世上合何方(婚姻)
打成何(八)字合何方(婚姻)
養在何方(出賢)峒里安
何(清)朝國里立何方(皇門)
何人(平皇)托到作媒人
便招幾(五)姓是何郎
第二女嫁何(蔣)家郎
第四女嫁何(李)家郎
世今何樣合何方(婚姻)
第二女養爺幾春
世今何樣養爺娘
爺娘父母壽長春
亂篆提言傳報知
恩添令頭有幾(六十)春

面前古言話難盡　勸龍放落面前筵

這些歷史的傳說，因其都是有韻的七言歌，所以他們常拿來唱：(a)首是「做齋」時道士唱的，(b)(c)兩首則是結婚筵席上男女對唱的。最有趣的，是這幾種傳說內容，把人類原始諸種問題，如天地開闢、洪水爲禍、人種由來、盤古身世、社會制度的演進過程、以及他們祖先的來源等等都給解答了。此外，還有一個有趣的苗人祖先傳說，則是非歌體的，抄錄於下：

從前某富翁有一女，已許字於人，但男家赤貧，女年及笄尚未娶。女養一狗，甚加疼愛，食臥與共。久之，竟與狗性交而懷孕，爲男家發覺，控之於官。官多方審訊，竟未能訊出姦夫爲誰。後由官太太思出一計，提女出獄，與太太同居一屋中，乘夜深女酣睡時，解其衣，發現身上有狗抓痕，遂大悟。於是縣官乃提女家人審問，知女在家確有一愛狗，乃令牽此狗來獄與女同居。至夜間，狗果向女狂抓，由是案情大白。男家既知女與狗性交懷孕，當即無條件退婚。女亦被放出獄，回家未久，產一男一女。翁夫婦以有女如此，殊敗家聲，乃命木匠造船一隻，滿載金銀珠寶，驅女與狗及兩子入其中，放之中流，任船漂泊。漂流至惠州城，爲人拯救登岸，遂居焉。狗常入山，捕鳥獸以飼二子。子女漸長，然尚不知爲狗子也。某日，

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

狗貪惰不入山捕鳥獸，遭二子毆打，母叱責之，並以實告，謂汝等爲余與狗所生，彼實汝等之父也。並謂汝等爲狗之子，無人肯與爲婚，不如兄妹結爲夫婦，以延續後代。兄妹結爲夫婦後，產二男，及長，二子交惡，不能共處，母惡而驅逐之，一逃上山，一逃下水。上山者爲苗人之祖，下水者爲蛋民之祖。故兩族後裔足跡不履王土，不食王糧，亦不納稅也。

這個傳說告訴我們：苗人祖先是怎樣富於圖騰的意義（狗生），最初他們是過着怎樣的經濟生活（打獵），原始血緣婚的存在（兄妹爲婚），以及苗蛋兩族關係等等，這在苗人社會制度的研究上，是給我們何等重要的暗示啊！

至於由外面傳入苗人中的傳說，數量頗多，現爲篇幅所限，只舉顏回先生和張孟娥姑娘的一段哀艷故事爲例：

孟娥古語唱用

清譚古事說言章　且把孟娥唱一場
千般古事人唱盡　我把孟娥唱一場
張公住在上連下　住在地名張白長
家有現錢三千貫　東西南北置田莊

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

張公無男生二女　二女雙雙勝過男
大女定名珍珠寶　小女定名張孟娥
大女生來會織錦　小女生來會織羅
織出黃河九曲水　織出鴛鴦對鳳凰
織出麒麟對獅子　織出猛虎對斑斑
取出絞羅來相對　錦花不比羅花多
織出百般都爲實　師寫化虎便高強
大姐十八嫁丞相　小姐十五別爺娘
孟娥年當十七八　不會行出大門前
上村有个黃學士　寫娘年命作媒人
寫娘年命隨州去　九州十縣合無強
開書定到顏郎屋　三子經書識字強
人說三月花繚亂　姊妹要去看花香
今朝不知年時命　深深下拜一雙雙
若是爺娘親開口　就時回步好梳妝

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

若是爺娘不開口
爺娘當時回言答
去時便帶娘命去
得聞爺娘親口說
當初梳出盤龍髻
面前架起青銅鏡
長短金釵綠亂插
行是觀音出海內
東街行打南街去
行打十字路頭過
端州一縣無千萬
行程去到花園里
望見桃蝶花正發
黃蜂對對穿花過
顏回身着絞羅緞

當時不敢出門長
我女聽我說言章
二人同去早回鄉
就時起步好梳裝
如今梳起望夫郎
面像桃源峒里娘
四邊橫插甚高強
坐是桃源峒里仙
西街行打北街歸
勝過端列一縣人
只□孟娥眉貌□
得見花開樹上強
半樹葉青半樹黃
蝴蝶雙雙樹上強
騎馬過街看孟娥

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

小娘你是誰家子　你爺娘叫你何名
孟娥答言顏回道　秀才聽我說言章
我爺叫做張公老　生我少娘張孟娥
借問秀才賢高姓　年上桃來第幾郎
顏回答言孟娥道　娥眉你聽我言章
我是顏家第三子　如今到此看花鄉
不敢花園阻留久　各人退步轉家鄉
前世生來有緣分　遇逢今日對鴛鴦
歸到家中清堂坐　當時心下便思量
日里思量飯不吃　夜里思量睡不安
顏公得聞我兒淚　夫婦二人共思量
養你顏回身長大　人生一世草草秋
顏回當時回言答　我爺聽我說言章
取妻莫取別家女　要取下蓮張孟娥
顏公當時回言答　我兒聽我說根言

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

夫妻便是前緣定　前世修來同一雙
有緣天里來相會　無緣對面兩分章
顏回答言爺娘道　我爺聽我說言章
若是取得張家女　三朝受死也甘心
顏公得聞如此語　當時心下便思量
明朝便請黃婆去　便請黃婆作媒人
請得黃婆忙忙去　去到張家作媒人
去到張公門口坐　張公相請上廳當
相請黃婆廳上坐　家中廚內煮茶湯
茶來未了酒三盞　黃婆開口說言章
黃婆你來有何事　黃婆說出面皮紅
張公答言黃婆道　有何言說請無妨
黃婆答言張公道　你今聽我說言章
人說你家有一女　年當十八正相當
張公答言黃婆道　年命相和便結雙

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

黃婆荅言張公道　禮聘金銀要一雙
張公荅言黃婆道　你今聽我說言章
一要銅錢五百貫　二要珍珠三斗量
三要金釵五十對　四要絞羅五十雙
五要金雞五十對　六要龍鵝金十雙
七要大猪五十對　八要綿羊五十雙
九要三十六醒酒　十要銀碗蓋醒頭
若你□得十般禮　孟娥共你結交雙
顏回聞得如此語　當時心中便思量
打開南倉□禮聘　取出金銀無萬莊
取出銅錢千萬貫　取出珍珠三斗量
取出金釵五十對　取出絞羅五十雙
取出金鷄五十對　取出綿羊五十雙
取出大猪五十對　取出龍鵝五十雙
取出三十六醒酒　取出銀碗蓋醒頭

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

八百人夫送財禮　直去下連定孟娥
過禮未曾得半月　顏回得病在高床
初一寫書報郎病　初二寫書報郎亡
吃飯未了書來到　眼中流淚落雙雙
放落筷頭接書看　看了一行又二行
書中不說閑言語　誰知今日兩分張
脫落盤龍行孝大　脫落金釵放龍箱
張公上村借大馬　孟娥下村借轎扛
張公騎馬低頭去　孟娥在後便高強
張公回頭喝嗎女　誰家養女去尋郎
孟娥回言對爺說　我去顏家燒孝香
一牛何曾裝兩鞍　一馬何曾裝兩鞍
一弓何曾架兩箭　一女何曾嫁兩郎
一馬兩鞍難背答　一女兩夫笑失人
去到顏家殿上坐　打開棺槨看雲忙

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

孟娥眼淚連連落　便對顏公說一場
有心養兒無心救　如今打亂妹心腸
大小牲靈不殺命　白紙亡亡不燒香
那個神前不許願　那個灶前不燒香
顏公聞得孟娥說　小娘聽我說言章
一心養兒來防老　積谷防饑望久長
大小牲靈都殺了　白紙金銀燒萬千
朝殺豬羊來祭鬼　晚殺雞鴨祭五殤
酒醒不斷灶頭上　檯前酌酒成泥漿
作盡良願無感應　我見此病不離床
爺娘苦言我兒道　我兒此病爲何因
顏回苦言爺娘道　你今聽我說言章
今日身中病載重　一時命盡見閻王
燈盞無油冷淡死　賴了生來暫了王
爺娘苦言我兒道　因何說出此言章

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

世上定親得半月　因何捨命入陰間
顏回苦言爺娘道　爺娘聽我說言章
大限到頭無老少　頸頭氣絕實難當
世上都要百歲命　身中無福命難長
閻皇不管人老少　簿官把筆不思量
人人都要貪天子　手短貪天命不長
分打夫人回字報　祝報娥眉再嫁雙
便把香水來洗落　紅羅棺木把來裝
黃葉不落青葉落　到處爺娘送子裝
知是孟娥神殺大　知是我兒命不長
孟娥得聞如此語　當時暗憶在心長
便把鎖匙來開櫃　便把鎖匙來開箱
取出紅羅丈二布　取出紅羅丈二長
一更吊頸二更死　夫妻乘載在廳堂
便買一付張木板　想來乘載妹孟娥

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

道人靈會喪長罷　夫妻同送上山坡
扛過黃河九曲水　扛過黃河九曲江
左邊青龍右白虎　後頭玉女護坟場
面前朱雀來朝拜　後頭猛虎對斑斑
唱盡孟娥古一本　五湖四海得傳揚

此外，尚有三伯英台歌、九娘歌、唐仙張十娘歌、賣臣歌等，他們每個人都是記得很爛熟的，因詞長不便一一備載了。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

第九章 漢、黎、苗諸族間的相互關係

（一）

海南島的居民，大部分是漢人，其次爲黎人和苗人。漢、黎、苗三族——尤其是漢、黎兩族——間的相互關係，交織成海南島過去歷史的一部分，同時也必然成爲今後海南島一切問題的重心。所以了解漢、黎、苗三族之間的相互關係，無論在明瞭海南島過去歷史上，抑在解決海南島今後一切問題上，都是非常必要的。現在先從漢、黎的關係說起。

作者在海南島黎人調查報告一書第二章討論到「土黎的由來及其種屬」的問題時，曾經做過大胆的推測，以爲黎人係於石器時代由南海向海南島移殖的。這個推測是否符合事實，目前尚無法證明。但是有史以前（pre-history）黎人已出現於海南島，却是毫無疑義的。至於漢人之移殖於海南島，根據最可靠的史料，至遲當開始於秦代。而海南島之正式列入中國版圖，則始於漢武帝元封元年之置珠厓、儋耳兩郡，漢、黎兩族之正式關係，也可說是從這時候開始的。元封元年即公元前一一〇年，至今已有二千餘年了。在這二千餘年中，漢族向海南島的移民，一年比一年增加，尤其自宋以後，增加率更加飛快（作者另有

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

海南島開闢史一書詳論之），於是漢、黎之間，彼此爲擴大其各自生存的領域，不免發生種種複雜的糾紛；加以歷代政府，素視海南島爲「化外」，缺乏正確的治黎政策，除了消極的「剿」「撫」之外，積極方面鮮有建樹（拙作海南島黎人調查報告中歷代政府治黎政策的檢討一章可參攷），自然無法取得黎人的好感，反使漢、黎之間的糾紛更加複雜。這種歷史上遺留下來的缺陷，直到今日，還時時掀起風波。試舉近事爲例：二十五年夏，兩廣事變底定後，全國統一告成，中央對海南島的建設開始注意，於是開發海南島的呼聲，哄動朝野，至是年冬全國經濟委員會常務委員宋子文氏親飛海南島視察而達最高潮。國內各界人士組織考察團赴海南島考察的，有如風起雲湧，繼之而有投資的競爭，各方紛紛集資本深入黎境購地，歸國華僑以資本雄厚，尤佔上風，復得地方政府之助，進行更覺順利。然而這種毫無計劃的購地競爭，終使黎人感到疑惑而起來反對了，其中少數擁有大批山嶺的地主，以利害攸關，反對尤烈。作者此次入保亭考察，剛抵黎境幾天，便有一位黎甲長提出「他們這樣搶購土地，叫我們今後如何生活？」的問題來要我解答，另外還有好幾位黎人青年也有非常激昂的表示。我知道問題是不簡單的了，果然黎首王昭夷亦於是時由廣州返抵保亭，更領導各地黎人做反對收買土地的運動。他事前曾有一封長信給當時的廣東第九區行政督察專員黃莫京（強），茲轉錄於下，以見他的態度：

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

莫京專員鈞鑒：來電敬悉。欲開發瓊崖實業，誠如公之所云，而歡迎歸僑投資，亦爲夷平素主張，故數年前嘗加入華僑互助社，以冀達到親善互助，耿耿此心，無時或釋。此次歸僑買地而生膠葛，非夷之不願盡力互助，乃有令人之所難也，玆分述如下：

土地爲人民各人所管，團董不能賣人民所有地，此次歸僑買地，給每團五百元，事先與縣府勾結立約，用政治力量威迫團董簽賣，釀成膠葛，於法理未然，此難者一。

內地人民（指黎人——瑞）向以耕山爲業，人民既無山可耕，又無地可種植，勢必永爲奴隸，甚至無可生存，此非重民生主義節制資本、平均地權之旨，此難者二。

查一團約數百里，人民數百戶，以少許之金錢，買如此廣大之土地，誰無垂涎欲滴？援例而行，則保亭縣四五十團，不難二萬餘金可盡收買，黎境三縣，不出十萬金可以購盡，則數十萬黎苗，生活將何所寄托？此難者三。

黎苗人民向無教育，渾噩猶如上古時代，應教示之，使其開化，增加生產，使達到平等待遇，不應乘其愚盡剝奪其地，益使無可生存，此非重視民族之旨，此難者四。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

地方人民之歡迎歸僑，乃欲歸僑投資種植，使地方人有借鏡，而發展種植，增加生產，今人民之利益盡爲剝奪，難期相安，此難者五。

縣長既承認團董可賣一團，則縣長可賣一縣，此難者六。

況中央建設瓊崖（卽海南島——瑞）之議，早有所聞，一般資本家預知將來瓊崖土地必定漲價，而假借組織歸僑鄉之美名，先購地皮，企圖操縱獲利，亦爲事勢所必有，不可不察也。（下畧）

姑無論他的話說得如何婉轉，但滿腔憤怨，却是顯而易見的。他們直接反對的，是投資購地的歸僑，而間接引起與縣政府的正面衝突，其對縣政府之不滿，信中亦已表露無遺。可是，黎人中間，因利害關係不同，行動亦並非一致，就作者所知，當時已有一部份黎首與投資的歸僑成了妥協，引起其他黎人的憤恨，因而發生劇烈的內鬨。由這幾方面衝突交織而成的糾紛，醞釀着一種相當大的阻力。但未久七七抗戰事起，政府對於開發海南島的計劃，不得不暫行放棄，這場風波纔無形中平靜下去了。

然而造成黎、漢之間不和的，還有其他原因。自來歷代政府未嘗對治黎問題加以重視，吏治人選全不注意，所派治黎官吏，多屬貪鄙惡劣之輩，他們利黎山之奇貨，乘黎民之愚昧，恣意壓迫、盤剝，此風自漢孫幸、孫豹父子已開其端，後世黎官無不衣鉢相承，

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

或更變本加厲，種種惡跡，史不絕書；復有本地棍徒，假借官府名義，招搖撞騙；而入黎境貿易的漢商，亦每乘黎人的愚昧無知，肆其欺詐之手段，攫取厚利，或高利放債，以收重息。黎人本已窮困，這幾種人更從而摧殘之，生活勢必日益憔悴，其結果往往挺而走險，羣起爲亂，歷代黎亂不已，大半都是由此釀成的。直到今日，一般黎人對於漢人還仍然保存着一種疑懼的心理。我們一入黎境，便深深地感到：環繞着我們的，都是些懷疑的眼光和不自然的態度，欲取得他們的信賴是不容易的，其對於政府人員尤甚。近年來政府對於「化黎」做過不少的宣傳。實際工作上也頗有表現，但這種隔膜仍然不能立刻消除。二十四年廣東省政府劃黎境爲保亭、樂東、白沙三縣，以及二十五六年政府計劃開發黎境，這都是關於黎人的劃時代的大事，可是他們對之却頗爲冷淡，並沒有熱烈的表示。而身爲地主的少數黎首，態度則尤爲曖昧，却是另有原因。原來這些黎首，在經濟上是擁有大批山嶺的地主，每年出產不貲，在社會上則是特殊階級，任作任爲，儼然一方土皇帝，爲保持這些特殊的經濟利益和特殊的社會地位，他們對於外來的任何勢力，都是絕對排拒的。這種情形，在縣政府和黎首的對抗上，便表現得非常明顯。此次反對歸僑購地事件的發生，雖說是由於一般黎人感到生存的受威脅，然保不定有一部分黎首是起於保持個人特殊利益的動機的。我們必須洞察這種複雜的內情，對於所關黎人的每一事件，纔能得到正確的

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

了解。

其次，說到漢、苗間的關係。由本書第一章，我們知道苗人是明代纔移殖到海南島的，他們來到的時候，島上沿海平原地帶已佈滿着漢族，是不容他們插足的，中部深山中比較平坦的地方，又爲黎人所盤據，他們亦無插足的餘地，最後他們便被迫上高山大嶺，以種山爲活，所以他們和漢人時常保持着很遠的距離，歷代貪官汚吏的毒手不容易伸張到他們那裏去，所以他們對於政府和一般漢人是不會有惡感的，最使他們感到痛苦的，是周遭的黎人的排擠和極少數的有勢力的漢商的欺負。爲欲解除這種痛苦，他們熱烈期望政府來開化他們，來直接治理他們，黎境三縣的設立，是曾給他們以多少安慰的。此次，作者在保亭縣境，曾目擊這樣一樁事：某漢商在黎境經營多年，積貲頗厚，置有多量的產業——田地和山嶺，在當地也有多少潛勢力，對苗人屢加欺負，這次有一苗人從遠處採獲幾斤木耳，歸途經過他的山嶺，他便加以逮捕，指爲偷盜，除將木耳全部沒收外，還要罰款數十元。苗人受此冤屈，逢人哀訴，附近苗人亦無不深表憤激，願爲後盾，鼓動該受屈苗人訴之縣政府。他們懷着滿腔的熱望期待着政府伸冤，天天派人到縣中去打聽消息，靜候提審，然而日過一日，不見動靜，最後竟如石沉大海，渺無回音，他們的失望，可想而知。後來作者從苗村回到保亭，向縣府職員詢起這件案子，據云告狀並沒有遞來，縣府簡直

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

不知道有這回事，葫蘆裏究竟賣的什麼藥，作者也感到有點糊塗了。

（二）

其次，說到黎、苗之間的關係。

如本書第一章所說，苗人之被征調到海南島，爲的是幫助政府剿黎，因此兩族之間從來就無法發生好感。然而黎、苗都是同樣沒有歷史的民族，這種歷史上的衝突，是不會遺留在他們後代人的記憶中的，所以據作者的觀察，黎、苗之間的衝突，與其說是起於歷史的原因，無甯說是起於經濟上的原因——土地關係，尤爲恰當。

我們說過苗人是最後來到海南的民族，比較好一點的地方都給漢人和黎人住滿了，他們祇得跑上高山大嶺去，過着艱苦的種山生活，然而這些山嶺還不是爲他們所有，只是長期或短期地向黎人批租來的，因爲在他們來到之前，這些山嶺已爲有力的黎首據爲己有了。今日苗人所居的山嶺，幾乎沒有一塊不是黎人的（有一小部分屬於在黎境發達起來的漢商所有），所以在經濟上，黎人和苗人之間是存在着地主和佃戶的關係，他們要對黎首（地主）繳納一定的租金，甚至供給沒有酬報的力役，黎人辦團辦學校，經費也要他們平均負担，可是事不會輪到他們管，土地權握在黎人手裏，他們不服從，隨時可以收回。去

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

年在「開發海南」的呼聲中，有些聰明的黎首聲稱要把這些山嶺收回，從事種植，或則以造林爲名，限制他們焚山，苗人聞之，終日惶惶不知爲計，幾乎給嚇壞了。最無理的，是有些山嶺已全部租給苗人了，可是却只准他們耕種，不許享有山嶺中的出產，有些苗人從自已租來的山嶺上採集一點木耳、藤料之類，拿出去和漢人交易，往往在半途被黎人截刼，沒收不足，還要處以重罰，甚至苗人在山上獵獲的獸皮也被沒收。在這樣塡合，黎首和身兼地主的漢商是互相勾結的，因爲他們有一致的利益關係，作者在黎境時，曾目擊這種商人對於苗人如何的厭惡和嫉妬。苗人生活境況之苦，可想而知。作者這次剛入苗境，他們便紛紛來訴苦，說如何常吃人家的氣，生活如何支持不下去，並懇求作者把他們帶出外面來，一切皆所甘願。這是他們眞正的呼聲！

苗人對於土地佔有的要求是異常逼切的，有一位苗首曾對作者憤憤然說：「同是政府的人民，爲什麼我們獨沒有土地？」另一位苗首却聊以自解的說：「我們沒有土地，都是因爲我們住的地方風水不好，我們要找個有名地師來弄個好風水，自然會興旺起來！」可見他們對土地是如何的憧憬！然而他們並非只做空想，也並非聽天由命，他們知道土地是要用金錢換來的，只有克勤克儉，從事積蓄，纔有買到土地的日子。果然許多山嶺和田地都慢慢地由黎人手裏讓渡到苗人手裏來了，作者在苗人家中就親眼看見許多這樣土地買賣

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

的契約，可見苗人對於生存競爭是一步也不肯放鬆的。同時，這種艱苦的生活環境，使苗人與苗人之間，保持着堅強的團結，這一點事實，是會使每個留心觀察的人都要感到驚異的。還有，由於對爭取生存抱有堅定的自覺性，不覺提高了他們的求知慾，他們很歡喜讀書，很樂意接受漢人的文化，我們初入苗境，便有幾位苗人青年纏繞着要我們帶他們出來進學校，與一般黎人之視學校爲監牢者迥不相同。有一位苗首，對於前年搖黎專員陳漢光選送黎人青年二三百名來廣州燕塘軍校受訓苗人獨不被選，表示無限的憤慨！他們經過千辛萬苦，在村中設立學校，出重資聘請漢人教師入去教書，這件事常遭少數黎首的嫉妒，而被阻撓，聽說前年爲着辦學的事情，有一位苗首被黎人逮捕起來，施以肉刑。然而他們仍然不屈不撓，務必達到目的爲止。這回我們春天到苗村，他們正在籌議開辦學校，堅要我們留在那裏幾個月，給他們教書，否則也要幫忙他們辦成功纔走。我們因事忙，住了幾天便離開，誰知隔了不到一個禮拜再回來時，他們已經迅速地把學校的房子蓋好了，教師也已經請到了，只等着擇日子開學。可是附近有些黎首却不斷地用種種手段來加以阻撓，我們最後離開那裏時，雙方還在相持不下，這樁事給我們的印象是非常深刻的。

苗人在深山中，過的是這樣孤苦無告的日子，因此他們對於一般漢人都很表歡迎，其對政府期望之殷，更毋庸說。我們這次到苗山，他們便是懷着滿腔的熱情來歡迎的。因爲

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

除了商人外，普通漢人到那裏去的已經很少，對他們處境表示同情的，更不易得了。可是有些聰明的黎首也看到了這一層，時時刻刻預防着他們和漢人接近，尤極力設法把他們和政府隔開，他們的呼聲外邊人聽不到，縱有寃屈也只好往肚裏吞了！

苗、黎兩族生活環境不同，造成兩種完全不同的民族性。苗人身外一無所有，住的山嶺都是向人家租來的，每年須付出定額的租金，而這些山嶺，土質是那麼瘠磽，水分是那麼缺乏，他們要用最大的努力來和自然奮鬥，纔能博得最低限度的生活資料。這種艱苦的環境，造成他們一種勤苦儉約的美性。他們必須勤苦，纔能克服自然，增加生產；他們又必須儉約，纔能把艱苦得來的生活資料做最有效的支配，而無虞餒凍。到過苗村的人，對於他們工作的勤苦，是無有不驚嘆的。婦女每日天未明便起床，把戶內瑣碎的工作清理，舂米多是這個時候做的，咚咚的杵臼相擂聲，往往把客人的曉夢驚醒，天明後便分頭上山去，或採樵，或從事各種農作。男子也同樣的從天亮勞作到黃昏。他們最忙碌的時節，是每年舊曆二、三、四、五這幾個月中，要斫木，要焚山，要播種，每種工作都需要相當的氣力，而且他們要盡可能的把每一塊能夠生產的土地都盡量利用，不使荒廢。他們生活的儉約，也同樣值得讚美：男子雖然多數都喝酒吸烟，但都有一定限度，喝得爛醉的事是不常有的，而且除了節期及宴飲的時候之外，平日也不常喝；婦女喝酒或有之，吸烟則絕無

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

僅有。和黎人比較起來，眞有天淵之別。另一方面，他們是少數漢商和黎首雙重壓迫之下的弱者，勢孤力薄，要生存，便只得忍耐、服從和恭順，但他們却無時不抱着改善生存環境的要求，便不能不奮鬥，所以他們的性情，又兼沉着、剛毅而有之。

黎人則不然。在黎境，水田雖是那麼的稀少，但是綿延不絕的山嶺，却是天然賜給他們的財富，那裏有木材、藤料、野獸，毫無限制地任他們自由利用，小的山，矮的嶺，更是五穀的源泉，只要肯動手，便有收穫，生活資料得來比較容易，消費也就來得隨便，他們無須乎儲蓄，「今朝有酒今朝醉」，明天的事明天纔來打算；而且這個地方生活不下去了，可以轉移到別的地方，山嶺重疊，不愁無容身之地。所以喝酒、吸烟便成爲黎人普遍的嗜好，家長對於子女亦不之禁，漢商乘之，從中漁利，黎人往往因此蕩家破產（詳見海南島黎人調查報告第五章）。又因爲沒有生活的鞭策，他們比起苗人也顯得懶惰，苗人欲多種山而愛無山可種，黎人則有山而懶得去種，剛剛成爲一個強烈的對比。他們的性情是強悍的、橫蠻的、燥暴的，一方面固是受了過度的烟酒的毒害，另一方面，則有其歷史因素。因爲二千年來，他們屢屢叛亂，歷代政府也屢屢用兵討伐，但從來沒有眞正把他們屈服過，也沒有完全把他們統治過，他們那種原始民族的強蠻好鬬的特性，因此仍然保持不失。他們的性情有一點值得表揚的，便是爽快、坦白，和苗人對照起來，尤爲明顯。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

（三）

以上所說的，都是漢、黎、苗諸族關係的衝突面，現在談到調協面。民族與民族之間的接觸，普通總是起於某種相互的要求，因此和平的日子總比鬥爭的日子多。調協的關係也就比衝突的關係爲顯著了。漢、黎、苗諸族間調協關係最顯而易見的，是經濟上的交易，在這個場合扮演着重要角色的，仍是漢商。通過漢商的手裏，造成了漢、黎或漢、苗間經濟上不可分離的連繫。關於這一點，已有專文做過詳細的論述。（漢黎交易情形，詳見海南島黎人調查報告第四、五兩章，漢苗交易詳見本書第三章）至於黎、苗間經濟上的調協雖然比較稀薄，但也不能說是沒有，如苗人織竹器來和黎人換米，即其一例。

隨着經濟上的溝通，又產生了文化上的調協。不消說，當然是漢族文化居於領導地位的。最顯明的，是漢語在黎、苗境內普遍通行，因爲語言是傳達意思的媒介，在交易上是不可缺少的，今日黎、苗大部分都能說海南島漢語，便是起於這種要求，而黎、苗兩族語言之間也有同樣情形。同時，黎、苗爲應付他們和漢人間複雜的關係，需要種種知識，因此渴望接受漢人的文化，最直接的方法，便是讀漢人文字，故很早很早以前，黎、苗便已

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

自設學校，請漢人教師入去教書了。此外，各種風俗習慣，自衣、食、住以至婚葬儀式等等，都無不染上濃厚的漢化，而尤以黎人爲甚，因爲他們和漢人接觸較苗人爲頻繁。這種種族文化的交流，只要我們留心觀察，隨處皆可看見。至於黎、苗兩族間文化的調協，則無足稱述，這是緣於這兩支文化細流本身都匯合到漢化的巨流中去了。

（四）

漢、黎、苗間還有複雜的問題存在着，這是無庸我們諱言的。爲着海南島的前途，乃至爲着整個中華民族的前途，這些問題實有合理調整的必要，這個責任自然必須由政府來負起的。然而調整非徒托諸空言，必須先認清問題根源所在，纔能對症下藥。從上面分析，我們知道造成漢、黎間的隔膜的，是貪官污吏、土棍、奸商種種不良分子，欲調整漢、黎關係，必須先自剷除這些不良分子始。這完全是政治上的問題，此後政府若能注意黎區吏治人選，嚴肅法紀，抑制暴歛，則自然會取得黎人的信賴，民族間的隔膜也自然日漸消除。對於最近的將來，隨着開發海南所必不可避免發生的黎境土地問題，尤必須預先擬訂通盤計劃和適當的解決辦法，方可弭患於未然。漢、苗的關係比較簡單，改善也頗不難，而黎、苗之間的摩擦，倒是應加以注意。引起他們之間發生摩擦的，是完全起於土地問

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

題，對於苗人土地的要求，我們必須在不損黎人的利益之下，給他們以多少滿足，這樣，苗人的目的達到了，黎人也不會再感覺苗人要佔他們的「臥榻」了。摩擦的根源既除，民族間的對立關係自然泯滅，感情也自然會慢慢增進的。

然而，單是消極的調整民族間的關係還不夠，必須積極的增進精神上的溝通，纔是最善的辦法。前者依靠政治的力量，後者則非依靠文化的力量不可了，漢族文化在這方面必須盡其最大的努力，即必須充分發揮牠的優點，對黎、苗生活上起了進步的作用，使他們不得不樂予接受，融洽民族間的關係，這是唯一的自然的有效辦法，欲達到這個目的，捨發展黎、苗教育外，再沒有其他捷徑了。

憶民國二十二、三年間陳漢光負責撫黎時，頗得到黎、苗的擁戴，他們至今尚念念不忘。這並不是偶然的，因爲他的確做了一點調整民族關係的工作：他尊重他們，同情他們，爲他們打不平，伸冤屈，更積極的幫助他們辦理自治，發展教育，又選送他們的子弟出來免費讀書，和領帶他們到廣州來觀光，……這種種都是他們從來未曾受過的光寵，安得不爲之歡欣鼓舞？尤其是苗人，平常人家給予他們的，只有欺負，沒有同情，一旦得到政府官員這樣的關心與鼓勵，怪不得他們要受寵若驚，五體投地了。從前陳氏贈給他們的本人相片，他們至今尚珍重地懸掛起來，其愛戴可知。糾正黎、苗對於政府的觀感，陳氏

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

的確是做到了，然而他所能做的，也只有這一點，至於如何增進漢、黎、苗的情感，如何溝通漢、黎、苗的精神，如何滙合漢、黎、苗文化爲一洪流，這些比較永久的大計，恐怕不是陳氏個人所能勝任的了！

最後，作者要特別指出的，就是我們要調整民族間的關係，最基本的前提，是必先徹底改變對待黎、苗的錯誤態度，即變蔑視爲同情，變差異爲一體。否則態度根本錯誤，動機不正，一切辦法都是徒然的！

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

（附錄）考察日記

考察黎苗的全部日記，已載入拙作海南島黎人調查報告一書中，現選出從二月十八日（民國二十六年）起至三月十五日止的一段附錄於此，因爲這一段有一部分是屬於考察苗人的記錄，讀者可以之與正文互相參閱。

二月十八日（星期四）

上午十一時，由王昭夷君之弟昭親嚮導，考察團一行由保亭出發大岐，雇夫二十二名挑擔行李，並向王勳君借馬一匹，以便輪騎代步。出市門，一線蜿蜒起伏的山脈便橫於眼前，而七指山尤爲卓拔，其峯遠望如指，數之爲七，這當是命名的由來。一路前進都是山徑，崎嶇難行。下午三時過九曲嶺，嶺甚峻峭，攀登大費氣力，至其巔，羣山羅拜脚下，極目千里，一望無際。狹徑兩旁一片天然大森林，果能運用科學方法管理，便是無窮財富。自嶺前越嶺背，路短而曲折，數之果爲九次。形勢之險要，眞是「一夫當關，萬夫莫敵」。聞昭夷君之父王毅卽爲人暗算於此。過嶺後，疲乏已極，乃試以騎代步，余素無騎

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

馬經驗，坐在馬背，搖搖欲墮，道路崎嶇，終覺危險，乃不得不下馬步行。五時抵大岐，投宿昭夷君家中。

大岐有黎、岐、侗、苗諸族雜居，眞是一個考察的理想地區。王昭夷君之家高據一座小山上，面前有魚塘，有菜園，四面環繞着農田，田外爲各族的村落，再遠便是數不盡的山嶺，居高臨下，一望無際，風景之佳，罕有其儔。此屋用磚瓦砌成，異常堅固，其旁且有碉樓，而內部佈置之華美，惟有漢人上等之家差可比擬。記者憑欄眺覽，一幅歐洲中世紀封建領主城堡的圖畫不覺浮現於眼前。

二月十九日（星期五）

鄰近彥聖村今天有一岐黎家治喪事，十一時早餐後，就前往參觀。並便道訪問產聖團團董黃公清，其二子均曾在廣州江村師範讀書。在黃團董家，復遇樂會縣商人黎錫清，聞其父世巳來商於此，後黎君承其業，手腕圓通，至今積貲頗厚。承黎君之邀，隨之到文化市參觀。該市成立歷史僅數年，現有街兩條，茅屋數十間，商人多萬寧、陵水、樂會三縣籍。市面情景蕭條，家家門可羅雀。市中設有小學一所，現正放寒假，故不得參觀。

時適有一苗人挑米來市中交易，我們乃以烟絲二包、錫湯羹一隻、針數眼與之換得白米三升（每升二十四兩），實在計算起來，對方的價值要比我們的大，可是他却洋洋自

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

得，以爲討了意外便宜似的，也可想見漢商和黎、苗的物物交易平常是在怎樣不等價的情形之下進行了！

夜十時，正欲解衣就寢，忽聞有鑼鼓聲傳來，詢之王家工人，知鄰村病人家舉行「跳娘」，這是一個不可多得的機會，乃披星戴月前往參觀。不知道之遠近，祇得循鑼鼓聲傳來的方向前進。沿途驚動村狗，吠聲四起，抵村門，月光下依稀見村門口結着樹葉一束，依黎俗，這是禁止外人入村的記號，但既然來之，也就當做沒有看見，仍然闖了進去。至病人家，「跳娘」正在舉行。「娘婆」三四人，却都是男性，屋中懸銅鑼五、大鼓一，亂敲亂擂，聲音嘈雜不堪。病人臥於地下，骨瘦如柴，詢其致病經過及病狀，知因飲食不愼，致罹胃病，我們身邊只帶 gardon 一種西藥，乃分一粒服之，歸來時，並囑道小童三人隨來取各種消化藥品帶歸繼服。抵寓已深夜一時。

二月二十日（星期六）

晨起頗覺寒冷，看溫度表爲華氏五十八度。余初到時，見椰子樹寥寥可數，與海南各地隨處椰林密佈者，迥不相同，頗以爲異，今始釋然。原來此地已靠近海南腹部，且高山重疊，與外面空氣隔絕，故溫度較低，無怪椰樹不易生長也。

十一時出發彥聖村，參觀出葬儀式，自頭至尾，全部由鄭伯鴻君攝入電影鏡頭，此種

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

機會，殊不易得。儀式多染漢化，如用紙幡、家屬纏孝、及以石爲墓碑等，其痕跡歷歷可見。全都儀式歷數小時，至下午四時葬事始畢。

本團依原定計劃，到此地後將分爲兩隊，分頭考察，別離在即，晚上把未來工作計劃提出討論，並做大體決定。

二月二十一日（星期日）

上午十一時出發文化市，因前日已請黎錫清君約定附近黎、苗來此聚會。未久，果見報茶村苗人甲長王福壽帶領苗男女二十餘人來到，惟黎人到者殊寥寥。楊成志先生便就到場的人做體質測量及攝影等工作。苗人一般生得都很清秀，望之可愛。我們假黎君店中設備酒飯欵待他們，並各贈一點禮物。錫清之婦爲黎人，見我們這樣優待苗人，頗形不悅，殊可詫異，後查其底細，始知內容尚複雜，非親履其地者不能悉也。

由文化市歸來時，有苗男子三四人緊隨余後，爲余傾訴此地生活如何艱苦，並懇余設法帶之出外讀書。他們的求知慾如此熱烈，大使余驚異。這是少數民族眞正的呼聲，希望政府深予注意！

二月二十二日（星期一）

上午十時，由王甲長福壽引導，起程赴報茶苗村參觀。苗人皆居在高山上，所以道路

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

特別崎嶇難行。途中向王甲長問起，知道昂吉苗村盧甲長尊英家收藏苗人文獻甚多，大喜，乃決定先迂道到該村。初村人見生客驟至，咸大駭異，余乃急覓盧甲長，向之解釋，疑團始消。及開唱留聲機，苗人聞聲來聽者，如蜂擁集。記者向盧甲長探詢苗人文獻，承借閱幾種，其中有些關於苗人來源的記載，很可珍貴。盧甲長並爲余詳談苗人生活諸問題，其艱苦之狀，誠非外人所可想像，余深表同情。該村現有十二家，居民分盧、鄧、盤數姓，主要作業是種山，山是向黎人批租的。

因時間所限。報茶村之行決定打消。下午五時半離昂吉回大岐，村人慇懃相送，並再三叮囑千萬再來。

抵寓時，王昭夷君自保亭歸來，共同用晚餐。席間彼詳談過去在黎境之種種經驗，娓娓動聽，如讀一篇富有趣味的傳奇故事。

二月二十三日（星期二）

早餐後，到數里外的文化河去看黎人集體捕魚。河兩岸擠滿了男男女女，約莫六七十人，每人手執一漁具，樣式甚多。河身不甚寬，水深不及膝。他們先擇定河身一段，運巨石把上流水源堵塞，下流開小渠，待段中之水流得半乾，然後傾毒藥於其中，魚遇毒，立即暈斃，浮出水面，衆爭以網取之。今天因上流堵塞不善，水源源而下，段中水歷久不乾

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

，藥力失效，故獲魚甚少。

晚上參觀彥聖村侍人「做平安」。所謂「做平安」，即因病求神之謂。神名叫做「符老爺」，神像用木刻成，端坐小木轎中。隨神而來者，有二道士。做法事時，一唸咒，一代表神之意旨，發出動作，向病人指示一切。我疑心這一定是漢人傳入的，侍人文化程度甚低，在他們社會中決不會產生這樣一個高級的神。

深夜閒談，王昭夷君爲述黎人黑魔術 (Black Magic) 的「禁母」和「打斧頭」兩法甚詳，其恐怖之狀，聽之毛骨悚然！

二月二十四日（星期三）

上午十時，與江應樑、何元爛兩兄出發志報苗村，約行一小時而達。村人多已外出捕魚，僅有三數老人留守村門。甲長鄧德春，年約六十，貌頗文雅。據稱，全甲共有苗人三十家，約三百人，平均每家約十人；又謂彼本人現有二子八孫云。他的話或有多少誇張，不過苗人生殖率比黎人高，同時因稍知講究衛生，死亡率比黎人低，則確是事實。在鄧甲長家中，發見無數文獻，大部分爲神像、曆書、及道士經書之類，惟苦無時間抄寫，只借一本帶歸。鄧甲長並殺雞欵待，我們本不敢多擾，但盛情難却，祇得就席。他們弄的飯菜，比黎人較爲清潔，勉可入口。臨別，報以少許禮物，彼稱謝不置。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

爲攝取「跳娘」情景，下午四時，特由伍銳麟先生裝做病人，請了幾位娘姜在昭夷君家晒庭中「跳娘」。大概事前他們已察知我們的用意，跳得不甚起勁，草草結束。結果我們付了酬金四元，做法用的一隻小豬，也被他們抬去瓜分了。

黃昏後，觀昭夷君在魚塘中訓練野馬，其技術之巧妙，嘆爲觀止。

二月二十五日（星期四）

據報昂吉村盧甲長家於廿五、六、七三日爲其亡弟「做齋」超度，遂決定前往該村小住，以便詳細觀察，並考察苗人一般生活狀況。昭夷君特殺豬宰羊，備盛饌爲我們餞別，並請附近幾位黎人甲長、保長作陪。飯後啓行，到昂吉村稍憩，轉赴志報村，向鄧甲長借出家藏的各種神像及經書攝影。楊成志先生、伍銳麟先生、及江君應樑、鄭君伯鶴四人旋由此逕返大岐，將於明晨取道入五指山考察，記者與何君元煥則再回昂吉，準備在此一帶黎苗境久居：兩隊從此分手，互道珍重而別。深山窮谷，舉目無親，此後漫漫時日，不知如何度過？分手後，記者在返昂吉途中，不覺百感交集，悵然久之！

抵昂吉後，盧甲長讓出茅屋一間做我的住室，地方低濕，且無陽光，實不宜於居人。可是要幹民族考察工作，就不能不把衛生標準降低。此地蔬菜不易得，肉類更談不到，食物惟靠我們自己帶來的罐頭。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

擔任「做齋」的文武道士十餘人晚上均已到齊，竹棚中頓呈熱鬧，大家圍着火堆吸烟，我們也加入暢談，夜深始散。

二月二十六日（星期五）

上午志報村一苗人來談甚久。他又向我訴說他們的生活如何艱苦，平日如何受人欺負，希望我們設法援助他們，尤希望政府給他們辦理教育，使得人人都有讀書識字的機會。他們這些要求，並非過分，然而今日有幾人聽得到他們的呼聲？聽了之後又有誰去理他們？我們有心無力，心裏感到無限的慚愧和難過！

盧甲長爲招待「做齋」的道士，叫人到山上去把野牧的牛打死抬回，我們就以銅板二十枚買得牛肉二斤，以佐晚膳，別有風味。

甲長的弟婦昨夜病死，今天下午出殯，儀式甚簡單。遺孤五，三男二女，最大的不過十二三歲，此數孤兒去年剛喪父，今又喪母，涕泣不可仰，令人鼻酸。我們以銅板五十枚贈之，雖無濟於事，聊表同情而已。

「做齋」於晚間開始，竹棚裏滿掛神像，一邊文神，一邊武神，不相混淆，道士亦分文武兩排，道法各不相同，經書內容亦互異。

二月二十七日（星期六）

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

今天「做齋」的節目是：上午「招魂」，下午「傳道」。「招魂」即是招死者的靈魂，做法和漢人的差不多。「傳道」與「做齋」本身無關係，但在苗人社會生活上却有很重大的意義。據說，執行宗教職務的道士，比普通人的社會身份要高一等，並享有種種特權，因此苗人男子，除非經濟情況特別困難（因舉行傳道儀式要花費金錢），便沒有不受傳道洗禮的，而且每種道士都有經書，這也便是苗人唯一的文字，要有道士資格的人纔能享受這種文字教育，在這一點上，宗教和教育是打成一片的。此外，道士所獨有的許多特殊智識，亦非普通人所能有，這自然造成他的特殊社會地位。今天受傳道洗禮的：文道士有四人，其中年紀最大的爲二十[illegible]小的則乳臭未乾，由其母抱着行禮；武道士一人，亦值數歲。這些小孩受過洗禮後，便具有道士資格，他們達到相當年齡，便可執行道士職務。晚上，這羣小孩便在草地上學習道士跳舞，以鑼鼓和之，步伐整齊，動作活潑，令人驚嘆。我心裏默想：這些聰明的兒童，若能好好地受到正當教育，成績一定是不壞的！

二月二十八日（星期日）

上午抄苗人歌謠傳說多種，其中有一種是敘述顏回和張九娘的戀愛故事的，他們居然和聖人門徒開起玩笑來了，惟未知何所本而來，頗值研究。

傍晚，「做齋」完結，武道士最後演出一幕「跳鬼」短劇。一道士扮鬼，戴假面具，

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

狀甚猙獰，藏在幕後，另由兩男童扮裝女郎，把鬼逗引出來，鬼一見女郎，獸性大發，舉起長可二三尺的陽具（禾稈紮成），左跳右跳，向女郎追逐，狀殊穢褻，難於入眼。

三月一日（星期一）

早上盧甲長家備盛筵歡宴諸道士，主婦並親自出來輪流到各道士面前唱歌致謝，各道士亦唱歌和之，一種和諧的情調充滿席間。

十一時早餐後，由苗人嚮導到附近苗村去參觀。行約一小時到志報上村，村中居民六七家，人口三四十，分李、石、盤諸姓。旋到志報中村，村中有林姓兄弟兩人，在盧甲長家「做齋」時已認識，見我們來，慇懃迎至家中。時鄰舍有一老媼，患眼病，左眼已失明，右眼亦頻險境，向我們求治，我們知已無可挽救，但不欲使之絕望，只說藥沒有帶來，她還再三懇求下次來時千萬記住帶藥，狀殊可憫！

晚餐殺鷄宴盧甲長等。夜與村人圍談，十時始散去。

三月二日（星期二）

凌晨有鼓聲自外傳來，詢之，始知甲長鳴鼓召集村人討論做「衆人齋」事。據說，苗村每年正月和六月中例須做「衆人齋」各一次，以祈禱豐年與平安，每次齋期歷時一日至二日云。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

下午赴蕃慢村參觀，亦苗人所居，全村約十二家，村址在尖嶺脚下，後擁高山，前有流水，風景殊佳。甲長罩起英，於我們到後，就命家人宰鴨備膳，我們欲阻止已來不及，臨別，乃以剪刀、口琴等物酬謝他們。歸途中，遇見前頭有兩位女人，可是頭戴竹笠，面貌不甚看得清楚。帶路苗人便引吭高唱情歌，聲震山谷，女人雖回頭望望，但却不見唱和，亦不停步。我們不願放鬆，急步趕上，走近她們身邊，注目一看，原來都是四五十歲的老太婆，而且是帶路苗人的熟人，她們還問他「到那裏去？」害得他臉紅耳熱，不知所答，我們在旁忍唆不住，不覺哈哈大笑起來。

三月三日（星期三）

盧甲長的甥女將結婚，上午村人聚集甲長家中，根據「通書」選擇吉日，「通書」內容和漢人的相類似，推算方法也相差不遠。

元烱兄身體頗感不適，下午伴之出村外散步。途遇一苗人，向我們訴說最近被文化市某商人欺騙的「木耳事件」，言下不勝憤激。並且說，居在深山，有苦沒處訴，有屈沒處伸，現決定向保停縣府控告云。

「衆人齋」本晚在前日「做齋」的竹棚裏開始舉行，壁間懸掛神像，案上排設香燭，佈置簡單，道士亦不更換道服，只唸咒作法而已。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

某苗人因其甥被人陷害，來乞余代作書寄去交涉，允之，稱謝而去。

三月四日（星期四）

元烱兄自昨夜起連瀉十餘次，粒飯不能入口，精神疲頓不堪，殊可憂慮，余近二三日來，喉嚨亦異常燥熱，今天說話幾不成聲。我們推測病源，一定是飲水不潔所致。苗人住在高山上，沒有河流溪澗，飲食用水，都是用竹管從山頂上一滴一滴地引導下來的，所以特別不潔。我們深覺此地不宜久留，擬即日動身返大岐，惟爲雨所阻，欲行不得。日間乘暇續抄歌謠傳說多種，並學得苗歌的唱法。今天不走的結果，能有此意外收穫，殊覺可喜。

晚上村人均攤錢米聚餐，「衆人齋」隨之完結。

三月五日（星期五）

深夜三時，夢中被元烱兄推醒，他說腹瀉未止，身體不能支持，擬天明即從昂吉直出保亭云云。商量結果，還是先離開此地回大岐，看病勢如何變化，然後決定出不出保亭。因爲一出保亭，我們原定的考察計劃便要受到影響，所以不能不慎重考慮。

上午六時，冒雨離昂吉回大岐，苗人爲備山轎一乘以供元烱兄代步，余步隨其後。連日落雨，山蛭滿地，好幾次爬上脚來，迫發覺已吮飽血了。

I: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

抵大岐後，在王家打開西藥箱，獨無止瀉藥，王家工人告訴我們，說黎人有一種草藥，治瀉特見靈效，病者服之立愈。余請元烱兄不妨一試，他極力反對，寧死不服。此地醫藥皆無，眞感束手。余忽想起小時在家，曾見鄉人用蜜糖冲濃茶，飲之以止瀉，王家適藏有蜜糖，我們亦帶來好幾種茶葉，因勸元烱兄試冲飲少許，以觀後效。

在昂吉時，地方雖然齷齪，但與苗人終日聚談，自有樂趣；回王家後，如居深宮之中，居處雖安適，反覺寂寞不堪。

三月六日（星期六）

本來決定元烱兄的病若無起色，今天便起程出保亭。但他自昨天飲蜜糖濃茶後，果然藥到回春，瀉的次數頓減，精神亦見進步，痊癒已有把握，就把原議打銷，爲之大喜。

十時早餐後，出發文化市，想詳細觀察黎、苗交易情形。市中兒童十餘人正製魚炮投河中炸魚，我們也買鞭炮二十個請他們爲製一炮，炸得小魚約半斤，帶歸以佐晚膳。

附近黎人正忙於揷秧，日間巡行田間，與之閒話。

三月七日（星期日）

早晨霧甚重，未能出門，聞王家工人今天出保亭，乘暇寫信數封，託之帶去投寄。元烱兄瀉病已愈，精神復原。竟日與之遊附近各岐、俘村，好幾處遇見俘女舂米，但

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

她們一見生客，便立刻躲避，無法攝影。

下午有漢人小販從保亭挑烏魚入來喚賣，以銅板二百枚買得二斤半，在此深山窮谷中，亦堪稱異味矣。

三月八日（星期一）

早上又降霧，八時始放晴。閒步到對面的下俾村，村中皆俾人所居，可十家，有李、劉、黃三姓。保長李打放迎接至其家，談笑甚洽。辭歸時，他遣工人帶番薯數斤隨同送來，我們亦報之以鹽、火水、洋燭等物。

下午到上俾村參觀俾人婚禮。新娘年已三十，原嫁五弓大本村某俾人，夫死後，帶子女二人返居母家，今再醮於同村俾人，新郎年亦與之相若。雖在婚期，兩位新人並未換上特別服裝，不過比平常較爲整齊一點。黃昏後，新娘由一女媒伴送到男家，她的懷裏仍抱着尚未脫乳的小兒，新郎把她迎到預設的筵席上，並請親朋多人陪飲。酒到嘴邊，歌聲隨之而出。先由陪客輪流對新娘歌唱，新娘一一和答。新娘復移席與翁姑互相唱和。而新郎始終站在旁邊招待，不飲不歌。我們在門外唱留聲機助興，也被拉去陪飲，勉強呷了幾口，便以換唱片爲辭，一溜而出。否則以不善飲者臨此場面，結果未有不弄到狼狽不堪的。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

三月九日（星期二）

下午由王家移居文化市，途經上倖村，時結婚人家正大宴賓客，新郎瞥見我們，跑出來把路攔住，要我們進去喝喜酒，我們百般推諉，他都不肯放行，結果我被拉了進去，元烱兄以言語不通，竟邀倖免。入屋後，他把我擁至上席，我抵死不肯坐，推說行李在後，不能久留，他便拿了一大碗濃酒，放在我的面前，他自己也倒了一碗，說大家喝乾纔走。態度懇切而認眞，毫無商量餘地。我對着這碗濃酒，眞是啼笑皆非。後來計上心頭，把牠喝了一半，乘他不覺，急以手帕掩口吐出，而他還不肯罷休，仍堅持非喝完不可，幸旁邊一客人察知我的窘態，起來勸他放手，我乘機舉足奔出，如遇大赦。出村門未數步，便見一位倖人已醉臥道旁，鼾聲雷作，另一位則神志昏迷，東搖西擺，在我們的前面走着，腰間仍然掛着一把鎌刀。我們怕他蠻性爆發，揮刀斬來，乃且行且止，時時和他保持着相當距離。不一會兒，他也倒臥下去了，我們纔放心前進。抵文化市，宿於小學校中。

三月十日（星期三）

早起閒步到毛面村，有兩妙齡岐女與余談頗久。兩女貌皆不惡，而不幸的運命亦相同。他們方數歲時，便憑父母之命出嫁，丈夫都是白髮老翁。余問願與之偕老否？一答「不願」，一謂「不願又奈何？」又問何以不住在夫家？她們說，黎俗，女子出嫁後，仍回居母

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

家，要和別個男子姘合生子後，始返夫家與夫同居云云。說時態度甚自然，毫無羞澀之狀。

日間連訪附近四五個小村，都是黃姓岐黎所居，每村戶數多的不過十餘家，少的僅三、四家，情形非常冷落，而且幾無村沒有病人。蕃三擺村有一老媼病已垂危，家人向我們討藥，我們以無藥對，他們似頗感失望。據村人說，該老媼自去年病起至今，因「跳娘」已宰牛數隻，殺豬更不知其數云。

三月十一日（星期四）

十時早餐後，由市民陳某嚮導赴福安村遊覽，步行約二小時到達。該村前本荒地，數年前王昭夷君始招黎、俾移居於此，風景之美，就我們走過的地方來說，幾無一黎村可比得上。村中現有福安小學一所，校舍和內部設備都頗完善，村中居民較別處清潔，其待人接物也彬彬有禮，堪稱黎人模範村，教育和文野的關係，顯然可見。時村中男女多已出附近河中捕魚，我們想探看他們捕魚的情景，乃溯河而上，行約半小時，便見他們順流而下，參加的人約近百數，小小的河面擠滿了人，各種漁具無不俱備，蔚為壯觀。停步觀看良久始歸。

晚上黎錫清君設宴欵待，菜色甚豐美，自入黎境以來，得未曾有。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

三月十二日（星期五）

昂吉村今天有婚禮舉行，盧甲長一早便派人來市把我們接去，仍然住在前次住過的那間小茅屋內。我們離開昂吉纔不過幾天，今天再來，村人却已把小學的校舍蓋好，他們要求教育的逼切，於此可見。教師亦已於前一天請來，是萬寧人，薪金還在討價還價中。

新娘是盧保長的甥女，自幼失怙，是在盧家養大的，新郎亦同村人。兩家和我們都早相識，我們在文化市已特地買了幾盒鞭炮帶來給他們做賀禮。婚禮於黃昏後開始，這次是男嫁於女，女家派人去把新郎迎接過來。新郎以紅帕遮臉，由一男子負之來，後面跟着好幾位「送嫁」的男伴。新娘的女伴要新郎於中途，向他大開玩笑。有些說笑話來逗他，有些出其不意，一擁而前，向他身上猛撲過來，想一下子把他撲倒。可是他却一動也不動，呆立如木鷄，連揭開紅帕張望的膽氣也沒有，令旁人爲他着急。幸虧有男伴爲之「護駕」，隨時把娘子軍擋開，始得衝出重圍。這套把戲，與漢人「鬧新房」的風俗極相似，不過他們倒而行之罷了。新郎到女家後，儀式花樣尙多，一直看到深夜一時始就寢。

三月十三日（星期六）

上午新郎向女家家長敬酒，禮甚恭，有如漢俗新婦向翁姑行敬酒禮。正午新娘首次上男家，僅於入門時請道士做「驅煞」的簡單法事，餘無他儀式。

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

黎錫清君日前送我們一隻肥鷄，今天特地殺來欵待甲長保長，席間，他們知我們明天即將別離，表示無限依依。記者爲安慰他們，說自己是本地方人，以後交通日漸方便，隨時都可入來再圖良會。其實說不定這是最初的一次，也是最後的一次呢！

三月十四日（星期日）

晨起散步村外，一片縹緲的歌聲從對面山中傳來，劃破了大地的寂寞。聽之無限惆悵！

上午九時離昂吉回大岐王家，盧甲長等殷殷相送。

晚上，往彥聖村外曠地觀黎人打鞦韆及玩club ball，參加的都是青年男女，異常熱鬧。記者也加入一試，甚感興趣。聞說這種遊戲，從此時開始，直玩到四五月農忙時纔能休。這是黎人最普遍的娛樂，也是青年男女談情說愛的至好場合。

三月十五（星期一）

我們決定明天離開大岐，今天特在附近各黎村做最後的巡禮，並搜買民俗品多件。

晚餐後，復往觀打鞦韆之戲。途經彥聖村，同行的黎人指着一間小茅屋對我說，這就是青年男女的「放芋」（即幽會）屋。記者早已知道有這麼一回事，却尚無親身歷。一時好奇心動，便請他們導往參觀。入屋時，見屋內正有三位妙齡女郎圍火吸烟，她們一見客

I: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

到，急起身延坐，狀甚慇懃。其中一位並取出鼻簫弄吹，其聲低慢，如訴如泣，逗人綺思。記者問她肯不肯出賣此簫，她笑而不答，眦雙眸凝視，秋水盈盈，令人魂蕩。記者初出茅廬，尚不知此中奧妙，不敢有所表示。以同伴催赴秋千場，欲起行，彼女苦留相候，謂飯後可同去，記者不敢獨留，不顧而行。到秋千場未久，彼女與女伴亦繼至，加入同打秋千，玩dub sa，狀至親暱。夜九時，記者動身回寓，爲她所覺，亦追隨而來。過村中時，她見記者遥返王寓，並不走向她的茅屋，一時情急，竟高舉其火把，大聲疾呼，驚動村犬狂吠，同行者無不大笑，記者羞醜無地，急步疾遁，然對彼女如此多情，內心固未嘗不深深感念也！

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

後記

這本小册子和另一本二十幾萬字的「海南島黎人調查報告」，都是二十六年夏從海南島黎苗境考察歸來後在廣州寫成的，兩書可說是姊妹篇，當時本打算同時出版。

但稿成未久，適值對日抗戰局面急劇展開，廣州隨之棄守，原定出版計劃無形打消，這兩部稿子便隨作者的足跡而遍遊西南。二十八年秋，承成都齊魯大學國學研究所主任顧頡剛先生的厚意，把黎人調查報告編爲該所叢刊之一，交上海開明書店出版。至二十九年冬，得接爲我校正原稿的劉重熙先生（成）由滬上來信，知已全部製版，最短期內即可出書。距意太平洋戰事突起，上海形勢驟變，從此出書的事，便如石沉大海，久無音訊。抗戰勝利後，查知紙版大部仍在，但因金融和物價波動太劇，開書局尚無意於印行。所以黎人調查報告何時始能與社會見面，連作者自己也沒法預料！

自從黎人調查報告流產後，我便暫時放棄了出版苗人一書的念頭。加以抗戰之後，總以內憂，遍地烽火，滿目瘡痍，學術無補於飢寒，卽亦非當務之急。直至最近，因鑒於「開發海南島」之呼聲復起，更以好友岑家梧、江應樑兩兄的慫恿，始決定付印問世，以了却多年來的一番小心願。

本書出版，承珠海大學多所協助，鄒海濱師賜予題簽，江應樑兄惠借圖片，羅寶佃弟爲繪地圖。對於他們的盛意，謹於此一併誌謝。

三十七年六月三日興瑞記於廣州四村

1: Wang AE5 Miao AE5

海南島之苗人

三十七年六月初版

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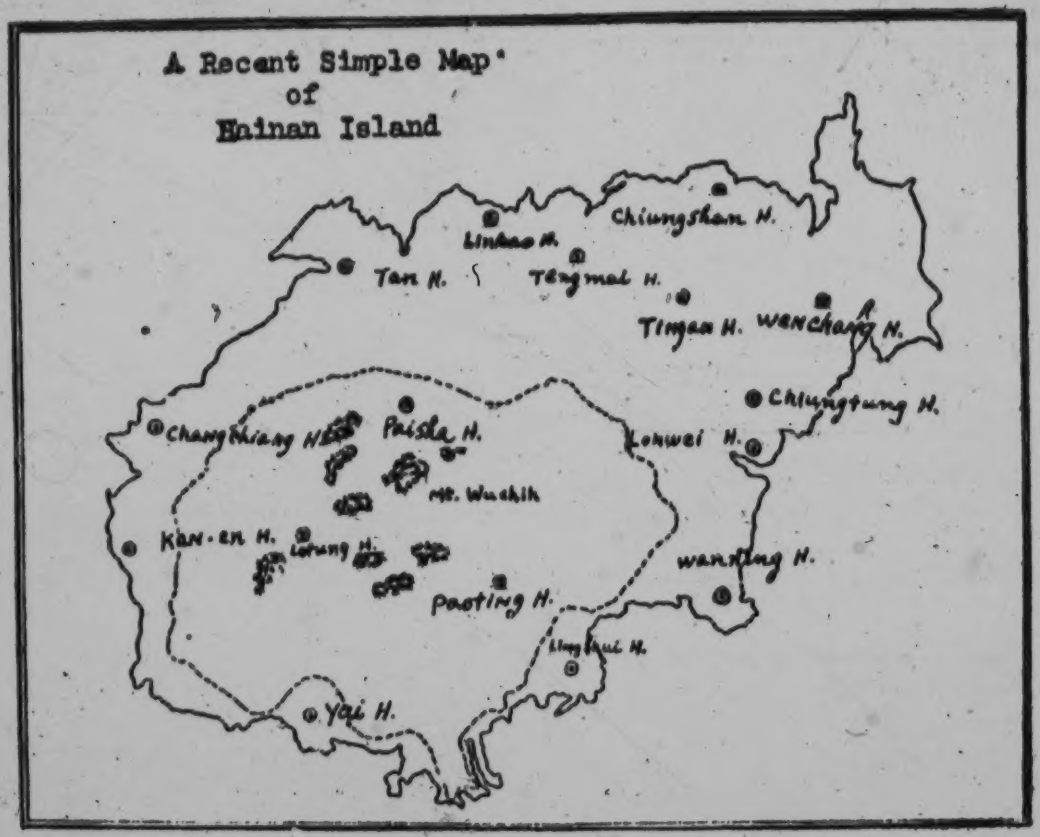

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2:Ling & Ruey E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

A Report on an Investigation of the Miao of Western Hunan

/Hsiang-hsi Miao-tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao/

By

Shun-sheng Ling
and
Yih-fu Ruey

Shanghai, 1947

Academia Sinica, The Institute of History and Philology, Monographs, Series A, No. 18

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

The present book went to press in 1940. After one year of typesetting and proofreading, the Pacific War began and Shanghai was occupied. The printing of the book was suspended. Fortunately, the hand-set type was intact when the war was over. However, as the book was written in 1939 many revisions were necessary, but the type already set could not be changed. Moreover, first-grade art paper was intended for use in the printing of the book, but due to the shortage of supplies newsprint is used instead, resulting in the defective reproduction of the plates for the illustrations, for which we beg the readers' indulgence.

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PREFACE

114 In the last one hundred years many European missionaries and scholars have come to China and have done considerable work in ethnological and philological research. Their published writings can be used, in great measure, as source material for academic studies. However, little has been done on the Miao tribe in western Hunan. In 1902 Torii Ryūzō of Japan traveled extensively in the southwestern provinces of China, investigating the life of the Miao. Although he traveled through western Hunan he was unable to enter the Miao area to work. Therefore, the Miao area of western Hunan can still be described as a virgin area for ethnological study.

In the spring and summer of 1933 the writers visited western Hunan for an investigation of the Miao. We left Nanking on May 1, following the Yangtze westward and passing through Wuchang, Hankow, and Changsha, to arrive at Changteh and Taoyüan; and again going westward along the Yüan River to P'u-shih in Lu-ch'i hsien, and thence abandoning the boat we traveled overland to Feng-huang. In the border area of the three hsien Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui, we made on-the-spot investigations and inquiries concerning all phases of Miao life. We returned to Nanking on August 1, after a period of three full months.

Three months is naturally too short a time for a thorough investigation of Miao life. However, we were greatly aided in our mission by the authorities of western Hunan, as well as by the Miao themselves, whose enthusiastic cooperation facilitated our work in every way. Through the division of labor among the three of us, day and night, we were able to shorten the time required for our work. The distribution of our work was as follows: The geography of the Miao territory, and the life, customs, and drum dances, etc. of the Miao people were undertaken by Ling Shun-sheng; the language, folk songs, and folklore, [126] etc. by Ruey Yih-fu; and photography, films, drawing, and

/1 cont./

114 [116] [115] cartography, etc. were the responsibilities of Mr. Yung T'u-heng, who accompanied us. The Miao gentlemen who helped us were Messrs Wu Wen-hsiang, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Tsung-hsüan of Feng-huang; Mr. Shih Ch'i-kuei of Kan-ch'eng; and Messrs. Lung Lin-chang, Lung Ting-kuo, and Lung Sheng-fa of Yung-sui, who were with us day and night ready to answer our questions. After we left western Hunan Messrs. Shih Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang undertook /2/ supplementary investigative work that we designated, for a long time. Thus, although our trip was short, the work accomplished would have taken a year or at least more than half a year had it been conducted by one person alone.

128 After our return to Nanking, as we were organizing the material collected during our trip, we were called upon to investigate the Yü tribe, and so we went to southern Chekiang in the spring and summer of the following year. That autumn Ling Shun-shêng was invited to Yunnan by the Yunnan Board of Education; Ruey Yih-fu was engaged in fingerprinting and body-measurement work. In the autumn of 1935 both of us participated in the Anglo-Chinese Border Commission for the demarcation of the southern section of the Chinese-Burmese frontier, and had to travel to the Yunnan border. Not until the summer of 1936, after our return to Nanking from Yunnan, were we able to utilize part of our time to reorganize and study our material from western Hunan. A year later half of the draft of the present report was completed, when the Lu-kou-ch'iao//Marco Polo Bridge/ incident took place, which disturbed our minds terribly. The writers first followed the Institute's move to Hunan, then to Kwangsi, and finally in 1938 to Yunnan, before we were able to resume writing. At the end of the year the first draft was completed. Last spring and summer the books of the Institute arrived in Yunan, and with the references thus made available we were able to check and revise the first draft, and then to make final copies of the manuscript. By winter the entire work was ready, but Ruey Yih-fu was asked to go to Kweichow to investigate the folk art

/2 cont./

128 on behalf of the Preparatory Office of the National Central Museum, while Ling Shun-shêng was ill for three months. Only this spring were we able to give the revised manuscript the last reading, thus putting an end to the work.

The present report is long on description and short on comparative study, hence it is truthfully entitled "A Report on an Investigation." The first eight chapters were drafted by Ling Shun-shêng, and the three chapters on folklore, folk songs, and language as well as part of the chapter, "Magic and Religion," such as "Huan No Yüan," are the work of Ruey Yih-fu. After the first draft had been completed, we checked each other's sections, making additions. Therefore, we are mutually responsible for the quality of the writing.

[127] As to the contents of the book, the first two chapters dealing with history and geography and the sixth and seventh chapters on Miao officials and the t'un system of defense are largely based on historical records and documents. All other chapters are written entirely on the basis of material from investigations, carefully analyzed and discussed, for a faithful presentation. But, unfortunately, the specimens from the field have not as yet arrived in Yunnan; therefore the description of their crafts which must rely upon specimens had to be omitted. Also there are many places in the book where photographs of specimens and explanatory illustrations should have been added, but they were unavailable. It is hoped that these will be added in the second edition, and we again beg the readers' indulgence.

088 Research work in ethnology, according to the Englishman, Malinowski, more than in any other science depends upon the assistance of others. /3/ Our investigative work depended most upon the then divisional commander, Ch'en Yü-ch'iao (Chü-chen) of the army's newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division in western Hunan, who not only facilitated our work but received us royally, and to him we extend our gratitude. We are also grateful to Brigade Commander Tai Chi-t'ao, the head of the western Hunan Department of Village

/3 cont./

000 Administration, Hsü Tzu-lin, the principal of the United Normal School of the three hsien of Feng, Kan, and Ma, Shih Ai-san (Hung-kui), the private secretary of the hsien government of Feng-huang, Wang Yüeh-yen, and the gentry of western Hunan, such as the gentlemen Messrs. Chen Shao-nan, Chen Tzu-kuang, Tso Wei-I, Chen Yin-sheng, T'ien Jen-wen, and Liu Tsu-p'ing. They accompanied us to many Miao villages in the Feng, Kan, and Sui hsien areas for on-the-spot investigations. In addition the following persons helped us greatly on the spot: at Feng-huang, district magistrate Chou Yao-nan and the principal of the Model Primary School, Liu Fu-lin; at Hsin-chai, Commissioner T'ang Wen-ju of the Feng, Kan, Sui Three Hsien Border Pacification Commission; and at Kan-ch'eng, district magistrate T'ien Yao-liu. Their hospitality and assistance were deeply appreciated. Among the Miao people we desire [115] to make special mention of Messrs. Shin Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang, who contributed considerable material.

114 Finally, special thanks are due to Yung T'u-heng, who accompanied us to western Hunan and worked tirelessly. After his return to Nanking he helped us in arranging part of the material. The photographs and drawings in this book are all his.

000 The report in its completed form was approved by Director Fu Meng-chen (Szu-nien) of the Institute. The two chapters, "Language" and "Folk Songs," were checked by Li Fang-kuei and Chang Tz'u-yao. To all of them we express our appreciation.

Ling Shun-sheng
Ruey Yih-fu

April 30, 1940
Institute of History and Philology
Pao-t'ai Mountain
Lung-ch'üan Chen
Kunming

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CHAPTER ONE

CHANGES IN NAME OF THE MIAO TRIBE

*101 The name "Miao" is commonly used to refer to the tribal peoples of southwest China in general. Actually, there are today more than one hundred non-Chinese groups with different names scattered over Szechwan, Yunnan, Hunan, Kweichow, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi. After studies made by Chinese and western scholars in the last few decades, these groups have been divided into at least four large categories: 1) the Miao-Yao group, 2) the Ts'ang-Mien /Tibeto-Burman/ group, 3) the T'ai T'an /Thai-shan/ group, and 4) the Meng-chi-mieh /Mon Khmer/ group. The Miao tribe is only one branch of the first group and cannot include all the tribal peoples that exist in the southwest. But as this customary usage of the term has existed for a long time, it is not easy to correct it in a day. Therefore, we can only accept the fact that the term "Miao" has both a broad and a narrow meaning. In the broad sense Miao refers to all the tribal peoples in the southwest; in the narrow sense it refers to the true Miao. (1) The subject of

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1. Torii, Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Miao/ also makes these two distinctions: Miao in a broad sense includes the Miao, Yao, Chuang, Li aborigines, and the Lolo; in a narrow sense it refers to one particular group of Miao. (National Translation Bureau's translation, page 19.)

/1 cont./ The subject of
*101 study in the present book is the Miao in the narrow sense and
[121] not in the broad sense.

*101 Recently, students of the history of the tribal peoples of
*175 China refer to the present-day Miao tribe as the descendants of the San Miao of ancient times. This assertion is probably based on the passage in the "Wei Ts'e /History of Wei/" section of Chan Kuo Ts'e /History of the Warring States/, which states: "The San Miao lived to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of P'eng-li Lake." From the geographical point of view, this would seem to be credible, as the San Miao of ancient times and the Miao tribe of today are both south of the Yangtze River; and furthermore the character for Miao is identical. But after the Ch'in and Han dynasties the succession records make no reference to the Miao until the Sung and Yüan dynasties. Therefore, the question of whether the Miao of ancient times and the Miao of today are the same tribe cannot be settled by a simple passage from the Chan Kuo Ts'e or by the use of the same character for the names. Thus, it is necessary to study and clarify at the outset what the name Miao means, /2/ so that we can know the distinction between the ancient Miao and the Miao of today, and the relation between the Miao in the narrow sense and the Miao in the broad sense.

(I) The Ancient San Miao Were Not the Present-day Miao

The name Miao was referred to in the "I Chi" section of the /Shang/ Shu /Book of History/: "The Miao are obstinate and refuse to work"; again in "Lü Hsing": "The widower and the widow took leave of the Miao ..... put blame on the Miao." Also, such terms as "San Miao," "Yu Miao," and "Miao Min" were frequently used in ancient historical records before the Ch'in and Han periods.

"San Miao" appeared in the "Shun Tien" section of Shang Shu: "To expel the San Miao to San Wei ..... to distinguish the northern San Miao"; in "Yü Kung": Having settled in San Wei, the San Miao were prosperous; in the Tso Chuan it was

/2 cont./

*101 stated that in the first year of Chao, "There were San Miao in
*175 Yü"; in the "Ch'u Yü" section of Kuo Yü: "Afterwards the San Miao regained the integrity of the Chiu Li; in Han Fei Tzu: "The recalcitrant among the San Miao"; in the "Ch'in Ts'e" section of Chan Kuo Ts'e: "Shun punished the San Miao"; in "Wei Ts'e": "The ancient San Miao lived to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of P'eng-li Lake; and in the "Hai Wai Nan Ching," section of Shan Hai Ching: "The San Miao country is to the east of Ch'ih Shui."

Yu Miao is noted in the Kao T'ao Mu section of Shang Shu: "Why should the Yu Miao migrate?"; in the "Shang T'ung P'ien" section of Motzu: "When the Yu Miao were regulated by the five punishments, order was brought tothe empire; in "I Ping P'ien," of Hsün-tzu: "Shun punished the Yu Miao"; the "Chao Shu-P'ien" of Lu Shih Ch'un-ch'iu: "Shun rejected the Yu Miao in order to change their customs; and in "Chao-Ts'e" of the Chan Kuo Ts'e: "In ancient times Shun regaled /?/ the Yu Miao."

Miao Min /"Miao people"/ is noted in the "Lü Hsing" section of the Shang Shu: "The Miao Min are not intelligent, ... cut off the Miao Min ... but often the Miao Min bandits are found in the prison multitude ... the Miao Min must be penalized."

In the ancient registers the names "San Miao," "Yu Miao," and "Miao Min" actually referred to the Miao. However, the designations "San," "Yu," or "Min" since Han and T'ang times are subject to various explanations. But writers are of the opinion that "San" /"three"/ by no means was limited to refer to "three"; as one and two was not able to represent all /?/, so San /"three"/ was used to represent all the rest /?/. Similarly, the "Chiu" /"nine"/ of Chiu Li certainly was not limited to refer to the number nine, but is used to indicate plurality. (1) The word "Yu" is a prefix, because one character

1. Explained in Wang Chung's Shih San Chiu /Explanation

/2 cont./

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*175

of Three and Nine/, see Shu Hsüeh, Vol. 1.

does not make a phrase, and therefore the character "Yü" is added to pair them. (2) "Min" is referred to in the "Ta Ya"

2. Explained in Wang Yin-chih's Ching Ch'uan Shih Tz'u, section 3, the entry on the character Yu.

of the Shin Ching: "Heaven produced all the people /min/"; in "Yao Tien" of the Shang Shu: "The Li Min /Li people/ at the time of change were peaceable." /3/

After the Han and T'ang dynasties those who have commented on the classics have for the most part referred to San Miao as the name of a state. As Ma Jung said: "As for the western frontier peoples, San Miao was the name of a state. The descendants of the Chin Yün family were feudal princes: They were the T'ao T'ich. (1) Others took it to be the name

1. See Chin dynasty's P'ei Yin: Shih Chi Chi Chiai.

of the ruler of the state or the name of the people. For example, Cheng Hsüan said: "Miao Min was the ruler of the Chiu Li, who after the death of Shao Hao /legendary emperor Chin T'ien, ca. 2599 B.C./, abandoned the path of virtue to emulate the harsh punishments of Ch'ih Yu /a legendary rebel/. The reason for calling the Chiu Li Miao Min was this: the Yu Miao were the descendants of Chiu Li. When Chuan Hsü /a legendary ruler of China, B.C. 2513-2435/ took the place of Shao Hao, he killed the Chiu Li and scattered their descendants. Those who settled on the western frontier became the San Miao. After the death of the Emperor Kao Hsin

/3 cont./

*101 /B.C. 2435-2365/, the wrongdoings of the Chiu Li were renewed.
*175 When Emperor Yao /2357-2255 B.C./ came to power they were once more suppressed; and at the end of Yao's rule they again came to court. Shun as Yao's minister drove them away. When Yü /Hsia dynasty, 2205 B.C./ ascended the throne they revolted in the Tung-t'ing area. Yü suppressed them also. Mu Wang (or Hou Wang) hated this people for their generations of evil doings. Therefore he called them "Min." Min is another term for ming /"dark in mind"/, meaning "not yet knowing the ways of humanity."(2)

2. See the introductions by Kung Ying-ta of the T'ang period to the Lü Hsing Su" section in Shang Shu and the "Tzu I Su" section of Li Chi.

Since the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties the Miao of ancient times have been interpreted to be the same as the present-day Miao. As Wang Ming-sheng of the Ch'ing dynasty wrote in the "Lü Hsing" section of his Shang Shu Hou An: "The San Miao are the descendants of the Chiu Li. Now both Li and Miao were names of the Nan Man /southern barbarians/, which it is still so today." Japanese historians have added to and elaborated on this theory. Many contemporary Chinese scholars believe in it without a doubt. Chang Ping-lin at first also subscribed to this view, stating in his Chiu Shu /Collected Works/: "When Huang-ti /the Yellow Emperor, 2698 B.C./ entered China he fought the chief of the aborigines, Ch'ih Yu, at Pan-ch'üan, and exterminated his kind. After the death of Emperor Shao Hao, the Chiu Li rose in rebellion, which was quelled by Emperor Chuan Hsü. When Yao was in power, the San Miao did not submit to the court; they were exterminated and driven to San Wei; but remnants still remained. The state of San Miao was located to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of

/3 cont./

*101 *195 P'eng-li Lake. They did not cultivate virtue and righteousness, and quarreled among themselves. Their people were oppressed and had no one to depend upon. Therefore Yü of the Hsia dynasty chastised them, and the San Miao perished. Thereafter, Li, Yu, and other princes have occupied Ching /one of the nine divisions of the landunder Yü, made up of Hunan, most of Hupeh, and part of Kweichow/ and Yüeh /Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces/ up to the present." Mr. Chang later realized that this theory was wrong and so in 1914 when the enlarged Chiu Shu was renamed Chien Lun, he amended his theory. In the first section, "Different Troups," he says: "From the time of Emperor Shen Nung /2838 B.C./ Changsha was already being developed. Huang-ti fought Ch'ih Yu at Cho Lu /Huangti's capital/ and exterminated their kind. The long-held notion that Ch'ih Yu was a (present-day) Miao is a mistake. Cho Lu was located in an area which is present-day Hsüan Hua and Pao An, in the extreme north, and could not have had Miao. The present-day Miao were the ancient Mao and were different from the San Miao. In Yao's time, the San Miao did not submit to the court; they were exterminated and driven to San Wei, but remnants still remained. The state of San Miao was located to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of P'eng-li Lake. They did not cultivate virtue and righteousness and quarreled among themselves. Their people were oppressed and had no one to depend upon. Therefore, Yü of the Hsin dynasty chastised them, and the San Miao perished. These referred to the Hun Tun and Ch'iung Ch'i tribes, and what relation had they with the present-day Miao? The Li and Yu, and other tribes who occupied the /4/ upper and lower reaches of the Tsang-k'o River were the Mao, phonetically changed to Miao, but they were different from the San Miao." The same writer wrote in P'ai Man P'ing I: "If we investigate the origin of the name Miao we find different theories. Those tribes to the south of the Yangtze River were rustic and uncouth. From the Chou to the T'ang dynasties they were generally known as the Man, or separately as the Liao, Li, or Lu Liang, but never as

/4 cont./

*101 the Miao. The name Miao was first used in the Sung dynasty.
*195 Clearly it was not a traditional name handed down by the ancientry but one fabricated by scholars who derived it from the name San Miao in the Shang Shu. In the Han period the Man people were not called Miao. The Shang Shu did not state that the San Miao belonged to the Ching Man tribes. In the Yü Shu it was stated that the San Miao were banished to San Wei. Ma Chi-ch'ang said: "San Miao was the name of a state. The descendants of the Chin Yün family were feudal princes. They were the T'ao T'ieh." In the "Hsiu Wu Hsün" section of the Huai Nan Tzu Kao Yu annotated: "San Miao referred to the Hun Tun, the descendants of Ti Hung's family; the Ch'iung Ch'i, were the descendants of Shao Hao's family; and the T'ao T'ieh, the descendants of Chin Yün's family. Since they were the descendants of these three clans, they were called the San Miao /i.e., "the three Miao"/. Thus what the scholars of the Han dynasty said about the San Miao being the descendants of gods does not apply to the Miao of today. (1)

1. Tai-yen Wen Lu,
first edition, addendum 1.

After Chang those who argued against the theory that the ancient San Miao were today's Miao tribe were many. Among them was Chu Hsi-tsu, who presented much evidence. He says: "San Miao was the name of a state and not that of a race; following is some of the evidence:

The "Kao T'ao Mo" section of the Shang Shu: "If you are wise and kind, why should you love Huan Tou? Why are you banished to Yu Miao? Why should you fear fine words, an illuminating countenance, and artfulness?" The reference to "banish to Yu Miao" points to the expulsion of the San Miao in the Yao Tien. San Miao was the name of a state, hence the name Yu Miao. In the Yü Hsia Shu the name of a state is always prefixed by the character "Yu," such as "Yu Miao" in the "Kao T'ao Mo," "Yu Hu"

/4 cont./

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*175

in the Kan Shih. The name of a tribe is not prefixed by "Yu"; we never hear of "Yu Jung," "Yu Ti," "Yu Man," or "Yu I."

According to the Tso Ch'uan in the first year of Chao during the Ch'un Ch'iu period, "Chao Meng said: 'The commands of the princely leader were extended to the feudal fiefs, proclaimed on the banners, and codified into laws. Punishments were meted out to wrongdoers. But still there was no unification. Thus in the Yü period there were San Miao; in the Hsia period, there were Kuan and Hu; in the Shang period there were Hsien and P'i; and in the Chou period there were Hsü and An. Since the time of the absence of a princely leader, the feudal lords struggled for power, showing contempt for the king and making alliances themselves, so how could there be unification? As Kwan and Hu of Hsia, Hsien and P'i of Shang, Hsu and An of Chou were the states of the feudal lords, therefore, it is without doubt that San Miao of Yü was also a state of a feudal lord.

/5/ According to the biography of Wu Ch'i in the Shih Chi, "Wu Ch'i said to Marquis Wei Wu: 'Formerly, the San Miao who lived to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and the right of P'eng-li Lake did not cultivate virtue and righteousness, and were destroyed by Yü. Chien of the Hsia period, whose domain embraced the regions to the left of the Ho-chi and to the right of the T'ai and the Hwa, to the north of I-ch'üeh and the south of Yang-chang, was not humane in his administration. He was deposed by T'ang /founder of the Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C./ The state of King Chou of the Yin /i.e. Shang/ dynasty was to the left of Meng-men, to the right of T'ai-hsing, to the south of Ch'ang-shan and to the north of Ta-ho. He was not virtuous in his administration, and King Wu killed him.'" According to the above, San Miao, King Chieh of the Hsia dynasty, King Chou of the Yin dynasty were given as examples together, indicating they were all rulers of kingdoms.

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*101 *175 Furthermore, San Miao as a state was destroyed by Yü; had it been a race, then inasmuch as they are stated to have been destroyed, how would there be any descendants left today? (1)

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1. Rebuttal against the argument that the Chinese were preceded by the Miao in China, National University of Peking Monthly Publication, Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 113-27.

From the above citations we understand that San Miao was a name of a state and not of a race /chung tsu/, and far less the name of the Miao people today. But a state must be peopled. What was the original race that peopled San Miao? According to the previous quotation from Cheng Hsüan, they were the Chiu Li. Those descendants of Chiu Li who scattered to the western frontier were known as the San Miao. Therefore, Ma Yung said that the San Miao were western frontier people, descendants of Chin Yün. (See previous citation.) Chia K'uei said in an annotation of the History of the Five Emperors in the Shih Chi: "Chin Yün, surnamed Chiang, was a descendant of Yen-ti." Fan Hua said in the history of the Hsi Ch'iang in the Hou Han Shu: "The Hsi Ch'iang /western Ch'iang/ derive from San Miao, Chiang being another surname. Their country was located near Nan Yüeh, and when Shun sent into exile the four wicked men, they were sent to San Wei, which is the present Ch'iang country, southwest of the Yellow River pass." According to this, the ancient San Miao were descendants of Yen-ti /Emperor Yen/, whose ruling family was surnamed Chiang, and who were the ancestors of the Hsi Ch'iang.

The ancient state of San Miao, according to old records, had an extensive area. The "Wei Ts'e" section of the Chan Kuo Ts'e says: "Formerly, the San Miao's domain was to the left of the waves of P'eng-li Lake and to the right of the waters of

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*175 Tung-t'ing Lake, to the north of Wen Shan and south of Heng Shan." Han Fei-Tzu says: "The recalcitrant San Miao were to the north of Heng Shan, to the south of the Min River, to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and the right of P'eng-li Lake." Han Shih Wai Chuan says: "At the time of Yao, there were recalcitrant Miao, who were to the north of Heng Shan, to the south of Ch'i Shan, to the left of the waves of Tung-t'ing and to the right of the waters of P'eng-li." Wu Ch'i's biography in the Shih Chi says: "The San Miao clan were to the left of Tung-t'ing and the right of P'eng-li." Again, in the biographies of the Five Emperors: "The San Miao revolted several times at Chiang, Huai, and Ching-chou." Within this extensive region there were probably many indigenous tribes, but the most important, according to old sources, were the Chiu Li. The ruler of the Chiu Li, during the time of Shao Hao, was Ch'ih Yu. (2) During the time of Yao the T'ang period there

2. Explanatory notes to the Shang Shu by Lu Te-ming of the T'ang dynasty, quotes Ma Yung: "Ch'ih Yu was the name of the ruler of Chiu Li at the end of the reign of Shao Hao.

was a Miao Min. Ch'ih Yu and Miao Min were /6/ rulers of Chiu Li at different times. Those they governed were the same Chiu Li. This is quite clear according to the explanations of Ma and Cheng given above. Kuo P'o annotated the entry on San Miao state in "Hai Wai Nan Ching" of Shan Hai Ching as follows: Formerly when Yao abdicated in favor of Shun, the ruler of San Miao objected; whereupon the emperor killed him. The people of Yu Miao rebelled and migrated to Nan Hai." Thus the division between ruler and governed became clearer. It can also be dimly seen that the ruler and the people of San Miao were not of the same tribe /tsu/.

HAINAN AE2
YAO AE6

/6 cont./

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(2) The Ancient Chiu Li Are the Present-day Li

In the foregoing section we have ascertained that the present-day Miao were not the ancient Miao or San Miao, but that the San Miao people were Chiu Li. We shall now ascertain whether the present-day Miao were not the ancient Chiu Li. Recently, Lü Szu-mien theorized that the ancient Chiu Li were the Man of later times, and that the pronunciation of the word "Man" was further changed to Miao. Lü states: "The word Miao derived from the changed pronunciation of man ..... The original name of the present-day Miao was Li." (1) To take

1. Lü Szu-mien: Chung-kuo Min-tsu Shih /A History of the Peoples of China/, p. 195.

"Miao" as "Man" may be explained by the change in pronunciation; but we do not know upon what basis he makes his assertion that the original name of Miao was Li. We know that the Li, Man, and Miao, in the light of present knowledge, are totally different and cannot be considered as one and the same tribe /tsu lei/.

According to ancient records, before the Three Dynasties the geographical distribution of ethnic groups /min tsu/ in south China was as follows: south of the Yangtze River the Chiu Li were the strongest, occupying the area between Tung-t'ing and P'eng-li lakes. West of Ching-chou were the Man, and west of the Man, the Mao. The Man became strong and prosperous during the Ch'un Ch'iu period, gradually migrating southeast, to invade the area between Tung-t'ing and P'eng-li lakes. The Chiu Li retreated south of the Five Mountain Ranges /Wu-ling/ in the territory of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The Mao remained west of the Man, migrating from Hupeh to Szechwan and thence to Kweichow, becoming known as the Miao during the time between the Sung and Yüan dynasties. (To be explained later.)

HAINAN AE2
YAO AE6

/6 cont./

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The native people in Kwangtung before the emigration of the Chinese were the Li /俚/, hence the tribes in Lingnan /another name for Kwangtung/ during the Han and T'ang dynasties were all known as Li /里/. The section "Nan Man Ch'uan /Records of the Southern Man Tribes/" in Hou Han Shu /History of the Later Han Dynasty/ says: "In the twelfth year of Chien Wu /36 A.D./, the Man and the Li /里/ beyond the frontiers of Chiu-chen, submitted voluntarily under the leadership of Chang Yu, who was enfeoffed as the ruler of the Li." The commentary says: "Li /里/ was another name for Man, known today as the Li /俚/ people." Again, during the sixteenth year of Chien Wu /40 A.D./, a woman of Chiao-chih /Cochin China/, Cheng-ts'e, and her younger sister, Cheng-erh, revolted .... the Man and Li /里/ at Chiu-chen, Jih-nan, and Ho-p'u joined them." Chang Hua says in the Pu Wu Chih: "The barbarous tribes at Chiao-chou were called Li-tzu 俚子/." /1/ The section on geography in the Sui Shu says: "The Li /俚/ and the Liao among the 20 or more groups in Lingnan made drums from brass." Again, describing customs at Yang-chou it says: "South of the mountains the Li /俚/ people were straightforward and trustworthy, the Man were brave and independent." The Li /里/ and Li /俚/ referred to above are both the Li /黎/, who were also the Chiu Li of ancient times, the characters used being different but the pronunciation being the same. The "Chiu /nine/" in Chiu Li means "numerous." (1) The Chiu Li migrated from

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1. See page 3 above, the discussion on the "San" of "San Miao."

south of the Yangtze River, across the Five Mountain Ranges through Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and then settled down on present-day Hainan Island. Recent investigators are also of the opinion that the present-day Li on Hainan Island are emigrants

HAINAN AE2
YAO AE6

M /1 cont./
*101 from the continent. They belong to the same race as the Thai
*175 and the Shan, forming one related group with the Chuang-jen
H and the Tu-jen in present-day Kwangsi, the Pai-i and the Nung-
101 jen in Yunnan. They are neither Man nor Miao.
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(3) The Ancient "Man" Are the Present-day Yao and Yü

M From the above investigation we can see that the present-
*101 day Miao are also not the ancient Chiu Li. But Miao and Man
*175 have a phonetic resemblance according not only to Mr. Lü but
Y also Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao by Torii Ryūzō and to the
101 recently published Chung-kuo Min-tsu Shih /History of the People
175 of China/ by Lin Hui-hsiang. (2) The present writers have stated

2. See page 188, Vol. II, Ling's book.

previously that in the light of current materials the two are not of the same tribe. We will now elaborate on this theory.

The name "Man" has both a narrow and a broad meaning. The name Man in its broad sense is identical with Miao in its broad sense. Before the T'ang dynasty the term Man was used most frequently; after the Sung dynasty, the term Miao was used, or else both terms were used interchangeably. In the narrow sense the Man say they are the descendants of P'an Hu, and may be called the P'an Hu tribe, but the modern names are not uniform. Those who are distributed in Hunan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan are the Yao; those in Fukien and Chekiang are the Yü. Only those in northern Tonkin, Indochina /Chinese Annan/, still call themselves "Man"; but they are known to the Chinese as Yao. For instance, the Ta Pan Yao call themselves "Man Coc," (3) the Hsiao Pan Yao, "Man

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3. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional /Ethnography of Northern Tonkin/, pp. 216-17.

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M Tien," (4) the Lan Tien Yao, "Man Lan Tien," (5) etc., etc.

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4. Same, p. 250.

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5. Same, pp. 258-59.

/8/ Before the Three Dynasties the Man lived southwest of Honan. In the "Chao Lei" section of Lü Lan it is stated: "Emperor Yao fought along the banks of the Tan Shui and subdued the Nan Man." Kao Yu annotated: "The Tan Shui is in Nan-yang." By the Chou period the tribe was flourishing and occupied the Yangtze and the Han River reaches, and were known as the Ching Man. In "Shao Ya" of Shih Ching it says: "The Man Ching are stirring to war against our great nation." In the Han period there were the Wu Ling Man at Changsha. At the beginning of the T'ang dynasty the name Man was dropped, and they became known as the Mo Yao. During the Sung period they were called the Man Yao or the Yao Jen /Yao people/. At that time this tribe had crossed the Five Mountain Range and gone south, scattering in the Kwangtung and Kwangsi region. Afterward two branches were formed. The one in the east emigrated from Kwangtung to Fukien and Chekiang and were called the Yü. The western branch went from Kwangsi to the Yunnan-Indochinese border region, retaining their old name of Man up to now. Those who remained in Hunan and Kwangsi are still known as Yao. The writers in the course of their investigations have personally seen that among the Yü in Chekiang, the Yao in Kwangsi, and the Man in the Yunnan-Indochinese border region, in their homes they still make offerings to the ancestral tablet of "The Loyal and Brave King enfeoffed by Kao Hsin" in the same way they believe in

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and serve the P'an Hu totem. (1) When we come to the language

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1. See Ling Shun-sheng: Che Nan Yü Min T'u-t'eng Wen-hua te Yen-chiu /A

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Study of the Totem Culture of the Yü in Southern Chekiang/, Jen-lei Hsüeh Chi K'an /Anthropological Review/, Vol. 1, No. 2.

they speak, except for the Yü, whose language is very closely related to Hakka, the languages of the Yao and Man are more or less alike. That they are of the same tribe is beyond a doubt.

(4) The Present-day Miao Were the Ancient Mao

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The theory that the present-day Miao were the ancient Mao was introduced by Chang Ping-lin. (See previous citation from Chien Lun). But he only said: "The Li, Yu, and other tribes who occupied the upper and lower reaches of the Tsang-K'o River were the Mao, phonetically changed to Miao." Besides this he gives no other evidence. To confuse the Li and Yu with the Miao particularly violates the facts. The name "Mao" appears in the following ancient books. The poem "Chüeh Kung" in the Shih Ching: "Like the Man and like the Mao." The "Mu Shih" section in the Shang Shu: "... and Yung, Shu, Ch'iang, Mao, Wei, Lu, P'eng, and Pu tribes." Kung Ying-ta in the Shang Shu Cheng I says: "That Mao /髦/ and this Mao /旄/ are the same in sound and meaning." The Mao commentary in the Shih Ching says: "The Mao are the barbarian Mao tribe." Cheng's Chien: "Mao, another name for the western barbarians." Again, in the entry for the first year of Ch'eng in the Ch'un Ch'iu: "The royal army was defeated by the Mao Jung." In Kung Yang Ch'uan, Mao Jung /毛戎/ was written Mao Jung /貫戎/. Mao /茅/, Mao /貫/, Mao /髦/ and Mao /旄/ are actually different characters with the same sound. As to their domain in ancient times, the entry for the third year of King Wen's reign in the Tso Ch'uan states: "The Earl of Ch'in invaded Chin, crossing the Yellow River and burning the boats. He took Wang

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Kuan and its vicinity. The people of Chin did not come out. He therefore crossed the river at Mao-chin, honored the dead of Hsiao, and returned." The Shui Ching Chu states: "T'o-shui /River/ flowing in the northwest, passes to the west of Shan-ch'eng, and empties northwesterly into the Yellow River. North of the Yellow River it faces Mao-ch'eng. Mao-ch'eng, which was the ancient Mao-t'ing, Mao Jung region. Kung Yang says: "Chin /晉/ defeated them at Ta-yang, /9/ and the name of the ford was taken from this." Mao-chin is the present-day Ta-yang-tu, situated two li southwest of P'ing-lu Hsien, Shansi. On the opposite bank is Shen Hsien, Honan. From this it is apparent that the territory of the Mao during the Ch'un Ch'iu period was in the present-day region of P'ing-lu Hsien, Shansi, to the north of Shen Hsien, Honan. But according to "Kung Ch'uan" in Shang Shu: "The Mao and Wei are in Pa-Shu /Szechwan/." The Shih Chi Chou Pan Chi Cheng I quoting from the K'uo Ti Chih says: "To the south of Yao-fu was the land of the ancient state of Mao, where Mao-chou was situated." Yao-fu during the T'ang period evidently referred to the governor-general's seat at Yao-chou, located north of modern Yao-an Hsien, Yunnan. The K'uo Ti Chih seems to contain an error. The geographical section of the Hsin T'ang Shu says: "Mao-chou was Yüeh-sui Prefecture of the Han dynasty, which was contiguous in the south with Yao-chou." Thus Mao-chou was to the north of Yao-chou, the Yüeh-sui Prefecture of Han times, which is the present site of Hsi-ch'ang in Szechwan. But, as Pa, Shu, and Yüeh-sui were quite distant from the area of the Mao during the Ch'un Ch'iu period, we may deduce from this the southwesterly migration of the Mao tribe. Probably, after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, on account of the disturbances during the Chan Kuo period and the conflict between Ch'u and Han, the Mao tribe gradually migrated from Chin and Yüeh to Pa and Shu /in present Szechwan/ and from there to Yüeh-sui. The Shih Ching refers to the Man and the Mao, because at that time the territories of the Man and the Mao were contiguous. The Mao were to the west of the Man, hence they

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*101 were known as the western barbarians in the /Mao Shih/ Chien
*175 of Cheng /Hsüan/. From the Chou to the T'ang dynasty the
Y Man tribe flourished, and therefore history only recorced the
[101] Man and not the Mao. "Man" gradually became the general
[175] term for all the aborigines in the southwest. For instance, there are sections on the Nan Man in the Hou Han Shu and the T'ang Shu; Fan Ch'o wrote the Man Shu; and the Sung Shih only contains a section on the Man I /Man barbarians/. The name "Mao" was covered up by the name "Man," and disappeared for more than a thousand years. Some thought that the Mao had emigrated from Yüeh-sui to what is now Kweichow. Since Kweichow was the latest to be developed among the Chinese provinces, it possesses few literary records, and the name "Mao" does not appear in them. By the Sung and Yüan dynasties, Kweichow had been gradually opened up, and for this reason the long-time Mao /髦/ inhabitants of Kweichow reappeared as Mao /猫/ /also pronounced Miao/ to the world through a phonetic change. (1) The preface by Yeh Ch'ien for

1. The tenth volume of Man Shu by Fan Ch'o in the T'ang period refers to "The Miao of the four cities of Ch'ien, Ching, Pa, and Hsia," but the "Miao" here is not used in the narrow sense.

Y the book Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao by Chu Fu in the Sung period
[101] says:
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"The Man of Wu-ch'i all belong to the P'an Hu tribe. Their villages are separate, and their names also differ. Yüan is their old territory; living within its boundaries at present are five groups: the Mao /猫/, the Yao, the Liao, the Chuang, and the Ch'i Lao. Their customs and habits are more or less similar."

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*101 *175 Yeh Ch'ien did not know the route of migration of the Mao, and therefore said that Yüan was their old territory. In fact the Mao at Yüan had emigrated from Kweichow. The word Mao 貓 / was written Mao /猫 / in the biography of the Emperor Shih Tsu in the Yüan Shih. In the first lunar month of the twenty-ninth year of Chih Yüan /1292/ it was noted: "Following the request of Sung Tzu-hsien, the Commissioner for the Pacification of the Ko Man, an imperial edict was issued to the Mao Man of P'ing-fa, Ta-weng-yen, Tzu-chiang, T'an-ch'i, and Chiu-Pao, who had not yet submitted to the government." /10/ Again, in the second month: "Wo Lo-szu received the submission of the Sheng Mao of Sang-chou." But in the biographies of Emperor T'ai Ting and Wen Tsung the character "Miao" was used. The second month of the second year of T'ai Ting /1325/ it is recorded: "On the twenty-ninth day the chieftain of the P'ing Fa Miao, named Te Niang, surrendered with a hundred thousand families." Again, in the second month of the third year of Chih Shun /1332/ during the reign of Wen Tsung: "On the first day of the month the Miao and Man of Pa-fan came and paid tribute." Coming to the Ming dynasty, which continued, as had the Yüan dynasty, to conduct campaigns in Kweichow, there are many more references to the Miao. In Volume 110 of the Ta Ming Hui Tien there is the term "Miao tribes." In Volume 88 of the Ta Ming I T'ung Chih in the section on the office of the Kweichow provincial governor, there are all kinds of references to the Miao tribe. For instance in the entry for T'ung-jen-fu: "The Miao people are aggressive and contemptuous of life, carrying swords and weapons all the time"; for Yung-ning-chou: "There are five kinds of barbarians with dissimilar customs, the Chung Chia, the Lo Kuei, the Ch'i Lao, the Miao, and the Lung Chia"; for the P'ing-Yüeh Commandery: "The thickly forested wasteland of the Miao and Man." During the Ch'ing Dynasty Miao disturbances continued unabated. The meaning of the term Miao emerged from the narrow to a broader sense. Miao and Man became the general terms for tribal peoples in

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*101 the southwest. As Wei Yüan says: "Those tribes that do not
*175 have chiefs and have no political jurisdiction over each other are the Miao; those whose chiefs occupied a definite territory are the Man. For instance, the Chuang and the Li of Kwangtung, the Yao of Hunan and Kweichow, the P'o and the Sheng Fan of Szechwan, the Lo and the Yeh Jen of Yunnan — all are without chiefs and do not rule over each other. Are they Miao?" (1) Wei Yüan's reference to the Miao is Miao in the

[113] 1. Wei Yüan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 7, on the Record of Migration of the I in the southwest during the reign of Yung Cheng. According to Ch'ing Shih Kao, Tu Szu Ch'uan, the term Miao includes the Chuang, Li, Yao, Lolo, Sheng Fan, Yeh Jen, etc., as Wei Yüan would have it.

broad sense used in this book.

*101 Today's pure Miao, or Miao in the narrow sense, call themselves "[mu]." The following are the results of investigations of Chinese and European scholars:

(1) H. Parker: "The Miao tribe is known as Hmung." (2)

[113] 2. H. Parker: Up the Yang-tse, p. 272.

(2) Paul Vial: "The Miao in Kweichow are known in the Miao language as Hmong and are divided into several branches: the Kan Miao (Hmong Sha), the Hei Miao (Hmong-tlo), the Hua Miao (Hmong-dou), and the Pai Miao (Hmong-bea), etc.(3)

[113] 3. P. Vial, Les Lolos, p. 35-36.

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*101 (3) Torii Ryūzō: "The Ch'ing-yen Hua Miao (mu), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of An-shun (mún), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of Mi-lùh (mún), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of Wu-ting (Amón), the Ch'ing Miao in the vicinity of Ch'ing-yen (mon), the /11/ Pai Miao in the vicinity of Ch'ing-yen (mōn), the Hei Miao in the vicinity of Shih-p'ing (Háw), the Ta T'ieh Miao at Ting-fan (ⁿHun)." (1)

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1. Torii, Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (National Translation Bureau's translation), p. 16.

(4) Lunet de Lajonquière: "The Miao in the northern section of Tonkin, Indochina, consists of the Pai Miao, the Hei Miao, the Hung Miao, the Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, the Han Miao, the Kao-shan Miao, and the P'ing-ti Miao. They called themselves "mung" or "h'mung." (2)

[113]

2. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-301.

(5) In the course of their investigations at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the writers noted that the Han Miao called themselves [muŋ sua], the Hei Miao, [muŋ tʂero], the Hua Miao, [muŋ dzu], the Ch'ing Miao, [muŋ ɕi]. Moreover, the Hung Miao in western Hunan called themselves [ɕioŋ].

Considering all the self-designations of the Miao themselves as recorded by various authorities, except for Háw and ⁿHun, [ɕioŋ], (Torii believes that Háw and ⁿHun derive from mun and mon. The present writers are of the opinion that they are more likely a derivation from [ɕioŋ]. The meaning of [ɕioŋ] will be given below.) The majority are [muŋ] or close
*[175] to [muŋ]. The Mao [illegible] and Mao [illegible] of ancient times,

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*101 *175 according to previous quotations from the Shang Shu and Mao Shih, have the same sound and meaning. According to the Chi Yün, Mao /髦/ and Mao /髦/ are pronounced mou. But according to Kwang Yün, Cheng-Yün, Mao is pronounced mung. According to the Chi Yün, Yün-hui, it is meng, which is fairly close to [muŋ]. [Muŋ] is actually the transformation of Mao /髦/ or Mao /髦/ in sound. During the period between the Sung and the Yüan dynasties this tribe who called themselves [muŋ] and were long-time inhabitants of Kweichow gradually came into close contact with the Chinese. Not knowing that they were the Mao /髦/ or Mao /髦/ of ancient times and because they called themselves something which sounded like Mao /猫/ or /貓/ /"cat"/, the Chinese quickly gave them this name by way of contempt. Some mistook the people who called themselves [muŋ] to be descendants of the San Miao of ancient times, and called them "Miao /苗/." The character Mao /猫/ used in the citation from Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao given above, and the Mao /猫/ or Miao /苗/ in the Yüan Shih are due to the same reason. Since the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties people have incorrectly inferred that the Miao of ancient times are identical with the present-day Miao, and so the characters Mao /猫/ or /貓/ are no longer used. The name Miao /苗/ has thus become established.

(5) The Hung Miao Call Themselves "Kuo Hsiung" [koˋ ɕioŋˇ]
A Tentative Explanation.

/12/ In the chapter on Miao customs in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Yen Ju-yü says: "The Miao are called Kuo Hsiung." In the course of their investigations in western Hunan the authors found that the Miao called themselves [koˋ ɕioŋˇ], which is similar to the name recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan but different from the [muŋ] given above as the self-designation of many Miao. For this reason the writers entertain

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*101 the thought that the people who call themselves [ɕioŋ˨˩] and
*175 those who call themselves [muŋ˧] are not of the same origin. Or even if they are of the same origin, there must have been two different names adopted in ancient times. The Hung Miao call themselves [ko˨˩ ɕioŋ˨˩]. [ko˨˩] is a prefix and [ɕioŋ˨˩] the name proper. But another meaning of [ko˨˩ ɕioŋ˨˩] is "bamboo tube." (1) For this reason the writers suspect that there is a

1. A magic instrument used by Miao sorcerers, see Illus. 65.

relation between [ɕioŋ˨˩] and the Bamboo King /Chu Wang/.
*101 The story of the Bamboo King was reported earliest in "Nan
*175 Chung Chih" of Hua-yang Kuo chih by Ch'ang Ch'ü in the
173 Chin period. The story is as follows: "The Bamboo King arose in the Tun-shui region. A girl was bathing in the river when a large bamboo with three nodes flowed in between her legs. She pushed it away, but the bamboo refused to move. Suddenly she heard a child crying inside. She took the bamboo home and broke it open and found a baby boy, who grew up to be a talented and brave man, and led the barbarians. He took "Chu" /bamboo/ as his surname, and threw away the broken bamboo in the wilderness, where it grew into a bamboo grove, which is the present-day bamboo grove of the Temple of the Bamboo King. The King went one day with his followers to a great rock, where he asked for soup. His followers replied that there was no water; whereupon he hit the rock with a double-edged sword. Water gushed forth, forming the present-day Bamboo King River. The broken rock still remains....Emperor Wu-ti made T'ang Meng a military commander to annex the Tsang-kou region. Valuable gifts were given to various tribal kings who submitted to the Emperor. The Bamboo King was executed. Tsang-kou was made a prefecture, and Wu Pa the prefect. The prefectures of Yüeh-hsi, Chu-t'i, and I-chou were also established. After-

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*101 ward, the I and P'u tribes came to the city and complained
*175 that their Bamboo King had not been born of blood and flesh
173 and asked that a family line be set up. Pa enfeoffed his third
[776] son as a marquis. At his death he was included in the sacrifice to his father's ancestors. At present he is worshipped as the spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King." The Hou han Shu also gives an account of this story in the Hsi Nan I Ch'uan /History of the Barbarians in the Southwest/: "Yeh Lang was first found by a girl bathing in the Tun-Shui River. A large bamboo with three nodes flowed between her legs. She heard someone crying inside and when she broke open the bamboo, she found a baby boy. She brought him home and reared him. When he grew up into a talented and brave man, he established himself as the Marquis Yeh Lang and took Chu /bamboo/ as his surname. In the sixth year of Yüan Ting /III/ Emperor Wu-ti subjugated the southern barbarians and established Tsang-kou prefecture. The Marquis Yeh Lang surrendered. The Emperor issued the official seal to him, and later executed him. The I and the Liao tribes believing that the Bamboo King had not been born from flesh and blood and greatly respecting him, asked that a line of descendants be set up. The prefect of Tsang-kou, Wu Pa, reported this to the Emperor, who enfeoffed his /Bamboo King's/ son as a marquis. At his death, he was
[776] included in the sacrifice to his father. He is the spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King as worshiped today in Yeh-lang Hsien." The account recorded in the Hou Han Shu is based
*101 upon the Hua-yang Kuo Chih but the two stories differ slightly.
*175 The latter mentions the Bamboo King as leading the barbarians, but the former says that he made himself Marquis Yeh Lang. Yeh Lang, according to the Chih, surrendered to Ch'u during the last days of the Chou Dynasty. Nan Chung Chih says: /13/ "Toward the close of the Chou dynasty Hui Wang of Ch'u (Ch'ing Hsiang Wang according to Hou Han Shu) despatched General Chuang Ch'iao (Hao according to Hou Han Shu) up the Yüan-shui River to Ch'ieh-lang in order to subjugate Yeh Lang,

/13 cont./

*101 to set up at Tsang-kou and attack his boats. Thus Ch'ieh-lang
*175 was conquered; Yeh Lang surrendered. But Ch'in had taken Ch'u's territory in Kweichow, and the route of retreat was cut. So Chuang Ch'iao remained at Tien-ch'ih Lake as king. He was a Miao descendant of Chuang Wang of Ch'u. Because the boats were attacked in Tsang-kou, Ch'ien-lang was named the state of Tsang-kou. The various lineages were enfeoffed and lasted for several hundred years. When Ch'in absorbed Shu, the road was widened and officials were appointed to administer it. When the Han dynasty rose, they no longer submitted." From this we may be sure that the state of Yeh Lang existed in Kweichow toward the end of the Chou dynasty. Afterward, although it surrendered to Ch'u, it still remained as one of the dukedoms in the state of Tsang-kou, lasting for several hundred years more. When Ch'u was conquered by Ch'in, it still owed allegiance to the latter. After the rise of the Han dynasty, it became separated from China. The reference in Hou Han Shu to the Bamboo King setting himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang must have some foundation. From this it may be inferred that the Bamboo King could be the state of Yeh Lang /sic/ or a descendant of its people.

The ancient state of Yeh Lang was located in southern Szechwan. Ying Chao is cited under Chien-wei prefecture in the geographical section of the Han Shu: "The ancient state of Yeh Lang." Probably, toward the close of the Chou dynasty the state moved from Chien-wei to Kweichow and then was conquered by Ch'u. The route of its migration was almost similar to that of the Mao who came from Yüeh-hsi to Kweichow. The descendants of Yeh Lang and the Bamboo King and those of the Mao, having lived together for a long time became similar in many respects. Therefore, the growing number of Chinese in contact with them called them all Miao, regardless whether they were the self-designated [mun], the descendants of the Mao, or the people who called themselves [ciog], the descendants of the Bamboo King. But they did have a separate

/13 cont./

*101 name for the people who wore red belts, whom they called the
*175 Hung /"red"/ Miao. (1)

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1. Yen Ju-yü in Miao Fang-pei Lan Feng-su K'ao /A Study of Miao Customs/ says: "Those who wear red belts are the Hung Miao." According to Torii Ryūzō in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao: Those who wear red clothes are the Hung Miao. Actually the present-day Hung Miao in western Hunan no longer wear red clothes nor red belts. Previously they might have had this custom, but today it is no longer practical.

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*175 The spirit most venerated by the Hung Miao today is Pai
776 Ti T'ien Wang, who also is one of three brothers. According to the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih /Annals of Lu-ch'i Hsien/: "The boy found in the bamboo as recorded in the story of the southwest barbarians in Hou Han Shu grew up to be the Marquis Yeh Lang and was killed by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. His three sons were all respected by the southern barbarians, and among them the third was the bravest. Posterity regarded the Bamboo King, since he was not born of flesh and blood, as a spirit
[778] and built a temple in his honor. Today, the idol, San Lang, worshiped in the temples, has the fiercest appearance and is held most in awe by the Miao. It must be the spirit of the third son. The Yung-sui T'ing Chih also says: "Large T'ien Wang
[342] /heavenly king/ temples are found in all localities, of which the one at Ch'ao-shui-ch'i is the oldest. This is the Ch'ao-shui-c'hi of Wei-ch'eng. The present-day Ch'ao-shui-ch'i has

/13 cont/

*175 no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in
776 Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the
[346] Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in
/14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without basis.

*101 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and
*175 meaning of [ko] qion], a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/ CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

131 Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density
[161] of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the
173 center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas
167 all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the
*[101] Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

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1. Ting, Wen-chiang: "Man Yu San Chi" /Miscellaneous Notes on a Rambling Trip/," Fu Li P'ing Lun /Independent Review/, No. 8.

*[101] according to the Englishman, S.R. Clarke, who came to the conclusion after 20 years of investigation in Kweichow, the indigenous peoples of Kweichow are the Ch'i Lao not the Miao, the latter having immigrated from elsewhere. (2) As a result

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2. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, p. 13.

of his study of Miao migration legends, the Frenchman, F.M. Savina, concluded that when the Miao first arrived in China they lived in Honan, whence they emigrated to Kweichow, next to Szechwan, Yunnan, Tonkin, and to Laos. (3) This

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3. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao /Miao Stories/, p. 247.

corresponds roughly to the above-mentioned theory that the Mao tribe emigrated from Shansi to Honan, then to Szechwan, to Yüeh-hsi, and to Kweichow, except that Mr. Savina has the order of Szechwan and Kweichow reversed. This is more *[101] evidence that the present-day Miao are not the ancient San Miao, as the location of the ancient San Miao was between Tung-t'ing and Peng-li lakes, which are not mentioned in the Miao legends.

The trend of Miao migration since the time of recorded history has been as stated above. As to their moves in the

/15 cont./

173 prehistoric period, F.M. Savina states in his Histoires des Miao
167 that the Miao must have been in the Arctic region on the basis of legends still prevalent among the Miao today. According to the legends, the Miao forefathers had lived in the opposite region of the earth, where the winter was very long and in a year there were six months of daylight and another six months of darkness, where the water was always frozen and the earth was covered with snow, where vegetation was small and sparse and human beings were short and small and wore skin and fur clothes. (4) Savina moreover advanced the hypothesis that the

4. Same as above, pp. 115-19.

Miao's place of origin was the area between the Pamir highland and the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. (5) Based upon the

5. Same as above.

above-stated references to Honan, the Artic, and the Iranian Plateau, /16/ Savina concluded that the Miao came from Mesopotamia, moved eastward until stopped by the Pamir highlands, and were diverted therefrom northeastward through Turkestan and along the western ranges of the Ural Mountains to the Polar region above 60 degrees north latitude, and then veered southeastward through Siberia, Mongolia, and Shensi, reaching Honan at last. (1) This theory, being based purely

1. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao, pp. 115-19.

upon oral legends of the Miao, is not based on sufficient evidence. If these legends came in from another tribe, then this theory is completely invalidated. At most we can only consider it a hypothesis.

2:Ling & Ruey--29 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
SW. China AF16

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We may divide the present distribution of the Miao tribe into seven areas, namely, Kweichow, Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, Yunnan, Indochina /Yüeh/, and Burma, as follows:

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Kweichow. — There are 82 subgroups of the Miao in Kweichow, according to Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo. (2) But among

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2. Ch'ien Miao T'u-Shuo /Pictures of the Miao in Kweichow with Explanatory Text/ compiled by Chen Hao, a sub-prefect in charge of Miao affairs at Pa Fan, according to Ch'ing Chi /Kweichow Record/ by Li Tsung-fang of the Ch'ing period. The woodcut edition is rare, but there are many hand-copied, hand-drawn editions under various names. There are 82 subgroups according to what is recorded by the Japanese, Torii Ryūzō, in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (see Chapter II); and given in the Englishman E.C. Bridgman's Translation of Sketches of the Miao-tsze, Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. III, pp. 1-26; and George W. Clarke's Translation of a Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chow Miao-tzu, Appendix of Archibald R. Colquhoun's Across Chryse, Vol. II, pp. 363-94. There are two sets in the archives of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, one

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2:Ling & Ruey--30 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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containing only 8[illegible] pictures, and the other with pictures, but no text, of 82 subgroups. The following are the 82 names according to these two sets and the records of Torii Ryūzō: He Lolo, Nü Kuan, Pe Lolo, Sung Chia, Ts'ai Chia, Ch'ia /K'a/ Yu Chung Chia, Pu Lung Chung Chia, Tseng Ch'u Lung Chia, Kou Erh Lung Chia, Ma Teng Lung Ta T'ou Lung Chia, Hua Miao, Hung Miao, Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, He Miao, Tung Miao, Hsi Miao, Yao Miao, Nung Miao, Ta Ya Ch'i Lao, Chien T'ou Ch'i Lao, Chu Shih Ch'i Lao, Hung Ch'i Lao, Hua Ch'i Lao, Shui Ch'i Lao, Kuo Ch'üan Ch'i Lao, P'ei P'ao Ch'i Lao, Mu Lao, Ch'i Chuang, P'o /?/ Jen, T'u Jen, Man Jen, Shan T'ung Jen, Yao Jen, Yang Pao, Yang Kuang, Chiu Ku Miao, Pa Fan Miao, Tzu Chiang Miao, Yang Tung Lo, Han Miao, K'e Meng Ku Yang Miao, Tung Miao, Ch'ien Miao, Ling Chia Miao, Tung Chia Miao, Shui Chia Miao, Liu E Tzu, Pe E Tzu, Jan Chia Man, Chiu Ming Chiu Hsing Miao, Yeh T'ou Miao, Tung Tsai Miao, Pa Chai Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Miao, Lou Chü Miao, He Shui Miao, He Sheng Miao, Kao P'o

2:Ling & Ruey--31 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
SW China AF16

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Miao, P'ing Fa Miao, He Chung Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Chung Chia, He Min Tzu, Pe Tou Tzu, Pe Lung Chia, Pe Chung Chia, T'u Ch'i Lao, Ya Ch'üeh Miao, Hu Lu Miao, Hung Chou Miao, Hsi Ch'i Miao, Ch'e Chai Miao, Sheng Miao, He Chüeh Miao, He Lou Miao, Tuan Ch'ün Miao, Chien Ting Miao, Lang Tz'u Miao, Lo Han Miao, Liu Tung I Jen, Ch'ing Chung Chia, and Ku Lin Miao.

them, /17/ many of different names belong to the same group. Furthermore, as the non-Chinese tribes in Kweichow in general are called Miao, there is also a difference between the broad and the narrow senses of the term. In the narrow sense the term Miao refers to the real Miao tribe. There has been very little scientific study made of the tribes in Kweichow, and there are insufficient data to make an accurate classification of them. According to S.R. Clarke, they may be classified into four main tribes according to their languages, namely, the Ch'i Lao, the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia. (1) The Ch'i

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1. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, pp. 1-15.

Lao has been hitherto regarded as a subgroup of the pure Miao, but according to Terrien de Lacouperie's view, the Ch'i Lao are the remnants of the Ka Lun (Karen) in Burma, because of the similarity in language and in grammar between them. (2)

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2. Terrien de Lacouperie, The Cradle of the Shan Race, p. 48.

/17 cont./

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However, using language as a basis, Lowis maintains that the Karen are the predecessors of the Shan tribe (Pre-Shan). (3)

3. C.C. Lowis, The Tribes of Burma, p. 16.

The writers have used the 76 words of the Ch'i Lao language as recorded by S.R. Clarke to make a comparison with the languages of the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia, and have found a 40 per cent similarity between the Ch'i Lao and the Chung Chia languages.. However, the two tribes have lived together for a long time, mutually assimilating each other, so that we cannot assume on the basis of the partial similarity in languages that they are of the same origin. We know that although the list of names of the peoples of southwest China is long, they may be divided into four groups: the Miao-Yao, the Tibeto-Burman, the Thai-Shan, and the Mon-Khmer. The tribes in Kweichow cannot fall outside these four groups. The Miao belong to the Miao-Yao group, the Chung Chia to the Thai-Shan group, the Lolo to the Tibeto-Burman group. Whether the Ch'i Lao belong to the Miao-Yao or to the Thai-Shan group remains an unsettled question for lack of sufficient data. The Ch'i Lao were the earliest tribe to reside in Kweichow and might be called the natives. They covered a rather extensive area. The Kweichow T'ung Chih says: "There are many kinds of Ch'i Lao, found everywhere." But they have repeatedly been assimilated by other tribes in later times, and their population now is very small. The migration of the Miao tribes into Kweichow probably began before the Ch'in and Han periods. They came out of Szechwan and first arrived in the northeast of Kweichow, gradually moving southeastward. The Miao in Kweichow sometimes also call themselves the aborigines, but when the Ch'i Lao and the Miao are found together in the same locality, the latter are considered to be "guests" and the former the "hosts." The Lolo migrated to northwestern Kweichow

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M *101 C 563 from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution M *101 131 C 563 of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M 167 648 C 563 167 Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

SW China AF16
Central China AF14

/18 cont./

M 167 [648] C 563 167 directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The

M *101 C 563 foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M *101 [131] [167] CC 563 Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao,

M [162] having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, M [131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came [301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as [556] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they [527] hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came [462] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such [782] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and [769] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with [262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until [263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

Central China AF14

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

[291] (9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[302] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[782] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[769] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
SC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[48] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

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*101 /20 cont./
CC in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[577] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[577] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805 sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782 ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755 with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787 and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527 and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
[534 (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167 Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
M Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
648 and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
175 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
CC calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
175 Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
563 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
669 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts, and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/ to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble, and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563 (19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[342 ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167 mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782 reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648 p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

Central China AF14

M 782 CC 563 M [167] *[101]

/21 cont./

(20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him. They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox, the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns, and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off the four legs of the ox and carry them home. The rest of the guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

M [292] M [574]

2:Ling & Ruey--41 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

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[769]

/22 cont./

(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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[167]

From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

Central China AF14
South China AF17
SW China AF16

/22 cont./

M #101 CC 563

In western Hunan, besides the Miao of the three sub-prefectures there are Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning, and Ch'eng-pu hsiens. There are Yao in Hsü-p'u, Ch'ien-yang, Wu-kang, Tao-hsien, and Yung-ming hsiens. There are T'u Jen in Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Ku-chang, and Lung-shan hsiens, /23/ and Ch'i Lao in Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng hsiens. In recent times the non-Chinese people in west Hunan have been regarded as Miao, but actually only the Hung Miao in the three sub-prefecture and the Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien and T'ung-tao hsiens are pure Miao. Others like the Yao in such hsiens as Hsü-p'u and Ch'ien-yang are different from the Miao; the Ch'i Lao at Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng are the same people as the Ch'i Lao of Kweichow. The language of the Tu Jen of such hsiens as Yung-shun and Pao-ching belongs to the Thai-Shan language group with Tibeto-Burman influence. They may be remnants of the Liao people of ancient times. (1) All of them are not Miao.

M [113]

1. Terrien de Lacouperie: The Languages of China before the Chinese, p. 149.

M #101 SoC 563

Kwangsi. — The Miao in Kwangsi are generally distributed over the areas bordering Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces, in the following 16 hsiens: Ling-yün, Pe-se, Tung-lan, Szu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Szu-en, I-pe, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lin, and Chen-pien. The Miao in Kwangsi for the most part are recent immigrants, and those on the Kwangsi and Yunnan border are still more recent. They are called by many names but broadly belong to the Pe Miao, Hua Miao, and He Miao.

M [167]

M #101 SwC 563

Szechwan. — The Miao are also found along the Szechwan-Kweichow border. There are many Hung Miao in the southeastern corner of Szechwan and also in an area between Szechwan, Hunan, and Kweichow, including such hsiens as Yu-yang and

/23 cont./

M *101 SWC 563 Hsiu-shan. There are Pe Miao and Hua Miao in Kao-hsien, Kung-hsien, Hsing-wen, Ch'ang-ning, and Yün-lien in southern Szechwan. The number of Pe Miao is larger than that of the Hua Miao, and therefore this area is known as the Pe Miao area. Traces of the Miao are also found along the two banks of the Ya-lung-chiang River in the vicinity of Mien-ning-hsien.

Yunnan. — The area of distribution of the Miao in Yunnan is very extensive, because Yunnan is a larger province than Kweichow and its soil is more fertile. Although up to the M [167] present the number of Miao in Yunnan is not very large, their immigration into the province is continuing. Many Pe Miao and Hua Miao are found in northeastern Yunnan in such hsiens as Wei-hsin, Chen-yung, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Ta-kuan, I-liang, and Yung-shan. They are similar to the Miao in southern Szechwan in language and customs, although located in a different province. The Hua Miao entered Yunnan from M [167] western Kweichow, and their distribution is widespread, from Ch'ü-ching in the east through Sung-ming, Fu-min, Wu-ting, and Yen-hsing to Yang-pi, Yung-p'ing, Meng-hua, etc. hsiens; then across the Lan-tsang River from Meng-hua to Shun-ning, and westward to the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. Today, the British area of Ma-li-pa at Kuo-kan-hsien also have Miao villages. The Pe Miao and Hua Miao are scattered in such hsiens as Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Ch'iu-pe, A-mi, Hsi-ch'ou, Ma-kuan, /24/ Wen-shan, Meng-tzu, P'ing-pien, Chin-ho, etc. in the southeastern part of Yunnan.

M *101 I 563 M [167] Indo-China. — Having migrated from Kweichow to Yunnan the Miao continued to move southward to the northern part of Tonkin, Indochina, to such regions as Kao-p'ing, Hai-chiang, and Lao-chieh in the area adjacent to Yunnan, reaching the border of T'ai-yüan province in the south, which is where they end. Further south is the plain of Tonkin, without hilly country to which to move and with a climate which does not suit the Miao people. The Miao in Tonkin are principally Pe Miao, but Ch'ing Miao and Hua Miao are also to be found.

(1) 1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

2:Ling & Ruey--44 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Burma AP1

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1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

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Burma. — Having stopped at the Tonkin plains, the migratory trend of the Miao turned westward through Lao-chua /Laos/ (2) to such places as Meng-hsin and Ching-tung in the territory

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2. G. Ayme: Monographie du Ve Territoire Militaire /Monograph on the Ve Military Territory/, pp. 59-60.

under the Nan-shan headmen in Burma, but also stopped on the east bank of the 'Nu-chiang River. (3) But their number is not

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3. J. Jeorge Scott: Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Part I, Vol. 1, pp. 296-299.

large, and only a few villages are inhabited largely by Pe Miao. (4)

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4. C.C. Lowis: The Tribes of Burma, p. 40.

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The foregoing is a general survey of the present geographical distribution of the Miao. It reveals two obvious characteristics: 1) the regional distribution is very widespread, and 2) the vertical distribution is very high.

Regional distribution. — What is called regional may also be called plane distribution that is to say: a people's area and directions of distribution, and an explanation of the reasons for this. (5) The present extent of Miao distribution on four

*101 131 [113]

/24 cont./

5. Ling Shun-sheng:
Yunnan Min Tsu te Ti Li Fen Pu /The Geographical Distribution of the Peoples of Yunnan/, pp. 11-14.

sides is as follows: in the east it reaches west of Kwei-chiang River; in the west it stops on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River; in the north it ends at the north bank of the Ya-lung-chiang River at the territory under the Mu-li headman; in the south it reaches the hilly country above the confluence of the Hung-ho and Li-sien-chiang rivers. This area is the most extensive occupied by any one of the peoples of the southwest. *101 131 167 The migration of the Miao in recent times, due to the repeated disturbances in Kweichow, has reached eastward only to the west of the Yüan-chiang River, and northward to the south bank of the Yangtze River. Since further on in their two directions the terrain becomes less hilly and is more densely populated, there is no land for the Miao to move into. Even if there were land available, the damp, hot climate would be unsuitable for them to live in. The spread of the Miao southeastward was along the Nan Ling mountains /25/ and stopped west of the Kwei-chiang River. Their movement westward met no obstacles because Yunnan, Tonkin, and Laos are all spacious and thinly populated, and now they have reached the east bank of the Nu-chiang. The emigration of the Miao is the latest among the movements of the peoples of the southwest. Yunnan and Indochina, although spacious and thinly populated as stated, have their arable areas in the mountains already occupied by the Lolo and other hill people. When the Miao arrived last they could not find extensive hilly country for living together as a tribe, and were forced to scatter, each to find his own way. Furthermore, being refugees from political turmoil, they lacked organization and definite destinations. In general, depending on hilly areas where they could settle down, they moved farther and farther, and thus their area became increasingly extensive.

/25 cont./

*101 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution
131 refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China,
133 for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep
167 valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various
361 directions are greatly limited by their past geographical environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the m mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, ac-
133 cording to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d. — ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p48e - "]

/26 cont./

133 Mountain ranges. — The most important mountain is the La-erh Shan. The section "Hsien Yao K'ao /Strategic Posts/" in Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "The Great La-erh Shan is situated 70 li to the west of the city (Feng-huang) and is more than ten li high. The mountain appears enormous, astride the two provinces of Hupeh and Kweichow. In the east Ya-yu, Hiang-shang /pronounced K'ang-shang in the north/, in the south Li-lin and Yu-ni, in the west K'ang-chin and Hsiu-nao, and in the north Hu-lu and Kan-tzu-yao, are all branches of this [361] mountain, spreading over an area of more than a hundred li, where there are many Miao villages. Hence, old chronicles ofter refer to the defeat of the Miao in Hupeh and Kweichow as being in the La-erh Shan." The La-erh Shan begins at Cheng-ta-ying, Kweichow, from where it extends irregularly to the middle of the Miao area, where a fault occurred, forming a plateau. This plateau is dotted with Miao villages, [361] whose inhabitants defend themselves by taking advantage of the favorable terrain. It has always been known as the den of the [101] Sheng Miao /"the uncivilized Miao," i.e. those who have not been brought under Chinese administration/.

Rivers. — The main courses of the Yüan, the Yu, and the Ch'en rivers flow only along the borders of the Miao frontier region. The most important rivers within this area are all tributaries of these three rivers, the largest of which is the Wu Ch'i, a tributary of the Yüan Chiang, and also known as the T'ung Ho. This branch extends deep into the Miao area and has three sources: the Wu-ch'ao Ho (Illus. 4) in the west, the Wan-yung Chiang in the middle, and the Kao-yen Ho (Illus. 5) in the north. The Wu-ch'ao Ho rises at Hsiao-t'ien-hsing-chai /village/ in Feng-huang, and flows westward to where the Niang-shui-t'o, and the Lung-chüeh-t'ung tributaries joint it. Further westward it passes Ta-hsin-chai and flows around Shang-hsia-yüan-hou-chai, veering southward to where the Ma-chung and the Hsiao-feng-huang-ying tributaries joint it from the east. It then flows southeastward, passing through Ma-ching-t'an and around Sheng-hua-shao to where the T'i

1, 2 [See cat. 116, p49- ANALYST]

/26 cont./

133 Ch'i and the Pe-yen Chiang tributaries flow from the northwest to join it. Further east it flows around Feng-huang-hsien city, becoming known as the T'o Chiang. (Illus. 18)[1] Again, it flows east to the east side of the city where the Hsin-ti Ch'i tributary flows from the west and joins it. Then it flows northeastward to Lui-kungt'ung where the Wan-ken Ch'i tributary flows from the north to join it. Further, it flows northeastward to Ch'i-k'ou where it receives the Hsiao-ch'i Shui. Further northeastward it flows to Mao-chou, entering Lu Ch'i, to Hsia-Lao-Hu-K'ou, where it is joined by the Tz'u and Chung tributaries at Chiang-chün-yen. Further northeast it empties into the Wan-yung Chiang at Ho-ch'i. Rising at Ta-t'ien-hsing-chai, the Wan-yung Chiang flows south around Yen-k'ou-hsin to /Illus. 1-5 are between pp. 26 and 28/ /28/ Mu-li-hsin, then veers east to receive the Hsi-men Chiang tributary at Lao-p'o-t'an. It flows northeastward again around San-hio-yen, passing through Lung-kun-ying to Kan-tzu-shao, where the streams from the Ch'üeh-ju-chai area flow from the southeast to join it. Then it flows northeast to Kan-ch'eng, where the Wu Ch'i tributary flows from the east to join it. From then on it is called the Wu Ch'i. Further east it receives the Ya Ch'i tributary at Ya Ch'i. Still further east at Chang-p'ai it merges with the Kao-yen Ho. The Kao-yen Ho rises from Ta-hsiao-lung-t'ung (Illus. 6) at Yung-sui, merging with the Ch'ao Shui, the Lao-chai, and the Huang-t'u, and flowing to Kao-yen, where it becomes navigable by small craft. It flows eastward to Hsiao-ch'ung where it is joined by the Hsiao-ch'ung Ch'i. Then eastward it passes through Wei-che where it is joined by the P'ing-lang Ch'i from the south. Still flowing east /Illus. 6 appears here/ /29/ it is joined by the Lü T'ung and other rivers from the south at Ch'i-t'ou-hsin. Further east it receives the Chen Ch'i and the Hsin-chai Ch'i rivers at Chen-ch'i-so. Southeastward it merges with the Wu Ch'i tributary at Chang-p'ai-chai, and over ten li further to the southeast it joins the T'o Chiang at Ch'i-k'ou, becoming known there as the T'ung Ho. It flows eastward to Nan-mu-ch'iao, where it receives the Nan Mu Ch'i from the north. Continuing east it receives the

1 [See cat. 116, p72 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p50 - "]

[text continues on p50]

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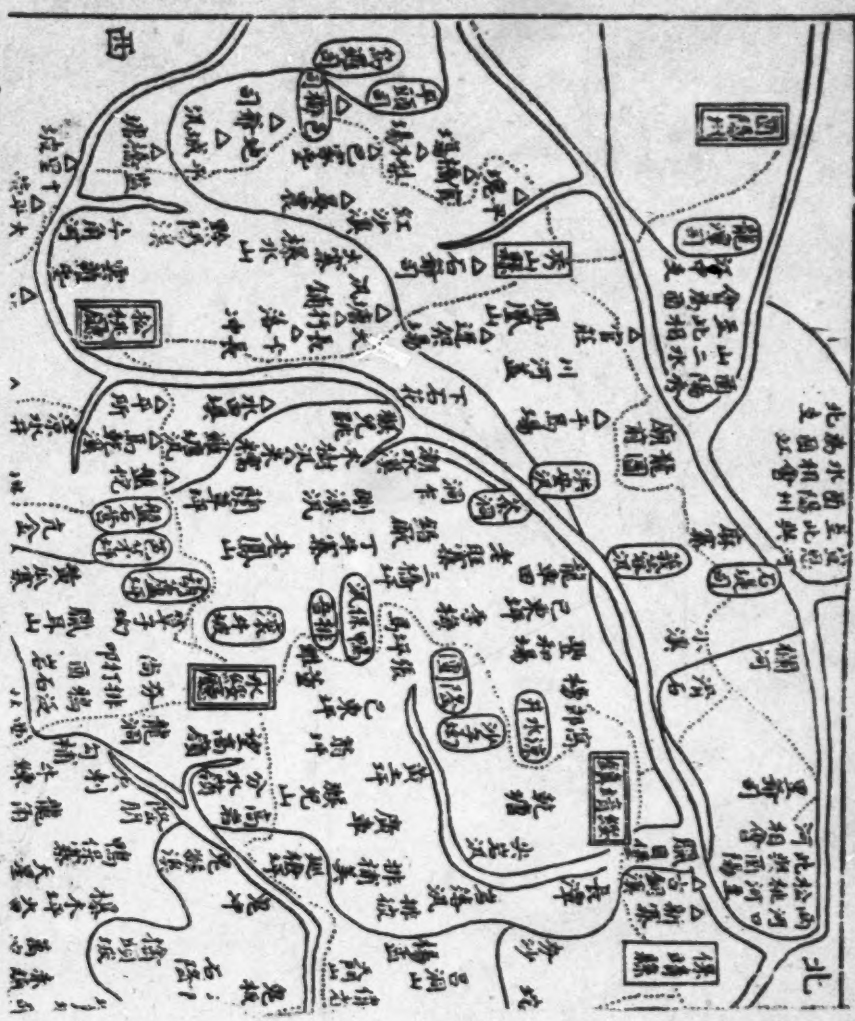

Upper left

Illus. 1. Full Map of the Miao Frontier (according to Miao Fang-pei Lan by Yen Ju-yü)

Lower left

西
南
桂林
桂平
桂平縣
桂平縣城
桂平縣城
桂平縣城

Upper right

苗疆全圖
鎮府廳州城
用回縣城用
口營汛堡壘
用○塘卡用
△
北
東
長州府
乾州廳
鳳凰廳
保靖縣
永綏廳
瀘溪縣
龍山縣
永順府
辰陽駅
船溪駅
鳳凰
會溪
羅依溪
高望寨
茅坪
蓮花池
小面山
烏巡汛
清水坪
張長坪
寫灣
無橋山
歐溪
六保
上保
湖
能灘
沅溪
此水即酉江為酉水之一
此水即武溪為武水之一
此水即沅江之一
高竹溪
岩湾
下茅界
中茅界
上茅界
上強坡
杜家寨
居住山
司馬溪
潭溪
杜旗
大營
川岡
五坨
河溪
大塘
漢口
紫金
皮兒
大莊
小莊
張牌
獅塘
西門
馬路口
龍潭坪
新寨
古仗坪
上百戶
下百戶
把布
紀金
涼水坪
御水坪
關草坪
龍鼻寨
上營
下營
鎮
所溪
湾
溪
鳳凰
長潭
尖岩溪
乾塘
分沙
岩縫汛
排坡
排柳美
廣車
鬼沖
鬼板
平陸
石陵
鬼猴溪
鴨保寨
天屋
龍角
高岩
陰朋
獅兒山
三寨坪
火麻宮
地良坳
赤蘇
萬山
橋頭坡
曬金塘
獅子坪
猛虎哨
寨陽
木林溪
平郎
新建
呂洞山
楊孟
傳者
翁山
然
約
汛
胡蘆
溪
乳岩
魚塘
楠谷莊
苗樓閣
白家尚
王家灣
排沙
洗溪汛
民京營
張家營
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2:Ling & Ruey--48d E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

M 2:Ling & Ruey--48e E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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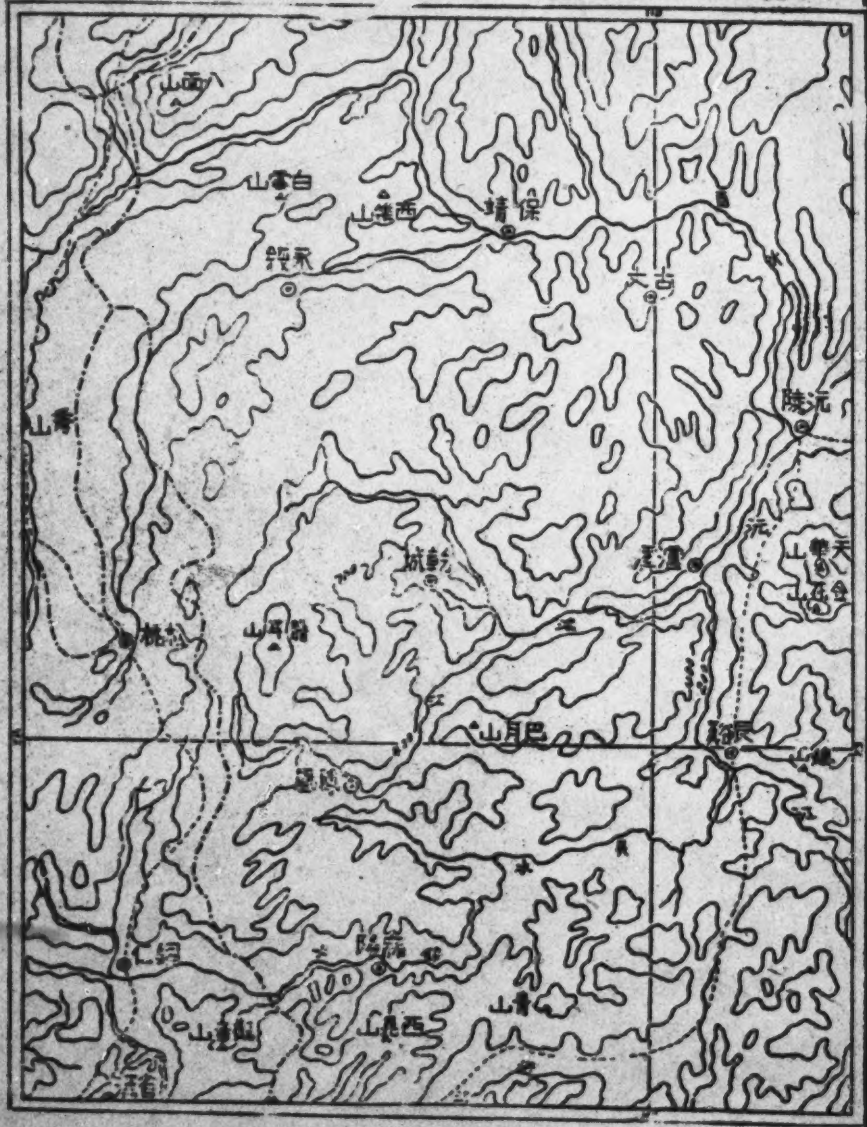

Illus. 2. Sketch Map of the Topography of the Miao Frontier

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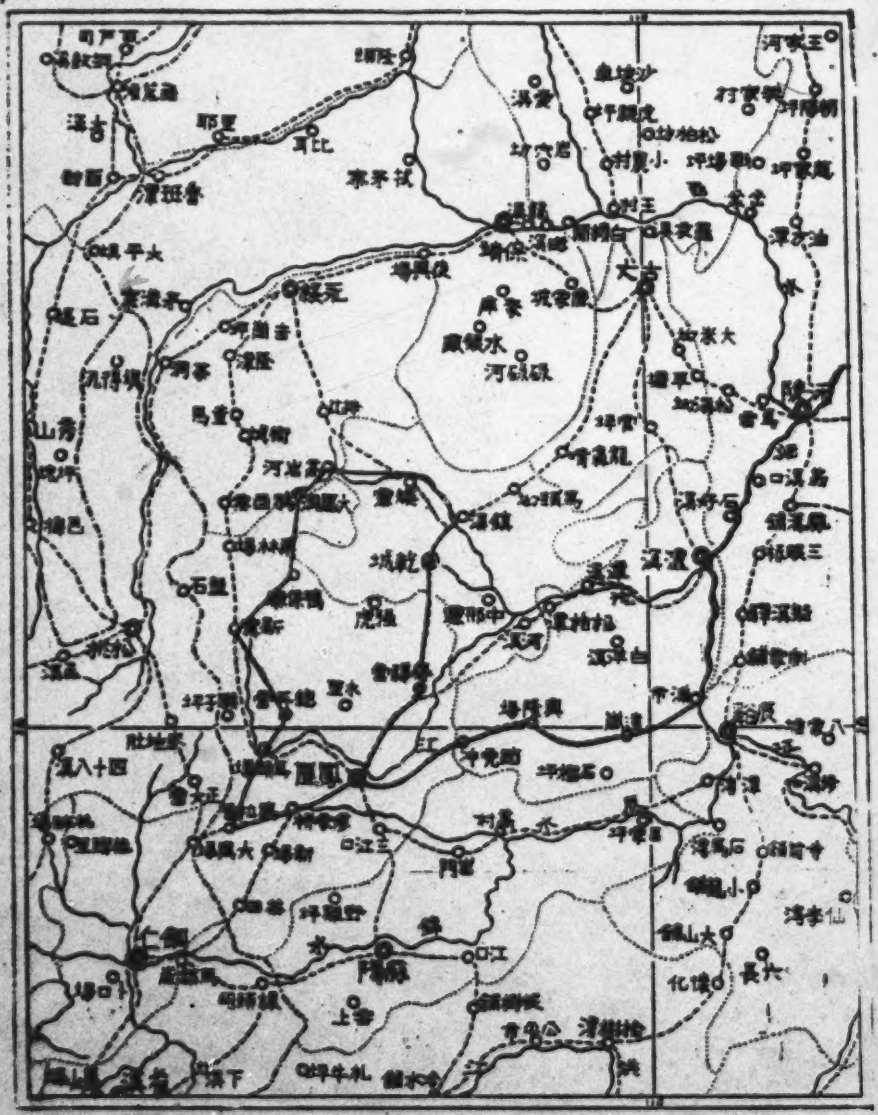

Provincial Boundary ····· Hsien Boundary ---- Highways
Lines of the Investigation

Scale 1: 500,000

Illus. 3. Map of the Lines of the Investigation in the Miao Frontier

133 /121/

Illus. 4. Wu-ch'ao Ho River at Ta-shu-p'o, Feng-huang. (The steep bank on the left shore is the La-erh tableland.)

Illus. 5. Kao-yen Ho, a source of the T'ung Ho River.

/29 cont./

133 Szu-ma Ch'i from the south at Szu-ma-ch'i-k'ou. Further east it receives the T'an Ch'i from the north at T'an-ch'i-k'ou. Continuing east it reaches Nung-t'an, where it is joined by the Wan Shui, which rises in the Pa-tou Shan mountains and flows around Szu-tu and Wu-tu, reaching Mao P'ing to join with the Ma-wang Ch'i

Illus. 6. Ta-lung-t'ung waterfall, a source of the T'ung Ho River. (180 kung ch'ih.)

/29 cont./

133 and the Sang Ch'i from the southeast. Again flowing eastward it receives the Hsi Ch'i from the north at Hsi-ch'i-pao. Flowing still further east it receives the Su-mu Ch'i tributary at Su-mu-ch'i-k'ou. Further east it empties into the Yüan Chiang at Lu-ch'i-ch'eng.

Next in importance is the tributary of Yu Chiang, the Sung-t'ao Ho, which encircles the northwest of the Miao area. This waterway has two sources: one rises to the southwest of P'ing-t'ou-szu in Kweichow, flowing north of T'ai-p'ing-Ying, where it turns northeastward; the other rises in the northwest of P'ing-t'ou-szu, flowing eastward from the west and merging with the southern branch and continuing east. After receiving the waters of the San-pu-kuan, it passes through Yün-lo-t'un and is joined by the Chang-kuei Ch'i and the Ma-kan Ch'i tributaries at Sung-t'ao-ch'eng. Crossing Kao-p'ing /plain?/ it enters the Yung-sui region and receives the Mi-no C'hi tributary at Mi-no. Flowing north it is joined by the waters of the Mu-shu Ho at Mu-shu-hsin. Further north it receives the Ch'ao-shui Ch'i at Ch'ao-shui ch'i-t'ang Continuing north it reaches La-erh Pao, where it is joined by the Ta-mao Ch'i, which combines the waters of the Kang Ch'i, the Lao-mu Ch'i, the Lung-t'uan Ch'i, the I-ch'i Ch'i, and the Kai Ch'i flowing from the northeast. Flowing northeast it enters the Yung Ching region, reaching Ku-t'ung-hsin, where the Ku-t'ung Ch'i tributary joins it. Further northeast it reaches Hsi-ho-k'ou and empties into the Yu Chiang.

A very important river in the southern part of the Miao area is the Hao-lo Ch'i, a tributary of the Ch'en Chiang. This river rises among the Miao villages /chai/ at Yen-yao, Kweichow, and flowing south then east it reaches the Shuang-p'en Ch'i, which joins it. Further east it flows to Liao-chia-ch'iao and Lao T'ien-p'ing, where several streams of Lao-t'ien-p'ing join it. Still eastward it flows to Mi-yen-ts'un /village/, where the Mi-yen Ch'i flows from the west to join it. Turning northeast it flows to Shuang Chiang K'ou, where the Shui-t'ien Ch'i joins it from the north. Further east it

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai (Illus. 7),[1] [433] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has [241] several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 114, p55 - ANALYST]

2:Ling & Ruey--53 E-5 (1933) 1947 _AE5 Miao AE5
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133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used
M for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft,
[487] thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese have migrated here.
M
131 The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by
648 the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from
C the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li
712 reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administra-
648 tive Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers,
563 Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some 40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi (1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the northwest regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided
M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8)[1] some 300 years ago. The
131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line
648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

[1] [see cat. 116, pp48e and 56a - ANALYST]

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
148 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
[161] limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[167] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated, with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore, whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7 on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely without reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land, and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. — Due to the lack of meteorological records the
[114] climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The authors kept such records along the way during their travels, but they are the data of only a short period and do not represent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two points within a short distance could be quite different. For instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade, but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13 at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270 kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region. On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparently on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals cannot see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

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Illus. 7. Ya-pao-chai in a small basin on the La-erh-shan plateau (855 kung ch'ih above sea level).

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2:Ling & Ruey--56 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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a ts'un. Excessive rain continues throughout the spring and summer for weeks and months, rendering the place muddy and difficult for travel. As soon as the rains let up, the steaming atmosphere penetrates the bones. The spring water flowing from rocky mountain hollows is very cool and upsets the stomach when drunk. The climate is so bad that outsiders living there are liable to become sick. This is what Ma Fu-po said: "Alas, Wu Ch'i is full of poison." In autumn and winter the frost and snow fall early, the distant hollows and lonely peaks being piled with accumulated snows for many months without melting. Often hailstorms pelt the land and icicles hang from the eaves to the ground as big as pillars. To go in and out of a house the Miao have to break open the ice with sticks. If one goes up six li it is especially extreme. Even the birds run away from the cold weather. Since the area has been developed and the Miao civilized, there have been less rainy weather, fewer freezes, and birds have come back to nestle in the trees." This quotation gives some general ideas about the climate of the Miao area. But today, the Miao area, having been developed for a long time, has no more jungle, and although the climate remains the same, the geographical environment has been greatly changed. The former malaria-ridden wilderness has become thickly populated areas.

M [312]

Settlements. — The distribution and types of Miao settlements vary according to the topography and ethnic group. The Chinese generally live in a ch'eng /city/, a pao /fort/, a t'un or in the neighborhood of a stone guard house. The city is /Illus. 8 faces p. 33/ /33/ larger than the pao and the t'un smaller than the pao. So the important Chinese settlements are the paos and t'uns. Paos and t'uns are more numerous in the Miao area than in any other region. The origin of their construction is referred to in Miao Fang-pei Lan in the Ch'eng Pao P'ien /Section on Cities and Forts/ as follows: "According to the Feng-huang subprefecture's negotiations for improvements and memorial to the throne to repair the paos, Te-sheng-ying /Victory Barracks/ (Illus. 9) and Liao-chia-ch'iao /Liao-chia Bridge/, the defense commissioner

C 712 [621] [361]

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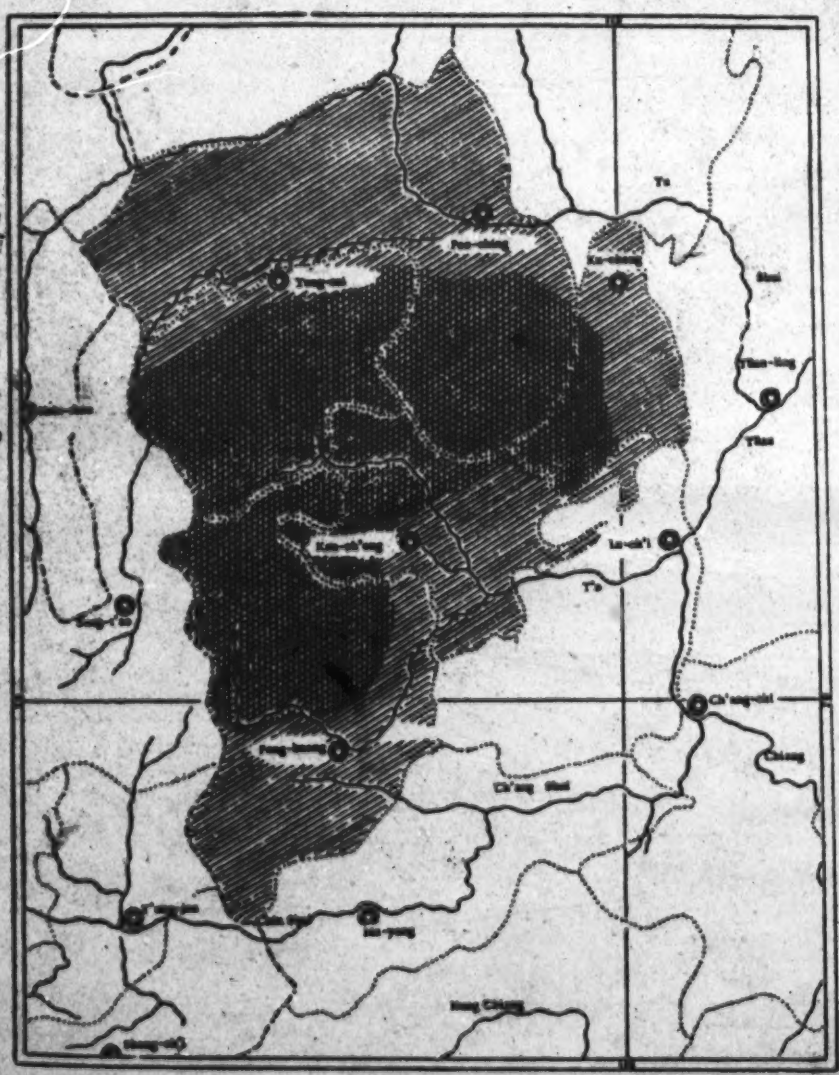

Illustration 6. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Feng-huang, Yen-ch'i'ang, Tung-ch'i, Fan-ching, and Ch'ang.

/33 cont./

712 /ping pei tao/ Ch'eng-ning issued orders to all villages in the Miao area to build civilian paos. At that time, although the refugees in the two sub-prefectures of Kan-ch'eng and Feng-huang were resettled, there were still recalcitrant Miao remaining behind in isolated villages. Whereupon the sub-prefect, Fu Nai, organized and trained a local militia to drive them out. When an area was cleared, a t'un was built and the men were given weapons to hold it. At strategic points guard houses

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Illus. 9. Stone pao of Te-sheng-ying, Feng-huang.

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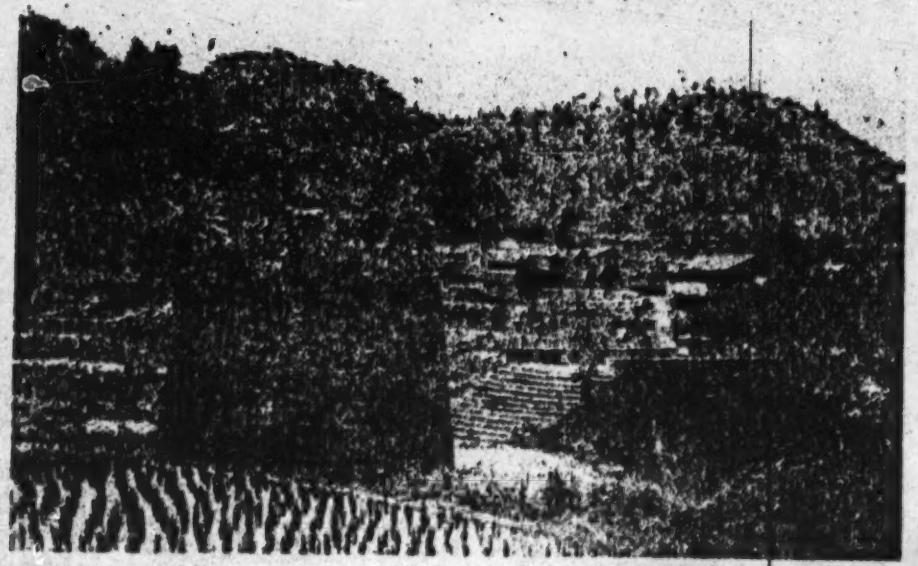

Illus. 10. Stone house /tiao/ near Te-sheng-ying.

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C 712 were built for defense. At such places as Huang-lo-chai and Shui-ta-t'ien in the sub-prefecture large paos were erected. In thinly populated and topographically restricted areas, t'uns were built, which communicated with each other for mutual defense. A t'un is built according to the requirements of the place, varying from several chang to more than ten chang in width, and from ten to 30 chang in length. The foundation of a t'un is laid with two or three ch'ih of rough stones, on which are added two layers of bricks about four or five ch'ih in height; and then the crenulated wall with apertures for observation and firing guns is put. Each t'un accommodates a few dozen men. Animals and grains are also sheltered in it." There C 36 712 are two kinds of paos, the stone and the earth paos. A small pao is oval in shape, a street runs through the center, bordered by residential dwellings, with two pao gates at the two ends of the street. A big pao is round in shape with three or four pao gates (Illus. 9), and the streets within are often in the shape of a cross.

C [342] Besides the paos and the t'uns in the Miao area there are many stone houses /tiao/. Formerly in the areas around these stone houses t'un soldiers were posted to keep watch. Today, such areas have become little settlements, as in Illus. 10. These are villages near the stone houses. The Chinese also settled at important communication points leading to bridges. C [491] [443] They even built houses on bridges, forming bridge streets, such as shown in Illus. 11. Some markets also have appeared at ferry points along the rivers. Chinese settlements are distributed mostly along communication lines and garrison points so that in case of alarm they can come to each other's aid.

M 36 [712] [363] The Miao settlement is called "chai" (Illus. 12, 13), built generally against a mountainside or along a river, without any uniform appearance. The chai wall is made of earth or stone slabs, and there is no definite number of gates. The streets of a chai zigzag up and down, with tiny alleys on both sides. In each alley there are a few families. The alleys are

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M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais

M [487] are not located along lines of communication but in the deep mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates,

M [137] pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area (Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-

M 353 778 177 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

see [text continues on p 63]

[1] [Cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p65- "]

2:Ling & Ruey--61 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao
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Illus. 11. The bridge street of San-kung-ch'iao Bridge in Feng-huang (the bridge is over Wan-yung Chiang River).

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Illus. 12. Lao-tung, Feng-huang, that is, the Miao chai of Hsia-ma-tung.

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Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

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[778] Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
782 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
769 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen
354 stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:
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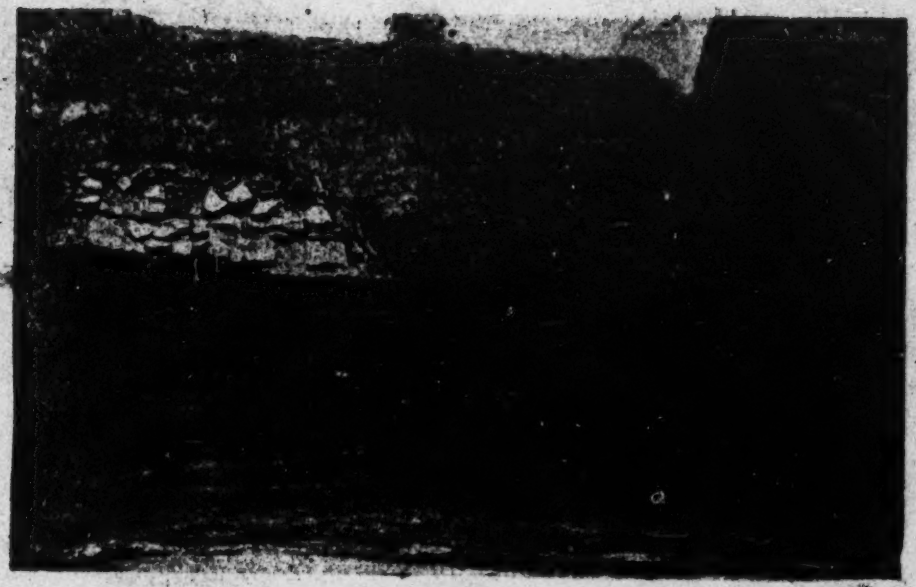

Illus. 14. A Mao house, with sun-dried brick walls and a roof of bark, slate, and thatch.

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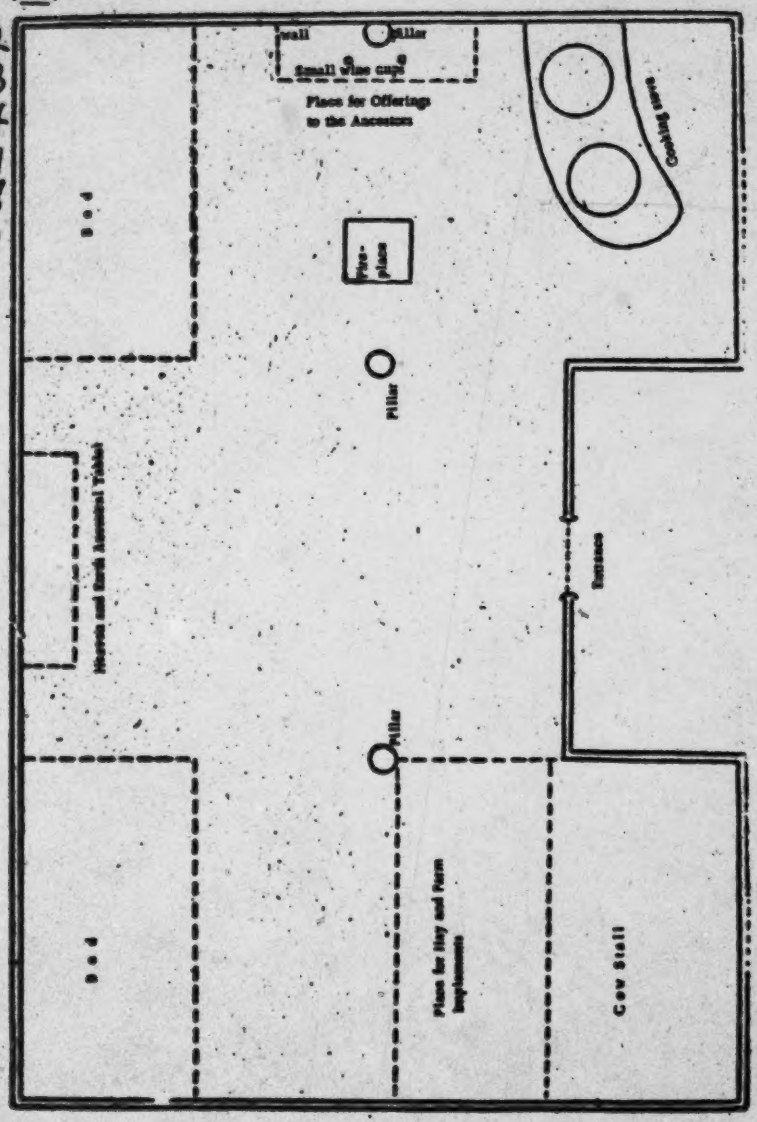

Illustration 15. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lang family among the Miao

M 353 /41 cont./ Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[784] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
514 for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
M 251 Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[413] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
M 241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

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li to Ta-pi-liu, another ten li to Ch'e-ch'i, and 30 more li to Ho Ch'i. From the mouth of the river to Ho Ch'i, some 130 li, the waterway is known as the Wu Ch'i River. Above Ho Ch'i it divides into two branches, south and north: the northern branch, known as the Wan-yung Chiang, runs ten li to Chang-p'ai-chai, where it again divides into two more branches, one flowing westward as the Wan-yung Chiang proper, passing through Ta-chuang and Hsiao-chuang for 50 li to Kan-ch'eng. The other branch, which flows northwestward, is known as Kao-yen Ho, and goes 15 li to Chen-ch'i-so, 15 li to Hsien-chen-ying, ten li to Chen-ning-ying, 20 li to P'ing-lang, five li to Wei-che, eight li to Hsün-chien-p'ing, 20 li to Kao-yen-hsin. The branch flowing south of Ho Ch'i, known as the T'o Chiang, flows through Ch'i-k'ou, Chiang-chün-yen, and Mao Chou to Lao-hu-k'ou for about 60 li, and then passing Lao-hu-k'ou it flows from Mu-lung-ti Chiang to Feng-huang for another 70 li.

The parts of the T'ung Ho navigable by small craft are: the Wu Ch'i, 113 li; the Wan-yung Chiang, 60 li; /Illus. 16, 17 on pp. 42, 43/ /44/ the Kao-yen Ho, 93 li; and the T'o Chiang, 130 li; totaling 296 li in all. These river courses are difficult to navigate and are not passable all year round. Miao Fang-pei Lan in the section on roads and waterways says: "This river (the T'ung Ho) has precipitous cliffs standing up like daggers, strange rocks clustering like a forest of spears, and rioting cataracts. Through slight negligence a boat can be crushed into pieces. It dries up in autumn and winter, causing difficulty in transportation. It is only in summer when mountain streams rush down from the Miao villages, that small craft may ply here and there. However, the cliffs and rocks become more dangerous as the water rises. Once a sandbank is reached, a day is often spent in lifting the boat across to deep water. The difficulty of crossing such banks is twice as much as in other rivers."

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The Ch'en Chiang waterway starts from the city of Ch'en-ch'i-hsien and joins the Lo-hao Ch'i /tributary/ at Kao-ts'un

[text continues on p.70]

2:Ling & Ruey--68 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 16. Interior arrangement of a Miao house of the two-room type with three pillars and four frames.

2:Ling & Ruey--69 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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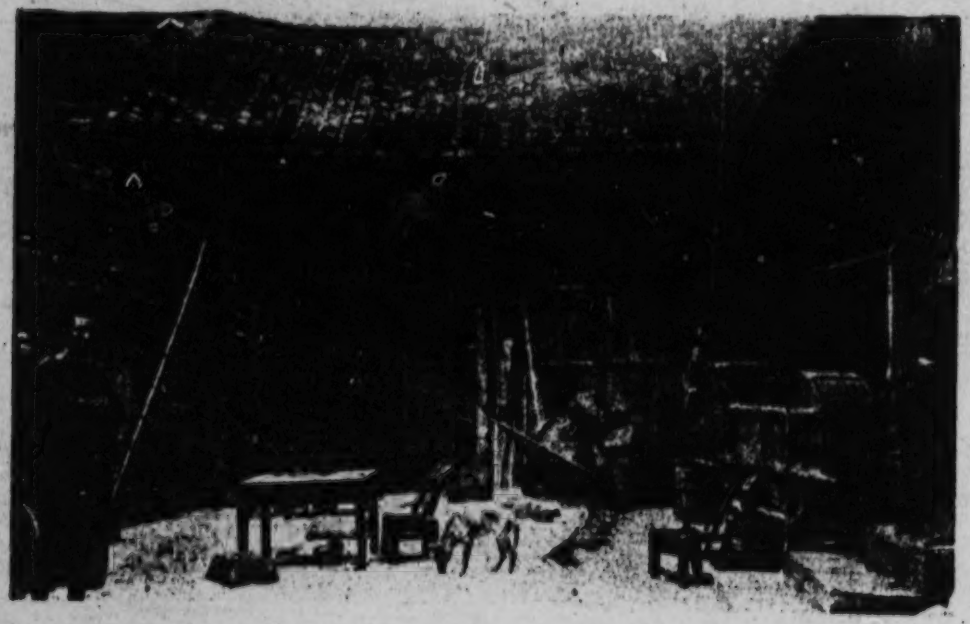

Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

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about 97 li away. When the water rises in the summer, the river is navigable by small crafts to Yen-men and Shin-yang-shao. The total cargo weight of a boat cannot exceed a few shih, and the boat has to be towed or lifted by boatmen wading through the sand and rocks. Although the distance is short, the voyage is very strenuous.

The 270 li of the Yu Chiang from Yüan-ling to Pao-ching is navigable by small craft, carrying cargo not over several shih in weight, and covering only about a dozen li per day. From Pao-ching the river empties into the Sung-t'ao Ho, and when the water rises in the summer, light boats can go as far as Hua-yüan and Mi-no at Yung-sui, and may even be able to reach the city of Sung-t'ao.

The boat used in the Miao area generally measures nine kung ch'ih in length, divided into seven holds, the middle hold being the widest, about one kung ch'ih in width (Illus. 18, 19). The oar, the paddle, the pole, the mast, and other attachments of the boat are not different from those seen elsewhere, except that at the bow there is a long paddle about six kung ch'ih long, which is used for coming down the sandbanks. Traveling upstream offers the greatest difficulty. Every time a sandbank is crossed, the boat has to be poled, lifted, towed, or pushed by several dozen men. Their chanting is as loud as the angry waves.

From the middle of the Ming period up to the beginning of the Ch'ing period, soldiers were sent into the Miao area. The most important duty of the military garrisons was to keep the communication lines open for troops and food supplies. So the construction of roads and bridges in the area appears monumental. There are four kinds of land routes: the main road connecting Yunnan with Kweichow is the official road; the roads connecting the various military posts are military roads; the roads traversed by the Chinese people are civilian roads; and the small winding paths leading to Miao settlements are Miao roads. Taking Feng-huang as the center, the official road leads

/44 cont./

C 491 M [487] to Ch'en-chou, Mo-yang, and Chih-chiang; the military roads lead to Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, and T'ung-jen; the civilian roads lead to P'u-shih and Kan-ch'eng; and the Miao roads are on both sides of the military routes, threading out in all directions so numerous that they defy enumeration. The official and the military roads are all paved with stone slabs (Illus. 20), requiring considerable construction work. The civilian roads were not constructed in a uniform way, those passing prosperous areas being much better than others. The Miao paths generally M [487] follow the contours of the mountains and require very little human labor. As to the means of transportation, travelers /Illustrations 18-26 occur on pp. 45-52/ /53/ generally ride horses C M [492] or ride in sedan chairs (Illus. 21), while cargo is carried by [493] carriers on their backs.

[482] Bridges. — The bridge in the Miao area involve considerable construction work. On important communication roads, they generally built three or five-arch bridges (Illus. 11), C [485] on which were built houses for hotels and restaurants for the convenience of travelers. Places where a river is wide and shallow are spanned by long bridges (Illus. 22, 23). Places where a river is wide and deep are crossed by rope bridges (Illus. 24). In small streams which are narrow and have sandbanks they sat up stone steps, customarily called "ho shui ch'iao /"bridge enclosing the water"/ (Illus. 25), or they build small bridges (Illus. 26) over them.

2:Ling & Ruey--72 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Illus. 18. Dragon-boat-festival boat race on the T'o Chiang River outside Feng-huang city.

2:Ling & Ruey--73 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Illus. 19. A small boat navigating the Kao-yen River.

2:Ling & Ruey--74 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao
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Central China AF14
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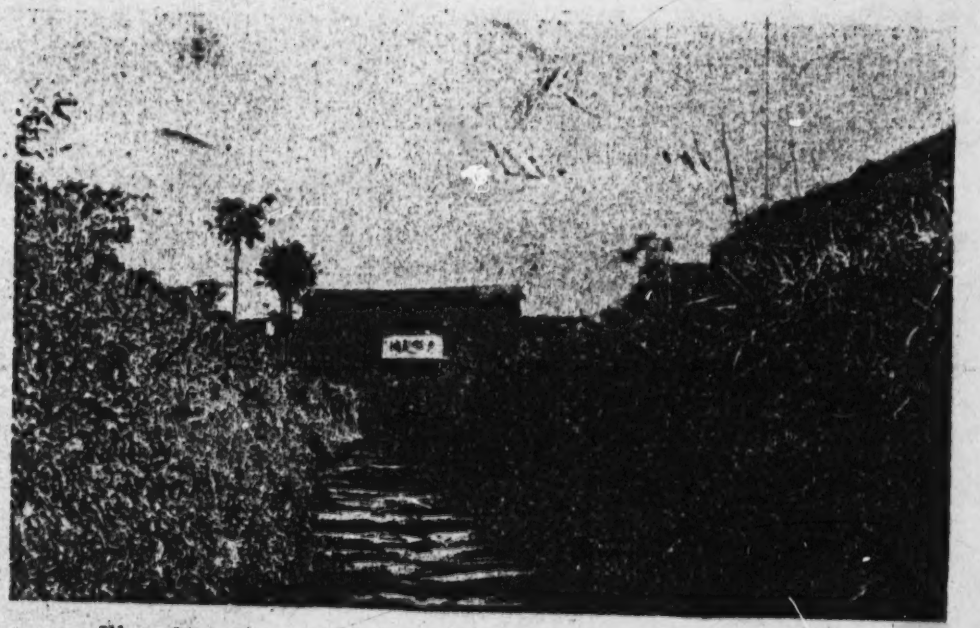

Illus. 20. The rock-slab main road at Ching-pien-kuang, Feng-huang.

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Illus. 21. Sedan chairs with smooth poles /N/ used by the Miao for travel.

2:Ling & Ruey--76 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao
149/ central China AF14
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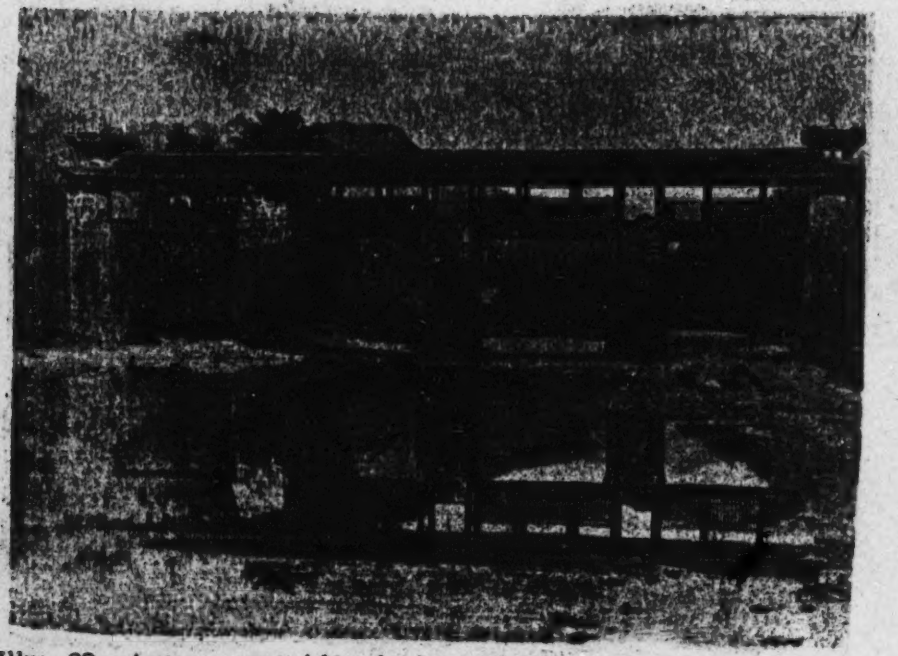

Illus. 22. A stone-stepped long bridge in the Miao area.

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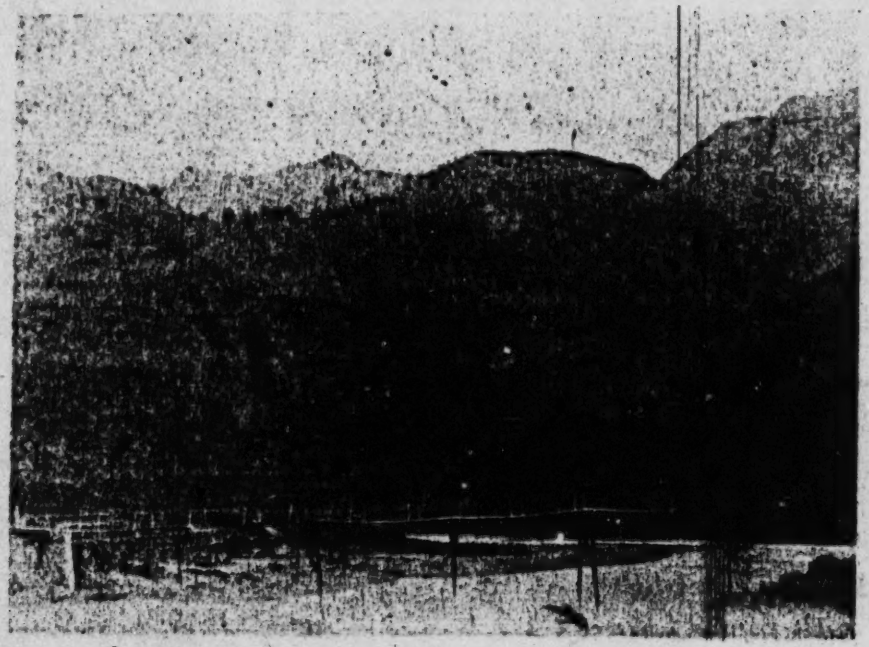

Illus. 23. A wood-framework long bridge in the Miao area.

2:Ling & Ruey--78 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao
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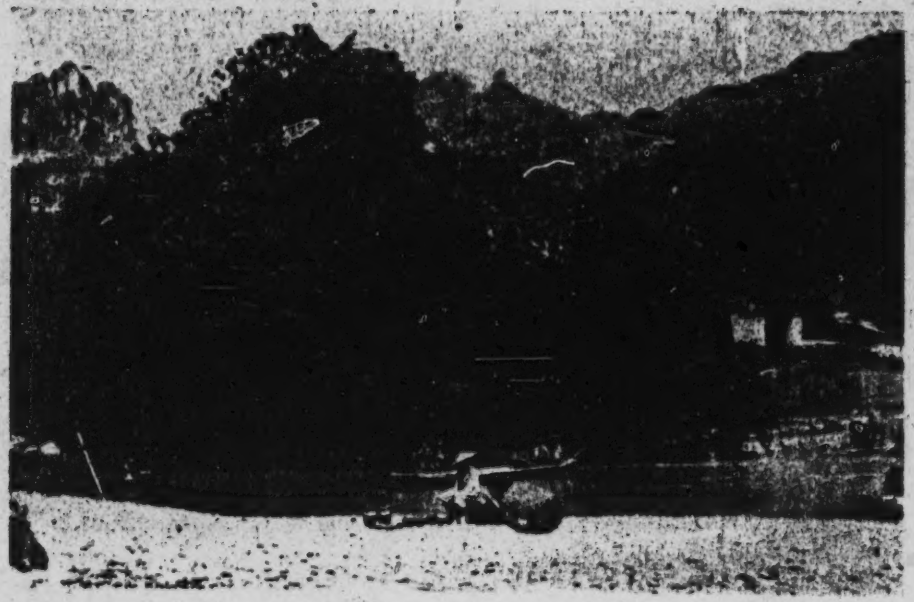

Illus. 24. Rope bridge, Ta-hsin-chai, Kan-ch'eng.

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Illus. 26. Single arch bridge, Ta-ma-p'o, Feng-huang.

Illus. 26. Stone-stepped Ho-shui-ch'iao Bridge, in Feng-huang district.

[493]

2:Ling & Ruey--80 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts. Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

114 177 [439]

Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/: "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

241 [114]

/54 cont./

241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer
[133] refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[243] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buck-
[221] wheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley. The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the harvesting in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
[221] which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are found in small number only in the small basins in the mountains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30) are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

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/55 cont./

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1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I, 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

[171]

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao area involve considerable labor. On a slope where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up in tiers, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

[332]
[333]

[731]
[784]

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

2:Ling & Ruey--84 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 27. Wet rice fields in Ya-pao-chai, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--85 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 28. Terraced fields near Lao-tung-chai, Feng-huang.

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Illus. 29. Terraced fields near Ta-lung-tung, Yung-sui.

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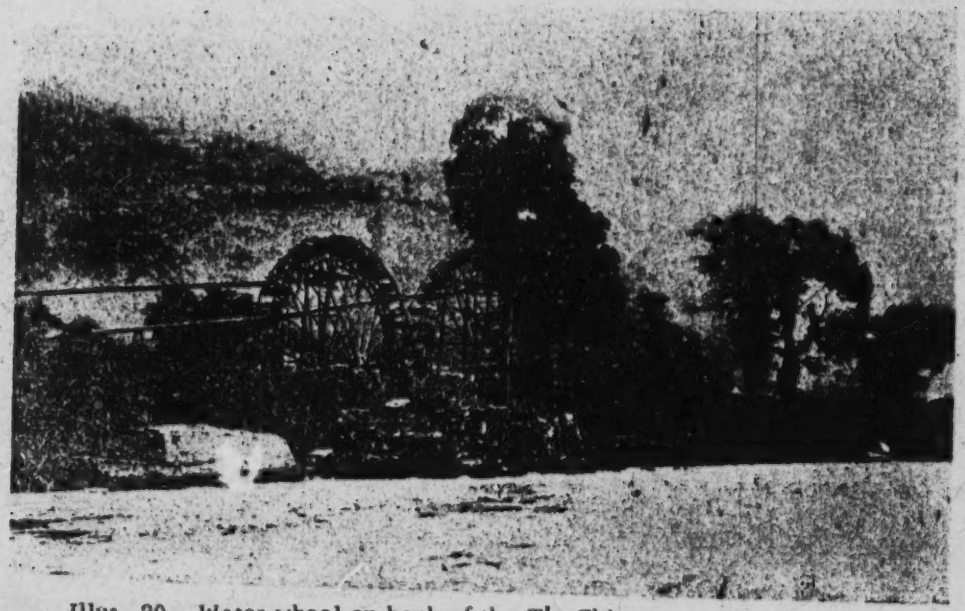

Illus. 30. Water wheel on bank of the T'o Chiang.

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2:Ling & Ruey--88 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 31. Water mill on bank of the T'ung Ho.

/61 cont./

931 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land
243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung
245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees
245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar
[805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in
[482] groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the
[412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place
[258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the
[439] outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are
[252] burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

2:Ling & Ruey--91 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 32. Tung trees.

2:Ling & Ruey--92 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 33. Tea plants.

2:Ling & Ruey--93 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 34. Pine trees.

2:Ling & Ruey--94 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 35. Pine logs.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, [262] and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [336] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/66 cont./

000 leaves. After the picking, they cut the leaves into small pieces
386 of about 40 kung fen, tie them in arm-thick bundles, and place them in a large earthenware jar filled with pure spring water, where they are completely submerged. After three days the jar of clear water becomes dark green in color. The indigo bundles are then removed, and lime water is added to the jar. The ratio is a bowl of lime water to a tan /picul/ of indigo water. The lime is first dissolved in water: the solution is kept and the residue discarded. After being mixed with the lime water the indigo water /67/ is stirred with a stick to blend it. The precipitation is indigo.

249 Although wild indigo grows everywhere, its output in the
[314] end is not large. Furthermore, the Miao, men and women, all
[291] wear blue cotton clothes. The supply of wild indigo naturally is not enough to meet the demand and domestic indigo has to be cultivated (Illus. 36). It is planted in the second and third months and harvested in the ninth and tenth months before the frost. The output of domestic indigo is larger than that of wild indigo. The Miao usually dig a hole about two kung ch'ih
[386] deep for making indigo. The process is the same as that for wild indigo.

The Miao also plant sugar cane in the low-lying places in deep valleys. The land for this crop must have fine soil and dry. On the periphery as well as in the center of the field several ditches are dug for draining water in case of rain. To plant sugar cane, they cut the cane into short lengths of about three or four nodes, planting three or four of them together. When they grow up they become a cluster. The clusters are about half a kung ch'ih apart. At planting time the sections are put into the earth, with the top ends slightly slanting, which are also covered with earth. After half a month, when the sprouts come out, light fertilizer is added. When they grow to a height of half a kung ch'ih, fertilizer is again put on. In all they are fertilized four or five times, and each time the earth is weeded and the soil loosened. Four or five days after the first frost in the ninth or tenth month the crop may be

249 /67 cont./
harvested. After harvest the canes are tied up, 50 to a bundle,
249 and stored in earth pits about one kung ch'ih deep. The pits
251 are first lined with cane leaves, on which the sugar cane are laid in rows. More leaves are laid on top and then covered with dirt. Ventilation tubes are stuck in to ensure a free flow of air in order to prevent decay. On market day, the canes
[443] are carried to market for sale.

The Miao area also produces native tobacco. Beginning
249 with the tenth and eleventh months the Miao nurse tobacco
[343] seedlings. Above the seed bed a thatched shelter with a slanting roof is erected to protect the seedlings from frost and snow. After they sprout they are watered and fertilized with ashes, manure, or tung paste. Transplanting takes place in the following spring in the third and fourth months. Fields for tobacco cultivation have to be plowed very early to reduce insect pests,
[825] according to the Miao. The insect called t'u ch'a erh only eats tobacco plant roots. Tobacco seedlings are transplanted in rows, by first crushing the earth into powder by hand, then burying the roots of the seedling in the earth and pressing the earth tight around the plant. If the earth is dry, then it should be watered at the root and the stem. After three or five days some mild fertilizer may be applied. Insect pests are the worst enemy of tobacco. Besides the t'u ch'a erh, which eats the
[825] roots, green hoppers eat the leaves. So, in tobacco growing a great deal of labor is spent in catching insects, which has to be done in the early morning, for later the t'u ch'a erh dig through the earth and it is difficult to find them. The tobacco plant is never allowed to grow too high, and has to be clipped from time to time to ensure the growth of more full and firm leaves. During harvest time the tobacco leaves are cut down leaf by leaf, /Illustration 36 on p. 68/ /69/ and stacked up for one or two nights. Then they are tied up with straw ropes and hung up to dry in the sun, being taken indoors at night. If a good color is wanted, then in good weather they should be exposed outside overnight to absorb the dew. The resulting color will be a beautiful, golden yellow.

2:Ling & Ruey--98 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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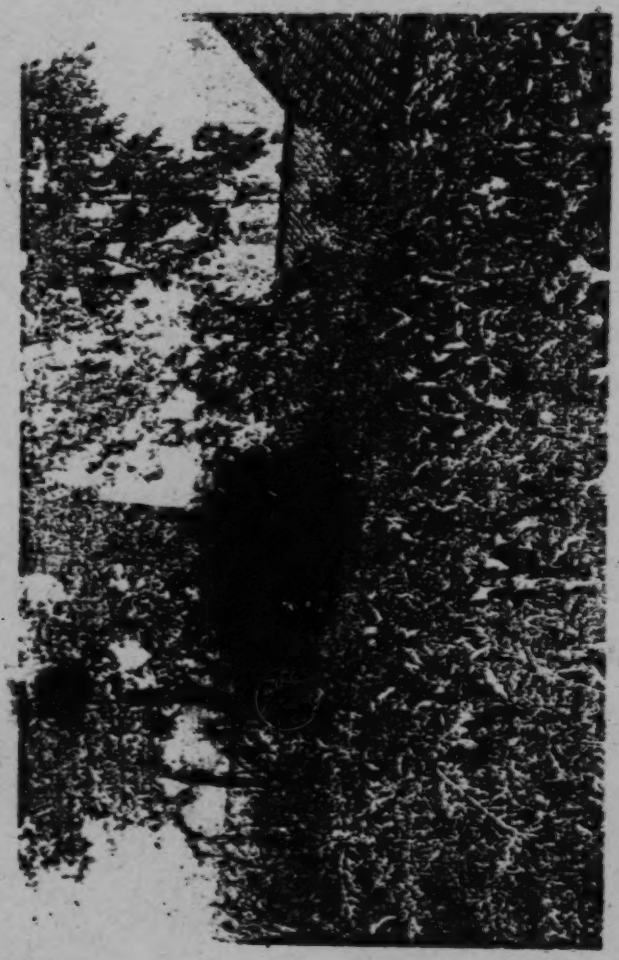

Illus. 36. Native indigo.

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245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp
248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat
[262] sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching
[231] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and
[459] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo
[227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair.
[171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi-
[825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces
[227] of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./

226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[492] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
[262] Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[241] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

2:Ling & Ruey--101 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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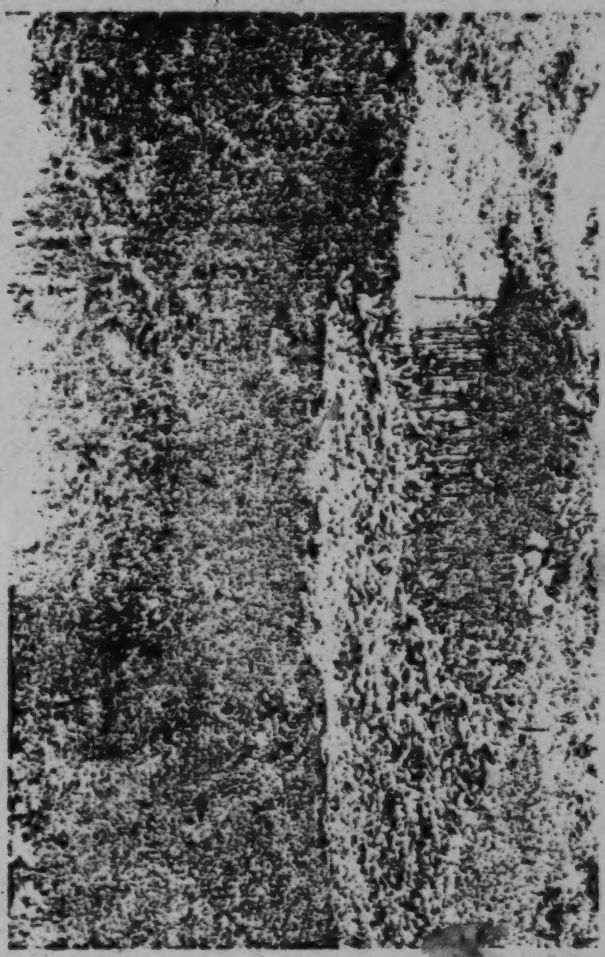

Illus. 37. Hemp plants.

2:Ling & Rney--102 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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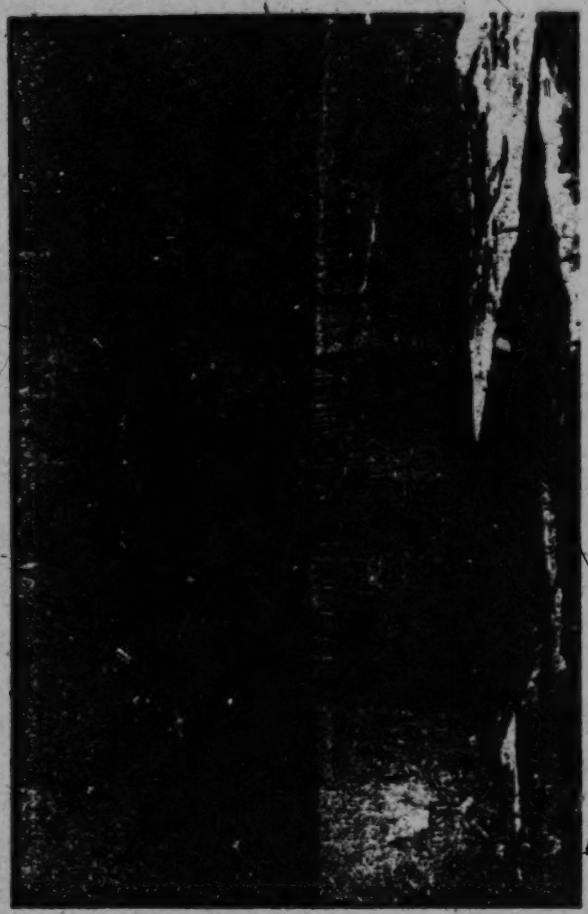

Illus. 38. Fish pond.

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
[237] wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Although today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan,
Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

252 [text continues on p. 106]

2:Ling & Ruey--105 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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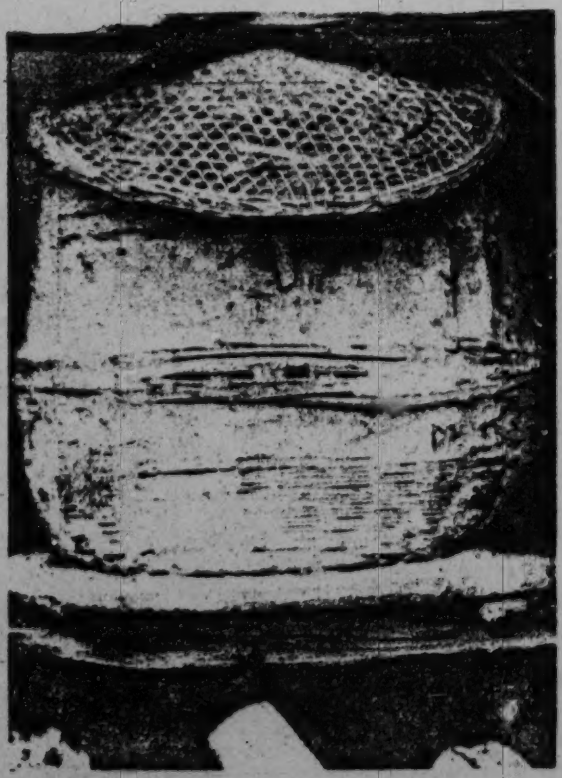

Illus. 39. A honeycomb.

/74/

143

Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed [273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine. The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year, and is largely used for making wine. There are also these two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large- [439] ly sold to the Chinese, and the Miao themselves consume [262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork, pepper seeds, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

/75 cont./

262 pods, eggplant, bracken, etc. The recipes are briefly as follows:

252 There are two ways of making sour fish, raw and cooked. To prepare sour cooked fish, a fish is cut open, cleaned, and dried by the fire in a pan until the scales become yellow. Then it is rubbed with salt and dried in the sun for a few days. It is next mixed with a certain amount of millet and put into a jar. On top of the fish is laid a layer of tung leaves, and the jar is also stopped up with tung leaves. The jar is turned upside down on the ground or in a basin of water which is added to from time to time. The idea is not to allow air to get in. After one month the fish may be taken out and fried. The making of sour raw fish is slightly different. After being split open and cleaned the fish is rubbed with salt, seasoned with spices, and placed in a jar. After four months it can be taken out and eaten either raw or fried in fat or oil.

The preparation of sour beef and pork is identical. The meat is washed with clear water and diced or cut into small pieces and then fried in a pan until it is half done. Some salt is added, and then the meat is dished out into a bowl to cool, mixed with chan rice and no rice powder, and put in a jar. After ten or more days it may be taken out and fried or boiled in water.

There are four kinds of sour peppers — green, red, chan, and no. The green peppers are washed and cooked a little in a pan. They should not be well done, for if well done they spoil easily. They are then taken out and left to dry in the sun. The stems are cut off, and the peppers placed in a jar and covered with tung leaves, and again the jar is stopped up with rice straw and stood inverted in a small basin. After a month they are ready to be eaten. The sour red peppers are made differently. Without cooking or drying in the sun they only cut off the stems, and then put them in a jar in the same way. After a month they may be taken out and fried to eat. According to the Miao this type of sour peppers taste best. The making of the sour chan and no peppers is the same. Either the green

/75 cont./

252 or the red pepper may be used. They are washed and cut fine and crushed with a pestle. For every four chin of peppers it is necessary to add one sheng of corn flour. After it has been mixed well, it is put into a jar. The rest of the method is the same as that stated above. After a month or two it may be taken out and fried and eaten. After being well fried, the pepper become powdery, whereas the no pepper ends up lumpy. They look and taste different.

/76/ Sour garlic and sour shallots /hu ts'ung/ are prepared in the same way. The garlic and shallots are washed and dried in the sun. They are washed once again, and after being dried in the shade, chopped fine with a knife and put in a jar. Sometimes corn flour is added. The rest of the recipe is as above. They may be eaten after a month or more has passed.

There are four kinds of sour root-vegetables: dried shreds, dried lumps, wet shreds, and wet lumps. The dry method consists of shredding the turnips, etc., or pounding them into small pieces, then drying them slightly in the sun, after which they are put in a jar. The wet root shreds and lumps are made entirely differently. The roots are cut into shreds or lumps and placed in a jar. Some already soured vegetables are added as agents, and then boiling rice water from rice being cooked is poured in. The jar is placed near the fireplace /huo t'ang/ or beside the stove to keep it warm. The mouth of the jar is sealed with paper and covered with either slate or a wooden board. The vegetables are done after one or two days.

Wet sour greens, wet sour taro and wet sour Chinese cabbage are made in just the same way as the wet sour turnips.

The sour pea and bean pods are made by cooking them a little so they are only half done. They are drained and dried in the sun. After cooling off overnight they may be placed in a jar.

The sour eggplant is made by chopping eggplant into shreds, drying these in the sun and cooling overnight, after which they may be eaten.

/76 cont./

252 The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered
[222] and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked
[415] rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they
252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half
262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several
[554] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/77 cont./

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miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

/77 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
292 at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
[531] and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[76] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

2:Ling & Ruey--112 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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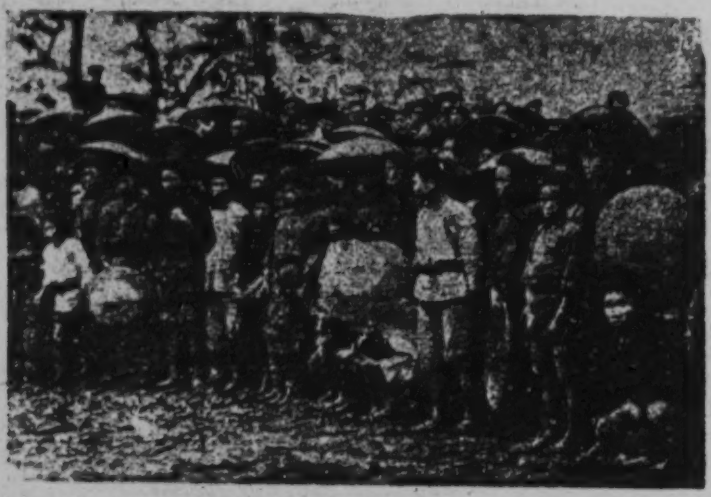

Illus. 41. Miao male men's dress seen at a street market place in Ta-hsin-chiai, Feng-huang.

Illus.42. Miao women's dress seen at a street market place in Hsin-chai, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--113 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 43. Front view of a long gown of a Miao man of Sung-lin-shao, Meng-tzu, Yunnan. (2)

2:Ling & Ruey--114 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 44. Back view of a long gown of a Miao man of Sung-lin-shao, Meng-tzu, Yunnan. (1)

2:Ling & Ruey--121 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/87/

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Illus. 52. A Kan-ch'eng Miao woman's vest.

292 /88 cont./
[764] festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).

291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan, regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua [184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts. When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western [126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of [292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

/81/

Illus. 45. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (1)

Illus. 46. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (2)

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[42]

2:Ling & Ruey--116 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 47. Miao women's personal adornment, Ta-hsin-chiai, Kan-ch'eng.

2:Ling & Ruey--117 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5.

/83/

Illus. 48. Gayly dressed Miao women seen at Kao-yen-ho, Yung-sui.
(They had not brought along neck rings, hence they are not wearing any.)

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[531]

2:Ling & Ruey--118 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Illus. 49. A Kan-ch'eng Miao bride's garment (1).

2:Ling & Ruey--119 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/85/

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Illus. 50. A Kan-ch'eng Miao bride's garment (?).

2:Ling & Ruey--120 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 51. A Kan-ch'eng bride's garment (3).

/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a
[574] double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that
302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's.
[585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by
[171] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/89 cont./

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

2:Ling & Ruey--125 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

2:Ling & Ruey--126 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 56. Women's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

/92 cont./

600 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting,
[304] fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced
by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver
rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were
wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race
horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver
hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or
four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver
comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver
chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore
no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were
also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on
not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men.
The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited
a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells,
and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and
even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This
description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing
Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places
as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

/93 cont./

551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also 582 with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing 517 Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would [533]

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

514 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
684 they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
[837] as compensation. If ~~a~~ husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/95 cont./

584 Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been
[177] thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine
[556] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ɲiaŋ˥ tɛ˧ mpʿaʔ˥), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense
[782] has to take place, which is called /soŋ˥ tʿiɤ˧˥), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally
[583] consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat.
[556] The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may
[583] omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[554] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the
584 lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.
[301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's
585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's
[177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's
[756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and
[782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense
[787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kowtows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and
[554] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At
585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense
782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.
[752] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

/96 cont./

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The bride arriving here brings
Great luck and great prosperity.
The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family, she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to welcome her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
[776] To officiate at this marriage rite.
We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
/[756] and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/97 cont./

585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the sing- 533 ing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 585 men and women of the host family gather in another group. First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the sing- ing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights; but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain

574 585

/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
585 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[836] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
843 son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
844 for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[987] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
[113] funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[187] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four chih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
769 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
[113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[182] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/100 cont./

000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[554] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[752] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[752] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spell. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles. Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
764 as the Chinese.
[177]

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[606] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/101 cont./

764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony. After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of
764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress'
604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a
605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over, he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family and those on the maternal side who came with the maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat, towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative" each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth "for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various
604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of
[789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession
[950] can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it upside down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[791] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[787] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
[604] ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[768] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

/108 cont./

766 756 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight, or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore, the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the [775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard, hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force. Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a [292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead, then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he [302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not washed for four months, during which period the mourner does [302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or 60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also. For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her headband for three days.

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CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION — MIAO OFFICIALS

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(1) The Establishment of Miao Official Posts

The development of the Miao area began during the time of the juncture of the Yuan dynasty and the Ming. The geographical section of the Ming Shih /History of the Ming Dynasty/ states: "A ch'ang kuan szu /a native leader set up by the Chinese government to head the district/ was established at Wu-chai during the Yuan dynasty, and in the sixth month of the seventh year of Hung Wu /1374, during the first reign period of the Ming dynasty/ the office was continued. A ch'ang kuan szu was set up at Kan-tzu-p'ing in the sixth month of the year chia ch'en of the first Ming emperor /1359/, at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief at Kan-tzu-p'ing. Later it was abolished. In the seventh month of the third year of the Yung Lo /1405/, it was reestablished." Furthermore, the entry for Headman Hu Kuang in the "T'u szu Lieh Chuan" /Biographies of Headmen/ states: "In the third year of Yung Lo, Kung Neng and others at the Ch'en-chou military station summoned Liao Piao and others of the uncivilized Miao /i.e. those not under Chinese control/ from 35 villages of Kan-tzu-p'ing to send sons to pay tribute, and for this reason a ch'ang kuan szu was set up for Kan-tzu-p'ing, with Piao to be the official, under the jurisdiction of Pao-ching." The city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Wu-chai was the present chief city of Feng-huang hsien, but that of Kan-tzu-p'ing was also within Feng-huang, situated 70 li northeast of the chief town of the hsien. In Vol. 3 of the revised edition of Feng-huang T'ing Chih, published in the fourth year of Tao Kuang /1824/, it says: "The old city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Kan-tzu-p'ing was situated 70 li northeast of the T'ing. In the first year of the first Ming emperor /1368/, a yüan-shuai-fu /commander-in-chief's post/ was set up. In the third year of Yung Lo /i.e.

/104 cont./

1405/ it was changed to ch'ang kuan szu, with two city seats, one on the mountain top and another at the foot of the mountain. Today they have been abolished. The old city of the Wu-chai ch'ang kuan szu is the present seat of the T'ing /i.e. Feng-huang sub-prefecture/ administration, but it has been greatly expanded. During the Ming period all was under the jurisdiction of the Pacification Commissioner at Pao-ching."

Kan Ch'eng was opened somewhat later, when at the end of the Hung Wu reign period /1368-98/ a ch'ien hu suo /a ch'ien hu was an official at a military station, in charge of 1,000 soldiers; suo = office or bureau/ was established. The "Shu Wang P'ien" /historical section/ of the Miao Fang Pei Lan states: "In the second month of the thirtieth year of Hung Wu /1397/ there was set up at Chen-ch'i a military and civilian ch'ien hu bureau. Sun Ying-lung, who was then keeper of the records at Lu-ch'i, proclaimed that the tribal people of the upper five tu /hsien subdivisions/ should be divided into ten li /neighborhoods/, to be under the jurisdiction of Ch'en-chou. Ying-lung was promoted by imperial mandate to be in charge of the pacification. He selected the head ch'ien hu in charge of the ch'ien hu bureau at Chien-ch'ang, Kiangsi, to go to the capital to be given a bronze seal and given the hereditary office of ch'ien hu of Chen-ch'i. When the emperor went to the pavilion to send him on his way, he proclaimed: 'I have a single pellet of Miao territory, and I ask you to go ahead to open up headquarters for bringing the barbarians under our administration. Do what is good for them, and your descendants will enjoy the use /of the office/ without limit.' Moreover, he ordered the Board of War to select Ch'en Ya of Wu-sa military station in Kweichow and Sung Kuei of Lu-chou military station in Szechwan to be assistant ch'ien hu to go with him to assist him. He ordered the Board of Civil Office to select a head constable, and the provincial treasurer to allot for district police officers, who were granted, wrapped up an ivory tablet, paper money, and a silver belt, and entertained ceremoniously, and sent on their way. In the fifth

C /104 cont./
175 month Tuan Wen reached Chen-ch'i, established the Military
631 Station Office, and inaugurated the system, dividing 124 native
563 villages into ten li, making Yang Erh, the main leader, a
M pe fu ch'ang /head of hundred men/. The other 132 villages
*175 /105/ became a local army 'to protect the city moats.' When
631 there were uprisings then they would be called to service; when
*648 conditions were peaceful then they would disperse as civilians.
C Hence the name, Military and Civilian Office" Chen-ch'i then
[701] is modern Suo-li, which is 20 li northeast of Kan-ch'eng hsien's main city.

Yung-sui was formerly under the jurisdiction of the native headman of Pao-ching, and Liu-li in it was also under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou. In the seventh year of Yung Cheng /1729/, the provincial governor Chao Hung-en and Wang Jou of Ch'en-yüan-ching tao pacified the uncivilized Miao at Liu-li and established a city at Chi-to-p'ing, called Yung-sui. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 1.

C Ku-chang /hsien/ in the Ming period was the territory
[701] under the control of the three senior officials at Shin-tung-ch'i, Pe-ya-tung, and T'ien-chia-tung, under the jurisdiction of the military and civilian pacification commissioner's office at Yung-sui.

Pao-ching was formerly the territory under the control of the Pao-ching pacification commissioner.

M After the five hsien in the Miao frontier region were
[634] opened, from the Yuan and Ming dynasties to the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, they were under the control of native headmen. During the K'ang Hsi reign period of the early Ch'ing /1662-1722/, a gradual change was begun from native headmen to regular government officials. In the forty-sixth year of K'ang Hsi /1707/, the senior official /ch'ang kuan szu/ at Wu-chai, T'ien Hung-t'ien, being harsh and cruel, the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, sent up a memorial

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to the Emperor requesting that he be dismissed from office and that no hereditary substitute be allowed. (2) In the forty-eighth

2. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 11.

year /1709/, because the Miao at Liu-li of the Chen-ch'i Office did not wish to be under the control of the native headman at Pao-ching, they repeatedly requested the change from native headman to government official, and the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'tao, again sent up a memorial requesting transference of control to the government. (3) In the fourth

3. Miao Fang Pei Lan,
Vol. 15.

year of Yung Cheng /1726/, the headman at Pao-ching, P'eng Yü-pin, was removed from office for being avaricious and cruel, and in the fifth year the change was made from native headman to government official. Yü-pin was peacefully settled at Liao-yang. (4) In the fifth year of Yung Cheng, the headman

4. Pao-ching Hsien Chih,
Vol. 5.

at Yung-shun, P'eng Chao-huai, personally applied for the change from native headman to government official. He returned to his native place in Chi-shui, Kiangsi. (5) San-t'u-

5. Yung-shun Hsien Chih,
Vol. 15.

chou /"three local chou"/ and Wu-ch'ang-kuan-szu /"five senior officials"/ under the jurisdiction of the headman of Yung-shun were also changed from native to government officials.

/105 cont./

C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622 C [669]

After the voluntary change from the native headmen in the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the Miao and bring them under the administration of government officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions. As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances, so that the unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's

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6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

/106 cont./

C were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military
175 authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only
631 village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since
563 Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there
M were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment
*175 caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao
631 who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock
*648 feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be
[622] selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at
C each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-
[703] pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal
[701] /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-
[203] general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and
to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities.
When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official
despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers
to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them
C some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official
[357] business require servants, they may also recruit them from the
Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales.
C It would appear that the 100-families village chief was
175 originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men
631 were unimportant and their powers limited, as that the Miao
563 did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding
M such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues,
*175 whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally
631 be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility.
*648 During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who ac-
622 companied the army and won peacock feather awards are
numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent
and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and accord-
ing to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing
aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one
or two men to be native second captains, under whom there
should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

/106 cont./

the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-general and governor and military officials should examine the merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommendations memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been abolished, official communications should be despatched according to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on official business need servants, then order the said Miao to serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials, although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,

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C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 425 C M [701] C [651] the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

C 65 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

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Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

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Thus a Miao official was a military official having concurrent judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commissioning of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troups /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.
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622 (2) The Organization of Miao Officials
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With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96 villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

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1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M [162] Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle, left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

/108 cont./

c shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei
175 were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising
631 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei,
563 two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in
701 charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men
M and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-
*175 tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18
631 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women.
*648 The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two
622 pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages,
701 consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The
162 above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and
25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130
villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. More-
over, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various
families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih,
Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 446 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

/109 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 701 162

three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

/110 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 701 [162]

The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers. (2)

2. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

C 631 563 701 [669] M 701 631 *648 622

Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung reign period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders. For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[text continues on p165]

2:Ling & Ruey--161 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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The following table shows the results of our investigations: /111/

Hsien	Ying	Name of Native Head	Guard Station
Feng-huang	Upper Middle Ying	Lung Fu-shou	Mao-tu-t'ang
	Lower Middle Ying	Wu Tsung-ch'ing	Hsin-tung-p'ing
	Upper Left Ying	Wu Fang-ming	Pao-mu-ying
	Lower Left Ying	Wu Hsiu-ch'ing	San-kung-ch'iao
	Right Ying	Lung En-te	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Right Ying	Lung Feng-wu	Lung-chüeh-tung
	Right Ying	Wu Shao-hai	Chuang-chi-chai
	Lower Right Ying	Lung Tsung-chieh	Ta-t'ien
	Upper Front Ying	Shih Chao-pin	Hsin-chai
	Middle Front Ying	Wu Ch'ing-te	T'ien-p'ing
	Lower Front Ying	Wu Cheng-ying	Ku-sang-ying
Total		11	
Kan-ch'eng	Middle Ying	Wu Chia-chu	San-ch'a-p'ing
	Left Ying	Yang Sheng-pao	Ch'ü-chia-chai
	Right Ying	Shih Yung-chi	Hsi-ch'üeh-chai
	Front Ying	Yang Tsai-chen	Meng /?/ Ch'e
Total		4	

/Upper left quarter/

/111 cont./

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/Lower left quarter/

Ku-chang	Lung-pi-tsui Ying /Dragon Snout Ying/	Lung Ch'ing-nung	Nung-pi-tsui
Total		1	
Pao-ching	Fourth Ch'ü	Wu Chung-ch'ing	Pe-ho-t'ien
	Sixth Ch'ü	Hung Yung-liang	Hu-lu-chai
	Seventh Ch'ü	Shih Ch'ing-sung	Pi-tzu-chai
	Eighth Ch'ü	Liang Kuang-yung	Shui-t'ien
Total		4	
/112/ Yung-sui	Upper Fifth Li	Lung Sheng-hsin	Tung-k'a-chai
	Lower Fifth Li	Shih Wei-hsin	Ch'ien-ch'ang-chai
	Upper Sixth Li	Shih Ming-yüan	Pan-li-chai
	Lower Sixth Li	Shih Tsung-huang	Chia-ming-chai
	Upper Seventh Li	Lung Ch'ang-yao	Chien-yen-chai
	Lower Seventh Li	Wu Ting-k'uei	La-wu-chai
	Upper Eighth Li	Wu Ch'eng-chang	Ta-pai-wu
	Lower Eighth Li	Lung Kuo-han	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Ninth Li	Ma Ch'ang-shun	Pai-ta-k'ou
	Lower Ninth Li	Shih Tuan-ch'u	Wei-ch'eng-chai
	Upper Tenth Li	Shih Chin-yüan	Pai-pu-mei
	Lower Tenth	Wang Kuo-ch'ang	Pai-liao-chai
Total		12	
Grand Total		32	

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/112 cont./

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Number of Petty Officers and Soldiers					Total Numbers		
Ch'en-tsung	Pa-tsung	Wai-wei	Fighting Soldiers	Guard Soldiers	Petty Officers	Soldiers	Total Ying Complement
2	4	8	30	150	14	180	194
2	3	9	30	140	14	170	184
2	4	6	30	190	12	220	232
1	3	8	80	200	12	280	292
2	5	9	55	152	16	207	223
2	2	6	54	114	10	168	178
2	4	6	43	136	12	179	191
1	2	4	58	91	7	149	156
2	5	10	17	182	17	199	216
1	3	5	2	65	9	67	76
3	5	9	1	180	17	181	198
20	40	80	400	1,600	140	2,000	2,140
2	2	6	48	157	10	205	215
2	7	10	40	191	19	231	250
2	4	3	40	154	9	194	203
		6	32	138	6	170	176
6	13	25	160	640	44	800	844

/Upper right quarter/

/112 cont./

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/Lower right quarter/

2	4	12		100	18	100	118
2	4	12		100	18	100	118
1	1	2	8	42	4	50	54
3	5	9	19	61	17	80	97
3	4	15	21	79	22	100	122
2	2	5	12	58	9	70	79
9	12	31	60	240	52	300	352
1	3	3	14	81	7	95	102
1	3	6	14	81	9	95	104
3	4	9	28	162	16	190	206
2	7	9	54	121	18	175	193
3	4	8	56	168	15	224	239
3	6	12	66	176	21	242	263
1		4	9	68	5	77	82
2	4	7	38	91	13	129	142
3	8	12	36	142	23	178	201
3	6	14	30	142	23	172	195
3	8	21	17	139	32	156	188
3	5	10	18	49	18	67	85
28	57	115	380	1,420	200	1,800	2,000
65	126	263	1,000	4,000	454	5,000	5,454

2:Ling & Ruey--165 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/112 cont./

C 631 563 701 M 631 622 *648 701 [177]

The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

/113/

CHAPTER SEVEN

C 175 563 669 M *175 *648 C [712]

T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

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C 175 563 669 712 M *175 *648

/113 cont./

did not witness serious trouble. The method of this blockade consisted of setting up stone guard posts /tiao-pao/, establishing guard stations /ying shao/, and building border walls, strictly demarcating the boundary between the Chinese and Miao areas, without allowing any infringement by one on the other. The section on government in the historical section of Miao Fang Pei Lan, recording the system of defense against the Miao during the Ming dynasty, has this to say: "During the fifth year of Hsüan Te /i.e. 1430/, the senior official /chang kuan/ at Kan-tzu-p'ing, Wu Pi-lang, and the Miao of Tung-jen, Kweichow, started a rebellion. The brigadier general /tsung ping kuan/, Hsiao Shou, built 24 guard posts /pao/ around the area to protect it. In the thirty-first year of Chia Ching /i.e. 1552/, the Miao in Hupeh-Hunan and Kweichow were pacified.

C 175 563 712

The Court sent Governor General Chang Yo to hold down Yüan-chou. Yo in consultation with Assistant Commissioner /fu shih/ Kao Hsien, and Lieutenant Colonel /ts'an chiang/ Sun Hsien drew up a plan to abolish the guard posts at Wan-chi. Then he built 12 outposts /shao/ called: Wu-chai, Yung-an, Ch'ing-ch'i, Ho-k'ou, Kan-tzu, Kan-chou, Ch'iang-hu, Shih-yang, Shao-p'o, Tung-hsin, Shui-t'ang-yao, Shui-t'ien-ying, which with that at Chen-ch'i-so came to 13 in all. Every guard station had a wall, a tower, a drill yard, a narrow gate, an office, and a community storehouse /she ts'ang/. The officer corps

C 175 563 701

included a tu-pei /"head of senior soldiers"/, ling-pan /"section leader"/, ling-tui /"company leader"/, ling-cheng /"recruitment and arms officer?"/, kuan-piao /"keeper of banners"/, kuan-ts'ang /"keeper of the storehouse"/, and li-mu /"head constable and keeper of the jail"/. The local official had under him t'ou-mu /"headmen"/, she-jen /"official secretaries"/, shih-tzu /"readers"/, chien-pu /"strong walkers"/, ta-shou /?lit., "move the hands"/ hsiang-t'u /?lit., geographers"/, po-k'ai /heralds/, and the Ch'i Miao soldiers. In all the officers and men totaled 6,000 or more, commanded by a lieutenant colonel /ts'an-chiang piao ying/, with a second

M [701]

/113 cont./

C 175 563 701 M [701] captain /shou-pei/ assisting him. Moreover, at the two military stations /wei/ of Ch'en and Yüan, the frontier guard officers and men, amounted to 6,600 or more, and the annual disbursement to the Yüan-chou treasury for paying the troops was more than 30,089 /sic/ liang of silver, that to the Ma-yang, Ch'ien-yang, and Kan-chou military rations granaries and the autumn government rations at Chen-ch'i-so were 31,890 or more. At this time, the lieutenant colonel /tsan-chiang Tu-ling/ directed matters at the top, the majors /yu-chi/ and second captains /shou-pei/ attended to things at the middle level, and the guard stations /ying-shao/ carried out defense duties at the lower level. Furthermore, fearing the difficulty of communications in times of trouble, it was arranged for the sake of convenience as follows: 'For operations involving under 3,000 men, decisions may be made on the spot, but for operations involving more than 3,000 men, the decision must be made after consultation with the military defense officials. As the number of soldiers increased and generals became more strong, the border regions became more quiet and peaceful. In the C 175 563 712 M * 648 *175 C [631] forty-third year Wan Li /i.e. 1615/, the Military Defense Ts'an Cheng, Ts'ai Fu-i, because the guard stations being spread out and the Miao roads rugged, it was difficult to prevent spying, applied for an appropriation of 40,000 or more gold for the construction of a frontier earth wall, starting from T'ung-jen and going down to Pao-ching guard station, along mountains and extending in all more than 300 li, so that frontier defense could be made somewhat more /114/ secure. In the second year of T'ien Ch'i /i.e. 1622/, a provincial governor was set up at T'ien-yüan.... The then pei tao fu shih /assistant commissioner of defense?/ Hu I-hung at Ch'en Yüan despatched Major Teng Tsu-yü from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying to build an additional 60 more li of frontier wall." (1)

1. Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 15.

/114 cont./

C 175 563 669 [901] [712] M * 175 * 648 M C [631] M [177]

During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peaceful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving 1,100 men. Military strengh was slight and the defense system was relaxed. Further, following the change from native headmen to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/ and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the blockade policy was once more used. The various hsiens along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

C 175 563 701 M 701

Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Fenghuang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, controlling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left, with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries /e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

/114 cont./

C Sui-ching-chen /Sui-ching Brigade/ was established at
175 Hua-yüan, Yung-sui (today under Yung-sui hsien), where were
563 stationed one brigade general, one major, one captain, two
701 second captains, three lieutenants, six sergeants, nine corporals,
M five supernumeraries, and a total of 1,440 soldiers, taking part
701 in the defense of nine guard stations. At Yung-sui there was also set up the Yung-sui Hsieh with one assistant brigade general /fu-chiang/, one captain, two second captains, three lieutenants, seven sergeants, eight corporals, eight supernumeraries, and 1,240 soldiers. They controlled seven outposts, under the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

Kan-chow Hsieh was established in Kan-ch'eng with an assistant brigade general, one major, one captain, three second captains, two lieutenants, ten sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 1,400 soldiers, who defended 15 outposts under the direction of the provincial commander in chief /ti-tu/.

/115/ In Pao-ching there was set up one ying with one lieutenant colonel//tsan-chiang/, two second captains, two lieutenants, five sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 952 soldiers, defending 19 guard stations, subject to the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

The Ku-chang-p'ing ying was established at Ku-chang, with a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, three supernumeraries, and in all 740 soldiers, stationed at the ying headquarters but defending the various military posts.

C At that time in addition to stationing heavy complements
175 of soldiers in the Miao area, there were also put up a total of
563 1,121 stone guard houses /tiao ch'ia/ along the ruins of the
701 wall left from the Ming dynasty. In addition to the stationing
712 of government troops at important positions, there were more
M than 800 of these guard houses where 9,000 soldiers were left
*175 to protect the border. Later when the nation became short of
*648 money, it was not possible to maintain large forces in this deep interior area for defense. Thus, suddenly, the frontier guards were withdrawn, then the stone guard houses became empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a rebellion.

/115 cont./

000 empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a
C rebellion. At this time Fu Nai of Yüan-ch'en tao met with
175 Brigade General Fu Chih-na of Chen-kan Chen and summoned
563 together people of the sub-prefecture to discuss a long-range
701 plan. And so they began the t'un system of defense. Fields
651 were allotted to feed the fighters and to defend the guard houses
425 against the Miao. As for the people's /i.e. Chinese/ land,
except for fields for sustenance, a male could retain three tou
of grain, a woman one tou. As for the rest of the land seven
were allotted while three were retained, for one shih of grain
three tou was personally retained, and seven tou given up for
C allotment, to feed the fighters and guard the frontier. In the
[712] Feng-huang area there were more than 830 stone guard houses,
requiring 4,000 men to man them in rotation. Further, 1,000
men were trained to be combat ready. The more than 22,000
mu of land allotted were not enough to meet the expense, and
so another allotment of more than 12,300 mu at Lu-ch'i and
C Mo-yang was made. There were also 127 stone petty military
[712] stations /tiao pao/ at Kan-chou, manned by 800 soldiers,
supported by more than 2,170 mu of allotted land. The
original sect of government of Yung-sui, before the Miao
rebellion during the reign period of Ch'ien Lung and Chia Ch'ing,
was at Wei-ch'eng, which was entirely surrounded by the Miao.
In the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/, the seat of govern-
C ment was moved to Hua-yüan with a newly built yamen.
[712] There were 126 stone guard houses with 2,000 soldiers. The
people's land, i.e. Chinese land, usurped by rebels and re-
covered for public use, totaled more than 17,110 mu. There
were over 70 stone military stations /tiao pao/, at Pao-ching,
with 300 soldiers and over 2,170 mu of allotted land. There
were only 18 stone guard houses at Ku-chang-p'ing with a
hundred soldiers and over 120 mu of allotted land.

M The above refers to Chinese t'un /min t'un/. In addition,
* [175] there were also Miao t'un. After the suppression of the Miao
* [648] rebellion, the Miao tribes, awed by military might, surrendered
[651] all the Chinese land formerly forcefully usurped by them, and
[727]
[425]

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C /115 cont./
175 also searched into the properties of the rebel Miao and decided
563 to return them for public use. The forcefully usurped land
651 totaling over 30,100 mu and the rebels' properties totaling
425 over 5,400 mu were redistributed among the law-abiding Miao
[701] to farm. Granaries were built to collect rent /tsu/ for the
M maintenance of Miao soldiers. The pressing for rent, the in-
*175 specting of fields, the distribution and transportation of grain,
*648 and other duties were all the responsibility of Miao officials.
651 /116/ The total amount of Chinese land and Miao land
425 given up for allotment in the seven sub-prefectures and hsiens
[727] of the Miao area was as follows: (1)

1. Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng K'ao, Chapter 7, "Chün T'un San," "Chün T'un T'ien Tu Ts'ung Shu" /"The Total Amount of Allotted T'un Land," in "Allotted T'un, 3/," numbers set after the subdu-ing of the Miao in 1797.

1. Feng-huang Sub-prefecture
   (1) Allotted fields 22,080.6 mu (allotted in the fifth year of Chia Ch'ing /1800/).
   (2) Fields returned to public use 3,539 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao but surrendered when called on and returned for public use).
   (3) Fields redeemed by the government 5,587.3 mu. (Chinese fields granted to the Miao at a low pledge but redeemed by the government for public use).
   (4) Fields usurped by the rebels surrendered by the Miao 7,650.8 mu (Miao rebels' property, wrongfully farmed by them, surrendered to the government for public use).
   (5) Usurped rebel land returned by the Miao 5,983.7 mu (same as above).

/116 cont./

e 175 563 651 425

(6) Private fields presented by Miao 1,595.7 mu (private property contributed by Miao after receiving an official post).

(7) Reclaimed fields 145.8 mu (barren land without crops reclaimed by soldiers).

M

2. Kan-chou Sub-prefecture

* 175 *648 651 425

(1) Allotted fields 3,628.8 mu.

(2) Land redeemed by the government 776.5 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 3,487 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 196.1 mu.

(5) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 578.5 mu (now become public fields).

(6) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 48.8 mu (same as above).

(7) Private fields surrendered by Miao on request 604.6 mu.

3. Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 529.7 mu.

/117/ (2) Fields redeemed by the government 93.4 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 127.8 mu.

(4) Private fields given up by other Miao 227 mu.

4. Pao-ching Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 2,178.6 mu.

(2) Fields redeemed by the government 628.6 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 1,476 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 303.6 mu.

(5) Private fields presented by Miao petty officers 300.2 mu.

(6) Disputed usurped fields given over by the Miao 296.9 mu.

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C /117 cont./

175 5. Yung-sui Sub-prefecture

563 (1) Fields returned to public use 16,114.3 mu

651 (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao taken back by the government for public use).

425 (2) Redeemed fields 8,468.7 mu.

M (3) Rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 5,940.7 mu.

*175 (4) Rebel land surrendered by the Miao 9,895.7 mu.

*648 (5) Private fields contributed by Miao petty officers 500.4 mu.

651 (6) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 287 mu.

425 (7) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 345.6 mu.

(8) Reclaimed fields 2,545.5 mu.

(9) Reclaimed land 10,130 mu.

6. Lu-ch'i Hsien

(1) Allotted fields 5,382.5 mu.

7. Mo-yang Hsien

(1) Allotted fields 6,983.1 mu.

/118/ The total of the above fields and land is 131,640.6 mu. In the thirteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1808/ a total of 15,219.3 mu of fields and land was surveyed in the three hsien, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, and Yung-sui. In the sixteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1811/ another total of 5,873.2 mu of fields and land was surveyed, totaling 152,157.1 mu of fields and land. Of this besides the land allocated to the army for horses and farming, land lost through floods and erosion, and also the land used for stone guard houses and surroundings, totaling 11,084.3 mu, and another 37,849 mu distributed among the t'un able-bodied males, leaders, the aged, and the young, there remained 103,223.8 mu. Farmers were recruited to farm this land and rent /in kind/ collected. The annual receipt in grain totaled 105,488 shih, three tou, and nine sheng.

C 175 563 651 M *175 *648 651

The Miao frontier region is mountainous and lacking in fields. For the most part they develop mountain slopes, building up terraced fields for the cultivation of rice grown in

2:Ling & Ruey--174 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/118 cont./

C 175 563 651 M *175 *648 651

flooded fields. Whenever the terraced fields are damaged by flood and erosion when mountain streams flood, the damage is often beyond repair, resulting in a decrease of rent year by year. Furthermore, the government has several times decreed a reduction of rent, so that the current rent rate is only one-half of the original. Successive rent reductions undergone were as follows: in the nineteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1814/ a reduction of 5,500 shih was made; in the first year of Tao Kuang /1821/ a reduction of 20,770 shih was made; in the eighteenth year of Tao Kuang /1838/ after an investigation of fields destroyed by flood, a reduction of 282 shih, 7 tou, 7 sheng, 6 shuo was effected; in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/ a reduction of 649 shih, 1 tou, 8 sheng, 1 ho. After the above reductions there remained a rent of 78,286 shih, 4 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 6 shuo. In the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ there was a further reduction amounting to 7,828 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 4 shuo, resulting in the collection of 70,457 shih, 8 tou, 1 shuo of rent. It was ruled that no further reductions would be made. It was also ordered that for every 6 ho /of grain/ there would be collected 1 sheng, but below six ho nothing would be collected, thereby causing a loss of 352 shih, 3 tou, 1 sheng, 1 shuo. Since that year the annual rent has totaled 70,105 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng. From the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ to the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, after deducting 179 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng of rent uncollectible due to flood and erosion, the net receipt of rent totaled 69,926 shih. From the first year of the Republic /1912/ to the sixteenth or seventeenth year, the reductions due to floods totaled 2,917 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng, 2 ho. In the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/, according to investigations made by the authors in western Hunan, the net rent was 67,008 shih, 5 tou, 8 ho. According to a statement in the Hsiang Hsi Miao Ch'ü T'un Fang Chün T'un T'ien T'u Yen Ke /Successive Changes in Land Allotted to Defensive T'un in the Miao Area West of the Hsiang River/, recently published by Yü Fan-ch'uan:

C [113]

2:Ling & Ruey--175 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14
C 175 651 563 M *175 *648 651

/118 cont./

by Yü Fan-ch'uan: "The decision of the first conference on t'un matters held in the twenty-fifth year of the Republic /1936/ was to reduce the rental on devastated land 1,592 shih, 3 tou, 8 sheng, 8 ho. Currently, the actual receipt of rent is 65,416 shih, 1 tou, 2 sheng." (1)

1. Pien Chiang /Frontier/, Vol. 2, no. 2.

(2) The Organization of T'un Defense

C 175 [701] M [701]

1. The organization of the t'un defense /system/ during the early Ch'ing dynasty.

(1) Feng-huang Sub-prefecture. T'un second captains 3, t'un lieutenants 4, t'un sergeants 4, t'un corporals 10, supernumeraries 9, Miao second captains 11, Miao lieutenants 20, Miao sergeants 40, Miao corporals 80, general t'un leaders /tsung t'un chang/ 15, special t'un leaders /san t'un chang/ 60, home guard /lien yung/ 1,000, old and young males 1,000, able-bodied t'un males /t'un ting/ 4,000, Miao soldiers 1,000, t'un camps 27, Miao camps 25, stone houses 544, t'un guard houses 105, guard stations 51, patrol stations 98, canon emplacements 7, gates 24, gate houses 5. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, patrol stations, gun emplacements, gates, and gate houses totaled 834 units. There were 63 t'un and Miao granaries, and the fixed rent was 25,461 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng, 6 ho, 8 shuo. Shotguns numbered 7,022, swords 300, spears 100, and hand guns /shou p'ao/ 40. The above guns, swords, and spears amounted to 16,229 weapons.

C [712] C [651] C [713]

(2) Kan-chou Sub-prefecture. T'un second captain 1, t'un sergeant 1, t'un corporals 2, t'un supernumeraries 2, Miao second captains 4. Miao lieutenants 6, Miao sergeants 13, Miao corporals 13, Miao corporals 25, general t'un leaders 4, special t'un leaders 21, able-bodied t'un males 600, Miao soldiers 800, t'un camps 8, Miao camps 10, stone houses 75,

C [701] M [701] C [712]

C 175 [712] /119 cont./ t'un guard houses 13, guard stations 28, gun emplacements 4, gates 5, gate houses 2. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and C [651] gate houses totaled 128 units. There were 11 t'un and Miao granaries, and the set rent was 7,725 shih, 1 tou, 3 sheng, [713] 2 ho, 9 shuo. Shotguns were 3,244, hand guns 10, swords 100, spears 395. The above weapons totaled 5,841 weapons.

C [701] (3) Yung-sui Sub-prefecture. T'un second captains 2, t'un lieutenants 2, t'un sergeants 3, t'un corporals /120/ 3, M [701] t'un supernumeraries 3, Miao second captains 12, Miao lieutenants 28, Miao sergeants 57, Miao corporals 115, general t'un leaders 12, special t'un leaders 33, t'un males 2,000, old C [712] and young males 800, Miao soldiers 1,800, t'un camps 13, Miao camps 19, stone houses 67, t'un guard houses 20, guard stations 29, gates 8, gate houses 3. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, gates, and gate houses totaled C [651] 127. There were 21 t'un and Miao granaries, and the set rent was 29,756 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 8 ho, 8 shuo, 3 ch'ao. [713] There were 4,915 shotguns, 190 swords, 3,295 spears, totaling 14,300 weapons.

C [701] (4) Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture. T'un sergeant 1, t'un supernumerary 1, Miao second captain 1, Miao lieutenant M [701] 2, Miao sergeant 4, Miao corporal 12, general t'un leader 1, special t'un leaders 4, t'un males 100, Miao soldiers 100, Miao camps 4, stone houses 15, guard stations 4. The above stone houses, guard houses, and guard stations totaled 19. C [712] There were 3 t'un and Miao granaries, with asset rent of 523 [651] shih, 7 tou, 1 sheng, 3 ho, 5 shuo, 3 ch'ao. There were 655 [713] shotguns, 369 swords, and 368 spears, totaling 1,828 weapons.

[701] (5) Pao-ching Hsien. T'un corporals 2, t'un supernumera- M [701] ries 2, Miao second captains 4, Miao lieutenants 9, Miao sergeants 12, Miao corporals 31, general t'un leaders 3, special t'un leaders 12, t'un males 300, Miao soldiers 300, t'un camps 2, Miao camps 12, stone houses 30, t'un guard houses 30, C [712] guard stations 25, gate 1, gate house 1. The stone houses,

C /120 cont./
175 guard houses, guard stations, gate, and gate houses totaled 70.
712 There were 9 t'un and Miao granaries, the set rent was 4,023
651 shih, 1 tou, 1 sheng, 4 ho, 2 shuo. There were 552 shotguns,
[713] 684 swords, and 844 spears, totaling 2,938 weapons.

(6) Mo-yang Hsien. General t'un leaders 2, special t'un
C leaders 10; t'un granaries 11, set rent 7,323 shih, 7 tou, 5
[701] sheng, 5 ho, 8 shuo, 5 ch'ao.

(7) Lu-ch'i Hsien. General t'un leaders 3, special t'un leaders 20, t'un granaries 13, set rent 4,414 shih, 6 ton, 1 sheng, 8 ho, 9 ch'ao.

C /121/ The above seven sub-prefectures and hsiens had a
175 total of 56 t'un officers, 486 Miao officers, 200 t'un leaders,
[701] 1,000 home guards, 7,000 t'un males, 1,800 old and young
M males, and 5,000 Miao soldiers. There were 120 t'un and
[701] Miao camps, 731 stone houses, 151 t'un guard houses, 137
C guard stations, 99 patrol posts, 11 gun emplacements, 38 gates,
[712] and 11 gate houses. The above stone houses, guard houses,
C guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and gate
[651] houses totaled 1,178. There were altogether 131 t'un and
[713] Miao granaries; the set rent was 79,218 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng. There were in all 16,388 shotguns, 50 hand guns, 1,643 swords, and 5,002 spears, totaling 41,136 weapons.

C 2. Regulations for the organization and administration
701 of the T'un Bureau from the headquarters of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division of the Army.

Article 1. The said Bureau is to be organized on the order of Divisional Commander Ch'en of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division.

Article 2. The said Bureau shall set up, according to the temporary organization regulations of the Division, a chief and a deputy chief, three department heads, a number of departmental staff, clerks, and copyists.

Article 3. The chief of the Bureau will receive orders from the Commander of the Division, and will have general superintendence over the t'un army west of the Hsiang River,
C and Miao defense officials and soldiers, t'un grain supplies,
[563]

Central China AF14

/121 cont./
and the keeping in order of t'un properties, and coordinate
701 everything, with the authority to direct and supervise all the Bureau's personnel.

Article 4. The said Bureau shall have three departments, Departments One, Two, and Three. Each department head shall receive his orders from the chief of the Bureau, to assist him by dividing control over military matters, t'un matters, and general matters, with the responsibility to direct and manage his particular department's responsibilities.

Article 5. Department One will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to the regulation of the t'un army, training, direction, and deployment.

(2) Matters pertaining to the military equipment of this army, inventory and replenishment.

[563] (3) Deciding on all educational planning for the t'un army.

(4) Military plans for defense in the Miao area.

(5) Matters pertaining to active support and recruiting of supplies in the rear during wartime.

Article 6. Department Two will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to investigation and management of t'un grain in the seven hsiens, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, Yung-sui, Ku-chang-p'ing, Pao-ching, Lu-ch'i, and Mo-yang.
/122/(2) Plans relating to the collection, disbursement, and transportation of t'un rent /grain/ in each hsien.

Article 7. Department Three will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to the investigation of the civilian and military personnel.

(2) Attending to the records of cases of opium suppression within the whole defense area of the Division.

(3) Attending to matters not belonging to the other two departments.

Article 8. The members of a department will receive orders from the chief of the Bureau, and, under the supervision of the chief of the department, will attend to the various matters of the department.

/122 cont./

Article 9. The secretary of the Bureau will receive his
701 orders from the chief of the Bureau, and will attend to such matters as the writing of official despatches of the Bureau, the keeping of the archives, and directing the copying of documents.

Article 10. The clerks will receive orders from the chief of the Bureau, and, under the direction of the department head, will assist in carrying out the various duties of the department.

Article 11. The copyists will receive their orders from the chief of the Bureau and the departmental heads, and, under the direction of department members and the secretary, shall be responsible for copying despatches and telegrams.

Article 12. The system of documentary procedure of the Bureau is as follows:

Official on duty for the day —— (makes extracts) receives and sends out (registers) —— distributes to { Dept. 1, Dept. 2, Dept. 3, Secretariat } ——

makes main drafts —— checks drafts —— official on duty (distributes for copying) ——

submits for signature —— seals and sends out —— files in the archives

/122 cont./

Article 13. Because of the real necessity of its business, the Bureau shall maintain three officials on duty (a member of a department, a clerk, and a copyist), whose duties shall be as follows:

701

(1) To keep a record of the items of business transacted during the day.

(2) To keep an attendence record of the personnel as a basis for reward and punishment.

(3) To attend to emergencies by taking discretionary measures and to report such measures to their superiors.

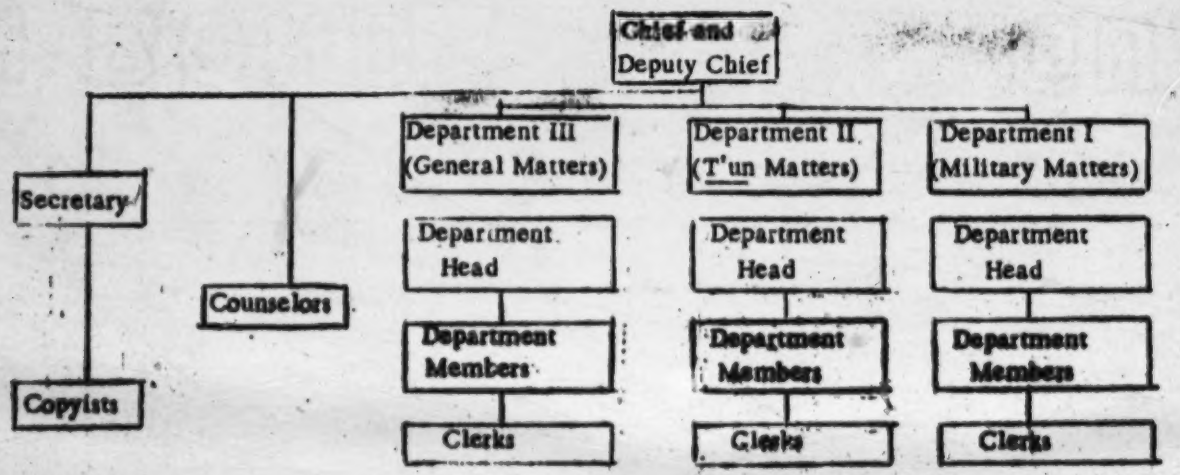
Article 14. Request for leave of absence for personal reasons must be requested and approved, otherwise such absences shall be considered negligence of duty.

Article 15. These regulations may be amended when the need arises by sending in a request.

/123/ Article 16. These regulations become effective on the day when they are approved by the divisional commander and made public.

Ziling & Ruey--181 E-5 (1939)-1947 AE5 Misc
/123 cont./
Central China AF14
781

CHART SHOWING THE SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION OF THE T'UN BUREAU OF THE NEWLY ORGANIZED 34TH DIVISION OF THE ARMY



Bureau of T'un Administration set up in 1939.

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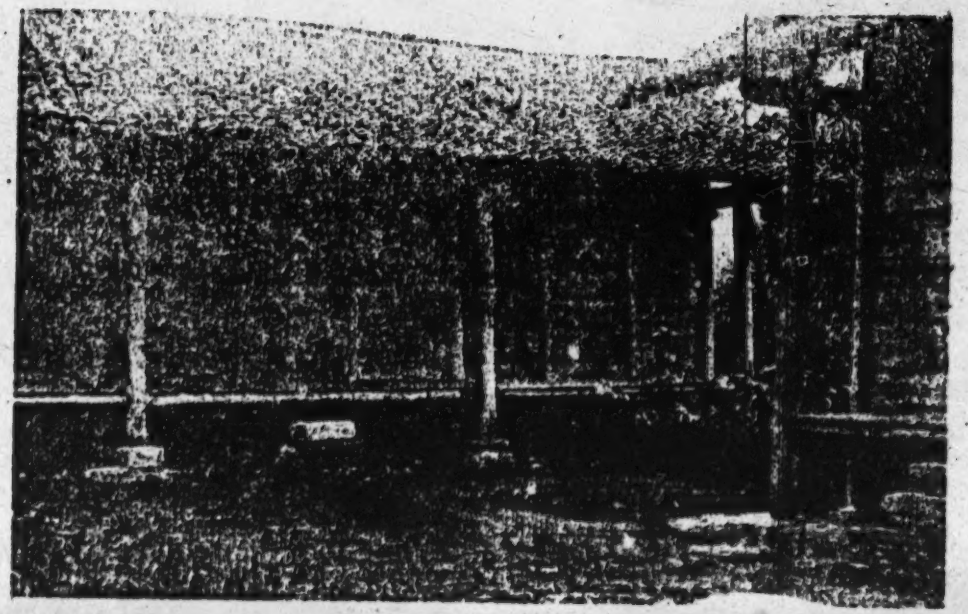
/123 cont./

C 701 425 651 The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men. The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are 7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i, tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given 4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8 liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent. Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/ /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system, totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier region is about 1,000 strong. The maintainance of the Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

C 901 425 651 563 M 701 649 [425] [177]

2:Ling & Ruey--183 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
/124/
34B



Illus. 57. A Miao t'un granary at Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--184 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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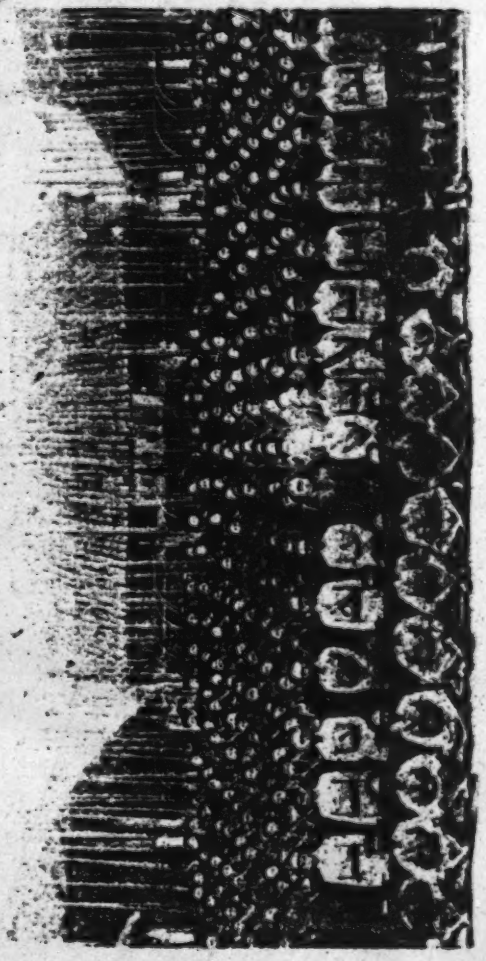
/125/



Illus. 58. The Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops drilled by the Newly Organized 34th Division of the Army.

2:Ling & Ruey--185 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/126 cont./

000 C 563 669 [425] [651]

obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances. In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao rebellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system. It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

M 648 [429] [701]

/127/

CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

M 121 771

The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There are no people however primitive without religion and magic. Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

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1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in Science, Religon and Reality by

/127 cont./

121 771

Joseph Needham, translated into Chinese by Li An-che, Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao yü Shen-hua, page 1, The Commercial Press.

According to the report

114 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of
771 today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation Bureau's Chinese translation, page 259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept
771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been
177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

776 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese,
771 "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/.
[177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have
[192] supernatural power; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits, or gods, they are all called "kuei," /kuei ŋ 7/ in the Miao language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia˧˥]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien˧˥] and a body [ko˧-ʔ'ieŋ˧/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[961] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[772] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pe˧ ts'əʔ˥]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ˧ ɔ˧˥] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ˧ ndu˩˧]. When there is a
[824]
* [782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648] 1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛy ɕioŋy] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛy tɕay] called the guest lao-shih. When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
756 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [842] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [177] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" [755] to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "wash- [783] ing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange [777] phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seeking resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning [842] the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/130 cont./

*782 177 Among the 24 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the guest religion, the "Local Divinity of the Soil" and "Flying Mountain" are routine sacrifices, and the rest may be performed for multiple entreaties. The following is a presentation in separate divisions of the various sacrifices to kuei in both the Miao and guest religions.

1. Miao Religion

(1) Sacrifice to the Ancestors

769 *782 The sacrifice to the ancestors, called [ɕi˩ ɕioŋ˩˧] in the Miao language, is performed generally once a year in every family, but sometimes once every few years, after the autumn harvest. In the event of a death, it must be performed not later than within five or six days after the death. The kuei invoked are called [ɕioŋ˩ lio˥˧ ɕioŋ˩ ko˥˩]. The place for the sacrifice is beside the fire pit inside the house and the time is in the early morning. They set up a winnowing basket in which are placed five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, with the rest of the space filled with pa-pa.[1] The winnowing basket is laid down on the left side of the fire pit, and a bowl of beeswax and a bamboo tube on the right. The Miao Sorcerer sits facing the fire pit, beating the bamboo tube with his right hand, uttering incantations, the general idea of which is as follows:

"The fifth and the sixth months has already gone by; the ninth and the tenth months have arrived. In the loaded fields the five grains have ripened. They carry the grain back home, the men on their shoulders with a pole and the women on their backs. They cannot eat it all; they invited me to come. I brought soldiers and horses to fill this house; I am burning beeswax, beating the bamboo tube, and have prepared the wine, meat, pa-pa, and paper money. I beg you kuei to receive them, but hold them for the time being without eating them!"

769 787 At this point he ceases to beat the bamboo tube and with a pair of chiao-tzu (1) divines the fortunes of the whole family

1 [i'e - maize baked into a crust - ANALYST]

769
787

/130 cont./

1. Chiao-tzu, an implement of divination which is made from two bamboo splints. The character chiao as written here is not found in any /Chinese/ books on etymology. It is probably a miswriting of the character chiao in pei-chiao /an implement of divination/; four other characters with the same sound are also used for it. The method of divining with chiao is: The sides looking up of the two chiao are the yang chiao, the sides looking down are the yin chiao, and one side looking up and one looking down are the sheng /"excellent"/ chiao.

one by one. /131/ Yang chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies wealth; yin chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies sickness and calamity. Sheng ("excellent," also written with the homonym meaning "holy") (1) chiao (one chiao looking

1. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (Sung dynasty), Yen Fan Lu: "...sheng chiao, one looking up, one looking down." Yeh Meng-te, Shih Lin Yen Yü: "One looking down, one looking up are sheng /"holy"/ chiao."

769 /131 cont./
[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At the same time he utters the following incantation:
769 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as
*782 well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death
[777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called [kuey mbaʌ] in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei" of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
[776] mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[796] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14 strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each. The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot. [788] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers, next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part [769] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the [776] house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance. On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh. There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number of slices of cut-up beef. No beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is [263] very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao superstition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

1. See "Myths about the Flood, 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." ‡

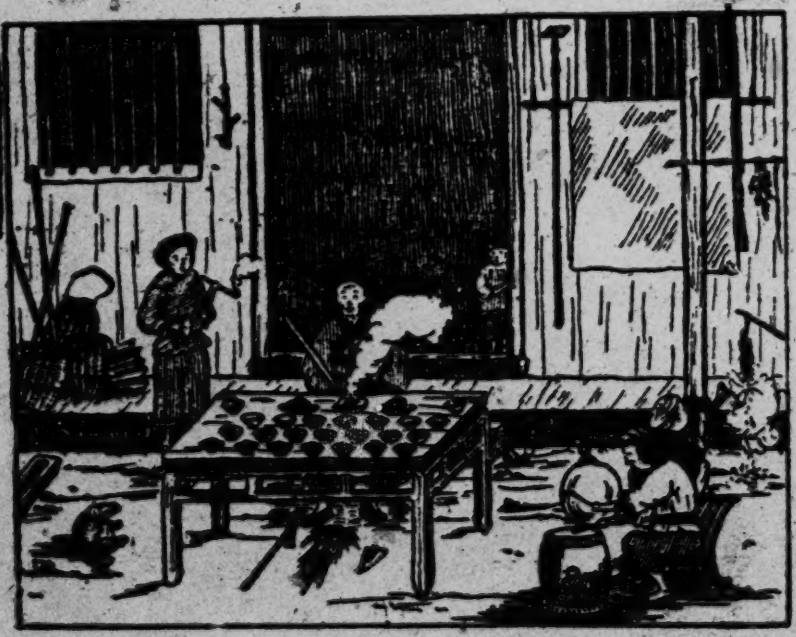
A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

‡ [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

/132 cont./

782 they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and a bracelet. He mutters an incantation, while attendants hold the [788] wing pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

[342] [352] [415] [412] [291]



Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

/133 cont./

*782 of water-buffalo meat are offered, one string being offered each time, and ending with the seventh string. Then after the pig is offered to the kuei by the sorcerer-priest, the pig is sent to the kitchen to be killed and cooked. Then the cut-up meat of the pig and the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs are distributed in seven bowls and offered to the kuei.

The fourth part is performed in the afternoon toward evening. A small table is set outside the entrance, on which are placed incense, rice, and li-shih (1), and a pair of green candles

1. Li-shih, a kind of paper horse.

as well as five cups of wine.

The fifth part is performed at night after the first night watch is sounded. Two large tables are put together in the middle room. It is surrounded by a number of benches. On the tables are spread out 12 bowls of wine in two rows, six in a row, and 12 bowls of cooked rice in one long row. On top of each bowl of rice is a piece of pork and a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. There are also 12 bowls of meat, placed like the bowls of rice in a long row. In front of the bowls of meat are a bowl of tea and a bowl of sour soup. On one corner of the table is a wooden bucket, on which are two dried rice shoots and a double-edged sword. The sorcerer-priest and the members of the lower generation as well as the close relatives of the same clan sit down around the table. The sorcerer-priest performs his ritual, and the rest light fire-
[783] crackers, blow the signal horn, and beat the drum, filling the hall with rumbling and roaring.

The sixth part is performed after the second watch is sounded. A long door plank is set up outside the ground floor. On the plank are laid nine bowls of wine, nine bowls of meat, nine bowls of sweet wine, a bowl of sour soup, and a bowl of tea. On the right side is placed an upper millstone, on which is set up a tub bucket on which are put a dried rice shoot and a double-edged sword. The sorcerer-priest and three members of the lower generation are seated in a row, and behind them is hung a red rug.

/133 cont./

*782 The sorcerer-priest carries out his performance by three times toasting and three times offering, five times toasting and five times offering, seven times toasting and seven times offering, until nine toasts and nine offerings have been made /sic/. The three members of the lower generation sit respectfully to keep the kuei company, as in Illus. 60. They sit until one of them has to go outside to relieve himself. Then the hostess gets out a cock, which is offered as a sacrifice by the sorcerer-priest, after which it is killed and cooked, and offered to the kuei.

On the third day, the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth parts are performed. The seventh part is performed in the early morning. A long door plank is again set up, and on it are laid nine bowls each of wine and meat, a bowl of sour soup, and a bowl of tea, as well as incense, rice /uncooked/, and li-shih /paper horse/. A bow and arrow, a silver bracelet, and a bamboo splint are stuck on the table. There is also an upper millstone on which is a /Illus. 60 appears on p. 134/ /135/ wooden bucket with two dry rice shoots and a double-edged sword on it. On the handle of the millstone is a bamboo-handled sieve, in which is found crosswise a wood plank, one end of which is cut into the shape of a fish with a small hole in it, tied with a piece of red cord. On the wood is carved the sign X. When everything is set out the sorcerer-priest starts to carry out his performance.

The eighth part is performed with wine, cooked rice, and tea, seven bowls each, placed on the floor of the main house at the base of a pillar. The sorcerer-priest enacts his performance, uttering an incantation and making sacrifices to the ancestors. [778] The Miao consider the base of the middle pillar the family altar where their ancestors rest.

The ninth part is performed in the room to the left of the main house. A big fat pig is used, its four legs tied up and a wooden rod going through /between the legs/. The two ends of the rod are tied onto two wooden sticks. First, the sorcerer-priest offers the animal to the kuei. Then it is killed and cooked, and the meat packed into seven small bamboo baskets. The meat is then put into seven bowls, which are set up with seven bowls of

2: Ling & Ruey--198 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/134/

Illus. 60, Eating Pigs, B.

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*782 wine and cooked rice. In addition meat is sliced, and seven slices strung together to make one string. In all, seven strings of meat are put on a platter. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation and divines with the chiao and sends off the kuei. This is the sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains.

[787] [776]

The tenth part is performed at noon, when two "Five-Flower pillars (1) are set up in an open area, and to each pillar is

1. Five-Flower pillars are made of pine shan wood about 3 chang long, on which are carved ornamental designs, which are smeared with red and white colors.

[531]

tied a pig. The hind legs of the pigs are bound together with hemp ropes. This rope must have been made by members of the lower generation. Moreover, a cock is tied to a small wooden pillar near the ornate pillars by means of a fine hemp string threaded through the beak. The sorcerer-priest stands under the eaves of the house, wearing a cap and long gown and holding in his hand a tree branch. The host wears a ceremonial hat and a red rug thrown over his body. He first picks up a bench and places it against one of the Five-Flower pillars, holding in his left hand a double-edged sword and a bamboo splint and flourishing the latter as if he were driving the pigs away. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation to send the pigs away, and after the incense and the paper are burned, the various members of the lower generation come out grasping weapons as in Illus. 61. They bow three times facing the interior of the house and three times facing the outside. Then they kill the pigs and the chicken.

[292]

The eleventh part is performed in front of the main house. A bamboo mat is spread on the ground and on it are placed the caps and clothes of the members of the lower generation. Behind the mat there is a bench, on which are placed a bowl of wine and a piece of water-buffalo meat. The sorcerer-priest stands outside the entrance, wearing a wide rain hat on his head and carrying a bamboo cage on his back, in which are clothes and other articles.

[292] [482]

2: Ling & Ruey--200 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 61. Eating Pigs, C.

/135 cont/

*782 [776] Wielding a wooden rod, he utters an incantation, telling of the source of the kuei of pigs. After the incantation he goes directly into the house and partakes of the wine and meat on the bench.

The twelfth part is performed late at night or in the fourth or fifth watch. The long door boards are put up as a table. /Illus. 61 appears on p. 136/ /137/ The two pairs of pigs from the Five-Flower pillars, which have been killed, cut up, and washed clean, are put on the table with the heads of the pigs facing the interior of the house. On the table are further laid out wine, meat, and sweet wine, nine bowls each, as well as a bowl of sour soup and a bowl of tea. There are also 12 bowls of cooked rice, on each of which is placed a string of lean and fat pork. The upper millstone, incense, rice /uncooked/ and li-shih are also there. There is no blowing and beating of instruments, only the sorcerer-priest's soft-voiced, gentle petition.

On the fourth day the thirteenth and the fourteenth parts are performed. The thirteenth takes place when the cock crows in the fifth watch. A member of the lower generation with a felt [292] rug thrown over his body and a straw hat on his head holds an ox horn containing wine in his left hand and a knife in his right hand, as well as grasping a string of seven slices of pork. He walks to a river bank or a well. He empties the wine from the horn and puts in clear water. While returning, he eats the seven slices of meat. Arriving at the gate, he imitates the crowing of the cock. After entering the house he sits down. On the table is laid a tray on which are set three cups of wine and three slices of meat. Under the tray is a jar, into which the water is emptied from the horn. The sorcerer-priest strikes the drum and utters an incantation. After the incantation the water carrier runs out the door, while the host throws ashes from used firewood on his body.

The fourteenth part is to send the kuei away and is performed in the early morning. The pigs' heads are cooked and cut into small slices or chunks, and are distributed in three trays, on each of which are placed three cups of wine. One tray is put at the foot of the middle pillar in the main house; one tray is placed on the floor of the front-half side room; and one

/137 cont./

*782 tray is put beside the entrance. The incantation, uttered by the sorcerer-priest sends off the kuei.

(3) Ta Chia Hsien

755 When a Miao becomes ill and taking medicine does not
*782 make him better, then he must make a vow to "ta chia hsien"/lit. "beat the family ancestors"/, which in the Miao language is called [pa˧ mba˨˩ pio˧˥], which means "beating Miao pigs." It may be performed during the illness or after the recovery. Before the event takes place, the host must serve notice to members of the
[602] mother's brother's family, inviting them to send seven members of the maternal uncle's family (six men and a woman) to be guests. If that family does not have so many people, the maternal uncle may ask other people to make up the number. But the persons invited should not have the same surname as the host. No day needs to be selected as lucky, but the following days must be
[777] avoided: if a child is born in the family, it is necessary to wait one month before the ceremony is performed; the birth of kittens also necessitates one month's separation; the birth of pigs, goats, cows, horses, and dogs causes a postponement of 12 days; the hatching of chicks, ducklings, and goslings, three days; a funeral in the family or when the head of the family has witnessed a funeral of another family, 12 days. If the notice should arrive before the time of expiration of any of the above periods, the maternal uncle's family may refuse such an invitation. If the host because he seeks an immediate recovery from a sickness cannot wait any longer, he may invite other guests, but they may not have the same surname as he.

/138/ The Ta Chia Hsien ceremony is divided into four parts, requiring a whole day from morning till night. There
[776] are altogether eight kuei invited: [ŋa˧˥ ma˧ tsoŋ˧˥ teŋ˧˥], [ŋa˧˥ ma˧ bu˨˩ ɲieŋ˧˥], [tsoŋ˧˥ teŋ˧˥ tsoŋ˧˥ tieŋ˧˥], [bu˨˩ ɲieŋ˧˥ tsei˧˥ ha˧˥], (it is said that these four are the ordinary names for the kuei of

/138 cont./

755 *782 [779] the ancestors). [bu˧ naŋ˧ tʂoŋ˥˧ lie˧˥], [a˧ naŋ˧ tsoŋ˥˧ kɯ˨˩˦], (this is the oldest ancestral kuei); [tʂoŋ˥˧ meŋ˧ tʰɛ˧ ɕio˧˥], [tʂoŋ˥˧ toŋ˥˧ tʰɛ˧ lie˧˥], (these are the kuei names of the seven invited guests). The place is beside the fire pit inside the house. The Miao sorcerer-priest sits on a low stool behind the fire pit, facing the entrance. In front of him is a bamboo tube and a bowl of wax. In front of the fire pit is set up a square table, on which are placed ten square pieces of fancy /flower/ paper divided in two rows. On each square of paper in the back row is placed a bowl of wine, and behind the back row are stuck up four paper kuei. In the two far corners of the table are stuck up two paper flags. Two chickens are tied to the legs of the table with fine cord through their beaks. Two pigs with their feet tied up with rope are placed in front of the chickens, heads facing the stove. To the right of the Miao sorcerer-priest, on the floor, there is a bamboo mat, on which is a /cooked/ rice bucket /Illus. 62 appears here/ /139/ with the lid off, and a bit in front is a jar, in which is put a piece of fancy paper with a bowl of wine on it. In front of the mat to the right of the fire pit is a winnowing basket. Above it three pieces of bamboo form a semicircular top, on the outside of which paper is pasted, and then cloth. Inside are stuck three paper kuei, in the middle four pieces of fancy paper, and on each of the two pieces of paper in the rear is placed a bowl of wine, see Illus. 62.

For the first part, which concerns inviting the shen, the Miao sorcerer sits on the stool, without using any of his magic implements, and only uttering an incantation, whose general purport is as follows:

"All you older and younger relatives of the host!

The host has recently run into bad luck. When he walked on the road, he saw strange happenings among the grass and trees. When he ate, there were inexplicable fragments and pieces of a broken saucepan in his rice. When the host looked quickly, then he saw these strange phenomena. The (here the name of the ancestral kuei of the family is mentioned) kuei, wanting food to eat, first came and did these things, then made the host fall sick. The host, not getting well, made a vow, and after this, his sickness left him.

/139 cont./

755 *782 The vow has extricated him from the clutches of the kuei, and the sickness has not come back, but is forever uprooted. The host has saved money and bought a fat pig from the market as well as paper money. Having waited for the passing of the days to be avoided, then he comes to the sacrifice to the kuei. Sorcerer-priests are very few in this world, and he came to my home to invoke my help. So, here I am. I ask all the kuei to come here. I burn a bowl of beeswax. The bamboo tube and the bell are beside the fire pit. The two winnowing baskets filled with meat, the gold and silver cans, the gold and silver chair cushions, all are set at the sides of the pit. The table for the sacrifice to the kuei, the paper money for the redemption of the soul, the fancy /flower/ bowl to hold the wine, the fat pigs, big and small, two large chickens--these

[352] [353] [516] [415]

圖62 打家先

Illus. 62. Ta Chia Hsien

/139 cont./

755 are all placed beside the table. We request the kuei to come
*782 to take them. And after taking them, please eat quickly." (He
[774] utters the name of the ancestral kuei of the family.)

The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube. While beating the bamboo tube, the Miao sorcerer utters an incantation, generally describing many supernatural phenomena, such as the mischievous behavior of the 12 large trees; strange happenings after eating fish, meat, bamboo shoots, and smoking tobacco; strange happenings with the water at the time of using water, in a bath or sitting in a boat; strange happenings with clothes; strange happenings with ants and snails; with wooden rods and bamboo poles, etc.

The third part is the handing over of the animals. After the incantation for the second part is finished, there is a short respite. The Miao sorcerer then picks up the bamboo tube and the bowl of beeswax is moved onto the table. Afterward he asks a man and a woman from among the seven guests from the maternal uncle's family to sit opposite each other, the man inside next to the bamboo mat facing outward, the woman outside next to the winnowing basket facing inward. The rest of the five men sit at the table on a bench next to the fire pit, without making a movement. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bamboo chiao in his right hand and ringing the hand bell with his left, begins once more to utter an incantation:

> /140/ "The wine for ta chia hsien is now ready. There are altogether seven empty wine bowls, two beside the fire pit and five beside the entrance. Please come and take them! After taking them, please do not drink right away. As for the pigs and chickens, if not sent they will not arrive. Once we send them they will arrive. I invoke my patron saint's soldiers and horses; I order my own 1,000 men and 10,000 horses to help deliver the large pig, to help send the small pig and the two chickens. The chickens are sent to the coop, the small pig is sent to the pig sty, and the large pig is sent to the tower."

/140 cont./

755 At this point the sorcerer-priest makes the gesture of forcibly
*782 sending off the pig. While sending off the pig he says three phrases
789 of a magic formula in a low tone. The bystanders can only see his lips moving but cannot hear anything. According to the Miao sorcerer, at the time his teacher taught him this formula, he repeatedly warned him that after that day he must not teach it to any insincere disciple and must not teach them indiscriminatingly to anyone, or else, the person who teaches it may lose his life or his methods would not be effective. After having finished the three phrases of the magic formula to send off the pig, once more in a loud voice he intones:

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*782

> "Helpers take the wooden rod and hit the pig in the chest and kill it. Roast it with fire and wash it with water! Do it quickly! The kuei have been waiting here for fully half a day already."

After the incantation is over, the host and the helpers kill the animal with the rod and carry it inside the house. They roast it over the fire, then wash it with water, lay bare the stomach, and cut the pig into two halves: one half is taken by the host, with one leg cut off for the sorcerer-priest, and the other half is received by the seven guests. The other pig is similarly distributed, but after the host's share is put aside, the guests' share is cut into small chunks, and seven bowls are filled with meat. Two bowls are placed on fancy paper in the winnowing basket, and five bowls, on fancy paper at the table. Then, a few other chunks of meat are put into a tin can on the mat. After the meat has been set up, each person returns to his original seat.

The fourth part is to send the kuei away. The sorcerer-priest, ringing the hand bell with his left hand and holding the chiao with his right hand, utters an incantation to the following effect:

"The pork has been cooked in the saucepan. Seven fine bowls of meat and seven fine bowls of wine have been placed beside the stove. Another ten bowls of meat have been put beside the entrance. This sorcerer-priest takes this wine and meat and offers them to the ancestral kuei. So, please receive them."

/140 cont. /

755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
[787] to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kuen yiei /, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is
842 the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously
[787] ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[776] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
[231] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

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*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [550] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

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*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to [178] the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's house they set off firecrackers and play music. [788] The host comes out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] [535] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full [292] dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

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*782 After each passage the musicians play their instruments a while. When the sorcerer-priest has occasion to stand up, the four "leg-bearing" men who accompanied the kuei also stand up; when the sorcerer-priest sits down, the "leg-bearing" men also sit down; when he presents wine, they must also do so. From first to last it is done nine times until late at night.

In the morning of the second day the sorcerer-priest orders the helpers to go outside the village to choose an open area to erect Five-Flower pillars. After the pillars are erected they make bamboo rings with bamboo strips and put them around the pillars. A piece of hemp rope is used to tie the nose of the ox to the bamboo ring. The creeper brought by the "leg-bearing" relatives are used to bind up the horns so that the animal cannot hurt anyone with the horns, see Illus. 63. After the arrangements have been finished, the sorcerer-priest is asked to make an inspection, and if he finds everything satisfactorily arranged, then they can proceed. The host then changes into new clothes, and offers wine and meat as sacrifices to the kuei, burns incense [788] and paper, and kneels three times and kowtows nine times facing the ox. At the same time the sorcerer-priest utters an incantation, telling the origin of the ox kuei. After the incantation is finished, the mother's brother takes hold of the spear and acts as if he were chasing the ox to stab it. The spear is then taken by a young man to do the actual stabbing of the animal. At the same time the din from the drums and gongs rends the air and the ox runs around the Five-Flower pillars. /Illus. 63 appears between pp. 142 and 143./ /143/ with the man pursuing and repeatedly stabbing, until the animal is dazed and falls to the ground. [787] They note the direction in which the head falls to decide whether the sign is auspicious or not. If the head faces toward the host's house, it is a good omen; if the head faces away, then it is a bad omen.

After the animal has been stabbed to death, then the meat is divided up. The head and heart, liver, entrails, and bowels go to the host to be used to sacrifice to the kuei. The left and right hind legs go to the "first- and second-leg-bearing" relatives,

2: Ling & Riley--211 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/between pp. 142 and 143./

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Illus. 63. Bludgeoning the Ox.

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*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the guests are leaving. Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each [574] receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

755 Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other
*782 place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao con-
774 sider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer-
[753] priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called [lio˨˩ kuei˧˥]. originally meaning "kuei of springs." The two kuei in-
[776] voked are called [naŋ˧ ntɤ˧ lio˨˩ u˧˥] and [naŋ˧ mɤ˧ lio˨˩ tɤ˧˥]. The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kuei.

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(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple
[753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con-
[776] sidered that the [nɑŋ˧ ŋuei˧ pi˥nu˥] and [nɑŋ˧ nu˧ pi˥ ʂɛ˥] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /pɑ˥ pi˥ nu˥/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called [ta˥ ʂ'io˧ t'ɑ˥ lie˥] in the Miao
787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate
[825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then
[791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/.
*782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

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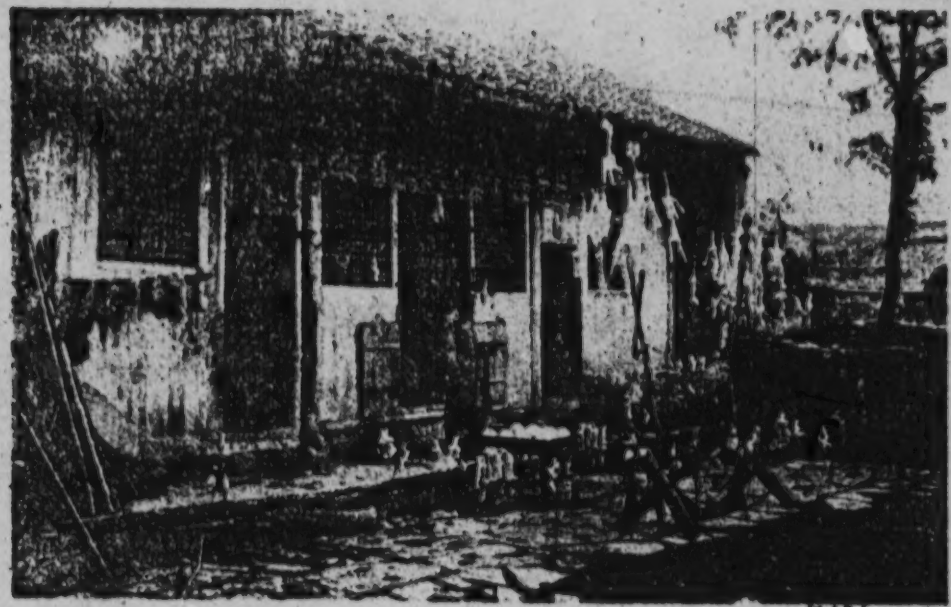
*782 The first part consists of the invocation of the kuei, in
776 Miao called [ʐɑ˧ piɑŋ˥]. There are four kuei invoked: [nɑŋ˧ nɛ˧ kueŋ˥ tio˥], [nɑŋ˧ mɛ˧ kueŋ˥ lieŋ˥], [kueŋ˥ bu˧ kueŋ˥ teŋ˥], and [kueŋ˥ ʐɔɯ˧ kueŋ˥ piɑŋ˥]. According to Miao sorcerers the four kuei are two males and two females, the most respected kuei in heaven. The invocation of the kuei takes place in front
*782 of the main house. The sorcerer-priest hangs out the paper streamers which he cut the previous day in the host's house on three tree trunks. He then encircles the tree trunks with paper banners planted to form a semicircle. At the foot of the steps is a small table, on which are laid out 12 bowls, bottoms up, and wine is poured into the hollows of the bottoms instead of wine cups. In another small bowl burns beeswax. The Miao sorcerer
[788] stands on the steps, holding the chiao in his right hand and ringing a hand bell in his left hand, mumbling some phrases to himself. He then begins to invoke the kuei (Illus. 64). Before he utters the incantation, he first calls out /ha ji jo o ho ho/. His incantation follows, with the general purport as given below:

> "The sun rises and the sun sets. The smoke from the beeswax in the dish rises to the sky and leads the kuei to this house. This beeswax is burned by my (the sorcerer designates himself) hand. The smoke from the wax rises up the mountain slope, while I, the sorcerer-priest, stand here before this house. The smoke from the wax changes to mist, shrouding the mountain slope and the sorcerer-priest. The smoke from the wax goes up to the sky and together with the mist /Illus. 64 appears here/ /146/ protects the world. The kuei, not knowing the sorcerer-priest, are frightened. I do it three times, and burn three piles of beeswax. The smoke from the wax drifts before the sorcerer-priest's altar, leading down my patron saints. We ask hundreds and thousands of honorable patron saints to come here. Such and such patron priests... (calling the patron saints by name) have all come! Please do not forsake me. In front is the entrance, behind is the city; in front is the

2: Ling & Ruey--215 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5



Illus. 64. Ta Kan Lo, A.

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/146 cont./

*782 mountain, behind is the slope; in front are soldiers, behind is the general. Up the hill is a path; down the stream is a boat. Each word and each phrase is to be listened to. Being in the same place, any time I may call your name. The host is sitting at peace, not going to the fields to swear oaths. At the temple he does not swear oaths, nor at home. He does not swear oaths with cold water, and when beating his wife /and children ?/ does not swear oaths. The host is willing to feed others, and does not take advantage of others, nor laugh at other people's sons and descendants. He does not act unjustly, but observes litigations all around him."

At this point he once more burns beeswax, makes a gesture of leading down the Kuei. His incantation continues:

"If the ta kan lo paper banners and their staffs become disarranged, we ask the kan lo kuei to please set them right. These are the strange occurrences caused by the kan lo kuei: the pig goes mad; the dog jumped on the roof; the pig ran up to the entrance; the hen entered her nest to eat her egg; the pig went up the stairs to eat a small child; the hen can crow like a cock; the cock can hatch chickens; the hen laid a soft-shelled egg; the bitch had only one puppy; the pig had a litter of two piglets; the crops ripened in the third month; a dead thing was seen when coming out the entrance; two snakes were seen together; two tigers hid in the house; a rat made a squeaking sound; a snake was seen in the house; a snake shed its skin in the house. The host had a terrible dream, dreaming he was in rain and snow, dreaming he was in the midst of a deep forest. He therefore went to the diviner. It was found that no other kuei was causing these calamities, only the kan lo

*782 787 825

*782 796

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*782 [776] kuei were eating food and seeking sacrifices from people. A vow was made on a selected auspicious day. After the vow everything became peaceful. After a few days the host accumulated a sum of money. Wherever an ox was killed today up and down the village, with the money he bought some beef and returned home. On reaching home he sent for the sorcerer-priest. The sorcerer-priest has summoned his soldiers and horses and patron saints to come to this house. The wax is lit; the hand bell is ringing; the table has been set up and spread with fine bowls; the paper banners have been stuck up in the place; the flag poles have been erected, with paper streamers flying; a chicken has been killed, and everything is set."

*782 787 After the above incantation is over, the priest tosses the chiao-tzu beside him on the ground. He studies the chiao-tzu to divine whether the kuei have come down. The yin and yang chiao indicate that the kuei still have not come down. It is necessary to get the sheng chiao, for then the kuei have come down. If the kuei have not yet descended, it is necessary to invoke them again.

*782 /147/ The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube [pas̍ çiou̍ dou̍]. When this part is performed, the various arrangements outside the entrance are not moved, except that the bowl of wax is moved inside the entrance to the righthand corner, and the bamboo tube is placed on the ground behind the bowl of wax. The Miao sorcerer sits on a stool behind the bamboo tube. He beats it with his right hand while he utters an incantation. Each beat punctuates two words (Illus. 65). The general purport of the words are as below:

"The host has asked me today to come to perform the Ta Kan Lo, entirely of his own voluntary wish, without compulsion from anyone. The sun dragon and the moon dragon in the skies, the water dragon in the fields. I wear three steel helmets, iron shoes,

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*782 and /Illus. 65 appears here/ /148/ rain clothes. The bamboo tube is in front of me, and the bell is wound with red and green strips of cloth. My patron saint is standing beside the smoke from the wax. My teacher stands beside the knife. I ascend on the smoke of the wax. Now I have reached the land of the spirits /shen/. I am already with the four kan lo kuei. If you have

[142 351 291 519]

Illus. 65. Ta Kan Lo, B.

*782 /148 cont./

affairs elsewhere, do not go until I have finished speaking, and then you may disappear with the smoke from the wax. I ask you to protect the host that he may be blessed with peace and long life; protect his descendants, his animals, his wealth and happiness, so that everything may be completely protected!"

The third part is repenting [tʰɑ̃ˡ mieˡ]. While performing this the sorcerer-priest stands in the middle of the house, facing the entrance. A rectangular bench is used, on which are spread five bowls of wine and five pieces of meat. The Miao [412] sorcerer holds a kitchen chopper in his hand, with the edge down, chopping right and left in the same cadence as the beating of the bamboo tube, and utters an incantation:

"The sorcerer-priest stands inside the entrance, performing. Helpers have set out the bowls of wine and pieces of meat on the bench. The paper money, the axe, the iron knife, the scissors, and the comb are all in readiness. Will the kuei please take these. After receiving these useful articles please partake of the food slowly. I take the knife and sharpen it quickly against the stone, not to chop off benefits to the host, but to break the fetters of the kan lo kuei. Please eat five pieces of good meat, and drink five bowls of good wine. The host in the ordinary course of events has taken a vow and drunk blood. Today I request you to pardon him, and all the various misfortunes to go with the chopping of this knife. [pʰɑ̃ˡ ɕiaˡ] (a sound to frighten the kuei). When the host walks over this knife, he will then have peace and no trouble. The former grievances between the host and any others are today all relegated to the enemy [pʰɑ̃ˡ ɕiaˡ]. The large golden knife splits open a bright main road; the small golden knife opens a bright path."

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*782 The Miao sorcerer performs the ritual of repenting three times with the knife. He further repeats the performance with a pair of scissors, and again recites:

[783] "The scissors of the host's family are used to do repenting for the host's sins. After he has repented, he can then receive blessings. These scissors cut only misfortunes but not blessings. They cut the mourning cloth of the host, cut the cord that ties up his feet, cut the rope that wraps around his hands, and cut his coffin. When the host steps over the scissors, he will then have peace and will get blessings. [p'iŋ ɕiɑ⁴]. The large scissors split open a bright main road; the small scissors split open a bright path."

After the performance with the scissors, he uses a comb to repeat the ritual of repenting, combing over to the left and once to the right, and continuing the incantation:

[783] "This sun comb and moon comb belong to the shrine of the local divinity of the soil. With it I come to get rid of the sins of the host. This comb does not comb away the host's meritorious acts but his transgressions. He constantly made vows before the shrine of the local divinity of the soil /149/ and also drank blood before the shrine, with blood left on his mouth and sweating blood in his viscera. The host, after this combing with the sun comb and moon comb, will be at peace! [p'iŋ ɕiɑ⁴]. The large comb will comb open a bright main road; the small comb will comb open up a bright path."

*782 After the sorcerer has finished with the knife, scissors, and comb, he takes hold of the chiao-tzu and begins divining 787 for the host and members of his family, uttering at the same time the following incantation:

"The three rites of repenting having been completed, the sorcerer-priest now requests that he may question the kan lo kuei. I request that I may question the patron saint, the questions will be clear. I wish to ask the fortunes of the host's family, big and small, men

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*782 787 and women, old and young, in their affairs, and about the family's wealth, crops, and animals, etc. In accordance with the questions asked, I consider the chiao evidence. The yin chiao indicates danger; the yang chiao indicates peace and security; the sheng chiao indicates good luck. Now that the questions *782 to the kuei have been asked, there is only the burning of the paper money. After the paper is burned, it becomes money: he who gets a lot shares a lot; he who receives little, shares little."

The fourth part consists of sending the kuei away [soŋ kueiŋ]. The layout for sending the kuei away is the same as that for invoking them, except that on the table there are added 12 bowls of meat and 12 piles of pa-pa, while the number of bowls of wine remain the same. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bell in his right hand and chiao in his left hand, utters the following incantation:

"All ye kuei gather here to receive sacrifices in meat and wine, 12 bowls of meat, 12 piles of meat. The wine and meat are all spread before you. The kan lo kuei are fond of this wine and meat. Please help yourselves. After helping yourselves, please protect this family, big and small. May they be at peace and without trouble; may they not lose money or rice and *782 231 not experience lawsuits; may the cattle not have an epidemic and, while eating grass, may they not fall into a pit; while drinking water, may they not fall into the river; while going up the mountain to plow, may they be safe. Protect the pigs, dogs, chickens, and ducks when let loose outside so that at night they may return home by themselves and grow without fodder. May one of them be a thousand or a hundred. May eagles fail to catch the fowls. May the host not fall *782 when he treads on a welter of stones while walking. May the house not be lost by fire. When the host goes

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*782 out to trade, when he goes east may there be profit and when he goes west may there be profits, with profits from every direction. Thus may the host be completely protected. Again, I invoke protection for these helpers here. Without them these sacrifices to the kuei could not be made. The helpers must be here to enact them. When you have canes do not strike people, when you have ropes do not tie up people. Protect the sorcerer-priest! If I did not perform the ritual here, you would not be able to come here to enjoy /these things/. If my words are not correct, I ask your forgiveness. Pray rid me of disasters and calamities so that when I meet water I may not get wet, when I meet fire I may not get burned. Now, everything has been said."

[292] /150/ At this point the Miao sorcerer wraps a long strip of white cloth around his head with one end trailing on the ground, and continues his incantation:

[765] "The mourning kerchief that I wear is not mourning for my father and mother, not for my maternal uncle /niang chiu/ nor his daughters /tzu-mei, "sisters"/, not for my relatives through marriage, and not for the elders of the village, but for the host. My wearing this mourning does away with all his calamities. The sorcer-priest having worn this mourning, the host's family, men and women, big and small, will not die; moreover there will be no more calamities."

After reciting the above passage he again rings the bell and at the same time continues his incantation:

"Helpers, please raise your knives and chop off the kan lo poles and throw them out into the outer area. I shall collect the paper money, and I want you to burn it. Before burning, it is paper; after burning, it is money. He who gets much shares much; he who gets little shares little.

/150 cont./

*782 The sorcerer-priest again offers wine and meat. Kan lo kuei please eat a lot, once, twice, thrice -- all please eat. After eating, please go home. Hereafter when the host divines by the diagrams or calculates a horoscope, let not the names of kan lo kuei be arrived at again. When the host in the future calculates for other kuei, he must not see the names of kan lo kuei come out again, for he cannot select a day for offering sacrifices to the kan lo kuei. From now on all the omens of the host's dreams shall be auspicious, all dangerous matters will be cut off; ten thousand years of peace and contentment. [ha ji jo ho ho!]

[787] After the Miao sorcerer finishes the incantation, he throws the chiao-tzu on the ground to divine whether the kuei have gone or not. If the yin chiao and the sheng chiao appear, the kuei have already gone, but if the yang chiao appears then the kuei have not yet gone. He must again utter the incantation to send off the kuei, with slight variations this time, such as: "Now, we are sending the kuei back, our thanks to you! On this occasion the wine and meat were not plentiful, which we regret." Then he begins to divine with the chiao again until the [787] yin chiao appears. All the paper money and other paper things are burned, and the sacrifice is over.

(8) Sending Away the Supernatural Force of the Old Trees

*782 824 [776] If a Miao inside the house suddenly hears a strange noise and on opening the door does not see anything, then he thinks that the big trees in front of or behind the house or near the village are acting up. It is the two kuei [nɑŋ˧ ŋuei˧ tʰoŋ˥ ndu˩˧] and [nɑŋ˧ nu˥ tʰoŋ˥ lho˥] coming to eat. The sorcerer-priest must be asked to come to expel the supernatural forces of the old trees, in Miao called [ɕi˥ ndu˩˧]. At night a table is put outside the main entrance. On the table are placed five

/150 cont./

*782 824 bowls each of wine and meat and a bowl of beeswax. The Miao sorcerer sits in front of the table, beating a bamboo tube with his right hand and uttering the incantation to send away the old trees' supernatural forces. The general purport of the incantation /151/ is to request the kuei to go away quickly after partaking of the wine and meat, for the children in the village after hearing the strange noise are terrified. Among the phrases of the incantation is "kill a goat to sacrifice to the kuei." This shows that previously the goat was also used as an object of sacrifice but now it is spared; the text of the incantation, however, has remained unchanged. After one section has been [788] recited, he stops beating the bamboo tube. He starts ringing the bell with his left hand and continues the incantation. At the [787] same time he performs divination with the chiao-tzu. If the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, the supernatural forces are considered to have departed. If he gets the yang chiao, they have not gone, and the incantation and the divination have to be repeated until either the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, when the kuei may be sent away by burning the paper money.

(9) Cleansing the House

*782 783 If one's house has been lived in by a family of a different surname, the master of the house must ask a Miao sorcerer to cleanse the house after that family moves out, otherwise, the owner after living there would not be prosperous. Cleansing the [776] house in Miao is called [ndzɑ̃˧ pɑ˨˩˧]. The two kuei invoked are [deiʌ˧ ʂɑ˧ nogˬ dɕ˧˥] and [deiʌ ʐɑ˧ nogˬ qa˨˩]. The time is any time during broad daylight, and the place may be anywhere inside the house, either in the main room or in the side room, facing outside the door. A table is set up, and on it placed five bowls of wine, five pieces of pork, five piles of mi-pa, and five pieces of tofu/bean curd/. A piece of green cloth 6 ch'ih long is spread out on the ground under the table. On the cloth are one or two strings of copper yuan; they also use a cock, whose two wings are tied to a leg of the table. They do not use beeswax, but only use three slender sticks of incense stuck up in the mi-pa. The

/151 cont./

*782 sorcer-priest holds the chiao and rings the bell, standing in front
783 of the table, and the words of the incantation he utters are to the following effect:

"Now we have prepared well wine, meat, a cock, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, clean water, and ready money to cleanse the house. First we invoke the ancestors of the host. When you hear my call, please hurry down and receive the objects of sacrifice. Next we invoke the ancestors of the previous tenant. The host, fearing that he may not be at peace here, has asked me to come to cleanse the house. I have come with many soldiers and horses. With water I cleanse the house, first cleanse the fire bed, next the fire pit. I cleanse the right and the left of the house; I cleanse the front and the back doors. After I have cleansed three times, the host may live in it with great prosperity, resources abundant, prosperous harvests of the five grains, and the increase of the six kinds of domestic animals. The trouble-making kuei have now been sent out the door, hereafter peace will be everlasting."

[769]

[787] After the incantation has been completed, he then divines with the chiao. If either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao appears, it is auspicious, and paper is burned to send off the kuei. But if the yin chiao appears, then the incantation has to be said again, until he divines and gets either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, when it is the end. After the sorcerer-priest has completed his performance, he drinks the wine on the table and takes the cock, meat, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, and copper yuan offered in sacrifice to the kuei, home with him.

[152/ (10) Cleansing the Cat

[825] The Miao consider that a cat dying in the house is an ill omen, and it is then necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to purify the house in order to expel harmful emanations. In Miao this is called

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*782 [t[illegible] -mo[illegible]]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kuei[illegible] mo[illegible]
783 jen[illegible] tian[illegible]] and [kuei[illegible] mo[illegible] jen[illegible] qian[illegible]]. The time is in broad
825 daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only
[776] necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some
627 matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is
[578] wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [[illegible] t[illegible]
[778] n[illegible]]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine
[774] for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1) to drink blood.

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

/152 cont./

*782 627 to drink blood. They may be treated separately as follows:

A. Drinking at the shrine of the local divinity of the soil.

Drinking blood at the local shrine is also called "drinking [825] chicken blood." During the day or at night they prepare a cock and some paper money. First they kill the cock, and its blood is allowed to drip into wine. This is then carried to the local shrine and offered to the kuei. The names of the kuei are [nang nɛ [776] ʑiɤ bu] and [nang mɑ ʑi teŋ]. A Miao sorcerer is asked to utter an incantation to the following effect:

> "This sorcerer-priest has arrived at a forked road and cannot think how to decide. Formerly, without any business I dared not recklessly mention the local kuei's names, but today these two parties are involved in a dispute over land boundaries, each insisting on his version of the case, and not able to reach a settlement. [825] Therefore, we have made /153/ this bowl of chicken blood, and the two sides have come before the kuei to drink blood and take a vow. After the drinking, then a settlement will result."

At this point the parties of the dispute each has a swallow of blood. The sorcer-priest burns paper and continues the incantation:

> "The wrong party after drinking this blood will then die, dying nine times and becoming nine times extinct."

After the incantation, they disperse. The cock is taken by the sorcerer-priest, to whom each side also has to give one or two, three or four, strings of cash. There being no set number.

B. Drinking blood in the T'ien Wang Temple.

Drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple is also called [825] "drinking cat's blood," because it is necessary to stab a cat, and its blood is dripped into wine to drink to make a vow. When drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, one must have a witness, who is called the "blood supervisor." There are many designations for blood drinking, and there are three kinds, drinking one tube of blood, two tubes of blood, and three tubes of blood. Because there are many cases, the number of occasions for drinking blood also are numerous. There is also substitute blood drinking, when the witness or a relative of one of the parties may be allowed

*782 /153 cont./
627 by the other party to drink blood in place of the principal in order to settle a dispute. There is also all-round blood drinking in which the witness and the disputing parties all drink blood. This generally occurs when the two parties mutually avail themselves of pretexts, and there is no alternative but for the two parties and the witness all to drink blood. Moreover, there are times when the whole family drinks blood. The whole family, father, mother, wife, and children, male and female, big and small, altogether enter the temple to drink blood. In drinking blood, this is the most important. After drinking blood each must take an oath, saying: "If you wrongly accuse me, I shall become very prosperous; if I wrongly accuse you, then I shall nine times die and nine times be cut off." After the blood drinking, there can be no regrets, regardless of whether the issue is important or trivial.

On drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, it is necessary to write out the oath /to be burned?/. A blood list is also burned. The blood supervisor is compensated with a sum of 880 cash or at most 8,800 cash, which is called "money for binding words." Three days after the blood drinking one has to kill an animal to make good the vow, which is called "repenting."

[691] The Miao are addicted to kuei and to litigation. Some-
[695] times litigation may last a year, and the court, unable to decide the case, may ask both parties to eat blood. This serves as a deterrent. Yen Ju-yü in his Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "Those who enter the temple to drink blood move on their knees and bellies, not daring to look up; those who are in the wrong dare not drink it, but repent and yield." In the course of our investigations in the Miao frontier area, the private secretary of the hsien government at Feng-huang, Mr. Wang Yüeh-yen told us: "The T'ien Wang temple is the Supreme Court of the Miao area.
[695] When a Miao is not satisfied with the decision of the hsien government, then he is ordered to go to the T'ien Wang temple to drink blood. Whatever the litigation, big or small, it receives immediate settlement." It can be seen that the Miao's awe of
[692] kuei is greater than their awe of the law.

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(12) Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering

When there is a death in the family, for the deceased they perform Releasing the Soul from Suffering and Begging Pardon, which in Miao is called [tsʿa˥ miɛ˧], with the meaning "to cause a person to be released." There are two kuei sacrificed to: [lio˨˩ tɔ˨˩˨ kuɛŋ˧ dzaɤ˥˧] and [lio˨˩ ɕʿi˥ kuɛŋ˧ daɤ˥˧]. The time for the performance is in the evening after supper, and the place in the right corner inside the door in the main house. A bamboo stick about 90 cm. long is used. Every 30 cm. one side of the bamboo is cut off to allow it to be bent into a frame, the two ends of which are stuck into the earth. In front of the bamboo frame is put a rectangular wooden board, on which is spread a piece of white cloth. Five empty bowls are put on the cloth, but before the board are set up five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice arranged in three rows. A bowl of wax is placed behind the board, near which is a handleless spade (Illus. 66). The Miao sorcerer sits behind the bamboo frame, holding a piece of bamboo in his right hand and beating the frame as he utters an incantation in time with the beating to the following effect:

> "After the kuei have led away the dead man, the host will return to having peace. The kuei have come with a steelyard to weigh a human being and take him away. Why /Illus. 66 appears here/ /155/ do you not weigh a pig or a dog, a large cow, a chicken or a duck, instead of weighing a human being? The dead person was in the --- generation (either senior or junior generation) with reference to the host. When a man is dead, he cannot be called back. After death he becomes a kuei. Among men he still has good sons and good grandsons. Today, we have selected a lucky day to make inquiries. At the inquiry tonight you must come to the fire pit. Sorcerers are very few in the world, and so I have been called. I have brought with me the soldiers and horses of my patron saint to this house. The bowl of beeswax, the bamboo frame, five bowls

/155 cont./

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of wine, the spade, the wooden board, the white cloth, all are ready here. Will the kuei please come to take them! [lio˥ to˥˥ kuei˩ dzɑ˩˩], [lio˥ ʑi˧ kuei˩ dɑ˩]!"

At this point he stops beating the bamboo frame, takes it away, and sets up the bowls of wine, meat, and cooked rice. The sorcerer-priest makes gestures while uttering an incantation at the same time:

"The helpers have set up the wine, meat, rice, and paper money, and invite the kuei to take them. The dead man has been dead for three days, but when his soul heard the sorcerer-priest's call, then he returned. He returned to his own local area, he returned to his own home. In the world you still have good sons and good grandsons to beg pardon for your sins. The former sins of your

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Illus. 66. Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering.

/155 cont./

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life are now all cast away. The sins cannot be cast away in the house, or left to your sons and grandsons, or to the village. All your enmities in the world are also cast away! Guard the host in peace and without troubles."

On finishing the foregoing part of the incantation, the helpers immediately burn the paper money, and the sorcerer-priest continues:

"Wine, meat, and rice have all been offered to you to consume, paper money has been burned; and we ask you to take and use them! Everything is over; now please turn around and go back."

After this the sorcerer-priest and the host eat the meat and drink the wine together.

(13) The Kuei of the Five Grains

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Whenever the harvest of the five grains is not abundant, or the six kinds of domestic animals do not increase, the Miao will sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains, in Miao called [lio˧ no˧˥]. The kuei invoked are called [mp'ɑ˥ no˧˥ kueŋ˧ mi˥˧] and [ɲi˥ no˧˥ kueŋ˧ no˧˥]. The time of the sacrifice is in broad daylight at any time, and the place is in the right corner inside the main house. A table is set up, and on it are spread five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice, arranged in three rows. The wax is also on the table, and the bamboo /156/ tube is placed behind the table. The Miao sorcerer beats the bamboo tube with the right hand and utters an incantation as follows:

"The host's last year's harvest was not abundant; the five grains formed ears, but produced no grain. Further, they were eaten by locusts. The old year has gone by, the new year has arrived. Now that we have come to the first and second month, an auspicious day has been selected to sacrifice to the kuei. I have been asked to come here, so I

/156 cont./

243 *782 have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the chiao, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the chiao in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

"Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[787] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the chiao, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The yang chiao and the sheng chiao are auspicious. The yin chiao is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five [846] grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the [755] same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

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(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ɕi¹ zoŋ⁴] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother/chiu-mu; [203] [602] is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress [392] [493] [843] (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

2: Ling & Ruey--234 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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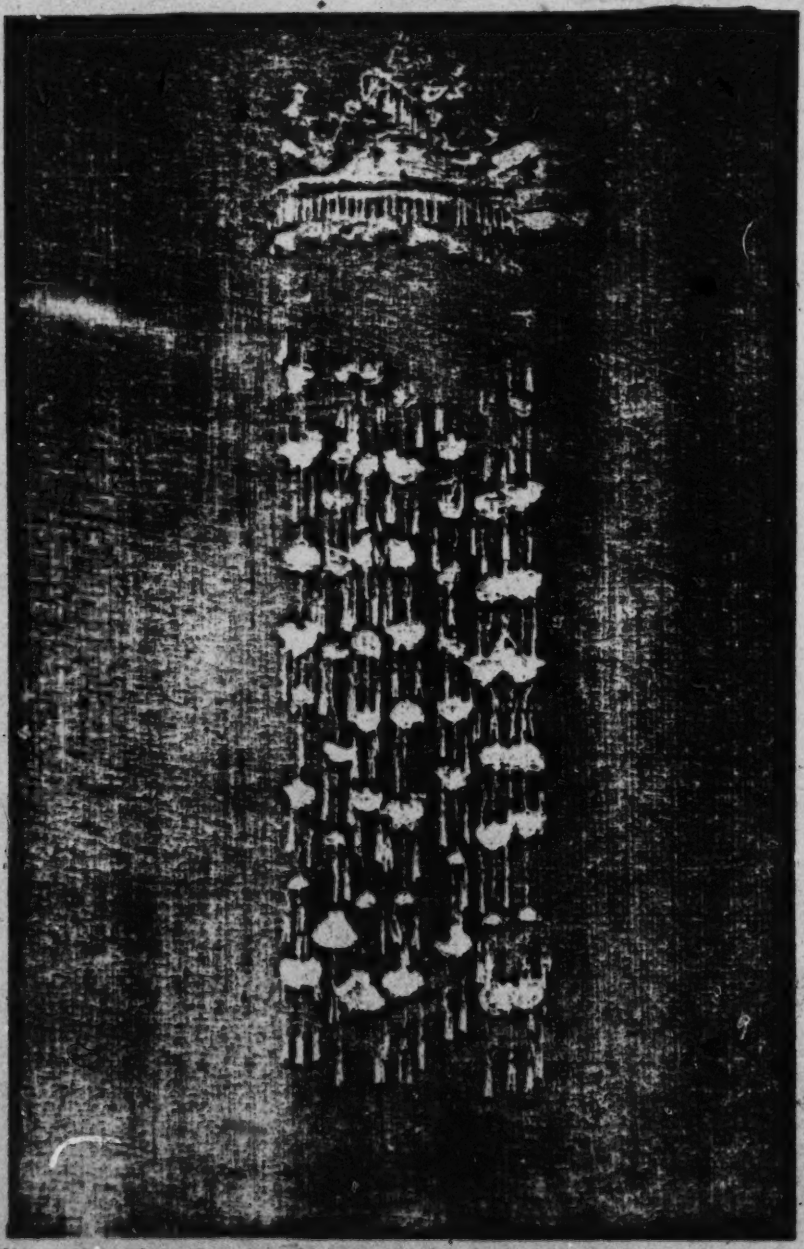

Illus. 67. The silver headdress worn by the mistress of the house in the ceremony of Welcoming the Dragon.

/157 cont./

*782 his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accom-
[292] panying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is
[843] allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests
[788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the
777 Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʑiɤ⁴ ɕio⁴ ba⁴
791 lo̱ŋ⁴ ɲie⁴]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss,
[774] they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'ɤ⁴ tɕu⁴ lio⁴ tɕo̱ŋ⁴] and [ɲi⁴ tsu⁴ lio⁴ ntɕ'i⁴]. The time of this ceremony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar. On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

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*782 of beeswax. The sorcerer-priest burns the wax, rings the hand
777 bell, and utters an incantation, in general saying:
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> "Recently the host has run into bad luck, frequently suffering losses. According to calculations, the Black Emperor Earth Lord or /158/ his descendants are seeking food. Therefore, today, I have been asked to offer sacrifice. Please eat the meat and drink the wine. You /plural/ are also promised a large bu l. Please give your protection and bring about peace and safety."

[787] After the incantation, divination is performed with the chiao. The yang chiao indicates financial loss but immunity from disaster; the yin chiao means impending disaster without the loss of wealth; and the sheng chiao shows immunity from both. After the divination, paper is burned to send the kuei away.

(16) Handing Over the Ox.

If after the sacrifice to the Black Emperor Earth Lord, one's luck is still bad, the only thing to do is to buy an ox and fulfill the vow, which in the Miao language is called [xio bua nied]. Once this ox is offered to the kuei, it cannot be killed, nor can it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death. The performance of this ritual is the same as that for Warming of the Ox Muzzle, except that the text of the incantation uttered by the sorcerer-priest is different, its general purport being:

> "The former vow being ineffective, luck still is bad. The host has saved money to go to market. At the market he looked around and saw a large bull, with big horns and a big body and handsome appearance. The host wanted it, and for a great deal of money he bought it and brought it home. Today has been selected as an auspicious day, and I have been asked to hand over the ox. I beseech the kuei to take it!"

After the incantation paper is burned to send off the Kuei.

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After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

776 In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity
791 of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during
778 the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples
[787] were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines, generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He
*[782] said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his shrine. (Illus. 68).

*782 /159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that
[776] the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by
[825] sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts. Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity. The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all arranged on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest. Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand
[787] and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/159 cont./

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Illus. 68. Shrine of a local divinity of the soil of the Miao.

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787 chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. After divining again with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper to send off the shen.

/160/ (2) The Flying Mountain

778 Every Miao village also has a Flying Mountain shrine. This shrine resembles closely that of the local divinity of the soil. On the second day of the second and the eighth months *782 every year, after having sacrificed to the local divinity of the

/160 cont./

*782 soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection
[776] for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant
[753] and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices
[755] it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation
[787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and
[787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

*782 In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar
784 period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are
[776] days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

[1] [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain Shrine - ANALYST]

/160 cont./

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[782] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
[776] are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[627] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[778] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69), which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be
[627] asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints, secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[931] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned. The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[931] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled, but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

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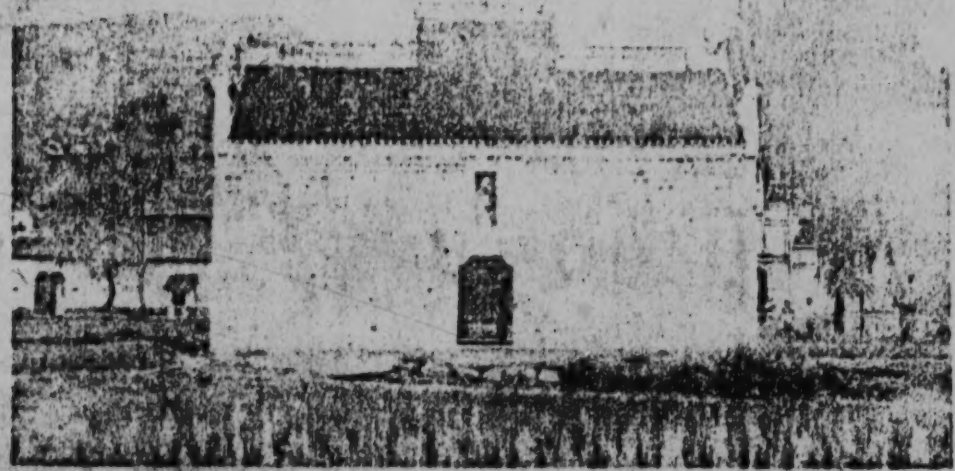

Illus. 69. T'ien Wang Temple at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng.

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2: Ling C. Ruey--242 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Illus. 70. T'ien Wang going out on a tour.

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773 776 Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third

1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Yang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 776 [753] [931] 372 [82] When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

/163 cont./
782 the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.
[776] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts [787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

[776] The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five [757] wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not in- [231] creasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these [243] they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth [731] grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

/164 cont./

*782 must be the third-grade sacrifice, and a few years later, if they wish to offer a sacrifice, then it is the fifth grade. After sacrificing the twelfth grade, then it starts all over again from the first grade. The number of tables used in the sacrifice is determined by the grade number. For example, the first grade requires one table, and the third grade requires three tables. When there are not enough tables, chairs or stools may be used as substitutes. Only at the twelfth-grade sacrifice must there be three sorcerer-priests present.

The first-grade sacrifice is performed with a table set up outdoors to the east of the house, and on it are placed five stacks of paper money; five bowls of wine; five pieces of tofu, each covered with a vegetable leaf; five piles of mi-pa; and one bowl of water, on which floats a spirit tablet /ling p'ai/. Behind the paper money there is a sheng measure containing rice, on which are placed the seal of the sorcerer-priest and a few coins, and a pair of candles and three sticks of incense stuck in. This is the setting of the upper altar. Under the table is a layer of rice straw, on which there are three bowls of wine, three piles of mi-pa, three stacks of paper money, a piece of tofu, again under a vegetable leaf. There is also a bowl of rice with one candle and one stick of incense stuck in. This is called the lower altar. In addition at the right or left of the table is a chair crosswise, and on it is a winnowing basket which contains a certain number of piles of mi-pa and a certain number of pieces of tofu, also covered with a leaf. Also there is a bowl of rice, in which is inserted a candle and a stick of incense and five stacks of paper money. This is called hsi-k'ung.

For the sacrifice to the Shen of the five wisdoms no animal food should be used. At the time of the sacrifice the host
[785] and the sorcerer-priest must bathe and fast and rinse out the mouth the previous day. When it is time to eat mi-pa they have to
[776] rinse the mouth again. This shen being from the east, the table has to be set up east of the house, and the sorcerer-priest, while performing the ceremony, also faces the east. The sacrifice is divided into two parts. The first part is the setting
[792] up of the altar. With his head wrapped in a red kerchief, and

/165/

*782 holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and standing before the
[292] table, the sorcerer-priest utters the An-shen incantation. On finishing the incantation he blows the ox horn, and his helpers beat drums and gongs. The sorcerer-priest changes into red clothes and dons ceremonial headgear, and makes gestures with
[788] both hands toward the house and toward the open space, doing the three-step walk with his two feet forming a triangle. After this performance he takes a rest. The host collects the mi-pa and tofu from the three places and fries them in camellia oil. After being

Illus. 71. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, A.

/165 cont./

*782 cooked they are put back in their original places.

The second part of the ritual consists of tasting the cooked food. Wearing the red gown, the red kerchief around his head, [292] and the ceremonial headgear, his left shoulder covered with the willow towel and his right hand holding the ox horn, the sorcerer-priest stands before the altar (Illus. 71). First he makes a low bow with hands in front, and when the drums and gongs are sounded, he joins the cacophony by blowing the horn. On finishing blowing, he holds the horn in his left hand and one chiao-tzu in his right, and, rapping on the horn, he utters an incantation to invoke the shen. On completing the incantation, /Illus. 71 appears here/ /166/ he again utters the incantation for invoking the spirit. When finished he dances with the willow [787] towel. Next he divines with the chiao-tzu, at the same time uttering the incantation to the effect that the protection of the shen is sought in everything, and that divination has been done for every member of the family, big or small. Then, the farewell incantation is uttered, and the members of the family burn the paper money. The ceremony comes to an end. The mi-pa and the tofu are eaten. Whatever is left is given to the sorcerer-priest to take home.

The third-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table and the things on the table are identical with those for the first-grade sacrifice. On top of the table is a chair, on which is put a bowl of rice, into which are stuck a candle and a stick of incense, a stack of paper money, a pile of mi-pa, a piece of tofu covered with a vegetable leaf, and a bowl of wine. On the chair is put another small stool, and the items on the stool are exactly the same as those on the chair. Behind the table they use a bamboo pole to make a frame, on which are hung upside down nine strings of paper money. For each grade up three more strings are added. For instance, the fifth grade would call for 15 strings, and the seventh grade, 21 strings, and so on. As for the rest of the setup, the lower altar and the hsi k'ung are the same as for the first-grade sacrifice.

/166 cont./

*782 The ritual for the fifth-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table, a small table, a chair, and a stool, piled up to form an altar. The layout on the lowest, large table is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice, and the layouts on the chair and the stool are the same as those for the third-grade sacrifice. The lower altar and the hsi k'ung are arranged as for the first-grade sacrifice. Behind the altar is a bamboo frame, on which are hung 15 strings of paper money. Also a five-colored paper flag is stuck in the ground next to the table. Eight or nine small, five-colored flags are hung on tree branches near the bamboo frame and the table. There are four parts to this performance:

The first part consists of arranging the altar, and the performance is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice. When it is over, there is a recess, and mi-pa is eaten.

The second part consists of "connecting the streets." The sorcerer-priest wears his red clothing, red headkerchief without the ceremonial headgear, holding the ox horn in his [292] right hand and the ceremonial knife in his left. When gong and drum are sounded, he faces the altar and blows the horn. After [788] this, the horn and the knife in the left and right hands are interchanged, he does the three-step walk, waving and dancing, now facing in, now facing out, at the same time uttering an incantation.

The third part is "making the bridge." The sorcerer-priest wears the same clothes and holds the same ritual articles as in the previous part, except that his left shoulder is covered with a willow towel. When the gong and drum sound, then he blows the horn. After that he interchanges the horn and the knife in his hands, takes the three-step walk, waving and dancing, at the same time uttering an incantation. This performance is done once each in the five directions of east, south, west, north, and center. After this he utters the incantation pledging in wine. The sorcerer-priest then holds the willow towel in his left hand to dance to the music of continuous drumming and beating of gongs, dancing once facing out and twice facing in.

/166 cont./

*782 After dancing a certain number of times this part of the ritual is over.

The fourth part, tasting the cooked food, is done in the same way as for the first-grade sacrifice.

The seventh-grade sacrifice is performed with seven pieces of furniture, tables, chairs, and stools, piled up to form an altar, as in Illus. 72. One of the bottom two tables /Illus. 72 appears on p. 167/ /168/ is arranged like the table for the first-grade sacrifice. The other tables and chairs are arranged like the small tables for the third-grade sacrifice. But the sheng of rice on the lower altar of the seventh table and the hsi k'ung each has a paper spirit tablet stuck up. There are two large flags, one red and one black; there are also 12 small flags, hung up in the same way as in the fifth-grade sacrifice. A cock is also prepared for use after the performance. The ritual is divid d into five parts, the first, second, third, and fifth parts being identical to the fourth part of the fifth-grade sacrifice. The addition here is the fourth part of reviewing soldiers. Tasting the cooked food becomes the fifth part. For the ritual of reviewing soldiers, the sorcerer-priest dons his red robe, red kerchief, and ceremonial headgear, and carries a gong in his left hand, a horn in his right. First he blows the horn. Then, putting down the horn, he picks up the hammer of the gong, and as he utters an incantation he beats the [788] gong. With each beat, he bows to the front and the rear. As he stops bowing, he stops beating. After once more uttering an incantation, he faces the altar and beats the gong nine times, followed by alternate reciting and beating. After this reciting the sorcerer-priest holds the willow towel in his left hand, and on it is placed a stack of paper money. Three sticks of incense are lit and stuck on the paper money, which is held fast with the left thumb. A bowl of rice is then placed on the table. When gong and drum are sounded, he picks up the horn with his right hand and gives a blow. Putting down the horn, he picks up the knife, taking the three-step walk, chanting and dancing, and also squatting to bow three times toward the altar. He once more blows the horn and once more he chants, and at the [illegible]

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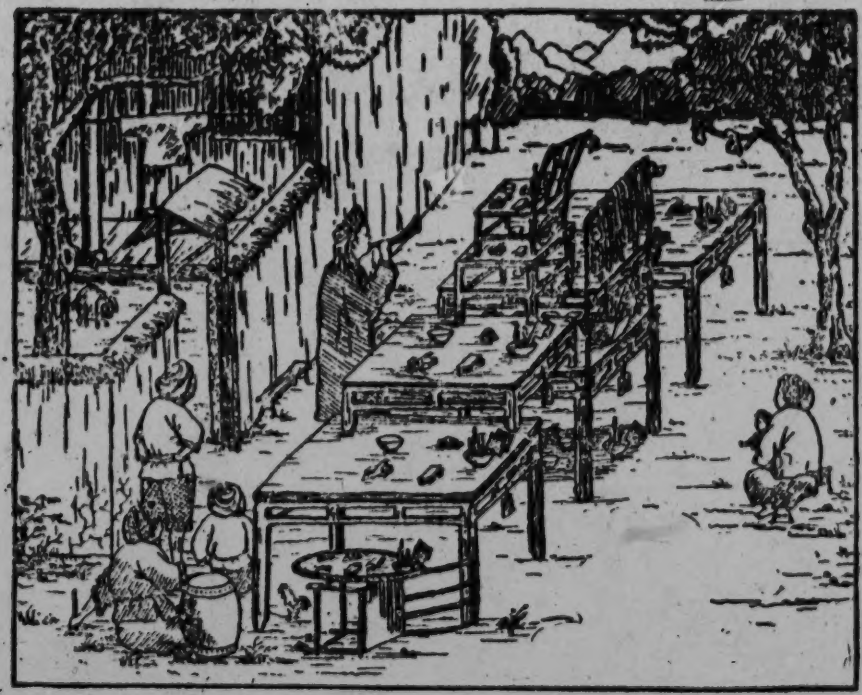

Illus. 72. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, B.

782*
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/168 cont./

*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [231] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some bystanders' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the [178] Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

[776] [556] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[187] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

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(7) The Great Yen-lao Shen

*182 This shen is sacrificed to after the death of a person in [776] a family. It is said this shen may be frightened by the sound of [765] wailing and crying, and they ask him to excuse them, and also [556] protect the family wealth. A square table is set up to the right of the main entrance inside the main house, and on it are placed seven stacks of paper money, in which three sticks of incense are stuck in. On the side is a bowl of chaff, already burnt. There are also seven bowls of wine and seven piles of mi-pa. Behind the table is a bamboo frame, on which seven strings of silver paper ingots are hung. The sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands before the table, uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After this he divines with the *[787] chiao-tzu. When it is found that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the sacrifice. After inviting the spirit to accept the sacrificial objects, the sorcerer-priest takes a little recess. The host then takes out a certain number of pieces of cooked beef and divides them into seven piles on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup and a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck seven pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer-priest then resumes his original position and invites the shen once more to take the offerings. After *[787] divining with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper and utters the incantation to send off the shen.

(8) The Great Yen-t'ang Shen

[765] They sacrifice to this shen for the same reason as that for [776] the Great Yen-lao shen. The ritual is also the same. But the arrangements are marked by the absence of the bamboo frame and the silver paper ingots. The other things such as the paper money, wine, mi-pa, and chopsticks are the same, except that each item numbers five instead of seven and pork is used instead of beef, also in five piles.

-/169 cont./

(9) The Kuei of the High Slope

*782
[731]
[776]
[691]

This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife, seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the in-
*[787] cantation, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-tzu, the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551]
[776]
[755]

The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

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*782 basket, in which are placed five bowls of wine, a bowl of meat, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money. On the center pile of mi-pa are stuck three sticks of incense. They also use a figure of a person made of rice straw, which is covered with paper, on which are drawn eyes, nose, and mouth. A flag spear with a small banner is stuck into the back of the straw man. A piece of rope is tied around his neck, and the two ends are fastened to the ground. Suspended on the rope are eight small banners to appear like hands. Three kinds of fancy /flower/ paper are cut into rectangles and wedged tightly with bamboo strips to make five tablets. Both the straw man and the paper tablets are placed against the doorsill, as in Illus. 73. /Illus. 73 appears here./ /171/ The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes, shakes the ritual sword in his left hand, and holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand. Sitting down in front of the winnowing basket, he utters an incantation to invoke the shen, at the same *[787] time divining with the chiao. When he finds that the spirit has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the occasion. He asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, burns paper, and takes a rest. At this time all the equipment of the sacrifice, including paper and flags, are moved to a vacant place outside the house and laid out once more. They do not use the winnowing basket but use rice straw spread out on the ground. The straw man is propped up with earth or with rocks, and in front of it they spread out rice straw, and set up a pile of mi-pa, in which is stuck a stick of incense, and a bowl of wine. The straw man must face the sorcerer-priest, and the sorcerer-priest must face the west. The same ritual as performed inside the house is repeated, except that the sorcerer-priest squats instead of sitting in a chair. On termination of the ritual, no paper money is burned, and the sorcerer-priest takes a rest. The host then cooks a certain amount of meat, which is cut into small lumps. These are carried to the scene and divided into five piles on rice straw, together with a bowl of cooked rice, with five pairs of chopsticks inserted in it. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup. In front of the straw man is also placed a bowl of cooked rice, a pile

/171 cont./

*782 of meat, and a bowl of salted pepper soup. The sorcerer-priest once more squats at his original place, utters an incantation, *[787] divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send the shen away.

(11) The Kuei of Deceit

[691] [776] When a Miao is involved in a litigation, he will wish to cause the kuei of deceit to go to confuse the opposite party, and so he sacrifices to this kuei. A winnowing basket is laid down to the right of the main door inside the main house. In it are put five piles of mi-pa, each made up of three pieces, and into the middle pile are stuck three sticks of incense. There are also five bowls of wine and five stacks of paper money in the tray. Outside the tray a bowl of chaff burns. The sorcerer wears ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand, and sits down facing the

[353] [352]

Illus. 73. Sacrifice to the Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries.

*[787] winnowing basket. He utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the performance. He

/171 cont./
*782 once more divines with the chiao-tzu, and if the shen has con-
*[787] sented to offer protection, the paper is burned to send him away.

(12) Expelling the Five Kuei

[955 776] When the Miao seek for speedy recovery from an illness, or when they run up against trouble from kuei and seek to make them go away quickly, then they sacrifice to the "Five Kuei." The Five Kuei are evil kuei, consequently the ritual is called Expelling the Five Kuei. It is performed in the daytime by means of a winnowing basket placed to the right of the main door inside the main house. In the basket are put five piles of mi-pa, five bowls of wine, a piece of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/, a bowl of water, several coins, and five stacks of paper money. There is also a sheng container of uncooked rice, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. Five eggs, each with eyes, nose, and mouth painted on, are also placed in the sheng. A cock is also placed in the basket. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and shaking the ritual knife with his left, sits opposite the winnowing basket. He utters
*782 the incantation to invoke the shen, and at the same time divines
*787 with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen have descended. If so, he pours the wine and states the reason for the occasion. /172/ After further divination he threads a string through the nose of the cock and asks a helper to walk around the house once with the cock. At the same time he recites an incantation to expel the kuei. Then he divines again, and if he finds that the kuei are gone, he asks the helper to come with him, leading the cock and carrying the winnowing basket, to an intersection where three roads meet in the open. There he burns the paper
*782 to send the kuei away. After the performance is over the sorcerer-priest puts the cock, eggs, and mi-pa into a cloth bag that he has brought along./ He either returns home or goes to the host's house to eat a meal. But his bag has to be hung outside the house and not taken inside the host's house. The

/172 cont./

*782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[758] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] [578] [770] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mischief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one inadvertently walks into a house where this performance is going on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs [171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore, [570] [609] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*[787] voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and distributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over, the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
[578] the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe from this kuei.

[821] (16) The Wind Kuei

[774] If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better,
[755] it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

/173 cont./

*782 place on a mountain slope at an intersection of paths where
755 there is wind. For this ritual the articles required are a cock, a sheng of uncooked rice on which some coins are placed and three sticks of incense, stuck in, a bowl of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/ on which there is a little salt and a pair of chopsticks, five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money. Except for the cock, all articles are in a winnowing basket. A knife and a pot also have to be brought up there beforehand. The sorcerer-priest waving the ritual knife in his left hand and holding the chiao-tzu in his right, utters an incantation, divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. The helper kills the chicken, cooks it, fills the bowl with the meat, and puts it in the winnowing basket. At the same time he puts out a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck five pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer utters an incantation and burns paper to send off the shen. He and the helper eat the items offered in sacrifice right there.

(17) The Tea Shen

[776] For eye trouble the Miao seek a cure by sacrificing to the tea shen. There are three kinds of sacrifice according to the time at which it takes place. If it takes place in the early morning, it is called the Early Tea Shen. At noon it is called the Day Tea Shen. At night it is called the Night Tea Shen. At the time of sacrifice one must not laugh, because it is said that this
[776] shen is shy. It is also said that he wears tattered old clothes. If
[82] anyone laughs /174/ he will not come. Therefore, if it takes place in the daytime outside the house, the winnowing basket must be enclosed by a bamboo screen. Except for the helper, no outsider is allowed to watch. When the performance takes place at night inside the house, all lights must be extinguished.

For the ritual for the Early Tea Shen a thin stick of wood, burnt at one end to be a stick of incense, is stuck in the ground. A winnowing basket is also used, and in it are placed five bowls of

/174 cont./

*782 755 tea, five piles of mi-pa, five stacks of paper money. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding a ritual knife and a chiao-tzu, squats in front of the winnowing basket. *[787] He utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu, sips the tea, and states the reason. When the divination indicates that the shen can cure the ailment, then he again takes a cup of tea and utters an incantation into the cup, and rubs the tea on the eyes of the patient. After this the host and his friends and relatives in the village come to the house, and after they are assembled, the sorcerer-priest burns the paper to send off the shen.

The ritual for the Day Tea Shen is the same as that for the Early Tea Shen. That for the Night Tea Shen is also the same, except that it is held inside the house and that when all arrangements are in order and the sorcerer-priest is ready to perform the lights are extinguished.

(18) Offering Thanks to the Earth

*782 556 [770] A Miao family which has held a Welcoming the Dragon ceremony has dug a "dragon chamber" in the center of the main house (see "Welcoming the Dragon"), which is the place where the dragon shen is. Offering Thanks to the Earth is also called "Comforting the Dragon," to make the dragon shen happy in his chamber, thus bringing prosperity to the household. Therefore in Offering Thanks to the Earth the dragon chamber becomes the center of activities. They draw the eight diagrams outside it *782 with powdered lime. In the middle of the diagrams are written the two characters chung-ying /"the center"/. Outside the diagrams is drawn a circle. Outside the circle are drawn five bows with arrow and the four characters chiu kung pa kua /"nine palaces, and eight diagrams"/. Twenty-three bowls are used: eleven bowls of wine; five bowls of uncooked rice, with a stick of incense and a candle inserted in each: five bowls of mi-pa; one bowl of tofu; and one bowl of tao-t'ou with a pair of chopsticks placed on it. There are also ten stacks of paper money, laid on each diagram within the circle and one

/174 cont./

*782 each on the characters chiu-kung and pa-kua. There are six petition boxes, one being laid on the bow and arrow in each of the four directions, and two on the bow and arrow in the center.

Again, a winnowing basket is placed inside the circle. In it are spread grain, on which are placed five cups of wine and five piles of mi-pa. There is also a lamp bowl filled with camellia oil, with five grass wicks lit to make five flames. Also there are five sticks of incense stuck up, within which are three paper horses of three sizes, large, medium, and small, placed one upon the other. Two sticks of incense are in front and three sticks are behind, wedging in the paper horses. There are also a piece of cinnabar and five additional sticks of lighted incense, stuck in five different places.

On the bow nearest to the large door of the main house is placed a square table, on which are five bowls of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a sheng of uncooked rice, in which are stuck a pair of candles, three sticks of incense, a few coins, and the seal of the sorcerer-priest. At the front of the table /175/ is also the sorcerer-priest's text for the special incantation to pacify the dragon shen, as well as a bowl of clear water.

The sorcerer-priest wears a green or blue long gown and [292] a Taoist cap, and, holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand and facing the shen, he first utters the incantation to pacify the shen. On finishing the incantation he beats the cymbal while his helper strikes the gong and small cymbals. Then the sorcerer-priest recites the text to invoke the shen, interspersed from time to time with the beating of the gong and the cymbals. After this *787 he divines with the chiao-tzu. If the divination indicates that *792 the shen has descended, he pours tea (the first time, tea and afterwards, wine). Then he states the case, and also requests the shen to accept the offerings, and then divines with the chiao-tzu for everyone in the family. Then he divines to ask how much strength the dragon shen has. The method of calculation by points is as follows: The sheng chiao indicates three, six, and nine; the yang chiao, two, five, and eight; and the yin chiao, one, four, and seven. After doing the divination with the chiao,

/175 cont./

*782 he examines which chiao it is. If it is sheng chiao, then he be-
*787 gins his inquiries from nine and again performs the divination. If he gets sheng chiao again, then the strength of the shen is nine points. If he does not get sheng chiao, then the sorcerer-priest announces a number between five or seven and fifteen; it has to be an odd number. When he divines again and still fails to get sheng chiao, then he has to keep on naming numbers and divining.
*782 After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen, also interspersed with the sound of cymbal and gong. Afterwards he empties the bowl of tea, and changes to pouring wine. Continuing his incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up a bamboo bow and five arrows. He chants toward the east and shoots an arrow to the dragon shen of the east, and his helper burns the eastern petition box. Thus, one by one the performance is reopeated for each direction, and finally the center petition box is burned. After the burning, the sorcerer-priest picks up the paper horses and utters an incantation to them. The large horse is cut into five lengths and pasted on the wall corners in the four directions and the middle. The next largest horse is hung on the beam, and the smallest horse is pasted in the center. The piece of cinnabar is placed in a cup and ground with a little wine. The earth covering the dragon chamber is removed as well as the slate, and into the chamber is poured the cinnabar wine, and then it is covered up as before. Paper is burned on it, more incantations are said, and all the paper money is gathered up and burned to send off the shen.

(19) Offering Thanks to Graves

[171] The Miao custom of offering thanks to graves is different from the Chinese custom of sweeping the tombs of ancestors. The reason for the former is similar to offering thanks to the earth. The ritual also is similar on the whole, except that it takes place on the grave. The top of the grave serves as the center. The circle and eight diagrams are not drawn with white lime, and no winnowing basket is used. Only 17 bowls are used,

/175 cont./

*782 which are six bowls of wine less than for the ceremony of offering thanks to the earth. There is one more petition box, making seven boxes in all. The rest of the articles on the table are similar, except that the cinnabar is placed on top of the uncooked rice in the sheng. The ritual also is the same as for offering thanks to the earth, but no tea is poured and no bow and arrow are used. At the time of sending off the shen, the petition boxes are burned where they are. No shen numbers are used. When the cinnabar wine is ground it is buried on the top of the grave by /176/ piercing a small hole with a stick, after which the wine is poured down, and then it is covered with earth, and paper burned on it.

(20) Lu Pan

[776] [755] Lu Pan is the coffin shen, to whom sacrifices are offered in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. It is performed during the daytime at the right side of the main entrance. A winnowing basket is used, containing five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of meat with a sprinkling of salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. There is also a sheng of uncooked rice, on which there are a few coins and three sticks of incense stuck in. There are also five stacks of paper money and a bowl of water. They also use a cock with its wings and legs bound and a string through its nose, tethered to an axe. The axe and a saw are put against the doorsill. A piece of wood about 30 cm. long and 10 cm. wide is used as a small coffin, on which is placed a thin round stick as the carrying pole for the coffin. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the ritual sword and the chiao-tzu, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. He then divines with the chiao-tzu to see *[787] whether the shen has descended. He pours the wine and states the reason for the invocation, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings. He divines again, entreating the shen to protect

/176 cont./
*782 the whole family. The helper then unties the cock's feet and
*[787] heading it, /Illus. 74 appears here/ /177/ sorcerer-priest following, walks around the whole house, as in Illus. 74.[1] Then neighbors and relatives are invited to the house. After burning paper, the relatives and friends depart, and the helper carries all items to the crossroads, where the little coffin is burned with the paper money. The offerings are taken home by the sorcerer-priest. The utensils must be thoroughly washed before being taken into the house of the host.

(21) Lo Kung

[755] [776] The Miao sacrifice to Lo Kung because of sickness or because of having seen strange things. The ceremony is performed inside the main door during the daytime, when a square table is used, on which are laid five cups of wine; five piles of mi-pa, in the middle pile of which are inserted three sticks of incense; five stacks of paper money, and a bowl of burning chaff. The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters and incantation. After he has divined
*[787] with the chiao-tzu to invoke the shen, stated the reason, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings, he takes a rest. The host then cooks the beef, cuts it up to make five piles, and puts it on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup. After the sorcerer-priest has again finished an incantation, he sits down with the host to eat the food on the table, and again takes a rest. The host adds five more bowls of beef together with five bowls of cooked rice, each having a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. The sorcerer again utters an incantation, divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send off the shen.

1 [see category 116, p265- ANALYST]

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(22) Putting up an Earth Bridge

*782 842 If after a childless Miao has made a vow to the shen for a son, and still a child is not born, then the ceremony of Putting up an Earth Bridge is performed in order to make a bridge down to earth for the son in heaven, so that he can descend.

[785] The host selects an auspicious day and regulates his thoughts, fasts, and bathes. Before the date he prepares a stone slab about 60 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 5 cm. thick. Four perpendicular lines are chiseled on the slab, dividing it into five sections. He also uses five branches of a fruit-bearing tree, the size of each branch being equal to that of one section on the stone slab. On the principal day the stone slab and the tree branches are buried inside the door near the middle of the threshhold. A square table is used, on which are

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Illus. 74. Sacrifice to Lu Pan.

782 842 placed five stacks of paper money, a sheng of uncooked rice in which are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of cooked tofu, and five cups of wine. There are also a

/177 cont./

*782 few coins inside the sheng of rice. The sorcerer-priest in plain
842 clothes and holding the ritual knife and chiao-tzu utters an in-
*[787] cantation and divines, pours the wine and states the reason. After having divined again for when a son is to be born, he burns the paper to send off the shen. After the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, he next performs the Nuan No.

(23) Nuan No

[776] /178/ When the No shen /a god who drives away pestilence/ has been offended, (for details see "Huan No Yüan") if the time for Huan No Yüan is still far away, then they must do this. Also every ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the day when the No shen comes down, and the third day of the third month is the day when this shen goes up to heaven, and some people hold the same ritual on either one of these two dates. Also the ritual of Putting Up an Earth Bridge has to be followed by the performance of Nuan No. It is held during the daytime, with a square table placed in the back half of the main house. On the table are set five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and a sheng of rice on which there are some coins, incense, and candles. There are also two stacks of paper money, a bowl of meat with a little salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. The sorcerer-priest wears plain clothes and a red head kerchief, and, holding the ritual knife and the chiao-tzu, he utters the same incantation as that for Putting Up an Earth Bridge. After he has finished he burns the paper to send off the shen.

(24) Huan No Yüan

175 Huan No Yuan /"fulfilling the No vow"/ is fulfilling a
*782 vow to the No shen. The origin of No is very ancient. The "Hsiang Tang" chapter of the Lun Yü says: "When the villagers
776 drove away the demons of pestilence /no/, they dressed in formal robes and stood on the eastern steps." After the Ch'in and Han

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175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
776 In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

[113]

1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk
[773] Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen;[1] and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

1 [for this ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280.- ANALYST]

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*782 place in the spring, when it is colloquially called a "peach blossom vow," but this is rare. /Illus. 75 appears between pp. 178-79./

/179/ To carry out the fulfilling of a vow to the No, it is necessary to invite a guest sorcerer. Relatives and fellow-villagers are also invited to come to the house. Before the date an altar is set up in the center of the main house, and on it are displayed the images of Duke No and Mother No (see Illus. 75). Behind the altar are pasted five colored portraits of the shen of the five sacred mountains. In front of the altar is a portal made of colored paper, called T'ao Yüan /"peach spring," i.e. Arcadia, from a Chinese legend/ cave. In front of the portal they also put up a hsi-kung. (1) The performance of the sorcerer,

1. See the layout for the first-grade sacrifice to the Kung-An shen.

according to the investigation of the writers, consists of 30 parts, lasting from three to seven days. The following are brief accounts of each of these parts.

The first part is An Szu Ming "calming the god of the kitchen." It is performed at dawn. The sorcerer-priest wears a red kerchief around his head and holds a chiao-tzu. Standing in front of a winnowing basket set in front of the Peach Spring cave, he makes a low bow to the No shen with his hands in front, and utters an incantation to ask his patron saint to possess his *[787] body and to ask the ancestors of the host's family to come down. On finishing his incantation, he picks up a bowl of water with his left hand and makes his patron saint's esoteric gestures with his right hand, as if writing, facing the bowl of water. At the same time he also utters the incantation for cleansing the [783] sacrificial objects. First he speaks of the origin of water; next he flicks some drops of water on the offerings with his fingers. [776] The Miao think that the Szu Ming shen abstains from meat, wine, garlic, etc., and therefore the things have to be cleansed. *[787] After the cleansing, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and stops if

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2: Ling & Ruey--269 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Illus. 75. Images of Duke No
and Mother No.

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*782 he gets the sheng chiao. Otherwise, the incantation and the
*787 divination are repeated. After cleansing the objects of the sacrifice, the sorcerer-priest then utters the incantation to invite the shen, and when the sheng chiao appears, the shen are considered to have come down. Then he gives the reason for the sacrifice of fulfilling the vow to the No, and asks the shen to accept the offerings. When the sheng chiao again appears, it is considered that the shen have accepted the offerings. Then for the whole family, big and small, one by one, he asks the protection of the shen, and one by one he divines to get the sheng chiao. Then he asks for protection for the six kinds of domestic animals and the five grains, and also asks for good fortune. When all the requests for protection have been made, he then requests the expulsion of pestilence: the pestilence of the sky, of the earth, the year, month, day, and hour, as well as devils and small kuei, also the expulsion of apparitions of the sky, the earth, the year, the month, the day, and the hour, and all other kinds of apparitions. For all it is necessary to get the yin chiao or the sheng chiao. If he gets the yang chiao, it is considered that the apparitions still have not yet gone, and the expelling and divination must continue. Finally, he requests the shen to release the soul and to pass judgment on the divination. Then he requests the shen to accept the animal offered.

The second part is the sacrifice to the gong and the drum. The sorcerer-priest wearing a red turban and a long gown
[292] and holding chiao-tzu in his right hand, stands before the Peach Spring cave and utters incantatory words (about the same as those for An Szu Ming). Having recited a passage he lifts a bowl of water with his left hand and makes his patron saint's esoteric gestures with his right hand, as if writing over the bowl of water. At the same time he continues the incantation, and raises the bowl of water three times over the smoke of the incense. When the incantation is over, he divines with the chiao, and after he gets the yin or the sheng chiao, he picks up a horse whip and tramples on it with the toes of his right foot,

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*782 and utters the incantation for gathering up the evil kuei. When
*787 the incantation is over, he divines. After the sheng or yin chiao is obtained, he hangs up the whip. He takes the ritual knife with his right hand and dips the point in the bowl of water, then raises it up and, swinging right and left, continues the incantation. After he has recited /180/ a passage, the helper beats the gong and the drum, and the sorcerer-priest, holding a wooden bell with both hands, worships the shen to the accompaniment of the beating of the gong and drum for about 15 minutes. When the worship is over, the sorcerer-priest picks up the chiao-tzu and utters the incantation to invoke the shen, first facing the Peach Spring cave, later turning to face out the door, then again turning to the cave. After he has finished invoking the shen, he divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is obtained, this part ends.

*782 The third part is An T'u Ti /"calming the local divinity of the soil"/. Wearing ordinary clothes and standing before the hsi kung, the sorcerer-priest makes a low bow with hands in front, and utters an incantation. First he invokes the shen; then he offers the sacrifices, burns the paper money, and asks the shen to accept these things.

The fourth part is Pu T'an /"displaying the altar"/.
[292] The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, ceremonial headgear, and a willow towel on his shoulder. He stands before the Peach Spring cave, gesticulating and beating the gong and the drum at the same time. After this act the
[788] sorcerer-priest leads the host to the shen to make a low bow with both hands in front and to kowtow. Following this ceremony the sorcerer-priest, holding a horn in his left hand and the chiao-tzu in his right, and rapping the former with the latter, utters the incantations to invoke the shen. After having recited a passage, he pulls off the towel with his left hand and begins to shake the ritual knife with his right hand; he ceases beating the gong and the drum, but utters the incantation for pledging in wine. After this, he takes out the previously prepared written prayers from the four prayer boxes and, bowing the knee before the shen, he leads the host to kneel and make obeisance,

/180 cont./

*[787] and reads the petition. After this, amidst the sound of gong and drum, he gives one long blast of the horn. The host then gets up and stands at the side. Holding the prayer box in the left hand and shaking the ritual knife in his right hand, the sorcerer-[788] priest takes the three-step walk toward the Peach Spring cave, uttering the incantation to present money. After a passage has been recited, he hangs the ritual knife on his right wrist and gesticulates with his finger as if writing characters on the prayer box. Then he continues his incantation, blowing on the horn at the same time. After two blows, holding the whip in his right hand, he stands up, and first facing inward, he strikes the ground once with the whip, then facing outward, he strikes the ground twice. Turning once more inward, he again strikes the ground, and also blows the horn. Then he utters another incantation passage. Then he turns, facing out the door, and puts the prayer box on a small table and blows the horn once more. When the incantation is finished, he raps the horn with the knife and utters an incantation invoking the meritorious spirits. After the incantation, *[787] he divines, and, when the sheng or the yang chiao is obtained, he shakes the ritual knife several times, facing the man /men?/ beating the drum and gong, ordering him to stop, and then utters an invocation pledging in wine to the meritorious shen. After pledging with wine three times and pouring it three times, he asks the shen to accept the items on sacrifice. When he divines and the *[787] sheng chiao appears, he knows that the shen have accepted the articles, and then he burns the four prayer boxes and removes the items on sacrifice. He puts the ritual knife and the whip on the [823] ground, utters an incantation, and following the eight directions in sequence, east, west, south, north, northeast, southwest, northwest, and southeast, he takes the three-step walk, to make a square, and stamps once on the ground with his feet. After he has gone past the eight directions, he turns to the right of the Peach Spring cave and utters the incantation to invoke the shen and the ancestral spirits of the host. After the incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up the whip and the ritual knife he had put on the ground and takes the chiao-tzu and the spirit tablets,

/180 cont./

*[182] *[787] and recites the names of the shen. After he has finished, he once more lays all the articles on the ground, and begins to divine for the luck of the host's whole family. After the sheng chiao is obtained he puts back the articles in their original places. /181/ The sorcerer-priest then picks up the tablets with his right hand, holds the horn in his left hand, and walks to the doorsill. Putting his left foot on the doorsill, he first blows the horn and then slaps the door three times with the tablets. The beating of the gong and the drum ceases, and he utters the fa-ling /literally, "give the order"/ incantation. After this, the beating of the gong and the drum is resumed, and the sorcerer-priest blows his horn, standing facing the Peach Spring cave. Holding the ritual knife in his right hand, he waves a little at the drum and gong-beater to stop, and utters an incantation inviting the shen to mount the altar.

The fifth part is Chieh Chieh /"connecting (or making welcome) the streets/, and is divided into three sections. The first section is Chin-chou Street. The sorcerer-priest wears a [242] red kerchief around his head and a red garment. First, holding the horn in his right hand, he blows it once, and then changing it over to his left hand, he waves the ritual knife with his right hand. He takes the three-step walk in ffont of the Peach Spring cave and recites the Chieh Chieh /"connecting the streets"/ in- [823] cantations. It is divided into incantations for the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. When he utters the incantation for the east, he faces the inside of the house. For the south and the west he faces outside. For the north he faces inside again, and for the center, outside again. Each time he finishes reciting, he must blow his horn and circle around twice.

The second section is Wu-lui Street /"the street of five thunders"/. The costume of the sorcerer-priest and his ritual implements, as well as the ritual, are the same as those for the first section. The incantations except for a few phrases are also the same.

The third section is Lo-wang Street. The costume of the sorcerer-priest is the same as above. He holds the whip in his left hand and shakes the ritual knife with his right hand, takes

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*782 the three-step walk in front of the Peach Spring cave, and utters an incantation. Having recited a passage, he strikes the ground once with the whip, and then begins the incantations for the five directions. Each time he makes an incantation for a direction, he circles twice as in the first section. After the incantations, he stops the beating of the gong and drum, and, facing the Peach Spring cave, he loudly utters the incantation for building a city as well as for inviting the shen to take their seats. Then this section terminates.

The sixth part of the ritual is Tso Ch'iao /"building the bridge"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment and a red [292] headkerchief, and has the willow towel on his back. First holding the horn in his right hand, he blows it once, then changing it over to his left hand, he waves the ritual knife with his right hand, takes the three-step walk before the Peach Spring cave, and utters Tso Ch'iao incantation. Having recited one passage, he hangs the knife on his right wrist, and with the lower arm slightly lifted, he gestures and does the three-step walk, and continues the incantation, for the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, the ritual being the same as for Chieh Chieh. After this is over, he holds the willow towel in his hand, stretches slightly forward, and waves his knife to the right, left, and downward, once in each direction. Still stretching forward, he leans his knife against the willow towel and utters the incantation for pledging in wine. After one passage has been recited, he waves the knife and the willow towel once to the right, to the left, and downward, and continues the incantation. This ritual is repeated three times. Afterward he pledges the image of Duke No and Mother No with wine, then he pledges with the wine facing outside, then facing the ancestors of the family, and the upper altar and the lower altar. After the incantation for pledging in wine is ended, the beating of gong and drum is resumed. The sorcerer-priest also blows the horn once, and dances with the willow towel, and that is the end.

/182/ The seventh part is Feng Lao /"sealing the prison"/. The sorcerer-priest wears the red garment and his head is wrapped

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*182 with a red kerchief. He blows his horn, then holds it in his left hand and waves the ritual knife in his right hand, and does the three-step walk before the Peach Spring cave, while uttering the Feng Lao incantation. After reciting one passage, he sets up the ritual knife on his right wrist, stretching both hands out level, but bent slightly upward, with the horn resting on them, and gesticulates and continues his incantation. He does this five times, in the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, each time going around in a circle twice. After the performance at the center is completed, he takes a bowl and covers it with a sheet of yellow paper, and puts it in front of the Peach Spring cave. He then sticks his knife in front of the bowl. Standing in front of the bowl, he recites the incantation for collecting pestilences. After one passage of the incantation, he wraps the bowl in the yellow paper, pulls out his ritual knife, and straddles /sic/ before the shen, holding the horse whip, and says: "I have just caught the evil kuei from the east, who will be reduced to dust and ashes." On finishing this incantation, he strikes the ground in the direction of the east with the whip, and with his foot he moves the paper-wrapped bowl on the ground. He then repeats the same act toward the south, west, north, and center exactly as toward the east. He next moves the bowl under the altar, himself standing before the bowl, the end of his whip resting under the bowl, and blows the horn once more. When the beating of the gong and drum ceases, he continues the incantation. Then the beating of the instruments is resumed, and he bows three times facing the No shen, and this part is over.

The eighth part is Hui Ping /"assembling of troops"/. The sorcerer-priest first beats the gong and drum himself, then he dons his red garment, wraps his head in a red kerchief, and puts on the ceremonial headgear. After blowing his horn once, he utters the incantation for the assembling of troops. After saying a passage, he sits down on a stool and beats the gong nine times. Then he utters the incantation to calm and soothe, beating the gong nine times after each passage. When this incantation is over, he blows the horn once more, and follows with the incantation to count the troops. After this, he says the

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*782 Lao-chün /Lao-tzu/ incantation and the magic words for hiding the body, beating the gong as he recites. When the beating ends, he hands the gong over to his helper to beat, grasps the willow towel, and burns three sticks of incense in a bowl, adding to it a small amount of paper money and uncooked rice. The bowl is placed on the table. He stands up and does the three-step walk and also gesticulates. He also does the three-step walk and gesticulates facing the No shen. He utters the incantation of leading in /chieh yin/. When this is over, he squats before the lower altar, and facing inside, blows the horn once. The gong and drum stop, and he utters the esoteric yin hsiang /"lead each other"/ words. When these words are said, he bows three times and blows the horn once more, and continues the second series of the secret words. On completion he stands up, holding a whip in his hand, does the three-step walk, and utters the chiai wen incantation. After this, paper and incense are burned and the beating of gong and drum ends. Holding the ritual knife and willow towel, he utters the incantation to pledge in wine. After reciting a passage, he waves the knife and the willow towel downward three times, while beating the gong and drum. After the beating, the incantation is continued. The same act is done three times, once facing inward and once facing outward, also three more times facing inward. When this is over, the gong and drum are beaten and the sorcerer-priest blows the horn, after which he dances with the willow towel, twice facing the inside, and once facing outside. After the dance is over, he utters an incantation to invite the spirits to take their seats.

/183/ The ninth part is Chieh chia /"welcoming the carriage"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, and ceremonial headgear. He beats the gong and drum, does the three-step walk in front of the Peach Spring cave, blows the horn, and gesticulates as in the ritual for P'u T'an. After this is over, he holds a candle in his right hand and blows the horn in front of the Peach Spring cave. After blowing the horn, and the beating of gong and drum stops, he utters the k'ai-kuang incantation. After uttering a passage, he circles once, then changes the candle to his left hand. After another passage, the gong and

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*782 drum are beaten and the horn blown. The sorcerer-priest, candle in hand, faces the No shen. After he has once more uttered the k'ai-kuang incantation, he sticks the candle in the candlestick, takes up two hsien-feng banners, blows the horn and waves the banners, three times in all. When the waving of the banners and the beating of gong and drum cease, he sings out magic words invoking the shen before the Peach Spring. cave. After one passage is sung, he beats the drum and gong, blows the horn, and waves the banners, three times. Then the drum and gong are silenced, and facing the Peach Spring cave he continues to sing, accompaning the singing with the gesture of sweeping something outdoors and sweeping something in. Raising the banners with both hands, he also makes the gestures of opening doors to the right and left, and then he deposits the banners in the hands of Duke No and Mother No, followed by gesticulating along with the phrases sung. When this is over, he does the three-step walk; facing outside, next facing inside, he recites and gesticulates, and does the three-step walk. Afterward facing the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, utters incantations and does the three-step walk. Then he uses the whip to draw the character for a well in the eastern corner, and then turns to the Peach Spring cave to lay down the whip and pick up the chiao-tzu, inviting the shen to dismount. Lighting three sticks of incense, he leads the host to worship the shen. Next he utters

*[787] another incantation and divines with the chiao. When the yin chiao appears it indicates Duke No has dismounted. The yang chiao indicates Mother No has dismounted, and the sheng chiao, the dis-

[776] mounting of the San Ch'ing /the Taoist trinity/. Then he invites the ancestors of the family and other shen to dismount, following with the incantation to disrobe, and the ritual terminates.

*782 842 The tenth part is the seeking of a son. (This is performed only for a host without a son.) In front of the Peach Spring cave is set up a long table about ten chang long, spread with blue or green cloth, red and white being avoided. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, fancy headgear, and the willow towel on his back. Standing before the long table in front

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*782 842 of the Peach Spring cave, he sings the secret words to seek a son, announcing at the same time the eight cyclical characters appertaining to the date and hour of birth of the host. After the singing, the gong and the drum are sounded, and the sorcerer-priest blows the horn three times, after which he holds a cane and utters the incantation for hiding the body. After every two sentences, he blows the horn once and moves up forward one step; after another sentence he gives another blow of the horn and again moves up forward another step. Thus, uttering a sentence then blowing the horn, he walks up to the table. He does the three-step walk on the table and recites the incantation for "building the bridge." After one passage, the sorcerer-priest takes the ritual knife which is in his right hand, and hangs it on his right wrist, while the horn leans against the crook of the arms, and continues the incantation, gesticulating at the same time according to the meaning of the words of the incantation. He recites a passage and makes gestures in each of the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. On finishing each passage, he must blow the horn once. After the five directions have been done, he again faces the Peach Spring cave, and raps the horn with one chiao-tzu held in the right hand, while the gong and drum are also sounded, and utters an incantation. After a passage, holding the willow towel in his left hand and the ritual knife in his right hand, he waves three times with both hands upward, downward, left, and right. /184/ The gong and drum are then silenced and the incantation for pledging in wine is said. After the incantation, the host and the hostess, carrying prayer boxes on their backs, kneel down separately at both sides of the long table, the man to the left and the woman to the right. The sorcerer-priest kneels on the table, reading a petition asking for a son, the couple paying respects along with the sorcerer-priest. After the petition has been read, the sorcerer-priest picks up the chiao-tzu in his right *[787] hand and utters one more passage of an incantation, and then divines with the chiao-tzu. After seeking and obtaining the the sheng chiao, he utters another passage, and divines again,

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*782 seeking the sheng chiao, to recognize that the shen have ac-
842 cepted the petition. Further incantations are recited by the
*787 sorcerer-priest, who kneels and makes obeisance after every sentence, with the host and hostess following suit. He divines again to inquire the date when the son will be born. Then he utters the chiao-na /"to entertain"/ incantation, after which he divines again, either the sheng chiao or yin chiao being considered satisfactory. If the yang chiao appears, he must divine again. He then utters the kow-hsiao /"cancelling"/ incantation and requests the shen to heed the incantation. After the sheng chiao is sought and obtained, the gong and the drum are sounded, and the host and hostess kneel on the ground while the sorcerer-priest stands up and blows the horn. The helper burns the petition as well as the prayer boxes carried on the backs of the host and hostess. A face basin is provided, filled with clear water and on which there is a board. The burning petition and prayer boxes are placed on the board to let the ashes fall into the water. The sorcerer-priest throws the willow towel on his shoulders; his ritual knife hangs on his right wrist, and the horn leans in the crook of his arms; the fingers of his two hands are together, with the two thunbs turning in circles, which means wheeling in wealth for the shen. Then he does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After the incantation he divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is obtained, he blows the horn, after which he picks up a bowl, in which he throws several grains of rice. Then he deposits 12 previously written tickets for drawing lots in the bowl with the rice and puts a bowl cover on it. This is called the yin-yang bowl. The sorcerer-priest holds the bowl with both hands, shaking it as he calls out the names of the various shen. After this, he puts a large winnowing basket under the long table, and another man opens a parasol, and rotates it from left to right above the tray. The sorcerer-priest lifts the cover a bit and shakes it incessantly above the parasol to let the tickets and rice fall out on the parasol and then run down the parasol to fall into the winnowing basket. Then the host and the

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*782 hostess are each asked to draw a ticket. The sorcerer-priest
842 then divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is ob-
*787 tained, he looks at the characters on the ticket to decide whether it is auspicious or inauspicious, disaster or good fortune. If the yin chiao or yang chiao is obtained, then the tickets are thrown back into the yin-yang bowl to be shaken again and drawn again. The characters written on the tickets are generally as follows: 1) five males, two females, 2) seven sons all united, 3) five sons will pass the examinations, 4) long life, wealth, honor, 5) sons and grandsons will fill the hall, 6) all requests will be granted, 7) the five grains will be fruitful, 8) the six domestic animals will increase, 9) the melon vines will spread continuously, 10) I alone will be denied, 11) whatever is sought is not granted, 12) what difficulties! When a ticket showing sons is obtained, the helper immediately gets a little No on a small chair to the right outside the door, names the No child, wraps it to make a bundle, and with both hands lifts it up and walks across the yin bridge to bring it to the hands of Mother No, and then carries it in his arms to the hostess. The host and the hostess both pay their respects to it and rise. The hostess carries the No child in her arms to the bed. The sorcerer-priest blows the horn facing out the door, /185/ and utters the incantation for locking and shutting the door. As he recites he gesticulates and after blowing once on the horn, he grasps a cane and lays it crosswise on the ground, utters an incantation, and divines. After he gets the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, he blows the horn. His helper gathers up the items on sacrifice, and after some more reciting by the sorcerer the ritual ends.

*782 The eleventh part[1] is Ch'üan Chiu /"pledging in wine"/.
273 The sorcerer with his head wrapped in a red kerchief and wearing the willow towel on his back, sits in front of the Peach Spring cave and sings the magic words for pledging in wine. After singing two sentences, he beats the gong and drum seven or eight times. After one passage is sung, two helpers each brings up to the Peach Spring cave a small winnowing basket, which contains roasted corn, soy beans, and an item of silver jewelry as well as

[1] [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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*782 273 two ch'ih of cloth, and sets it down, one to the right and one to the left of the cave. The sorcerer kneels left of the Peach Spring cave table, and the host kneels to the right, each holding in his hand a cup of wine. The caretaker of the altar, holding a pot of wine, stands beside the sorcerer-priest, ready to pour wine into the cups of the sorcerer and the host. On the table there are three wine cups, and the sorcerer-priest and the host drink to each other. The sorcerer sings out the names of the shen one by one, and pledges them with wine. As each name is sung out, the gong and drum must be struck several blows, and the sorcerer and host get up, lift the wine toward the cave, and bow once. The helpers offer the sacrificial items in the small winnowing baskets to the shen, while gong and drum are beaten several times. The caretaker of the altar pours wine into the cups held by the sorcerer-priest and the host. Altogether ten or more names of shen are sung out, and the same ritual also is performed ten or more times. But for the tenth shen, both the sorcerer-priest and the host must kneel down outside the door, and the helpers and the caretaker of the altar also must offer the sacrifices outside the door. After the ceremony is over, the sorcerer-priest and the host put their cups upside down on the table. The gong and drum are sounded several times, and the two pieces of cloth *782 in the winnowing baskets are collected together. The sorcerer-*[787] priest then divines with the chiao, and when he gets the sheng chiao, the roasted corn and the beans are divided and eaten.

The twelfth part is Hsia Ma Fan /"dismounting meal"/. The sorcerer-priest stands before the Peach Spring cave in his red clothes and red headkerchief and willow towel. He blows his horn, then changes it over to his left hand, and, taking a chiao-tzu in his right hand, raps the horn with it, at the same time uttering an incantation. After a passage he blows the horn, and taking the willow towel in his left hand and the ritual knife in his right, he utters the incantation for pledging with wine. Following this he dances with the willow towel, and then utters the incantation for divination. After a passage he divines with *[787] the chiao, and after the sheng chiao is obtained he continues

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*782 *[787] to utter the chien-ling, chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. For each of these incantations the sheng chiao is sought, but for kou-hsiao the yin chiao will do. After the incantations are over, the gong and drum are sounded and the horn is blown. Then the horn is placed in the crook of both arms (as in the rituals for seeking a son and wheeling in money). The helpers burn the paper money, and the sorcerer does the three-step walk, simultaneously uttering the wheeling in money incantation. After a passage he turns toward the door, blows the horn once, and continues to recite another passage. He then turns toward the inside, blows the horn, and chants again, and again blows the horn. After the incantation is over, the sorcerer takes a rest. The helpers and the host and his relatives eat supper together, /186/ which is known as Hsia Ma Fan /the meal taken after dismounting from a horse/.

*782 533 The thirteenth part is the singing of the No song. The sorcerer-priest in his red headkerchief sits in front of the Peach Spring cave, while assembled friends and relatives of the host also sit in a circle in front of the cave. First the sorcerer begins to sing the No song, followed by each of the friends and relatives in turn, and then all in unison. There is no fixed length to the verses nor a fixed number of singers. The singing goes on until no one continues it, when they consider it ended. The texts of the verses cover a wide area. In addition to the verses telling of the No shen's virtues and requesting good fortune, and those for driving away misfortune, calamities, and difficulties, there are the "Song of the Origin of the No Shen" and the "Song of Duke No and Mother No," relating the story of the origin of the No shen. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1. The Myth about the Flood /not translated/.) The Miao think that [773] [776] Duke No and Mother No were brother and younger sister and that the Miao today are the descendants from the marriage between these two. (1) In addition they also sing and perform

[113] 1. See Ruey Yih-fu: Miao Tsu Hung Shui Ku Shih yü Fu Hsi Nü

[of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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Wa te Ch'uan Shuo /The Story of the Flood among the Miao and the Legend of Fu Hsi and Nü Wa/, in Jen-lui Hsüeh Chi K'an /Anthropological Review/, Vol. 1, No. 1.

the play, "Meng Chiang Nü," and the friends and relatives who come to see it toss out cash as "praising the song money."

*782 789 The fourteenth part[1] is checking in the troops. (This part of the ritual is performed only when the host desires to drive away evil influences, otherwise it may be omitted.) Rice straw is spread before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is laid a fine bamboo mat. The sorcerer, with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding two spears, stands on the mat and does the three-step walk. A helper picks up the colter of a plow and puts it in the fire until it is red. The sorcerer sings, swinging the spears. He first checks the troops in the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. For the east, north, and center he faces the inside of the house, whereas for the south and north /sic/ he faces outward. Next he checks the names of the 12 piao /body of troops/ leaders, and then the soldiers of the 12 months. After this checking, holding the two spears in his left hand and taking the chiao-tzu in

*[787] his right hand, he divines. If the yin chiao appears, it is considered that Duke No has mounted his horse; the yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the sheng chiao shows that all the other shen have mounted their horses. When the divination shows that all the shen have mounted their horses, the gong and drum are struck, the sorcerer priest blows his horn and grasps the spears, which have been in his left hand, separately and waves them to the left and right, does the three-step walk, and at the same time utters the hua-piao /"transforming the spears"/ incantation. After one passage, he goes

1 [of the Huen No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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#782 989 around in a circle, faces to the right of the Peach Blossom cave, bends a little, and, spears still waving to the right and left, continues the incantation. After another passage, he takes a step facing outside, acts as if he were mounting a horse, then turns facing inside again. He passes the two spears to the helper, blows the horn once, and then picks up two hsien-feng banners and waves them to the right and left, at the same time uttering the hua-ch'i /transforming the banners"/ incantation. After passage, he takes another step facing outside the door, and once more makes the movement of mounting a horse, once more turns facing inside, passes the two hsien-feng banners to the helper, blows the horn once, picks up the branch of a peach tree, and waving it right and left, utters the ts'o-su /"twisting rope"/ incantation, /187/ gesticulating according to the text of the incantation to the east, south, west, north, and center. Then after he has turned facing inside and has blown the horn once, he utters the jang-hu /"lake"/ and the jang-hai /"sea"/ incantations to the five directions. Then he blows the horn once toward the interior of the house, picks up the whip in his left hand, shakes the ritual knife in his right hand, takes the three-step walk, and in the din of gong and drum he utters the ch'a-ping /"despatching the troops"/ incantation. After a passage, he walks in a circle, puts the whip and knife on the ground, makes gestures with his left hand, does the three-step walk, and continues the incantation. Then he changes the style of walking. After eight steps, he circles around once and faces to the right of the Peach Spring cave, his two hands together, the fingers intertwined and the thumbs twirling. With his right foot planted on the whip and the knife and both hands waving to the left and right, he utters the incantation to expel evil influences. After one passage, he circles around once, picks up the whip and knife from the ground, strikes the ground with the whip once, and jumps once, then while jumping he utters an incantation. Then he faces inside and picks up the red-hot colter in the fire with a pair of iron tongs. On top of it he puts some paper money, a piece of mi-pa, and some drops of tung oil.

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*787 As black smoke curls up, he asks someone to go around the
789 house with it, and when he comes to the front of a bed, to the central hall, and beside the cattle stall, he puts down the colter, while the sorcerer spits a mouthful of tung oil on the colter to send black smoke curling upward. Helpers, holding spears, banners, and peach branches, cry out loudly, "ho, ho," to drive away the evil kuei. The sorcerer, holding the willow towel and the ritual knife, follows behind, waving and dancing, uttering an incantation all the while. After the tour of the house is over, the colter is deposited outside, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the main house to utter another incantation
*[787] and to divine. After the sheng chiao or the yin chiao are obtained, he sings out the magic words to call in the troops, to the accompaniment of the sound of gong and drum. After singing a passage, he picks up the two spears and waves them to the right and left as he did when he checked in the troops. After
*[787] singing some more, he divines, and on obtaining the sheng chiao, the ritual is over.

*787 The fifteenth part is T'ao Chiao /"asking for the chiao-tzu"/. On a small table is placed a sheng of rice, a piece of cloth (green or blue in color), and a woman's ornament. On the rice are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles. The sorcerer priest appears in a red headkerchief and carrying the willow towel on his back, and sings the T'ao Chiao incantation. After one passage is sung, the helpers spread out rice straw on the ground, and on it is spread a piece of bedding. The sorcerer-priest and the host both kneel down on the bedding; the sorcerer puts the willow towel in front of his knees, holds a ling-p'ai /honorable tablet, i.e. the ancestral tablet?/ in his left hand and the chiao-tzu in his right, and utters an incanta-
*[787] tion to invoke the shen. When it is divined that the shen have already descended and taken cognizance of the items on sacrifice, the sorcerer first begs their protection for the family, the father, mother, sons, and daughters of the family, one by one, and next for the horses, oxen, goats, chickens, ducks, geese, cats, and dogs. Next he seeks their protection so that the five

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*782 grains will be abundant and resources will increase, and last he seeks the expulsion of the five pestilences, the hundred kuei, bandits, thieves, and all kinds of strange phenomena. After this, he inverts the two chiao-tzu on the tablet. Next he *782 utters the incantation about the origin of the chiao-tzu. He says *787 that the chiao-tzu originally were three persons: the yin chiao 773 had the surname Hsiao, the yang chiao, Kuo, and the sheng chiao, Tu. All three received offerings from humans at the place of the No Shen. When the incantation is finished, he *782 picks up the willow towel and rises together with the host. The helpers gather up the bedding and the rice straw.

/188/ The sixteenth part is K'ai Tung /"opening the cave"/. The sorcerer, with the red headkerchief and holding two hsien-feng banners in his hands, does the three-step walk at the front of the main hall and sings the magic K'ai Tung words, asking [776] the shen of the drama to emerge from the cave. After the singing, the gong and drum are struck, and the ritual terminates.

The seventeenth part is Pan Hsien Feng /"impersonating fairies"/. The sorcerer wears women's clothes and head orna- [292] ments to disguise himself as a woman and holds a hsien-feng banner or a fan. (If there are more than two pigs and two goats in the host's house, two females are impersonated.) The sorcerer-priest walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, singing out first the reasons why he has come to the No hall. Then he continues to sing about what he has seen in the hall, and asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. Then he sings to tell about the origin of hsien-feng. Finally, he bids the shen farewell. He accompanies the singing with movements of his hands and feet. After each passage of the singing, the gong and drum are sounded a few times and he moves several steps.

The eighteenth part is Pan Sung Tzu /"performing the handing over of a son"/. A square table is set up before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer-priest in the apparel for the [292] Pan Hsien Feng, stands on the table, holding the image of the [532] No child in his hand, and sings the song of farewell of the

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*7 82 heavenly shen coming down to earth. After this, he jumps
[533] down from the table and sings out what he has seen in the No hall. He then asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. After singing a passage, he strikes the gong and drum several times, walks a few steps, and then conveys the No child into the embrace of the host, and continues singing about the origin of the fairy sister. After the singing, the host puts down the image of the No child on the bed, and the caretaker of the altar burns paper money. Then the farewell incantation to the shen is sung, after which the gong and the drum are struck and the ritual terminates.

The nineteenth part is Pan K'ai-shan /"impersonating Kai-shan"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red headkerchief and
[532] a K'ai-shan mask, which has red whiskers and heavy eyebrows. Holding a wooden axe in his hand, he walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, dancing with hands and feet. First he sings about what he has seen en route to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. Next he asks to see the host to sing a passage of lucky words, after which he begins a conversation with the host, performing at the same
[523] time. The conversation has no definite subject but is full of humor.

The twentieth part is Pan Suan-chiang /"impersonating Suan-chiang"/. The sorcerer with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding a cane and a spear, walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, while singing out the reasons for his going to the No hall and what he saw there. He asks to see the host and sings a passage of auspicious words and has a conversation with him, at the same time performing. After this the host withdraws. Another person dressed as K'ai-shan /name of a general/ engages in a conversation with Suan-chiang /also a general/, and performs. After this, they engage in a duel. K'ai-shan wins and Suan-chiang loses. But K'ai-shan withdraws first. Suan-chiang sings the farewell incantation to the shen, and the ritual ends.

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*782 The twenty-first part is Pan Shih-niang /"impersonating a woman"/. The sorcerer, in women's attire and holding a willow towel, stands before the Peach Spring cave. First there is a conversation, then he throws the willow towel on his back and blows the horn once. He then takes a chiao-tzu to rap the horn, while at the same time gong and drum are struck and he utters the incantation to invoke the spirit, bowing as he chants. On completing the incantation, he divines. /189/ After he obtains the sheng chiao, he removes the willow towel from his back and, holding it in his left hand while waving the knife in hand, with the beating of gong and drum stopped, he utters an incantation to pledge with wine. This done he dances with the willow towel. After the dance, drum and gong silent, he does the three-step walk and sings the incantation of leaving the shen. After singing a passage, he beats the gong and drum several times, and walks a bit outside like a woman, and then goes back in the house. The drum and gong are silenced. After singing briefly, he discards the costume and takes a rest.

*[787]

The twenty-second part is Pan T'ieh chiang /"impersonating a blacksmith"/. The sorcerer wears a red headkerchief, holds a cane in his hand, and has the willow towel hanging behind his back on his belt. The whip is stuck into the horn, which he carries on his back. He walks in a semicircle before the Peach Spring cave. First, he sings about the reason for his going to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen there. Next he asks to see the host to say a few words of good luck and engage him in a humorous dialogue, ending with a Miao song. Then he acts out a blacksmith beating iron to make an axe and handing it over to K'ai-shan. At last he utters the incantation of leaving the shen, and the ritual ends.

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The twenty-third part is Pan Ho-shang /"impersonating a monk"/. A winnowing basket is placed upside down in the middle of the central hall, and on it are set five bowls of wine, one bowl of water, five piles of pa-pa, and a piece of tofu in a bowl with sticks of incense and candles stuck in it. Around the basket are five pages of scripture, interspersed with paper

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*782 money. There is also a prayer box and a monk's mask. The sorcerer, wearing the red kerchief and red garment, stands before the basket, hitting the small cymbals with both hands and bowing at the same time. After three bows he hits the cymbals against each other and utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After a passage, he picks up the bowl of water and dips the fingers of his right hand into it and flicks the water on the sacrificial offerings. He continues the incantation, picks up the cymbals in his hands and hits each of the cymbals on the edges. The incantation is continued, but after each passage [788] he hits the edges of the cymbals and bows three times each time. After seven repetitions of the hitting and bowing, he *[787] divines. On obtaining the sheng chiao he pledges with wine. This is followed by the reading of the prayers. The shen are then asked to accept the sacrifices. Paper is burned and the shen are sent off. The sorcerer hits the edges of the cymbals again, walking along the basket in a semicircle, and recites the farewell incantation to the shen. When the incantation is over, he pours out the water from the bowl toward the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center.

The twenty-fourth part is Chiao Hsing /"delivering animals"/. A large table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it are offered a pig and a goat. Stuck in the animals are sticks of incense and candles, and on the side are two butcher's knives. Under the table are offered the viscera of the animals, in which are also stuck sticks of incense and candles. The sorcerer, wearing the red kerchief, ceremonial headgear, and red garment, and carrying the willow towel on the back, stands before the Peach Spring cave, singing the magic words of offering animals. After one passage is sung, first he makes the magic sign of his patron saint with his left hand, and then with his right hand. He announces the names of three generations of ancestors of the host. Then the gong and drum are sounded, and he blows the horn three times, after which he puts it down. His left hand continues to make the magic signs of his patron saint, and he utters magic words asking his patron saint to deliver the animals. *[787] After the incantation he divines. After the sheng chiao is

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*782 obtained, the sorcerer raps /190/ the horn, at the same time uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After the recitation, he waves the ritual knife and the caretaker of the altar pours the wine. He then recites the incantation pledging with wine. After this he dances with the willow towel. When the dance is over the gong and drum are silenced. He divines, and *[787] after obtaining the sheng chiao he utters the incantation for the shen to accept the offerings. After this, he first beseeches the shen to protect the men and women, old and young, of the family, next, the six domestic animals, and finally, the five grains. After asking for protection, he seeks the wealth for the host and the expulsion of pestilence and strange events. He also seeks the opening of the prison and the cangue to release souls. For each thing sought he has to divine until the sheng *[787] chiao is obtained, after which he gives an interpretation of the chiao to decide whether they are auspicious or not. Then there follow the chiao-na, hou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. After the incantations paper money is burned and the gong and drum are sounded. At the same time the sorcerer utters the incantation for wheeling in money, and the ritual ends.

The twenty-fifth part is Pan Pa Lang /"impersonating the eighth young men"/. The sorcerer wears a red head wrap and a mask and shoulders an umbrella and a bundle, disguising himself as a traveler. He walks around in a semicircle behind the table for the pig and goat. His right hand waves the ritual knife, and to the accompaniment of the gong and drum, he sings of the ancient men of the twelfth month, continuing with explaining the reason for going to the No hall. He asks to see [522] the host and after a humorous conversation, he acts out the procedures of haggling over prices, paying for goods purchased, pursuing pigs and goats, catching them, killing them, and cutting them up. After this performance, when he has divined *[787] and has obtained the sheng chiao he sings the magic words for the handing over of animals. He then turns over the pig and the goat to the man in charge of the kitchen to cook, and then sings

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*182 the magic words about pigs, goats, chickens, fish, wine, candles, tofu, and pa-pa. When the singing is over, he says farewell to the shen, and the ritual terminates.

The twenty-sixth part is "tasting the cooked food." The cooked heart, liver, lung, and intestines of the pig and the goat are cut and placed in five bowls. These together with five cups of wine are placed in a large winnowing basket. The meat from the shinbone of the pig and goat are cut into a bowl each, in which are stuck three sticks of incense, two candles, and a liang-yüan. (1) The rest of the pig and goat meat, as

1. A liang-yüan is made of a piece of white paper curled up and attached to a stick, which is stuck in the incense urn before the spirit /shen/ altar. It is made when making a vow.

well as a piece of tofu, are placed upon the large table with sticks of incense and candles stuck in them. The butcher knife pasted with paper money is also stuck into the meat. On the table there is also a prayer box. In addition an earthen jug of wine stands beside the table. The sorcerer wears a red garment, red headkerchief, ceremonial headgear, and the willow towel, and stands behind the large table, singing the magic words for the items on sacrifice. After singing, his left hand makes the magic signs of his patron saints, and he sings out their names, as well as the dates of their birth. His right hand also makes the magic signs, and he sings out the names of the ancestors of the host. After this, the gong and drum are sounded, and the sorcerer blows his horn three times. He then says the magic words for offering the sacrifices, after which he divines. *[187] After the sheng chiao is obtained he says two more phrases, blows the horn once more, and raps it with one of the chiao-tzu, at the same time uttering an incantation (the same as for P'u T'an). After this, the gong and drum are silenced, and he

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*782 asks the age of the pig, the goat, and the wine. After the bystanders answer, he continues to sing one more passage, /191/ and then sticks his whip into the jug of wine, pulling it out immediately. He utters an incantation requesting the shen to drink wine. After this he waves his ritual knife in his right hand, holds the willow towel in his left hand, and stands behind the table offering the pig and the goat, uttering an incantation pledging in wine. Then he dances with the willow towel. When the dance is over, the gong and drum are silenced. The host holds out the prayer box in his two hands, and with the sorcerer kneels down and reads the prayer, after which they both stand up. The sorcerer divines, and after obtaining the sheng *[787] chiao, he utters an incantation for the shen to inspect and receive the sacrifices. After this he invokes the protection of the shen for the men and women, old and young, in the family as well as for the six animals and five grains. When the prayer for protection has been said, he then prays for wealth for the host and the expulsion of pestilence and strange events. He further prays for the opening of the prison and the cangue for the release of souls. Every time he asks for something, he must *[787] divine, seeking the sheng chiao. Afterward he decides whether the chiao are auspicious or not. After he has decided about the chiao, he utters the chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. After the incantations he burns paper money, beats the gong and drum, and at the same time utters the incantation for wheeling in money. This concludes the ritual.

The twenty-seventh part is Shao Yüan /"burning of liang-yüan"/. After "tasting the cooked food," the sorcerer-priest does not discard his garment and headgear but immediately performs the Shao Yüan before the Peach Spring cave. The host, holding in both hands a small winnowing basket, in which have been placed a piece of meat from the shinbone of a pig and a goat, two cups of wine, a pair of candles, three sticks of incense, and a liang-yüan stands to the left of the sorcerer-priest. Helpers hold up a large winnowing basket, in which are five bowls each of pork and goat meat and five bowls of wine, and stand to the right of the sorcerer. (If the tray is too

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*782 heavy, it may be placed on a stool). The sorcerer, waving the ritual knife in his right hand, sings the magic words of Shao Yüan. After he has sung a long passage, the helpers put the basket on the ground. The sorcerer leads the host outdoors in front of the hsi-kung and utters the incantation to pledge the opponents in wine. After the incantation the sorcerer takes the two cups of wine in the basket held by the host and pours the wine on the ground, and puts the cups upside down in the basket. He then returns with the host in front of the Peach Spring cave, and squats on the ground. The host puts down the small winnowing basket, holds the prayer box in both hands, and kneels in front of the No shen. The sorcerer holds the liang-yüan in his hand and recites the ch'ou-yüan incantation. When the incantation is over, a helper burns the liang-yüan and the prayer box, as well as some paper money. The sorcerer sings the *[787] yüan magic words and divines the time when the No shen will go back. He also invokes protection for the peace of the family of the host, the increase of the six animals, and the abundance of the five grains. After the sheng chiao is obtained, the gong and drum are struck, and the sorcerer and the host stand up. The former blows the horn once, then rests it on his wrists, takes the three-step walk, and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After having blown the horn three times, the sorcerer takes off his garment and takes a rest. In the meantime the pork and the mutton /goat meat/ are cut up and placed in 12 bowls and put before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer takes the chiao-tzu, and after uttering the incantation for pledging with wine, seeks the sheng chiao, after which the ritual *[787] terminates.

The twenty-eighth part is Pan T'u-ti /"impersonating the local divinity of the soil"/. The sorcerer, wearing the mask [532] of the local divinity of the soil and holding his patron saint's [522] cane and whip, sings a few phrases in the main hall and then [776] engages in a humorous dialogue. Then he sings out the names of the malignant spirits of the 12 months and /192/ indulges in humorous dialogue with the host. Next he sings out the ranks

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*782 [776] and ages of the nine local divinities who are brothers. After this he announces the name and place of birth of the host, asks the shen to receive the offerings, and also asks for their protection. He then utters the chiao-na, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations, after which he sings the magic words of keng-yang-ch'un. Then he bids the shen farewell, and the ritual terminates.

The twenty-ninth part is Pan P'an-kuan /"impersonating a judge"/. A table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is placed a sheng of rice with several coins on it. There are also set out two cups of wine, two bowls of meat, a trayful of salted peppers, and a pot of wine. The sorcerer wears the [537] mask of a judge, a red garment, and a red kerchief around the head, and holds a spear in his right hand as a pen, and in his left hand a cash account book as well as a ling-p'ai /spirit tablet/. He walks in a semicircle outside the door, singing out the reason for going to the No hall. As he walks into the house, he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. He asks [522] to see the host and engages him in some humorous dialogue; he congratulates him and asks him to take part in the worship of the No shen. At the same time the gong and drum are sounded, and the sorcerer takes his place behind the table with his back toward the Peach Spring cave. On the right and the left of the table sit two other men, and the host sits before the table, facing the judge. The sorcerer sings, and the two men and the host sing in response. Wine is poured for the host to drink while good luck words are sung. He drinks four times while four passages are sung. After this, the host leaves the table. Then he performs the act of filing a petition, which is [522] purposely made full of jokes, which the sorcerer refutes. At last the purpose of the petition is given to be the fulfilling of a vow to the No shen. The sorcerer then opens up the cash account book and begins to read, carrying on at the same time a dialogue with the helpers. Now and then he makes a sign in the book with red ink and writes the character huan /"paid"/

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*782 on the page, singing: "The character huan is written thousands of times, and of the character ch'ien /"due"/ not a fraction is left." Every passage read in the account book is followed by singing and acting. After this the sorcerer-priest burns a few pieces of paper money, handing them to the helpers to be burned in front of the door in order to send back the shen. This being done, the sorcerer, holding the book in his left hand and holding up the spear in his right hand, walks in a semicircle, facing the door. He sings the farewell song to the shen, and the ritual ends.

The thirtieth part is Chin Piao /"presenting spears"/. The sorcerer, wearing the red garment and a red kerchief around his head, topped with the ceremonial headgear, holds two spears in his hands and walks in front of the door in a semicircle, singing the magic words of Chin Piao. After singing a passage, he walks into the house to stand before the Peach Spring cave and recites another passage. He then burns one spear and sings the magic words to invite the shen to receive the spear. After *[787] the singing, he divines. The yang chiao indicates that Duke No [776] has received it, the yin chiao indicates that Mother No has taken it. The sheng chiao indicates that the San-ch'ing shen has taken it. The other spear is stuck into the sheng of rice in order to make a vow. Some more magic words about the spear are said, while at the same time the sorcerer acts out the meaning of the words. Then he utters the magic words of offering wine before mounting a horse, and the host pours out wine from the pot. After five cups have been poured, the sorcerer divines. *[787] The yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the yin chiao indicates that Duke No has mounted his horse; and the sheng chiao indicates that the San-ch'ing shen has mounted. The sorcerer sings as he divines, while the helpers dismantle the set-up in the Peach Spring cave. When it is divined that the No shen and the San-ch'ing all have mounted, the sorcerer goes outdoors /193/ and jumps on his left foot as if mounting a horse himself. After gesticulating with his hands to indicate a large horse and a small horse, he sings out more

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*782 magic words, facing the inside of the house, calling upon the ancestral spirits of three generations to get on their horses.
*[787] For these the sheng chiao is required. After the divination the helpers beat the gong and drum, and at the same time the images of Duke No and Mother No are taken down. First the heads are taken off and given to the host, who places them on the bed. Then the paraphernalia from the dismantled Peach Spring cave are either burned or kept for future use. Then the gong and drum are sounded, the sorcerer blows on his horn, and the helpers come out, carrying the various things one by one in an orderly fashion. The sorcerer follows behind and closes the door for the host, at the same time uttering the incantation for closing doors. Then he opens the door, and utters the incantation for opening doors. After this all of them go to a vacant area of level ground, where rice straw is spread. The prayer box is burned here to the accompaniment of the beating of gong and drum. The sorcerer blows the horn once and then
[788] places it in the crook of his arms with his hands folded together, the fingers crossed together, and the thumbs going around, and does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After each passage he circles once and blows the horn once. Altogether eight passages are uttered, and eight times the horn is blown. A helper then picks up a cock held in readiness and bites through the neck, letting its blood drip down around the spot where the prayer box was burned. Then the sorcerer, holding the horn in his right hand and lifting the left lower corner of his red garment with his left hand, walks around the place where the blood has dripped.
[576] When he returns to his original place, he squats on his heels, puts the horn in between his knees, and utters the incantation for opening the road, performing at the same time. First he
[788] sticks out the middle finger and forefinger of each hand, and then the little fingers and the fourth fingers. Then he joins both hands behind his back, crossing the fingers together. Moving his hands to the front he rotates them on his chest, and then covers his ears with his sleeves. When the acting and

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*782 the chanting are over, the gong and drum are silenced, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the host's house to eat breakfast. After breakfast the sorcerer makes a liang-yüan, and with both hands he gives it to the host to be stuck in the sheng of rice. At the same time he says a few words of good luck.

At this point, all the various rituals for Huan No Yüan are over. The sorcerer packs up his implements and the thank-you gifts from the host, who sends someone to escort him home. On passing each village the sorcerer must blow his horn once, the idea being to call the yin troops to return to the altar. When he arrives home he blows his horn once more and utters the incantation of returning to the altar.

(2) Magic

771 789 Both magic and religion are in the sacred domain. The distinction between the two sometimes is not very clear. The celebrated British scholar of magic and religion, Sir James Frazer, set up his standard of differentiating between magic and religion on the basis of whether the method employed in controlling nature was a personal, direct application of the use of spells and charms, or an indirect one by invoking the help of spirits. (1) The former is /194/ magic, and the latter

1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li An-che's translation, pp. 3-4.

is religion. The contemporary scholar, Malinowski, has made a more penetrating distinction between the two. He says: "Within the domain of the sacred, magic as a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfillment of their purpose." (1)

1. See above-quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

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771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

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1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted
Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
789 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

/195 cont./

755 a cup of wine, and meat, and lays them down one by one.
789 The magician then kowtows three times facing the altar for incense. Then he burns the paper money and takes down the cup of water with his left hand, using the thumb, forefinger, and little finger to hold it secure /Illus. 77 appears here/ /196/ (the middle and the fourth fingers bend into the palm). The forefinger and middle finger of his right hand close together to draw three magic signs facing the cup of water (Illus. 76, 77). While the magic signs are being drawn he

[352]

Illus. 76. The ritual of drawing water.

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755 789 recites to himself the magic formula for invoking his teacher, while imagining the situation under which his teacher taught him. After the magic formula invoking the teacher has been

Illus. 77. The gesture for drawing water.

said, he utters the magic formula for drawing water, and at a certain passage he takes a mouthful of water and sprays it upon the sick person, or he asks the sick person to drink the cup of water. In case of sudden illness or an injury sustained in open country or in the mountains, when it is not possible to set up an incense altar, it is only necessary to burn incense and paper, recite the incantation and draw the spell, and smear the injured part of the sick person with saliva.

The incantations for drawing water may be divided into two parts: one part is the magic formula for the invocation of

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755 the teacher, and the second part is the magic formula for the
789 water. In the various kinds of incantations for drawing water, the formula for invoking the teacher is largely similar, but the formula for water differs. The following are some examples:

(1) Chiang-chün shui /general's water/: Cures sudden illness accompanied by fainting. The magic formula for invoking the teacher runs as follows: "Invoking /197/ Master so and so, who taught me orally, I raise my head to look up to the skies in the center of which the master is, and call him to come. As soon as I call, he comes. He is before me, behind me, to my left, and to my right, going from front to back, from left to right, hiding me, transforming me, so that where my body is cannot be seen. He helps me talk of proper water, and speaking of proper water, I draw a brass knife and an iron knife. The brass knife kills the kuei. The iron knife kills the kuei." Having said this magic formula to invite the teacher, he then utters the magic formula for the water: "Moving one foot, calling out once, I call upon the great Shang-yüan Great General. The first general, who bears the surname T'ang, was once the king of the Li kingdom; his feet pushes 800 carriages, like a room in Lao-chün's /i.e., Lao-tzu's/ inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (At this point the magician takes a mouthful of water and, making a fierce sound like a tiger, he sprays the water on the body of the sick person, and then, stamping his foot on the ground, he continues.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going away now, wait awhile. A hundred birds are repairing to the mountain, and so is the pretty woman. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The second general, whose surname is Ko, emits smoke from his

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755 nose and a river from his mouth, and swells in Tu-wei palace
789 in heaven. He pushes 800 carriages with his feet, like Lao-chün in his inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As in the previous instance the magician sprays a mouthful of water and stamps his foot on the ground.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The belly of the kuei will be ripped open, his intestines taken out and his heart eaten. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The third general, whose surname is Chu, can reverse the current of the Yellow River and can also push 800 carriages with his feet, like a room in Lao-chün's inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As before the magician sprays water and stamps his foot.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The big ones will be half-eaten, and the little ones will be scraped and hung to dry. Everyone has a net, and so come quickly. If you do not come your nets will be messed up. (The last two sentences are uttered in a low and muffled tone.)

752 (2) Lu-szu shui /"egret silk"/: A remedy when a bone
755 gets stuck in the throat through eating or drinking carelessly.
789 On drinking this cup of water, the sick person can vomit out or swallow down the bone. The magic formula for invoking the teacher is the same as above. The magic formula for

752 /197 cont./
755 water is as follows: "When the moon rises above the four
789 pillars, chop up all the dirty kuei. /198/ May I become a monkey to properly change to drink water. If I call to change, then I will change. If I do not change, the disciple will draw a June sun in which to change. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not, the disciple will draw a June sun, in which to melt. If I call to change, I will change; and if I do not, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to strike me into changing. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not melt, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to force me to melt. Raising my head to look at the four directions, I see nine dragons coming down from heaven. When the dragons come they drop off their claws; when the tigers come they drop off their skins, and the hundreds of birds in the mountains drop off their feathers. Step by step they become steel. When I touch them they become small open boats." (Chanted three times.)

(3) Hsüeh-shan shui /"snow-mountain water"/: Heals skin burns. If the injury is slight, saliva can be used to smear on the burn, but for a serious injury it is necessary to use a bowl of water. He sprays three mouthfuls of water, and also flicks water on the burned place with his fingers. The magic formula for water follows: "The first request is for a distance of one li, the second for the distance of two li. The large army knife please go to the big snow mountain; and the small army knife please go to the small snow mountain. I respectfully invite my teacher, Lung Sheng-fa and profound disciple, Ma Lao-ch'iao. When an army is burned it is broken off; when the skin is burned it is broken off. Do not flow blood! do not flow water! Take the saliva as medicine."

(4) Ke-shan shui /"separated-by-a-mountain water"/: For healing someone injured by a fall or by a cut on the other side of a mountain. If the magician hears the cry for help, he then can utter an incantation to heal the injured person, except that he must inform the injured person beforehand: "If I ask you whether you are well or not, you should reply 'yes,'

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752 or the healing will be ineffective." The magic formula for
755 water is as follows: "On the other side of the mountain press
789 down the mountain; on the other side of the water press down the water; draw /i.e. delineate/ the burden of the kuei, chop off the kuei mountain. The old dragon has personally come to the dragon-deep rapids. Li Lao-ko of Mu-shan has been invited, and without fear of miscellaneous kuei or distant ones, the left hand draws the thunder of heaven, the right hand draws the thunder of the earth, drawing altogether 500 savage thunders."

(5) Tan-hsüeh shui /"carrying-blood water"/: This is used to heal an injured person whose blood keeps flowing. First ordering the man to take hold of the injured place, he utters an incantation and sprays a mouthful of water, and thus the bleeding will stop. The magic formula for the water is as follows: "Moving a foot, calling out once, I got Master Wu Hwa-hsing. Across the mountain I call out for the three stars; across the water I call out for shui-i /literally, "water meaning"/. The large army knife is carried to Ta-hung-sha /lit. "large great sands"/; the small army knife is carried to Hsiao /"small"/-hung-sha. The water of the Yangtze River and the current from the sea are carried. The foot stamps on the dragon's head, and the blood carried does not flow; the foot is set on the dragon's waist, and the blood carried does not seep out. Boys, boys, changed in the muddy fields. The boys are related. The master asks me to mark off the four places. The disciple asks me to point in the four directions."

(6) Feng-tao-k'ou shui /"closing-a-knife-wound water"/: Heals knife wounds. After this incantation is uttered three times, not only does the wound close, but the fingers become
[751] immune to knife cuts. The magic formula is: "When the sun comes up it is a drop of red; the hand wields a golden whip to ride the dragon; a swallow of water stops the flow of the Yangtze River; the disciple presses the pulse, and the blood stops flowing."

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2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against [671] the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article [653] relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku [774] witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five con- [524] stituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers [753] either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him [787] to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

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754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[434] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ʃʰiɤ] in the Miao language, and a ku woman
is called [mpʰɑ ʃʰiɤ]. Most of the ku women are loved by
their husbands. /200/ which is called /tʰioʌ ʃʰiɤ/, meaning
seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/200-cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[828] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

/200 cont./

754 On the basis of the above data we can say in general that the art of ku is a form of black magic. Today, there are still a number of primitive societies where people take a pointed bone, stick, or arrowhead, or the wing bone of a certain kind of animal to pierce, thrust at, or point at the victim they wish to harm, in an imitative ritual, and then they reckon they will die. (1) This is very much like letting out ku by thrusting

1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li An-che's Chinese translation, page 77.

one or two fingers to cause a person to get sick and die. Per-
[832] haps, the art of ku is also a kind of love magic. It is said among the Miao that ku women are good at making their husbands happy. The Kwei-shun Chi-li Chou-chi of Kwangsi states: "When a woman cannot win her husband's love, she asks for a magical formula from the magician in order to gain love. In time she practices ku. During the time of the full moon she sends it out to poison someone else, otherwise it would hurt her. /201/ Along Cheng-pien area this practice is
[832] most prevalent." That ku witchcraft is a form of black magic or love magic is only our speculation, because we do not know the incantations and rituals nor the gestures and acts of the performer while carrying out the rituals. Therefore it is not easy to know what it actually is.

2:Ling & Ruey-310 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is
[181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example,
[526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu
[534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in
[292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a
[782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments
[656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened
[186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey
[184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

/202 cont./

*535 t'iao ku /lit. "to harmonize drums"/ . The section on the
184 Hung Miao in Kuei-chou T'ung-chih states: "To sing and dance to the beatings of the drum is called t'iao ku." Thus it may be seen that the drum dance is common among the Hung Miao in both Hunan and Kweichow, but it has not yet been found among other tribes in the southwest. It is suspected that this dance may belong to the Hung Miao alone. The histories
175 of ancient dynasties contain the names of dances of the tribes
184 of the southwest. The "Nan Man Chuan /Section on the Southern Tribes/" in the Hou Han Shu /History of the Later Han
*535 Dynasty/ refers to the pa-yü dance, (1) the "Hsi-nan Chü I

1. Hou Han Shu, Vol. 116, "Lieh Chuan /Biographies/," No. 76, "Nan Man Chuan," states: "They like to sing and dance. Emperor Kao Tsung saw them, and said, 'This is the song of Prince Wu when he subdued Chou.' He ordered his musicians to learn it. This is the pa-yü dance."

Chuan /Section on the Tribes of the Southwest/" in the Sung Shih /History of the Sung Dynasty/, has a reference to the shui-ch'ü /lit. "water tune"/ dance, (2) and there are references

2. Sung Shih, Vol. 496, "Lieh Chuan," No. 225, "Hsi-nan Chu I Chuan," states: "The first year of the Chih Tao reign period /995/, Lung Kuang-chin led the Tsang-k'o tribes of the southwest to come to bring tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsung asked them

M 175 184 *535 /203/

to perform a native dance.
One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
which sounded like gnats. After
a good while some tens of them,
turning side by side, danced.
They called it the shui-ch'ü."

to the ch'ü-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty (1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

M [113]

1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya,
Vol. I, sections on the
T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the Pe Miao, have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known. Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to describe the singing and dancing. However good the description, it is only a simulation. The Li Shan annotation on the phase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums," sets in order all the phrases. On reading it one gets a better understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance. The ancient Hsin ch'eng An-le-kung Ts'u says: 'The p'an drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven P'an Dance/, Chang Hang says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

M 174 *535 C 535

C [179]

/203 cont./

M 174 *535 c 175 535 sandals go up'; again, 'the p'an drums glitter with heavy silk.' Wang Ts'an in his Ch'i Shih says: 'The seven p'an take place in a large yard, the group fall in line, throwing their white sleeves high up, suddenly close their feet and stand straight, looking askance at the drum, raising their voices to follow the rhythm, slowly tiptoeing to follow the beat, then bending their bodies in rapid sequence.' K'a Lan in his Hsü-ch'ang-kung Fu says: 'They stamp the feet to stop following, and continue when they seem about to stop. The drums roar but the steps are not confused, the feet following one after the other but not together. They lean toward the drum, zigzagging like a snake. As for the seven p'an dance, they go lightly like feathers.' The descriptions are similar." The p'an drum dance became extinct during the Tang dynasty. Although Li Shan had collected data about the various dances and studied them carefully, he had only a general idea of them. Fortunately, today we have the stone carvings from the Han dynasty. c [532] Such books as the Shan Tso Chin Shih chih (2) and the Nan-yang

2. By Pi Yüan and Yüan Yüan of the Ching dynasty.

Han Hua-hsiang Hui-ts'un (3) /Illus. 78 and 79, on pp. 204,

3. By Sun Wen-ch'ing, published by the Literary Society of Nanking University, 1938, containing four illustrations of the drum dance, Nos. 137, 138, 139, and 142.

205/ /206/ contain pictures of the drum dance of the Han dynasty. Looking at the illustrations and reading the poems bring the drum dance of the Han dynasty vividly to mind. Illustrations 78 and 79 show stone carvings of the drum dance

[text continues on p316]

2:Ling & Ruey--314 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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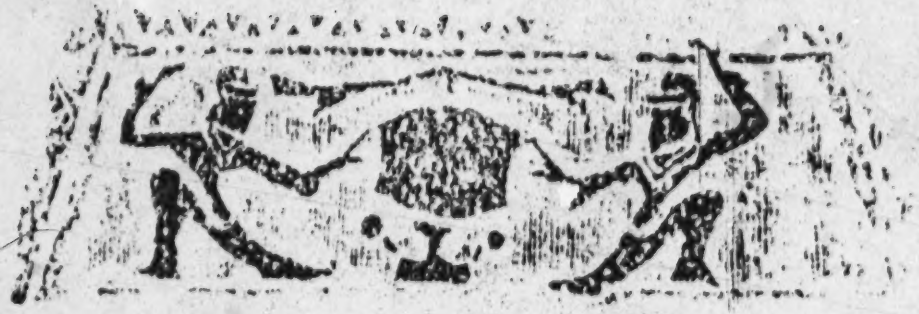
Ch'in-Han AF8



Illus. 78. Stone carving of the drum dance at Nan-yang, A.

2:Ling & Ruey--315 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Ch'in-Han AF8

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Illus. 79. Stone carving of the drum dance at Nan-yang, B.

/206 cont./

M 174 *535 at Nan-Yang. They very much resemble the drum dance of the Hung Miao today. This strengthens the belief that the drum dance was brought into the Miao area during the Han dynasty. C [175] [535] Further, according to the legend still prevalent today in the Miao area, in ancient times the Miao lived in Honan. The ancient Chinese records refer to the Mao Jung at Yin-ti in Honan province. From the geographical standpoint the theory also seems close to facts.

M *535 The drum dance of the Miao may be divided into two kinds: the solo dance and the duet dance. The solo dance is done by one person beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping the waist of the drum (Illus. 84-116). The duet dance is done by two persons beating the drum and dancing and one person M [562] tapping (Illus. 81, 82, and 83). There is no restriction as to sex, any combination being permitted.

[534] The size of the drum was probably set in former times, but now there are no uniform requirements. The drum is hoisted on a wooden frame and the stick /pang/ used for tapping is about a ch'ih long, and the drumstick is about half a ch'ih.

There are two kinds of dances: the drumstick dance and the fist dance, the difference being that in the former the drum is M struck with the drumstick and in the latter with the fist. The [562] fist dances, except for the ta-pa-pa dance (see later), are men's dances and are not practiced by women. As for the drumstick dances, although they are for both men and women, there is a certain number exclusively for men. When we observed the Miao dances we felt at first that the movements were rather complicated, but after detailed analysis they are rather simple. Since within the short space of five minutes they can dance over 20 different steps in very rapid motion, each being interchangeable with the other, on-lookers cannot help but feel that the steps are extremely intricate. Following are accounts of the drumstick dance and the fist dance.

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1. The Drumstick Dance

(1) The Combing-the-Hair Dance (Illus. 85)

Both men and women dance. A man's steps: Facing the drum, he beats it with his right hand, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung, tung, tung — tung. His body faces left, the toes of his right foot face the drum, his left foot is in the same direction as his body. The two feet are about 30 centimeters /kung fen/ apart, the right leg slightly bending. His left hand goes around the head twice as if combing the hair. The second time the hand is raised ready for combing again, and at the same time the left foot is on tiptoe, with the heel raised high. The left and right alternate in beating, there being no set number of times. /Illus. 80-88, pp. 207-12/ /213/

[533]

A woman's steps: Facing the drum, she beats it with her right hand, the drum beat also being tung, tung — tung, tung, tung — tung. With her body facing the drum, her ~~two feet~~ stretch out alternately to the beat of the drum. Her left hand goes across the right breast and around the head twice as if combing the hair. The left and right hands alternately beat, also without a set number of times, depending upon the endurance of the dancer. Afterward the tempo of the drum beating increases in short staccato beats, and her two feet leaping back and forth, each time she performs the hair-combing gesture once. To the accompaniment of fast beating, as the right hand beats the drum, the left foot stretches forth and the left hand combs the hair. Then the left hand beats the drum, and the right foot stretches forth and the right hand combs the hair in turn.

[533]

(2) Inserting-a-Flower Dance (Illus. 86)

Men and women both dance this. A man's steps: He beats the drum with his right hand, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung. Both the face and the body face left, the feet being

[533]

[text continues on p325]

2:Ling & Ruey--318 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Illus. 80. Miao women's drum dance group at Kan-ch'eng.

2:Ling & Ruey--319 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 81. Men's duet drum dance at Hsin-chai, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--320 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 82. Woman's solo drum dance at Kao-yen Ho, Yung-sui.

2:Ling & Ruey--321 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Illus. 83. Women's duet drum dance at Kao-yen Ho, Yung-sui.

2:Ling & Ruey--322 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 84. Woman's solo dance at Kan-ch'eng.

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Illus. 85. Woman's Hair-Combing Dance.

Illus. 86. Inserting-a-Flower Dance.

2:Ling & Ruey--324 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 88. The Bird-Flying Dance.

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Illus. 87. The Sword-Carrying Dance.

/213 cont./

*535 about 50 centimeters apart. He holds the drumstick in his left hand as the flower. First he acts as if he were picking a flower from the ground, then inserts it into his hair, left and right alternating.

A woman's steps: She beats the drum with her right hand, the body halfway to the left and the two feet about 20 centimeters apart, like the "at ease" in military drill. When the right hand beats the drum, the left hand holds the lower part of the drumstick, first making the gesture of picking a flower from the earth and then sticking it into the hair.

(3) The Sword-Carrying Dance (Illus. 87)

[533] This dance is limited to men. The right hand beats the drum, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung. Both the face and body face left, the two feet apart as in the Inserting-Flower dance. The left hand goes around the waist in a great circle and closes tight against the back. The left and right hands perform alternately.

(4) The Flying-Bird Dance (Illus. 88)

This dance is limited to men. First the right hand beats the drum, the body faces left, the two feet being about 65 centimeters apart, with the toes of both feet pointing left. The left hand grasps the middle of the drumstick, the arm stretches straight, and bends forward and backward, with half of the body swaying in the gesture of opening up wings to fly. Left and right sides perform alternately.

(5) The Picking-the-Ear Dance (Illus. 89)

/214/ This is danced by both men and women. A man's steps: First the right hand beats the drum, with the body facing somewhat to the left, the two feet about 30 centimeters apart, the toes of the right foot pointing toward the drum and the toes

/214 cont./

*535 of the left foot in the same direction as the body. With head bending down a little to the left and the left hand holding the drumstick, he makes a circle around the ear. Then the waist bends to the left and the drumstick makes the gesture of picking the ear once or twice. After straightening up, the dancer bends at the waist again. When the hands are being changed, the left hand makes a large semicircle with the eyes following it.

A woman's steps: The right hand beats the drum as the body faces the drum, the head bending to the left and the two feet being about 30 centimeters apart. She raises the heel of the left foot and uses the left hand to make a small circle around the ear several times. She changes hands and continues dancing.

(6) The Lifting-a-Tripod Dance (Illus. 90)

This dance is limited to men. First beating the drum with the right hand, the body facing left, the two feet about 48 centimeters apart, the dancer makes the gesture of balancing. The left hand holds the middle of the drumstick and is bent to the level of the shoulder; he straightens up his body and lifts his hand up in the gesture of lifting up a tripod. Bending it again he puts down his hand. The left hand and the right hand perform in turn.

(7) The Flower /Fancy/-Hand Drum Dance (Illus. 91, 92)

This dance may be performed by either a man or woman. A man dances by beating the drum with the right hand, his body facing the drum, his left hand in back being raised from facing down to upward in a semicircle and crossing over the right hand, the right foot crosses at the same time over the left foot, both knees slightly bent. When the left foot is standing firm and the right foot is rising, the dancer beats the drum with the left hand, and in this way he changes hands. After

/214 cont./

*535 a few times the two feet continue to change position, crossing each other. When the left foot is crossing over the right foot he beats the drum with both hands from the left to the right. When the right foot is crossing over the left foot, the two drumsticks come down from the right to the left. Both hands bend in a triangle. When the left hand is on top and the right hand is at the bottom, the right hand hits the drum first, and [533] the left hand follows. The drum beats tung — tung, two beats. At the same time the right leg bends forward. Left and right alternate.

A woman dances by beating the drum with the right hand, the body facing the drum. The two feet are about 28 centimeters apart, the right foot pointing forward, the left foot slanting to the left, the heel raised. The left arm bends slightly above the shoulder and drops backward in the gesture of a butterfly flying. The beating of the drum with the right hand and the movements of the left foot and left hand must all be synchronized. In alternate turns the two feet step forth. When the dancer faces the drum, it is called ch'ien hua /forward flower/, and when the back is to the drum, /Illus. 89-92 on pp. 215-16/ /217/ it is called the hou hua /backward flower/. When the face is toward the left or right, it is called the "left flower" and the "right flower" respectively.

(8) The Round-Hand Drum Dance (Illus. 93, 94)

Both men and women may do this dance. A man dances by beating the drum with his right hand, his two feet about 70 centimeters apart. It may be divided into two kinds: the small round-hand dance and the large round-hand dance. In the small round-hand drum dance the dancer faces the drum, his two feet pointing together in the form of an arrow, the left hand bent and raised to head level, the wrist turning in a small circle; left and right alternate in this. In the large round-hand dance the dancer also faces the drum, the two feet standing parallel. The hand is straight out and then is revolved

[text continues on p330]

2:Ling & Ruey--328 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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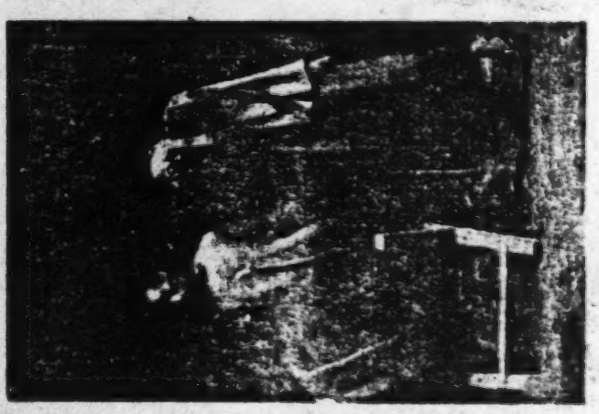
Illus. 90. Lifting-the-Tripod Dance.



Illus. 89. Woman's Picking-the-Ear Dance.

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Illus. 91. Flower-Hand Drum Dance.

Illus. 92. Woman's Flower-Hand Drum Dance.

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/217 cont./

*535 from the shoulder to form a large circle. When the hand reaches head level, the face turns outward.

A woman dances in the same way as a man, except that the arm turns in a circle and that is all.

(9) Monkey Dance (Illus. 95)

The rhythm of this dance is very fast; both men and women dance it. A man dances by beating the drum with the right [533] hand, tung, tung — tung, face toward the drum, left and right hands beating in turn. The two feet are about 38 centimeters apart parallel to each other. After beating several times, the dancer closes up the feet to form an arrow. The left and right hands each beats tung, tung — tung two times. Then he turns his body about but without moving his feet. The left hand beats the drum, tung, tung — tung, he turns and once more sounds three beats. After turning like this several times, the [533] two drumsticks make seven drumbeats, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, — tung, and turning and striking seven drumbeats, he continues turning, the faster the better.

A woman dances by squatting down on both feet; she begins to beat the drum first with the right hand, then left and right beat continuously. After beating several times, she turns her body left with her back facing the drum, the right hand continuing beating the drum. The left hand also beats backward, alternating with the right hand. She turns to the left and the right, the faster the better.

(10) The Drawing-Out-a-Fire-Pot Dance (Illus. 96)

This dance is limited to men. The drum is beaten with the right hand; the two feet are about 50 centimeters apart, forming an arrow. The distance between the two feet, however, depends upon the height of the drum; the higher the drum the closer the feet, the lower the drum the farther apart the feet. The left hand bends first forward then back in the gesture

/217 cont./

*535 of drawing out a feng-lu /a small, portable fire pot/. After a few times, the left and right hands and the left and right feet dance alternately. /Illus. 93-96 appear on pp. 218-19./

/220/ (11) The Forging-Iron Dance (Illus. 97)

Limited to men, this dance is performed by pointing the two feet in the form of an arrow with the toes facing forward, sometimes with the heels raised. The body of the dancer faces the drum, both hands first thrust backward, and when they swing forward they beat the drum.

(12) The Turning-a-Mill Dance (Illus. 98)

This is a men's dance. Both feet also are in the form of an arrow and about 60 centimeters apart, the heels raised. The right hand beats the drum first, tung, tung, — tung, twice, the left hand flings in a circle and then beats the drum, also [533] tung, tung, — tung. Then both hands descend on the drum at the same time, beating rapidly, producing tung — tung drumbeats, in the gesture of turning a mill. There is also the turning-a-small-mill dance. The feet, about 40 cm. apart, also form an arrow. The right hand beats the drum and the left hand circles before the drum in the gesture of turning a mill. Sometimes a woman also performs this turning-a-mill dance, but this is rarely seen.

(13) The Pulling-a-Beard Dance (Illus. 99)

This dance is limited to men. Body forward, the dancer has his feet parallel about 30 centimeters apart. His right hand beats the drum and his left hand, grasping a drumstick, is raised to the mouth with the thumb up to make the gesture of pulling on a beard; then the left hand stretches left in the gesture of straightening out the beard. The left and the right hand alternate in this act.

[text continues on p334]

2:Ling & Ruey--332 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Illus. 93. Small Round-Hand Dance.

Illus. 94. Large Round-Hand Dance.

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Illus. 95. Monkey Dance.

Illus. 96. Drawing-Out-the-Fire-Pot Dance.

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/220 cont./

*535 (14) The Going-Through-a-Hole Dance (Illus. 100)

This dance, also called "Yellow Dog Going Through a Hole," is limited to men. The dancer beats the drum with the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, his body turning to the left and slightly leaning. His left hand threads through under the left leg and beats the drum once. Then the same hand goes through under the right leg and beats the drum once. He beats the drum twice in this way, then changes to his left hand to beat the drum.

(15) The Flowers-Covering-the-Head Dance (Illus. 101)

This dance, also called the Plum Flowers Covering the Head, is danced by either men or women, in exactly the same fashion. The right hand beats the drum, the right heel rising, and both feet jumping slightly. Next, the left hand beats the drum, and the left heel rises. The act is repeated four times. Then when the right hand beats the drum again, the left hand holds the drumstick and makes the movement of a spiral above the head. /Illus. 97-102 appear on pp. 221-23./ /224/

(16) Raising-the-Hand Flower Drum Dance (Illus. 102)

This dance is limited to men. The dancer beats out on the drum the drumbeat, tung, tung, — tung, three times. His face is toward the drum, his body faces slightly left, his two feet are about 33 centimeters apart, forming an arrow. The left hand is flung up to make a circle and beats the drum; the right hand beats in the same pattern, while the body faces a bit to the right at the same time. He beats like this a few times. He changes to his left hand to beat the drum, tung, tung, — tung, three times, the right foot turning around one step, the body facing right, both feet in a parallel position. The right hand then goes around his back to beat the drum once, and the left hand also beats it once. He does this twice. His body and

[text continues on p338]

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Illus. 97. Forging-Iron Dance.

Illus. 98. Turning-a-Mill Dance.

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2:Ling & Ruey--336 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Illus. 99. Pulling-a-Beard Dance

Illus. 100. Going-Through-a-Hole Dance.

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Illus. 101. Flower-Covering-the-Head Dance.

Illus. 102. Raising-the-Hand Flower Drum Dance.

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/224/
*535 feet turned to the left, he stands facing left with his left hand behind his back to beat the drum once, and then with the right hand he does the same.

(17) The Yin-Yang Two-Hands Dance (Illus. 103)

This dance is limited to men. The dancer beats the drum with his right hand, his body facing the drum, his two feet, 50 centimeters apart forming an arrow. The left hand beats the drum to the right, and also makes the tung, tung, — tung sound, altogether four times. Without moving the feet from their position, the dancer turns his body around to beat the drum in quick succession several times without stopping, the faster the better. Facing the drum is yin, and turning the body is yang. When the dancer begins beating the drum for this dance, his body must be at a slight distance from the drum.

(18) The Dragon-Around-the-Waist Dance (Illus. 104)

This dance, also called the Yellow Dragon Around the Waist, may be danced by both men and women, in the same way. The body of the dancer faces left and the two feet are parallel, about 40 centimeters apart. The drum is first struck with the right hand; then the left hand goes from around the waist to the back to hit the drum one beat, then quickly withdraws to the front to hit the drum one beat. In this way, the dancer beats the drum going from front to back several times, alternating his left and right hands.

(19) The Fish-Jumping Dance (Illus. 105)

This dance is limited to men. The body of the dancer is in a slanting position to the right of the drum, forming with it an obtuse angle. His feet, about 60 centimeters apart, form an arrow. The left hand first beats the drum with the rhythm tung, tung, — tung two times. The left hand beats it out

/224 cont./

*535 once, then the right hand beats once. The dancer leaps to the left of the drum, the carriage of his body and the position of his feet remaining the same as before. After beating the drum two times with the left hand and once with the right hand, the dancer leaps again, and he continues to dance going from leaping to dancing. /Illus. 103-106, pp. 225-26./ /227/

(20) The Dragon-Changing-into-a-Fish Dance (Illus. 106)

Men and women both dance this, and it is performed in the same manner by either. The body of the dancer faces left and forms an obtuse angle with the drum, the two feet forming a short arrow. The right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung. Leaping on his left foot to the left side of the drum, the dancer beats the drum with the left hand. Then on his right foot he leaps to the right side of the drum, and the left hand beats the drum first, followed by the right hand, and then the left again, when the left foot moves to the left side of the drum, the head moving across under the left armpit. When the right foot moves over it still forms the shape of an arrow. The right hand beats, the left hand beats, and again the right hand beats the drum. When the right foot moves over to the right side of the drum, at the same time the head goes under the right armpit. Turning his body around, the dancer moves the left foot over, once more forming an arrow; and thus left and right, back and forth, the dance goes on.

(21) The Monkey-Teasing-the-Ox Dance (Illus. 107)

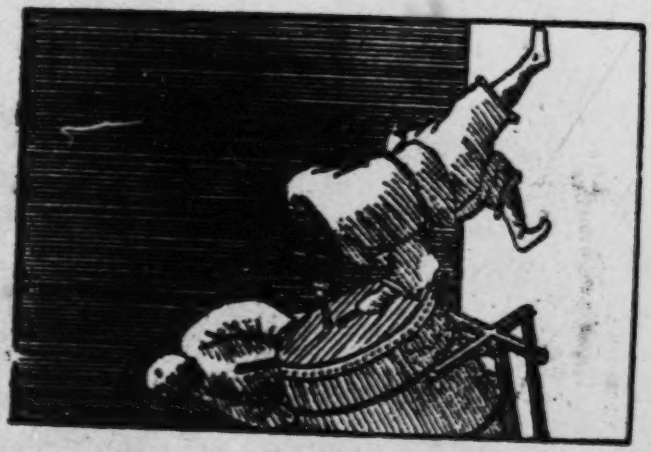
This dance is limited to men. The dancer is at the right side of the drum, facing the right with both feet forming an arrow. The right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung. As the left foot moves over to the left side of the drum, the left hand beats the drum. When the right foot moves over to the right of the drum, the left foot does not move, and the two feet still form an arrow. The left hand continues to beat

[text continues on p342]

2:Ling & Ruey--340 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

535*

Illus. 104. Dragon-Around-the-Waist Dance.



Illus. 103. Yin-yang Two-Hands Dance.

2:Ling & Ruey--341 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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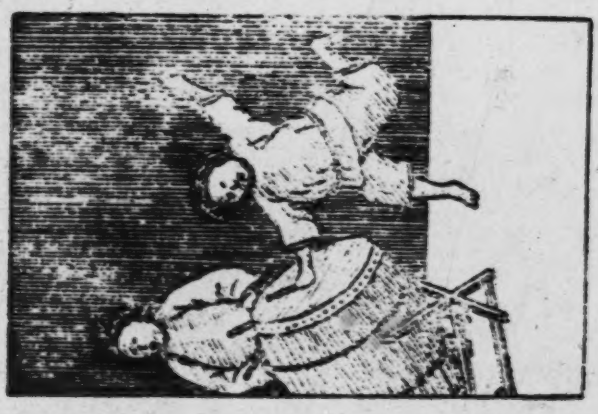
535*

Illus. 106. Dragon-Changing-into-a-Fish Dance.



Illus. 105. Fish-Jumping Dance.

/227 cont./

*535 the drum, the dancer squats down in the position of riding a horse. The right hand holds the middle section of the drumstick, moving upward from below in the gesture of throwing water on an ox three or four times. When the water is being thrown up, the two feet are parallel, and when he squats down to get the water the legs takes the horse position. The right hand also simulates scrubbing the ox from top to bottom; when the dancer stands up, his feet are parallel, when he squats down, they form the horse position. He scrubs from left to right, and from right to left, back and forth several times. Then he moves the right foot to the left side of the drum, beats it with the right hand, his left hand simulating throwing water and scrubbing the ox several times as before. Then, the left foot moves over to the right side of the drum to form an arrow with the right foot, the left hand beats the drum, and the right hand scrubs the back of the ox. The performance is repeated once each on the left and right. While the movements of throwing water on the ox and scrubbing the ox are simulated, the drum must be beaten without stopping.

(22) The Rice-Shoot-Transplanting Dance (Illus. 108)

Men and women both dance this, the steps being the same for either. The dancer stands at the middle of the drum, with the body turned left, both feet forming a low horseback position. The right hand beats the drum and the left hand holds one end of the drumstick as if grasping a rice shoot. First the dancer simulates pulling up the young plant, once on the left and once on the right, and then simulates transplanting, also once to the left and once to the right. /Illus. 107 and 108 on page 228./

2:Ling & Ruey--343 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
/228/
*535

Illus. 107. The Monkey-Teasing-the-Ox Dance.

Illus. 108. The Rice-Shoot-Transplanting Dance.

/229/

2. The Fist Dance

*535 (1) The Flowers-Blooming-Skyward Dance (Illus. 109)

The dancer faces the drum at a distance of about 150 centimeters. To begin beating the drum, he squats a little, and first crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the right fist following the direction of the right foot, and dances. The left foot and the left hand dance to the left in the same way. The number of steps taken is immaterial, depending upon the size of the area. Generally at the third step he must beat the drum, tung — tung.

(2) The Firecracker Dance (Illus. 110)

The firecracker dance is divided into two kinds, the small dance and the large firecracker dance. In the small firecracker dance the body faces the drum with the feet, about 90 centimeters apart, forming an arrow. The drum is beaten with both hands in rapid succession. The stance for the large firecracker dance is the same, except that the two hands have to swing backward and upward in a large circle before hitting the drum. The drumbeats are slow.

(3) The Lion-Chasing-a-Ball Dance (Illus. 111)

This dance follows the large firecracker dance. When the right hand beats the drum, the dancer turns around with his back to the drum, moving the position of the left foot a little to form a triangle with its original position. His body facing right, he hits the drum once with the right hand first, then the left hand once, and again the right hand once. Turning around to the left, with the left hand he beats the drum once, then once with the right hand, and again the left hand, three beats in succession.

/229 cont./

*535 (4) The Dog-Going-Through-a-Hole Dance (Illus. 112)

This dance follows immediately after the Lion-Chasing-a-Ball Dance. When beating the drum facing left, the right foot goes back a short step, the left hand beats the drum, the right hand goes under the right leg and beats, the left hand beats, the right hand beats, and again the left hand beats, the right hand going under the left leg to beat, the left hand beats. Turning the body around, the dancer beats the drum with the right hand, then with the left hand, and again with the right hand, the left hand goes under the right leg to beat the drum, the right hand beats, then the left hand, and again the right, the left hand goes under the left leg and beats, the right hand beats, then the left hand. The beating is continuous, the faster the better. /Illus. 109-14, on pp. 230-32./

/233/ (5) The Riding-a-Horse Dance (Illus. 113)

The dancer faces the drum with his two feet parallel, slightly squatting. The left hand beats the drum, the right hand, going under the right leg, beats, the left hand beats the drum, then the right hand beats, and the left hand, going under the left leg, beats, the right hand beats, then the left hand beats, and the right hand, going under the right leg, beats.

(6) The Fierce-Tiger-Sitting-in-a-Hall Dance (Illus. 114)

The dancer faces the drum, the body half turned to the left. The right hand beats the drum six times, tung, tung, [533] tung, tung, tung, tung, the left arm bent to the level of the left shoulder, the two feet parallel to each other. Then the left foot goes back one step, forming a right angle, the right foot goes back, then the left foot comes forward, still forming a right angle; the left hand beats the drum, the right arm bent to the level of the right shoulder.

[text continues on p 349]

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*535

Illus. 109. Flower-Blooming-Skyward Dance.

Illus. 110. Firecracker Dance.

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*535

Illus. 111. Lion-Chasing-a-Ball Dance.

Illus. 112. Dog-Going-Through-a-Hole Dance.

/232/

Illus. 113. Riding-a-Horse Dance.

Illus. 114. Fierce-Tiger-Sitting-in-a-Hall Dance.

535 *

/233 cont./

*535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow. [533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated, making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25 centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, [533] two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung— tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

257 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/ gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttlecock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese [177] children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on p351]

2:Ling & Ruey--350 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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535*

Illus. 116. Ta-Pa-Pa Dance.

Illus. 116. Fierce-Tiger-Coming-Down-the-Hill Dance.

/235 cont./

524

(1) Firing Mud Guns

A number of children gather together, each getting soft mud from a field and molding it into the shape of a bowl or basin, with a hole or several holes at the top. After they are finished, each child picks his up and smashes it on the ground, producing a resounding noise like the report of a gun (Illus. 117). When a mud gun falls on the ground and breaks without popping, then its owner is counted as losing and is eliminated from the contest, and helps the winner to make more guns. There are several kinds of mud guns, as in Illus. 118.

(2) Making Mud Coins

A quantity of clean clay earth is used. Water is added and molded into a small lump. Two large copper coins of the K'ang-hsi or Ch'ien-lung reign periods are used to press the earth to make a number of "coins." A thin stick is used to thread through the holes of the coins. These are rolled over a few times on the ground. Afterwards they are separated one from the other and dried in the sun. They are used in place of money to pay off losses in games. Each copper coin is worth 50 clay coins.

(3) Tattooing the Wrist

857
304

Boys and girls about 12 or 13 years old, when having nothing else to do, often collect in groups of three to five in one place to amuse themselves by tattooing designs on each other's wrists. The method is as follows: First a long piece of hemp string is tied around the wrist, exposing the part to be tattooed, above which is tied another piece of string. At these two places the blood is stopped by being bound with the hemp string. Then the exposed part is hit with a piece of wood or bamboo until the skin becomes red, then purple. Then the desired design is lightly tattooed on it, causing the skin to bleed. Then color

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
517 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
526 same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[177] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
[411] of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

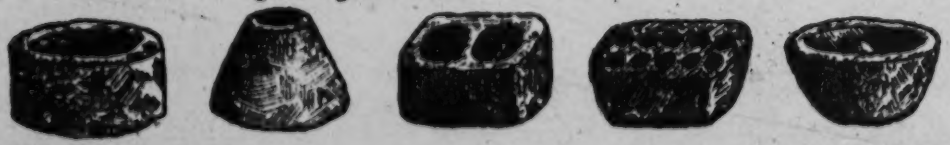
526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around,
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
773 swing:
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

Illus. 117. Firing mud guns.



Illus. 118. Various kinds of mud guns.

2:Ling & Ruey--354 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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411
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Illus. 119. Tilting among the Miao.

2:Ling & Ruey--355 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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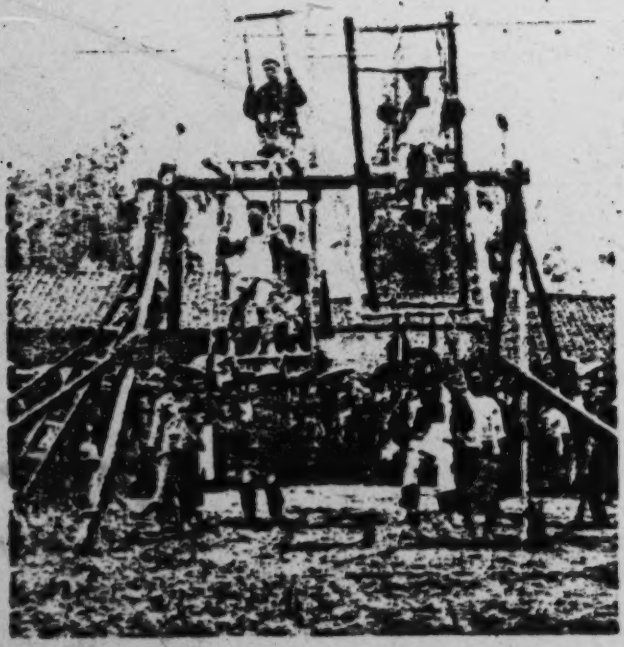
526



Illus. 120. Swinging among the Miao.

/239 cont./

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773

Shouting, he made known his invitation.
A maid from the Sleeping Tiger Mountain,
Came to ride on the eight-men swing.
She was loved by all present.
Soon, a go-between was found —
Man and wife were joined together for a
hundred years.

113, 563 Central China AF14

[For a report on an investigation of the Miao of Western Hunan see 2: Ling and Ruey, AE5 Miao, category 116]

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

101

/Information on the historical identification of the Miao will be found in category 116, pp. 1-46.

2: Ling & Ruey AE 5 Miao AE5

175, 648

/For information on the relations between the Miao and Chinese in Western Hunan, beginning in the 14th Century, and including the establishment of Miao official posts by the Chinese, see category 116, pp. 148-175/

175

/For a discussion of the meaning of the name "Miao" based on evidence from written sources, see category 116, pp. 2-26./

2. Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

782

/For information on Miao propitiation ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 187-297./

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

756, 796

/For information on the part played by the sorcerer-priest (shaman) in Miao propitiation ceremonies, and a description of these ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 191-297./

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

177

/For a description of Miao religious practices borrowed from the Chinese see a discussion of the "guest religion," category 116, pp. 237-297./

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

787

/For additional information on divination in Miao propitiation ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 251-273 and 277-296./

2: Ling & Ruey AE 5 Miao AE5

535

/For detailed information on the various types of Miao drumstick and fist dances, see category 116, pp. 310-350./

2: Ling and Ruey

AE 5 Miao AE5

102
131
133

Chart of position of Maps of Illustration 1.

p. 48a	p. 48c
p. 48b	p. 48d

2: Ling & Ruey

AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

C
M
631
622
701

Chart of the position of Table showing the military organization of the Hsien

p. 161	p. 163
p. 162	p. 164

chai - Miao settlements

chiao-tzu - implement of divination (two bamboo splints on which are written the character chiao)

hsien - district (Chinese)

Kuei - spirit (devil, ancestral spirit, god)

lao-shih - sorcerer-priest

pao - fort (Chinese)

pa-pa - maize baked into a crust

shen - spirit (of Chinese origin)

t'un - small scale fortification (smaller than a pao) (Chinese)

2. Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

ACADEMIA SINICA

THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY

MONOGRAPHS

SERIES A, No. 18

THE MIAO TRIBE OF WESTERN HUNAN

BY

LING SHUN-SHENG

AND

RUEY YIH-FU

Shanghai, 1947

[P ii]

[P 1 Blank]

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

著者告白

本書於民國二十九年付印。越一年,排校已畢,適值太平洋戰事爆發,上海淪陷,未克印行。勝利以後,幸未散失。惟本書寫成於二十八年,應予修訂之處頗多;但因已經製成紙版,無法再改。又本書原擬用上等道林紙精印,現以物資缺乏,僅能改用報紙,所有銅版插圖,網目較粗,難於清晰,幸讀者諒之!

2; Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

序言

近百年來西洋教士傳教我國,外國學者旅行來華,做了不少民族學及語言學的工作。他們所發表的論著,頗多可供學術研究之資,而於湘西苗族,則至今尚付闕如。日人鳥居龍藏氏於一九〇二年旅行我國西南各省,實地調查苗族生活,雖曾路過湘西,亦未能入苗區工作,故湘西苗疆,今尚可稱爲民族學工作的處女地

民國二十二年春夏間,作者等曾赴湘西調查苗族以五月一日由京出發,溯江西上,經由武漢、長沙,轉至常德、桃源,再溯沅江西進至溆溪縣屬的浦市,舍舟登陸,直達鳳凰在鳳凰、乾城、永綏三縣邊境,實地調查及訪問關於苗人的一切迄八月一日返京,爲時適足三月

以兩三個月的功夫,要調查苗人的全部生活,時間自然是太短促了,然我們此行所至,承湘西當局的多方協助,苗中人士的熱心幫忙,處處得其方便,而我們一行三人的日夜分工合作,都於工作上可以縮短不少時間。我們工作的分配:關於苗疆的地理,苗人的生活、習俗、鼓舞等等,由經聲擔任;語言、歌謠、故事等等,由逸夫擔任;照相、電影、繪圖等等,則由同行的勇士衡先生擔任。而幫忙的苗族人士如鳳凰吳文祥、吳良佐、吳宗宜,乾城石啓貴,永綏龍璘章、龍定國、龍膺發諸君,則多日夕相處,隨時備我們咨詢,在我們離開湘西以後,石啓貴、吳良佐、吳文祥三君,且擔任

[Page 1, Preface]

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

我們指定的補充調查工作頗久,所以我們此行的時間雖短,但如以一人任之,或許也要費一年,至少亦在半年以上之功。

返京以後,我們雖將所得材料從事整理,但次年春夏間,即因調查畲民而有浙南之行,秋間,純斐又因雲南教育廳之請而有雲南之行,逸夫復忙於人體測量及搜集手紋材料工作,二十四年秋,又因參加中英會勘滇緬南段界務,我們二人同有滇邊之行,直至二十五年夏由滇返京後,始能以一部份時間從事湘西材料的整理及研究工作,越一年,本報告初稿已將草成一半,而盧溝橋事變又起,心亂如焚,作者初隨本所遷湘,繼又徙桂,終於二十七年春來滇,而後始能繼續工作,至年終,初稿草成,去年春夏間,本所寫書陸續運滇,方得參閱徵引各書,就初稿加以覆校,繼以鈔錄清稿,至冬而全部完成,適逸夫因參加國立中央博物院籌備處貴州民間藝術調查而有黔中之行,純斐又一病三月,迨至今春,方能將清稿校閱一過,而告殺青。

本報告大體偏於敍述而少比較的研究,故題爲"調查報告",以符其實。其前八章是由純斐起草,故本歌謠語言三章是由逸夫起草,並草巫術與宗教章的一部分還魂願等節,初稿既成,我們互爲覆校,多所增益,故文責當由二人共負之。至其內容,則第一二兩章的史地考證,第六七兩章苗官與屯防的敍述,頗多取材於過去載籍,其餘各章則均根據調查所得材料,加以分析參研,作忠實的記述,所可惜的是標本迄今未能運滇,所以關於完全憑取實於標本的工夫,只得暫缺,又書中頗多應附加標本照片及繪圖示例之處,也只得從闕了,最俟將來再作補編,另冊刊行,幸讀者諒之!

做民族學的工作,正如英人馬林諾斯基氏所云,其有賴於

[Page 2, Preface]

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

他人的協助,遠較做其他科學工作爲多.我們這次調查,有賴於當時駐防湘西的陸軍新編第三十四師陳玉璧(樂珍)師長的最多,他不但予以種種便利,並且優予招待,這是我們首應感謝的.我們更應感謝戴季韜旅長、湘西屯政處熊子霖處長、凰乾麻三縣聯立師範學校石受三(宏規)校長、凰凰縣政府王悅岩縣長、及湘西士紳陳少樵、陳子光、左唯一、陳蓋生、田人文、劉紐平諸君,他們陪同我們前往凰、乾、綏三縣境內的許多苗寨實地調查.此外,在凰凰時,周耀南縣長與模範小學劉佛林校長,到新寨時,駐防該處的凰乾綏三縣邊境綏靖處唐文儒處長,到乾城時,田耀六縣長:以上各位的招待與協助,均所深感.在幫忙的苗族人士中,尤以石啓貴、吳良佐、吳文祥三君能儘量供給材料,特記於此,以誌謝忱.

最後,應特別致謝勇士衡先生,他和我們同往湘西調查,最著辛勞;返京後並襄助一部份整理工作,而書中的照片及繪圖亦均出其手.

本報告完成後,曾蒙本所傅孟眞(斯年)所長審正,語言和歌謠二章並蒙李方桂、張次瑤二先生指正,謹以至誠,表示謝忱.中華民國二十九年四月三十日,凌純聲、芮逸夫同序於昆明龍泉鎮寶台山本所.

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湘西苗族調查報告

一 苗族名稱的遞變

苗之一名,世多以爲中國西南民族的總稱,其實今日散處在川滇、湘、黔、粵、桂諸省的非漢民族,名目繁多,不下百數十種,近數十年來,經中外學者的研究,綜合起來至少可分爲四大類:(一)苗傜類;(二)僚獠類;(三)泰撣類;(四)孟吉蔑類,苗族僅爲第一類中的一系,不能包括所有的西南民族,惟習用已久,一時不易糾正,所以我們只可承認苗的名稱有廣狹二義:廣義的苗泛指所有的西南民族,狹義的苗爲眞正的苗或稱純苗。● 本書所研究的爲狹義的純苗,而非廣義的苗族。

近世研究中國民族史者,有的說今之苗族即古代三苗的後裔,其說大抵根據戰國策魏策所載:"三苗之居,左洞庭而右彭蠡。"以地望言,古代的三苗與今日的苗族同在江之南,且苗字又相同,似可相信,然自秦漢以後,歷代載籍,不載苗之名稱,直至宋元時始再見,此古今之苗,是否爲同一族類,決非根據戰國策數語記載及其名稱用字相同,所可斷言,所以關於苗的名稱,

● 本書所研究的苗族調查報告本以苗族之解釋有二:一爲廣義之苗族,即包含苗、傜、僮、黎、土人、保甲等種族而言,二爲狹義之苗族,則專指本書之一種。(原文第四節解釋頁十九。)

我們首先應該研究清楚,而後才可明瞭古苗與今苗的不同,及狹義之苗與廣義之苗的關係。

(一)古代的三苗非今日之苗

苗的名稱,見於書益稷:"苗頑弗卽工,"又呂刑:"解寧有辭於苗,……降命於苗,"又有三苗、有苗、苗民諸名,亦多見於秦漢以前古籍的記載:

"三苗"見於舜典:"竄三苗於三危,……分北三苗,"禹貢:"三危既宅,三苗丕敍,"左傳昭元年:"虞有三苗"國語楚語:"其後三苗復九黎之德,"韓非子:"三苗之不服者,"戰國策秦策:"舜伐三苗"魏策:"昔三苗之居,左洞庭而右彭蠡,"山海經海外南經:"三苗國在赤水東。"

"有苗"見於舜皐陶謨:"何遷乎有苗?"墨子尙同篇:"逮至有苗之制五刑以亂天下"荀子議兵篇:"舜伐有苗,"呂氏春秋召類篇:"舜卻有苗以更其俗"戰國策趙策:"昔舜舞有苗。"

"苗民"見於書呂刑:"苗民弗用靈,……遏絕苗民,……惟時苗民匪察於獄之麗,……苗民無辭於罰"

此"三苗"、"有苗"及"苗民"諸名稱在古籍中實皆指"苗"。其所以稱"三"、稱"有"或稱"民"者,自漢唐以來,解說頗多,然作者只爲"三",並不限以三,因一二不能盡,於是約之以三:正如九黎之"九",不必限以九:實是多數之稱❶。"有"爲字頭因一字不成詞,於是加"有"字以配之❷"民"卽詩大雅"天生烝民",書堯典"黎民於變時雍"之民。

❶詳 汪中釋三九,見述學內篇卷一

❷詳 王引之經傳釋詞第三有字條

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

自漢唐以來,說經者大都以三苗爲國名,如馬融云:"西裔也,三苗國名也,舜誅氏之後爲諸侯,董雙我也。"● 或以爲是國君或氏族之名,如鄭玄云:"苗民,謂九黎之君也。九黎之君,於少皞氏衰而亂德道,上效蚩尤重刑,必變九黎言苗民者:有苗九黎之後,顓頊代少昊,誅九黎,分流其子孫,居於西裔者爲三苗,至高辛之衰,又復九黎之惡;堯興,又誅之;堯末,又在朝;舜臣堯,又竄之;禹攝位,又在洞庭逆命,禹又誅之;穆王(一作後王)深惡此族三生兇惡,故著其氏(一作惡)而謂之民,民者冥也,言未見仁道也。●

明清以來,多以古代之苗,附會爲今之苗族,如清王鳴盛尚書後案呂刑篇有云:"三苗,九黎之後,蓋黎與苗皆南蠻之名,今日猶然"日本史家,又增飾附會,遂成今說,而近世之中國學者,亦多信之而不疑,如章炳麟氏,初亦信其說,章氏所著訄書中有云:"自黃帝入中國,與土著君長蚩尤戰於阪泉,夷其宗。少皞氏衰,九黎亂德,顓頊定之,當堯時,三苗不庭,遂絕其世,竄之三危;其遺種尚在三苗之國,左洞庭,右彭蠡,不修德義,外內相間,下擠其民,民無所附,夏禹伐之,三苗以亡。自是俚僚諸族,分保荆粵至今。"章氏後悟此說之非是,故於民三增刪訄書成檢論時,即改正其說,檢論序種上篇云:"自神農已營長沙,而黃帝與蚩尤戰於涿鹿,夷其宗,世謂蚩尤爲今苗人非也。涿鹿者,今宣化保安州地,極北,不得有苗,今之苗,古之蠻也。又亦與三苗異,當堯時,三苗不庭,遂絕其世,竄之三危;其遺種尚在三苗之國,左洞庭,右彭蠡,不修德義,外內相間,下擠其民,民無所附,夏禹伐之,三苗以亡。此自渾敦窮奇諸族,何與於今之苗人乎!凡俚僚諸族分保荆柯上下者

● 見晉張湛列子注,史記集解引。

● 見唐孔穎達尚書呂刑疏及續漢志注衛宏說。

謂之蠻,當變爲苗,與三苗異所。"氏在排滿平議一文中亦說"尙考苗種得名,其說各異,大江以南,路屬猓佌之族,自周訖唐,通謂之蠻,別名則或曰蒼梧,曰儋,曰陸梁,未有謂之苗者。稱苗者自宋始,明非舊老相傳,存此舊語,乃學者逆據尙書三苗之文以相傳爾耳。漢時諸蠻無苗名,說尙書者固不以三苗爲荊蠻之族,虞書竄三苗於三危,馬季長曰:'三苗國名也,蚩尤氏之後爲諸侯,蚩尤惡也。'淮南子修務訓高誘註曰:'三苗蚩尤帝鴻氏之裔子渾敦少昊氏之裔子窮奇,蚩尤氏之裔子饕餮,三族之苗裔,故謂之三苗。'此則先漢諸師說三苗者皆謂是神農苗裔,與今時苗種不涉。"❶

繼章氏而後,取古之三苗爲今之苗族說者日多,其中以朱希祖之說,證據較多,朱氏云:"三苗乃國名,非種族名;其證甚多,茲略舉於下:

尙書皐陶謨云:"能哲而惠,何憂乎驩兜!何遷乎有苗!何畏乎巧言、令色、孔壬!"按此云遷有苗,卽堯典之竄三苗。三苗爲國名,故稱有苗,虞夏書稱國名,其上必冠以"有"字,如皐陶謨之有苗,甘誓之"有扈",皆是若夫種族之上,未卽冠以"有"字,如"有戎","有狄"、"有蠻"、"有夷"等名也。

春秋昭元年左傳:"趙孟曰,'王伯之令也,引其封疆,舉之表旗,而著之制令,過則有刑,猶不登,於是虞有三苗,夏有觀扈,商有姺邳,周有徐奄,自無令王,諸侯逐道,狎主齊盟,其又可登乎!'按夏之觀扈,商之姺邳,周之徐奄,皆爲諸侯有國者,則虞之三苗,亦爲諸侯有國者無疑。

❶ 太炎文錄初編別錄一。

史記吳起列傳:"吳起對魏武侯曰,'昔三苗氏,左洞庭,右彭蠡,德義不修,禹滅之.夏桀之居,左河濟,右泰華,伊闕在其南,羊腸在其北,修政不仁,湯放之.殷紂之國,左孟門,右太行,常山在其北,大河經其南,修政不德,武王殺之'."按此以三苗與夏桀,殷紂同類並舉,則可知其爲有國之君.且三苗爲國,故禹滅之.若爲種族,則既稱爲滅,豈有子遺,尙何有子孫留遺於今日乎!"❶

由上所引,我們知道,三苗爲國名,而非種族之名,更非今日之苗.然有國必有民,其人民的種族究竟何屬?據前引鄭玄之說,其人民當屬九黎.九黎之子孫,就居西裔者爲三苗,所以馬融說三苗是西裔,爲蚩尤氏之後(見前引).史記五帝本紀集解引賈逵云:"蚩尤氏,姜姓也,炎帝之苗裔."范曄後漢書西羌傳云:"西羌之本,出自三苗,姜姓之別也.其國近南岳,及舜流四凶,徙之三危,河關之西南羌地是也."據此,則古之三苗爲炎帝之後,姜姓之國,乃西羌之本.

古代的三苗國,據古籍所載,疆域頗廣.戰國策魏策:"昔者三苗之居,左彭蠡之波,右洞庭之水,文山在其南,衡山在其北."韓非子:"三苗之不服者,衡山在南,岷江在北,左洞庭之陂,右彭蠡之水."韓詩外傳:"當堯之時,有苗不服.其不服者,衡山在南,岐山在北,左洞庭之波,右彭蠡之水."史記吳起傳:"三苗氏左洞庭,右彭蠡."又五帝本紀:"三苗在江淮荊州,數爲亂."在此廣大的區域中,其土著民族,或不止一種,然其主要者,據傳說當爲九黎.九黎之君,在少昊時有蚩尤,❷在唐堯時有苗民.蚩尤與苗民爲

❶ 關於苗先有苗種族有詳細說明,參北京大學月刊第一卷第一號,頁 113—127.

❷ 皇覽緯河命符文引馬融曰:"蚩尤,少昊之末,九黎君也."

九黎在兩個不同時代的統治者,其被統治的民族,同爲九黎,此由前引馬雍諸氏之說,即很明瞭.山海經海外南經三苗國下郭璞註云:"昔堯以天下讓舜,三苗之君非之,帝殺之,有苗之民叛入南海."則統治者與被統治者之分更清楚了.而三苗君民之實非同族也歷歷可見.

(二)古代的九黎爲今日之黎

我們在上節考定今之苗並非古代的苗或三苗,然三苗之民爲九黎,我們現在要問:今之苗是不是古代的九黎?近人呂思勉以爲古代的九黎即爲後世之蠻,而蠻又轉音爲苗.呂氏云:"苗者蓋蠻字之轉音.……今所謂苗族者,其本名蓋曰黎."❶以苗爲蠻,略有音轉可說;以苗的本名爲黎,則不知何所據.我們知道,黎、蠻、苗三者,經以今日現實的材料,各不相同,決不能認爲同一族類.

據古籍所載,三代以前,中國南方民族的分佈,大江以南,以九黎爲最佔勢力,洞庭彭蠡之間爲其根據地.荆州以西則爲蠻,蠻之西有髳,至春秋時蠻始強盛,漸向東南遷移,侵入洞庭彭蠡之間.九黎遁居五嶺以南,兩粵之地.髳則始終在蠻之西,自鄂而黔,遂入貴州,至宋元之際,再以苗名見稱(說詳後).

廣東在漢民族未移入之前,其土著之民爲俚,故在漢唐之時,嶺南民族多以里著稱.後漢書南蠻傳:"建武十二年,九真徼外蠻里張游率其種人,慕化內屬,封爲歸漢里君."注云:"里,蠻之別號,今呼爲俚人."又"建武十六年,交阯女子徵側及其妹徵貳反,……九真、日南、合浦蠻里皆應之."張華博物志:"交州夷名俚

❶ 呂思勉:中國民族史 頁 156

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

子。隋書地理志："嶺南廿餘郡，俚僚雜處，刻鏤鬼神，信巫覡，又敍揚州風俗云："自嶺以南，其俚人則質直尚信，諸蠻則勇敢自立。"上引各書所記的里、俚、皆即黎，亦即古代的九黎，用字雖異，而音讀則一。至九黎之"九"，則爲多數之稱。❶ 九黎自長江以南，踰五嶺，經兩粵，而遂居於今之海南島，據近人的考證，亦以今日海南島之黎，是由大陸遷移而來。其種族屬泰揮族，與今日廣西的獞人、土人，雲南的擺夷、傣人等爲同一系統的民族，既非蠻，又非苗。

(三)古代之蠻爲今之傜人與畲民

由上節所考，我們可知今之苗亦非古代的九黎，然苗蠻皆近，不過呂氏言之，日人鳥居龍藏的苗族調查報告，林惠祥氏新著中國民族史亦多言之。❷ 作者在前節曾言證以今日現實的材料，二者並非同一族類，今再申述之。

蠻之一名，亦有廣義與狹義之分。廣義的蠻與廣義的苗同義，唐以前多稱蠻，宋以後又稱苗，或苗蠻並稱。狹義的蠻，自稱爲盤瓠的子孫，可稱之爲盤瓠種，今之名稱已不一律。在今湘、粵、桂、滇四省者爲傜人；散佈於閩、浙二省者稱畲民；只有在安南東京北部的，至今尚自稱爲蠻，但漢人則稱之爲傜人，如大板傜自稱"Man Coc"，❸ 小板傜"Man Tien"，❹ 藍靛傜"Man Lan Tien"❺ 等等。

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❶ 參看本書頁二，論三苗之三。

❷ 見註書下册頁 186。

❸ E Luniet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 216-217.

❹ 同上 p. 218.

❺ 同上 pp. 219-220

蠻在三代以前,曾居於河南西南部.呂覽召類篇:"堯戰於丹水之浦,以服南蠻."高誘註云:"丹水在南陽."迨至周世,其族稱蠻,據有江漢流域,稱荆蠻.詩小雅:"蠻爾蠻荆,大邦爲讎."漢時爲長沙武陵蠻.唐初不復有蠻稱,而有真僚之名.至宋稱蠻僚或僚人.其時蠻族已踰五嶺而南,散佈於兩粵之地.後又分爲兩支,東支由粵入閩浙,稱畲民;西支經桂而入滇越邊界,至今尚保存蠻之舊稱;留在湘桂者,則仍稱爲僚人.作者調查所及,曾覩見浙江的畲民,廣西的僚人及滇越邊界的蠻人,至今家中猶多供奉"高辛氏敕封忠勇王"的牌位,同樣信奉槃瓠圖腾.❶至其語言,除畲民說很近似的客家話外,僚蠻二者,多大同小異.其爲同一族類,可無疑義.

(四)今日之苗爲古代之髳

今之苗爲古之髳之說,創於章炳麟氏(見前引檢論).惟章氏僅云:"凡俚獠諸族分保群柯上下者謂之髳,音變爲苗."此外別無證據.而以俚獠與苗相混,尤與事實不符.按髳之見於古籍者:詩角弓:"如蠻如髳,"書牧誓:"及庸、蜀、羌、髳、微、盧、彭、濮之人"孔穎達尚書正義云:"彼髳此髳,音義同也."詩毛傳:"髳,夷髳也."鄭箋:"髳、西夷別名."又春秋成元年:"王師敗績於茅戎."公羊傳茅戎作貿戎.此茅貿與髳髳實爲同音異文.此髳髳茅戎貿古代所在之地,據左傳文三年:"秦伯伐晉,濟河焚舟,取王官及郊.晉人不出,遂自茅津濟,封殽尸而還."水經註:"殽水又西北逕陝城西,西北入於河.河北對茅城,故茅亭,茅戎邑也.公羊曰:晉敗之大陽

❶參看凌純聲:湖南省民間傳文化的研究,人類學集刊第一卷第二期.

者也,津亦取名焉。"茅津即今之大陽渡,在山西平陸縣西南二里,對岸即河南陝縣,可見春秋時鬼之地盤,在今河南陝縣之北山西平陸縣境。但據尚書孔傳:"彭徵在巴蜀。"而史記周本紀正義引括地志云:"姚府以南,古彭國之地,有彭州。"唐時的姚府當指姚州都督府而言,地在今雲南姚安縣北。括地志似有錯誤。新唐書地理志云:"彭州滇越巂郡地,南接姚州。"是彭州在姚州以北,滇越巂郡地,即今四川西昌一帶。惟巴、蜀、越巂與鬼在春秋時的地盤相距頗遠;然由此我們可以看出鬼族的向西南遷移。大抵鬼在春秋以後,因戰國侵擾,楚滇紛爭,即漸由晉秦而遷巴、蜀,後又由巴、蜀而遷越巂。時間如蠻如鬼,因當時鬼之地域與蠻相接,鬼在蠻西,故鄭箋稱之爲西夷。自周、迄唐,蠻族彌盛,故史籍祇記蠻而不載鬼,蠻漸變爲西南夷的總稱。如後漢書及唐書有南蠻傳,樊綽有蠻書,而宋史亦祇有蠻夷列傳。鬼之名爲蠻所掩,歷千餘年而終不見。或因鬼又由越巂而遷入今之貴州,貴州在中國本部諸行省中,開發最晚,故少文獻記載,而鬼名亦不見。迨至宋元之世,貴州漸次開發,因此久居貴州之鬼,乃以音變之猫字再見於世。❶ 宋朱輔溪蠻叢笑業錄序云:

> 五溪蠻,皆槃瓠種也。聚落區分,名亦隨異。沅其故墟,環四封而居者,今有五:曰猫、曰猺、曰獠、曰獞、曰犵狫。風俗氣習,大抵相似。

業氏不知鬼之遷移路線,故云沅其故墟;實則沅境之猫,乃由貴州遷來。此猫字在元史世祖本紀作貓。至元二十九年正月有:"從葛蠻軍民安撫使宋子賢請招諭未附平伐、大夥眼、紫江、潭

❶ 唐樊綽蠻書卷十有"鈍、逕、巴、夏四邑蠻夷"之語,但其所謂"蠻",並非現在的"苗"。

溪、九堡等處諸洞蠻蠻。"又二月:"幹羅思招附桑州生蠻。"而在泰定帝本紀及文宗本紀均作苗。泰定二年二月:"丁亥平伐苗曾的娘率其戶十萬來降。"又文宗至順三年二月:"辛丑朔八番苗蠻來貢方物。"至明世祖元用兵於黔,關於苗之記載更多。大明會典一百十卷中有"苗族"字樣;大明一統志卷八十八貴州布政司條,有種種關於苗族的記載,如銅仁府:"苗人剛狠輕生,出入常佩刀器。"永寧州:"夷民五種,習尚不同:仲家、羅鬼、仡佬、苗、龍家。"平越衛軍民指揮使司:"苗蠻聚處之地。"入清以後,苗患不絕,苗的名稱亦由狹義的而漸變爲廣義的苗,而苗與蠻遂同爲西南民族的總稱,如魏源云:"無君長不相統屬之謂苗;各長其部割據一方之謂蠻,若粵之傜之黎,黔楚之僰,四川之蠻之生番,雲南之倮之野人:皆無君長,不相統屬,其苗乎。"❶魏氏所謂苗,即本書所稱廣義的苗。

今日的純苗或狹義的苗,大都自稱爲"[muŋ]",茲錄中西學者調查所得如下:

(1) 派克(H. Parker)氏"苗族的名稱爲 Hmung."❷

(2) 維亞爾(Paul Vial)氏:"貴州的苗子,苗語自稱 Hmong,自分爲若干部:乾苗(Hmong Sha)、黑苗(Hmong-tlo)、花苗(Hmong-dou)、白苗(Hmong-bea)等。"❸

(3) 鳥居龍藏氏:"青岩花苗(mu),安順附近花苗(mún),羅勒附近花苗(mún),武定附近花苗(Amón),青岩附近青苗(mon),青

❶ 魏源聖武記卷七,雍正西南夷改流記上。按清史藩土司所部稱蠻夷之民以苗、黑苗、倮倮、生番、野人等爲貴。

❷ H. Parker: Up the Yang-tse, p. 272.

❸ P. Vial: Les Lolos, p. 35-36.

巷附近白苗(mōn),施平附近黑苗(Háw),定番打鐵苗(ᵊHun)。"●

(4)拉崇婁厄 (Lunet de Lajonquière) 氏:"安南東京北部的苗人有白苗、黑苗、紅苗、花苗、青苗、漢苗、高山苗、平地苗諸種。諸苗自稱爲"mung",或"h'mung."●

(5)作者在雲南東自調查時所記苗的自稱:漢苗[muŋ sua],黑苗[muŋ tpero],花苗[muŋ dzu],青苗[muŋ ɕi],又在湘西所記紅苗自稱爲[ɕioŋ].

綜看各家所記苗的自稱,除 Háw, ᵊHun, [ɕioŋ] 外 (Háw, Hun,二音,鳥居氏以爲實出 mun, mon 轉訛,作者以爲與其說是 mun, mon 的轉訛,不如說是[ɕioŋ]的轉訛較近似.[ɕioŋ]的解釋詳下節),多爲[muŋ],或與[muŋ]音相近.古代的髦或蒙,據前引音疏,音義相同.集韻:髦與蒙並迷浮切,而廣韻正韻:蒙並莫紅切,集韻篇會又作謨逢切,並音蒙.此蒙與[muŋ]音極相近,[muŋ]實爲髦或蒙的音變.宋元之際,此久居貴州,自稱爲[muŋ]的民族與漢族的接觸漸繁,漢人不知其即爲古代的髦或蒙,既賤視其族,又以其自稱之音近"猫""貓"等字音,故即用以命名,或又誤以此自稱爲[muŋ]的民族,爲古代三苗之後,故亦以"苗"字名之.前引漢雲叢笑的所以作"猫",及元史的所以作"貓"又作"苗",實即由此.明清以來,因多以古代之苗,附會爲今之苗族,所以不復有用"猫"或"貓"字者,而苗的名稱,便固定了.

(五)紅苗自稱爲"果雄"[koɤ ɕioŋɤ]代稱

● 鳥居龍藏:南蠻調查報告(國立編譯館譯本),頁十六。

● E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 326-301.

最如爆苗防備覽風俗考云:"呼苗曰果雄."作者在湘西調查時所記苗自稱爲[koʔ ɕioŋʔ],與苗防備覽所記音義均同,而與上節所述多數之苗自稱爲[muŋ]不同.因此作者疑自稱爲[ɕioŋʔ]與自稱爲[muŋ]的民族,當非同出一源,或雖出一源,但至少在古代即有兩種不同的名稱.按紅苗自稱的[koʔ ɕioŋʔ],[koʔ]爲字頭,[ɕioŋʔ]爲其名稱.而[koʔ ɕioŋʔ]之另一意義爲"竹筒".● 因此作者又疑[ɕioŋʔ]之一名與竹王有關.竹王故事,最早見於晉常璩華陽國志,南中志云:"有竹王者,興於遯水.有一女子浣於水濱,有三節大竹流入女子足間,推之不肯去.聞有兒聲,取持歸,破之,得一男兒,長養有才武,遂雄夷狄,氏以竹爲姓.捐所破竹於野成竹林,今竹王祠竹林是也.王與從人嘗止大石上,命作飯,從者曰無水,王以劍擊石,水出,今竹王水是也,破石存焉.……一云帝轉拜唐蒙爲都尉,開牂柯,以重幣喻告諸種侯王,侯王服從,因斬竹王,置牂柯郡,以吳霸爲太守,及置越巂、朱提、益州四郡,後夷濮叛,成怨訴竹王非氣血所生,求立後嗣,霸表封其三子列侯,死配食父祠,今竹王三郎神是也."後漢書亦記其事,西南夷傳云:"夜郎者,初有女子浣於遯水,有三節大竹流入足間,聞其中有號聲,剖竹視之,得一男兒,歸而養之,及長,有才武,自立爲夜郎侯,以竹爲姓.武帝元鼎六年,平南夷爲牂柯郡,夜郎侯迎降,天子賜其王印綬,後遂殺之.夷獠成以竹王非血氣所生,甚重之,求爲立後,牂柯太守吳霸以聞,天子乃封其三子爲侯,死配食其父,今夜郎縣有竹王三郎神是也."後漢書記竹王事原本華陽國志,惟二書所敘略有不同.常志祇言竹王雄夷狄,而范書則言竹王自立爲夜郎侯.夜郎,據常志在周末曾降於楚.南中志云:

● 苗族所用的一種油器,等圖解.

"周之季世,楚威王(後漢書作頃襄王)遣將軍莊蹻(後漢書作莊)浮沅水出且蘭以伐夜郎,植牂柯擊牂,是且蘭既滅,夜郎又降,而秦奪楚黔中地,無路得反,遂留王滇池,號,楚莊王苗裔也,以牂柯牂牂,國名且蘭爲牂柯國,分侯支黨,傳數百年,秦併焉,通五尺道,置吏主之,滇與,遂不賓。"可見周末黔中即有夜郎國,後雖降楚,但仍爲牂柯國諸侯之一,傳數百年,及楚爲秦滅,仍服屬於秦,滇與,始與中國隔絕。後漢書所云竹王自立爲夜郎侯之說,當有所本,據此推測,則竹王或即爲夜郎國或其人民之後。

古代的夜郎國本在今之川南,漢書地理志犍爲郡下註引應劭云:"故夜郎國。"大致至周末已由犍爲而遷至黔中,遂爲楚所滅,其遷移路線與鬼之由越巂而黔中,大致相同。夜郎竹王的後裔與鬼的後裔相處既久,相同之點自多,故與之接觸漸多的漢人,不管他們是自稱爲[muŋ]的鬼之後裔,或自稱爲[pioŋ˥]的竹王後裔,而統名之爲苗,又別稱其衣帶用紅色者爲紅苗。❶

今日紅苗所最敬畏之神爲白帝天王,亦爲兄弟三人,據遵溪縣志云:"後漢書西南夷傳剖竹中得小兒,長爲夜郎侯,漢武誘殺之,子三人皆登夷所推,而第三子尤雄勇,後人以竹王非血氣所生有神靈,爲立廟以祀,今廟中神狀三郎尤猛烈,爲苗所畏,當即此也。"又永綏廳志亦云:"天王各里皆有大廟,而以潮水溪爲最老,此衙城之潮水溪,現設堡之潮水溪則固無廟,然民之所尤崇者則在竹山嶺。"天王兄弟三人,竹王子亦三人,竹王祠在

❶ 據知經苗的衛聚賢先生考云:"衣帶用紅者爲紅苗。"按為屬經過苗的同胞所說明者以著紅色衣服者爲紅苗。實際上今日遵義的紅苗,不論衣服從少紅色,即衣帶用紅色者亦不多,或者從前有尚紅之俗,今已不復保存者亦極可能。

竹林而天王廟之最尊者又在竹山嶺有此數點記載相同,則遵義縣志的推測便不爲無據了。

以上我們僅就紅苗自稱[koʏ ɕioŋʏ]的音義上,推測今之紅苗或卽爲竹王之後;又因後漢書記竹王自立爲夜郎侯,而推測漢代的竹王或卽爲周末夜郎之後,現因材料不足,殊不敢自信,他日材料增多,當更有說。

二 苗族的地理分佈

今日的苗族散處於中國西南諸省,遠至印度支那半島,分佈的地域甚爲遼闊,然各地的人口,疎密不同,而以貴州的苗人爲最多,故貴州可稱爲今日苗族聚居的中心區域,且他處苗族,多自云由貴州遷去,因此近人多以貴州爲苗族的起源地,如丁文江氏即說,苗家的老巢在貴州的東部和湖南西部.[1] 但據英人克拉克 (S. R. Clarke) 氏在黔二十餘年實地研究的結論,以爲貴州的土著民族爲仡佬,而非苗族,現在貴州的苗,乃由他處遷來.[2] 又據法人薩維那 (F. M. Savina) 氏研究苗人遷移傳說的結論,以爲苗族初至中國,住於河南,由河南遷至貴州,貴州而四川,四川而雲南,雲南而東京,東京而老撾.[3] 此與上文所考彝由晉豫而遷巴、蜀,巴、蜀而越嶲,越嶲而黔中,可說大致相符,僅川黔先後顚倒而已.且可爲今之苗族非古代的三苗添一旁證,因三苗疆域在洞庭彭蠡之間,而苗人傳說則未至其地.

苗族自有史以來,遷移之跡大致如上所述,至於史前的遷移,據薩維那氏苗族史一書之說,苗族曾至北極地帶,因苗人至今口頭相傳,他們曾住在現在居處地下對面,其地冬季甚長,一年之中,六月爲白晝,六月爲黑夜,水常結冰,遍地皆雪,草木細小且甚稀少,人多矮小,身穿皮毛衣服.[4] 薩氏又假定苗之起源地在帕米爾高原,裏海波斯灣之間.[5] 他根據上述河南、北極、伊蘭

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[1] 丁文江:漫遊隨記,民國立評論第八期.

[2] S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, p. 18.

[3] F. M. Savina: Histoires des Miao, p. 247.

[4] [5] 同上, pp. 115-119.

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

高原三點,以爲苗族來自米索帕殷米亞,向東行阻於帕米爾高原,折向東北經土耳其斯坦,循烏拉山西麓至北緯六十餘度以上的北極地帶,又轉向東南越過西比利亞經蒙古陝西以至河南。❶ 此說僅根據一地苗族口頭的傳說,材料殊嫌不足,設此傳說自他族傳入,則其說可以完全推翻,所以我們至多僅能視作一假設而已。

苗族現代的分佈,我們可以分成黔、湘、桂、川、滇、越、緬七個區域來敍述,茲分述如次:

貴州——貴州之苗據黔苗圖說所載,共有八十二種。❷ 然

❶ F. M. Savina: Histoires des Miao, PP. 115-119。

❷ 黔苗圖說一書,諸書手錄時黔記載是八番種苗時如陳浩所作,刻本流傳甚少,而鈔本則頗多,名稱亦均不一致。日人鳥居龍藏苗族調查報告所記(見第二章,英人白里居門氏(E. C. Bridgman's Translation of Sketches of the Miao-tsze, Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. III, pp. 1-26)及克拉客氏(George W. Clarke's Translation of A Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chaw Miao-tzū, Appendix of Archibald R. Colquhoun's Across Chryse, Vol. II, pp. 363-394)所譯,均八十二種。國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所藏本有二:一僅八十圖,一有圖無說,亦八十二種。茲依研究所藏本並參以鳥居氏所記,錄其八十二種名稱如下:黑猓猓、女官、白猓猓、宋家、婁家卡尤种家、補錯种家、骨竹龍家、狗耳龍家、馬鹿龍家、大頭龍家、花苗、紅苗、白苗、青苗、黑苗、東苗、西苗、天苗、雞苗、打牙犯猺、剪頭犯猺、猪屎犯猺、紅犯猺、花犯猺、水犯猺、鍋圈犯猺、拉泡犯猺、沐花、犯狗獠人、土人、蠻人、山峒人、僚人、楊保拜猺、九股苗、八番苗、紫貴苗、楊洞羅洞苗、克孟牯羊苗倒苗、箐苗、羅家苗、周家苗、水家苗、六甲子、白領子、青家蠻、九名九姓苗、雷頭苗、洞崽苗、八寨苗、清江苗、恠鬼苗、黑水苗、黑生苗、高坡苗、平伐苗、黑种苗、清江种家、黑吳子、白吳子、白龍家、白种家、土犯猺、鴉茶苗、南蠻苗、洪州苗、西瀘苗、車寨苗、生苗、黑脚苗、黑補苗、紅補苗、尖頂苗、即慈苗、羅茂苗、六洞蠻人、骨种家、骨腳苗。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

其中異名同種者甚多;且黔之非漢民族,今日多通稱爲苗,故其中又有廣義與狹義之別,所謂狹義之苗即眞正的苗族,貴州民族迄今尙少經過科學的研究,欲作精確的分類,頗感材料不足,據克拉克氏的研究,以語言爲根據,可分爲仡佬,苗人,倮儸,仲家四族。● 仡佬向來被視爲純苗的一種,然據拉古伯里(Terrien de Lacouperie)氏之說,仡佬爲今緬甸卡倫 (Karen) 族的遺民,因其語言文法多與仡佬相似。● 羅維斯 (Lowis) 氏根據語言上的證據,以卡倫爲撣族的前身(Pre-Shan)。● 作者曾以克拉克氏所像仡佬語七十六字與苗人,倮儸,仲家三種語言比較,知仡佬與仲家語有百分之四十相同,然二者雜處已久,同化甚深,故不能僅根據一部份語言相同,即斷言仡佬與仲家是同源的民族,我們知道,中國西南民族雖名目繁多,然可分爲苗傜,藏緬,泰撣,孟吉四類,貴州民族當不出乎此四者,苗人屬苗傜類,仲家屬泰撣類,倮儸屬藏緬類,至於仡佬在分類上的位置,屬於苗傜或泰撣類,目下因材料不足,尙難決定,仡佬最先住在貴州,可稱爲土著;其分佈區域甚廣,貴州通志有云:"仡佬其種不一,所在多有。"然迭與後來外族同化,現在的人口已很少,苗族遷入貴州的時代,大約在秦漢以前,由四川而先至貴州的東北,漸至東南,黔苗有時亦自稱爲土著,然仡佬與苗人同處一地,則苗人爲客,仡佬爲主,倮儸約在漢時由雲南而入居於貴州的西北,今烏江之西,水西一帶爲倮儸的分佈區域,仲家在五代時由粵西遷來,散處於黔省的中南部,此四族的人數以苗人與仲家爲最多,倮儸次之,仡

● S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, pp. 1-15.

● Terrien de Lacouperie: The Cradle of the Shan Race, p. 46.

● C. C. Lowis: The Tribes of Burma, p. 16.

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

佬最少,且漸趨於消滅。

純苗族之在貴州者又分紅苗、黑苗、白苗、青苗、花苗五種。紅苗的地理分佈,爲毗連湖南的貴州東部,其中心地爲銅仁附近。黑苗分佈在黔省東南,其地域甚廣。今之都匀、八寨、丹江、榕江、永從、黎平、劍河、台拱、鎮遠、施秉、黃平、鎧山等縣均有之。適在湘黔公路之南,桂黔公路以東一區域之內。白苗散處於貴州中部,東起貴定、龍里經貴筑、修文、黔西,西迄織金、郎岱。青苗亦在貴州中部,以貴陽附近爲最多,修文、清鎮、黔西、鎮寧亦皆有之。花苗的分佈最廣,以貴陽附近爲起點,散處於黔省北部與西北部,開陽、仁懷、織金、郎岱、水城、安順等縣皆有之。

貴州的苗族,因元明兩代屢次用兵,頗多向外移住黔東銅仁附近之紅苗,即向東遷至湘西三廳一帶。至清代經康熙三十七年(1698),雍正七年(1732),乾隆五十九年(1794),咸豐五年(1855)四次變亂,大兵撻伐,苗人乃四處逃散,引起近代苗族的大遷移。黑苗向湘桂二省逐漸遷移。白苗由西北入川滇。花苗則西經安順而至雲南之東部,北至武定,延至金沙江畔;又經滇省東南以至安南東京北部。青苗則四處分散,今湘、桂、滇三省多有其族。以上所述,不過舉大批移民而言,實際上在湘、桂、川、滇諸省之內,一地常有數種苗族。作者在雲南蒙自所見,即有白苗、花苗、青苗三種,而青花二種在服飾上已不易分別。且各種苗族聚居一地,亦自相混合,至時間較久,即難區別。

湖南——在湖南西部,鳳凰、乾城、永綏三廳之苗,最初移來者爲紅苗,黑苗後至,人數亦較紅苗爲少。據苗防備覽風俗考云:"三廳中見諸載籍者,俱概稱之曰紅苗,而其中微有區別。如永綏一廳,統爲六里紅苗。而廳西南黃瓜寨一帶,廳南鴉酉栗林各

寨,則土民皆指爲黑苗,至廳屯巴東坪、茶洞、脫耳堡與保靖、秀山接界,又黑苗而象土蠻也,紅苗寨多人衆,爲諸部所畏;而黑苗之地險氣悍,足與頡頏,紅苗衆於黑苗,黑苗凶於紅苗,故滋事各首述;臭牛生、臭八月、石柳鄧、石三保,皆自供之種類,俱皆稱爲黑苗."又三廳之苗現雖就分紅、黑二種,然詳考其來源,除紅、黑二種之外尚有青苗、花苗、白苗混雜其間,因人數過少,而其名不顯,且紅、黑二苗又有各種不同之名稱,據永綏廳志所載,共有二十二種之多,在偉之如次:

(一)紅苗　原出貴州銅仁府,其族甚繁,東至辰州界,西至四川平茶、平茶、酉陽土司,北至保靖,南至麻陽,東南至五寨司經線三百里,緯線一百二十里,周一千二百里,皆其族居之所。

(二)青苗　原出貴陽清鎮,男女多帶銀項圈,女家富者至六七枚,正月作跳年會,男女咸聚,吹蘆笙,歌舞三日,雜場尤盛.……

(三)黑苗　原出貴州都勻、八寨,分居龍溪所等處,女子日耕作,夜績紡,每十三年畜牝牛祀天地祖先,曰吃牯臟,又以猪雞羊犬骨雜衆禽獸毛臟置甕中,俟其腐臭曰酷菜,食少鹽,以蕨灰代之。

(四)爺頭苗　亦黑族類,婚嫁姑女定爲男,鳥,男無子必重獻銀錢,無則終不得嫁。

(五)洞崽苗　無爺頭多,分寨居爺頭稱大寨,洞崽稱小寨,聽爺頭使令,婚姻各分寨類,若私婚大寨謂之犯上,洞崽多善舟楫,今頗諳有其族。

(六)八寨苗　亦黑族,近寨置空舍,男女未婚者羣聚唱歌其中,情洽即以牛行聘,女嫁一二日即歸女家,仍向壻索錢,不得則改嫁,今鳳西尚有其俗。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

(七)箐苗　亦黑族別種,殿耳山多有之居依山箐,不善耕田,惟種山糧,以麻子爲食,衣皆用麻.

(八)清江黑苗　未婚男子曰"羅漢",女曰"老倍".春晴攜酒食上山,互相歌舞,相悅者飲以牛角,遂結婚.生子後乃曰有後人矣,始肯耕作.……

(九)白苗　原出貴州貴定龍里,衣尚白,科頭跣足,盤髻垂髫.祀祖擇大牯牛一頭,養至肥健,即約各寨有牛者合鬬於野,謂爲吉卜日砍牛以祭祖,祭者白衣青套,祭後,親族圍坐劇飲高歌,今邊境猶有其俗.

(十)九股苗　原出貴州施秉,凱里,與僰頭黑族同類,服尚青,性尤猛,身甲手刃,上山如飛,挽強弩曰僰架,永順宣慰所徵科東毛人即此類,未改流前屢犯鎮溪所.

(十一)黑山苗　在貴州台拱,以藍布束髮,深居重谷,能以茅草卜卦,知吉凶.乾隆乙卯之亂,此族多附之,傳壯肅於夠齋巖殲戮甚衆.

(十二)黑脚苗　清江台拱最多,短衣大袴,出入持刀鎗,凡作事以螺螄二枚置盆中,觀其鬬以卜吉凶.康熙二十五年與紅族石老蟲等踞天星寨,邵忠孝平之.今老鳳山有其遺族.

(十三)車寨苗　原出貴州黎平古州,今上十里各寨,猶有其族.男習技業,女工織繡,未嫁者於曠野爲月場,男舉猴兒鼓,女歌和之,相傳馬三保之兵遺六百餘費女家,又名六百戶生苗.——

(十四)西溪苗　居多住吉安坪,女裙不過膝,以青布纏髮,未婚男女攜槍委飲野外爲配,生子後以牛過聘.

(十五)平伐苗　原出貴州貴定縣,四川平茶司亦有之,今拱科多有其族,祭神享客好殺犬,男子披草衣短裙,婦人長裙綰髻.

(十六)東苗 原出貴州,龍里,清平,今六里各寨猶多此族,男以花布束首,著淺藍短衣,婦綠布裳綠繡,兩袖甚窄,以中秋祭先祖及親族之亡者,延鬼師於家,以木板置酒食呼鬼名而歌舞(鬼有保明、破茶、蓋笑等名),今應俗所謂口車七姑娘及咒鬼,皆其遺習.……

(十七)花苗 鴨西鴨保多此族,所著衣服先用蠟繪花於布而後染,既染去蠟即花見,以六月爲歲首,牛酒祭天,病不用藥,惟求鬼師,雖貧必宰牲以祀,動作必卜或折茅及釣梳雞骨驗之,孟春跳年,男吹蘆笙,女搖鈴給隨之,並肩踏歌.……

(十八)楊保苗 原出貴州遵義播昏楊應龍之裔,明洪武三十年苗稱賦役太重懇官奏減,時遵溪縣主簿孫應龍入峒撫之,其族昏有楊二者,孫領之入京奏設軍民千戶所,尤之升孫爲鎮溪千戶所,鎮撫創衙署,立新制,分一百二十四寨爲十里,令楊二爲百戶長給束之,後因鎮溪苗勢甚悍,時與土官爲難,又係孤懸絕地,轉運維艱,遂撤廢,苗所祀楊老令公其祠實楊二所建,蓋皆播昏後云.

(十九)紫雲苗 原出貴州清平都匀,喜殺好鬬,每祭鬼必上刀梯,乾隆乙卯鴨保寨吉多坪之變多其族,今丁牛岩落猶有存者.

(二十)吳寨苗 亦紅族之分支,原出貴州,其族最重吃牛,先期畜牛數頭,其壯健者以供鬼,並備乾筍枯蕨及網罟百鳥類,至期約鬼巫宿其家,鬼巫於其夜坐於火床上,著草冠,被枘衣,手執短刀,糾祭之坐,備詢其祖父姓名及生年月日,爾之經根底,次日則偕約親族,惟母黨最眾,於庭中殺牛圍縛生家置於庭之四周,

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

巫跣服念咒以棒擊斃之乃支解牛豕以其後肢並筍蕨類供諸圍上其餘以享客男女雜遝圍圍而坐歡歌劇飲謂之圍牛更設長機如衙衆相對笑歌謂之排牛其以供鬼之牛預置木樁於曠地上檐五彩曰將軍柱巫以長繩引牛鼻繫柱上衆尾巫執鏢鎗向牛立巫先以鏢刺牛則主人之外曾祖父母外祖父母及舅從父母姊妹以次而及賓客解牛時其舅勝服盛衣戴銀冠巫稱以太子所其四肢荷之歸賓友徧延之食謂之吃排家飯云其喜忌與常同。

(廿一)梁家苗　與吳家多住鴨八溪各寨家祖設火床木柱以祀不設木主此族以竹筐懸靜室宰豕及惟牛取血瀝楮上置其中歲時伏腰入室舊竹筐拜咒祭鬼時傾楮焚之。

(廿二)侗家苗　以歲首祀其先而會食善種棉好野蔬雍正八年巡撫趙宏恩犒軍花園洞家婦採異草二種獻之名曰枝頭綠葉旅紅……

上錄二十二種不同名稱之苗大約爲之歸類則紅苗吳家梁家爲紅族墨苗爺頭洞崽八寨箐苗清江黑九股黑山黑脚車寨紫靈爲黑族青苗西溪爲青族白苗平伐爲白族花苗東苗爲花族楊保是否爲純苗現因材料缺乏殊難斷言侗家如與今日廣西的三江龍勝融縣羅城河池諸縣的侗人爲同類則爲西南民族中泰揮類的一種而不屬於苗。

由上面的記錄可知三廳之苗多來自貴州以紅苗爲主要成份黑苗次之其他諸苗又次之人數以紅苗爲最多故至今三廳仍以紅苗著稱。

湘西除三廳苗外靖縣通道綏寧城步等縣尚有青苗溆浦黔陽武岡道縣永明等縣有僮人永順保靖古丈龍山等縣有土

人,道縣,乾城二縣有仡佬,近世多以湘西的非漢民族爲苗族,實則三廳的紅苗與靖、通等縣的青苗始爲純苗族,他如瀘、黔等縣的僚與苗有別,道、乾的仡佬與貴州仡佬同族,永、保等縣的土人語言屬於泰撣語系而藏緬語化,或爲古代僚族的遺民。❶ 均非苗族。

廣西——在廣西的苗族,大都分佈於桂省與湘、黔、滇三省毗連的邊界,共計有凌雲、百色、東蘭、思恩、南丹、河池、都安、思恩、宜北、羅城、融縣、三江、龍勝、西隆、西林、鎮邊十六縣,桂省苗族多爲近代移入,在桂、滇邊境者,遷來的時代尤晚,其名稱亦甚多,大別之爲白苗、花苗、黑苗三種。

四川——在毗連貴州的邊境,亦有苗族移住,在川省東南角界於川、湘、黔三省之間的酉陽、秀山等縣多紅苗;川南的高縣、珙縣、興文、長寧、筠連等縣有白苗與花苗,人數白苗較花苗爲多,故此區以白苗著稱,在冕寧縣附近的鴉礱江兩岸亦有苗族踪跡。

雲南——較貴州地廣,而山地土壤又較肥沃;故苗族散佈於雲南的區域甚爲遼闊,今日苗族在滇省的人數雖不多,然其遷移尚在不斷進行中,在雲南東北隅威信、鎮雄、彝江、鹽津、大關、彝良、永善等縣,多白苗與花苗,他們與川南苗族的語言習俗均相同,不過分隸二省而已,花苗由黔西入滇,分佈最廣,東起曲靖經嵩明、富民、武定、鹽興而至漾濞、永平、蒙化等縣,又由蒙化渡瀾滄江而至順寧,再西止於怒江東岸,今英屬果敢縣的麻栗壩附近,亦有苗族村寨。在雲南東南羅平、師宗、邱北、阿迷、西畴、馬關、

❶ Terrien de Lacouperie: The Languages of China before the Chinese, p. 149.

文山、蒙自、屏邊、金河等縣,多白苗、花苗散處其間

越南—— 苗族自貴州遷入雲南後,繼續南下,移入安南的東京北部,與雲南毗鄰的高平、海防、勞街等區域之內,南至太原省境,爲其終點.因再南已至東京平原,無山地可移,且其氣候已不適苗居.東京苗族以白苗爲最多,其他如青苗、花苗亦多有之❶

緬甸—— 苗族南遷阻於東京平原,乃折向西行經老撾❷再西入緬甸南撣土司地之孟信、景東等處,亦止於怒江東岸.❸但人數不多,僅零零數村落,多爲白苗❹

以上所述,爲今日苗族分佈的大概情形.苗族的地理分佈有兩種顯著的現象:(一)區域的分佈甚廣;(二)垂直的分佈最高.

區域的分佈—— 所謂區域的分佈,亦可謂平面的分佈:是說一民族分佈的地域和方向,而解釋其原因.❺苗族現在分佈的四至:東至桂江之西;西止於怒江東岸;北抵鵝礦江北岸木裏土司地;南至紅河與李仙江合流處以上的山地.其區域之廣闊在西南民族中無出其右者.苗族近代的遷移,由於貴州迭次的亂變,其東僅至沅江之西,北止於長江南岸.因在此兩方向,再進多爲山少地多,人口稠密之區,苗人無地可遷,即使有地,亦氣候濕熱,不適於苗居.苗向東南分佈因有南嶺山脈,可以循嶺東行

❶ E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

❷ G. Ayme: Monographie du Ve Territoire Militaire, pp. 59-60.

❸ J. George Scott: Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Part 1, Vol. 1, pp. 296-299.

❹ C. C. Lewis: The Tribes of Burma, p. 40.

❺ 凌純聲:雲南民族的地理分佈,pp. 11-14.

而止於紅江之西,雲南,東京,老撾大部地廣人稀,故西行無阻,現已到達湄江東岸,苗族的遷移,在西南各民族中,時代最晚,滇、越、緬說地廣人稀,而山上可耕之地早爲倮倮等山居民族佔有,苗族後至不易找到廣大山地,不能聚族而居,勢必四散,各找出路,且他們多是避難遷移,既無組織,又無一定目的地,凡遇有山之地,他們即可移居,故愈行愈遠,以致區域日廣.

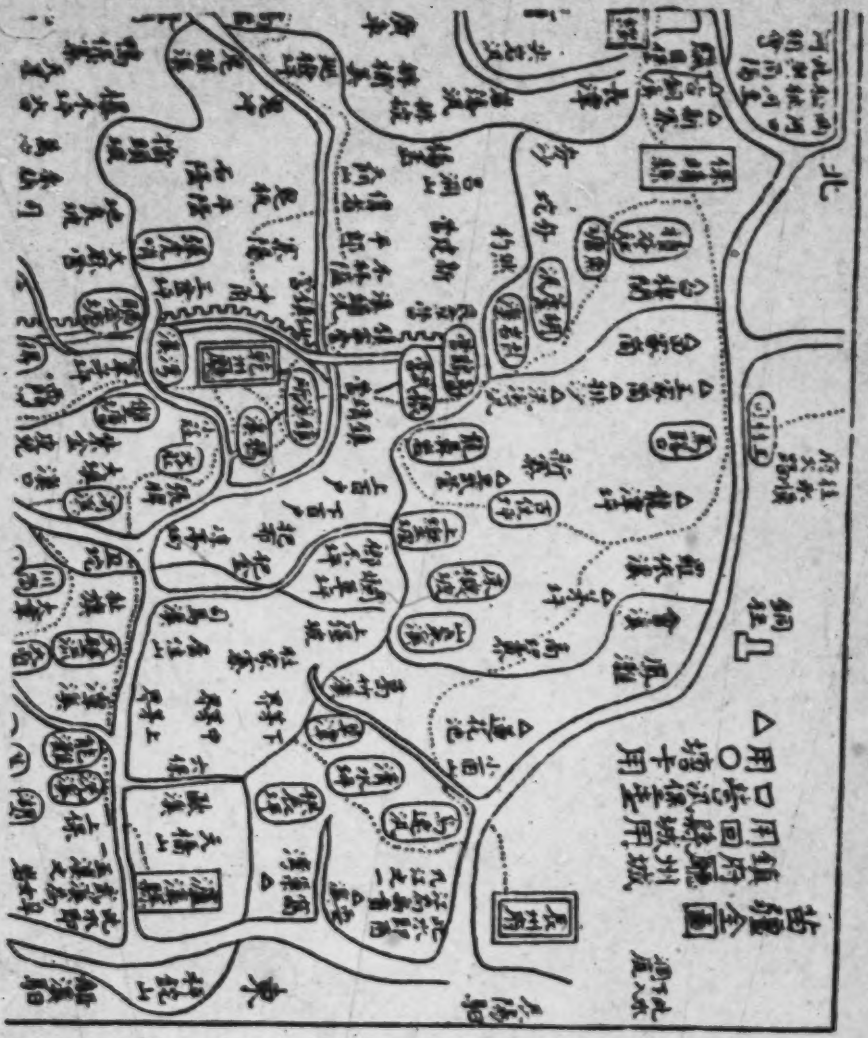
垂直的分佈——所謂垂直的分佈,是說滇、越境內,地形複雜,多高山峻嶺與深箐狹谷,各方遷來的民族,多限於其過去的地理環境,擇其適宜之地而居,如擺夷住於深谷低地,倮倮山居最長樂熱,不敢移住低地,故西南各省民族的垂直的分佈,有一定的地帶,如植物的分帶然,苗族老家的貴州,平均海拔在一千公尺以上,西南諸省中山坡較好之地,早爲先至諸山居民族佔有,苗族後至,只得居在山巔,故其垂直的分佈最高,有"高山苗"之稱.

三 苗疆的人生地理

位置——苗疆的範圍,根據嘉慶二十五年(1820)最如爾苗防備覽的苗疆全圖,以沅江以西,酉江以南,長江以北,及湘,黔交界以東範圍以內爲苗疆區域(圖1),其地北、東、南三面環水,西面以高山爲屏蔽,自成爲一自然區(圖2)

山脈——主要山脈名脇耳山,苗防備覽險要考云:"大脇耳山,城(鳳凰)西七十里,高十餘里,山勢甚大,跨楚黔兩省,東之鵝有、芳尙,南之栗林有泥,西之亢金、嗅脇,北之葫蘆、筆子坳,俱係此山支脈,綿亘百餘里,其上苗寨甚多,故往史稱湖、貴、苗生齒者必脇耳山."脇耳山由貴州正大營迤邐而來,至苗疆中部山脈因斷層而構成台地的地形,台地之上,苗寨星羅棋布,苗人憑險以守,向爲生苗巢穴.

河流——沅、酉、長三江本流,僅流經苗疆的邊緣,苗中主要的河流,皆爲三江的支流,其中最大者爲沅江支流武溪,又名鄔河,此水深在苗巢之中,源分三處,西一支爲烏巢河(圖4),中一支爲萬溶江,北一支爲高岩河(圖5).烏巢河發源於鳳凰之小天星寨,西折流至懷水沱,龍角洞諸水注之,又西過大新寨繞上下猫猴寨,南至庭冲,小鳳凰營諸水東來注之,又東南過馬頸灘繞盛夢嘴至提溪,白岩江水西北流注之,又東繞鳳凰縣城,稱此水曰沱江(圖18).又東流至城東,新地溪水西流注之,又東北流至雷公洞,高根溪水北流注之,又東北流至溪口,小溪水注之,東北流至晉州入瀘溪界,下老虎口至將軍岩,夫仲諸水注之,又東北流至河溪與萬溶江會.萬溶江發源於大天星寨,南行繞岩口汛至

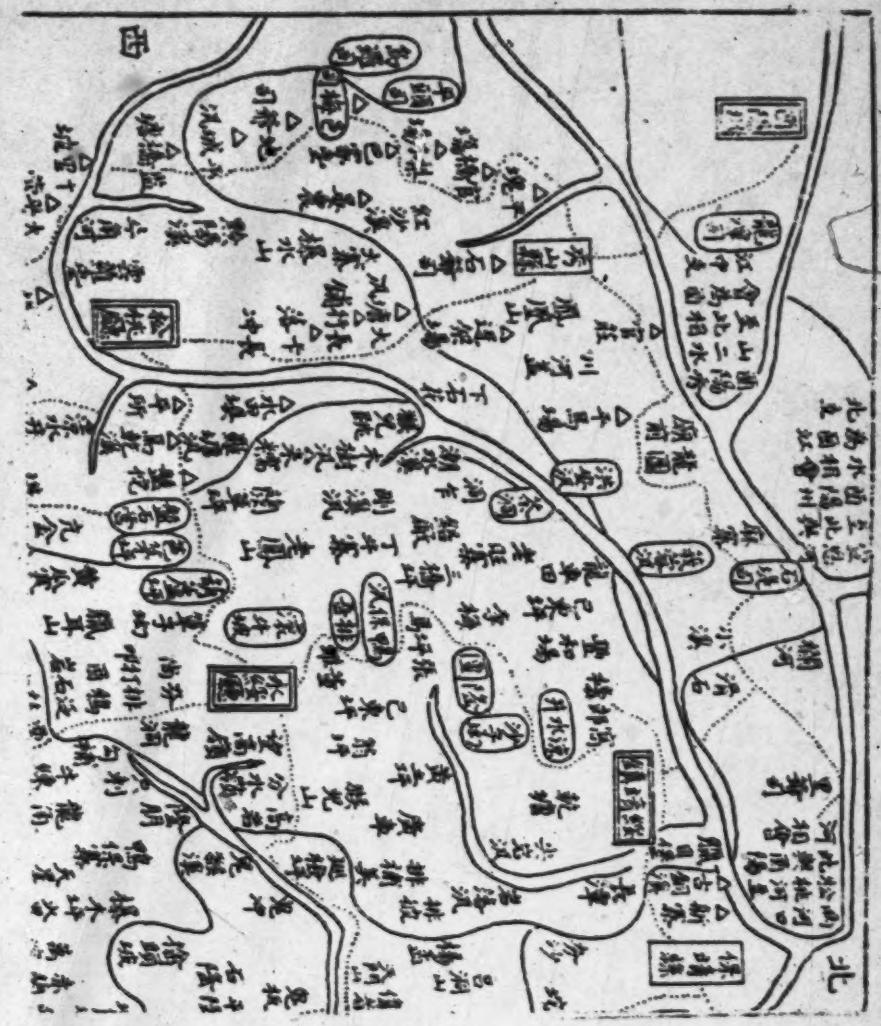


[P.26, A]

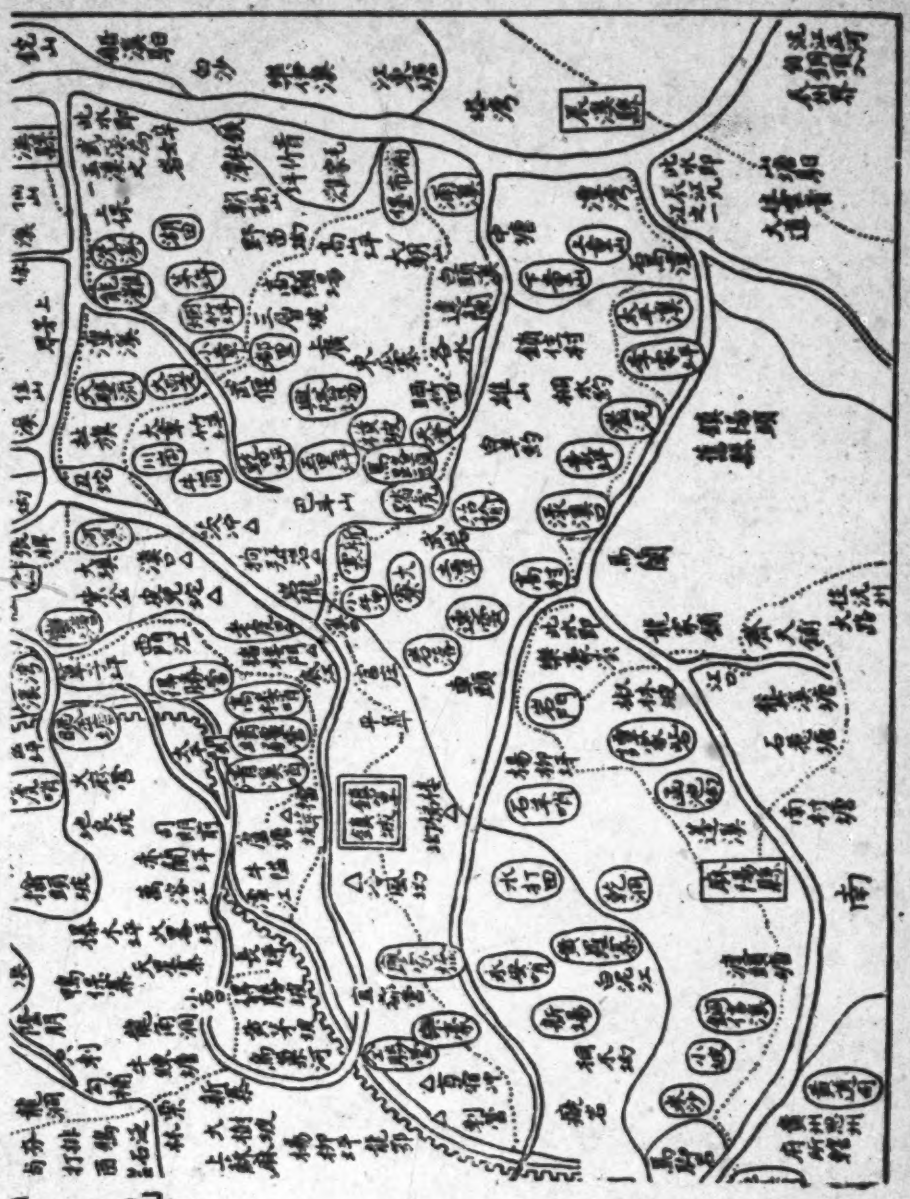
2: Ling and Ruey

AE5 Miao AE5

[P.96, B]



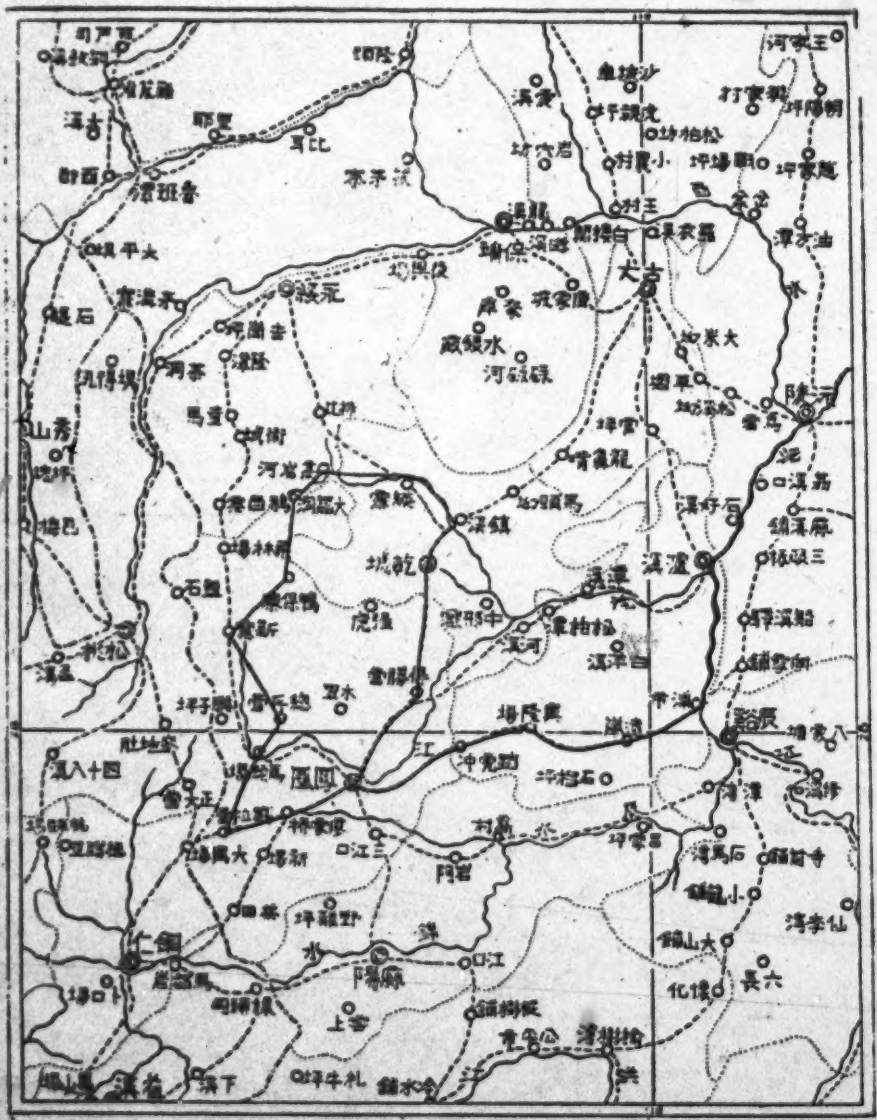
[P. 26, C]



[P 26, D]

圖七 貴州地形略圖

[P.26 E]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清馬石
清潭
清江
清江三
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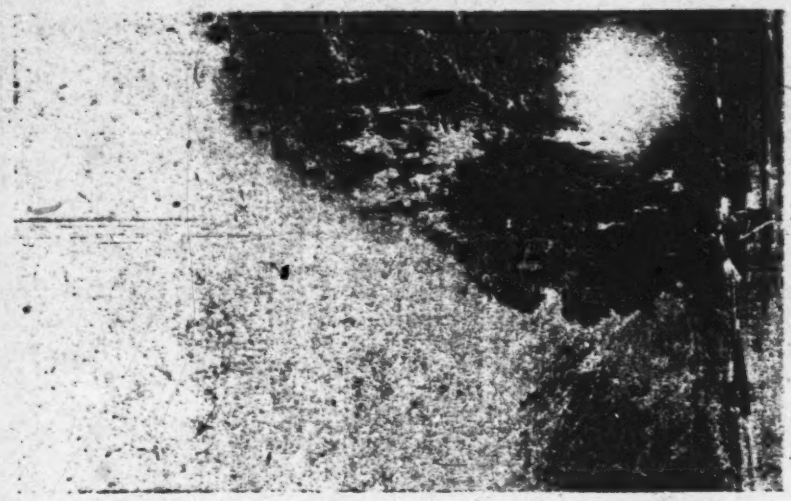


圖 6 湘西上游之流村寨

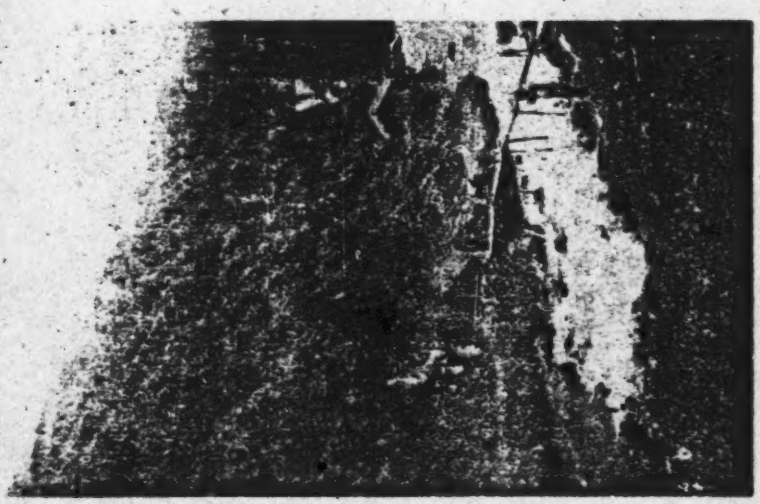


圖 4 黑黑大寨坐的黑黑
(光榮的苗族和黑工台湾)

木里汛折而東至老鴉源,西門江北流注之又東北繞三脚岩過龍洗營至羣子哨,鶴如寨諸水東南流注之又東北流至乾城,武溪水東流注之,自後稱此水曰武溪,又東流至鵝溪,鵝溪水南注之又東至發牌與高岩河相會,高岩河發源於永綏的大小龍洞(圖6),合潤水、老寨、黃土諸溪水流至高岩卽可通小船,東至小冲,小冲溪水注之又東過偉岩,平邱溪水南注之又東至溪頭汛,

圖6 河河源的大龍洞洞口

(距平地高180公尺)

呂洞諸水南注之又東至鎮溪所,鎮溪,新寨溪諸水注之又東南折至張牌寨與武溪會,又東南行十餘里至溪口與沱江合,統名白鵝河,東至楠木橋,楠木溪水北注之又東至思麻溪口思麻溪水南注之又東至潭溪口,潭溪水北注之又東至能灘,發源巴斗山之灣水繞四都五都至茅坪合馬旺溪,桑溪諸水東南來流注之又東至洗溪堡,洗溪水北注之,東至蘇木溪口,蘇木溪水流注之又東至盧溪城,注入沅江。

其次者爲西江支流松桃河,環繞苗疆的西北,此水有二源:一出貴州平頭司西南,經太平營之北折而東北,一出平頭司之西北,自西而東,與南支相會共道而東,又受三不管之水經雲羅寨至松桃城,張鬼溪,馬乾溪水先後注之過篤坪入永綏界至米糯,米糯溪水注之又北至木樹汛,木樹河水注之又北至潮水溪塘,潮水溪注之又北至雞耳堡,大帽溪,合剛溪,老木溪,隆團溪,以齊溪,夯溪諸水東北來注之又東北入永靖界至古銅汛,古銅溪水注之又東北至西河口,注入西江。

在苗疆的南部,較重要的河流爲辰江支流舊樂溪,此水發源於貴州晴坳各苗寨,南折東流至雙盆溪,溪水注之又東流至喜家橋,老田坪,老田坪各溪水注之又東流至米岩村,米岩溪水西流注之又東北流至雙江口,水田溪北流注之又東至岩門,車頭,雨扁溪,黃安溪,永思溪各水西注之又東流經石羊哨入麻陽界,至高村流入辰江。

地形(圖2)——苗疆因地形的不同,可分爲二自然區:西北部可稱之爲雞耳台地區;東南部爲溪河下游區,台地海拔雖有七百公尺之高,然其上小盆地甚多,且多泉塘可以灌溉,苗中稱此種小盆地爲坪,塘,冲等名,其中最著者有楊木營坪,雞鳳鳳城

北七十里,在高山之中,地勢寬平,縱長五六里,橫廣三四里,有泉塘七八口,可供汲飲,爲台地上最大的盆地,鴨保寨(圖 7)在鴨保山中,離凰凰城北九十三里,地極高峻,冲壩中有魚塘數口,產禾米及山藥,清乾隆六十年苗亂時,苗曾吳龍登世居其地,憑以爲固,上述二地爲台地區中盆地之較大者,其小坪小冲甚多,不勝枚舉,且山上井泉頗多,甚至山頂亦有水井,苗防備覽險要考:"馬鞍山城西南五十里,高約八九里,山勢險峻,形似馬鞍,山頂有井,取汲不竭,山冲頗有水田,爲生苗屢憑之險."雖耳台地,因多山坪與井泉,所以村寨星羅棋布,苗人生息其間.

溪河下游區,山勢較台地平坦,溪河兩岸可作梯田,利用溪水灌溉,溪河可行小船,交通較爲便利,爲漢人移殖之區.

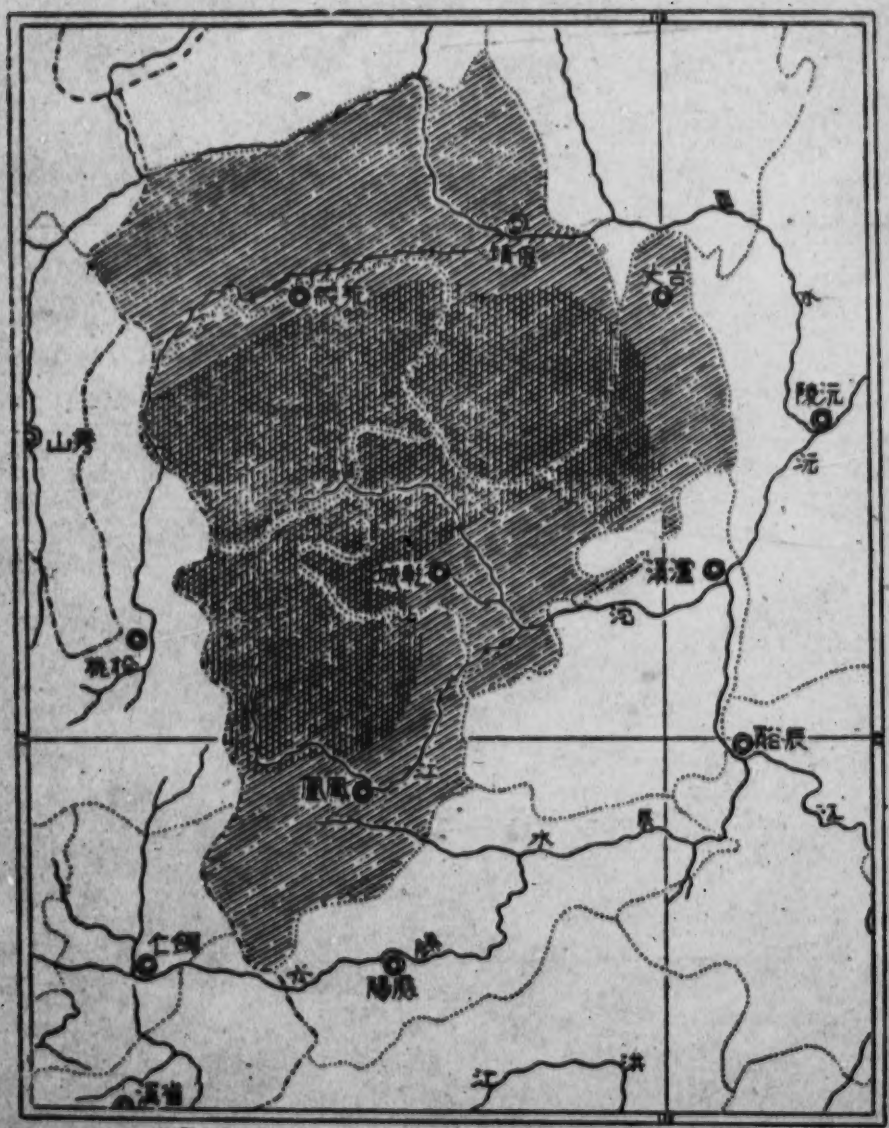
上述二區的界線,可依明代所築邊牆遺址以分界.苗防備覽述往錄云:"萬歷四十三年乙卯(1615年)辰沅兵備參政蔡復一以營哨羅布,苗路崎嶇,難以圍遏窺覦,請發帑金四萬有奇,築沿邊土牆,上自銅仁,下至保靖,蓋山亘水,凡三百餘里,邊防藉以稍固,又天啓二年壬戌(1622年)辰沅兵備道副使胡一鴻委遊擊鄧通禹自鎮溪所起至喜鵲營止,復添設邊牆六十餘里."此牆遺址起自苗疆東南角之王會營,李子寨,走向東北至喜鵲營止,分苗疆爲東南與西北兩區,明代建築邊牆,並非有意依地形而築,是因漢人的移殖苗疆,先佔有東南部的溪河下游區,苗人退居雖耳台地,憑險以守,三百餘年之前,漢苗兩族已依地形而分佈(圖2,8),當時的邊牆,雖爲漢苗的界線,而同時亦即爲兩自然區域的區分,所以現在眞正的苗疆的區域,是在邊牆的西北部,限於雖耳台地,苗中雖非荒山不毛之地,然地小人稠,且生息甚蕃,常受人口的壓迫,侵入東南區域,所以每當苗亂的時候,全疆

圖 7 屈苓山台地上之小盆地·暗佳系(海拔 800 公尺)

爲苗佔居,最如是所定苗疆的範圍,亦不無相當理由,且苗人視此全疆爲其本土,其意事甚少擴大這苗疆範圍.

氣候——苗疆的氣候,因無可靠的觀測記錄,故不能作正確的敍述,作者在旅行時,雖沿途多有記錄,然爲一時的溫度不能代表全區的氣候,所可見到的是:苗中常因地勢的高低,在同一區域中,相距不遠的兩地,氣候不同.如在我們的記錄中,民國二十二年六月十日下午一時馬保寨的溫度爲攝氏24.5°,六月十三日下午一時在乾城所里的溫度爲攝氏27°,鳴保寨因在台地之上,拔海八百五十公尺,氣候較爲涼爽;所里在溪河下游區中,拔海僅二百七十公尺,地較濕熱.從前苗疆未開,多爲瘴癘之區,六月中旬,在苗疆台地上,稻秧高僅尺許,在溪河低谷,已高及二尺,這顯是由於兩地氣候的不同使然.至於苗中四季的氣候,據苗防備覽風俗考云:"苗中四時氣候與內地迥異,常有晨霧漫漫,卓午始稍開朗,當淡暑之時,人言對面不相見,寸步難移,春夏淫雨連綿,經旬累月,常泥濘難行,雨勢甫霽,蒸濕之氣,侵入肌骨,其泉爲山洞岩漿,性極寒冽,飲之敗胃,水土惡劣,外人居其間,常生病疫,馬伏波所云'嗟哉武溪兮多毒淫'是也.秋冬霜雪早降,廣谷幽岩,積至數月不化,時下凍凌,屋瓦凍結,自茅蓋至地,其大如椽,苗人用木撬開,方可出入.上六里尤甚,禽鳥時寒從不一至,自開闢日久,苗人漸漸向化,陰雨漸開,冰凍漸少,鳥獸亦聞於林谷中矣."據此,亦可知苗疆氣候的大概.今日的苗疆,因開闢已久,幾無寸土荒蕪,氣候雖一如昔日,然地理環境改變甚多,從前的蠻荒瘴鄉,今已成爲人口繁殖的區域.

聚落——苗中的聚落,依其地形與族類的不同而異其形式及分佈狀況.苗人多聚居城堡之中,或碉卡的附近,或實爲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溪

堡之較大者,堡又小於堡,故滇人的主要聚居之處爲堡堡,苗疆中堡堡之多,爲他處所僅見,其建築的由來,苗防備覽記敘頗詳城堡篇云:"按凱里廳善後事宜委崔得勝營(圖 9)廖家橋各堡,二年兵備道成寧通飭苗疆各村,勸修民堡,時乾、凱二廳難民,雖招徠復業,而孤落僻村,尚有痞苗逗留,同知傅鼐,練鄉勇,團壯丁,驅逐痞苗,清復一處,即築堡一區,撥壯丁給軍器屯守,於要隘鳴卡捍衛廳之青屬寨,水打田等處各築大堡,其他烟戶零星地勢寬仄者,則令分作數堡,互相聯絡,堡制因地制宜,寬數丈、十數丈

圖 9 凱里崔得勝營石堡

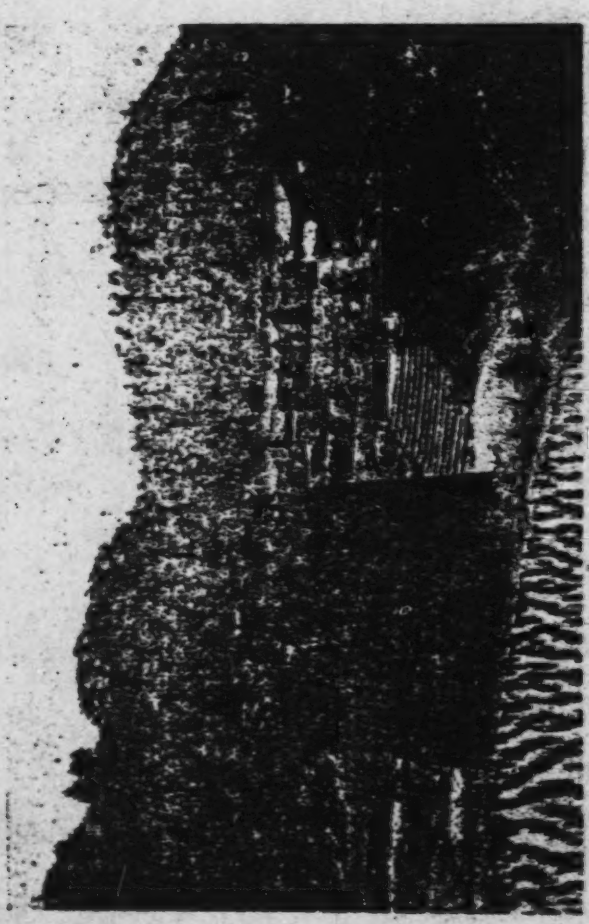


圖10 乾隆時期的苗寨

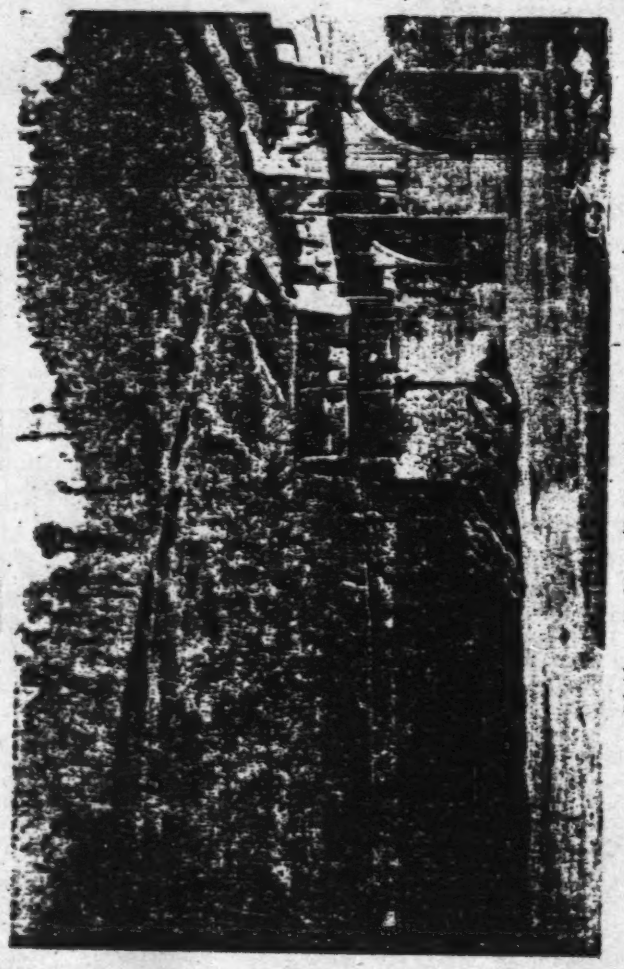
長十數丈二三十丈不等,堡身用毛石砌脚二三尺,加封土磚二層,高四五尺;上鑿排槍一道,旁開瞭眼,瞭望,施放火器之用,約堡容駐丁數十人,牲畜糧種,亦貯積其間." 堡有石堡與土堡兩種,其小者大都爲橢圓形,中間有一街道,兩旁爲居屋,有堡門二道,在街之兩端,其大者大都爲圓形,有三道或四道堡門,如圖9. 堡中街道常爲十字形.

苗中除多堡堡外,又多石碉,昔日近碉之處,常設屯兵守望,所以近碉之處,今日常成一小聚落如圖10. 爲近碉的村落. 漢人又常聚居於通橋梁的要道,且有在橋上建屋,成一橋街的,如圖11,又有在兩河交口,成爲市集的. 漢人的聚落,多分佈於交通的孔道及哨卡要地,一遇警報,即可互爲聲援.

苗人的聚落叫寨(圖12,13), 多靠山旁水而築, 其形式不一,多以土坯或石板爲牆垣,寨門多寡不定,寨中街道曲折,或上或下,街之兩旁多小巷,每巷之中,數家聚居,小巷又互相可通,如無熟人引導,進寨門之後,左轉右彎,一時便覺無門可出,有時漢人通過一苗寨,往往不見一苗人,因爲多已避入小巷,閉門不出. 苗寨的分佈多不在交通要道,常在山谷深處,或有小徑可通,遠處雖可望見,但多可望而不可觸,如無近代的火器,頗不易攻破,數百年來湘西苗亂不絕,與苗寨所處易守難攻的地形,可說大有關係.

房屋—— 苗疆中漢人的房屋大都以土坯或磚爲牆,屋頂蓋瓦,苗人房屋的形式與漢式相異,漢式普通三間式,苗屋則一間,兩間,三間,四間,五間不等,富有之家,普通多能五間式的樓房,瓦頂,普通的房屋亦多爲三間式,牆用磚或石塊或土坯,屋頂蓋以瓦,亦有用頁岩片、杉樹皮或茅草的(圖14). 苗中產杉木,

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5



圖三 鳳凰三苗婦女(穿過江上)

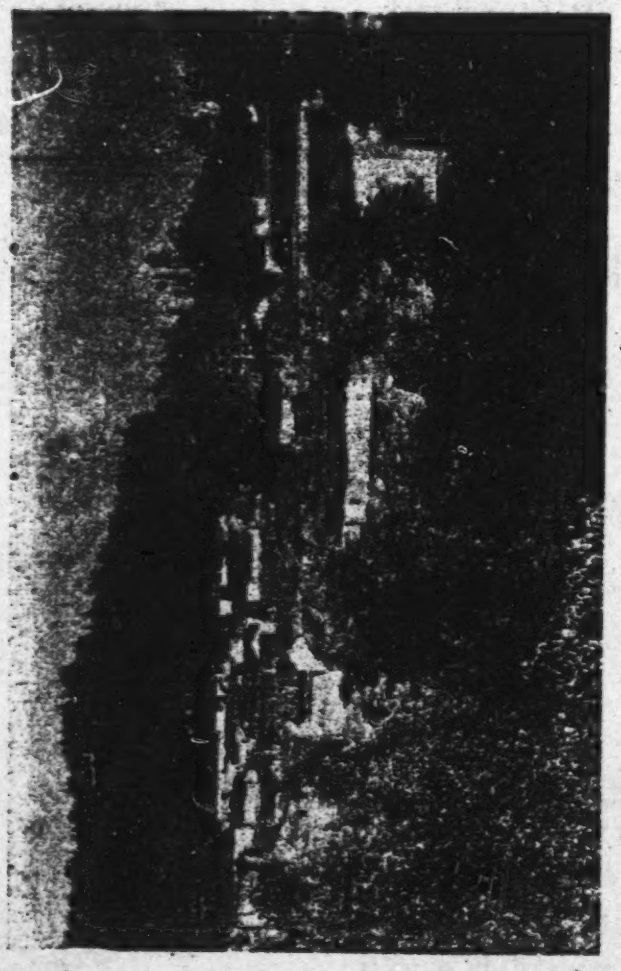


圖12 風雨橋是苗族村寨的標誌

圖13 大龍洞附近剛河岸畔的村落

木料較多,故稍富有之家,即蓋造樓房,杉木樹皮,用石板壓平,窮苦之家,用以代瓦,苗區多頁岩,其稍厚者用以砌牆,或以鋪路,薄片可以蓋屋,石片與樹皮當作瓦用,在他處尚罕見,爲苗中特色.

苗人房屋最普通的形式爲三柱四架的兩間式與四柱四架的三間式兩種,三間式(圖15)的當中一間爲堂屋,後牆壁上有教徒人貼"天地君親師"的牌位的,右側一間,後牆靠角放木林

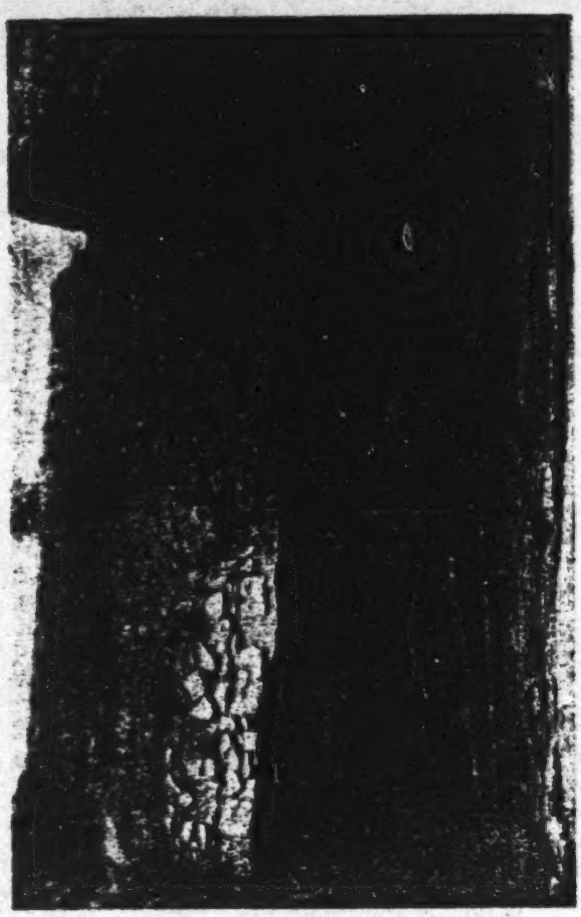


圖14 以十坯結構,組成石級,等算是一項之組織

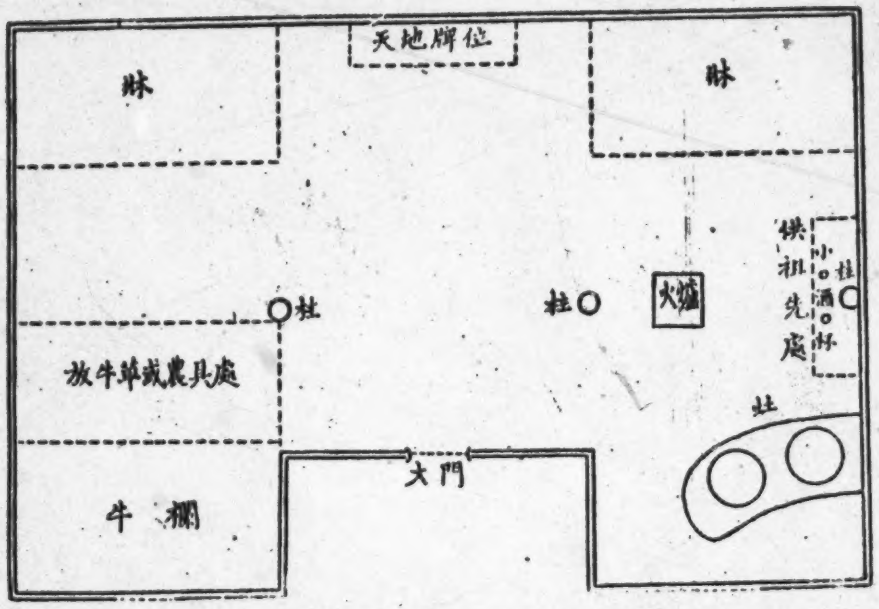


圖 15 苗人龍姓房屋三間式之平面圖

圖16 苗人修造洞樓的匠民不准占居樓上

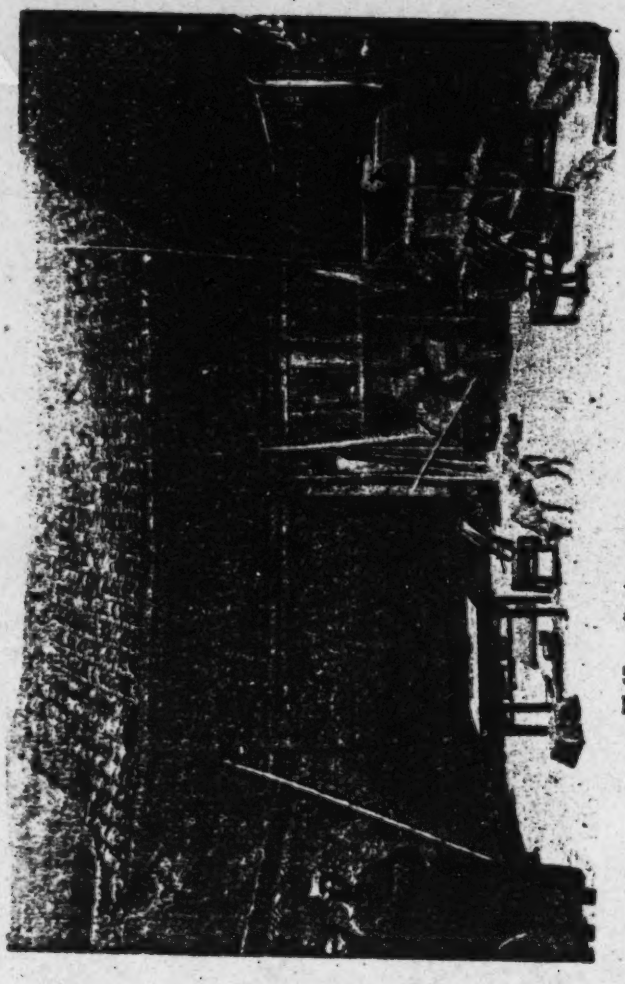


圖17 苗人來往頻繁的場合之一

一張,最右紋帳,牀前放置農具,再前則爲牛欄,左側一間後面亦放木牀一張,中間爲火塘,塘之左柱下通常置小酒盃兩隻,爲供祖先之處,塘前爲灶,苗中有吳、龍、廖、石、麻五姓,上述佈置爲龍姓住屋,其餘四姓,則火塘,灶及供祖先處,須在右側一間,與龍姓適反其佈置,兩間式的火塘在中柱的後面,灶在屋之左側一間(圖16),兩間與三間均以柱分,並無牆或板壁隔開,富有之家,正屋的兩旁,多置廂房(圖17)。廂房如爲樓房,則樓上儲穀,樓下養家畜,苗中廁所,常與豬圈或牛欄在一起,男女同用一廁,旅行苗疆者,頗以登廁爲苦事,因其臭不可當,苗家除穀倉之外,尚有地倉,地倉挖深約丈餘,在庭下分三倉或兩倉,內儲紅薯或洋薯,紅薯等儲藏在地倉之後,因爲要空氣流通,上覆以竹編之蓋,如遇紅薯等腐無,蓋須開久始能下取,否則須點燈下取,如燈滅,即內有炭氣,人切不可下去,苗人所用的農具等物,較與漢人無異,惟傳具中的桌椅大都較漢人所用者爲矮小(圖17)。

道路——苗中交通分水陸兩道,水道以峒河爲最要,因其航路較長,且可深入苗地,峒河由道溪進口,十七里至蘇木溪,十里至洗溪塘,二十一里至能灘,十五里至潭溪,十里至大壁流,十里至社旅,三十里至河溪,自河口至此共一百十三里,稱武溪,自河溪以上,分南北二支,北支名高溶江,北行十里至張牌寨,又分兩支,西流一支爲高溶江的本流,經大莊、小莊共五十里至乾城,西北流一支稱高岩河,十五里至鎮溪所,十五里至仙鎮營,十里至鎮筸營,二十里至平邊,五里至偉者,八里至逕橡坪,二十里至高岩汛,在河溪南流一支稱沱江,由江進口經溪口,將軍岩,過貫州至老虎口約六十里,過老虎口由木樓底江至黑屋約七十里,

峒河可通小船的航路計有武溪一百十三里,高溶江六十

里,高岩河九十三里,沱江一百三十里,共計二百九十六里,此等河道並非終年可以暢行,航行亦頗感困難,苗防備覽道路考云:"按此河(峒河)中,峭岩劍立,怪石戟森,奔流激湍,駭浪滂騰,舟行稍不戒,未有不立碎者,秋冬乾涸,運載維艱,只當夏令,苗寨山水陡發,小船尚可往來,然岩崎石角,因漲增險,一灘每至一日江溜,拽灘之苦,倍於他河矣."

辰江水路,自辰溪縣城進口,九十七里至高村,入樂溪,至夏令山水漲發,小船始可至岩門、石羊哨,載重不過數石,船伕數人,從沙石中拖扛而行,雖爲路無幾,而船行極爲費力.

酉江自沅陵至保靖二百七十里,可通小船,所載不過數石,計程日不過十餘里,自保靖入松桃河,夏令水漲,輕舟可至永綏的花園、米糯兩處,並可達松桃城下.

航行苗中之船,最普通者約長九公尺餘,分成七艙,中艙最寬約一公尺半(圖18,19). 其餘船上所用槍、槳、篙、帆等物,與他處所見無異,惟船頭有一長槳,長約六公尺,下灘時用之,行船以上水爲最苦,每上一灘,數十人或拽或扛,或牽或挽,譁呼用力之聲,與怒濤共喧.

苗疆自明中葉以至清初,歷代用兵,官兵防守,最重要的是運兵糧糧的交通,故在本區內,對道路橋梁的修築,呈一鉅觀,陸路約可分爲四種:通雲、貴的大道爲官路;各汛相通有營路;漢民取徑往來有民路;通苗寨的羊腸小道稱苗路,今以凰凰爲中心,官路通辰州、麻陽、芷江;營路通乾城、永綏、鳳仁;民路通浦市、乾城;苗路在營路的兩旁,一線羊腸,其多如髮,不勝枚舉,官路、營路,全以石板砌築(圖20),工程頗大,民路修法不一,大抵經過富饒區域的路,修築較好,苗路多隨山勢走成,很少人工,交通工具,旅行

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

圖三十四 南疆的沙漠

第10圖 坐石之處為祭場

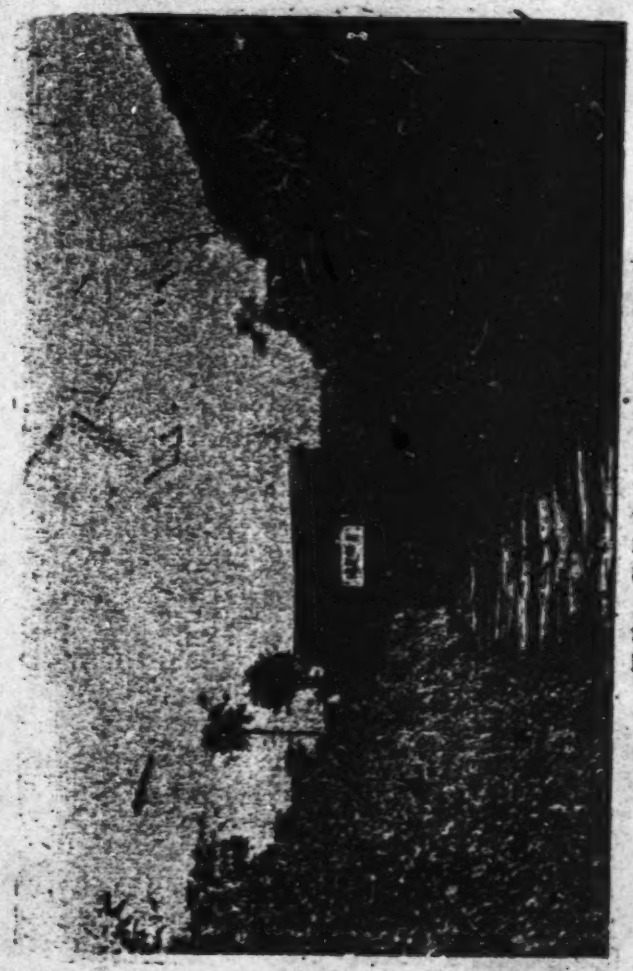
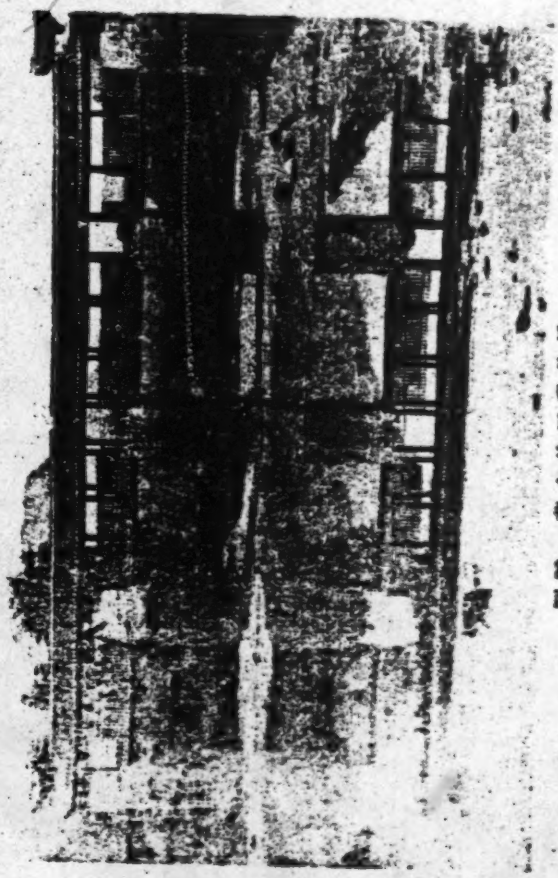


圖30 瑤族聚居區的石城大路

圖二一 湘西苗族居住的山區

2: Ling and Ruev AE5 Miao AE5



臨城縣兵營中的苗人

苗疆邊牆之側 四圖

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

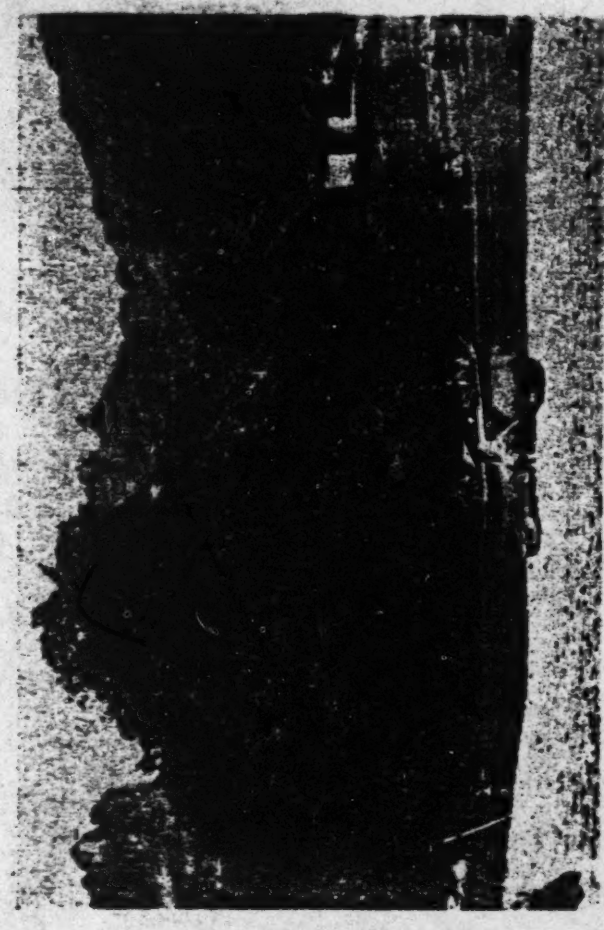


圖34 乾旱大湖地之開墾

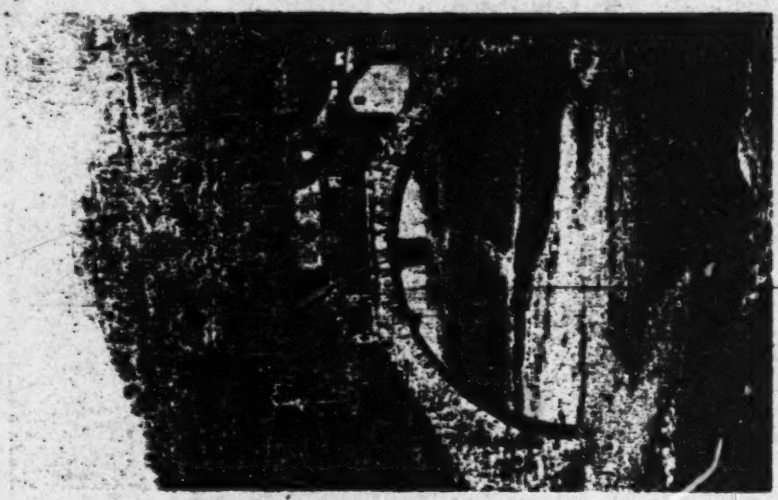


圖50 鳳凰大寨放之苗寨鳥瞰

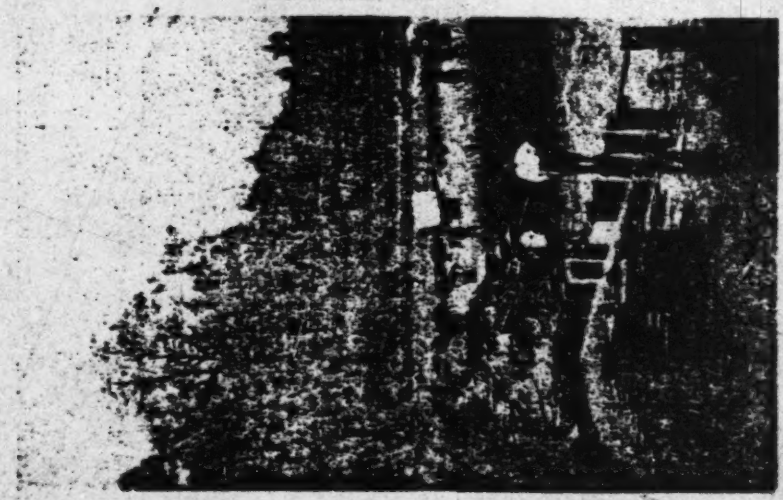


圖51 鳳凰陡山之石樓合木樓

者多騎馬乘轎(圖21),轉輸貨物,則由伕力挑運.

橋梁——苗中橋梁建築,工程頗爲浩大,於交通要道,多築三洞或五洞拱橋(如圖11),橋上建屋,設旅店飯館,以便行旅.河闊水淺之處,多築長橋(如圖22,23).河闊水深之處,則設繩渡(如圖24).小溪淺處,在溪中置石橋,俗稱合水橋(如圖25);或築小橋(如圖26),以利交通.

四 苗族的經濟生活

考察任何民族的經濟生活,首先應當明瞭該民族的地理環境因人生的經濟活動,受地理的支配甚大,雖說人定勝天,然亦有相當的限度我們在前章敍述了苗疆地理的大概,已可明瞭苗族所處的地理環境,現在可進而敍述他們的經濟生活。在此有一點須說明的,卽在苗疆中,漢苗相處已久雖有邊牆之隔,劃界而居;然兩族和戰無常,商賈貿遷,往來頻繁。因此,今日湘西苗族的物質文化,大多已受漢族的同化,是無待言。故本章所述,實亦爲苗疆的人生地理,其中關於經濟的一方面,因苗漢兩族同處已久,所有經濟活動,現多大同小異,何者爲苗族所固有,實不易言,不過我們着眼在苗族方面敍述而已。

農業——作者在未到苗疆去考察以前,讀鳳凰廳志所記苗族的種植有云:"披其榛蕪,縱火焚之,煨燼然後開墾,所謂刀耕火種也,種三四年,則棄其地而別墾,以墾熟者爲磽瘠故也。"以爲苗族尙生初期農業的時代,自親歷其境調查之後,覺得這種記載完全錯誤,廳志所記不過苗族種山地的一種方法而已。苗疆跬步皆山,因此山多田少,大部農作爲雜糧,多種於山坡,山坡傾斜,不能下肥料,開墾三四年後,地土卽變爲磽瘠,勢必用輪耕之法,棄之而另擇新地開墾,使已變磽瘠的熟地,恢復地力,過三四年後,草木叢生,又成荒地,苗人視爲地力已經恢復,到了春天,乃砍斷樹木,使其稍乾,而縱火焚燒,燒後所餘灰燼,則留在田中,用以肥土,此卽所謂刀耕火種,又名爲刻畬,這種田名爲火種田或名畬田。第一年種植,收穫常加倍,所種雜糧,包穀最多,粟米、

蕎麥、高粱次之,麻、豆、薏苡又次之,大都四五月種植,八九月收穫。

苗人除種舍田之外,亦種水田。水稻四五月插秧,八九月收穫。苗疆山多,眞正的平原水田甚少,僅在山間小盆地中及溪河沿岸有若干水田(圖27),餘均爲梯田(圖28,29)。山間盆地灌溉多引山水泉水,沿溪梯田,利用筒車(圖30)灌溉。❶ 依梯田的高下,配製筒車的大小,用長短的水梘,引水至遠近的田中。苗疆的梯田,工程頗大,於有水源的山坡,挖土作壁,層級而上,或於溪澗兩岸,砌石作堤而成。此種人工造成的梯田,修造既費工夫,而又易闖災荒。因其自山麓築至山腰,重疊而上,其形如梯,田水宣洩最易。但一遇雨水稍缺,山水來源斷絕,則無法灌溉,易成旱災。故苗人最怕乾旱。每年廢曆二三月間必使牛輟耕七日,並忌犁耙,以避旱災。禁日自二月十九日起至二十三日止爲一次;自三月三十日至四月初二日爲一次。苗人的迷信,在禁日中如犯禁,必有旱災,惟祈禱悔罪可免。兼對犯忌者常罰備猪雞,請巫師立最高坡上祭禱(名爲"祭高坡鬼",詳後巫術與宗教章)。梯田遇到水災雖不至如旱荒的籽粒無收,然常因山水暴漲,易於冲塌梯田,破壞田身,且往往石堆沙壓,一時不易修復。甚有一變而成陡坎深溝,非人力所能整理者。所以苗人終歲勤勞,豐年僅免凍餒;一遇災荒,則不能自給。弱者鬻子女以換斗升之食,黠者則結伴四出搶刦,有司追捕過急,常常釀成大亂。故諺云:"苗疆五年一小亂,十年一大亂。"此並非苗人生性好亂,實因地狹人稠,爲生計所迫,

❶ 此項筒車的轉動全用水力,在湘、黔一帶山地水流湍急之區,此種利用天然水力之法很普遍,並非苗中所獨有。明宋應星天工開物云:"須敞障流,逆於車下,激給使轉,挽水入筒,一一傾於槽內,流入畝中。晝夜不息,百畝無憂(見卷上乃粒)"。苗中又有一種水磨(圖31),亦是利用天然水力。

圖67 鳳凰縣城全景

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

圖 [illegible]

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

圖30 永綏大龍洞附近的峭岩

圖 98 苗族婦女背負物品

圖版 13 苗人家住屋

故無面走險,自亦苗亂經一次痛擊,雖可相安於一時,然若干年後,亂又復起,此乃從前治苗者未明瞭苗亂的主因,在地而不在人,治本之策,須改善苗人的生計,同時設法移殖,減少人口的壓迫,如不從這點做去,則苗亂不能根本銷滅,終爲腹地大患。

苗人受土地的限制,因而要到處利用土地,致使苗疆之中,無寸土荒棄,稍平之地,闢爲水田,自山麓以至山腰,築爲梯田,略高山坡,闢爲畑田,不宜種穀的山地,則種植桐(圖 32)、茶(圖 33)、杉(圖 34)等樹,桐子、茶子可以榨油,杉樹可做木材(圖 35),獲利頗厚,爲苗人副產收入的大宗,故苗人很多精於種植桐、茶。

植桐首須擇地,不獨要土壤宜於桐樹,且須便於採摘、運輸,如山坡陡險,交通既不方便,而採摘桐子,尤易滾落山谷,地既擇定,即用刀耕火種之法,先將地上的雜樹茅草,一概砍除,經十數日或月餘的日曬風吹,砍斷的草木漸次乾枯,乃經火焚之,使成一片焦土,再經過雨天,地土濕透,即開始挖土工作,挖土時期春季多在二三月,冬季多在十冬月,挖土宜深,使土質稍鬆,則將來植桐,易長高大,結子堅實,而其生命亦可長久,桐樹的選種,以樹大多子,形同球狀者爲佳,自十月至二月爲下種時期,或先培植樹苗,經一年後再分株種植;或直接下種均可,種植的稀密,以每株相距七尺至八尺爲限,過密則不易繁茂,冬春兩季,雖均可種桐,然以冬季較宜,因新墾山地,在桐樹未長大之前,尚可兼種雜糧,如冬季種桐,春天桐苗已出地面,去草時不致傷損土中桐芽,二三年後,種桐之地,即不能再種雜糧,但仍須常常除去雜草,俾桐樹生長迅速,否則易於枯死,種桐四年之後,漸次結子,年多一年,六七年後,漸行結實,每年三月開開花,八九月過寒露後摘子,在收穫時期,苗人成羣結隊,入山採摘桐子,男子挑籮筐,苗婦背

鳳凰城全景 圖23

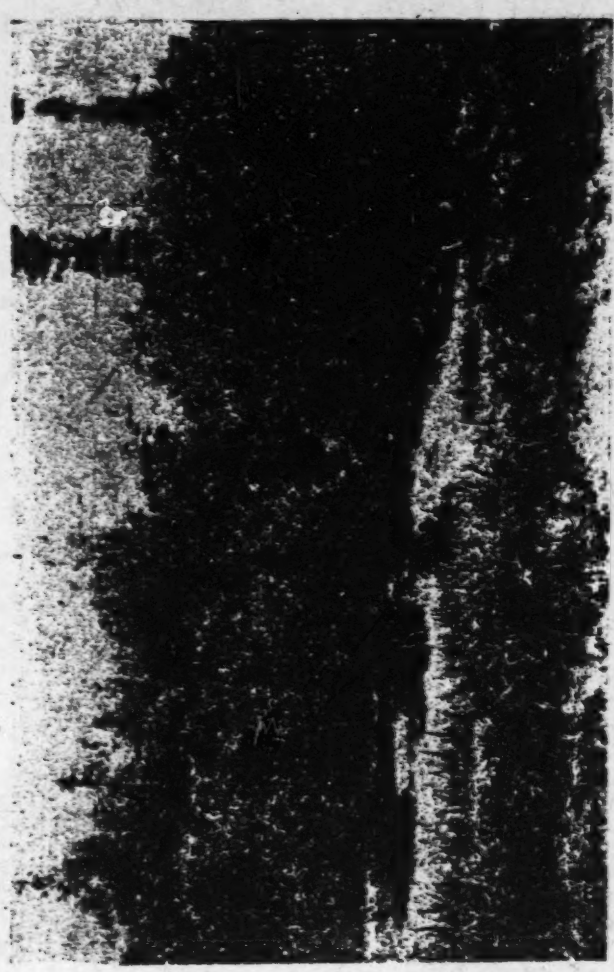


圖53 地中的米糧

圖34 苗中的村寨

負竹籠,樹高者用竹竿打桐子落地而後拾取;樹矮者用鐵鈎鈎取;盛於竹籠,擔負而歸,即將桐子放在簷下或潮濕之處,使桐子受濕經一二月後,桐子外皮已變成黑色,再行剝取桐子,發售榨油,其外皮燒成灰,可代鹼用。

種植茶樹較桐樹稍易,惟茶樹在幼苗的時期,樹旁須插松枝,遮住太陽;否則,樹苗容易曬死,或過了六七月再行耗草,使雜草遮蔽茶樹,亦可免致枯死。據苗人云,茶樹性耐寒,九十月開花,色白,冬月花謝,二三月後,結成茶泡,可以摘食,其味又酸又甜,苗婦常在市場出售,至七八月茶果成熟,摘下來日光中曬三四日,殼自裂開,吐出茶子二粒或四粒,茶子亦須多曬,使之乾燥,既可不生小蟲,榨油時出油又多。

桐子茶子均可榨油,苗人多售於漢人所設的油坊,自榨者甚少,惟榨茶油尚保有一種土法:將茶子曬乾放在臼中舂碎,再置於鍋中炒乾,和水煮沸,水沸上浮花泡,用篩瓢取出,盛於碗內,再以花泡煮之,使水分蒸發,則成茶油。桐茶之子,榨去油後,所餘渣滓,名叫桐枯、茶枯,桐枯可作肥料;茶枯可以洗衣去污,又可磨成粉末,撒在河中,使魚昏迷,易於捕取。

苗中有野靛到處叢生,苗人雖知培植土靛,同時亦採集野靛作染料,野靛高一公尺至二公尺,大者幹粗如人指,獨樹頂天,並無旁枝葉,小成橢圓形,中含靛青甚多。每年八九月間,天氣尚暖,霜雪未降,正當靛葉茂盛之時,苗人四出採集野靛,採到之後,砍成長約四十公分的小段,捆成臂粗的一小把,擔歸放入大缸內,浸以清潔的泉水,以淹沒爲合度,泡至三日後,滿缸清水,變成深綠色,將靛把取出,加入石灰漿,約靛水一擔,加石灰一碗,先以石灰和水,取石灰漿而去其渣滓,靛水中攪入石灰漿後,須用木

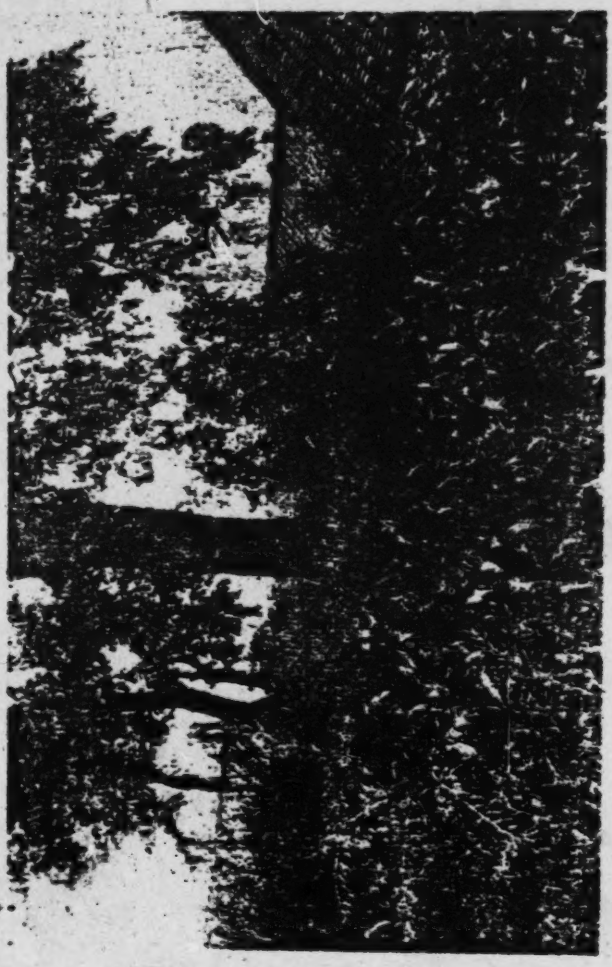
提拌攪使勻至沉澱後,卽成靛青。

野靛雖到處生長,然產量究竟不多,且苗人無論男女,多穿青布衣服,野生靛青當然供不應求,故多培植土靛(圖36)。二三月下種,九十月在霜降之前收穫。土靛產量較野靛爲多,苗人常挖一土坑深約二公尺,用以泡製靛青,其法與製野靛相同。

苗人於深谷低處亦栽甘蔗,種蔗須擇土質細勻而乾燥之田,田之四週及田中挖數水溝,以備雨天流水,種植時,先將蔗種砍成長約三四節的小段,三四小段種在一起,他日長大卽成一莖,每莖相距約在半公尺以上,下種時將蔗段放入土中,上端稍斜,再覆以土,經半月之後,卽發芽生長,再下輕淡肥料,長至半公尺高,又下肥料一次,共須四五次後,卽停止下肥工作,每次下肥,都要去草鋤土,至九月或十月,在霜降後四五日,卽可收穫。甘蔗收穫以後,以五十根打成一捆,藏在深約一公尺的土窖內,先將窖底墊以蔗葉,堆入甘蔗,分成行列,甘蔗上面,亦覆以蔗葉,再蓋上土,插入氣筒數個,使流通空氣,不致悶壞。每逢市集,挑出發售。

苗疆亦產草煙,十、冬月起苗人開始培植草煙秧苗,秧田之上搭一斜頂茅蓬,以避霜雪凍壞煙種,待發芽生長後,須澆水施肥,灰、糞、桐枯均可。至明春三四月分秧種植,種草煙之田,要及早耕鋤,據苗人云,早鋤蟲患可少,蟲名土茶兒,專食煙根,種煙亦分成行列,栽秧之前,用手將土揉成粉末,將煙根埋入,兩手緊壓細土,栽好後,如地土乾燥,須澆水潤濕根株,經三五天後,方可施輕淡肥料,草煙最怕蟲患,土茶兒食根,青蟲食葉,故種煙要勤於捉蟲,每日清晨,就要去捉,遲則土茶兒已鑽入土中,不容易捉到,煙草不可使之長得過高,所以常要摘去其頭,叫做煙頭,能使多生葉子,並且飽滿充實,採取煙葉,須一葉一葉的割下,採取以後,堆

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5



雄十字寨 第58圖

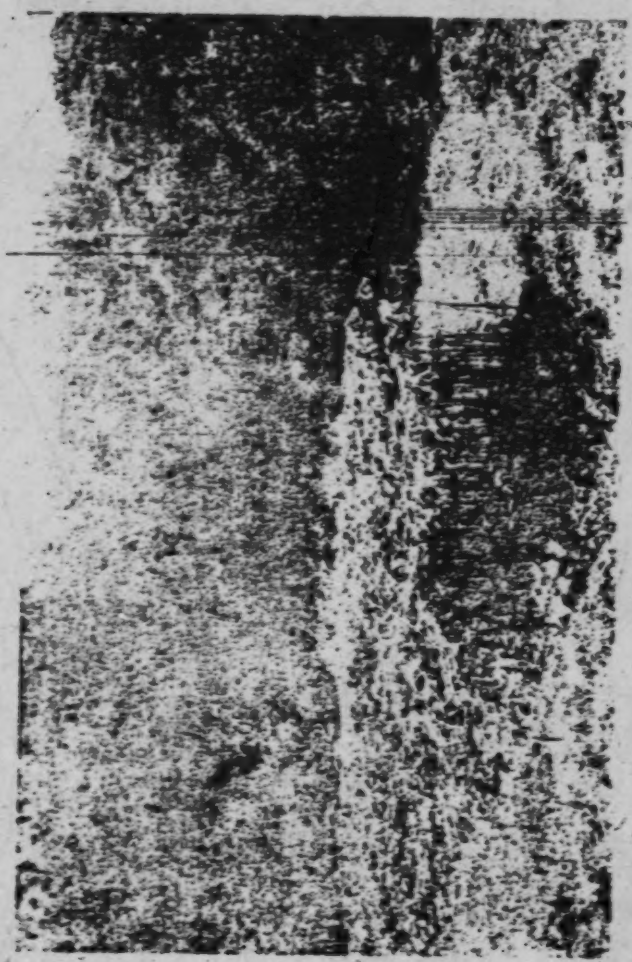
2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

放一二夜,再上草索掛曬架上,日曬夜收,如要煙色好看,則晴天夜間,可不收回來,使受收露水,即變成很好看的黃色。

苗區所產杉木有紅杉,質堅而有光澤,置土中歷久不腐,其佳者質如牛角,色鮮紅,以製器物,美觀耐用。又出灰杉(圖35),可爲棟樑木材,其他如桑麻(圖37)、棉等,亦多有出產,均爲主要的經濟植物。

漁畜——苗人喜食酸魚,所以對於養魚捕魚,方法頗多。養魚之法於山谷中清水爲塘,與漢人的魚秧畜之,多飼鯉二種,又於水田中,用竹籬圍住田水出口(圖38),使魚不得流出,田中多畜草魚。捕魚之法有網、釣及毒撈等法。網魚白天在溪河中到處隨便網打,晚上則在塘上激流處灘上源頭及淺潭等處下網。又用雞蛋拌飯,炒以菜油,撒在靜水的淺灘與淺潭等處,魚聞香味即來集其處,白天在該處插標記,晚間前往下網,得魚必較他處爲多。釣魚用小竹爲釣竿,馬尾搓成線爲釣索,釣鈎浮標與漢人所用的相同,亦用蚯蚓、蜈蚣、蚱蜢等蟲作餌。如在冬季,魚多在水底潛伏,即在釣鈎上每隔尺許繫一小鉛塊,使釣鈎下沉水底,叫做釣潭魚。在春季天氣漸熱,魚性活潑,多在水面上游泳,即在釣索半腰繫一草桿或輕柴枝,浮在水面,使鈎不下墜,魚易上鈎。毒撈之法先斷上下溪水,再下藥於水中,使魚昏迷,然後撈取。所用毒魚的藥料有茶枯、石灰、洋蓖種子、柳木葉及迎燎花五種。茶枯、石灰、洋蓖種子均須研成細末,散佈水中;柳木葉與迎燎花草則用斧剁碎,放在臼內搗爛,加入水中,用手摩擦使成漿汁,在近岩孔或岩坎處入,魚聞藥味即昏迷而上浮水面,捕捉甚易。此外尚有一種捉火塘魚的方法,在淺潭或淺灘處擇一相當地點,取去大石塊,挖一深潭,名曰塘口,寬約一公尺半,四週圍以竹籬,留一

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5



圖二 苗中宿營

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

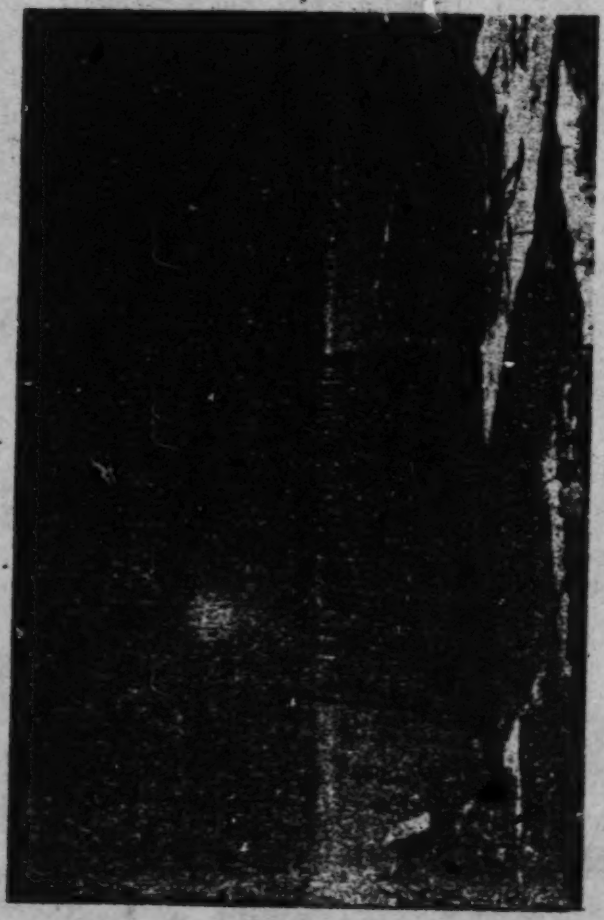


圖 [illegible]

入口內以岩板砌一魚室,魚喜躲藏在內,到晚上捕魚人燃火炬前往,魚見火光驚竄,觸四週竹籠,無一魚能逃脫.

苗人的畜牧,牛、馬、豬、羊、貓、犬、雞、鴨均有,而以牛、豬爲最重要.牛不盡耕作,常屠宰出售,以供食用.豬供食用,並利用其糞以作肥料.馬、羊、鴨較少,貓、犬、雞則每家多有.

苗地產桑,苗婦亦知飼蠶,從前不知育種,常於春間俟漢人育蠶及初眠給伴負籠以土物易蠶,飼養上族繅繭抽絲,織成土紬土絹,染色製成衣裙等物.近亦知自行育種飼養.

苗人養蜂的頗多,以竹編成簍籠,外塗以土,前開三眼(如圖39),便蜂出入,上蓋以蓆簷帽.所產蜂蜜多出售.黃蠟苗人用以敬神,焚之以代香燭.

工藝—— 苗人最普通的手工業爲編織竹器,用簍籠製壺、位、背籠、魚簍、簍殼、兜笠等物.兜笠與背籠製作最爲精緻.兜笠男女均用以戴在包頭之上以代傘.背籠有兩背環,用時穿在兩肩,籠負背上,內裝各物.婦女下田,常置小孩於其中,可照常工作.編織物中,除以竹器爲原料外,又有燈心草,可織成床蓆.苗人的編織物除供給自用外,多有出售.苗婦所織之布,織法與花樣多與漢人相同,亦有出售.苗人百分之九十九均業農,專門做工匠者甚少.今雖有學作銀匠、鐵匠、銅匠或木匠者,但平時仍多從事於農作,工匠不過是副業而已.

貿易—— 苗人不知經商,從前漢人攜鹽布入苗寨易其土貨,常有奸商,欺騙苗人,時起糾紛.後官府禁止漢人入苗寨貿易,乃指定地點,興立市場,每五日趕場一次,一月六次.苗中著名的市場有凰凰的得勝營、筸子坪、鴨保寨、鴉拉營、新寨(圖40);乾城的大新寨;永綏的茶城、隆頭、麻栗坳等處.主要的商品爲鹽、布、牲

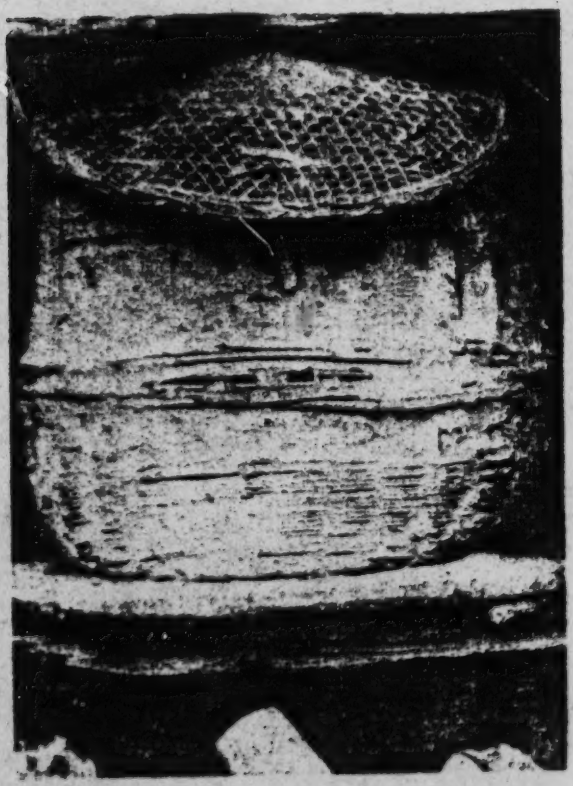


圖30　蜂巢

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

圖40 凰凰新寨的市集

畜、穀類等物,從前漢苗交易,以四小碗爲一升布以兩手一度爲四尺牛馬以拳數多寡定價值,不論老少,其法將竹篾箍牛前肋,定其寬側,然後以拳量竹篾,水牛至十六拳爲大,黃牛至十三拳爲大,名叫拳牛買馬則論老少,以木棍比至放鞍處,從地數起,高至十三拳者爲大,雖少拳多價差昂,反是者爲劣,名叫比馬。● 近日買賣米布各物,多習用漢人的度量衡,惟拳牛比馬,有時尚用其法

飲食——苗人日常兩餐,春夏三餐,主要食料有包穀,高粱、大米、紅薯、豇豆等包穀的食法有二:和水磨成濕粉,貼在鍋邊,烘成粑粑,或磨成乾粉和米煮而食之,高粱有粘糯二種:粘高粱用以拌大米煮食,或做粑粑,亦用以釀酒:糯高粱產出不多,多用以釀酒,大米亦有粘糯兩種,苗地水田少,故所產不多,有亦多出售於漢人,自食的較少,紅薯蒸食,或切成細絲和米煮食,豇豆多和

● 論防都發生入風俗考上。

米蒸食。

蔬菜有青菜白菜蘿蔔等,野菜有蕨菜,糯米菜,野芹菜,野蕨等,肉類有牛肉,豬肉,亦食雞,魚。苗人的食物最使人注意的是喜食各種酸菜,就調查所知,有魚酸,牛肉酸,豬肉酸,酸辣子,蒜苗酸,胡蔥酸,蘿蔔酸,青菜酸,芋頭酸,白菜酸,豆荚酸,茄子酸,蕨菜酸等等,茲略述其製法如下:

魚酸有生熟兩種製法:熟魚酸先將魚剖洗乾淨,下鍋烘乾,至魚鱗漸起黃色爲止,再加少許食鹽,在日光中曬幾天,再拌以小米若干,然後裝入罐內,在罐口魚上鋪一層桐葉,上面再以桐葉塞緊,將罐覆在地上,或倒置在一水盆內,盆水隨時加添,不使通空氣,經一月後,即可取出煎食。生魚酸製法稍異,將魚剖洗乾淨後,即醃以適量的食鹽,再拌以香料,裝入罐內,須經過四月,取出生食,亦可煎食。

牛肉酸與豬肉酸的製法相同,肉用清水洗乾淨,切成細顆或細塊,放在鍋內炒得半生半熟,加少許食鹽,盛在碗內使冷,拌以黏米與糯米粉,裝盛罐內,經十餘日,取出炒食,或和水煮食。

辣酸子有青辣子酸,紅辣子酸,黏辣子酸,糯辣子酸四種,將青辣子洗淨,放入鍋中稍煮,但不得煮熟,熟則易爛,取出放在日光中曬乾,剪去辣柄,放入罐內,蓋以桐葉,再用稻草塞緊,倒置小盆內,經月餘即可食。紅辣子酸製法稍異,不煮不曬,僅剪去辣柄,裝罐法同前,經月餘後,取出炒食。據苗人說此種酸辣味最美。黏辣子酸與糯辣子酸的製法相同,不論紅青辣子,洗淨切細,放入碓中冲細,每辣子四斤,須加入包穀粉一升,待冲勻後,即裝罐內。其餘方法與前同,經一兩月,即可取出炒食。黏辣子炒熟,便成粉末,糯辣子炒後,結成小塊,形式不同,口味亦異。

蒜苗酸與胡蔥酸製法相同,將蒜苗與胡蔥洗淨曬乾,再洗一次,待晾乾後,用刀切細,即可裝入罐內,或加拌包麥粉,餘法照前,經月餘可食。

蘿蔔酸又有乾蘿蔔絲、乾蘿蔔塊、水蘿蔔絲、水蘿蔔塊四種。乾的製法,以蘿蔔切絲,或用碓冲成細顆,在太陽裏曬之稍乾,即裝入罐中。水蘿蔔絲與水蘿蔔塊與乾的製法完全不同。以蘿蔔切成絲或塊,裝入罐中,並加入少許已成的酸菜爲酸母,再灌入煮飯的沸米湯,置罐於火塘或灶旁,使得熱氣,用紙封罐口,蓋上石板或木板,一二日即成。

水青菜酸、水芋頭酸、水白菜酸的製法與水蘿蔔酸的製法相同。

豆荚酸以豆荚稍煮至不生不熟時,撈出曬乾,晾過一夜,使熱氣散盡,即可裝罐。

茄子酸用茄子切成細絲曬乾再晾一夜即可食。

蕨菜爲野生植物,採集回來,洗淨,煮至半熟,撈出曬乾,晾過一夜,裝罐,罐裏放,海草,將罐倒置在水盆內,如製熟魚酸。

苗人的喜食酸味,當非生性好酸辣,或因苗疆處於腹地,距海太遠,附近又無鹽井,得鹽頗不易,所以苗人不知鹹味,至今苗語中鹹苦二味不分。苗人在無鹽時代,只有多食酸辣以促進食慾,累世相傳,至今歷已有年,但仍保存好食酸辣的特性。

從前苗人食不用箸,飯熟則傾於盆中,家人環集,以手抓而食之。菜則置竹筒或缶中,得畜肉置火上,燎其毛,烹半熟即食之。亦食蛇蟲,蛇燒食,蚯蚓酸酸,螞蚱、蜂、蝸或燒或炒,他們有將粥雜魚肉蛆蟲而食,以爲珍美,名叫醡。富有之家,往往酷醡數世。❶又

❶ 明沙成美敬紀聞云:"南蠻以香灰和糯粥,醡爲臭物,魚肉雜物投之,曰醡,久則香美,以爲珍品。富貴者,則曰窖藏,埋地數尺,"按此與苗醡大致相同。

乳豬重十餘斤的即宰而食之,鮮嫩遠肥美,乾之爲臘,尤爲適口。殺牛者以牛骨浸之溫泉中,歷久乃酥,取出食之以爲美。惟以上所述,皆爲苗中富習,今與漢人同化已久,或已革去。作者考察苗區時,未聞有此食法,或苗人自知陋俗,諱而不言,亦未可知。

苗人渴則飲溪水,客至則煮薑湯,或胡椒湯以示敬,今亦知用茶代之。酒有包穀酒、麥子酒、米酒三種,自製自飲。

服飾——今日湘苗的衣式,無論男女,多大同小異,可說完全漢化。男子以黑布裹頭,青布或黑布短衣袴,黑布帶束腰,跣足(圖41)。在前清時惟蓄長髮,餘皆椎髻,今則剪平頭或剃光頭如漢人。所不同者,惟用指甲或鉗子,除去髭鬚。今散佈於黔、滇、桂、楚的苗族,尚多保存他們固有的服式。作者於1934年,在雲南紫自松林哨調查苗族時,見苗婦多着其固有服裝,男衣多從漢式。然與一七十餘歲的老苗人,在談話中知其藏有男衣兩件,被視爲珍寶,不肯輕易示人;欲購作標本,無論出任何重價,都不肯出售,祇得攝取照片兩幅。如圖43與44爲一對胸長袍,而無前擺,兩袖管,胸前及後擺多繡花,製成一衣,費工甚多。

湘西苗婦衣服,與清末內地農家婦女服式相同。上衣長不過膝,圓邊襯衬,袴管袖管,雖家常衣服,亦多襯以花邊(圖42)。其製法及配色與漢人略異。如圖45,46爲苗婦所穿家常衣服,多以圓邊襯大衬,距圓邊約一公分,再加上狹邊一條,闊約二公分。兩邊之間,又嵌綠色布或綠線一條。衣袖亦襯邊一道或兩三道,惟多無領。

至於新娘的嫁時衣,或過時節或在喜慶時所着盛裝衣服(圖48至51),大衬及前後擺多繡花卉人物,工夫甚鉅。苗女終身大都祇做一件,在未嫁數年前即做起,做成爲嫁時衣,嫁後偶逢

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

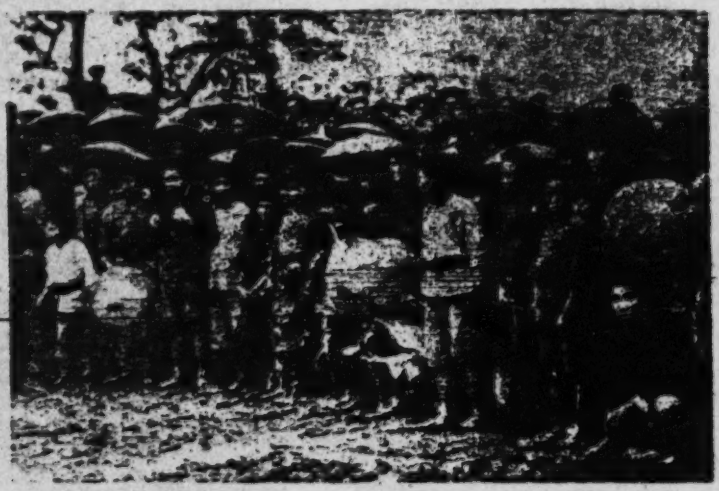


圖41 乾城大新寨苗婦所見苗人男子服飾

圖42 凡凡新寨苗婦所見苗婦服飾

圖43 雲南東南部苗人長袍(甲)正面

圖44 湘西軍白松林哨苗人長袍(乙)背面

圖46 鳳凰縣吉首鎮婦女常服(乙)

圖45 鳳凰縣吳營苗婦女常服(甲)

圖47 乾城大新寨苗人婦女服飾

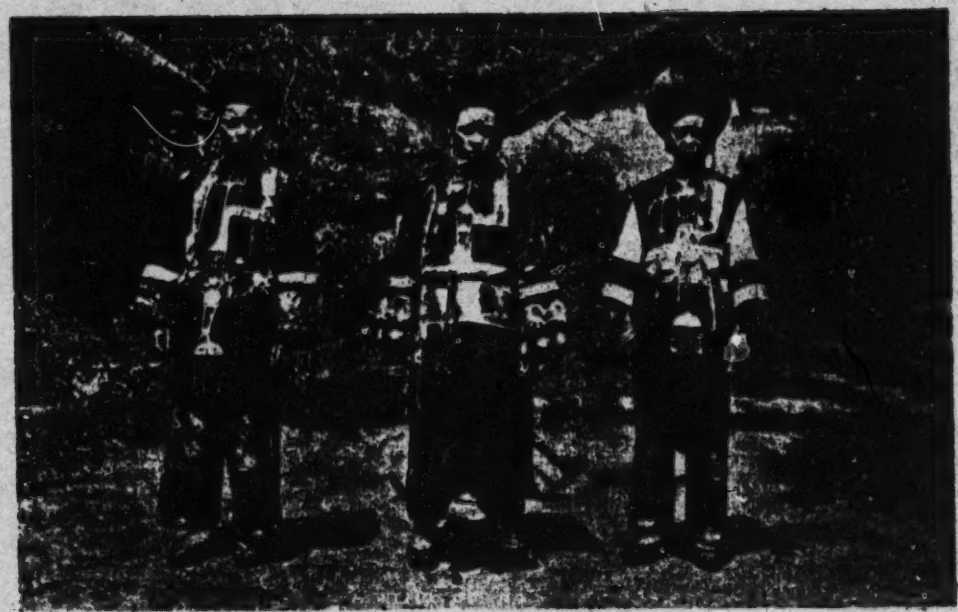


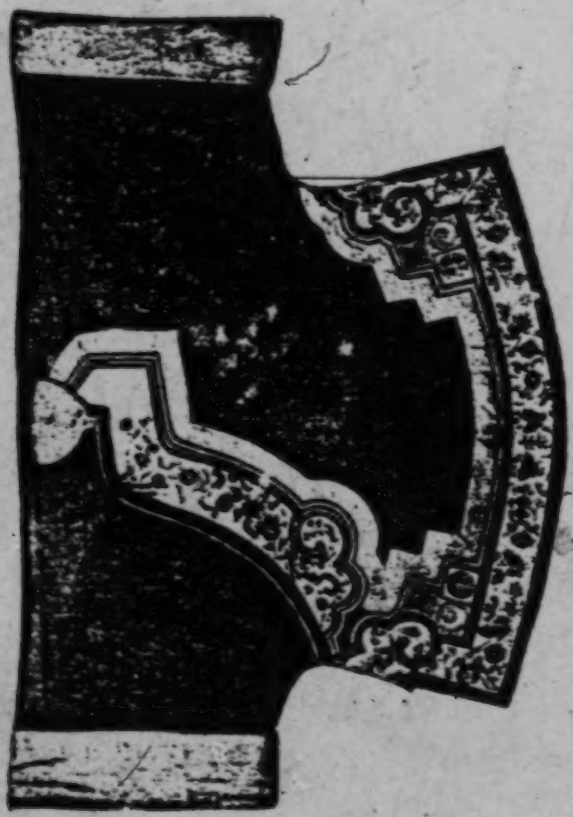
圖48 永綏高坪河所見苗女盛妝服飾(未插項圈故未顯上)

圖四 乾隆皇帝御筆天高地厚匾(甲)

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

圖 苗族刺繡(2)

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5



圖四 苗族圖騰之一(鳳)

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

圖版 光緒重修百心

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

時節喜慶穿着一次,死後尚須用作殮衣,苗女亦着青心(如圖52)。

作者在雲南所調查的苗人,無論其爲白苗、青苗、花苗,婦女多着裙而不穿袴子,湘苗婦女則完全穿袴而不着裙子,與當年老苗婦,則說從前多着裙子,我們在湘西調查時,曾多方搜集,購得苗裙一條,以紅格麻布與黑條麻布相間縫成,每幅麻布上繡紅線花,此與盛裝時所着之裙,滇中之苗婦,多數着麻布裙,如圖53,54,其裙全用白麻布製成,分爲兩節,上節爲單幅,下節爲雙幅,如赴市集,或赴親友家慶弔,則於裙外,再圍以圍腰一幅,可見苗裙的作用同袴,今日湘苗婦女着盛裝時,在袴外亦再圍圍腰一幅,(如圖48),而不着裙此與滇人不同

圖53 雲南黑白倉傅苗女服飾(甲)正面

圖44 雲南東南會得苗女服飾(乙)背面

苗婦包頭的分三種形式:(一)盤式(圖44),以布盤繞頭上,為最普通的形式;(二)圍式(圖45),包頭環繞成圓形;(三)披式(圖46),以布盤繞後餘布尺許披在頭上.包頭布有花格布、青花布、青布、黑布各種不同的材料.年輕婦女,多用花格布、青花布;年老婦人多用青黑二種布.婦女的髮式,已嫁與未嫁時不同.已嫁者椎結後扁,未嫁者額髮中分,結辮垂後(圖47中左第二人).

苗婦的飾物有項圈、耳環、手鐲、戒指、佩索、佩牌等(圖48).項圈有銀絲圈與併圈之別,前者平時多戴在項上(看圖47居中兩少婦).併圈則合大小三環圈成.亦有多至五環者,與今日黔苗所用者相同.其餘飾物,多與漢族婦女所用者大同小異.

圖85 永綏乾城等處紅苗二百年前男子服飾

(據金時英寫繪)

圖50 永綏花園寨苗族百二百年前婦女服飾

(如生清明頁圖卷三)

苗人衣服的原料有麻布、棉布、土紬、土絹。他們雖能自種自織，然近自洋布侵入，麻布逐漸淘汰不用，土布雖較洋布經用，但產量不多，成本亦不輕，市場漸爲洋布所奪。此在中國內地多同一情形，不獨苗疆如此。

湘苗今日的服飾與黔苗、滇苗已完全不同。即道光鳳凰廳志所記湘苗的服飾，與現在亦大不相同。廳志卷十一服飾條："苗人前惟妻長髮，餘皆裹頭椎髻，去髮髻如婦人。短衣跣足，以紅布搭包繫腰，著青臺布衫，衣邊有脚，間有刺繡綵花。富者以綢巾約髮，貫以銀簪四五枝，長如七，上扁下圓，兩耳貫銀環如瓜大，項圍銀圈，手帶銀鈕，股纏青布，行跳躍如獸蹠，能履根枿，疾如發狂，登險阻，越等莽，駛及奔馬，兩著貼體，其婦女銀簪、項圈、手鈕，行跳皆如男子，惟兩耳皆貫銀環三四圈不等，衣服較男子略長。斜領直下，用錫片紅絨或繡花爲飾，富者頭戴大銀梳，以銀索密繞其背，裹以青繡帕，腰不繫帶，不著裏衣，以鎏布爲裙，而青紅間造，亦有釘錫鈴繡絨花者，兩三幅不等，與男子異。未嫁者，額髮中分，結辮垂後，以海貝錫鈴藥珠爲飾。冬夏俱單衣，雖嚴寒止兩三層，行風雪中則僵仆。"所記與皇清職貢圖所繪永綏、乾州等處紅苗男婦圖大致相同(圖 55, 56)。

五 家庭及婚喪習俗

(一)家庭

苗族最基本的社會組織是家庭,而且他們的家庭組織是小家庭制,就是夫婦和未成年的子女組織而成.這種小家庭制是苗族原來的制度.苗防備覽村寨考云:"按苗民父子兄弟無共處一室者,子長分爨,架數椽爲屋,即另一戶矣."因爲是小家庭制,所以他們的居屋,普通爲兩間或三間,屋內祇有一牀,夫婦子女共臥其上,女長成再另設一榻.苗人普通一夫一妻制,間或有娶妾者,妻妾或同居,或另屋居妾.家庭經濟,耕種男女並作,家事多由苗婦任之.以田地房屋牲畜傢具爲財產.子女長大,男至十七八歲即爲娶婦,分與財產若干,爲之蓋屋另立門戶.女至十五六歲出嫁,故苗中小家庭制常得保持,不致擴大.

苗人因嚴行小家庭制,故氏族組織不能發達.純苗有吳、龍、廖、石、麻五姓,其楊、施、彭、張、洪諸姓,乃外姓入贅於苗而習其俗者.石、龍二姓,又有大石、小石與大龍、小龍之分.小石又作時,小龍又作隆.他們雖有姓氏而無嚴密的氏族組織,故從前並無同姓不婚之俗.惟親族,亦不相配.近受漢人的影響,亦知同姓不婚.小石改爲時,小龍改爲隆,以別於大石、大龍,而便通婚.今日苗人家庭生活,逐漸同化於漢人,即婚喪儀式亦多倣漢俗,僅保留若干苗俗的遺留而已.

(二)婚姻

苗中青年男女婚前的兩性生活頗爲自由,處女與人通者,父母知而不禁,反以爲人愛其女之美.有時女引其情郎至家,父母常爲殺雞款待.甚有設置公共房屋,專爲青年男女聚會之用者.如第二章引永綏廳志所記八寨苗,於近寨置空舍,男女未婚者羣聚唱歌其中,情洽卽以牛行聘.又清江黑苗未婚男子曰'[illegible]漢',春日攜酒食至山上,互相歌舞,相悅者飲以牛角.苗中有踢年跳月,圍秋之俗.青年男女,結隊對歌,通宵達旦.歌畢雜坐,獻伎調浪.甚至乘夜相悅,而爲桑間濮上之行,名叫'放野'

未婚男女戀愛雖能自由,然結婚須徵求父母同意,並須得到女子母舅的許允.貴州清江黑苗婚姻習俗,以姑之女定爲舅媳,倘舅無子,必重獻銀錢於舅,無則終身不得嫁.苗人除近族的兄妹姊弟不相配外,無同姓不婚之說,而姨表兄妹反不得婚配.此乃母系社會的遺留.因在母系社會中,姨表兄妹爲同姓,姑表或堂兄妹反爲異姓,姨表兄妹不能結婚,爲苗族由母系進而至父系社會的一個例證.而母舅在祭典與社會上地位的重要,亦一旁證.

苗人從前婚俗與今略異.永綏廳志云:"苗人嫁娶亦猶買物,不識問名納采之禮.惟講牛馬數目,達牙郎傳說.牙郎者,卽苗中媒人也.必用牛馬五六隻姑易一妻.說成,擇危日迎娶,新婚衣月白衣,撐傘步行,半擡半挽,名曰遮羞傘.父母兄弟戚屬相隨送至夫家.陪嫁之物,自牛羊以及犂耙等無不備具.不由大門,穴壁以入,登火床,男女雜坐.新婦日不許左右顧,顧則夫不喜,以爲婦有異心也.各食飯一盂,魚肉一片,糖酒一瓶.次赴同寨伯叔家,各如數飲食之.返室卽成夫婦,但不同宿耳."又云:"苗人無同姓不婚之俗.然遠親族亦不相配.完婚日,新婦與夫同宿,必堵住婦母

餘始去,名曰娘錢,亦曰乳錢,大約不過兩三兩.富厚之家見他苗有女美者,介其子幸女青,名曰搶親,女家亦利其有,不更許人,亦通媒約,厚財禮,其處女與人通者,父母知而不禁,反以爲人愛其美,若犯其妻妾,則舉刀相向,必得錢折贖而後已.夫婦不相得,則夫棄妻而別娶,妻棄夫而別適.至上下奸淫,當亦僅見,近漸知重倫紀矣."(苗防備覽所記與此相同.)

今日苗中婚俗,沾濡漢化,已改舊俗.男女相悅,歸告父母,先由男家央媒向女家說親,一次不成再說二次,有的要說至三四次方能說合.如女家已有允意,媒人即告知男家,預備酒兩瓶(如富有之家,酒以外再加肉二斤,酒二斤),由媒人送去,女家乃留媒人飲酒吃飯.經過此手續即算初定,苗語叫做 [tiaŋ˧ tɛ˨ mp'a˧˥],即"放女兒"之意,亦譯稱"放口".

初定之後,經過若干時日,就要插香過禮,苗語叫做 [soŋ˥ ʂ'iɛ˨],即納采之意.日期由男家擇定通知女家,所備禮物,普通爲錢五六十吊,衣服一身,耳環一副,手鐲一副,米粑數盒,糖點二斤,爆竹二封,油一斤,鹽一斤,酒一罈,肉數斤,以上各種禮物的數量,須視男家的貧富而定多寡,貧者或可減去種數,惟錢、衣、環、鐲、爆竹、酒、肉、香燭爲不可少的禮物.由男家親房兄弟抬去,媒人、新郎及新郎之父一同前往,新郎或可不去.禮物至女家門前,放爆竹,由女家宗族兄弟在門外招待歡迎.入門後稍息,即向女家祖先牌位插香,新郎三叩首,如新郎未去,即由新郎之父代叩.新郎如去,並須向其岳父母及尊親一一叩首.如女家富有,則殺豬款待男家來客,客人在女家共住三天.女家親房本家,須輪流留客,名爲排門飯.其中最親房須留早飯,因苗鄉中早飯最重.例如有甲、乙、丙、丁、戊、己六人,甲丙二人爲親房,主日晚飯由主人自請,

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

二天早飯由甲請客,午飯由戊,晚飯由乙;第三天早飯爲丙招待,午飯爲己,晚飯爲丁;第四天散客,早飯仍由女家主人招待,照例每日三餐,如兄弟過多,每天有吃至五六次者,早飯後客人回去;女家回禮,送女壻衣服鞋帽一套,所有來客各送布袴料一件,新郎父母各送鞋一雙,送媒人猪腿一隻。

至迎娶的前數月或半年前,先請媒人至女家取新娘的年庚,須帶去錢二吊或四吊並備點礬子,名爲討紅庚,取回之後,和新郎時辰合選吉期,再由媒人通知女方,女家即預備妝奩,最普通的有衣箱一隻或兩隻,衣四五件做成一套,袴兩條,新郎衣服一套;至於耳環、戒指、手鐲、項圈、排圈等首飾,先期由男家送去,或送銀子去由女家打製,至期男家請人攜帶酒、肉、爆竹、香燭、火把等物,近亦有用轎或椅擡至女家門前,近亦仿漢俗,關門要開門錢八百或一吊,並故意大罵媒人,說男家送來酒肉太少,新娘即梳妝,同時請苗巫祭祖用方桌一張,上擺祭品香燭,巫師念咒,叩頭十筊,斬邪魔,點火把兩根,撐傘一把,乃請新娘出來,向祖先神位三叩頭,拜別父母一叩頭,向族中來兄弟一叩頭,又拜外祖父母一叩頭,即轉身向外上轎(富家)或步行(中人之家),打傘半撐半挽,女家的族中兄、弟、姊、妹、姨母、舅母及新娘的母親都陪同前去送親,新娘到男家時,如時辰未到,新娘在旁屋或他家暫息,其時門前擺桌子一張,上供香燭,熟肉一塊,酒三杯,先由客巫祝告云:"日吉時良,天地開張,新人到此,大吉大昌,桃之夭夭正相當,子之于歸配鳳凰,宜其家人且下轎,輕移細步入靈堂,娘家車馬轉回去,婆家車馬出來迎,從此回來車馬後,天長地久,地久天長,"至此,手拿雞一隻,又念:"此雞不是非凡雞,王母娘娘報晚雞,頭戴雄冠雲口噪,身穿五色彩雲衣,陽人得你無用處,弟子得

來解煞,天煞地煞,年煞月煞,日煞時煞,十二凶神惡煞,天煞歸天去,地煞入幽冥,凶神退位,吉星降臨。念畢,用口咬破雞冠,滴血在地下,回至屋中,再陳設方桌如前,又念:"天靈靈,地靈靈,奉請合合仙師下凡塵,相請下來無別事,弟子請你來做合婚人,奉請天合仙師,地合仙人,年合仙師,月合仙人,日合仙師,時合仙人,十二合合仙師,十二合合仙人,東王公,西王母,牛郎織女,月老仙人"至此取酒一杯,肉一塊,靈符一套,焚化送與新郎吃一半,餘下供新娘進屋後給她吃了,名爲合合酒,合合肉。巫師做法事完畢,乃放爆竹,引新娘由小門入屋,至火塘旁坐下,塘中燒起大火,椅子地位須離火塘稍遠,恐怕火大太熱,椅子不能後退,只能前移;退後認爲不吉,前移則吉。坐的方向須面朝裏或向供祖先神位處。坐定後先洗臉,臉水用銅草,八輪草,黃毛草三種在鍋中煮過,取出盛在盆中靈符念咒,新娘洗臉時,巫師在她的後面用箒掃幾下,洗畢即吃新郎剩下來的酒肉。新娘由送親前去的儐相陪坐,女家兄弟則代爲鋪設新房,男家送彼一吊或二吊,肉一塊,酒兩杯,先以酒杯向地下灑去一半,餘下的喝了,再把肉吃完,諸事完畢,即開宴筵,菜有牛肉,豬肉,粉絲,油炸豆腐,青菜等。飯後開始唱歌,客人男女各聚成一圍,主人家的男女亦各分成一圍,先由男家主人唱起(唱迎親歌,參看歌謠章第3首),如對方不接唱,則用種種言語激他們,唱詞大都先對答許多客氣話,此外則唱故事,打謎字,打謎,說頌等等。唱歌分勝敗:如甲的唱詞,說乙客氣,乙不能對答,說自己不客氣,就算乙輸;如乙唱自己不懂謎語,甲不能答唱乙的懂謎,乙就贏了,又甲唱古人名而乙不知,甲打謎語而乙猜不到,多算輸,輸的人則不能再唱,如一圍人均不能回答對方的歌詞,則算全體敗唱。唱歌能手,有唱至通宵不分勝

負的,至半夜略食米粑爲點心,唱歌以女子爲轉移,卽由女子出題,男子回答,通常男子易敗,因女子要到出不出題來,才算敗唱。唱歌有連唱三夜的,普通祇唱一二夜(參看歌謠章第4至18十首送親歌及第14至18五首陪唱歌)。客人住住三天,亦如插香時由親房或近族兄弟輪流請排門飯,到了三朝吃過早飯之後,在正屋間排大桌一張,請男女兩家能說話的年老男婦,圍桌而坐,先將女家送來的東西,依次報數目,先報岳家送女壻衣服鞋帽全套,來客各送新郎袴料一件,以及女家送男家尊長之物,一一報明再報男家回女家的錢物,如女家陪錢八十吊,則男家回五十吊,富有之家,此錢多留給新娘,不帶回去,送袴的客人,各回錢一吊或兩吊,陪新娘的女儐相亦送錢一二吊,又送女家猪腿一隻,謝媒人猪頭一個,報送財禮的時候,圍桌而坐的男女,有的說有的唱,男女互答(參看歌謠章第19,20,21,22四首三朝散客歌)。在此三天之中,新夫婦不能同房,至女家送親人回去的時候,新娘隨之一同回家,住一宿或三宿再回婆家,始與新郎同房共宿。

苗人離婚甚易,凡面貌不揚,貧富懸殊,性情不合,行爲不端,有一就可爲離婚的理由,男女雙方都可以提出,離婚後的子女,普通歸男方撫養,如有未斷乳的幼孩,則由女方養大後送還男家,又如男家貧無立錐之地,則子女多歸女方撫養,離婚後,男婚女嫁,各聽自由。

寡婦有性交的自由,對於亡夫的孝服,無一定的限期,隨時可改嫁,但須徵得丈夫兄弟的同意,如夫的兄或弟欲取寡嫂,則不得外嫁,否則,卽回娘家再嫁,嫁時亦請巫師做法事,無媒人,亦無規定的時間,出嫁時所打的遮蓋傘,須撐滿,到夫家由大門而

入寡婦並得一嫁再嫁,且可坐產招夫。

(三)生產

苗人的生活雖很艱難,然無論貧富,求子之心甚切。中年無子,則必求神許願,以期早生貴子。苗婦有孕,仍照常工作。臨產時,用一篩子放在地上,上鋪棉花,再墊一層破衣待。產婦的姿勢,兩腿分開而立,身子稍蹲下,兩手拉牀沿或撐住長板凳。如在山坡工作,不及回家時,即擇一樹蔭下,易得拉手之處,亦可生產。產兒落地不哭,則在產兒口中挖出血塊,亦有預先備貓一隻放在旁邊,打貓使叫,以驚醒嬰兒者。如遇難產,則請寨中有經驗的老婦幫忙,用手拿出。如嬰孩死在胎內,則用鉤鉤出,亦有請巫師念咒畫符催胎者。嬰兒產下之後,臍帶用剪刀剪斷盤好,胎衣埋在屋外或家中地下

苗婦產後,即飲冷水數碗,以爲可以淨血。不出三日即下田操作。並有上午生產,下午即出外工作者。據云,苗婦服一種秘方藥草,故能如此。產婦所食補品,貧者僅食雞蛋,富有者始食雞。

近日苗中生兒三日,亦仿漢俗做三朝,請親友吃酒,取名字。取名之法,或依生時,如生在幾月,即以月名,如乾隆苗亂時的苗王名叫吳八月;亦有生在某季,即以季名的。或依嬰兒體重,如生下幾斤,即名爲幾斤。又有以猪、羊、犬、牛命名的,他們以爲易於養大。

嬰孩喂乳時間無一定,大抵聞啼聲即喂。如產母無乳,即喂糖和飯。小孩至出牙的時候,如乳牙先自上顎生出,即視爲不吉利,以爲在嬰兒的父母或祖父母中要死一人。因苗人迷信,上顎先出之牙爲挖坟墓的鋤頭。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

處女與人私通有孕,常吃水銀打胎,有私生子則常溺斃,至正式夫婦,則很少打胎溺嬰之習。

(四)喪葬

今日苗人的喪禮,亦如婚俗,漢化之處甚多,從前的喪俗,亦多與今俗不同,湖南通志卷四十:"苗俗隨喪亦知哭泣,但無衣衾棺槨之殮,無哀麻絰帶之服,人死以玟卜之,隨其所卜之地,掘窟三四尺,鑲以木板,寘屍其中,以土封之,後三日割牲覆墓,邀親戚食飲,次年二月以牲楮祭奠,子陳設在左,女陳設在右,各以其類如是者三年,從此不復過問,無歲時伏臘拜掃祭奠之禮,初喪親友,各以土物弔其家,主人則椎牛設飲,謂之送哭。"龍山縣志卷十一:"苗人死度木板於床,舁屍其上,男女環哭,族戚以雜糧往弔,皆助哭極哀。……壘石築土成墳,惟當首不壘石,恐壓之也,三日刲牲祭墓,族戚併往,醉飽而歸,明年二月祭於家,低畢則男女皆入山崗,曰避哭。"松桃直隸廳志卷六"苗人死枕尸於火床,就其足豎二木,達於瓦,名曰升天,斂以棺,悲哭終月,親戚來弔,富者助以牛酒,貧者酒來,將死者所遺衣服裝像,舉銅鼓,羣相歌舞,名調鼓卜地延苗巫,擲雞子以定吉凶,謂之雞卦,亦有用木節芻爲二爿而占者,名擲木卦,葬畢以土培墳,其形長。"

今日苗中喪俗,人死即燒錢紙三斤六兩,名落氣錢,取錢灰用白紙包成一包,放在死者身旁,煮飯一碗,雞蛋一個,蛋擺在飯上,再插黃麥稈數莖,放在死者脚後以祭,至野外摘取菖蒲草若干,回來用之燒水一鍋,請一異姓人來爲死者洗身,換穿衣服,所用的飾帶視死者的年齡而定帶之粗細,如死者爲八十歲,即用線八十根打成一紐帶,六十歲即用線六十根,其餘以此類推,老

衣穿好,卽在正屋中用長凳兩張,門板兩塊,擺成一床,名叫柳床,卽抬死者臥其上,前設祭桌,請苗巫來家做法事.苗巫用草刀一把,刀柄繫以白布一條,孝子腰繫竹筲一個,二人站在死者身旁,苗巫口中念咒,右手執草刀先向死者身上一指,再向孝子的筲中一指,指來指去,直至咒語念畢方止.孝子又以左手拉死者的手指,右手執篾片一條,向指頭上一括,卽放在筲中,括許多次,苗巫同時念咒不停,括了死者右手的指頭,又去括左手,直至咒語念完,才停止不括.苗巫法事做完,再請客巫來念經買水,門上亦照漢俗貼白紙一條,上寫喪大事三字,使人至遠處親族家報喪,親族聞信而來弔者,時間無一定,惟媳婦的娘家,須送猪頭一個,猪肉一塊,米一缸,並香燭紙爆竹等物.女壻須送猪羊各一隻,備魚肉雞菜一桌,名陽席,用麵粉做的魚肉雞鴨等菜一桌,名陰席,又餐若干串,並香燭等物,來客祭弔,一如漢禮.

在開弔日的晚間,先由女壻將帶來的猪羊,宰殺煮熟,切成許多碗,在靈前祭奠,祭畢,須請喪家的族兄弟前來一同喝酒,苗俗謂之宵夜,以表示主客雙方的感情融洽.女壻祭過之後,死者的男爺,俗稱后親或后亞,亦以帶來的猪頭祭奠,祭畢,亦請喪家的族兄弟和男爺同來的族兄弟在一起喝酒.酒喝完了,就請喪家的族兄弟或寨中的年長而善於說話者爲牙郎,向喪家要'火把酒'.所謂火把酒,卽酒若干斤,肉若干斤,及手巾布疋.后親同去的人,每人要手巾一條,引路布若干尺,其中除引路布爲不可缺少外,其餘可變通增損.

后親得了火把酒各物,在出喪時,要擔任幾種任務.在出喪之前,卽將所得白布披在身上,頭包白手巾,手執草刀一把,刀柄繫白手巾一條,站在靈前或大門前念幾句口訣,念完用草刀向

大門上敲三下,就可以發引.苗巫手執火棒一根,將棺材下面燈碗覆在棺材上面,口念咒畢,以火棒將碗擊碎,衆人立即抬棺至門外,后親仍是身披白布,頭包白手巾,左手執草刀,右手執火把,在靈柩前面,引導先行,孝子及孤殘者,男在柩前,女在後,領棺的衆人至路上,向死者女壻要吃女壻酒,否則不再繼續前進,至墓地,后親將火把丟在坟上,草刀交還主人.墓坑預先已派人挖好,至此燒油麻稈,名叫熱坟,請地理先生用米在其中畫一八卦,放雞蛋一隻,下坑去驗米,以占主人家的吉凶.雞吃米在左方,主男子吉利,在右方主女子平安,如雞吃在中央,男女都好.棺材下坑之後,地理先生拿白米一升,站在棺頭撒米,說好話,孝子等跪在棺脚,以衣兜接米,理非畢,地理先生執旗子一面,名招魂旗,引衆人回去,到喪家時,每人取個數粒,含在口中,以爲可免致失去魂魄.苗巫攜一裝水竹筒,用青草做一帶,站在十字路口,或大門口,撒水,念咒,除穢氣,驅邪魔.

回喪之後,待各方親朋散去,主人就要辦火把酒肉與后親帶來的人吃喝.吃了又酒,招待稍爲不週,往往故意刺生枝節,產生主人吃了之後,旅兄弟先回去,后親本人仍舊留下.

非後過到卯日,主人即請苗巫來家祭亡人,用桌一張,上擺肉與酒杯,燒黃紙,打竹筒,念咒畢,至苗巫的手忽然不斷搖動時,衆人以爲亡人已經回來,舉家就要放聲大哭,至五更時,又用米祀祭老亡人,此與漢人的回煞頗相類似.過此,后親就要回去,乃向主家索道面物,即死者的道物,如衣服,鞋,襪,棉被等,如死者爲女人,並要索取敬意,看主家的貧富以定多寡.

苗人自古以來有部落而無酋長,所以無特殊階級,亦無特殊的勢力壓迫.惟有苗巫的資格,略與常人不同,巫師在臨危的

時候,另請兩巫師來家斷氣之後,家人不得哭泣,一巫師上屋,取去瓦數塊,做成一孔,名曰開天門,下面一巫師坐在死者的後面,見上面天門一開,隨即大叫一聲,在上者回答一聲,上下二人即舉行法事,據云:在上者是開天門,在下者是閉地府,這是使死去的巫師不入地獄而升天堂,至此家人始舉哀哭泣,

至出殯之日,要請巫師七八人或十餘人,多至二三十人,每人執巫師旗一面及鑼鼓一套,隨從執事人等甚多,所以苗鄉巫師出殯,頗熱鬧好看,據云,已故巫師升天時,路上要經五營四哨,沿途必定要請各巫師打先鋒,故巫師的人數愈多,勢力愈雄厚,各巫師都要送到坟上,才能收兵下旗,各自散去,

苗人喪服,父死以白布包頭,在未葬前,後拖兩帶,如父母俱已去世,則兩帶墮地,否則一帶至地,在四個月之內,至少一月,忌拿鋤頭與柴刀,不剃頭,不唱歌,服三年,母死,頭上所包的白布包頭在四個月之內不洗,亦不剃頭,不飲冷水,服四年,亦有為父母戴終身孝至五六十歲者,祖父母喪服十二天,舅父母亦十一天,子死,母以紅帶一條,繫在包頭上三天

六 政治組織——苗官

(一)苗官的設置

苗疆的開闢,始於元明之際,明史地理志云:"五寨長官司,元置,洪武七年六月因之,筸子坪長官司太祖甲辰年六月置筸子坪洞元帥府,後廢,永樂三年七月改置。"又土司列傳湖廣土司條:"永樂三年,長州衛覃能等招諭筸子坪等三十五寨生苗廖彰等各遣子入貢,因設筸子坪長官司以彰爲之,隸保靖。五寨長官司城即今之鳳凰縣城,筸子坪長官司城,亦在鳳凰境內,離縣城東北七十里,道光四年續修鳳凰廳志卷三云:"筸子坪長官司故城在東北七十里,明太祖甲辰元年置元帥府,永樂三年改長官司,其城有二,一在山巔,一在山麓,今廢,五寨長官司故城即今縣治仍舊址,但改舊寬大耳,明時俱屬保靖宣慰司。"

乾城開闢稍遲,於洪武末年始設立千戶所,苗防備覽述往錄云:"洪武三十年丁丑二月置鎮溪軍民千戶所,時達溪主簿王原龍招諭上五都蠻民分爲十里,置所隸長州衛,即陞原龍爲所鎮撫,取江西瑞昌守禦千戶所正千戶段文入京給銅印令世襲鎮溪千戶,太祖臨軒遣行諭曰:'朕有彈丸山地,今汝前往開拓鎮所,撫管夷民,因其利而利之,汝子孫將享用無窮。'又命兵部取貴州烏撒衛陳牙,四川遵州衛宋貴爲副千戶同往佐理,命庫使給官印一員,布政司給典史印一名,賜衣袁牙等寶鈔銀帶,以勸賽國遣之,五月段文至鎮溪,創設衙署,建立制度,分一百二十四寨爲十里,令諸苗推二爲百夫長,其時零寨戶一百三十二

名充土軍守城池,寇亂則聚爲軍,事平則散爲民,故名軍民所。"鎮溪即今乾城縣城東北二十里的所里。

永綏管屬保靖土司,其中之六里又屬乾州,雍正七年遵旨將宋思民沅靖道王柔撫定六里生苗,建城吉多坪,名曰永綏。❶

古丈在明時爲永順軍民宣慰使司所屬之施溪洞,白岔洞田家洞三長官司地。

保靖爲昔保靖宣慰司地。

苗疆五縣開闢以後,自元明以迄清初均在土司統治之下。迄前清康熙年間,始逐漸改土歸流,康熙四十六年五寨長官司田宏遇請准,遵旨將紅中香奏請裁革,不準襲替。❷ 四十八年因鎮溪所六里苗民不願歸保靖土司管轄,屢請改土歸流,亦由遵旨將紅中香奏請細管歸流。❸ 雍正四年保靖土司彭御彬以貪暴參革提解,五年改土歸流,御彬安置遵義。❹ 雍正五年永順土司彭肇槐自請改土歸流,回江西吉水原籍。❺ 永順土司所屬三土州、五長官司亦同時改土。

苗疆自改土以後,乃於苗寨中設土百戶寨長以統治苗人,歸流官管轄,惟百戶長非盡爲苗人,亦有用漢人充當者,日久漸有奸蠹舞弊之徒,從中欺凌生事,以致激成乾隆六十年的空前苗亂。嘉慶初年苗亂既平之後,知以漢治苗之非計,當時湖廣總督畢沅即上疏獻以苗制苗之策。❻ 創立苗官之制即選苗疆聚

❶ 見湖廣志卷一。
❷ 見湖廣志卷十一。
❸ 苗防備覽卷十五。
❹ 保靖縣志卷五。
❺ 永順縣志卷十五。
❻ 見畢沅撫治苗疆疏乾州永保苗人疏,收苗防備覽卷十九員文集。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

要善後事宜內中有苗疆百戶寨長名目應酌量更定一款，"並奏川黔陝三省，如酉陽、秀仁等處，從前均土司，嗣因呈請歸流，始行改設州縣管分，統歸文武管轄，苗寨內止設百戶寨長以資管束，但該百戶向例亦准漢人承充，漸有奸豪無稽之徒，從中欺凌生事，請於此次賞給頂戴之各降苗內，擇其明白曉事者，每一營分酌設土守備、千總、外委等員，仍由督撫衙門給札點充，並歸文武地方官鈐束，其苗境內各塘汛，遇有往來文報，即令該土弁挑選苗人接訊遞送，並酌給錢糧，其因公來往官員需用人夫亦令此項苗人充當，照民人之例給予僱價等語。查苗疆設立百戶寨長原為約束苗人起見，但該百戶等人微權輕，苗眾既不能聽其約束；且有漢人承充者，雖係無奸豪無賴之徒，從中生事，自應酌量變通，以專管束，況此次隨同官兵打仗出力給予頂戴之各降苗甚多，即於此內擇其明白曉事，眾所推服者，照各省土官之例，每一營分酌設一二人為土守備，守備以下酌設土千總、外委等員，俾令管束苗民，其額數照所管寨落多寡設立，仍由督撫衙門給札點充，並歸地方官鈐束，如有苗民婚關竊盜等事，即著落該土弁等緝拿辦理，倘遇督撫提調查剿營伍時，仍核其功過，隨時分別獎賞斥革，以示懲勸，應如總督和琳所奏辦理。至苗境內塘汛既經裁撤，往來文報必須照從遞送，方免貽誤，其原有塘汛地方，令該土官挑選誠實苗人逐汛安設專司遞送文報，並照屯兵之例，支用閒款，酌給錢糧，如遇因公來往官員，應用人伕，亦令該苗人一體當差，給予僱價，均應如所奏辦理。●

根據上引當時部議，苗官雖為土守備、土千總等武職，然除統轄苗兵而外，又賦予管束苗民之權，其勢力已不為小。至嘉慶

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

十年,苗中屯田又令苗官管理,部覆屯田章程第八條云:"查本年剿撫永綏各處苗匪之後,軍苗業俱兵威,將從前被佔田地查勘撥出,並查有逆苗叛產,酌賞一併歸公,分伺良苗承種納租,即可藉資苗兵以資贍養,現在各寨撥出佔田,經一清丈,共田地三萬一百餘畝,並清查逆苗叛產,亦丈收田地五千四十餘畝,俱經分別造冊,分伺收租,計可養贍苗兵五千名,所有歷年撥存土著苗兵九千九百餘名,內有可以自行謀生,撥令歸寨,及老弱病苗一體撥田承伺外,現在挑留壯健苗兵五千名,內凰凰廳二千名,乾州廳八百名,永綏廳一千八百名,古丈坪廳一百名,保靖縣三百名,其苗人廳撥租種,經各苗弁於各苗寨內自行擇地建倉,以備收貯,每倉公舉殷實苗弁二三名,專司備收支放,計前項田地三萬五千餘畝,約計每年可收籽粒二萬二千餘石,計尚存籽粒四十餘石,所有苗倉以備撥補,併為加給苗兵開月口糧之需,仍飭該苗備弁將每年收得租數,按實具報."●

苗官以一武官而兼理刑名錢糧,其權力實等於土司;所不同者不得世襲而已,其委任方法,據道光二十八年兵部覆准苗備弁給劄章程云:"古丈坪等五廳縣,共設苗守備、千、把、外委四百八十六名,向由廳縣保送辰沅道驗看,詳由督撫提督會印給劄,查道屬屯弁拔補章程,把總由道考驗詳請,咨部給劄,外委劄外由道給委,把總升千總,詳送撫臣考驗;千總升守備,詳送督臣考驗,今以苗弁微員,即外委亦須詳由督撫給劄,事涉煩瑣,應請將苗備弁拔補仍照道屬屯弁章程,嗣後苗外委把總改由道給劄,苗千總劄付改詳由藩撫鈐印備發,苗守備劄付准其詳由總督鈐印給發,兵部查苗官一項,並稱向由督撫提督會印給劄,

● 湖南苗防屯政考卷五均屯一,頁56—57。

求免紛繁,應如該行等所奏辦理,以歸簡易。" 可見當初設立苗官甚爲重視區區一外委微員,須由督撫給劄。

(二)苗官的編制

當時苗官的編制,苗疆五廳縣略有不同。鳳凰廳設立四營:中營苗守備二名,千總四名,把總六名,外委二十名,分管九十六寨,計二千六百八十戶,男六千二百三十名,女三千四百七十九口。左營苗守備二名,千總三名,把總六名,外委十五名,分管六十三寨,計二千三百八十七戶,男五千七百九十五名,女四千六百七十三口。右營苗守備四名,千總七名,把總十三名,外委一十一名,分管一百七十九寨,計四千一百九十一戶,內男九千七百一十名,女六千零九十口。前營苗守備三名,千總六名,把總十二名,外委一十四名,分管一百九十一寨,計三千九百八十五戶,內男八千四百六十六名,女五千一百六十二口。以上苗守備十一名,千總二十名,把總三十七名,外委六十名,共苗弁一百二十八名,管五百二十九寨,一萬三千二百四十三戶,男三萬二百零一名,女一萬九千四百零四口,共男女四萬九千六百零五名口。又於各戶挑出苗兵二千名,內加給口糧苗兵四百名。●

乾城亦分中左右前四營:中營苗守備一名,千總二名,把總三名,外委六名,分管十五寨,計四百二十五戶,男婦九百八十一名口。左營苗守備一名,千總二名,把總四名,外委八名,分管八十六寨,計一千七百八十四戶,男婦五千九百九十二名口。右營苗守備一名,千總一名,把總四名,外委五名,分管十八寨,計七百零一戶,男婦一千零九十五名口。前營苗守備一名,千總一名,把總

● 以鳳廳志卷十一。

二名,外委六名,分管十一寨,計四百三十戶,男婦九百九十三名口,以上苗守備四名,千總六名,把總十三名,外委二十五名,共苗弁四十八名,分管一百三十寨,三千三百四十戶,男婦七千六十一名口,又於各戶挑出苗兵八百名。❶

永綏的編制,將里而不將營,全境共分十二里,每里設守備一員,上五里苗守備一員,千總一名,把總二名,外委三名,戰兵十五名,守兵八十五名,管苗戶八百四十戶,男婦四千一百九十二名口,下五里苗守備一員,千總一名,把總二名,外委六名,戰兵十五名,守兵一百二十九名,管苗戶四百四十六戶,男婦一千四百四十名口,上六里苗守備一員,千總三名,把總四名,外委九名,戰兵二十二名,守兵一百二十九名,管苗戶九百九十二戶,男婦四千一百零一名口,下六里苗守備一員,千總二名,把總七名,外委九名,戰兵二十九名,守兵一百二十九名,管苗戶一千三百零七戶,男婦六千三百八十六名口,上七里苗守備一員,千總三名,把總六名,外委八名,戰兵六十一名,守兵一百五十四名,管苗戶七百二十六戶,男婦二千七百六十七名口,下七里苗守備一員,千總三名,把總六名,外委十二名,戰兵四十八名,守兵一百三十三名,管苗戶一千一百零九戶,男婦四千三百十三名口,上八里苗守備一員,千總一名,把總無,外委四名,戰兵九名,守兵六十一名,管苗戶三百零二戶,男婦一千二百九十八名口,下八里苗守備一員,千總二名,把總五名,外委七名,戰兵四十八名,守兵一百三十五名,管苗戶五百九十五戶,男婦一千六百五十名口,上九里

❶ 乾州廳志卷七。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

苗守備一員,千總三名,把總八名,外委十四名,戰兵三十二名,守兵一百三十八名,管苗戶二千三百三十七戶,男婦九千四百十三名口。下九里苗守備一員,千總三名,把總六名,外委十四名,戰兵三十二名,守兵一百三十八名,管苗戶一千四百八十戶,男婦七千二百六十四名口。上十里苗守備一員,千總三名,把總八名,外委二十一名,戰兵十九名,守兵一百三十一名,管苗戶一千一百二十八戶,男婦四千五百二十九名口。下十里苗守備一員,千總三名,把總五名,外委十名,戰兵十八名,守兵八十二名,管苗戶八百四十三戶,男婦三千六百名口。以上苗守備十二名,千總二十八名,把總五十七名,外委一百十五名,係嘉慶二年裁革百戶改設,此項弁員,遂細約束各里散苗,守兵一千八百名,係嘉慶十年設,在鎮筸十營苗兵挑留,戰兵三百八十四名,係嘉慶十年增設,守兵內挑出。❶

係將於西、六、七、八四部各設苗守備一員,千總九名,把總十二名,外委三十一名,苗兵三百名。❷

吉永坪廳所設苗官計有守備一員,千總二名,把總四名,外委十二名,苗兵百名,分管五十八苗寨。❸

苗官之制,自嘉慶二年(1797)創立,盧坤作者於民國二十二年在苗疆調查時,其制猶存,惟鳳凰約前、左、右、中四營,因有守備十一員,今已改設為十一營,係將前稱部,今已改稱區,其內容均未改變,茲將調查所得列表如下:

❶永綏廳志卷六及卷十五。
❷保靖縣志卷五
❸吉永坪廳志卷二

縣別	管別	土官姓名	駐地	管轄分兵數目 千總	把總	外委	額兵	守兵	合計 弁	兵	全管總數
鳳凰	上中管	龍[illegible]	石[illegible]管	二	四	八	三〇	一五〇	一四	一八〇	一九四
	下中管	吳[illegible]	[illegible]河	二	三	九	三〇	一四〇	一四	一七〇	一八四
	上左管	吳[illegible]	溪本管	二	四	六	三〇	一九〇	一二	二二〇	二三二
	下左管	吳[illegible]	三[illegible]	一	三	八	二八〇	二〇〇	一二	二八〇	二九二
	右管	龍[illegible]	鳴[illegible]	二	五	[illegible]	五五	一五二	一六	二〇七	二二三
	上右管	龍[illegible]	龍[illegible]	二	二	六	五四	一一四	一〇	一六八	一七八
	右管	吳[illegible]	麻[illegible]	二	四	六	四三	一三六	一二	一七九	一九一
	下右管	龍[illegible]	大田	一	二	四	五八	九一	七	一〇九	一五六
	上前管	石[illegible]	新鄉	二	五	一〇	一七	一八二	一七	一九九	二一六
	中前管	吳[illegible]	田坪	一	三	五	二	六五	九	六七	七六
	下前管	吳正英	古[illegible]管	三	五	九	一	一八〇	一七	一八一	一九八
小計		——		二〇	四〇	八〇	四〇〇	一六〇〇	一四〇	二〇〇〇	二一四〇
乾城	中管	吳[illegible]	三[illegible]	二	二	六	四八	一五七	一〇	二〇五	二一五
	左管	楊[illegible]	藍家寨	二	七	一〇	四〇	一九一	一九	二三一	二五〇
	右管	石永[illegible]	喜[illegible]寨	二	四	三	四〇	一五四	九	一九四	二〇三
	前管	楊[illegible]	塘草			六	三二	一三八	六	一七〇	一七六
小計		四		六	一三	二五	一六〇	六四〇	四四	八〇〇	八四四
古丈	龍鼻嘴管	龍[illegible]	龍鼻嘴	二	四	一二		一〇〇	一八	一〇〇	一一八
小計		一		二	四	一二		一〇〇	一八	一〇〇	一一八
保靖	四區	吳[illegible]	白河田	一	一	二	八	四二	四	五〇	五四
	六區	吳[illegible]	南[illegible]寨	三	五	九	一九	六一	一七	八〇	九七
	七區	石[illegible]	鼻子寨	三	四	一五	二一	七九	二二	一〇〇	一二二
	八區	龍[illegible]	水田	二	二	五	一二	五八	九	七〇	七九
小計		四		九	一二	三一	六〇	二四〇	五二	三〇〇	三五二
永	上五里	龍[illegible]	馬[illegible]寨	一	三	三	一四	八一	七	九五	一〇二

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

	下五里	石綠新	鈴廟寨	一	三	六	一四	八一	九	九五	一〇四
	上六里	石明道	板塘寨	三	四	九	二八	一六二	一六	一九〇	二〇六
	下六里	石宗瑛	假明寨	二	七	九	五四	一二一	一八	一七五	一九三
	上七里	龍吾儒	尖岩寨	三	四	八	五六	一六八	一五	二二四	二三九
	下七里	吳德體	腳五寨	三	六	一二	六六	一七六	二一	二四二	二六三
	上八里	吳成章	大坑武	一		四	九	六八	五	七七	八二
	下八里	龍國輪	鴨保寨	二	四	七	三八	九一	一三	一三九	一四二
縣	上九里	龍高東	排打扣	三	八	一二	三六	一四二	二三	一七八	二〇一
	下九里	石瑞陽	新城寨	三	六	一四	三〇	一四二	二三	一七二	一九五
	上十里	石金源	排補美	三	八	二一	一七	一三九	三二	一五六	一八八
	下十里	正國昌	排利寨	三	五	一〇	一八	四九	一八	六七	八五
小計		一二		二八	五七	一一五	三八〇	一四二〇	二〇〇	一八〇〇	二〇〇〇
總計		[illegible]		六五	一二六	二六三	一〇〇〇	四〇〇〇	四五四	五〇〇〇	五四五四

自乾嘉亂後,當局嚴禁漢人擅入苗地又因苗人慣見漢官乃設立苗守備、千總、把總、外委,責令管束苗人凡苗人格鬬竊搶等事,即着苗弁等緝拿辦理,所有遞送公文,應付差使,催收租穀,亦皆由苗官經管且令各苗弁按季出具有無漢民入寨切結苗官治苗,迄今已有一百四十年之久當初漢苗分治,用意在以苗制苗,可謂切中時弊然百數十年來,苗人日漸漢化,從前苗有生熟之分,今日均已成爲熟苗,漢苗分治政策,亦早無形消滅故苗官之制早應革除而入民國以來,苗官猶能存在,實因漢官利其貪賂而放縱苗官飽以賄賂得來,則詐取苗民,無所不至,所以苗民疾視苗弁尤甚於漢官且今日苗疆各縣,已改鄉鎮之制,應設鄉鎮長,則苗官尤爲贅疣希望地方當局能早日革除之。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

七 屯田

(一)屯防的沿革

湘西苗患,始於明代,然因對苗地用封鎖政策,故終明世二百七十年,未曾成大患,其封鎖之法,即立碉堡,設營哨,築邊墻,劃分漢苗的界限,不許擅越雷池一步,苗防備覽逃往錄中經制紀明代歷年防苗的設施云:"宣德五年庚戌,草子坪長官吳舉郎等與貴州銅仁諸苗爲亂,總兵官蔺授築二十四堡環其地守之,嘉靖三十一年壬子湖貴苗平,朝議以總督張岳留鎮沅州,岳與副使高鹿參將孫賢籌畫形勢,疏請灣溪等堡,更設十有二哨:曰五寨,曰永安,曰清溪,曰河口,曰草子,曰乾州,曰雄虎,曰石羊,曰小坡,曰銅信,曰水塘凹,曰水田營,連鎮溪所共十有三,各營哨有城有樓,有校場,有隘門,有官衙,有社倉,分防有骨備、領班、領隊、領征、管標、管倉、吏目、土官所轄有頭目、合人、識字、鋪步、打手、鄉土、播鼠、犵苗等兵,凡官軍計六千有奇,統以參將標營,而守備爲之犄角,又象辰沅二衛,班戍官軍,通計六千六百有奇,歲支沅州庫餉銀三萬八十九兩有奇,支麻陽、黔陽、乾州軍餉倉鎮溪所秋糧食米三萬一千八百九十有奇,是時參將督領於上,遊擊守備調度於中,營哨分防於下,又慮變生呼吸,難於遍請,得便宜行事,故敕曰:'三千以下,任爾調度,三千以上,合同兵備官計議而行.'兵增將威,故邊境稍安,萬歷四十三年乙卯,辰沅兵備參政蔡復一以營哨星布,苗路崎嶇,難以阻遏寇觀,請發帑金四萬有奇,築沿邊土墻,上自銅仁下至保靖汛地,逶山亘水,凡三百餘里,邊防藉以

稍固天啓二年壬戌,復設偏沅鄉塘……。時辰沅兵備道副使胡一鴻,委遊擊鄧通禹自鎮溪所起至喜鵲營止,復添設邊牆六十餘里。●

至明崇禎年間,寇亂苗叛,堡圮哨廢,邊牆盡成爲平地,封鎮苗地的長城已去。明時苗疆原有守兵七千八百名,至清初減至一千六百名,迨吳三桂亂平,海內清安,又裁減五百名,止存一千一百名。兵力低薄,而防範又疎,雖之以改土歸流,用漢人爲百戶長,漢苗往還不禁。至乾隆二十九年,以苗人向化日久,准與內地民人鄉姻往來,用意本在化導苗民,而日久弊生,奸民以貿易爲名,深入苗穴,引誘黠苗,入內結搆,不肯兵役,私入苗地索擾,苗人遂常藉口客民營剝侵佔,糾結滋事,致釀成乾嘉大亂。亂平之後,清廷知化導苗民尚非其時,仍用封鎖政策,沿苗疆各縣駐重兵以守。

在鳳凰設鎮筸鎮,駐總兵官一員,統轄中、右、前、左四營,共遊擊三員,都司一員,守備四員,千總八員,把總十九員,外委二十三員,額外十四名,共兵三千三百八十九名。

在永綏的花園(今永綏縣治)添設綏靖鎮,駐總兵官一員,遊擊一員,都司一員,守備二員,千總三員,把總六員,外委九員,額外五名,共兵一千四百四十名,分防九汛地。永綏仍設有永綏協,駐副將一員,都司一員,守備二員,千總三員,把總七員,外委八員,額外八名,兵一千二百四十名,分管營汛七處,歸花園綏靖鎮統轄。

在乾城改設乾州協,駐副將一員,遊擊一員,都司一員,守備三員,千總二員,把總十員,外委九員,額外十名,兵一千四百名,分防十五營汛,歸提督統轄。

● 百的傳寶卷十五。

在保靖設兵一營,駐參將一員,守備二員,千總二員,把總五員,外委九員,額外十名,兵九百五十二名,分防十九塘汛,隸花園綏靖鎮統轄。

在古丈設古丈坪營,駐都司一員,千總二員,把總三員,外委三員,額外三名,共兵七百四十名,駐劄本營,分防各汛。

當時苗疆除分駐重兵外,又依明代邊牆遺址修築碉卡一千一百二十一座,除在重要地點有官兵分駐外,尚有八百餘座,則留戍兵九千名以資防守。後因國家經費支拙,在邊腹地,勢不能常留多兵駐守,然一旦撤退,則碉卡空虛,又恐悍苗倡亂,其時沅辰道傅鼐會同鎮筆鎮總兵富志那召集廳民,籌商久遠之策,遂創屯防之制,均田養勇,守卡防苗。民田除養口田外,男丁留種三斗,女丁留種一斗,其餘之田均七留三,一石種自留三斗,均出七斗,養勇守邊。凰屬有碉卡八百三十餘座,需丁四千輪守,並練勇千人備戰,均出田二萬二千餘畝,尚不敷開銷,又於瀘溪麻陽均加田一萬二千三百餘畝。乾州有碉堡一百二十七座,守兵八百名,均田二千一百七十餘畝。永綏在乾隆苗亂之前,原治衙城,周環皆苗,嘉慶二年移治花園,新建廳城,有碉堡一百二十六座,守丁二千名,民田被匪佔者收歸公有,計田一萬七千一百十餘畝。保靖有碉堡七十餘座,守丁三百名,均田二千一百七十餘畝。古丈坪止有碉卡十八座,守丁一百名,均田一百二十餘畝。

以上所述爲民屯,此外尚有苗屯。自苗亂平後,軍苗震懾兵威,將從前強佔民田,盡數呈出;並查明逆苗叛產,酌撥一併歸公,計強佔田地三萬一百餘畝,逆產田地五千四百餘畝,發給良苗領耕,建倉收租,以養苗兵。苗屯的催租、查田、押糧、解運等職,即由苗官負責辦理。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

苗疆七廳縣均出的民田苗田總數如下:❶

1. 鳳凰廳

(1)均田 二萬二千八十畝六分(嘉慶五年均出)。

(2)歸公田 三千五百三十九畝(苗佔民田呈出歸公)。

(3)官贖田 五千五百八十七畝三分(民田賤價當與苗人,官府贖回歸公)。

(4)苗繳佔叛田 七千六百五十畝八分(苗匪叛產,被苗佔耕,繳出歸公)。

(5)苗繳佔叛地 五千九百八十三畝七分(同上)。

(6)苗呈出已業田 一千五百九十五畝七分(苗人得補官,呈繳已業捐公)。

(7)開墾田 一百四十五畝八分(無糧荒土,駐丁墾荒而成)。

2. 乾州廳

(1)均田 三千六百二十八畝八分。

(2)官贖田 七百七十六畝五分。

(3)苗繳佔叛田 三千四百八十七畝。

(4)苗繳佔叛地 一百九十六畝一分。

(5)苗呈爭佔田 五百七十八畝五分(即歸公田)

(6)苗呈爭佔地 四十八畝八分(同上)。

(7)苗呈出已業田 六百零四畝六分。

3. 古丈坪廳

(1)均田 五百二十九畝七分。

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❶湖南苗務屯政考卷七,均屯三,均屯田土總數,嘉慶二年平苗後定額。

(2)官贖田 九十三畝四分。

(3)苗徵佔叛田 一百二十七畝八分。

(4)苗呈已棄田 二百二十七畝。

4. 保靖縣

(1)均田 二千一百七十八畝六分。

(2)官贖田 六百二十八畝六分。

(3)苗徵佔叛田 一千四百七十六畝。

(4)苗徵佔叛地 三百零三畝六分。

(5)苗弁呈出已棄田 三百畝零二分。

(6)苗人呈出爭佔田 二百九十六畝九分。

5. 永綏廳

(1)歸公田 一萬六千一百十四畝三分(係苗佔民田,收田歸公)。

(2)官贖田 八千四百六十八畝七分。

(3)苗徵佔叛田 五千九百四十畝七分。

(4)苗徵佔叛地 九千八百九十五畝七分。

(5)苗弁呈出已棄田 五百畝零四分。

(6)苗人呈出爭佔田 二百八十七畝。

(7)苗人呈出爭佔地 三百四十五畝六分。

(8)開墾田 二千五百四十五畝五分。

(9)開墾地 一萬一百三十畝。

6. 瀘溪縣

(1)均田 五千三百八十二畝五分。

7. 麻陽縣

(1)均田 六千九百八十三畝一分。

以上共計田地十三萬一千六百四十畝六分,於嘉慶十三年又清丈出鳳、乾、永三縣田地一萬五千二百十九畝三分,又嘉慶十六年續查清丈出田地五千八百七十三畝二分,總共田地十五萬二千一百五十七畝一分,內除撥給營兵馬廠領耕田地,撥補水沖沙壓並确卡圈佔田地一萬一千八十四畝三分,分授屯丁屯長老幼丁田三萬七千八百四十九畝實餘田地十萬零三千二百二十三畝八分,招佃領耕收租,歲收穀籽共十萬五千四百八十八石三斗九升。

苗疆山多田少,多闢山坡,砌作梯田,以種水稻,每因山水暴漲梯田被水沖砂壓不能修復,因此田租逐年減少,又屢行減租,所以現存租額僅及當初之半,歷來減租的經過如下:嘉慶十九年減租五千五百石,道光元年減租二萬零七百七十石,道光十八年清查沖壓田畝,減租二百八十二石七斗七升零六勺,道光二十八年減租六百四十九石一斗八升一合,以上除減外,只存租額七萬八千二百八十六石四斗四升四合六勺,道光二十九年減定一成租七千八百二十八石六斗四升四合四勺,實在收租七萬零四百五十七石八斗零一勺,並規定以後不再減租又奉令,凡數在六合以上進收一升,六合以下退出不收,失去租三百五十二石三斗一升一勺,從此歲收租七萬零一百零五石四斗九升,道光二十九年起至清末止,除減少水沖沙壓不能修復租額一百七十九石四斗九升外,實存租額六萬九千九百二十六石,民國初年至十六七年止,約計減免水沖租額二千九百十七石四斗九升二合,民國二十二年作者在湘西調查所得,實存租額六萬七千零八石五斗零八合,據最近余鏡傳湘西苗區屯"均屯田土沿革一文所載:"民國二十五年屯務第一次大會

幾決,就免歷年荒租一千五百九十二石三斗八升八合,現在實收租額六萬五千四百十六石一斗二升."❶

(二)屯防的組織

1. 前清屯防的組織

(1)鳳凰廳 屯守備三員,屯千總四員,屯把總四員,屯外委十員,屯額外九名,苗守備十一名,苗千總二十名,苗把總四十名,苗外委八十名,總屯長十五名,散屯長六十名,練勇一千名,老幼丁一千名,屯丁四千名,苗兵一千名,屯館二十七館,苗館二十五館,碉五百四十四座,屯卡一百零五座,汛堡五十一座,哨台九十八座,炮台七座,關門二十四座,關廂五道,以上碉、卡、汛堡、哨台、炮台、關門、關廂總共八百三十四座,屯苗六十三倉,額租二萬五千四百六十一石三斗九升六合八勺,鳥槍七千零二十二桿,刀三百把,矛一百桿,手炮四十位,以上槍炮刀矛一萬六千二百二十九件。

(2)乾州廳 屯守備一員,屯把總一員,屯外委二員,屯額外二名,苗守備四名,苗千總六名,苗把總十三名,苗外委二十五名,總屯長四名,散屯長二十一名,屯丁六百名,苗兵八百名,屯館八館,苗館十館,碉七十五座,屯卡十三座,汛堡二十八座,炮台四座,關門五座,關廂二道,以上碉、卡、汛堡、哨台、炮台、關門、關廂共一百二十八座,屯苗十一倉,額租七千七百二十五石一斗三升二合九勺,鳥槍三千二百四十四桿,手炮十位,刀一百把,矛三百九十五桿,以上槍、炮、刀、矛共五千八百四十一件。

(3)永綏廳 屯守備二員,屯千總二員,屯把總三員,屯外委

❶ 敬通編第二卷第二期。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

三員,屯額外三名,苗守備十二名,苗千總二十八名,苗把總五十七名,苗外委一百十五名,總屯長十二名,散屯長三十三名,屯丁二千名,老幼丁八百名,苗兵一千八百名,屯館十三館,苗館十九館,碉六十七座,屯卡二十座,汛堡二十九座,關門八座,關廂三道。以上碉、卡、汛堡、關門、關廂共一百二十七座屯苗二十一倉,額租二萬九千七百五十六石六斗四升八合八勺三抄,鳥槍四千九百十五桿,刀一百九十把,矛三千二百九十五桿,以上槍、刀、矛共一萬四千三百件。

(4)古丈坪廳　屯把總一員,屯額外一名,苗守備一名,苗千總二名,苗把總四名,苗外委十二名,總屯長一名,散屯長四名,屯丁一百名,苗兵一百名,苗館四館,碉十五座,汛堡四座以上碉、卡、汛堡十九座,屯苗三倉,額租五百二十三石七斗一升三合五勺三抄,鳥槍六百五十五桿,刀三百六十九把,矛三百六十八桿,以上槍、刀、矛一千八百二十八件。

(5)保靖縣　屯外委二員,屯額外二名,苗守備四名,苗千總九名,苗把總十二名,苗外委三十一名,總屯長三名,散屯長十二名,屯丁三百名,苗兵三百名,屯館二館,苗館十二館,碉三十座,屯卡十三座,汛堡二十五座,關門一座,關廂一道以上碉、卡、汛堡關門、關廂共七十座屯苗九倉,額租四千零二十三石一斗一升四合二勺,鳥槍五百五十二桿,刀六百八十四把,矛八百四十四桿,以上槍、刀、矛共二千九百三十八件。

(6)麻陽縣　總屯長二名,散屯長十名,屯倉十一倉,額租七千三百二十三石七斗五升五合八勺五抄。

(7)溆浦縣　總屯長三名,散屯長二十名,屯倉十三倉,額租四千四百十四石六斗一升八合零九抄。

以上七廳縣,屯備弁五十六員,苗備弁四百八十六名,總散屯長二百名,練勇一千名,屯丁七千名,老幼丁一千八百名,苗兵五千名,屯苗一百二十餘,碉七百三十一座,屯卡一百五十一座,汛堡一百三十七座,哨台九十九座,炮台十一座,關門三十八座,關廟十一道,以上碉卡汛堡哨台炮台關門關廟共合一千一百七十八座,屯苗共計一百三十一倉,額租七萬九千二百十八石三斗九升,鳥槍一萬六千三百八十八桿,手炮五十位,刀一千六百四十三把,矛五千零零二桿,以上槍炮刀矛共計四萬一千一百三十六件。

2. 陸軍新編三十四師司令部屯政處組織辦事條例

第一條 本處遵奉陸軍新編三十四師師長陳命令組織之。

第二條 本處按照師部暫行編制設正副處長各一人,課長三人,課員,辦事員,司書各若干。

第三條 處長承師長之命,綜理湘西屯務軍隊及苗防官兵屯穀,屯產之整頓,清理一切事務,有指導督督本處職員之權。

第四條 本處設第一,第二,第三三課,各課長承處長之命,輔助處長分別掌理軍務,屯務,總務,於本課職掌有督促整理之責。

第五條 第一課職掌如左:

(1)關於屯務軍隊整理,調遣,指揮,調遣事宜。

(2)關於屯務軍隊武器,裝具清查,補充各事宜。

(3)擬定屯務軍隊一切教育計劃案。

(4)苗防軍事計劃。

(5)戰時後方勤務及補充事宜。

第六條 第二課之職掌如左:

(1)關於凰,乾,松,古,保,瀘,麻七縣屯產屯穀清查整理各事宜。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

(2)關於各縣屯租收發撥逕各種計劃.

第七條 第三課之職掌如左:

(1)關於屯務軍隊及苗防人事之調查事宜.

(2)辦理本師防區內禁煙文件.

(3)辦理不屬於他課事項.

第八條 課員承處長之命令,受課長之指導,辦理各該課事宜.

第九條 書記官承處長之命令,辦理本處文書之撰擬,卷宗之保管及支配繕寫諸事務.

第十條 辦事員承處長之命令,受課長之指導,勤辦各該課事務.

第十一條 司書承處長及課長之命令,受課員書記官之指導,專司文電繕寫謄錄事項.

第十二條 本處公文處理系統如左:

值日員——收發(繳由)(講號)——分送{一課 二課 三課 秘書室} 主稿——核稿——值日員(分配繕寫)——發發——封發——存檔

第十三條 本處因事管需要,設值日員三人(即課員,辦事員,司書各一)其任務如左:

(1)記載當值日本處經辦各事項.

(2)清查每日到公缺公人數詳載日記簿上,以便考查勤惰分別獎懲.

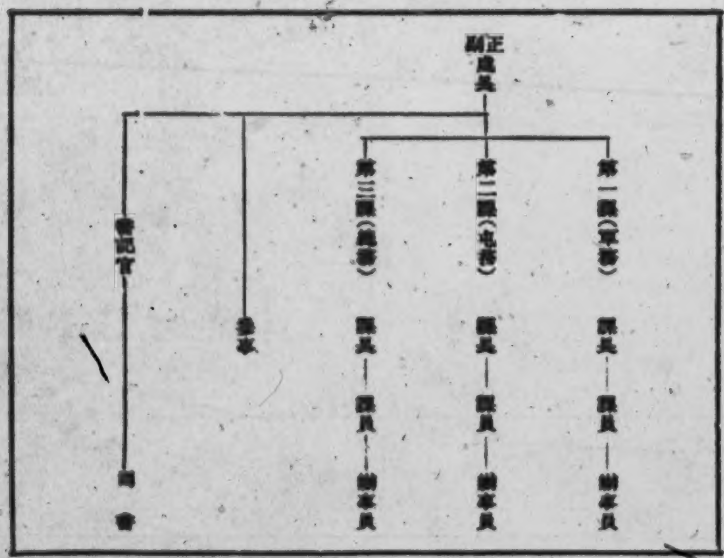
(3)臨時發生事項應按其輕重緩急分別處理,并將處理情形臨時呈報.

第十四條 本處職員因事缺公,須呈候批准,否則即照擅離職守論.

第十五條 本條例如有未盡事宜,得隨時呈請修正之.

第十六條 本條例自呈奉師長核准之日公布施行.

陸軍新疆三十四師屯政處組織系統表



苗疆屯田有民屯與苗屯之別,二者的性質完全不同,民屯的屯丁又分屯丁與戰丁二種,屯丁授田耕種,防守屯卡,戰丁又名練勇,專習戰陣,不事耕種,苗疆五縣共有屯丁七千名,內挑設小旗、總旗、百總以資管束,授田等級:散丁每名給田四畝五分,小旗每名給田五畝五分,總旗每名給田[illegible]畝五分,百總每名給田七畝五分,戰丁千名,每名每年給米三石六斗,又散丁每名每年給墨柔銀十兩八錢,小旗每名每年給銀十二兩,總旗每名每年給銀十三兩二錢,百總每名每年給銀十六兩八錢,故民屯除屯丁授田耕守外,其所剩田地多招佃收租,建倉館(圖57)儲糧,設總屯長及數屯長管理其事,苗屯無屯丁,所有屯田均招人領耕

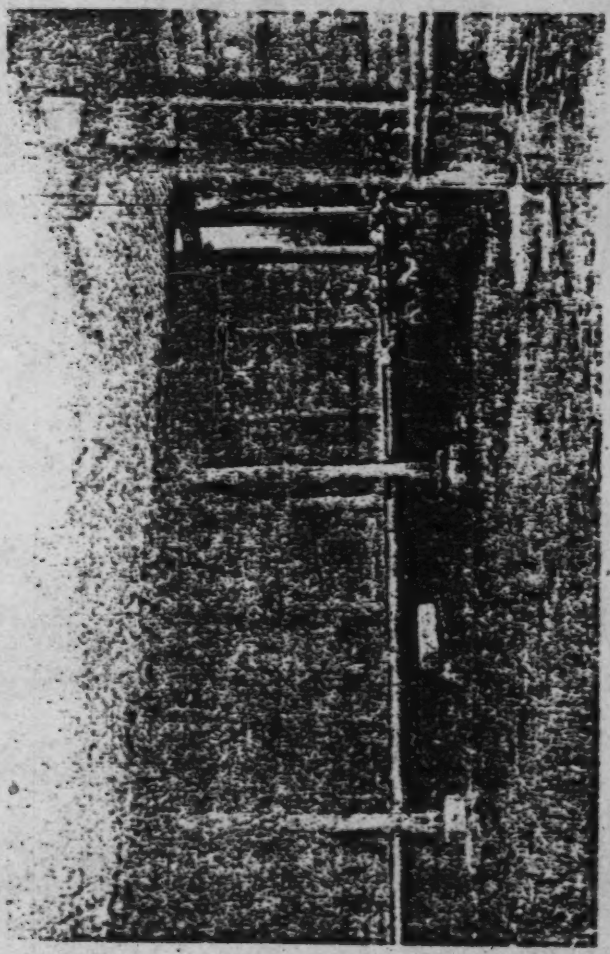
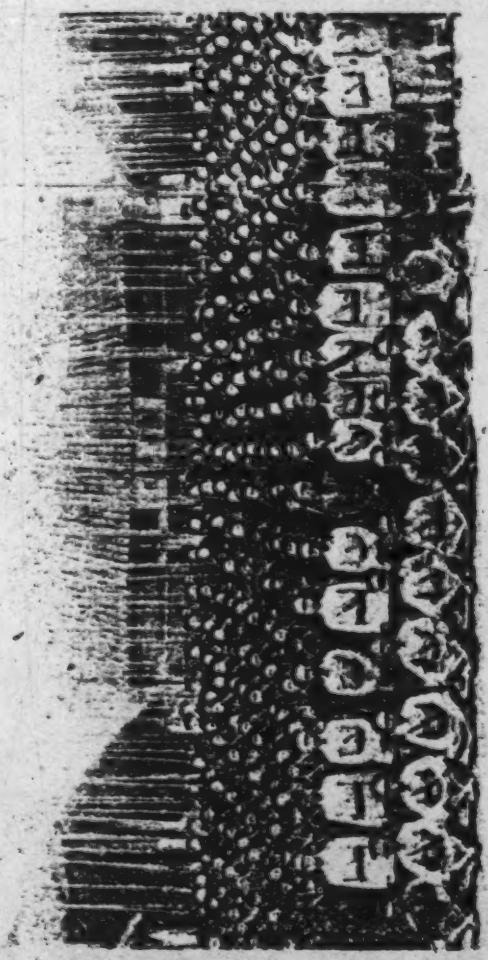


圖07 苗族婦人家庭生活



屯田

屯田所屬武衛軍十三衛指揮使

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

收租,以養苗兵,由苗官彙理屯田事宜.苗疆屯田,當開辦之初,共有田地十五萬畝,其中眞正的屯田,僅佔三分之一,餘均爲租田.今日苗疆的屯務軍約千人,苗兵黑旗大隊(圖58)千餘人的糧餉,大多取給於租田.屯田養兵,所以防苗,然今日的苗族多已同化於漢人,苗漢的界限漸泯,這種屯田防苗的制度已無存在的必要且今日苗中亂事,常因屯田而起,因爲苗弁屯長,對於徵收屯租過於苛刻,且藉端誅求,常常激成苗變.如民國二十六年湘西苗亂亦爲屯田而起焚燬屯倉,殺戮屯弁,雖經殲剿,暫告平息,然切要之圖,仍應改屯升科,以求根本的解決.

八 巫術與宗教

英人馬林諾斯基(Bronislaw Malinowski)氏有言:"無論怎樣的原始民族都有宗教與巫術,科學態度與科學通常雖都相信原始民族缺乏科學態度與科學,然而一切原始社會,凡經可靠而勝任的觀察者所研究的,都是顯然地具有兩種領域:一種是神聖的領域,一種是世俗的領域或科學的領域."❶據日人鳥居龍藏的報告:"今日之苗族已失其固有的宗教.❷這也許是鳥居氏的考察不能勝任,忽略了苗族的宗教因據作者考察湘西苗族的結果,知湘苗不僅沒有失去固有的宗教,即與宗教有關的巫術,至今亦仍存在他們一方面保存了固有的宗教,一方面接受了一小部份漢人的巫師教巫術的領域雖已縮小,然我們尚能找到他的遺留至在世俗的或科學的領域內,則因湘苗漢化較深,有些地方,已不能分別其為固有或已受漢化.

(一)宗教

苗人神鬼不分,凡是在他們神聖領域之中,而認為有超自然能力的:無論是魔鬼、祖靈或神祇都稱之為"鬼",苗語叫做"[kuen˨˩]".他們在日常生活中,如發現了奇異的現象或反常的狀態,以世俗領域中的智識能力不能去控制解釋,就以為有鬼

❶ 馬林諾斯基:巫術科學與宗教一文,見 Joseph Needham: "Science Religion and Reality"一書,有英文譯本,見李安宅譯:巫術科學宗教與神話頁1,商務版.

❷ 鳥居龍藏:苗族調查報,國立編譯館譯本頁250,商務版.

在作祟,於是有所戒懼或希望,有所祈禱或反抗。其唯一方法,便是乞靈於有超自然能力的鬼而祭鬼。

苗人雖神鬼不分,但信鬼有善惡之別。善鬼都住在天上[tɑ˧ piɑ˧]的陰間,人住的地上,卽爲陽間。他們沒有地獄之說,而信地下爲另一種人類所在。其人大如小指,以艾草編屋而居。人有一魂[pʰɛŋ˧]一形[kɔ˧-tʰiɛŋ˧]。做夢爲魂之出遊,而形則仍在睡處。他們生了病吃藥不愈,便以爲魂爲鬼攝去。人入昏迷狀態,乃形爲蠱婦捉住人死魂自升天,須聞雷鳴或苗巫來找而自己方知已死。死於非命者,如爲刀槍殺傷,或難產,滾坑,落坎而死,死後多爲惡鬼,不得上天或立卽投胎轉生;或在人間爲患於人。夜間見有黑氣一道,以爲鬼之出現,人當叫"[pɛ˧ tsʰɔɤ˧]"(驅逐之義)以驅之。苗人對於自然界種種現象,亦多信爲有鬼在主宰。如風有風鬼[kuɛŋ˧ ki˧],雷有雷鬼[kuɛŋ˧ ɕɔ˧],樹有樹鬼[kuɛŋ˧ nɑu˧]。遇暴風雷雨,必燒黃蠟以敬鬼。以上所述爲苗族的固有信仰。今漢人的巫教傳入苗疆,苗人亦信漢族之神。故今日苗疆中已有兩種宗教:一爲苗教,二爲客教❶。兩教各有分野,勢力亦不相上下。因爲二者的內容多爲生氣主義(Animism),故可並行而不背。

苗教與客教各有各的巫師。苗巫[pɑ˧ tɛ˧ ɕioŋ˧]俗稱苗老師,客巫[ɲɑ˧ tɛ˧ ɕɑ˧]則稱客老師。苗老師做小法事時,多穿便衣,舉行吃猪、椎牛大祭典時,始戴冠穿袍。法器有黃蠟碗、鈴鐺、竹筒、短劍及紙旗紙傘等。客老師在做大法事時穿神袍戴神帽。法器有牛角、師刀、柳巾等等。苗、客兩種巫師都只是執行宗教儀式之人,至於能通鬼神,如人病而能知道爲何種鬼在作祟,則另有

❶苗人稱漢人爲"客家",故由漢人傳去的宗教稱爲"客教"。

仙娘與神仙,能够走陰查訪.此外如問事之休咎,有卜卦先生推算得病的日子與揀選祭鬼的日期,有推算日子先生上述除苗老師外,餘多由漢人傳入.如推算日子的方法等,均與漢人相同.

要明瞭一個民族的宗教,最好的方法,是去參加所有的宗教儀式,詳細的去觀察並詢問;如不能遇到許多舉行儀式的機會,亦可藉可靠而勝任的詢問,去記錄與研究.

湘苗畏鬼,據永綏廳志所載綜計苗鄉所祭之鬼,有七十餘堂之多.❶ 我們曾研究過四十堂,雖不能說完全,然重要者已多在其內.對於湘苗宗教的內容,已可明瞭其十之八九.在那四十堂祭鬼儀式之中,有十六堂是屬於苗教,二十四堂屬於客教.

苗人的種種祭鬼儀式,無論是苗教或客教,無非是人類避禍求福的心理在行爲上的表現.避是避的疾病,死亡及其他一切災患;求是求的財富及子孫興旺.他們因信人間的禍福,全由鬼的主宰,所以畏鬼特甚.因畏而敬,因敬而祭.有了什麼不幸事故,固然要祭鬼;即平常無事時,在一定的時期內也要祭鬼.前者可以稱之爲特祭,是因爲有了疾病或其他不祥的事故或預兆時舉行的祭典;後者可以稱之爲常祭,是不因任何事故而舉行的祭典.

常祭雖不因任何事故而舉行,但其目的仍不外避禍求福.如苗教中的"祭祖"與"吃猪",客教中的"土地"與"飛山",無非是求鬼不作祟,而求其保佑.特祭之關於避禍的,可分爲四類:(一)患了疾病而求痊愈;(二)見了怪異現象或不祥事故而求祓除.(三)起了糾紛而求解決;(四)死了人而求解罪.其關於求福的,又可分爲二類:(一)爲求財;(二)爲求子.但有許多祭典,一面爲避禍,同

❶ 永綏廳志卷六.

時也可以求福的,如苗教中的"椎牛",爲疾病可舉行,爲求子也可舉行,客教中的"還願願",爲疾病可舉行,爲求財及求子,也都可舉行.

在我們調查所得的十六堂苗教祭鬼儀式中,"祭祖"與"吃請"兩堂是常祭;"打家先"、"贖魂"、"祭痘鬼"、"椎牛"是因病求意;"打乾爐"、"退古樹怪"、"洗貓兒"、"洗屋"是因見怪異及不祥而求祛除;"吃血"是因糾紛而求解決;"超度亡人"是因人死而求解脫.以上除"椎牛"同時爲求子外,都是爲避禍而舉行的祭典.

在二十四堂客教祭鬼儀式中,"土地"與"飛山"是常祭;其餘各堂祭典,大都可以象事數種所求的.茲將苗、客兩教各種祭鬼儀式分述如下.

1. 苗教

(1) 祭祖

祭祖,苗語叫做[ɕiɴ ɕioŋɴ],每家一年大都做一次,也有數年一做的,均於秋收後行之.如係死了人,則至多隔五六天就要做一次.所請鬼名爲[ɕioŋɴ lio˧ ɕioŋɴ ko˧].地點在屋內火塘旁.時間在早晨.做佈置用簸箕一只,內放酒五碗,肉五碗,其餘放滿粑粑.將簸箕放在火塘的左邊,塘之右旁擺蠟碗、竹筒,苗巫對火塘坐着,右手打竹筒,口中念咒,其大意謂:

"五六月早已過去,九十月到了.滿田五穀都熟了.男挑女背,搬穀回來.吃不完,請我來.帶來兵馬滿屋,燒黃蠟,打竹筒,預備了酒、肉、粑粑並紙錢,請鬼領受.領了暫不要吃!

至此停止打竹筒,用筊子卜筊,❶ 替主人一家大小一一卜過,以

❶筊子,一種卜具,用竹兩片做成.其字不見於各字書,大概是斐字之訛,與杯斐之斐,又作筊,校、教或教.卜筊之法:兩筊爲仰爲陽筊,均筊爲陰筊,一仰一筊爲陰筊.

陽筊(兩筊均仰)爲財氣,陰筊(兩筊均俯)爲病災,勝(一作聖)● 筊(一俯一仰)爲無事,同時念咒:

> 羅笑內的五碗肉,五碗酒,許多粑粑,都送給祖先,請你們吃了!

至此主人燒紙錢送鬼,巫師繼續的念咒:

> 你們吃完了酒肉,現在燒錢紙給你們!不燒是紙,燒了是錢,多少均分,你們回去,要作好鬼,不要想到人間,人間早晚吃飯,都要叫到你們,叫到就要來!在陰間知道人間有何災禍,就要竭力解救!"

念完了再卜筊,得陰筊就算做完,做祭祖,巫師自始至終多是坐着的,又因死人而祭祖,則須用水一盆,凡家人之手,多要洗過,以除不祥,祭祖的酒肉和粑粑,主人家與巫師共食;剩下來的送與巫師帶回去。

(2)吃猪

吃猪,苗語叫做[kuen˥ mba˧],義即"猪鬼",爲苗中祭祀大典之一,祭祖父母等家鬼及雷鬼,前後要做四天,共分十四節,事前預備猪四隻,水牛肉若干斤,牛肉煮熟,切成肉片,串成肉串,七片一串的共十四串,九片一串的,共十八串,預期請來母族妻族的親戚,母舅及妻舅在祭典中均稱後輩。

第一天晚上做第一節,謂之起場,用大桌一張,擺在正屋中間,桌上擺酒肉各五碗,酸湯一碗,零碎牛肉一盤,木桶一個,桶上放禾秸一根,巫師舉行法事,先放炮,次歌號,及後打編鼓而終。

● 宋程大昌演繁露"……勝筊,一仰一俯。"董夢程石林燕語:"一俯一仰爲聖筊"。

第二天做第二、三、四、五、六節。早上做第二節，爲祭祖父母及家鬼用小桌子一張，放在大門外，桌上放磨蓋一爿，反擺。磨上置木桶一個，桶上放刀一把，禾枯二根，牛草數根及途頭苞葉一束。並用托盤一個，內擺酒五杯，碎牛肉若干片。不燒黃蠟，巫師僅念咒而已。

第三節祭雷鬼最要忌用食鹽，因苗人迷信，雷鬼最怕食鹽。● 用大桌一張，亦擺在火門外，桌下擺鋤頭一柄，蓑衣一件，犂頭一張，又用瓦片一塊，中放小火炭數塊，上燒黃蠟，放在桌上，再擺酒、飯、水牛肉各七碗，酸湯茶各一碗，共計二十三碗。另擺水牛肉兩大盆，桌子旁邊放活豬一隻，四足捆住，屋外牆壁上掛紅氈子

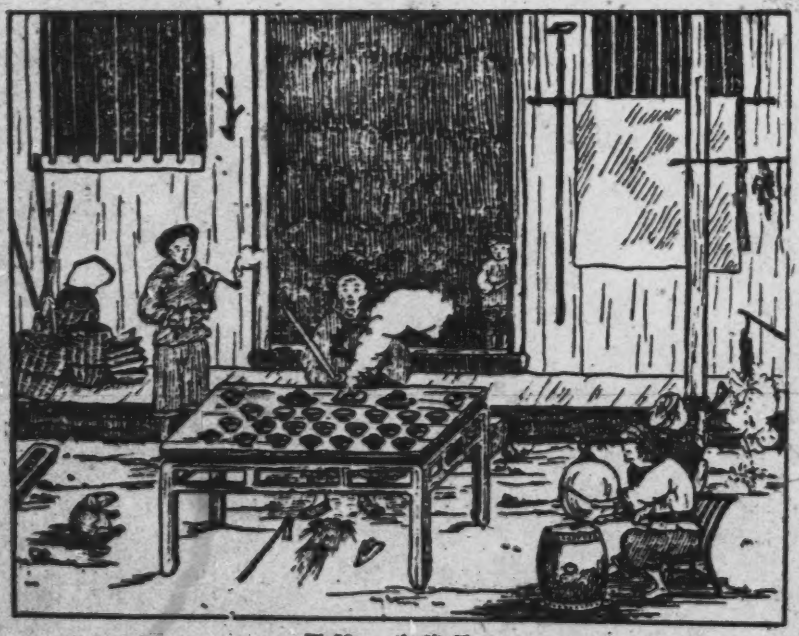


圖50 吃豬甲

● 參看敘事詩洪水神話 1.2.

一床,又梭額一枝,擺尖插木板一塊,倒立氈旁地上,巫師坐在正面,右手執寶劍一把,左手拿途顯芭蕉一束,手鈴一只,口中念咒,在場陪神人等執壺把酒,吹號,打鑼鼓,燃放鞭炮,如圖59,先殺水牛肉七串,一次獻一串,獻至七次方畢,再將豬一隻由巫師獻給鬼後,即送廚房宰殺煮熟,再割取豬的各部份肉及心,肝,腰,肺,分做七盤,上獻送鬼。

第四節在下午將晚的時候做,用小桌一張,放在門外,上擺香,米,利市◎,青燭一對,並酒五杯。

第五節在晚上起更後做,用大桌子兩張相連,橫擺在堂屋內,桌之四面圍擺長凳若干張,桌上擺酒十二碗,內外各六碗;飯十二碗,擺成一長排,每碗之上放豬肉一塊,插筷子一雙,肉十二碗,亦照飯碗擺成一長排,肉碗之前又擺酸湯茶各一碗,桌子的一角,放一木桶,桶上放禾枯二根,寶劍一把,巫師與後輩及最親近的親族圍桌而坐,巫師舉行法事,餘人放炮,吹打,喧鬧一堂。

第六節在二更後做,用長門板一塊擺起,放在地樓外方,上擺酒九碗,肉九碗,甜酒九碗,另酸湯一碗,茶一碗,右方擺磨盤一爿,上置一桶,桶上插禾枯一束,寶劍一把,巫師及後輩三人坐成一排,背後懸紅氈子一床,巫師做法事,由三尊三獻,五尊五獻,七尊七獻,做至九尊九獻,後輩三人非坐陪鬼,如圖60,坐到有人出外小便後,主婦拿出雄雞一隻,由巫師獻牲,而後宰殺煮熟獻鬼。

第三天做第七,八,九,十,十一,十二節,第七節在早晨做,亦用長門板一塊擺起,上擺酒,肉各九碗,酸湯一碗,茶一碗,及香米利市,上插弓箭一副,銀手鐲一隻,紙片一條,又磨盤一爿,盤上置一

◎利市,一種紙錢。

圖80 乞請之狀

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

木桶,桶上插禾枯二根及寶劍一把,磨柄上插竹柄籮,中橫穿木板一塊,一端削成魚尾形,上穿一小孔,繫紅頭繩一根,上刻×形。儲穀就緒,巫師即舉行法事。

第八節用酒,飯,茶各七碗,擺在地樓正屋中間柱子脚下,巫師行法事,念咒,祭祖先,苗人以爲中柱脚下是家堂,是他們列祖列宗所在之地。

第九節在正屋的左面一間,用大肥猪一隻,四足捆着,中穿一木棍,棍的兩端,結在兩根木樁上,先由巫師交牲與鬼,再宰殺煮熟,用小篾籠七個裝肉,又以碗裝肉七碗,酒飯各七碗,擺在一起;另切肉片,七片串成一串,共七串放在盤內,巫師念咒卜筶送鬼,此係祭五穀鬼。

第十節在中午的時候做,豎五花柱❶兩根在場上,每柱繫猪一隻,用蔴繩捆着後脚,此繩須由後輩搓成,又雄雞一隻,用細絲線穿着鼻子,繫在五花柱旁的一小木柱上,巫師戴帽穿袍,手執樹枝一根,站在屋簷下,主人頭戴禮帽,身披紅氈子一條,先以長凳一張,放在五花柱上,左手執寶劍一把,篾條一根,揚篾條作趕猪狀,巫師念咒送猪,焚香燒紙畢,諸後輩手持兵器出,如圖61,向內行三鞠躬,再向外三鞠躬,乃宰猪殺雞。

第十一節在正屋中間前面做,地鋪篾蓆一床,上擺各後輩的衣帽,蓆後放一長凳,上擺酒一碗,水牛肉一塊,巫師立在門外,頭戴斗笠,身背篾籠,籠內裝衣服等物,手撑木棍一根,口中念咒,說猪鬼的根源,念畢,直進屋內,吃凳上的酒肉。

第十二節在深夜或四五更時做,用長門板擱起爲桌,將五

❶花五柱,用長約三丈餘的杉木做成,上刻花紋,塗以紅白顏色。

圖61 吃牯藏

花往上巳宰殺的兩隻豬,割洗乾淨,放在桌上,豬頭向內,桌上又擺酒、肉、甜酒各九碗,酸湯一碗,茶一碗,又飯十二碗,每碗上擺夾花肉串一串,並有麻蓋及香米糕市等物,不吹打,由巫師靜悄悄的通呈。

第四天做第十三、十四節第十三節在五更雞啼時做,一巫裸身披毛氈子,頭戴草帽,左手執牛角一個,內裝水酒,右手執刀一把,並拿豬肉一串,計有肉七片,去至河邊或井邊,將牛角中之酒倒去,換裝清水,轉至途中,將肉七片吃了,來到門外,學雞叫之聲,進屋即坐下,桌上擺一托盤,盤內放酒三杯,肉三片,盤下放缽頭一個,牛角所裝之水即倒在缽內,巫師擊鼓念咒,念畢,取水之人跑出門外,主人以柴灰撒在他的身上。

第十四節爲送鬼,在早晨做,以豬頭煮熟切成小片或小塊,分裝在三托盤內,每盤內放酒三杯,一盤擺在正屋的中柱下,一盤在前半間的地上,一盤在門邊,由巫師念咒送鬼。

(3)打家先

苗人生病,吃藥不愈,就要許願"打家先",苗語叫做[pɑɤ˥ mbɑ˩ ɕioŋ˥],義即"打苗豬",或在病時舉行,或在病愈之後還願,事前主人須至母舅家報信,請舅家七人(須六男一女)來作客,如舅家人數不足七人,可由母舅轉請他人補足之,但所請之人,不得與主人同姓,日期可以不必揀選,祇須過下述幾種忌日:如家中生小孩,須滿月後方可做;生貓,亦須隔一月;生豬、羊、牛、馬、狗要過十二天;孵雞、鴨、鵝,三天之後;家有喪事或主人見別家喪事,須隔十二天,舅家倘未過以上的忌日,則外甥家來報信時,可回絕之,如主人因家病急急,不能延擱,亦可由主人另請,例不得請同

姓之客.

打家先的儀式,共分四節,自早至晚,需時一整日.所請之鬼共八位:[naŋ˨ nɛ˧ tʂoŋ˥ teŋ˥],[naŋ˨ ma˧ bu˨ ɲieŋ˧],[tʂoŋ˥ teŋ˥ tʂoŋ˥ ʑieŋ˧], [bu˨ ɲieŋ˧ tʂei˧ nɛ˧],(據云這四位是家先普通鬼名); [bu˨ naŋ˨ tʂoŋ˥ lia˧], [a˥ naŋ˨ tsoŋ˥ kaɤ˥], (是家先老鬼); [tʂoŋ˥ meŋ˧ t'ɛ˥ ɕio˧],[tʂoŋ˥ toŋ˥ t'ɛ˥ lia˧],(是所請七位客人的鬼名). 地點在屋內火塘旁.苗巫坐在火塘後面低凳上,面向門外,前置竹筒蠱碗.火塘前擺一方桌,桌上置方花紙十塊,分做二列:後列每方紙上放一碗酒,再後插紙鬼四個;兩旁桌角各插紙旗一面.另雞兩隻,用細繩穿鼻,繫於桌足;豬兩隻,用繩縛足,放在雞前,頭向灶.在苗巫位置的右旁,地上置一簸箕,墊上置一飯桶,

圖62 打家先

稻與蓋分開,稍前置一罐,罐內墊一花紙,紙上放一酒碗,在簸箕之前火塘右旁,置一矮凳,矮凳上用簸條三條紮一半圓頂,外用紙糊後,再覆以布,內插紙鬼三位,中放花紙四張,後兩張之上各置酒一碗,如圖62.

第一節請神 苗巫坐在矮凳上,不用法器,祇口中念咒,咒詞的大意如下:

主人的上下行的親戚們!主人近來交了壞運,行路時遇見草木作怪;吃飯時有破鍋碎片在飯碗裏作怪,主人眼快,才見此怪.(念某某家先鬼名)鬼要食吃,先來作怪,使主人生病.主人生病不愈,才來口頭許願,許願以後,病就好了,許了願,脫了鬼鎖,病不再發,並且永遠斷根.主人積到了錢財,就去趕場買肥豬,買錢紙過了忌日,才來祭鬼世上巫師很少,才到我家來請我,我來了再請諸鬼來到此地燒起一碗黃蠟,竹筒與鈴鐺都放在火塘之旁,裝肉的兩個簸箕,金銀的罐頭,金銀的盤子,也都擺好在火塘的旁邊,祭鬼的桌子,用來贖魂的錢紙,盛酒的花碗,大小肥豬,兩隻大雞,亦都擺在桌旁請鬼來收領,領了請快吃.(念某某家先鬼名)

第二節打竹筒.苗巫打竹筒,同時念咒,大意是說許多怪狀,如十二棵大樹作怪;吃了魚肉、筍、煙作怪;用水洗澡、坐船遇到了水怪;衣服作怪;螞蟻、田螺作怪;木棍、竹竿作怪等等.

第三節交牲第二節咒語念畢,稍息.苗巫即將竹筒收起,黃蠟碗移至桌上,然後請男家七個客人中的一男一女,對面而坐:男客在裏靠簸箕而坐,面向外;女客在外靠簸箕而坐,面向內.其餘男客五人坐在桌子靠火塘一邊的長板凳上,其餘都不動.苗巫右手執箭,左手搖鈴,又開始念咒:

打家先的領預備好了,共有七個空酒碗,兩個在火塘的旁邊,五個在門的旁邊,請來領收!領了不要就喝,說到請來,不送不到,要送就到,要請鎮師的兵馬,要命我的千兵萬馬,就交大猪,就送小猪,就送兩隻,隻送到寨裏,小猪送到圈裏,大猪送到棧裏.

至此巫師作手勢送猪,送猪有口訣三句,聲甚低,旁人祇見其嘴動而不聞其聲,據苗巫言,當日師父傳授此訣時,曾再三囑咐,日後弄有真正徒弟不可傳授,萬不可亂傳於人,否則,本人要喪失生命,或做法事不靈,念完了三句送猪口訣,又高聲念道:

煞忙的人手拿木棍,當猪胸一棍打死,扛去火燒,用水來洗!快點做!鬼等在此地,已有半日了.

念畢主人與煞忙的人將猪用棍打死,扛至屋內,用火燒燒,熟後用水洗淨,破肚,剖成兩爿;一爿主人收起,但須砍下一腿送與巫師;餘一爿寫七位客人所得,另一猪亦照此分派,惟主人的一份收起,客人的一份切成小塊,用碗七隻盛肉,兩碗放在簸箕的花紙上,五碗放在桌子的花紙上,再以肉數塊,放在簸箕的縫隙裏,肉盛好以後,各人仍回到原位.

第四節送鬼巫師左手搖鈴,右手執筊,口中念咒,大意謂:

猪在鍋裏煮熟了,做好七碗肉,再和七碗酒,都放在火塘旁邊,還有十碗肉,放在門邊,巫師來把這許多酒肉,獻給家先鬼,請鬼領受!

念畢卜筊,全家卜畢,再卜送鬼筊,如鬼已去,客人即稍嘗猪肉,燒了所分得的猪肉各自回家,此時巫師與主人均不能吃肉,巫師領將各種紙鬼紙旗並錢紙,拿到大路上焚化,主人即將二隻牽回煮熟,待巫師回來共食之.

(4)推牛

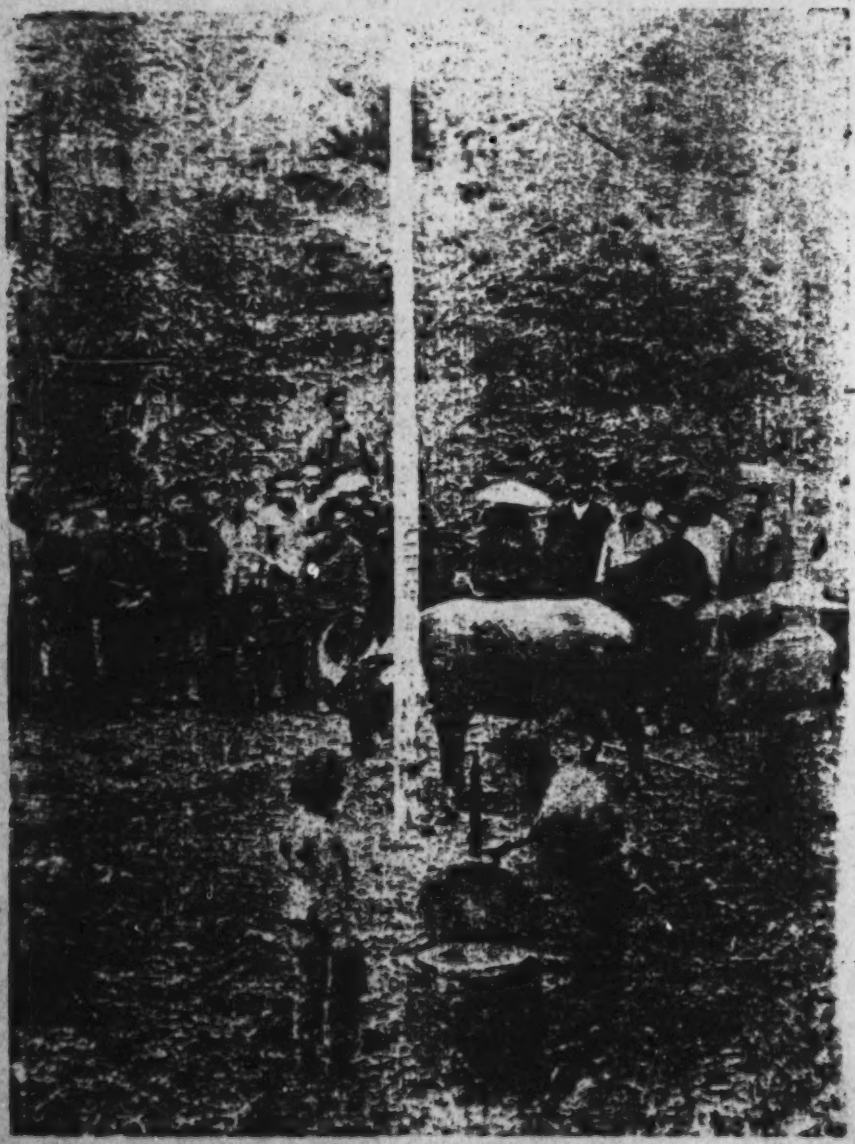
推牛,苗語叫做[kuei˥ pie˧],義即"水牛鬼",爲苗中最大肥典,苗人病重,如卜得其病爲牛鬼作祟;或中年以後無子,如卜得爲牛鬼在南天門阻止女圖王送子前來,均須請苗巫來家,燒黃蠟,打鑼鼓,許推牛大願,許了願以後,果能病危轉安,或求子得子,則信以爲牛鬼之賜,就要預備推牛還願,最要者爲選購水牛,須選四蹄有四旋,耳、目、口、鼻、角、蹄等均要端整完備的水牛,所以有時很難買到,且價又奇昂,如主人在市場上買到水牛以後,即預遣人回家報信,使家人預備鑼鼓,至途中迎牛,引牛進屋,即停止鑼鼓,燒香紙,看牛的形狀,以卜吉凶,水牛進屋時,舉足前進,頭向香爐及神龕一看,主吉;如水牛趦趄不前或退後,似有驚駭之狀,主凶,買到水牛之後,即請苗巫來家交牛與鬼,並對鬼祝告:先將水牛交牽,俟秋收霜降後,再行牽祭,決不翻悔展期.

秋收完畢,已交霜降節令,即擇定吉日祭鬼,於前半個月,請族中兄弟四人,分頭至親戚處去報信,最要緊的親戚爲主人的母舅與妻舅家,謂之抬腿親戚,所謂抬腿,因祭鬼的牛腿,祭畢,舅親須分得一隻,一牛分頭、二、三、四四腿,頭腿屬母舅,二腿屬妻舅,三、四兩腿送與其他至親,凡抬腿的親戚得信後,送紅布一條與報信者,表示謝意,又在祭鬼之前十二日中,忌見各種穢物,如死貓、死狗、死人等等,如犯忌,則不能牽陪牛鬼,抬腿親戚常約族中兄弟同去,少者十餘人,多至六七十人,並請吹手,吹唢呐,打鑼鼓,整隊而去,富有之家,甚至做旗前清官制,儀仗,有作細樂,用鑼打傘者,抬頭腿的舅家,並須預備挑擔一把,大高籮一根,挑擔用以刺牛,高籮用以裝牛頭.

苗中椎牛祭鬼,最爲耗財之事,主人除購水牛外,又須購黃牛一頭,豬兩隻,雞兩隻,並香紙,爆竹,甜酒,酸魚等物;親戚族人則多領送禮。

從前苗中椎牛祭鬼,爲期五日之久,今已改爲三天第一日上客,是日早上,抬腿的親戚整隊而來,近主人家時,放炮作樂,主人出外迎接,向抬腿親戚燒香紙,磕頭三個,苗人以爲牛鬼與毋舅僧來,至上燈以後,所請客人大約均已到齊,吃過晚飯,男女客人即開始唱歌(參看歌謠章第29,30兩首吃牛歌及33,34,35三首打花鼓歌)與鼓舞,苗人鼓舞,漢人名之謂打猴兒鼓(詳見鼓舞與遊技章),先由主人打起,抬腿人次之,依客人與主人關係的親疎,挨次而打,最後及幫忙人等,同時巫師舉行法事,用大桌兩張,擺在正屋的中間,併成一長桌,桌上鋪一層米糠,擺酒碗,肉碗,鐵製三脚架一,上放鐵罐一個,磨盤一爿等物,桌之四週繞以板凳若干張,巫師與四位抬腿人穿得衣冠端整,有時穿神袍,巫師坐在中央,四位抬腿人依次而坐,吹哨吶,打鑼鼓者,坐在下面,巫師右手搖鈴,左手執筶子,口中念咒,念完一段,吹手吹打樂器一次,巫師有時站起,陪鬼的抬腿人亦站起;巫師坐下,抬腿人亦坐下;巫師獻酒,抬腿人亦要獻酒,前後一共九次,做至深更方畢。

第二天早上,由巫師吩咐幫忙人至寨外選擇場地,豎立五花柱,豎好以後,用篾條打成圓圈,套在柱上,用藤繩穿牛鼻子,再扣在圓圈,抬腿人所帶來的葛藤,用以紮緊牛角,使勿以角傷人如圖63,佈置已畢,請巫師檢查,如認爲妥貼方可,然後主人換穿新衣,用酒肉祭鬼,燒香紙,向牛行三跪九叩首禮,巫師同時念咒,敬牛鬼的根源,至巫師念畢,別父手執棱鎗,作追牛狀狀,然後授鎗於青年子弟,實行刺牛,同時鑼鼓喧天,牛繞五花柱而跑,



[P.142, A]

人在後追逐遠刺,及牛昏倒在地,則觀牛頭的倒向以定吉凶:頭向主人宅主吉,向外則主凶。

牛既刺死,則分割牛肉,牛頭及心、肝、腸、腑均歸主人,用以祭鬼。牛之左右後腿,歸抬頭腿二腿人,左右前腿歸抬三腿四腿人。牛胸部則歸巫師所有。

第三天早上正屋中間巫師又舉行法事,同時散客。除抬腿的親戚每人得腿一隻外,其餘親朋,亦須送牛肉六兩或半斤,多至一二斤。肉之多少,須視客人與主人的戚誼與交情而定。

(5)贖魂

在趕場的時候,或在任何地方,喝了井水或河水,因而得病。苗人以爲是失了魂魄。就要請巫師來贖魂。苗語叫做 [lio˨ kuaŋ˨], 原爲"泉鬼"之義所請的鬼爲 [naŋ˩ nɛ˩ lio˨ u˩], [naŋ˩ ma˩ lio˨ tɤ˨˩] 二位時間在白天地點在大門外或空地上用桌子一張,放於地上,上擺酒五碗,肉五碗,香三枝。苗巫祇用箸子一副,口中念咒,其大意謂:

> 日前主人在井邊喝水,恐怕是井公井婆,將他的魂魄捉去,生起病來,手痛脚痛上下走動很難,看見石階,就要心跳,現在拿酒肉來贖魂,用金銀來贖魂,請你們快把主人魂魄放回來,使他早早復原。

苗巫雖手執箸子,並不卜箸,念畢,即燒紙送鬼。

(6)祭瘟鬼

苗人無論男女,在脚上或腿上生瘟日久不愈,以爲是 [naŋ˩ ɲuei˩ pi˨ nu˩],[naŋ˩ nu˩ pi˨ ɕɛ˨˩]鬼作怪,就要用酒肉各

五碗,線香三枝,請苗巫於日間在正屋中祭鬼,苗語叫做 [pa˧˥ pi˧ nu˨˩]. 巫師右手執箭,口中所念咒語,無非是求鬼快使病人痊愈.卜箭以勝箭除箭主凶,勝箭主吉,如得勝箭或除箭,須重念卜,俟得勝箭後,始能燒紙送鬼.

(7)打乾蠅

打乾蠅,苗語叫做[tɑ˥ ʂ'io˨ t'ɑ˧ lieŋ˨˩].苗人在家時遇遇鼠尿落在身上,雞雞怨嗜,或生軟殼蛋;出外時上坡見有兩條蛇在一起;走路時鳥尿落在頭上,這許多偶然的現象,苗人都視爲凶兆,就要請卜卦的推算,並不言明所見何怪.倘卜卦者推算出來的與你所見的相同,就要請巫師打乾蠅.做一次打乾蠅,除預備的時間不算外,大約要半天的功夫,自早晨做到中午.儀式共分四節,分述如下:

第一節請鬼,苗語叫做 [ʐɑ˨ piɑ˧˥]. 所請之鬼共有四位: [nɑŋ˨ nɛ˨ kueŋ˧ ʂio˨˩],[nɑŋ˨ mɑ˨ kueŋ˧ lieŋ˨˩],[kueŋ˧ bu˨ kueŋ˧ teŋ˧],[kueŋ˧ ʐoŋ˨ kueŋ˧ piɑ˧˥].據苗巫云,四鬼爲兩男兩女,係天上最尊之鬼.請鬼在正屋門前,巫師先期前一日在主人家剪就的紙幣掛在三根樹幹上,再把紙旗圍樹幹插成一半圓形,階下放小桌,桌上擺飯碗十二個,碗底向上,底座中盛酒,用代酒盅,再以一小碗,中燃黃蠟.苗巫立於階上,右手執箭,左手搖鈴,口中念念有詞,即開始請鬼(圖 64).在念咒之前,先呼 [ha ji jo o ho ho],呼畢,接念咒語,其大意如下.

日出日落,盆內黃蠟之煙冲天,引鬼來此屋中.這黃蠟乃我(苗巫自稱)手燒的,蠟煙冲上山坡,巫師立在屋前,蠟煙變成了雲霧,遮蔽了山坡,遮蔽了巫師,蠟煙升至天上,合了雲霧,

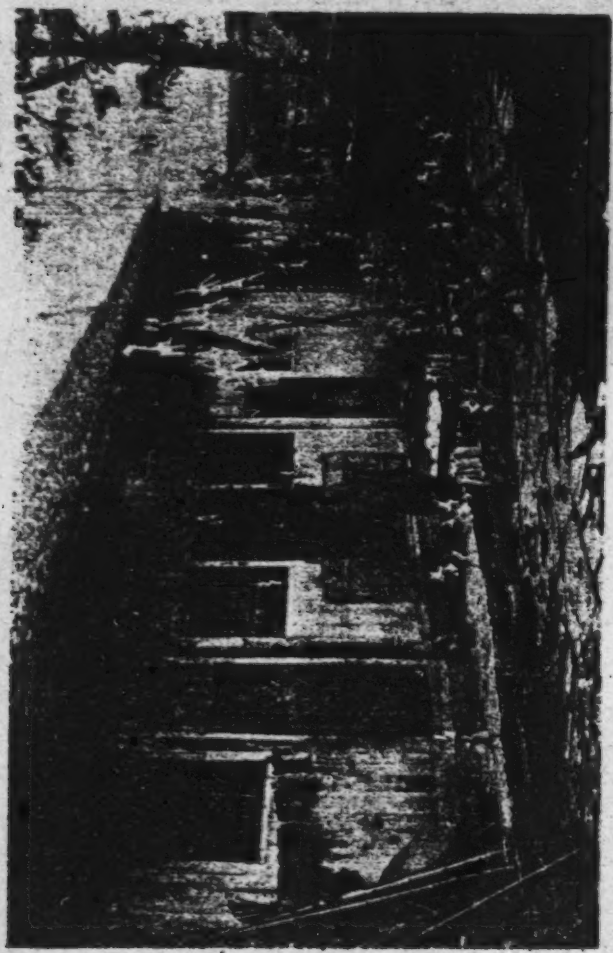


圖 14 行祭儀時的巫師

一齊保護世界,鬼不認識巫師,見了巫師要怕,我做三次,各燒三堆黃蠟,黃蠟之煙,飄到巫師的壇前,引祖師下降,請千百位祖師,來到此地,某某祖師……(念祖師名)都來了!請你們不離我身,在前為門,在後為城,在前成山,在後成被,在前為兵,在後為將,上山一路,下水一船,一言一語,都要隨從,同在一處,隨口要叫你們的名字,主人坐得安穩,不到田裏去咒誓,到廟不咒誓,在屋不咒誓,不以冷水咒誓,打雷手不咒誓,主人有飯人飯吃,並不欺人,而笑人兒孫,不作傷天害理之事,只看見五方六面破事與法.

至此又燒黃蠟,並作手勢以引鬼為,繼續念咒:

打乾癟的旗杆,紙旗有頭倒不齊的,請乾癟鬼看正,這是乾癟鬼作怪,所以豬發瘋狂,狗上屋頂,豬跑上門,雞遊窩吃蛋,猪到櫃上吃小兒,蛙蛙能變蛙蛙啼,蛙蛙能孵雛,雞生軟殼蛋,狗產一隻,豬生二隻,三月禾結穗,出門遇着死物,看見雙蛇,二虎躲在屋邊,鼠作吱吱之聲,屋內見蛇,蛇皮脫在家裏,主人做惡夢,夢在雨雪之上,夢在樹林之中,主人才去卜卦,卜知不是他鬼作祟,乃是乾癟鬼乞食,想享人間的祭祀,算得吉日許愿,許了愿就得平安無事,過了幾日,主人看有後附,上下塞今日有牛死了,拿錢買得牛肉回來,回到家裏就請巫師,巫師引其兵馬祖師來到主人屋內,燒起黃蠟,搖起鈴鐺,放好一個桌子,桌上好登場中插了紙旗,豎起旗杆,掛上紙幡,零散一堆,各樣物件,都擺齊了!

面巫念畢,即將筊子拜在地下,拜在身傍,觀筊以卜鬼之是否降臨,勝二筊,鬼尚未降;剩得勝筊,則鬼已降臨,如鬼未降,又須重請

第二節敲竹筒[pa˧˥ ɕioŋ˧ doŋ˨˩],做這一節的時候,門外各種陳設不動,只移黃蠟碗於門內右角,竹筒放於地,在黃蠟碗後,苗巫坐在竹筒後矮凳上右手打竹筒,口中念咒,每打一下,口念二字(圖65),咒詞的大意如下:

主人今日請我來打乾蠟,乃是自己情願,並非他人強迫,天上的日龍月龍,田裏的水龍我頭戴三個銅帽,足穿緞鞋,身

圖65 打乾蠟之苗巫

被蓑衣,竹筒擺在前面,紅綠布條繫好了鈴鐺,祖師立在黃蠟煙的旁邊,師傅立在刀的旁邊,我依黃蠟煙而上去,已上升到了神地,已同四位乾鑼鬼在一起了,你們別處有事不要去等我把話說完,同黃蠟煙而去,請你們保佑主人平安長壽,保佑他的兒孫,保佑牲畜,保佑財喜,各種都保佑完了!

第三節悔罪 [t'ɑN mie⁴] 做時巫師立在室內中間,面向門外用一長方矮桌,上擺酒五碗,肉五塊,苗巫手執柔刀,刀口向下,向左右切下快慢亦如打竹筒,口念咒語:

巫師立在門內做,忙忙的人擺齊了酒碗,肉塊在凳上,袋紙,斧頭,鐵刀,剪子,梳子,一切用具都齊備了,祈鬼收領,收了用具,請慢吃喝,我拿起鐵刀,在岩石上磨快了,這刀不砍壞主人的好處,只砍斷乾鑼鬼的鎖鍊,請你們吃好肉五塊,好酒五碗,主人平素發誓吃血,今請他釋罪,各種禍事隨刀砍去,[p'iN ɕin⁴] (嚇鬼之聲),主人跨過了這把鐵刀,就得平安無事,以前主人與何人有寃,今日一概推送到寃家去 [p'iN ɕin⁴] 大金刀劈開光明大路,小金刀劈開光明小路

苗巫用刀來悔罪,要做三次,再用剪刀來悔罪,再念:

主人家的剪刀,借得來替主人悔罪,悔罪就能得福,這剪刀剪禍不剪福,剪主人的孝布,剪縛足之繩,剪綁手之索,剪主人的棺材,主人跨過了剪刀,就平安得福,[p'iN ɕia⁴]. 大剪刀剪開光明大路,小剪刀剪開光明小路

剪刀用完了,再拿梳子來悔罪,向左一梳,向右一梳,口中繼續念咒:

這日梳月梳,是土地廟的,借來替主人解罪,這梳不梳去主人的好處,只梳他的過失,主人平日在土地廟前賭咒,在土

地廟前吃血,血留在嘴上,血汗在五臟,主人梳了這日梳月梳,就得平安了! [p'iɴ ɕia˨]. 大梳梳開光明大路,小梳梳開光明小路.

苗巫用完刀剪,梳三件以後,即換用箸子替主人及其家人卜,同時口中念咒:

你罪三次都完了,巫師才來請問乾雞鬼,請問祖師,問話都先報清楚,要問主人一家大小男女老幼事,主人家中財穀、六畜吳禍等等,隨口請問,以箸為憑,陰箸凶險,陽箸平穩,勝箸吉利,問鬼問完了,只有錢紙來燒,紙燒了便是錢,得多分多,得少分少.

第四節送鬼[soŋ˥ kueŋ˩].送鬼佈置與請鬼同,惟桌上添肉十二碗,粑粑十二堆,酒十二碗仍舊.苗巫右手執鈴,左手執箸,口中念咒:

諸鬼都齊在此地,將酒肉祭鬼,十二碗肉,十二堆肉,酒肉都擺在門前,乾雞鬼都愛吃這酒肉,即請領了吃了,領受了請保佑一家大小平安無事,不輸錢漏米,不吃官司,牛不生瘟疫,吃草不落坎,吃水不落水,上山犁地平安,保佑猪、狗、雞、鴨放在外面,到晚自行歸來,不飼食料自能生長,一個比得千個百個,蛋來抓雞抓不到,主人行路踏到亂石不跌倒,房子失火燒不着,主人出外做生意,去東也有利,去西也有利,四方都有利,主人的一切都保佑完了!再要保佑在此熬忙的人沒有熬忙的,祭鬼就祭不成,熬忙的人要在此地才行,你們有棍不要打人,有繩不要綁人,保佑巫師!我不在此做法事,你們不能到此來享受,說話不對請原諒,為我消災去禍,過水不濕,過火不燒,各種都說完了.

至此苗巫用白布一長條裹頭,一端拖在地上,再繼續念咒:

我戴的孝帕,不是父母的孝,不是娘舅姊妹的孝,不是親家的孝,也不是寨上長輩的孝,乃替主人戴的孝.我戴了此孝,主人一切的禍事都消去了.巫師戴了孝,主人家中男女大小都不死,並且一切禍事沒有了.

念完了上段,又拿鈴鐺來搖,同時再念咒:

幫忙的人,請你們拿起刀子,把乾罐的樁子砍斷,放在外面場上.我來把錢紙收下來,要你們去燒化,不燒是紙,化了是錢,得多分多,得少分少.巫師再來取酒肉,乾罐鬼多吃,一次、二次、三次,大家都得吃了.吃了即請回去,以後主人卜卦推算,不許再算到乾罐鬼之名.主人日後去算別的鬼,不得再見乾罐鬼名出來,縱還不到祭乾罐鬼的日子了.從今以後,主人的夢兆,都是吉祥,一切凶險之事斷絕,萬年平安. [ha ji jo ho ho]!

苗巫念畢,即擲筊子於地,以卜鬼之去否.如得陰筊與陽筊,則鬼已去;陽筊則爲未去,須再念送鬼咒,其詞略有變更,略謂:現在我們送鬼回去了,謝謝你們,此次酒肉不多,很抱歉的,再卜筊,得陰筊爲止.將紙錢等物焚化,祭祀完畢.

(8) 退古樹怪

苗人在屋內忽聞怪聲,開門不見何物,即以爲是住屋的前後或寨邊的大樹作怪,是 [nɑŋ˨ ŋuei˨ t'oŋ˥ nduɹ], [nɑŋ˨ nu˨ t'oŋ˥ lho˥] 二鬼來乞食.要請巫師來退古樹怪,苗語叫做 [gi˥ ndu˨].在夜間用桌子一張,放在大門外,桌上擺酒肉各五碗,黃鱔一碗.苗巫坐在桌前,右手打竹筒,口念退古樹怪咒,大意是請

鬼吃了酒肉快去,寨中的小兒聽了怪聲都駭怕。詞中有"殺羊一隻以祭鬼"。可見從前亦用羊做祭物,今已省去不用,而詞中仍保存念了一段,停止打竹筒,改以左手搖鈴,再念,同時卜筊,卜得勝筊或陰筊,請怪已去;如得陽筊則否,須重念重卜;至卜得勝筊或陰筊,才能燒紙送鬼。

(9)洗屋

自己之屋爲別姓所住,搬去後,屋主必請苗巫洗屋,否則主人住了不得興旺。洗屋,苗語叫做 [ndzaʌ pɔɤɴ]。請的鬼爲 [deiʌ ɔɤɴ nonɴ dɛʌ], [deiʌ lɑɴ nonɴ qaʌ] 二位。時間在白天無論何時,地點不論正屋側屋,祇須在屋內,面對門外。佈置用桌一張,上擺酒五碗,豬肉五塊,米粑五堆,豆腐五塊;青布六尺,鋪在桌下地上,布上放銅元一二串;又用公雞一隻,結兩翅縛於桌子脚上;不用黃蠟,祇用線香三枝,插在米粑上。巫師執筊搖鈴,立在桌子前面,所念的咒語,大意是:

> 現在預備好了酒、肉、雄雞、粑粑、豆腐、青布、清水,現發來洗屋,要先請主人的祖宗,聽我叫聲,快些下來,快來受領祭物。再請以前房客的先人來。主人恐在此不得平安,所以請我來洗屋,我帶了許多兵馬而來。用水來洗屋,先洗火床,再洗火塘,洗屋的左右,洗屋的前後門,洗了三次,以後主人住了,要大發大旺,財源茂盛,五穀豐登,六畜興旺。作怪之鬼,現已送出門外,以後永保平安。

念完了就卜筊,得陽筊或勝筊爲吉,燒紙送鬼;如得陰筊,又須重念,至卜得陽筊或勝筊爲止。巫師做完後,將桌上的酒喝了,又把所有祭鬼的雞、肉、粑粑、豆腐、青布、銅錢一併取去

(10)洗貓兒

苗人以貓兒死在家裏爲不祥之兆,必請巫師洗屋,以驅凶邪.苗語叫做[t'a˧ ta˥-maŋ˩].所祭的鬼爲[kueŋ˧ maŋ˩ jeŋ˨ ʈiaŋ˩], [kueŋ˧ maŋ˩ jeŋ˨ ɕiaŋ˩]。時間在白天,地點在正屋內,不論何處,惟須面對門外.用桌一張,上擺酒肉各五碗,分成兩行,不用黃蠟.巫師右手執筊,口念咒語,大意謂:

祭鬼的原因爲一貓死在家裏貓兒死在家裏,主人不敢坐在此屋吃食,吃了恐怕要生病不敢在此屋住,住了恐怕不得興旺,所以請鬼來趕死貓出去。

念完就卜筊,如卜得陰筊或勝筊,爲貓鬼已去;卜得陽筊,則鬼還留在屋內,再從頭重念,至卜得貓鬼已去,才能燒紙錢送鬼。

(11)吃血

苗人兩造爭論一事或爭財物,是非莫辨;或遇冤忿不能自白,卽行吃血設誓,苗語叫做[ʈiɤ˧ tɛ˩ nʈ'ieŋ˧]。小事卽在寨上土地廟中,大事須至天王廟❶中吃血茲分述之:

甲、土地廟吃血

在土地廟吃血,又名吃雞血在日間或晚上,備公雞一隻,錢紙若干,先將公雞宰殺,滴血於酒中,携至土地廟中,供於鬼前.鬼名[naŋ˨ nɛ˩ ʈiɤ˧ bu˩], [naŋ˨ ma˩ ʈi˥ teŋ˧]。請苗巫念咒大意謂:

巫師來到叉路無法可想,從前無事不敢亂說土地鬼名,只因他們兩家相爭地界,各執一詞,不能解決今日才做成這

❶參看祭天王。

一碗雞血,兩方來到鬼前吃血設誓,吃了就要當堂生效。至此,爭論的當事人,各吃血一口,巫師燒紙再念:

冤枉他人的,吃了這血就死,並且要九死九絕。

念完即散,雞由巫師取去,雙方並須送錢與巫師,三四串或一二串無定數。

乙、天王廟吃血

到天王廟中吃血,又名吃牆血,因須刺牆血滴酒中,飲以盟心。在天王廟吃血,必有中證,謂之監血人。吃血的名目甚多,有吃一筒血、二筒血、三筒血之分,因事多而吃血的次數亦多。又有吃替血,即中證人或一造的親戚,爲彼造所指定之人替主人吃血,而此造始願了結。又有吃滿堂血者,則中證彼此一概吃血,多因兩造互有所藉口,而無可奈何,彼此中證一律吃血。又有全家吃血者,一家父、母、妻、子、男、婦、大、小一同入廟吃血,吃血中以此最爲嚴重。吃血後均須盟誓,誓詞云:"你若冤我,我大發大旺;我若冤你,我九死九絕。"事無大小,吃血後,則必無悔。

在天王廟吃血,須寫盟誓文疏,並開一血單燒化。監血者有酬勞錢八百八十文,多至八千八百文,謂之絢話錢。吃血後三日,必宰牲酬還,謂之悔罪做鬼。

苗人好鬼又好訟,有時涉訟經年,有司不能直者,叫他們吃血則罷。最如煜苗防備覽云:"當其入廟吃血,則膝行股慄,莫敢仰視;理屈者逡巡不敢飲,悔罪而罷。"作者前在苗疆調查時,鳳凰縣政府秘書王悅岩先生告我說:"天王廟乃苗疆的大理院,苗人不服縣府判決者,勸令其至天王廟吃血,無論大小訟案,當可立決。"可見苗人之畏鬼,甚於畏法。

(12)超度亡人

家中死了人,替死者超度解罪,苗語叫做[tɕ'ɑ˧ miɛ˥],即使人解脫之義所祭的鬼有兩位: [lio˥ tɔɛ˥ kueŋ˥ dʐɑɛ˧], [lio˥ ɕ'i˧ kueŋ˥ dɑ˧]. 時間在晚上,吃過夜飯之後;地點在正屋門內的右角.佈置用竹子一根,長約90 cm. 每隔30 cm. 處,削去一面,使竹竿曲成一架,兩端插於地上.竹架前放一塊長方形木板,上鋪白布,布上放空碗五只,板前置酒、肉、飯各五碗,分成三列.黃蠟碗放在木板之後,旁置無柄鋤頭一把(圖66). 苗巫坐在竹架之後,右手執一篾片打竹架,隨打隨念,其大意謂:

鬼引了亡人去,主人逗過得平安.鬼拿秤來稱人回去,爲何

圖66 超度亡人

不需猪狗,不需大牛,不需雞鴨,而要需人!亡人是現在主人某輩(長輩或小輩),人已死了,叫不回來。他死了變爲鬼,人間他還有好子好孫。今日揀得好日子,才來訪問。今晚訪問,一定要來,來到火塘旁邊。世間巫師很少,祇請得我來。我引來祖師兵馬,來到此屋裏,黃蠟碗、竹架子、五個酒碗、鋪頭、木板、白布,都備好在此。請鬼來領! [lioɴ toɤɴ kueŋɴ dʒaɤ˧˥], [lioɴ tʂʻiɴ kueŋɴ daɴ]!

至此停止打竹架,並將竹架取去,擺上酒、肉、飯碗,巫師做手勢,同時口念:

幫忙的人,把酒、肉、飯及錢紙都擺齊了,請鬼收領。亡人已死三天,他的魂魄聽得巫師來叫,就回轉來了。回到自己的地方,轉到自己的屋裏。世間你還有好子好孫,來替你解罪。你生前的罪孽,都解脫了。罪孽不得解脫在屋裏,不得留給子孫身上,亦不留在寨子上。你在世間所有的寃仇,亦都解脫了!保佑主人平安無事。

念完上段,幫忙人即將錢紙燒化,巫師再念:

酒、肉、飯都送給你們吃完了,錢紙化了,即請收用!諸事已畢,請即回頭轉步!

做完了,巫師與主人共食酒肉。

(13)五穀鬼

苗人因五穀不登,六畜不旺,就要祭五穀鬼,苗語叫做[lioɴ noŋ˧˥]。所請的鬼名 [mpʻaɴ noɴ kueŋɴ miɤɴ], [ɲiɴ noɴ kueŋɴ noŋ˧˥]。祭的時間在白天,不論何時都行。地點在正屋內的右角。用桌子一張,上擺酒、肉、飯各五碗,分成三行,黃蠟亦擺在桌上,竹

筒放在桌的後面,苗巫右手打竹筒,口中念咒,大意謂:

主人去年收穀不豐;五穀結穗,秀而不實;又給蟲蟲吃了.舊年已去,新年來到,到了正二月,算好日子來祭鬼.請我來此,我帶來了兵馬,預備了黃蠟、竹筒,擺好了酒、肉、飯及錢紙,請鬼收領.

念至此,巫師立起,換取鈴與答,仍坐在原位,左手搖鈴,右手執答再念:

現將好酒好肉,大顆米飯,許多錢紙,來祭五穀鬼,請鬼收領!保佑五穀豐收!等到天氣和暖,百花開放,揚雀叫了,播種五穀,秧苗要青秀,五六月結穗,不得給蟲蟲吃了.九十月五穀豐收.請鬼將酒肉吃完,錢紙收了回去,永久保佑五穀豐登,六畜興旺!

在念咒的時候,同時卜答,先卜五穀,再卜六畜,陽答與陰答爲吉,陰答爲凶兆.卜完後,燒紙送鬼.

又苗人生了小孩子或有肚痛等事,亦祭五穀鬼.所請的鬼以及儲穀做法,均與前同.所念咒語的內容,爲請五穀鬼保佑小孩,或使人肚痛即止.

(14)接龍

苗人爲求家道興隆,而許願接龍,苗語叫做[ɡiʔ ʐoŋ˨˩].時期在九月至十一月之間.擇定了時期以後,在一月或半月之前,就要圍龍.寨上人於夜晚常至主人家打鑼鼓、吹號筒、唢吶等,組圍至更深而罷.在接龍的前幾天,須請人去男母家專誠報信.主人親自去請苗巫二人來家,並把寨中親族亦都請來幫忙.事前預備做米粑,分雷粑、龍粑、客人粑三種;並須做米龍一條.雷粑共有

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

圖07 他殺型式中土坑所發的銅器

[P.156,A]

七堆,每堆大中小三個,層疊成堆,擺在門外的桌子上,龍粑五堆,擺在正屋內的桌子上,龍粑之上放米龍一條,龍身上又裝上米粑做的桃子三個,到了正日,過了夜半子時後,即開始接龍至早晨,主人預備茶盤一個,內放酒兩碗,封兒兩個,率領寨人,打鑼鼓,至大路上迎接母舅,主人向舅行禮三次,舅將茶盤中兩碗酒喝乾,與迎接人一同來到主人家,吃過午飯以後,主人家的媳婦們和舅舅同去接龍,主婦頭戴銀冠(圖67),身穿繡花衣裙,坐轎;舅舅頭戴烏紗,身穿袍服,騎馬,同去婦人亦須盛裝,禁忌懷孕的婦女同去,幫忙的男人吹打鼓樂,燃放鞭爆,由一位巫師領導,至離寨三四里路遠的三叉路口,大隊停下,由巫師喊龍,喊完了,樂聲爆聲大作,一路回來,行至寨外,主人和家中男子各拿香紙,由在家的一位巫師率領前來迎接,接到以後,二位互相問答一番,主家的男子向舅舅行禮三次,由巫師搖鈴引衆人進屋,大吹打,放爆竹,舅舅和其餘的親戚就回去,以後再在正屋的地上挖一小坎,內放硃砂水一碗,用一岩板蓋上,岩板上放一大石卵,謂之龍室,巫師搖鈴念咒,主人家中男女繞小坎走三次,又放炮作樂,然後用土掩上,惟龍室的上端露在土外,以作標記。

(15)駛牛儺

駛牛儺又名祭黑帝土主,苗語叫做[ɣi˧˥ ɕioɴ ba˧˥ loŋ˧˥ ɲie˧˥]。苗人遇災厄或失財等事,就祭此鬼,鬼名[mp'a˧˥ tʂuɴ lioɴ tɤɴ˧˥],[ɲi˧˥ tʂuɴ lioɴ ntɕ'iɴ˧˥]。做時在日間,地點在正屋左邊的柱子旁邊,用桌子一張,一邊靠於柱子上,桌上擺酒十二碗,肉十二碗,黃蜂一碗,巫師燒黃蜂,搖鈴念咒,大意謂:

近來主人運氣不好,常常失財,推算出來,是黑帝土主,或黑

帝土主的子孫討食,所以今天請我來祭祀,請你們把酒肉吃了,並許你們一隻大牯牛,保佑平安.

念畢卜筊,得陽筊則以後失財而免災難,陰筊則還災而不失財,勝筊則兩者均可免去.卜畢,燒紙送鬼.

(16)交牛

祭了黑帝土主以後,運氣仍不好,眠得買牛還願,苗語叫做[tioʔ bu⁴ pie⁴] 還牛還給鬼以後,不能宰殺,亦不能出賣,祇能聽其自死.做法及佈置與殺牛雞相同.惟苗巫所念的咒語不同,其大意謂:

以前許願不靈,所以運氣還不好主人積了錢財,才去趕場到場上下一看,看了一隻大牯牛體大角大,生得很好看,主人心愛,化了許多銀錢買回來,揀定了今天的好日子,請我來交牛,祈鬼收領!

念完了,就燒紙送鬼.

2. 客教

(1)土地

苗中每寨有土地廟一所,用岩板與石塊砌成相傳土地生時精於卜卦,信之者甚衆凡民間造房修廟,多請土地擇選吉日.但他一世卜卦,所選日期,總有不利處自己欲選一無破敗的吉日,蓋造自己房屋,至死也未能選到,故至死自己沒有房屋,即死於岩板底下陶鈔時囑咐寨人云"如祭我時,只除楊公忌日,餘均可."後人念土地之德而憫他無屋可居,乃砌一矮屋爲廟(68).

圖68 苗中的土地廟

苗人相信土地爲管野獸之神,祀之可免野獸傷人.每年二、八兩月的初二日,合寨人共同祭土地.用酒二杯,刀頭(猪肉)一塊,發在碗內,上放鹽少許;筷一雙,香紙若干,均置於土地廟前地上.廟內點燭爲一對,香三枝.巫師背後地上亦插香一枝.巫師穿便衣,左手執師刀,右手執筶子,面對土地廟立.念咒、卜筶、斟酒、說原因.再卜筶.然後燒紙送神.

(2)飛山

苗中每寨又有飛山廟一所,廟式與土地廟大致相同每年逢二、八兩月的初二日,合寨人在祭過土地之後,必祭此神,以求保佑本寨之人據云:此神甚凶暴,能作祟使人生病,來勢很凶猛,祭之病愈亦速。

用酒五杯,錢紙四疊,放在廟前地下,廟內香爐中插香三枝,蠟燭一對,巫師背後地上亦插香一枝,又用細竹一根,倒掛銀錢四串,橫擱於廟內,巫師穿便衣,手執師刀與筊子,先念咒卜筊,再斟酒說原因,並請神收領祭品,休息,此時用一小瓦筲,內放牛肉或猪肉四堆,鹽辣湯一碗,放在酒杯前,巫師念咒請神來饗,念畢,巫師及旁人稍食酒肉,再上飯四碗,每碗插筷一雙,再念咒卜筊,合寨人家,每家卜一次,卜畢,乃燒紙送神,共食酒肉。

(3)祭天王

苗疆中於小暑節前,辰巳兩日爲禁日,祀天王或稱白帝天王,禁屠沽,止釣網,不舉哀亦不作樂,開禁獻牲後,方如常日,苗人最敬畏此神,如在天王廟吃血酸菹,無敢後悔者,苗中天王廟甚多,在乾城鴉溪者最大(圖69),苗人視爲聖地,如無天王廟之苗寨,有時可請天王至本寨斷訟折獄;亦可請天王出巡,如圖70,爲凰凰新寨天王被請至他寨斷訟折獄。

苗中除小暑節節前辰巳兩日祭天王外,平時遇有凶險之事,如兵災、匪患、病重或打官司敗訴,乃寫訴狀、陰狀等,向天王許願,用桌一張,放在空屋中,上擺茶杯五個,瓦一塊,燒錢與黃蠟,並化錢紙,叩頭許願,求神保佑,所許有一猪或一羊,或猪羊各一,或

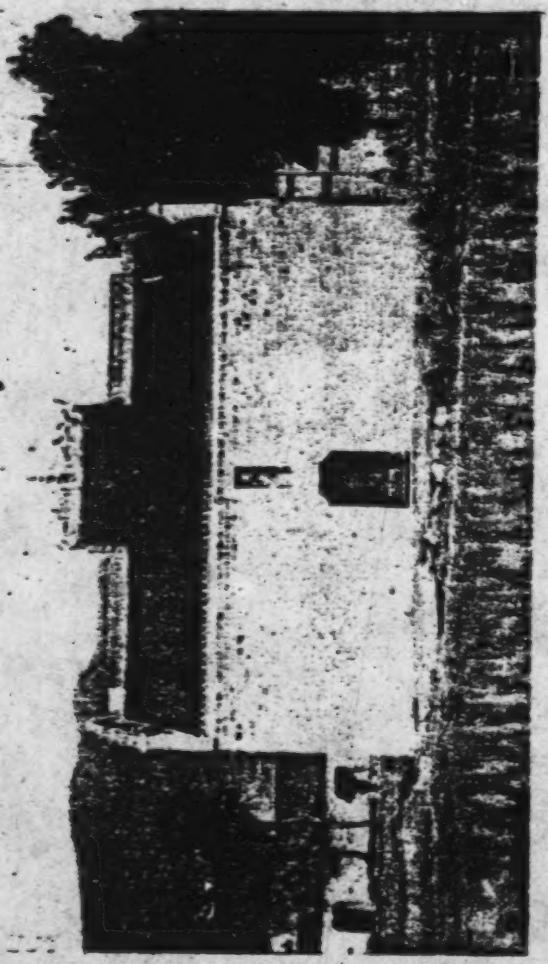


圖 8 乾隆時期的苗王大祭

圖70 鳳凰縣廟灣苗族

牛一頭,須視事之大小和許願者的貧富而定,爲鄭重起見,亦請巫師來家許願,許願時所設之桌,直至還願時方可撤去,如官司身訴,病人轉危爲安,遇戰事而不遭兵燹,則必須還願,所許之物,或能加多,不得減少,如所許未能如願以償,亦須還願,惟所許之物,可隨意減少.

白帝天王究係何神,傳說不一,據苗防備覽卷二十二所考,約有三說:一爲漢田疆三子,二爲竹王三子,三爲楊名潮兄弟三人.● 張如煜以第三說爲較可信,然楊氏兄弟爲征苗宋將,必不能使苗人敬畏如此作者以爲第二說似較可信,據乾州廳志所載:"相傳聖母於雅溪龍井塘遇龍神有孕,因生三侯,勇略過人,爲名將."此一傳說與竹王傳說相似.張氏以夜郎在今施南一帶,去五溪尚遠,不信此說殊不知三廳之苗多自貴州遷來,竹王對於苗有悠久的歷史,故能使其虔誠敬畏.

(4)麻陽大王

苗人因生奇病或見怪事,須祭此神以爲病怪是麻亭的顯靈,倘再不祭,將有大禍降臨,又遇火災或天上流星,亦必祭之,苗人以爲流星零散落下爲火,則祭此神,如整個落下則爲棺,祭魯班(見後)麻陽大王爲苗中邪神,其出處已無從考

祭時用矮方桌一張,置於大門外空地上,桌上擺酒肉各三碗,每肉碗放筷一雙,又水一碗,中放食鹽與辣子,再用一碗,中放米少許,圍之馬頭紙錢三疊,互相壓住,香三枝,夾在錢紙裏,桌前置燈籠一張,上繪手帕一方.

● 苗中有一故事敘楊氏兄弟三人是小姐之子,後爲番死.(即是故事中(一)鮮藍(13)小姐.)

巫師穿便衣,右手執筊,口念咒語,先念請神咒,念畢,即向前撒米少許,念一次咒,撒一把米,至三次完畢,即卜筊,以卜神之來否,如得勝筊,則神已降臨,即念勸酒咒,然後訴說原由,並請告,求神保佑念畢,即念送神咒三遍,每念一遍,須撒米三次,同時旁人爲之燒紙.

(5)公安神

公安神又名五智神,保佑之事最多:如生疱生瘡,水荒火災,六畜不旺,五穀不豐等事,都可祭此神.惟此神有一品,三品,五品,七品,九品,十二品的祭法,須依次輪流而做.例如一家第一次祭時,祇祭一品,隔三五年又祭,即須三品,再隔數年後要祭,則爲五品,祭至十二品後,再祭則又爲一品.祭幾品則用幾桌,例如一品則一桌,三品則三桌,桌子不够時,可用椅凳代替.惟至十二品時,須請巫師三人祭之.

一品的做法:用桌一張,置於屋外的東首,上擺錢紙五疊,酒五碗,豆腐五塊,每塊上放青菜一葉,又米粑五堆,水一碗,上擱靈牌一塊,錢紙後擺一升,內裝米,米上放巫師印一方,錢幣數枚,插燭一對,香三枝.此爲上壇.桌下鋪稻草一層,草上置酒三碗,米粑三堆,錢紙三疊,豆腐一塊,上再放青菜一葉,又米一碗,內插一燭一香,謂之下壇.另於桌之左方或右方橫擺一椅,椅上放篾箕一只,箕內有米粑若干堆,豆腐若干塊,上亦放青菜一葉,再置米一碗,內亦插一燭一香,又錢紙五疊,謂之戲空.

祭五智神,忌用葷物,祭時主人及巫師宜先一日沐浴齋戒,並漱口,至吃米粑時又須漱口.此神係在東方,故桌置於屋的東首,巫師做時面亦朝東.祭分兩節:第一節鋪壇,巫師頭包紅帕,右

手執箭子立於桌前念安神咒語,念畢,吹牛角,就忙人打鑼鼓,巫師再穿紅衣,戴冠紮,兩手向內向外做手勢,行三步是,其法兩足走成三角形,做畢,巫師休息,主人即將三處的米粑及豆腐取去用茶油煎軟,仍置原處.

第二節雷熟,巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,戴冠紮,左肩披柳巾,右手執牛角,立於壇前(圖71),先作揖,待鑼鼓聲響,即吹牛角一聞,吹完,左手執牛角,右手執箭子一爿,向牛角上敲,口念請神咒,念完,

圖71 張公安神咒

再念請神咒念畢,即舞柳巾;舞畢,卜答;同時念咒語,大意謂,凡事求神保佑,家中大小均已卜過,續念送神咒,家人即將錢紙燒化,諸事完畢,衆人同食米粑豆腐,剩下的米粑豆腐,須送與巫師.

三品的做法:用大桌一張,桌上之物,與一品的方桌同,上置一椅,椅上放米一碗,內插一香一燭,錢紙一疊,米粑一堆,豆腐一塊,上貼青菜一葉,酒一碗,椅上再放小凳一張,凳上之物與椅上同,桌後用竹竿做成一架,上掛倒掛錢紙九串,每品加三串,例如五品則爲十五串,七品則爲二十一串,以後類推,其餘下壇及戲空,仍照一品佈置.

五品的做法:用大小桌及椅凳堆成一樓,最下大桌上佈置與一品同,其餘椅凳上的佈置與三品同,下壇及戲空仍照一品的擺法,樓後有竹架,上掛錢紙十五串,又用五色紙旗一面,插於桌旁地上,再做五色小旗八九面,其做法如下,掛在竹架桌角以及桌旁的樹枝上,做法共分四節:

第一節舖壇,做法與一品同,做完即休息,並吃米粑.

第二節接衙,巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,不戴冠紮,右手執牛角,左手執師刀,鑼鼓一響,向壇吹牛角一闋,吹畢,左右手的牛角師刀互換,行三步罡,手舞足蹈,有時向外,有時向內,同時口中念咒.

第三節作橋,巫師穿戴及手中所執法器與前節同,惟左肩加披柳巾,鑼鼓一響,即吹牛角一闋,吹完,左右手的牛角與師刀互換,行三步罡,手舞足蹈,同時念咒,於東南西北中五方各做一遍,做完,即念勸酒咒,巫師左手換拿柳巾作舞,鑼鼓繼續不停,向外一次,向內兩次,舞若干次後方畢.

第四節將熟,做法同一品.

七品的做法:用桌、椅、凳七張架成一境,如圖72,最下兩桌

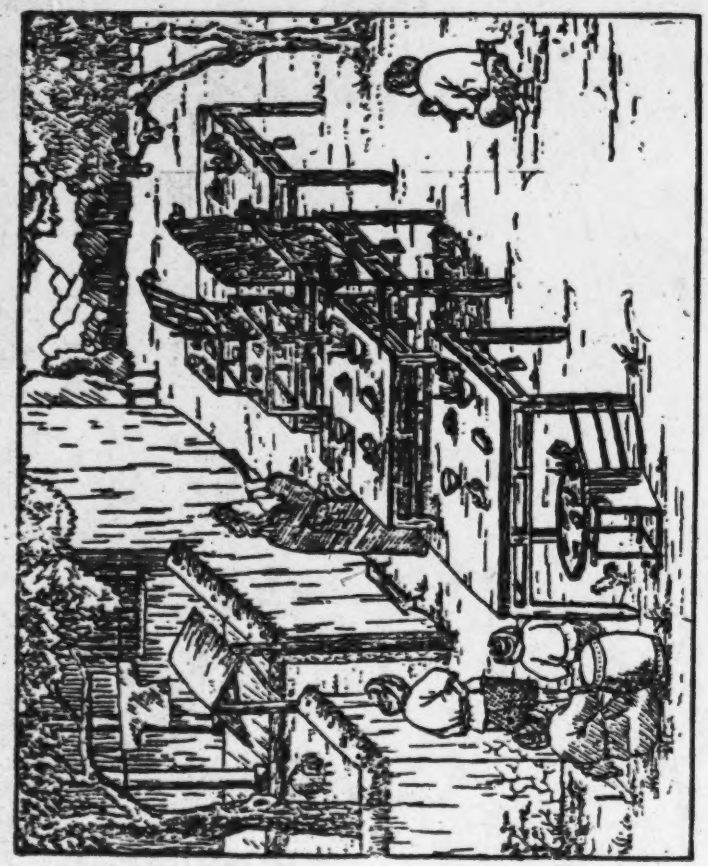


圖72 紫台樂神之

中的一桌,佈置與一品桌上同;其他各桌椅與三品的小桌上佈置相同,惟七桌下壇及戲空的米升內,各插神紙一位,大旗兩面,一紅一黑;小旗十二面,掛法與五品同,並預備公雞一隻,做完後用,做法共分五節,其中一、二、三、五四節與五品的四節相同,中加第四節會兵,實熟改爲第五節,會兵的做法:巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,戴冠紮,左手提鑼,右手執牛角,先吹牛角一闋後,放下牛角換執鑼槌,念咒一聲,即打鑼一下,一面打,一面前後弄,弄畢停打,再念咒一聲,即對壇打鑼九下,打完再念,念完再打,念完後,巫師左手換執柳巾,上放錢紙一疊,點香三枝,穿於錢紙上,以左手大指捺住,再備米一碗放在桌上,鑼鼓一響,右手拿起牛角吹一闋畢,放下牛角換拿師刀,足踏三步罡,念咒作舞,又蹲下向壇下弄三次,再吹牛角一闋後,又念咒,同時取碗中之米,撒在地下,謂之馬糧,撒完三次馬糧,換執馬鞭,向前後方地上打,同時亦念咒,念畢燒紙,第五節實熟,做法同一品。

各節做完後,巫師仍立於壇前,取預備的公雞,以牙齒咬斷雞頸,雞死摔於壇旁,然後脫去紅衣,吃米粑,歸時將雞取去,又巫師咬雞時,倘雞血污及旁人衣服,則該人不能吃米粑。

至於九品與十二品的祭公安神,因苗中近日做者甚少,未能調查到,祇得暫闕。

(6)祭四官神

苗人因求財祭此神者頗多,時間無一定,地點在正屋內,居大門的右邊用方桌一張,上置酒四碗,由一碗,放食鹽少許,再擺筷子一雙,錢紙若干,上插香三枝,巫師穿便衣,右手執筶立於桌前,念請神咒後,即卜筶,將筶子拋在桌上,出酒殺原因,再卜筶後

即送神,先焚化銀紙在鍋內,再將灰燼倒於火爐中。

(7)圖老大神

苗人家中死人後,須祭此神,因此神恐被哀哭之聲所驚,求神原諒,並保佑財產,用方桌一張,置於正屋內靠大門的右邊,桌上放銀紙七疊,上插香三枝,旁置茶一碗,須燃着,酒七碗,米粑七堆,桌後架一竹架,上掛銀錠七串,巫師右手執筊,立於桌前,口念請神咒後,即卜筊,如卜得神已降臨,即斟酒說原因,並請收領祭品,說畢,巫師休息,主人用熟牛肉若干塊,分七堆放於桌上,又置鹽菜湯一碗,飯一碗,內插筷七雙,巫師再立於原處,請神領物,並卜筊後,一面燒紙,一面念送神咒。

(8)殿堂大神

祭此神的原因,同圖老大神,做法亦同,惟佈置無竹架及銀錠,其他銀紙,酒,米粑,筷子,每樣少二分,不用牛肉而用猪肉,亦五堆,餘均同。

(9)高坡鬼

此神甚凶猛,祭此乃預防危險之事,如打官司及匪患等,須預求他保佑,日間在山坡高處做,並帶油,鹽,刀,碗,鍋,鏟等烹調器,用旗七面,標架七根(標架用竹之一端,劈成兩爿,使一爿曲成一三角形)銀紙七疊,米一升,上插香燭,刀頭一塊,米粑七堆,酒七碗,鹽菜湯一碗,雞肉一碗,飯一碗,飯上插筷,巫師便衣右手執筊,念請神咒念畢,卜筊,如卜得神已降臨,即斟酒說原因,再請神收領祭物,休息,此時主人即殺雞煮熟,用碗一只裝之,同時上飯及鹽

辣湯各一碗,巫師執筶再念咒語及卜筶,視神允許保佑與否,然後送神燒紙及旗標,事畢將雞切開,就在原處共食之。

10)五姓傷亡鬼

五姓,即苗中的吳、龍、廖、石、麻五姓;傷亡謂因傷而死,變成邪鬼,苗人因病或見怪,欲求其保佑而祭之,用簸箕一隻,內放酒五碗,肉一碗,米粑五堆,錢紙五疊,中間一堆米粑上,插香三枝,再用稻草紮一人形,外糊以紙,上繪眼、鼻、口,以標架一根及小旗一面,繫於草人的背後,再以繩一條繫草人之頸,繩之兩端釘在地上,上掛小旗八面,使作手形,又剪長方花紙三種,將三種紙各一張用竹篾夾緊,做成紙牌五面,草人及紙牌都紮在門檻上,其佈設如圖73。

圖73 紮五姓傷亡鬼

巫師便衣,左手搖師刀,右手執筊子,對簸箕而坐,念請神咒,同時卜筊,卜得神已下降,即斟酒說原由,請神收領祭品,燒紙,休息,此時將一切的祭品紙旗等等,一起搬至屋外空地上,重行佈置,不用簸箕而用稻草鋪地上,草人用泥或石塊靠起,前面亦鋪稻草,置米粑一堆,上插香一枝,酒一碗,草人之面須向巫師,巫師之面須向西方,仍如室內的做法再做一遍,惟巫師踏着,不坐在凳上,做完,不燒錢紙,巫師休息,主人乃煮肉若干,切成小塊,擺至原處分成五堆,放於稻草上,再上飯一碗,上插筷子五雙,又鹽辣湯一碗,草人前亦放飯一碗,肉一堆,鹽辣湯一碗,巫師再踏於原處,念咒卜筊,燒紙送神.

(11)腰鹽鬼

苗人因與人打官司,要使腰鹽鬼去廢迷彼方,即祭此鬼,用簸箕一只,置於正屋內靠大門的右邊,內放米粑五堆,每堆三個,中間的一堆插香三枝,又酒五碗,錢紙五疊,筊外燃棕一碗,巫師穿便衣,右手執筊,對簸箕而坐念咒,卜筊,斟酒,說明原因,再卜筊,視神已允許保佑,乃燒紙送神.

(12)退五鬼

苗人因生病而求連念,或犯鬼怪而求速去,即祭五鬼,這是邪鬼,故謂之退五鬼,在日間用簸箕一個,置於正屋內靠大門的右邊,內放米粑五堆,酒五碗,刀頭一塊,清水一碗,銅錢數枚,錢紙五疊,並放米一升,米上插香三枝,又以雞蛋五個,上繪眼,鼻,口,亦放在升內,公雞一隻,放在筊內,巫師穿便衣,右手執筊,左手搖師刀,對簸箕而坐,念咒請神,同時卜筊,卜得神已降臨,即斟酒說原

因,再卜答,卜畢,將雞用線穿鼻孔,由就忙人牽着繞屋走一週,同時巫師念咒驅鬼,然後卜答,如卜得鬼已出去,由就忙人牽雞,抬簸箕,同巫師至野外三叉路口,燒紙送神,做完後,巫師將雞,蛋,米粑裝入所帶來的布袋內,或即回去,或仍至主人家吃飯,惟袋須掛在屋外,不能攜入主人家屋內,其餘酒碗,水碗等亦宜洗乾淨後,方可帶回家中.

(13)白虎

原因,地點,做法以及佈置等,均同"五鬼";惟祭品中不用雞蛋,餘均相同.

(14)退煞

原因,地點,做法以及佈置等,均同"白虎".

(15)退口舌鬼

苗人因病或犯鬼怪,或與人口舌等事,即請巫師退口舌鬼,如一人無意中走至做口舌鬼人家,一經發覺,亦必須退口舌鬼一次,漢人遇此情形,則不忌,故苗俗倘至一稍生疎人家,在未入門時,須先問"可否進來"!必待屋內人答應"可以進來",乃可入屋,並非要得主人的許可,實是恐怕本人犯忌,又要化變做鬼,所以如此慎重.

退口舌鬼的做法,日間在屋外蓋下,鋪稻草,上置酒五杯,米粑五堆,中間一堆插香三枝,紙旗十五面,分三組,每三組合插在一起,共插五處,做法分三節:第一節,巫師穿便衣,右手執箸子,左手執師刀,念請神咒語,卜答,斟酒,請神收領祭品,再說原因畢,巫

師休息.此時主人煮熟牛肉,切成小塊,作五堆放在草上,又加鹽菜湯一碗.

第二節,巫師立在原處念咒,請神吃肉與米粑.念畢,巫師與煞忙人吃供神祭肉,惟此時主人不能吃.如巫師與煞忙人吃不盡五堆牛肉,餘下來的仍放在原處,至此巫師休息,然後主人可吃餘下之肉.吃畢,上飯五碗,每碗插筷一雙,並再添牛肉五堆.

第三節,巫師念咒請告,求神保佑,並云,現已請神吃過酒肉,神當報答主人.請告畢,即請主人的同塞各親友至家,俟巫師燒紙送神後,親友始可散去.如親友中有知而未來者,則以後不能至該家走動,惡鬼隨之而去.又一家中有一人去過,則其餘的均可不忌.

(16)風鬼

苗人久病不愈,須祭風鬼.在山坡上的叉路口有風處祭之.用公雞一隻,米一升,上放銅錢數枚,並插香三枚,刀頭一碗,上置鹽少許及筷一雙,酒五杯,米粑五堆,錢紙五疊.除公雞外,俱放在簸箕內.刀鍋等物,亦須預先帶去.巫師左手搖師刀,右手執答子,念咒卜答,斟酒說原因畢,煞忙人殺雞煮熟,裝滿一碗,放入簸箕內.同時上飯一碗,上插筷五雙.巫師再念咒,燒紙送神畢.即與煞忙人等在原處同食祭品.

(17)茶神

苗人因眼痛求神醫治,即祭茶神.因祭的時間不同而有三種.在早晨叫做早茶神,中午叫做日茶神,晚上叫做晚茶神.祭時不能出聲,據云此神怕羞,一聽所穿衣服甚破舊,有人出了笑

聲,卽不來,所以日間在屋外做時,須用篾墊圍住簸箕,除幫忙人外,不准別人參觀,晚上在屋內做時,須將燈火熄滅。

早茶神的做法:用細木一根,燃其一端作香,放在地上,再用簸箕一隻,內置茶五碗,米粑五堆,錢紙五疊,巫師穿便服,手執師刀箸子跪在簸箕前,念咒卜筶,對茶說原因,如卜得神能爲醫治,後,巫師再用茶一杯,口向杯內念咒,滴於患者的眼上,然後請主人同寨的親友來家,齊集後,卽燒紙送神。

日茶神做法同早茶神:晚茶神做法亦同,惟在屋內,佈置完畢,巫師做時須熄滅燈火。

(18)謝土

苗中做過接龍之家,正屋中心地下,埋置有龍室(詳見接龍)爲龍神所在之處,謝土又名安龍神,使龍安於其室,則家道興旺。謝土時卽以龍室爲中心,外以石灰粉畫八卦,卦內寫中央二字,卦外畫一圓圈,圈外再畫弓箭形五個及九宮八卦四字,用碗二十三隻,計酒十一碗,米五碗,每碗內插一香一燭,米粑五碗,豆腐一碗,刀頭一碗,上擺筷一雙,再用錢紙十疊,圓圈內每卦上放一疊,九宮及八卦字上各放一疊,斫箱六個,四方每弓箭上一個,中央弓箭上一個。

再用簸箕一隻,置於圓圈中,箕內鋪以穀稭,上擺酒五杯,米粑五堆,又燈碗一隻,內裝茶油,以燈草五根點成五個火頭,再插香五枝,內夾大中小紙馬三張,疊在一起,前二香後三香夾住之,又放硃砂一塊,另燃香五枝,插成五處。

又在正屋中間近大門處的弓上放方桌一張,上擺酒五碗,米粑五堆,米一升,內插燭一對,香三枝,錢幣數枚,巫師印一方桌

並又放巫師的安龍神經一本,清水一碗.

巫師穿青色或藍色長衫,頭戴道帽,右手執箸,向神先念安神咒,念畢,巫師拍鼓,同時幫忙人打鑼擊鏡,巫師口念請神經,時或夾以鏡鼓鑼聲,念畢,卜箸,卜得神已降臨,即斟茶(第一次用茶,以後用酒),念祈,並請神收領祭品,爲一家大小卜箸畢,再卜問龍神有幾分力,其算分之法如下:"勝箸爲三、六、九,陽箸二、五、八,陰箸一、四、七.卜箸後視周何箸,如係勝箸,則從九開起,再卜;如又得勝箸,則爲九分,如不得勝箸,則巫師說一數目,其數最大十五,最小七,或五,須連單數,重卜而又不得勝箸,則再說再卜.問畢,即念咒送神,亦夾以鏡鼓鑼聲,然後倒去茶碗中之茶,改斟以酒,繼續念咒,巫師手執竹弓一張,箭五枝,念咒至東方,即以一箭射東方龍神,幫忙人即將東方祈箱焚化,以次至其餘各方,最末焚化中央祈箱.焚畢,巫師乃取紙馬對之念咒,以大者裁成五張,依東、南、西、北、中五方向,貼在壁角,其次大者懸於樑上,最小者貼在中央,再以硃砂一塊,放在杯內,和酒研細,將龍室之土挖開,取去岩板,以硃砂酒傾入,再依舊蓋好,燒紙於其上,並念咒語,再焚化各處的紙馬送神.

(19)謝坟

苗人所謂謝坟,與漢人的掃墓並不相同,其原因與謝土同,做法亦大致相彷彿,惟地點在坟上,以坟頂爲中央,不用石灰畫圓圈與八卦,亦不用簸箕;祇用碗十七隻,較謝土時少用六碗,祈箱則多用一隻,共七隻,其餘桌上佈置均同,惟硃砂放於升內的米上,做法亦同謝土,惟不斟茶,不用弓箭,至送神時,將祈箱各就原位燒化,不用神碼,硃砂和酒研細後塗於坟尖上,其法先用一

木棒插成一小孔,然後灌下,以土掩之,上燒紙。

(20)魯班

魯班爲棺材神,因病或見怪而祭之,日間在大門內右邊做。用一簸箕,內放酒五杯,米把五堆,肉一碗,上放食鹽少許,又擺筷一雙,米一升,上放銀幣數枚,並插香三枝,錢紙五疊,水碗一雙,又用公雞一隻,兩足兩翼捆住,以線穿雞鼻,掛於斧上,鋸子一把,與斧頭並排放在門檻上,再用木板做一小棺材,長約30 cm.,闊約10 cm.,另做小木棒一根,作爲槓子,橫在棺材上,巫師穿便服,手執師刀舊子,念請神咒,卜筮以觀神之降臨,斟酌致原因,並請神收領祭品,再卜,求神保佑合家人等,然後幫忙人解開雞頸,咬雞

圖74 魯班

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

[P. 176, A]

面走,巫師也急急,奔屋走了,如圖74.即請鬼師來家,燒紙後,鬼友送去,就忙入乃將各物至叉路口,將小棺材焚化,並燒紙錢,祭品為鬼巫師取去,其餘用具,必須洗淨後,方可搬回主人家中.

(21)墓孔

苗人因病或見怪而祭墓孔.日間在大門內,用方桌一張,上放酒五杯,米把五堆,中間一堆插香三枝,錢紙五疊,一碗內燃燒.巫師穿便衣,右手執筶,念咒.卜筶請神,說原因,並請收領祭品後,休息.主人即煮牛肉,切成五堆,放在桌上,又放鹽菜湯一碗.巫師又念咒,畢,主人與巫師同食桌上各物,休息.主人再添牛肉五碗,上飯五碗,每碗上插筷一雙.巫師又念咒,卜筶,乃燒紙送神

(22)架地橋

苗中無子者,向神許願求子後,倘不生子,則做架地橋,以為子在天上,地下架橋,即可下降.

主人擇一吉日,齋戒休息,先期預備石板一塊,長約60 cm.,闊30 cm.,厚5 cm.,上畫四直線,分成五格;又用五種結果實的樹枝五條,每條的大小,約等於石上的一格.至正日,即將石板與木條置在門內近壁的中間,以方桌一張,上置錢紙五疊,米一升,內插香三枝與鬼一對,米把五堆,燒熟豆腐一碗,酒五杯;又以錢幣數枚放在米升內.巫師穿便衣,手執師刀與筶子,念咒卜筶,斟酒說原因,再卜何時可得生男,然後燒紙送神.巫師休息後,接做鬼戲.

(23)殺雞

苗人因犯儺神(詳見還儺願),倘未至還儺願時期,即先做此.又每逢九月九日,俗謂儺神下降之日;三月三日,爲儺神上天之日,亦有做此者.又架地橋後亦須接做娶儺.時間在白天,用方桌一張,置於正屋後半間.桌上放酒五杯,米粑五堆,米一升,米上放錢帶與香燭,錢紙二疊,肉一碗,上放鹽少許,擱筷一雙.巫師穿便衣,頭裹紅帕,手執師刀與筊子,念咒卜筊(同架地橋),做完,燒紙送神.

(24)還儺願

還儺願,即酬儺.儺的由來甚古.論語鄉黨云:"鄉人儺,朝服而立於阼階."秦漢以來,記載尤多.考古來所謂儺,本爲驅逐疫鬼之義.梁皇侃論語義疏云:"口作儺儺之聲,以毆疫鬼也."其字周禮及禮記月令均作"難",郊特牲作"蜴",當是一字.❶鄭玄註云:"蜴,強鬼也."劉寶楠論語正義云:"強鬼即疫鬼.……言鬼名則曰蜴,言驅除此鬼則曰儺.其後假鬼名以爲祭名."但今苗人的酬儺,則與此不同.他們以洪水故事(詳見故事章)中的兄妹二人爲儺神,稱之爲儺公儺母.凡遇人口不安,六畜不旺,五穀不豐,財運不佳,瘟疫盛行,以及其他災厄,口角或見了怪異現象等等,經巫師卜知犯了儺神,就要許願酬儺.此外,如沒有子女的要求子,也只要求儺神;家中諸年平安無事,也以爲是儺神之賜,都要許願酬儺.

苗人還儺願的時期,每年自陰曆九月初九日開始,直至年底,可以說是他們還儺願的季節.間或也有在春季的,俗稱桃花願;但很少舉行.

❶參看章炳麟文始,釋難,及吳承仕二卷第十號.

舉行還願願,須請客巫爲之,並請諸親戚妻人來家,先期在正屋中央設壇,壇上供雞公雞母神偶(圖75),壇後貼彩色繪成的五嶽等神像五張,壇前用彩紙紮門,稱爲桃源洞;並在門前搭戲台。❶巫師所行法事,就作者調查所得,有三十節之多,費時三日至七日,現在按節略述如下:

第一節安司命——在清晨做,巫師頭包紅帕,手執筊子,立在桃源洞前所置簸箕的前面,向雞神作揖,念咒請祖師附身及主人祖先降臨,念畢,左手換取水碗,右手作祖師訣,向水碗作書寫勢,同時再念洗祭品咒,先說水的來歷,次用手指蘸水略彈少許在祭品上,苗人以爲司命神吃齋,所以要洗祭品,洗畢,卜筊,卜得勝筊乃止,否則,重念重卜,洗祭品之後,巫師再念請神咒,卜得勝筊,以爲神已降臨,然後說還願願原因,請神領受祭品;卜得勝筊以爲神已領受,即爲一家大小,一一求神保佑一一卜得勝筊再求保佑六畜五穀,並求財運,保佑既畢,再求退瘟,退天瘟、地瘟,年、月、日、時諸瘟及邪魔小鬼;又退天怪地怪,年、月、日、時諸怪,以及其他各種鬼怪,均須卜得陰筊或勝筊;如得陽筊,則以爲鬼怪尚未去,須重退重卜,以後再求神放魂,解脫,判卦,求畢,即交牲請神收領。

第二節祭鑼鼓——巫師包紅帕,穿長衫,右手執筊,立在桃源洞前,面向桃源洞,口念咒語(略同安司命),念了一段,左手舉水碗,右手作祖師訣,在水碗上作書寫勢,同時再念咒,將水碗往香煙上舉三次念畢,卜筊,得陰筊或勝筊後,取馬鞭一根,踏在右足尖下,念收邪鬼咒,念畢,又卜筊,得勝筊或陰筊後,即將馬鞭掛起,右手拿師刀,刀尖浸入水碗,再舉起,左右擺動,續念咒語,念了

❶參看公安神一品祭法的敍說。

一段,就忙人打鑼鼓,巫師雙手捧鉢子,一面打,一面拜神,約經十五分鐘之久,拜畢,巫師換取筊子,念請神咒,先向桃源洞,後轉向門外,又轉向桃源洞,請神既畢,卜筊,求得勝筊乃止。

第三節安土地——巫師穿便衣,立在戲空之前,作揖,口念咒語,先請神,再獻祭品,燒紙錢,請神收領。

第四節鋪壇——巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,戴冠紮,負柳巾,立在桃源洞前,作手勢,同時打鑼鼓,巫師作完手勢,即引主人向神作揖,並跪拜,拜畢,巫師左手持牛角,右手持筊子一爿,用以敲牛角,同時念敲角請神咒,念了一段,巫師左手放下柳巾,右手搖師刀,停打鑼鼓,口念勸酒咒,念畢,巫師將預先裝在四個疏箱中的疏文取出,向神屈膝,引主人跪拜,讀疏文,讀畢,打鑼鼓,巫師吹牛角一闋,主人起身立在一旁,巫師左手持疏箱,右手搖師刀,向桃源洞行三步畢,口念奏錢咒,念了一段,將師刀掛在右手腕上,手指在疏箱上作書寫勢,再繼續念咒,且念且吹牛角,吹了兩次,右手取馬鞭起立,先向內,在地上打一鞭,旋向外,在地上打二鞭,再向內在地上打一鞭,又吹牛角一闋,再念一段咒語,即轉向門外,將疏箱放在小桌上,亦吹牛角一闋,念畢,將師刀敲牛角,口念請功曹神咒,念畢,卜筊,得勝筊或陽筊後,將師刀向打鑼鼓人搖數次,令停打,再念勸功曹酒咒,勸酒三次,出酒亦三次,而後請領祭品,卜得勝筊,知神已領受,即將四個疏箱焚化,收去祭品,巫師將師刀與馬鞭放在地上,口念咒語,依東、西、南、北、東北、西南、西北、東南八個方向次序行三步畢,行一方,用脚在地上踏一下,行過八方後,再轉向桃源洞的右方,念請神及主人祖先咒,念畢,巫師拾起放在地上的馬鞭及師刀,並取筊子,令牌,念神名,念畢,再把各物放在地上,卜主人一家的吉凶,得勝筊後,始將各物取放原處巫

師右手取令牌,左手持牛角,行至門檻,將左脚踏在門檻上,先吹牛角一闋,後將令牌在門上拍三下,停打鑼鼓,口念發令咒,念畢,又打鑼鼓,巫師吹牛角,立向桃源洞,右手持師刀,向打鑼鼓人略搖,令停打,再念咒請神上壇。

第五節接街——分三段做:第一段金州街——巫師包紅帕,穿紅衣,先用右手持牛角,吹一闋畢,改用左手持牛角,右手搖師刀,在桃源洞前行三步罡,口念接街咒,分東、南、西、北、中五方,念東方咒時面向內,南方向外,西方亦向外,北方向內,中方又向外,每方念畢,須吹牛角一闋,旋轉兩圈。

第二段五雷街——巫師裝束及應用法器、做法,均同第一段咒語除很少幾句外,亦多相同。

第三段羅王街——巫師裝束同上,左手持馬鞭,右手搖師刀,在桃源洞前行三步罡勢,口念咒語,念了一段,將馬鞭在地上打一下,再念五方咒,每念一方,旋轉兩圈,同第一段,念畢,停打鑼鼓,巫師面向桃源洞,再高聲念立城咒並請神分排就坐,念畢,即完。

第六節作橋——巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,負柳巾,先用右手持牛角,吹一闋畢,改用左手持牛角,右手則搖師刀,在桃源洞前行三步罡,口念作橋咒,念了一段,將師刀倒掛在右手腕,兩膀的下臂稍上舉,做手勢,行三步罡,繼續念咒,亦分東、南、西、北、中五方向,做法同接街,做畢,將柳巾取在手中,稍伸向前,師刀往左、右、下三方各搖一次,仍伸向前,將師刀靠在柳巾上,口念勸酒咒,念了一段,巫師將師刀與柳巾往左、右、下三方各搖一次,再念,凡三次,然後先向雞公雞母神偶勸酒,次向外勸酒,再向家先及上壇下壇勸酒,念畢勸酒咒,再打鑼鼓,巫師並吹牛角一闋,舞柳巾而終。

第七節封牢——巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,吹牛角一闋後,左手持牛角,右手搖師刀,在桃源洞行三步罡,同時念封牢咒。念了一段,將師刀豎在右手碗上,雙手平伸,稍向上曲,牛角靠在上面,做手勢,繼續念咒。分東、西、南、北、中五方,照上做五次,每次旋轉兩圈。至中央做完後,取碗一個,用黃紙一張,覆在碗上,放在桃源洞前,並將師刀插在碗前。巫師立在碗前,念收瘟咒。念了一段,將黃紙裹碗,拔去師刀,跨向神前,手持馬鞭,又念云:"收到東方邪魔鬼,邪魔小鬼化灰塵。"念畢,即將馬鞭向東方地上打一下,並用脚將地上紙裹的碗移動,依次向南、西、北、中各方,均照東方同樣做一遍,再將碗移至壇下,巫師蹲在碗前,馬鞭下端架在碗底之上,吹牛角一闋,停打鑼鼓,續念咒語。念畢,再打鑼鼓,巫師向儺神點頭三拜,乃終。

第八節會兵——巫師先自己打鑼鼓,後再穿紅衣,包紅帕,戴冠紮,吹牛角一闋後,口念會兵咒。念了一段,坐在凳上,打鑼九下,再念安慰咒。每念一段,打鑼九下。念畢,吹牛角一闋,接念點兵咒。念畢,又念老君咒及藏身訣,且念且打鑼。打畢,將鑼交給幫忙人打,巫師手取柳巾,在碗中燒香三炷,放少許紙錢及米,將碗放在桌上。巫師起立,行三步罡,並做手勢,又對儺神行三步罡並做手勢。口念接引咒。念畢,巫師蹲在下壇之前,向內吹牛角一闋,停打鑼鼓,口念引相訣。念畢,點頭三下,吹牛角一闋,續念第二訣。念畢,巫師起立,手執馬鞭,行三步罡,口念介文咒。念畢,焚化香紙,停打鑼鼓,巫師手執師刀柳巾,念勸酒咒。念了一段,將師刀柳巾向下搖三次,並打鑼鼓打畢,續念咒,並照樣做三次,面均向內,再向外做一次,又向內做三次做畢,打鑼鼓,巫師吹牛角一闋,後,舞柳巾,向內二次,向外一次舞畢,即念咒請神就座。

第九節接駕—— 巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,戴冠紮,打鑼鼓,在桃源洞前行三步罡,吹牛角一闋,做手勢同鋪壇,做畢,右手執蠟燭一支,面向桃源洞吹牛角,吹畢,停打鑼鼓,念開光咒,念了一段,旋轉一圈,改用右手持蠟燭,再念一段後,打鑼鼓,吹牛角,巫師手持蠟燭,對着儺神,重念開光咒一遍後,即將蠟燭插在燭台,另取兩面仙逢旗,吹牛角,舞旗,前後三次,舞畢,停打鑼鼓,向桃源洞唱請神訣,唱了一段,又打鑼鼓,吹牛角,舞旗三次,再停鑼鼓,向桃源洞續唱,隨唱隨用旗子向外作掃出式,繼又向內作掃進式,旋又雙手舉旗,並向左右作開門式,後即放在儺公儺母手中,再依唱詞作手勢,作畢,行三步罡;先向外,繼向內,也照念照做手勢,並行三步罡,後向東、南、西、北、中五方念咒,行三步罡,又取馬鞭向東角畫井字,再轉向桃源洞,放下馬鞭,取筊在手,請神下馬,燒香三炷,領主人拜神,巫師念咒卜筊,得陰筊,以爲儺公下馬;陽筊,儺母下馬;勝筊,三清下馬,再請家先及其他諸神下馬畢,即念解衣咒,終。

第十節求子(此節要主人無子才做)—— 桃源洞前放長約丈餘的長桌,上鋪青色或藍色布,忌紅色及白色,巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,戴冠紮,負柳巾,立在桃源洞前的長桌前,口唱求子訣,報明主人生辰八字,唱畢,打鑼鼓,巫師吹牛角三闋後,手持斬棍,念藏身咒,念了兩句,吹牛角一闋,走上前一步;續念咒一句,又吹牛角一闋,再走上前一步;念咒一句,吹牛角一闋,即走到桌上,在上行三步罡,念作橋咒,念了一段,巫師將右手的師刀,掛在右手腕,牛角掛在兩肘間,又念咒,並依咒語的意思作手勢,在東、南、西、北、中五方各念咒一段,並作手勢,每段念完,須吹牛角一闋,五方作完後,再向桃源洞,右手取筊子一升,敲牛角,同時打鑼鼓念咒,念了一段,巫師左手持柳巾,右手執師刀,雙手向上、下、左、右搖擺三次;

卽停打鑼鼓,再念勸酒咒。念畢,命主人夫婦背負疏箱分跪在長桌的兩邊,男左女右,巫師跪在長桌上,念求子表文,夫婦隨同巫師叩拜。表文念畢,巫師右手取筊子,又念咒一段,卽卜筊,求得勝筊後,再念一段,又卜筊求勝筊,認爲神已領受。再念咒,每念一句,跪拜一次,主人夫婦亦隨同巫師跪拜。卜筊,問得子年期。問畢,念交納咒。念畢,又卜筊,得勝筊或陰筊均可;如得陽筊,須重卜。繼念勾銷及請神收領咒,均求得勝筊後,卽打鑼鼓,主人夫婦仍跪在地上,巫師起立,吹牛角一闋,幫忙人燒表文及負在主人夫婦背上的疏箱,另備臉盆一個,盆內盛清水,盆口架木條,卽取燒着的表文疏箱放在木條上,使灰燼落在水中。巫師將柳巾負在胷上,師刀套在右手腕,牛角靠在兩臂肘彎上,雙手手指相併,兩母指作旋轉勢,意思是替神車錢財。再行三步罡,口念車錢咒。念畢,卜筊,得勝筊後,卽吹牛角,吹畢,取碗一個,內放米數粒;另將預先寫就的十二個闖,和米放在盞中,另用一碗蓋在闖碗上,稱爲陰陽盞。巫師雙手捧碗,且搖且念各神名。念畢,取大簸箕一個,放在長桌下面,另一人撐開一傘,對簸箕上自左而右旋轉。巫師將陰陽碗合口處稍開,對傘上不停的搖,使碗中的闖和米漏出,經過傘而落在簸箕中,卽令主人夫婦各拾一闖;巫師卜筊,得勝筊,則看闖中文字,以判吉凶禍福如得陰筊或陽筊,則將闖拾放陰陽碗中,重搖重拾闖中文字,大致是:(1)五男二女,(2)七子團圓,(3)五子登科,(4)長命富貴,(5)兒孫滿堂,(6)有求必應,(7)五穀豐登,(8)六畜興旺,(9)瓜瓞綿綿,(10)我獨無,(11)所求不遂,(12)難哉等等,如得有子的闖,幫忙人卽將門外右方小椅上的小雞,又名雞兒及包袱一個,雙手舉起從陰橋上走過,送到雞母手中,再抱過來送給主婦,主人夫婦叩拜起身,主婦將雞兒抱送床上。巫師面向門外,吹牛角一闋,

口念鎮關咒,且念且做手勢,並吹牛角一闋畢,取斬棍在手,橫在地上,又念咒,卜筊,得勝筊或勝筊後,又吹牛角一闋,幫忙人即收拾祭品,巫師再念咒而終。

第十一節勸酒——巫師包紅帕,負柳巾,坐在桃源洞前唱勸酒詠,每唱兩句,打鑼鼓七八下。唱了一段,兩個幫忙人各捧小簸箕一個,內放已炒熟的包穀、黃豆及銀飾一,布二尺,分立在桃源洞前的左右。巫師跪在桃源洞桌子的左方,主人跪在右方,手中各持一酒杯,管壇人手持酒壺,立在巫師旁邊,聽候斟酒於巫師及主人的杯中。桌上僅放三個酒杯,巫師與主人互相對酌。巫師一一唱神名,勸酒。每唱一堂神,須打鑼鼓數下,巫師與主人起身,舉酒向桃源洞拜一次,幫忙人將小簸箕內的祭品獻神,同時打鑼鼓數下,管壇人向巫師及主人所持酒杯中斟酒。共唱十餘堂神,照樣表演十餘次。惟第十堂虛空神,巫師與主人須跪向門外,幫忙人與管壇人亦須在門外獻祭品。勸酒畢,巫師與主人將酒杯覆於桌上,打鑼鼓數下後,將簸箕中的布收拾。巫師卜筊,求得勝筊後,即將包穀及豆分吃。

第十二節下馬飯——巫師包紅帕,穿紅衣,負柳巾,立在桃源洞前,吹牛角一闋後,改以左手持牛角,右手取筊子一爿,敲牛角,同時念敲角咒。念了一段,吹牛角一闋,左手取柳巾,右手持師刀,念勸酒咒。念畢,舞柳巾;舞畢,又念討筊咒。念了一段,卜筊,得勝筊後,接念整領、交納、勾銷、退下、收領諸咒,均求勝筊。勾銷則陰筊亦可。念畢,打鑼鼓,吹牛角一闋後,將牛角架在雙手的肘彎上(與求子車發相同)。幫忙人燒紙錢,巫師行三步罡,口念車錢咒;念了一段,轉向門外,吹牛角一闋,再念一段;又轉向內,吹牛角一闋,再念,再吹牛角。念畢,巫師休息,幫忙人及主人親戚同吃晚飯,即

所謂下馬飯。

第十三節唱儺歌——巫師包紅帕,坐在桃源洞前,亲親友亦圍坐洞前。先由巫師唱儺歌,後由各親友接唱;巫師與各親友互相唱和,人數多少及歌詞長短,都沒有一定,唱至沒有人接唱,即算終了。歌詞亦很廣泛,除敍述儺神威德及祈福祛禍、消災、除難之詞外,有儺神起源歌及儺公儺母歌,敍述儺神起源的故事(參看故事章1.洪水神話)他們以爲儺公、儺母是兄妹二人,現在的苗人都是那兄妹二人結婚遺傳下來的子孫。❶ 此外並演唱孟姜女戲文,親友來看的以錢擲賞,名爲"賞歌錢"。

第十四節點兵——(此節因主人要求驅邪才做,否則,可以省略)在桃源洞前舖些稻草,草上再舖簟子。巫師包紅帕,手執梭鏢兩根,立在簟上行三步罡,幫忙人取犂頭一個,在火上燒紅。巫師口唱,將兩根梭鏢擺動,先點東、南、西、北、中五方的兵;東、北、中三方面向內,南、北兩方面向外,次點十二鏢頭的名,再次點十二月份的兵點畢,將兩根梭鏢,併持左手;右手取箋卜箋,得陰箋,以爲儺公上馬;陽箋,儺母上轎;勝箋,其餘各神上馬。卜得諸神上馬之後,即打鑼鼓,巫師吹牛角,並將左手的兩根梭鏢分拿,向左右擺動,行三步罡,同時念化鏢咒。念了一段,巫師轉一圈,面向桃源洞的右方,腰略彎,梭鏢仍左右擺動,續念咒。念了一段,巫師向外走一步,作上馬勢,再轉向內,將兩根梭鏢交給幫忙人,吹牛角一圈後,取仙逢旗兩面,向左右擺動,同時又念化旗咒。念了一段,巫師又向門外走一步,仍作上馬勢,再轉向內,將兩面仙逢旗交給幫忙人,吹牛角一圈,另取桃樹枝一條,向左右擺動,又念搓索咒,

❶ 參看西逸夫:苗族洪水故事與伏羲女媧的傳說,載人類學集刊第一卷第一期。

並依咒語表演,向東、南、西、北、中五方演畢,再轉向內,吹牛角一闋後,又念滾湖滾海咒,向五方表演畢,向內吹牛角一闋,左手執馬鞭,右手搖師刀,行三步畢,在鑼鼓聲中,念差兵咒,念了一段,走一圈,將馬鞭師刀放在地上,左手作手勢,行三步畢,續念咒,並變步法行畢八步,又走一圈,面向桃源洞之右,雙手相併,手指相夾,二母指作旋轉勢,右脚踏在馬鞭師刀上,雙手向左右擺動,口中念驅邪咒,念了一段,又轉一圈,拾起地上馬鞭師刀,將馬鞭向地上打一下,脚一跳,且跳且念咒,又轉向內用鐵挾將預置爐中燒紅的犂頭挾起,上放紙錢數張,紙錢上放粑粑一塊,上淋桐油,黑煙上升,命人挾了周行屋內,凡到床前、中堂、及牛馬圈旁,即將犂頭放下,巫師口含桐油,噴在犂口,黑煙上升,幫忙人手持棱鏢、旗子、桃枝,口中大呼 ho ho 之聲,以驅邪鬼。巫師手執柳巾師刀,隨之搖舞,同時念咒。周行既畢,將犂頭放在門外,巫師又到堂屋念咒,卜筊,得勝筊或陰筊後,又在鑼鼓聲中唱收兵訣,唱了一段,巫師取兩根棱鏢,向左右擺動如點兵時,再接唱,唱畢,卜筊,得勝筊乃止。

第十五節討筊——用小桌一張,桌上擺米一升,布一疋(青色或藍色),首飾一件,米上插香三炷,蠟燭一對。巫師包紅帕,負柳巾,唱討筊訣,唱了一段,幫忙人在地上鋪稻草,草上鋪被一床。巫師與主人跪在被上,巫師將柳巾放在膝前,左手執令牌,右手執筊子,念咒請神,卜得神已降臨並已享領祭品之後,先爲家人父母兒女一一求神保佑,次求保佑馬、牛、羊、雞、鴨、鵝、貓、狗等,再求保佑五穀豐收,財源興盛,最後求退五瘟百鬼盜賊怪異等等求畢,將兩爿筊子覆在令牌上,再念筊子來源咒,說筊子原是三個人陰筊姓蕭,陽筊姓郭,勝筊姓杜,同在儺神處受凡人供奉等語。念畢,拾柳巾,與主人一同起身,幫忙人收拾稻草被鋪。

第十六節開洞——巫師包紅帕,手執兩面仙逢旗在堂屋前行三步罡唱開洞訣,請戲神出洞。唱畢,打鑼鼓即終

第十七節扮仙逢——巫師穿婦人衣服,戴首飾,扮成婦人模樣,手執仙逢旗或扇子。(主人家中如有二豬二羊以上,則扮兩個婦人)在桃源洞前,走成半圓形,先唱赴儺堂原因,繼唱儺堂所見,並請見主人,說吉利語,又唱仙逢來源,最後辭神,隨唱隨用手足表演,每唱一段,打鑼鼓數下,行數步

第十八節扮送子——在桃源洞前擺方桌一張,巫師仍是扮仙逢裝束,立在桌上,手捧儺兒偶像,唱拜別天神下凡經過,唱畢,跳下桌來再唱來到儺堂所見,並請見主人,說吉利語,每唱一段,打鑼鼓數下,行數步,即將儺兒送與主人抱了,接唱仙姑來源,唱畢,主人將儺兒偶像放在床上,管壇人燒紙錢,接唱辭神咒,唱畢,打鑼鼓,終

第十九節扮開山——巫師包紅帕,戴開山面具,紅髮,濃眉,手執木斧,在桃源洞前,走成半圓形,手舞足踏,先唱經過各地,來至儺堂,繼唱儺堂所見,再請見主人,唱一段吉利語後,即開始與主人問答,同時表演語無一定,多帶滑稽。

第二十節扮算將——巫師包紅帕,手持斬棍及棱鏢,在桃源洞前,走成半圓形,同時口唱赴儺堂原因及儺堂所見,並請見主人,唱一段吉利語,也與主人問答,同時表演演了一段,主人退下另一人扮開山與算將問答並表演演到末了,二人對打,開山勝,算將敗,開山先退,算將唱畢辭神咒,終

第二十一節扮師娘——巫師婦人裝束,手執柳巾,立在桃源洞前開首先問答一段,即將柳巾負在肩上,吹牛角一闋,吹畢,再取簽子一卦,敲牛角,同時打鑼鼓,念咒請神,隨念隨拜,念畢,卜

筶,得勝筶後,自肩上取下柳巾,拿在左手,右手搖師刀,停打鑼鼓,念勸酒咒,勸畢,舞柳巾;舞畢,停打鑼鼓,行三步罡,唱辭神咒,唱了一段,打鑼鼓數聲,師娘往外一走,仍回屋內,鑼鼓停打,再唱兩聲,即解裝休息。

第二十二節扮鐵匠—— 巫師包紅帕,手執斬棍,柳巾掛在半腰背後的腰帶上,馬鞭插在牛角中,負在肩上,在桃源洞前走成半圓形,先唱赴儺堂原因,繼唱到儺堂所見,即請見主人,說吉利語後,作滑稽問答,並唱苗歌一首。後即表演打鐵手續,打成斧頭,交給開山,再念辭神咒,終

第二十三節扮和尚—— 用簸箕一個,覆置堂屋中間,上擺酒五碗,水一碗,粑粑五堆,豆腐一塊放在碗中,上插香燭,簸箕的週圍,置經簿五頁,夾以紙錢;另放疏箱一個,和尚面具一個。巫師包紅帕,披紅衣,立在簸箕前面,雙手擊鐃鈸,且擊且拜。凡三拜後,再以鐃鈸邊相擊,念請神咒。念了一段,巫師取水碗,用右手指蘸水,彈在祭品上,續念咒,雙手取鐃鈸,再擊鐃鈸邊,並續念咒。每念一段,即用雙手擊鐃鈸邊,且擊且拜,凡三拜,前後共七次擊拜,乃卜筶,得勝筶後,先勸酒,繼讀疏文,再請神享領祭品,燒紙錢,送神。送畢,巫師又擊鐃鈸邊,沿簸箕走成半圓形,念辭神咒。念畢,將水碗中的水向東、南、西、北、中五方倒去。

第二十四節交牲—— 用大桌子一張,放在桃源洞前,桌上供猪羊各一頭,上插香燭,旁邊放宰刀兩把。桌下供猪羊的五臟,亦插香燭。巫師包紅帕,戴冠紮,穿紅衣,負柳巾,立在桃源洞前,唱交牲訣,唱了一段,先左手作祖師手訣,次右手作祖師手訣,報主人祖宗三代姓名畢,打鑼鼓,巫師吹牛角三聲後,將牛角放下,左手作祖師手訣,口念請祖師交牲訣。念畢卜筶,得勝筶後,巫師敲

牛角同時念請神咒念畢,巫師搖師刀,管壇人斟酒,又念勸酒咒,勸畢,舞柳巾,舞畢,停打鑼鼓,卜筊,得勝筊後,巫師念整領祭品咒,念畢,先求神保佑主人家中男女老幼,次保佑六畜,再次保佑五穀,求保佑畢,再爲主人求財,並求退瘟退怪,又求開牢放魂,開枷脫鎖以上每求一種,均須卜筊,求勝筊,以後即判筊,以卜吉凶,判筊之後,再念交納、勾銷、退下、收領諸咒,念畢,燒紙錢,打鑼鼓,同時念車發咒畢,即終

第二十五節扮八郎——巫師包紅帕,戴面具,肩負包袱雨傘,扮成出門人模樣,在供猪羊的桌後,走成半圓形;右手搖師刀,在鑼鼓聲中唱十二月古人,繼唱赴儺堂原因,請見主人,作滑稽問答後,即表演講價、還錢,趕猪羊,捉猪羊,宰猪羊及分割猪羊諸手續演畢,卜勝筊,再唱交牲訣,將猪羊交與管廚人煮熟,又唱猪、羊、雞、魚、酒、燭、豆腐、粑粑諸訣,唱畢,辭神,終

第二十六節胥熟——將煮熟的猪羊心、肝、肺、腰等切成五碗,及酒杯五個,放在大簸箕中,又切猪羊腿肉各一碗,上插香三炷,竹二枝,良愿❶一個;其餘的猪羊肉,及豆腐一塊,均放在大桌子上,上插香燭;又將宰刀貼附紙錢,亦插在猪羊肉上,桌上並放疏箱一個,另備原罈酒一罈,放在桌旁,巫師包紅帕,穿紅衣,戴冠袂,負柳巾,立在大桌後方,唱祭品訣,唱畢,巫師左手做祖師手訣,口唱祖師名號,並報生年月日,右手又做祖師手訣,口唱主人祖先姓名,唱畢,打鑼鼓,巫師吹牛角三聲,再念交祭品訣,念畢,卜筊,得勝筊後再念兩句,又吹牛角一闋後,以筊子一爿敲牛角,同時念咒,同鑼壇,念畢,停鑼鼓,問猪、羊、酒的年代,旁人對答後,續唱一段,

❶良愿,用白紙摺成,掛在繩上,插在神桌前的香盆中,許願時即做好的.

即用馬鞭刺入酒罈中,立即拔出來,念請神領酒咒,念畢.巫師右手搖師刀,左手持柳巾,立在供猪羊的桌後,念勸酒咒.念畢,舞柳巾,舞畢,停鑼鼓,主人雙手捧疏箱,與巫師同跪,念疏文.念畢,主人與巫師均起身,巫師卜筊,得勝筊後,巫師念送領祭品咒.念畢,先求神保佑主人家中男女老幼,次保佑六畜,再次保佑五穀.求保佑畢,再爲主人求財,並求退瘟退怪.又求開牢放魂,開枷脫鎖,以上每求一種,均須卜筊求勝筊,以後即判筊,以卜吉凶.判筊之後,再念交納,勾銷,退下,收領諸咒.念畢,燒紙錢,打鑼鼓,同時念車錢咒畢,即終.

第二十七節燒愿—— 巫師在菅熟之後,不解衣冠,即立在桃源洞前,接做燒愿.主人雙手捧小簸箕,內放猪羊的脏肉各一塊,酒二杯,蠟燭一對,香三炷,良愿一個,立在巫師左邊.幫忙人捧大簸箕,內放猪羊肉各五碗,酒五碗,立在巫師右邊(簸箕頗重,可放在凳上).巫師右手搖師刀,口唱燒愿訣.唱了一大段,幫忙人將簸箕放在地下,巫師引主人至門外戲空前念勸仇人酒咒.念畢,巫師將主人所捧簸箕內兩杯酒倒在地上,將杯覆在簸箕中,同至桃源洞前,蹲在地上,主人將小簸箕放下,雙手捧疏箱跪向雞神,巫師手執良愿念酬愿咒.念畢,幫忙人將良愿及疏箱焚化,並燒紙錢,巫師又唱了愿訣,並卜雞神回轉時期,求保佑主人合家平安,六畜興旺,五穀豐登.得勝筊後,打鑼鼓,巫師與主人均起立.巫師吹牛角一闋後,將牛角架在雙手肘上,行三步罡,念車錢咒.吹三次牛角畢,巫師解衣休息.俟將猪羊肉切成十二碗,擺在桃源洞前.巫師又持筊子,念勸酒咒畢,求得勝筊後,即終.

第二十八節祭土地—— 巫師戴土地面具,手執祖師棍及馬鞭,在堂屋中唱了幾句,即作滑稽問答.後又唱十二月觴名,並

與主人作滑稽問答。後唱土地九兄弟排行及歲數。唱畢,稟告主人姓名籍貫,請神鑒領祭品,並求保佑。再念交納、退下、收領諸咒畢,唱耕陽春訣,唱畢,辭神,終。

第二十九節扮判官——在桃源洞前放桌子一張,桌上擺米一升,米上置錢幣數枚,另擺酒兩杯,肉兩碗,鹽辣子一盤,酒壺一把。巫師戴判官面具,包紅帕,穿紅衣,右手執棱鏢作筆,左手執散錢關簿及令牌,在門外走成半圓形,唱赴儺堂情由,同時走進屋內,接唱儺堂所見,請見主人,作滑稽問答,賀喜主人,參拜儺神,同時響鑼鼓,坐在桌後,背向桃源洞。桌之左右,各坐一人,主人在桌前與判官對面坐。巫師唱,主人及兩旁的人對答。斟酒給主人喝,同時唱吉利語,共喝四次酒,唱四段吉利語,主人離去。再表演告狀,任意作滑稽狀詞,巫師駁斥。最後以還儺願的情由,作爲狀詞。巫師即把散錢關簿打開宣讀,隨讀隨與幫忙人問答,並隨時用朱筆在簿上勾畫,註一還字,口唱:"還字寫上千千個,欠字不留半毫分。"每讀一段關簿,均照演唱一次。唱畢,巫師燃紙錢數張,交給幫忙人至門前焚化,打發各神回轉。送神完畢,巫師左手執簿,右手持鏢起立,向門旁走成半圓形,唱辭神訣,唱畢,即終。

第三十節進鏢——巫師穿紅衣,包紅帕,戴冠紮;手執兩枝棱鏢,在門前走成半圓形,口唱進鏢訣,唱了一段,走進屋內,至桃源洞前,再念咒一段,將一枝鏢燒化,口唱請神領鏢訣。唱畢,卜筊,陽筊爲儺公領鏢,陰筊爲儺母領鏢,勝筊爲三清神領鏢。尚有一枝鏢則插在米升上做願,再念鏢頭訣,同時依詞意表演。念畢,接念上馬酒訣,主人把壺斟酒,斟了五尊上馬酒後,又卜筊,得陽筊爲儺母上轎,陰筊儺公上馬,勝筊三清上馬,隨卜隨唱。一面幫忙人即拆卸桃源洞中佈置。卜得儺神三清上馬之後,巫師至門外

用左脚一跳作上馬勢,手表演大馬小馬姿勢後,再向內唱,請三代祖先及諸神上馬,均求勝答。卜畢,幫忙人打鑼鼓,一面將雞公雞母神偶抬下,先把頭抽出,交給主人,放在床上,然後將桃源洞一切設備拆卸,分別燒化或保存。打鑼鼓,巫師吹牛角,幫忙人等手捧各物魚貫而出,巫師在後,替主人關門,口念關門咒。後又把門推開,口念開門咒。念畢,同至空坪之上,將稻草鋪在地上,上放磁箱,同時打鑼鼓,用火焚化。巫師吹牛角一闋畢,將牛角架在兩臂的肘上,兩手相併,手指互叉,兩母指互相環繞,行三步罡,口念車馬咒。念一段,走一圓圈,吹牛角一闋,凡念八段,吹八次牛角畢。幫忙人即將預備的雄雞用口將雞頸咬破,滴血在焚燒地方的週圍。巫師右手持牛角,左手提紅衣左方的下擺,沿滴血的地方走一圈,再返原位,蹲下,雙膝夾牛角,口念開路咒,同時表演。先將兩手的中指與食指伸出,後又將小指與無名指伸出,再將雙手伸向背後相接,手指相叉。又將雙手在胸前相繞,再用兩袖掩耳。念演既畢,即停鑼鼓。返至主人家吃早飯。飯後,巫師再做一良願,雙手捧給主人,插在米升上,並說一些吉利語。

至此,還願各種儀式已終。巫師收拾用品及主人酬謝的禮物。主人並遣人伴送巫師返家,每過一村寨,巫師必須吹牛角一闋,意思是叫陰兵回壇。到家時又吹牛角一闋,並念歸壇咒。

(二)巫術

巫術與宗教同在神聖領域之內,二者的分別,有時不很清楚。近代研究巫術與宗教最享盛名的英人傅雷塞 (Sir. James Frazer) 氏分別巫術與宗教的標準:便是看其控制自然的方法是自己直接的用符咒儀式,還是間接的乞靈於神物。[1] 前者是

[1] 見馬林諾斯基氏:巫術科學與宗教,李安宅譯本頁三至四。

巫術,後者是宗教.近人馬林諾斯基氏對於二者的分別,說得更爲透澈.他說:"在神聖的領域以內,巫術是實用的技術,所有的動作,只是達到目的的手段;宗教則是包括一套行爲,本身便是目的的行爲,此外別無目的."❶由傅馬二氏之說,我們可以把苗族的巫術與宗教分別得很清楚.例如苗人的遇天旱求雨,從前請苗巫去拿龍求雨,現在是祭雷鬼求雨.前者是巫術;後者是宗教.因爲拿龍求雨是術士以咒語與儀式的動作爲手段,直接去控制自然能否達到目的,要看有雨無雨,這是術士要負責的.祭雷鬼求雨,祇要把應做的祈禱與儀式做完,就算了事,有雨無雨乃是神祇的權力,人是無能力可以過問的.看了以上所述的種種祭鬼儀式,可見湘苗的巫術大多已進而爲宗教的行爲,巫術已失去實用的效力,而宗教尚帶有巫術的色彩.故湘苗的宗教,可稱爲巫教.但除巫教之外,還保存了一小部份正眞的巫術.上面已說過,巫術是實用的技術,所以現在湘苗保存的巫術都有他的實用.至於能控制自然界的風雨以及動植物的巫術,今已不復存在,祇在他們的故事中,尚可以找到這種巫術的遺留.苗人現在所保存的巫術有二種:一爲"靈水",他的用處是爲人治病,是一種白巫術;二爲"放蠱",用處是害人生病,是一種黑巫術.

1. 靈水巫術

任何巫術都有三個原素:巫士、儀式與咒語.馬林諾斯基氏說三者永遠是巫術的三位一體.❷靈水的巫士都有師傳授.其傳授之法,於夜晚三更,用一長板凳,上擺香、燭、紙錢、茶、公雞一隻、硃砂筆,另外青布三丈,鞋一雙,錢一封.師父口授咒語,傳演種種

❶見上引馬林諾斯基氏書頁一一〇。

❷見前引馬林諾斯基氏書頁一一〇。

儀式最後師父用刀劃破徒弟的頭皮,使之出血,以人血和雞血,再以硃砂等調之靈符圖書,傳授以後的四十九日中,須天天練習過此時期,就在初一月半燒香復習,據云,如十分勤習,能得陰傳,巫士學習靈水巫術,須一生禁食天上的斑鳩鳩;地下的犬,馬,騾;水中的鯽,鯉,鰍,犯之術即不靈。

靈水的儀式用燭一對;香三枝;碗一隻,內裝米;肉一塊;另用一杯盛清水;紙錢若干,巫士在開始做儀式時,腦中須想像師父傳授時的情形,先燃燭,再點香,將香插在米碗內,米上須放利市錢,多少不定,然後再將水杯,酒杯及肉一一放好,巫士乃向香案行三叩首禮,禮畢,焚化紙錢,將水碗取下,左手以大,食,小三指叉

圖78 靈水儀式

圖77 畫水手勢

杯(中無名二指屈於掌心),右手以食、中二指相並,對水杯畫符三道(圖76,77),畫符時,默誦請師父口訣,同時想像師父傳授時的狀態,請師口訣念畢,即念畫水口訣,念至某段某句時,即噀水一口,向病者噴去,或將杯水使病者飲之,如遇急病,或在野外山上受傷,不及備設香案,祇須燒香紙,念咒畫符,用唾沫唾病人傷處。

畫水的咒語,可分爲兩部份:一爲請師父的口訣,二爲水的口訣,各種畫水的咒語內容,請師口訣大同小異;水的口訣則各不相同,茲略舉數例如下:

(1)將軍水: 治忽然昏倒的急症,請師口訣是:"奉請內口

傳度師父某某,抬頭望青天,師父在中間,一叫自到,一喊就來,在我身前,身後,身左,身右,跟前擁後,跟左擁右,藏我身,變我身,不見我身在那裏,左請正水,右請正水,靈起銅刀鐵刀,銅刀殺鬼,鐵刀殺鬼."念完了請師口訣,就念水的口訣:"動一脚,喊一聲,喊到上元大將軍,第一將軍本姓唐,一時做了李國王,脚踏推車八百軌,如在老君點內房,老君殿前十軍廠,受走一張文武件,受起天上振妖氣,招得龍,服得虎,斬得羊毛救邪氣,二月新災買活羊,一刀砍斷送長江,(至此,巫士喝水一口,聲帶虎威,噴在病人身上,同時頓起一脚,再念下去.)退不退,將軍等你下地來,走不走,將軍等你來上手,如今不退等好些,百鳥退山退美人,動一脚,喊一聲,喊到上元大將軍,第二將軍本姓葛,鼻子出煙口出河,住在天堂都未宮,脚踏推車八百軌,如在老君點內房,老君殿前十軍廠,受走一張文武件,受起天上振妖氣,招得龍,服得虎,斬得羊毛救邪氣,二月新災買活羊,一刀砍斷送長江.(如前噴水一口,頓起一脚)退不退,將軍等你下地來;走不走,將軍等你來上手,如今不退等好些,開鬼腸,破鬼肚,破了鬼肚吃鬼心,動一脚,喊一聲,喊到上元大將軍,第三將軍本姓朱,能把黃河水倒流,脚踏推車八百軌,如在老君點內房,老君殿前十軍廠,受走一張文武件,受起天上振妖氣,招得龍,服得虎,斬得羊毛救邪氣,二月新災買活羊,一刀砍斷送長江.(亦如前噴水頓脚)退不退,將軍等你下地來;走不走,將軍等你來上手,如今不退等好些,大的拿來吃半邊,小的拿來剮吊乾,個個有網經快受,不受打龍你的網"(末後兩句低聲默念).

(2)靈絲水: 治飲食不慎,骨骾在喉,喝了還杯水,骨自能吐出或嚥下,請師的口訣同上;水的口訣:"月出四柱起,切盡飲傳

鬼,顯吾變猴生,正正變吃水,叫變就變,若有不變,弟子靈起六月太陽圓變,叫融就融,若有不融,弟子靈起六月太陽圓融,叫變就變,若有不變,弟子靈起五百雷打變,叫融就融,若再不融,弟子靈起五百雷打融,抬頭望四方,九龍下天堂,龍來龍脫爪,虎來虎脫皮,山中百鳥脫毛衣,步步成鋼,動手成刂"(念三次).

(3)雪山水: 治灼傷皮膚,如傷輕可用口沫唾之,傷重須用水碗噴三口水,並以手蘸水摩在傷處.水的口訣:"一請一里路,二請二里路大軍刀請到大雪山,小軍刀請到小雪山,李請師父龍膽登,深潭弟子麻老橋,燒軍折軍,燒皮折皮,血莫流,水莫流,拿口水做藥.

(4)隔山水: 治隔一山跌傷或砍傷者.如聞有呼救之聲,即可念咒救治,但預先要告訴受傷者:"若我問你好不好,你可答好,否則不驗.水的口訣:"隔山按山,隔水按水,靈鬼擔,砍鬼山,老龍身到龍深灘,請得木山李老格,不怕雜鬼並遠鬼,左手靈天雷,右手靈地雷,靈起五百雷."

(5)擔血水: 治人受傷,血出不止,先令其人捏着傷口,念咒語,噴水一口即可止血.水的口訣:"動一脚,喊一聲,喊得師父吳"化是,隔山喊三星,隔水喊水義,大軍刀擔到大洪沙,小軍刀擔到小洪沙,擔了長江水,海的流脚踩龍頭,擔血不流,脚踩龍腰,擔血不流,子兒子兒,化在亂泥之田,兒靈而相連,總師教我四處勾,弟子教我指四方."

(6)封刀口水: 治刀傷.念了此咒三次,不獨可使刀傷封口,且可以刀砍手指不斷.口訣:"太陽出來一點紅,手執金鞭到騎龍,一口喝斷長江水,弟子接歐血不出.

2. 放蠱巫術

蠱毒由來甚古.春秋左傳昭元年"皿蟲爲蠱,疾如蠱."可見在二千餘年前,即有蠱毒之事.宋鄭樵通志六書略記造蠱之法云:"以百蟲置皿中,俾相噬食,其存者爲蠱."其法向懸例禁,所以唐刑律有"造畜蠱毒"之條.而苗中則至今仍時時存在.乾州廳志卷七云:"苗婦能巫蠱殺人,名曰放草鬼.遇有仇怨嫌隙者放之,放於外則蟲蛇食五體,放於內則食五臟.被放之人,或痛楚難堪,或形神羸瘦,或風鳴於皮膚,或氣脹於胸臆,皆致人於死之術也.將死前一月,必見放蠱人之生魂,背面來送物,謂之催乘.病家如不能治,不一月人即死矣.聞其法不論男婦皆可學,必設殿一壇,以小瓦罐注水,煮細蝦數枚,或置暗室牀下土中,或置遠山僻徑石下,人得其瓦罐焚之,放蠱之人亦必死矣.放蠱時有能伸一指放者,能敍二指放者,能駢三指四指放者.一二指尚屬易治,三指則難治,四指則不易治矣.苗人畏蠱不學其法,惟苗婦暗習之.嘉慶以前,苗得放蠱之婦則殺之.嘉慶以後苗不敢殺婦,則賣於民間,民間亦漸得其法.黠者遂挾術以取利."永綏廳志卷六亦云:"異蠱婦目如硃砂,肚腹臂背均有紅條青黃紋路,無者即假.異蠱婦家無有產蠶絲絲綢.每日又須置水一盆於堂屋,將所放之蠱蟲吐出,入水盆食水,無者即假.異蠱婦平日又必在山中,或放竹篙在雲中爲龍鬬,或放斗莖在天上作鳥鮮,無者即假.如有以上各異,殺之後剖開其腹必有蠱蟲在內,則爲異蠱.異蠱婦害人百日必死,若病經年,即非受蠱."歷代志書,記載蠱毒之事甚多,惜多語焉不詳.作者在苗疆時,頗想調查蠱之究竟,惟以蠱爲政府所嚴禁,苗婦能蠱者,諱莫如深,調查無從着手.下文所記,只是由詢問得來的一些材料.

蠱,苗語叫做[ʂʿiɴ],蠱婦稱[mpʿɑ ʂʿiɴ].蠱婦多爲丈夫所悅,

稱 [ʃ'ioʌ ʃ'iɴ], 即蠱惑之意.蠱術祇女子相傳,如某蠱婦有女三人,其中必有一女習蠱,但不一定要傳親生之女,普通女子,亦得相傳,如有一女子向蠱婦學習女紅與唱歌,蠱婦見此女可以傳授蠱術,即在無意之中,問女:"你得了"!女即生病,如欲病好,非向其學習蠱術不可,傳授的儀式與咒語,無從究得其詳.蠱婦設有蠱壇,或在家中隱蔽處,或在山洞中,聞有一蠱婦設壇在家,一日早飯後,佚寨中人上山工作之時,婦即關門在家燒温水爲神偶沐浴,不意爲小兒所見,翌日,蠱婦上山工作,小兒仿傚之,燒沸水爲神偶沐浴,將蠱偶燙死,中有一偶即爲蠱婦自己之魂所附,婦在山工作,即已自覺,返家換衣後,即氣絕身死.蠱婦眼紅,如不放蠱,自己要生病,臉變黃色,放蠱中一人,蠱婦自己可保無病三年;中一牛,可保一年;中一樹,可保三個月,猪亦可放,狗則不能,故蠱婦怕狗,不吃狗肉,中蠱者的病象,臉呈黃色,想吃食物,得之又吃不下,大都腹脹,急醫亦能痊愈.民國十七年鳳凰縣發生一蠱毒案,有一苗人,二子相繼而亡,疑爲同寨蠱婦作祟,後告官抄搜其家,在隱蔽處抄出一瓦罐,內有蛇,鼈,蝦蟆等物,並有紙剪的人形,因證據確實,即將蠱婦斃.

根據上述的材料,我們大概可以說,巫蠱是一種黑巫術,現在尚有許多初民社會中,將一個有尖的骨或棍,箭頭或某種動物的脊骨,用模仿的儀式向所要加害之人的方向刺去,投去或指着,便算要將那個人弄死❶ 很似放蠱的伸一指或二指,使人生病以至於死或者巫蠱亦是一種戀愛巫術.苗中相傳蠱婦多能使丈夫歡喜.廣西歸順直隸州志記:"婦人不得於其夫,則求符於巫,以取客悅,久而爲蠱,期望輒放以毒人,不放則鴆其身.鎮

❶ 見馬林諾斯基氏:巫術科學與宗教,李安宅譯師本頁七七。

過一帶,此風尤盛."我們說巫蠱是黑巫術或戀愛巫術,不過是一種假定而已,因爲不知道一種巫術的咒語與儀式,及術士執行這種儀式時所有的姿態與表情,當然不容易確知其內容的.

九 鼓舞與遊技

(一)鼓舞

湘西苗族的文化雖較落後,然在其保存的原始文化中,並非一無可取,如鼓舞,技擊等,都有保存的價值,而尤以鼓舞最能引人注意。苗防備覽風俗考記苗人的鼓舞云:"刳長木空其中,冒皮其端以爲鼓便婦人之美者跳而擊之,擇男女善歌者,皆衣優伶五綵衣,或披紅毡,戴折角巾,剪五色紙兩條垂於背,男左女右旋繞而歌,迭相和唱,舉手頓足,疾徐應節,名曰跳鼓藏"這一段所記是苗人在吃牛大祭典時的鼓舞,近年以來,地方政府屢次出示嚴禁苗中淫祀,因此跳鼓藏一類的鼓舞,已不常舉行。而苗中稍受教育所謂有識之士,談及他們的鼓舞,常引爲奇恥大辱,以爲是暴露他們野蠻的特徵。數十年後,這種可以表示民族性的鼓舞,恐將消滅。茲將調查所得,詳述如下:

湘苗的鼓舞,名爲猴鼓或猴兒鼓。貴州銅仁附近的紅苗亦有鼓舞,名爲調鼓。貴州通志紅苗條云:"擊鼓歌舞,名曰調鼓。"可見這種鼓舞爲湘黔兩省紅苗所共有。在西南其他各族中,今尚未見有鼓舞之俗。疑此舞或爲紅苗所獨有古代記載西南民族的舞名,後漢書南蠻傳有巴渝舞,❶宋史西南諸夷傳有水曲舞,❷

❶ 後漢書卷 116,列傳第 76,南蠻傳云:"俗喜歌舞,高祖觀之,曰:'此武王伐紂之歌也'。乃命樂人習之,所謂巴渝舞也。"

❷ 宋史卷 496,列傳第 225,西南諸夷傳云:"至道元年,龍光道和西南蕃何諸蠻來貢方物,太宗因令作水曲歌舞,一人吹竽笙,知音納拜良久,數十輩迭代宛轉而舞,以足頓地爲節,謂其曲,則名曰水曲。"

明郎瑛亦錄所記,苗人有鵝鴨舞,倒人有混沌舞,● 均無鼓舞之名,今之其他苗族,如黑苗、白苗等,亦祇有笙舞、笛舞,而無鼓舞之俗,故又疑紅苗此舞,或非其固有,而學自漢人,按中國漢時鼓舞盛行,或由其時傳入苗中亦未可知,漢魏辭賦家言賦必多及鼓,傅武仲舞賦中有云:"跗般鼓則腾清眸,吐哇咬則發皓齒,摛齊行列,經營切偃,彷彿神動,迴翔竦峙,舉不致笑,蹈不頓趾,翼爾悠往,翩復輾已,及至迴身還入,迫於急節,浮腾累跪,跗蹋摩跌,紆形赴遠,淮似催折,纖毅蛾飛,紛森若絕,超踰鳥集,緩弛殞疲,蜿蛇姊妹,雲轉風留,體如遊龍,袖如素蜺,黎收而羣,曲度究畢。"此段完全是描寫漢時宮庭鼓舞,以文字來描寫音聲之容的歌舞,描寫無論如何精確,終不過能得其彷彿而已。李善註"跗般鼓則腾清眸"句,羅列衆辭,釋之,對於漢時的鼓舞可得進一層的瞭解,其註云:"般鼓之舞,載籍無文,以諸賦言之,似舞人更遞蹈之而爲舞節:古新成安樂宮辭曰:'般鼓鐘聲盡爲鏗鏘'。張衡七盤舞曰:'歷七盤而展蹈';又曰:'般鼓煥以駢羅'。王粲七釋曰:'七盤陳於廣庭,鳴人儼其齊俟;揄皓袖以振策,竦并足而軒跱,邪睨鼓下,伉音赴節;安翹足以徐舉,駭頓身而傾折。'卡蘭許昌宮賦曰:'振奪足以卻蹈,若將絕而復連;鼓震動而不亂,足相續而不并;婉轉鼓側,蜿蛇丹庭;與七盤其遞奏,覩輕捷之期翻';義並同也。"般鼓之舞,至唐已絕,李善雖集諸舞,詳細考釋,亦僅得其大概,幸漢代石刻畫像至今猶存,如山左金石志●南陽漢畫像彙存● 諸

● 郎瑛亦錄卷上倒人條與苗人條。

● 清華氏民元同書。

● 近人孫文青編,民國二十七年金陵大學文化研究所出版,內有第一三七、一三八、一三九、一四二鼓舞圖四幅。

圖16 湘西石刻鼓舞圖甲

圖79 南陽石刻鼓舞圖之一

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

書,均載有漢代鼓舞圖像。看圖讀賦,則漢代鼓舞,宛然在目。圖78及79爲南陽石刻鼓舞圖像二幅,與今日紅苗鼓舞極相似,可見鼓舞由漢代傳入苗中之說,十九可信。且苗中至今傳說,古代曾住在河南。中國古籍又載河南陰地有茅戎。以地域而言亦甚相近。

苗人鼓舞可分爲單人舞與雙人舞兩種:單人舞以一人擊鼓而舞,一人擊鼓腰,打拍子(圖84—116);雙人舞以二人擊鼓而舞,一人擊拍(圖81,82,83)。舞者的性別,無一定的規定,可以任意組合。

鼓的大小在昔或有定制,但現在所用者則大小不一。以鼓置一木架之上,擊拍所用之棒,長約尺許,鼓槌長約半尺許。

舞有兩種:一爲槌舞,一爲拳舞。二者的分別,前者用槌擊鼓,後者用拳擊鼓。拳舞除打粑粑舞(見後)外,多屬男子舞,女子不用。槌舞雖男女均舞,然亦有若干種舞,專限於男子。我們在看苗舞的時候,覺其動作頗爲複雜,然經詳細分析之後,則甚爲簡單。因爲在每五分鐘的短時間內,可舞至二十餘種花樣,且動作甚快,又可互相變換,所以使得觀者,覺其變化無窮。現將槌舞與拳舞分別敍述之。

1. 槌舞

(1) 梳頭舞(圖85)

男女均舞。男子舞法:面向鼓,右手擊鼓,鼓聲爲槃槃——槃,槃槃——槃。身向左,右脚尖向鼓,左脚與身同一方向。兩脚相距約三十公分,右脚略曲。左手繞頭作梳頭狀二次,第二次,手略提高作再梳狀。同時左脚尖向下,脚根提起,左右替換而打,次數無

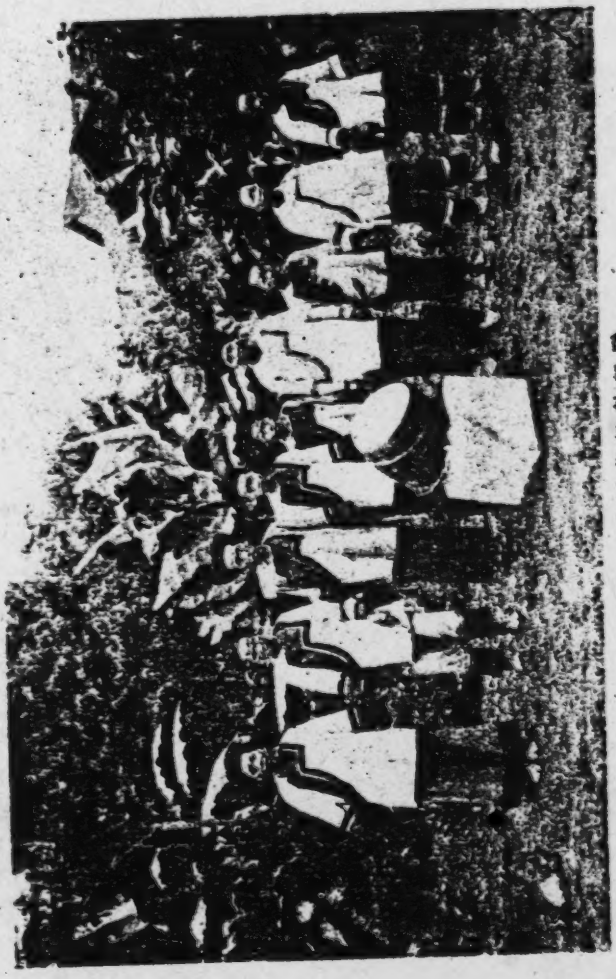


圖 68 鼓舞與遊技

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

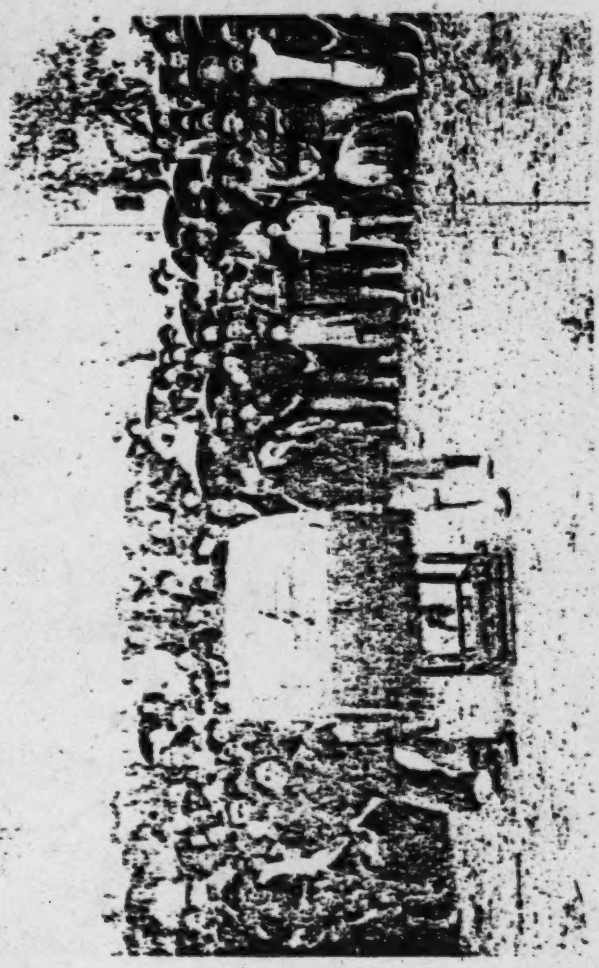


圖81 風俗新娘的子婦人結髮

圖82 未婚苗族男女手舞人面鼓

圖五、永綏苗村婦女手織八寶帶

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

苗族女子服人物

[P.210, A]

圖85 女子梳頭舞

圖86 插花舞

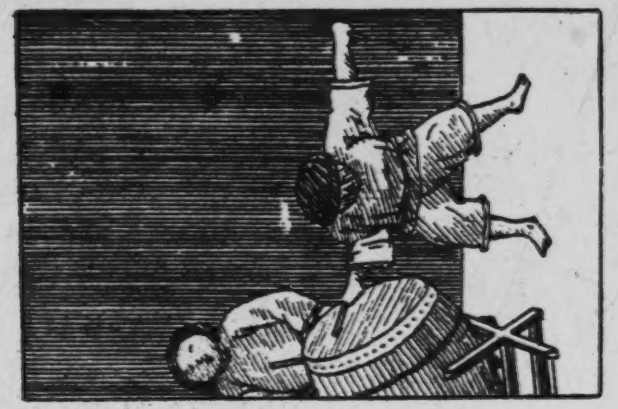


圖88 乌鴉舞

圖67 背刺舞

一定。

女子舞法面向鼓,右手打鼓,聲亦爲擊擊——擊,擊擊——擊。身向鼓,兩脚向前替換,步法與鼓聲相應,左手自右乳部繞頭作梳頭狀兩次,左右手替換而打,次數亦不一定,視舞者的體力如何。後又作快擊法,鼓聲短促,兩足前後互跳,一回作梳頭狀一次。最快鼓祇一打,右手打鼓,左足向前伸,左手梳頭,左右替換而打。

(2) 插花舞(圖 86)

男女均舞。男子舞法:右手打鼓,鼓聲亦爲擊擊——擊。面身俱向左,兩足分開,相距約五十公分。左手持鼓槌作花,先向地下作拔花狀,再向頭上插,左右換打。

女子舞法:右手打鼓,身半面向左,兩足相距約二十公分,如體操時的稍息狀,右手打鼓時,左手持鼓槌的下端,先向地下拔花,再向頭後插上。

(3) 背劍舞(圖 87)

專限男子舞。右手打鼓,鼓聲擊擊——擊。面身向左,兩脚距離及部位與插花相同。左手環腰,作一大圓,向背上附緊,左右換打。

(4) 鳥飛舞(圖 88)

專限男子舞。先右手打鼓,身向左,兩脚相距約六十五公分,兩足脚尖均向左。左手握鼓槌中間,手臂伸直,前俯後仰,半身搖動作展翅狀,左右換舞。

(5) 挖耳舞(圖 89)

男女均舞.男子舞法:先用右手打鼓,身稍向左,兩足相距約三十公分,右足尖向鼓,左足尖與身同一方向.頭稍左側,左手持鼓槌緣耳繞一圈後,腰向左彎,槌在耳口外作挖耳狀一二次,身向上仰後,腰再彎.換手時左手展開作一大半圓形,目隨左手而轉.

女子舞法:右手打鼓,身向鼓,頭向左側,兩脚相距約三十公分.左脚跟提起,左手向耳口作小圓圈旋轉狀,左右換舞.

(6)舉鼎舞(圖90)

專限男子舞.先以右手打鼓,身向左,兩足相距約四十八公分,作平樁勢.左手握槌中間,手曲齊肩,身起立直,手卽高舉作舉鼎狀,踏下手又曲,左右換舞.

(7)花手鼓舞(圖91,92)

男女均舞.男子舞法:右手打鼓,身向鼓,左手在後先向下再向上高舉,作半圓形,交叉在右手上,右足同時交在左足上,兩膝均略曲,左足立定,右足提起時,左手乃擊鼓,如此更換而打.數次後,兩足仍是替換交叉,左脚交於右脚時,兩槌同時並舉,從左方向右方打下.右足交於左足時,兩槌由右方向左方打下.兩手曲成三角形.當左手在上右手在下時,右手則先打,左手隨之而下.鼓聲打成拏——拏二聲.同時右足向前曲,左右互相更迭.

女子舞法:先用右手打鼓,身向鼓.兩足相距約二十八公分,右足尖向前,左足尖斜向左,脚跟提起.左手臂曲上舉略高於肩,向後甩作蝴蝶飛狀.右手打鼓,左足移動,左手舞的姿勢均須互相呼應.或兩足向前出步,互相更迭.又有面向鼓舞前花,背向鼓

圖79 舞

圖80 女子拍耳舞

圖01 花手鼓舞

圖02 女子花手鼓舞

爲後花,面向左右則稱左花右花。

(8)圓手鼓舞(圖 93,94)

男女均舞,男子舞法右手打鼓,兩足相距約七十公分,又可分爲小圓手與大圓手兩種:小圓手,面向鼓,兩足作箭樁,左手曲舉至頭高,手腕旋轉作小圓圈,左右互換;大圓手,面亦向鼓,左右兩足擺成平樁,手伸直,旋轉肩部作大圓圈,手旋轉至頭高則面向外。

女子舞法與男子相同,惟手旋轉作圓圈形而已。

(9)猴子舞(圖 95)

此舞拍子甚快,男女均舞,男子舞法:右手擊鼓擊擊——擊,面向鼓,左右兩手換打,兩足相距約三十八公分作平樁,打數次後,足即擺成箭樁,左右手各打擊擊——擊二次,於是翻身旋轉,兩足地位不動,左手打鼓擊擊——擊三聲,回過身來亦打三聲,如是旋轉數次,則兩槌打擊擊擊擊擊擊——擊七聲,又翻身旋轉亦打七聲,連續旋轉,愈快愈妙。

女子舞法兩足蹲下,右手先開始打鼓,左右連續而打,打數次以後,身向左旋,面背鼓時,右手仍繼續打鼓,左手亦向後與右手更迭而打,左右翻覆,愈快愈妙。

(10)抽風爐舞(圖 96)

專限男子舞,右手打鼓,兩足擺箭樁約距五十公分,但此距離須視鼓之高低而定,鼓高距離近,鼓低距離遠,左手先曲前後推動作抽風爐姿勢,數次後左右手足換舞。

圖93 小圓手鼓舞

圖94 大圓手鼓舞

圖 93 抽風擺舞

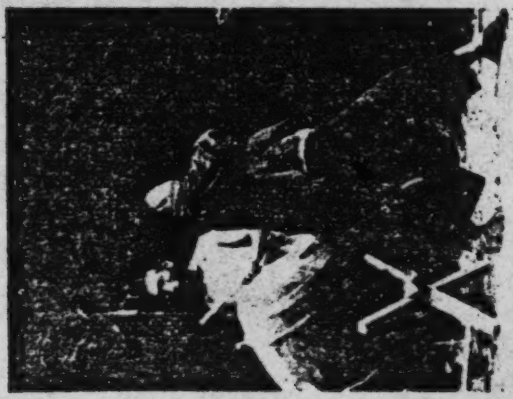


圖 92 鼓子舞

(11)打鐵舞(圖97)

專限男子舞,兩足作箭樁,惟脚尖向前,有時後脚跟提起,身向鼓,兩手先向後甩,再至前卽打鼓面作聲。

(12)推磨舞(圖98)

男子舞,兩足亦作箭樁,相距約六十公分,後脚跟提起,右手先打鼓作拏拏——拏兩次,左手甩一圈圈,打鼓亦作拏拏——拏聲,乃兩手同時向鼓面冲上,卽刻打下,作拏——拏聲,狀同推磨又有推小磨舞,兩足亦作箭樁,相距約四十公分,右手打鼓,左手在鼓前磨轉,作推手磨狀,女子有時亦作推磨舞,然不多見。

(13)扯鬚舞(圖99)

專限男子舞,身向前,兩脚作平樁,相距約三十公分,右手打鼓,左手握槌在口部用大指舉起作扯鬚狀,隨卽左手向左方伸直作甩鬚狀,左右掉換而舞。

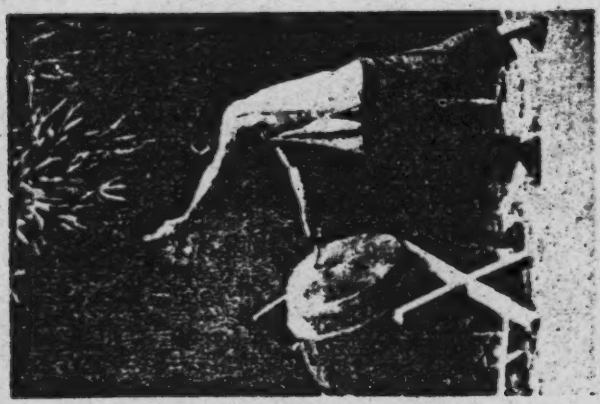
(14)鑽洞舞(圖100)

又名黃狗鑽洞,專限男子舞,右手打鼓作拏拏——拏聲,身旋左方略斜,左手穿過左脚打鼓一下,再穿右脚打鼓一下,如是打兩次,再換左手打鼓。

(15)花蓋頂舞(圖101)

又名梅花蓋頂,男女均舞,舞法相同,右手打鼓,右足跟提起,兩足略跳,左手打鼓則左足提起,如是者四次,右手打鼓,左手握槌在頭頂作螺旋狀。

鼓舞表演 8圖



鼓舞比賽 7圖

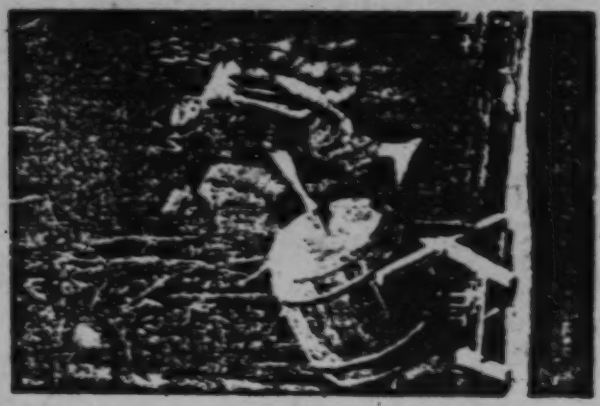


圖110 吹蘆笙

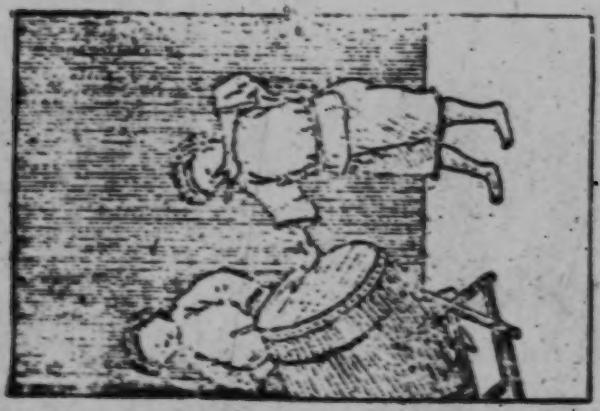


圖109 舞蹈

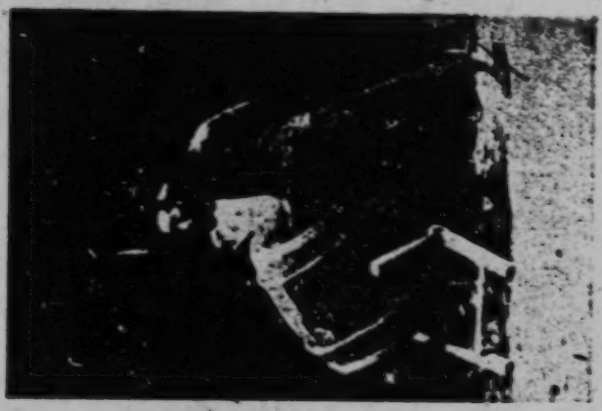


圖 102 鼓手用鼓槌

圖 101 在鼓頂舞

(16)起手花鼓舞(圖102)

專限男子舞,右手打鼓作擊擊——擊聲三次,面向鼓,身稍向左,兩足作小箭樁,相距約三十三公分,左手甩上作圓圈擊鼓,右手照樣而打,同時身子稍向右方,如是打了數次,換左手打鼓作擊擊——擊三次,右足旋轉一步,身向右,兩足幾成平樁,右手轉至背後打鼓一下,左手亦打一下,如是兩次,身足向左旋轉,向左方立,左手在背後先打鼓一下,再以右手打一下。

(17)陰陽二手舞(圖103)

專限男子舞右手打鼓,身向鼓,兩足成箭樁,相距約五十公分,左手向右打鼓亦作擊擊——擊聲,如是者四次兩足不離原位置,翻身過來打鼓,鼓聲連續而急促,往返數次不斷,愈快愈妙,而鼓為陰,翻身為陽,此舞在起鼓時,身須離鼓較遠。

(18)龍纏腰舞(圖104)

又名黃龍纏腰,男女均舞,舞法相同,身向左,兩足成平樁,相距約四十餘公分,右手擊鼓,左手自腰部繞過至背後擊鼓一下,隨即至前面擊一下,如是前後往來數次,左右換打。

(19)魚跳舞(圖105)

專限男子舞,身領斜站在鼓的右邊,身與鼓成鈍角,兩足成箭樁,相距約六十公分,左手先打鼓邊作擊擊——擊聲二次,左手打一次,右手又打一次,乃跳至鼓的左邊,身之姿勢及足之部位與前相同,左手打鼓兩次,右手又打一次,再跳如是往返跳打

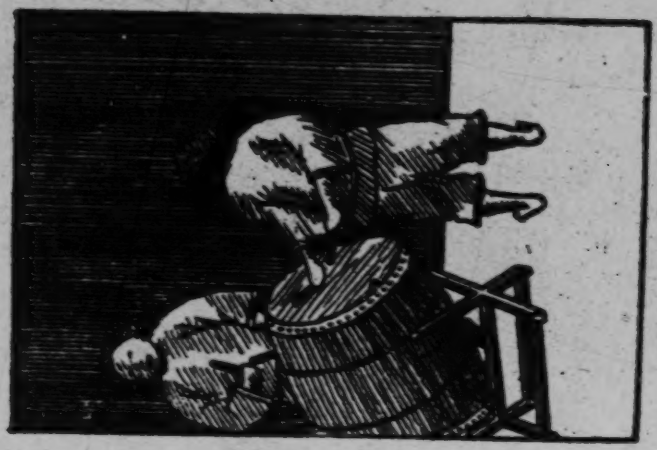


圖104 鼓舞圖

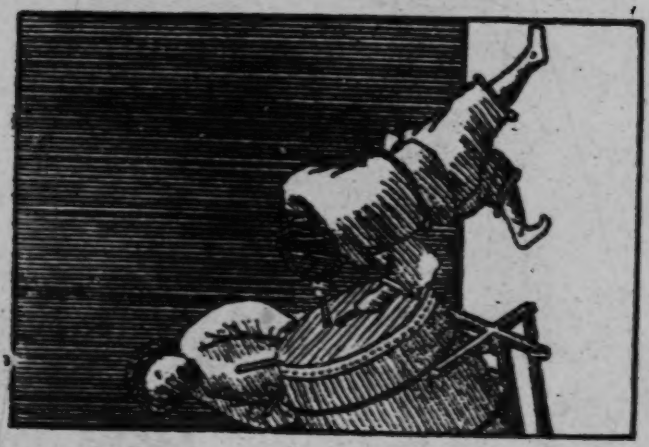


圖103 拾棉花者

圖166 放牧者

圖166 放牧者

面鼓。

(20) 鯉魚舞(圖 106)

男女均舞,舞法相同,身向左與鼓成鈍角,兩足成矮箭樁,右手打鼓邊,作拏拏——拏拏,左足跳至鼓左邊,左手打鼓,右足又跳至鼓右邊,左手先打,右手隨之而打,再左手打,左足移至鼓左邊,頭向左手腋下鑽過去,右足移過來仍成箭樁,右手打,左手打,再右手打,右足移至鼓的右邊,同時頭從右手腋下鑽過去,轉身左足移過來,又成箭樁,如是左右往返。

(21) 猴兒戲牛舞(圖 107)

專限男子舞,身在鼓右邊,面向右,兩足成箭樁,右手打鼓邊作拏拏——拏拏,左足移動轉至鼓左邊,左手打鼓,右足移至鼓右面,左足不動,兩足仍成箭樁,左手繼續打鼓邊,身蹲下足成馬樁,右手握槌中段,自下向上,作潑水上牛身狀,三四次不等,水上潑時兩足作平樁,蹲下取水作馬樁,右手又作刮牛身狀,自上下刮,立起兩足爲平樁,蹲下爲馬樁,又從左刮至右,右刮至左,往返數次,右足移至鼓左邊,右手打鼓,左手又作潑水及刮牛狀數次如前,左足又移至鼓右邊成箭樁,左手打鼓,右手作刮牛背狀,左右各一次,在做潑水及刮牛等動作時,須鼓聲不斷。

(22) 插秧舞(圖 108)

男女均舞,舞法相同,身站在鼓中間,身面向左,兩足成矮馬樁,右手打鼓,左手握鼓槌的一端如持秧苗,先作拔秧狀,左右各一次,乃作插秧狀,亦左右各一次。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

圖106 婦女舞

圖107 婦女踏牛舞

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

2. 拳舞

(1)花朝天開舞(圖109)

身向鼓,距鼓約一百五十公分,開始打時,身稍蹲下,右足先交叉在左足前,右手隨右足同一方向而舞,左足與左手照樣向左方舞,步數多寡不一,視場地的情形而定,普通至少第三步須打鼓,鼓作拳——拳聲。

(2)爆竹舞(圖110)

爆竹舞又分小爆竹與大爆竹兩種:小爆竹舞身向鼓,足成箭樁,兩足相距約九十公分,兩手打鼓,鼓聲急促;大爆竹舞委勢向前,惟兩手先向後再向上甩作大圈子而擊鼓,鼓聲遲緩。

(3)獅子滾球舞(圖111)

由大爆竹舞接連而來,右手打鼓時,翻身背朝鼓,左足移動位置與原來位置成三角形,身向右,右手先擊鼓一聲,左手一下,又右手一下;翻身向左時,左手一下,右手一下,又左手擊鼓共成三聲。

(4)狗鑽洞舞(圖112)

由獅子滾球舞接連而來,向左打時,右足退後一小步,左手打鼓,右手穿右足打,左手打,右手打,再左手打右手穿左足打,左手打;翻身右手打鼓,左手打,再右手打,左手穿右足打,右手打,左手打,再右手打,左手穿左足打,右手打,再左手打;連續不斷,以快為妙。

圖110 燒竹舞

圖109 祈晴天圍舞

圖115 鼓舞

圖111 鼓手樂隊

圖 113 [illegible]

圖 114 [illegible]

(5)騎馬舞(圖113)

身向鼓,兩足擺成平樁,稍蹲下,左手打鼓,右手穿右足打,左手打,再右手打,左手穿左足打,右手打,再左手打,右手穿右足打.

(6)猛虎坐堂舞(圖114)

面向鼓,身半面向左,右手打鼓作擊擊擊擊擊擊擊,左手曲,平左肩,兩足成平樁,左足退後一步,成子午樁,右足退後則左足向前,仍成子午樁,左手打鼓,右手曲,平右肩.

(7)猛虎下山舞(圖115)

右足交叉於左足前,左足退後成大箭樁,同時右手打鼓作擊擊——擊擊擊擊擊擊擊.至箭樁擺成以後,右手打一下,左手打一下,乃左右手同打.

(8)打耙耙舞(圖116)

面向鼓,身稍向左,兩足稍向左分開,立作八字形,相距約二十五公分,不握拳,先以右手背擊鼓作擊擊——擊擊二次,再擊作擊擊——擊擊——擊擊——擊擊——擊,身略曲作偃狀,左右手互換而打,此舞男女均舞.

(二)遊技

苗族居高山之中,環境單調,日出而作,日入而息,於工作之暇,常從事於各種遊技,以資消遣.

兒童的游戲種類甚多,如貓捕鼠,瞎子捉人,老虎咬羊,穿龍

圖116 行走姿勢

圖116 坐或下山姿

門,捉雀子,打波螺,踢毽子等等,多與漢族兒童的要技大同小異,或多由漢族學習而來,亦未可知,茲僅述其較爲特殊的游戲數種如下:

(1)打泥砲

集合若干兒童,各取田裏的爛泥,揑成如碗或盂的形式,上有一孔或數孔,做成之後,每人拿起來,向地下用力一丟,落在地上,聲響如砲(圖117)。泥砲着地即破裂,若誰的泥砲打不響,即算輸,取銷比賽資格,即煞勝者工作,再作泥砲。泥砲的形式有如(圖118)的數種。

(2)製泥錢

取乾淨泥土,調水揑成小泥圓,用康熙或乾隆的大錢兩個,夾土成錢形,做成許多泥錢之後,以小竿穿錢孔,在地下滾幾滾,然後一個個分開,在日光下曬乾,用以代錢,以付他種游戲勝負的代價,每一銅錢,可換泥錢五十個。

(3)刺手腕

在十二三歲的男女兒童,平日無事,三五成羣,聚集一堂,常作互相繡刺手腕之戲,其方法:先以長麻線一根,細繞手腕,預留刺花的一段,上面再加麻線,兩端因爲麻線緊束,血脈不得流通,再以木棒或篦板擊之,使皮色變紅,再變紫色,依要刺的花紋輕輕刺之,使血液流出,再用顏色塗之,經若干時日,洗去顏色,則所刺的花紋現出,且永不退色。

苗族成人的游戲,如掉龍燈,掉獅子,拳術,技擊,多與漢人相

圖 117 打洗鍋

圖 118 洗鍋的種類

圖 119 苗人的技藝

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

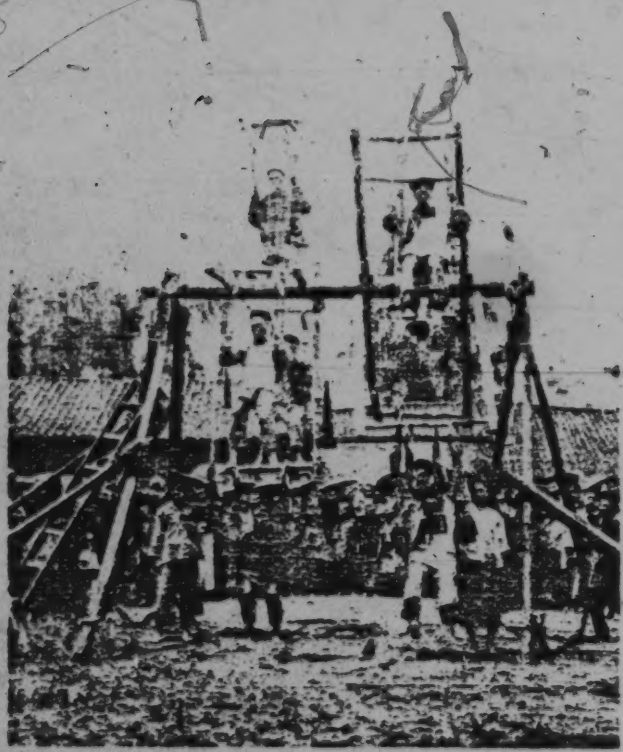


圖120 苗人的打鐵

同,或亦由漢族傳入.惟其技擊中有一種武器名"劍叉"(圖119),頗不多見據苗人傳說,這是專爲打虎的兵器。

(4)打鞦

苗中有一種打鞦的游戲,頗有可觀他們每於農暇有集會或遇新年時節時,在一廣場中,搭起鞦架,架上紮有二鞦輪,每輪四葉,每葉繫繩及板,卽成一鞦轆架每輪之上坐男或女四人,隨輪轉動(圖120),隨轉隨唱,男女對歌(參看歌謠章)茲錄其打鞦來源歌詞一首如下:

歌言唱歌原來有, 根底書上四海傳。
宋朝生下麒麟子, 年少心巧求姻緣。
要找美人暗愧醜, 愛美難遇美女來。
無處計策問某某, 架造車鞦送人玩。
榜上掛牌到處賊, 臥虎山上出女才。
到場坐上八人鞦, 王母中意受人愛,
請個媒人求到手, 同配夫妻百年合。

十 故事

我們在湘西調查苗族時所蒐集來的故事,可以約略分爲四類第一類是含有宗教性的,在民間文學的術語上叫做神話(myth);第二類是含有歷史性的,那就是傳說(legend);第三類是含有倫理性或道德性的,那就是寓言(apologue);第四類是含有滑稽性或詼諧性的,那就是趣事(droll)。第三第四兩類本來都是說來消遣而具有娛樂性的,普通都總稱爲民談或民間故事(folk-tale)。

在分別討論這幾類故事前,有幾點是要先行說明的。

第一,這些故事除一部份是我們在湘西親聽苗人講述隨時記錄的以外,有一部份是幫忙我們的幾位苗族士子如乾城石啓貴、鳳凰、吳文祥、吳良佐諸君轉請苗中耆老或能講故事的苗人講述,經他們記錄下來之後,再由我們就記錄的原文在文字上略加修正而成的;但絕未改動原來意義。還有一部份是由他們以苗語講述,用漢字輔以注音符號記音(當然說不到正確再按語一一註明意義,復由作者翻譯出來的。(我們原定計劃是要他們用苗語講述,由我們用國際音標記音,以便同時可以研究苗語。因工作太忙,時間短促,不能親自記音,祇得請他們用漢字及注音符號記音,雖在苗語的研究上沒有直接的用處,但有時也還可以供間接參考之用)所以這些故事的來源,完全是由苗人口述的。我們在每篇故事之後,均附記講述人的姓名籍貫。但那些故事並不一定都是純粹的苗族故事,也許有好些是苗人講述的漢族故事因爲在湘西一帶,漢苗雜處,由來已

久,且苗族的優秀份子,在近百年來,頗多受漢化的教育,習聞漢族的故事,所以他們講述的故事,一定不免雜有漢族的成份,或且難免有起源於漢族的,我們對於這些故事有兩種看法:一種是看作漢化的苗族故事,一種是看作苗化的漢族故事,但在這裏,我們卻不能一一分辨。

第二,在這些故事中,有好些是大同小異的,我們知道,大同的地方是它們的"母題(motif)",小異的地方是隨時隨地添上去的枝節細葉,往往有一個母題,經過許多人輾轉的傳述,傳播到各地,因爲隨時隨地的改變,變到末了,幾乎句句變了,但是無論如何改變,只要我們能把這些大同小異的故事比較着看,仍舊可以看出它們原來是不是同出於一個母題,所以研究故事,首先要剝去枝葉細節,再拿來互相比較,而後可以看出它們的母題是什麼。

第三,在這些故事中,有好些情節很像數學中的公式似的,在任何故事中的相當情節上,都可像代數方程式一般的用 x y 來代進去,例如"騎馬覓夫"在灶神故事中有這一段情節,在貧女富命故事中也有同樣的一段情節,這正像平劇的唱詞一般,有好些是在任何一齣戲劇中的相當脚色口中,都可唱同樣的詞兒,例如"離龍樓,打罷了,初更時分。"在黃金台劇中的田單是這樣唱,在八大錘劇中的王佐也是這樣唱,我們決不能憑這種相同的唱詞,來斷定它們的母題也相同,要知道這種相同處乃是枝節的枝節,細葉的細葉,與原來的母題是毫不相涉的。❶

(一)神話

❶ 看胡適:歐美的比較研究法的一個例一文,收入胡適文存二集,卷四,頁 200.

神話向來是被一般自然派學者認爲原始人對於自然現象懵者疑問,因而想像出來的解釋也被一般歷史派學者認爲關於過去眞實歷史的記錄但據英國人類學者馬林諾斯基(Bronislaw Malinowski)氏考察美拉尼西亞(Melanesia)土人的神話的結果,以爲原始人很少對於自然界有純粹藝術的或理論科學的關心他雖承認歷史與自然環境必然要在一切文化成就上留下深刻的痕跡,所以也在神話上留下深刻的痕跡然將一切神話都看作歷史,那就等於將它看作原始人自然主義的詩歌,是同樣的錯誤 他說:"存在野蠻社會裏的神話,以原始的活的形式而出現的神話,不只是說一說的故事,乃是要活下去的實情那不是我們在近代小說中所見到的虛構,乃是認爲在荒古的時候發生的實事,而在那以後便繼續影響世界影響人類命運的"❶

我們承認神話在社會生活裏面,尤其是在魔術宗教的生活裏面的確是有很重大的作用的它能影響世界影響人類的命運我們知道,野蠻人在儀式上,社會或道德的規律上要求理論的根據,要求古代威權實體及神聖界的保障時,都要乞靈於神話他們看神話,正如忠實的基督教徒看創世紀,看失樂園,看基督死在十字架上給人贖罪等等新舊約的故事一樣新舊約的神聖故事是活在歐美文明社會的典禮和道德裏面的而且制裁他們的行爲,支配他們的信仰野蠻人的神話,對於野蠻人也正是如此所以我們在上文說神話是含有宗教性的它既不是虛構的故事,也不是死的過去的記錄或傳述,乃是說來使人

❶見馬氏所著 Myth in Primitive Psychology, 李安宅譯本馬氏原始心理學與神話,pp. 123—122.

崇敬,使人信仰的。它是一切文化中必不可缺的要素。

神話的文化作用,卽表現在儀式、風俗、社會組織等的有時直接引證神話,以爲是神話故事所產生的結果。同時,神話也是產生道德規律、社會組織、儀式或風俗的眞正原因。它形成了文化中一件有機的成分,並支配着許多文化的特點。原始文化中的武斷的信仰,卽由神話的存在與影響而成。

在我們蒐集得來的苗族神話中,有上述的文化作用和功能的,最顯明的例就是洪水神話。它至今仍活在現在苗族社會生活中,並且是影響苗人的生活、命運和活動的。他們相信現代人類是洪水神話中的兄妹二人配偶遺傳下來的子孫。所以至今信奉那兄妹二人爲儺神,稱之爲儺公儺母。每年秋季,請巫師,紮彩洞,舉行一種"還儺願"的禮俗以酬神。舉行酬神的儀式時,並唱着儺神歌,歌頌那兄妹配偶的故事和二人的功德。苗人非常崇敬儺神,信仰儺神。他們以爲一年中田地的豐收、家畜的興旺、人口的平安,都靠儺神的力量。所以他們凡遇人口不安、六畜不旺、五穀不豐的時候,惟一的辦法,就是"許儺願"。❶ 既經許願後,到了秋季,就要"還儺願";無論窮到如何地步,也非設法舉行不可。嚴如煜在苗防備覽中說:"費至百金或數十金,貧無力者,賣產質衣爲之。"❷可見這個洪水神話對於他們的生活影響之大了。不過也有不少神話,到現在只是說來使人崇敬、信仰或相信而已,對於實際生活已經沒有什麼大影響了。例如許多說明事物起源的神話。我們現在且把所集得的神話再分作七類,分別錄之如下。

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❶ 參看宗教與巫術第2,客教,(24)還願。

❷ 見卷八風俗考上。

1. 洪水神話

(1) 洪水故事(甲)

古時有一個苗人名叫啞剖苟配[ɑ˥ p'ə˨˩˨ kɔ˥ p'ei˥],年五十,父逝已久,僅有老母尚在,年已七十餘歲了,不幸染了重病,求神服藥,均不見效,一日,他的母親說道:"我的壽命將終,恐不能有救了!"他聽了,大哭不止,母親止住道:"我兒要母病愈,只有一法,若得天上雷公[kɔ˥ so˨˩˨]的心來吞服,便可痊愈,不然命在旦夕,母子就將永決了!"他聽了,滿心歡喜,忻然對母道:"母親放心,待我設法取雷公的心來給你服就是。"他便一面煮了許多米飯,一面叫人去山上剝得許多生樹皮,蓋在屋上,蓋好之後,就將煮成的飯撒在污穢之處,即刻陰霾四布,大雨驟至,忽然霹靂一聲,雷公從屋頂上跌落在地,啞剖苟配就雙手把雷公捉住,用繩綁縛於屋柱,他知道雷公最怕的是鹽,就要去買鹽醃死雷公,臨出門時囑咐家人道:"我去買鹽,如雷公要討什麼東西,切不可給!"說罷,去了。

雷公待啞剖苟配去後,就向看守的人討火,不給,又討浸過水的火子❶ 看守人以爲火既浸水,不可再用,就給了一個,雷公取來吹了幾下,忽然現出紅火,他就轟隆一聲,上天去了,於是大發雷霆,雨下如注,那時啞剖苟配買鹽回來,正走到半路,忽聞雷聲,知道雷公已逃去,一時躲不可過,但大雨如注,欲歸不得,見道旁有大樹一株,隨手一折而斷,取以打雨而行,雷公無法,就用洪水淹他,因此天天不斷的下雨,下得世上成了一片汪洋。

有兄妹二人,先見大雨不止,知道大禍將至,便取黃瓜種數

❶ 火子,即火鐮。

粒,清晨到園裏毒種,即時發芽,及午開花,等到天晚,已結成兩個大瓜,二人歡喜,各取一個提回家中,那時水勢高漲,將及住處,兄妹倆便各剖瓜,挖空瓜子,使浮於水面,然後爬入瓜內,隨水漂流。

陸剖苟配因見大雨連下數十日,到處洪水滔天;他就乘樹浮游,要到天上去找雷公,取他的心,那知雷公早已遠避,所以到了天上不見雷公,只見遺下鐵棍兩根,他就取來到處亂打亂擂:打一下水,成一江河;擂一下土,成一山陵,因此地上才有山陵河海之分,後來洪水下注,便成海洋,漸漸現出陸地。

那時兄妹二人返到陸地,因見世上無人,妹擬與兄結婚,以傳人類,便對兄道:"現在世上只賸你我兄妹二人,不若你我婚配,以免人類絕種。"兄驚訝道:"兄妹婚配,有違人倫,萬難依從。"妹便心生一計,忙對兄道:"你既不肯,我們且看天意如何。今將磨子一副,從山巔滾下,如到山麓,合在一起,便是天作之合,你我即應順從天意結爲夫妻。"兄想磨從山巔滾下,決無再合之理,便即應允。妹卻另取一副磨子,預先擺在山麓,然後邀兄各抱一面磨子走上山巔,向天拜禱既畢,各將磨子滾下;待到山麓一看,果見磨子合在一起。但兄仍執意不肯和她結婚,妹又生一計,對兄說道:"一次既不肯信,再看二次。今我二人可到山坡,同在一處出發,一向東走,一向西走,走時各不偷眼窺看,若又在一處相遇,就可知天意有定,你我再行婚配。"兄只得又應允了。二人即刻去到山腰,同在一處地方,分向東西走去,兄只知俯首前進,妹卻偷眼窺看;走了許久,果然二人相遇。兄羞得滿面通紅,只得與妹婚配,不久生了一個肉塊,無頭無手又無足;二人就用刀剖割拋棄,每拋一塊,必叫一聲;叫的是什麼聲音,就是那塊肉變成人後的姓,所以有吳、龍、石、麻諸姓;到了最後一塊,叫聲無用,把它擺

去,就成廖姓兄妹二人割到天晚,回家就寢;到明晨起來一看,只見昨日拋肉塊的地方都有了人,問他們時都不知來自何處,後經兄妹領說出原由,才都知道。因此至今世人奉祀雷神,即今"聖雞頭"的僱公雞母(鳳凰吳文祥講述)

(2)洪水故事(乙)

雷,苗名果叟[koʔ soɹ],和果本[kɔʔ ˌ eŋʔ]是很好的朋友,他們是時常來往的,有一天果叟到果本的家裏來,果本整備酒飯給他吃;吃完了,果叟道:"我平素最惧生長在雞屎上的菜,所以絕不吃的。"果本答稱"是是"。沒有多久,果叟又到果本家來了。果本就悄悄的叫他的兒女專摘取生長在雞屎上的菜來,請果叟同吃;吃完之後,才對他說道:"你說最惧的菜,今天我們已經吃了!"果叟聽了,氣忿已極;惡狠狠的說道:"我必定要劈死你"果本問道:"你要劈我,從什麼地方走來!""我從屋頂上來;某日某時,你可要當心!"答罷去了。

果叟去後,果本就將椿樹(苗名[ndu˧ tɕiɑʁ˧ kɔŋ˧]的皮剝來蓋在屋頂,到了某日某時,果叟果然來了,椿樹皮乃是極滑的;果叟踏在屋頂,便覺身不由主,滑跌一交,滾落地下,果本就把他捉住,先置在大鍋內,後又關在鐵倉裏面,不給飲食,他知道果叟最怕的是鹽,所以就去買鹽來醃死他。臨去時對他的子女道:"我走之後,若果叟需要什麼,切不可給!"咐吩已畢,買鹽去了。

果本去後,果叟果向他的子女要水要火;先時子女一些也不給,後來果叟再三的懇求,才給他一些已熄滅的火子,和餵猪的臭水;那知他得了火子,用力就吹,竟給他吹起火來;不一時,雷聲隆隆,大雨驟至;他便破鐵倉而出,隨即去找尋果本。

那時果本走在中途,聽得雷聲,見了大雨,知是果叟走了,心裏十分着急,怎見果叟趕來,自覺不能抵抗,乃匿身在道旁的牛屎堆裏,迨果叟趕到,不見了果本,只見有一牛屎堆,他便手使戈矛,用力刺去,誰知無意中已刺中了果本的脚,果本俟他走後,便負痛返家,不久就死了。

果叟追尋果本不得,忿怒異常;一時就打起大雷,下起大雨;一連七日七夜,下得洪水滔天,幸得太白金星送給果本的子女一個瓜種,他們把那種子實時種下,那時長成,當日就結成一個葫蘆,如船般大,洪水漲時,他們兄妹二人,同坐葫蘆中,漂流水面,遂得不死,後來上帝降旨,止住洪水,兄妹二人降落地面,當時人類都被水淹死,金魚老道乃撮合兄妹二人配成夫婦,遂得遺傳人類,這兄妹二人,就是現在的雞公雞母(鳳凰吳良佐講述)

以上兩個洪水故事另有詳考,可參看芮逸夫的苗族的洪水故事與伏羲女媧的傳說一文,載人類學集刊第一卷第一期。

2. 自然神話

(3) 張果老射日月(甲)

從前天上有十二個日,十二個月,那時白晝很熱,石頭都會被晒得融解了,天地間的東西都很大,黃頭鳥如水牛般大,植物長及天界,後被玉皇,把牠們蹋矮。

後來張果老砍日樹月樹,接連砍了十一棵日樹,十一棵月樹,砍到第十二棵月樹,今天砍了,夜裏又長起來了,明天再砍,到夜裏又長起來,且長得更高了!第三天再砍,又長得更比第二天高了,接連四五日,都砍越高,最後一次,他砍了,晚上就不回去,在那月樹的叉枝上睡了,要看那月樹是怎樣長的,誰知一睡睡着

了月樹卻長到天上去了,天亮醒來,看看離地很高,不能下來,從此他就永遠在月球上了,所以現在還有一個月一個日存在,普照天下。

一說張果老砍了十一個日十一個月之後,還有一個日一個月騎走到天地之外去了,那時天地之間漆黑無光,不分晝夜,世人覺得不便,大家商議把他們喊轉來,於是公請他的舅舅,據說就是雞,喊牠們,牠們才回來,因此天地之間,才有晝夜。(鳳凰吳宜佐講述)。

(4)張果老射日月(乙)

從前天有十二日月,那時白晝極熱,世人都鑿穴而居,動植物都很大,鵲鳥如牛,白日不能工作,都要利用夜晚。張果老不忍世人受此痛苦,想設計射死日月,就製造了鐵弓鐵箭,抓在曬士樹上去射日月,果然被他射死十一個假日,十一個假月,這下日月各一,無法再射,所以傳到現在曬士樹也被踏得彎曲不長。他見月中有一棵月樹,遮蓋月光,張老拿斧頭斫,第一天斫到天晚,差不多要斷不斷,張老就回家去了。第二天再來,那樹又長了!再斫一天,斫到又是要斷不斷,張老又回家去。明日來看仍舊如故。如此一連三日,張老氣惱了,第四天就在樹下安睡,看他如何長法。不料此夜的樹口,周圍伸長,把張老也包在裏面了。(鳳凰吳文祥講述)。

8. 事物起源的神話

(5)苗人唱歌的起源

牋雪是一個窮苦人家的孩子父親已經死了,只有母親尚

在他父親在生的時候,是捕魚爲生的,所以他長到六七歲的時候,也就繼承父業,從事捕魚.他在捕魚的時候,口裏常常不住的唱歌,也沒有人教他,也不曾聽人唱過,他自然而然的就會唱歌了.他唱的有律有韻天天不斷的唱着,天天竟不唱重複的歌.

他那村莊裏,有個員外的女兒,生得十分美麗,年紀和戕雲差不多,戕雲每天到她家裏賣魚的時候,常常遇見.他心裏雖愛慕她,怎奈家中貧寒,自己覺得配不上,所以也不敢請人去說親.但是這個想思的念頭,卻無時或已.有一天,他竟求他的母親去至員外家中說親.母親道:"她乃員外之女,你乃捕魚的窮小子,怎樣可以說親!就是員外把他女兒送給我們,我們也養不起她啊!我兒你快莫作夢想罷!"他聽了母親的話,也無言對答,只是悶悶不樂過了一些時候,想思更切了.又向他母親說道:"你不管他們肯與不肯,替我去說,若果說了還是不肯,我死也甘心."母親無奈,只得真的去到員外家中,把來意說了.員外聽了,自然不會理她.她只得回來,對她的兒子說道:"今天我去員外家說了,不料員外竟理也不理!"他聽了不覺淚如雨下,嗚咽說道:"母親,她既不能做我的妻子,我終使她爲我流淚."又道:"我死之後,你必定是做叫化子的,可把我的肝取出,放在一碗水中,安置在你的背笠中,隨着你去討飯."說罷,用刀自刎而死.他母親哭了一番,就依照她兒子的話把刀子破開肚皮,取出肝來,放在水中,安置在背笠裏.她去討飯的時候,背笠裏自然就唱出歌來.唱的詞句非常哀惋動人,人人憐惜.所以她所討得的,常常要比別人多些.

後來那員外的女兒也出嫁了.有一天,她討到她所嫁的人家裏那員外的女兒正在大門邊坐着繡花,聽見她背笠裏唱歌

唱得好聽就問起她的來歷,她便從頭至尾的說了一遍,那員外的女兒聽說,伸首向她背筐裏一看,不覺流下淚來,直滴到碗內,歌聲忽然停止,女兒感動,便把她留養家中,從此以後,戕靈的母親就不再在外面討飯了

據說苗人的唱歌,就是起源於戕靈(鳳凰吳良佐講述).

(6)養蠱的起源

昔年永綏下十鄉庫願地方,有一寡婦,兒女俱亡,每天至井邊挑水,總是哭哭啼啼,一年三百六十日,日日如此,這樣哭了三年之久感動了龍王,坐臥不安,即差龍子化作蝦蟆,來到寡婦家跳在她的衣包上,寡婦悉取衣時不注意,誤傷了牠,便用手捉住,放在地下,不料蝦蟆到了地下,又復跳上衣包,一連三次,總是如此,寡婦心知有異,問道:"蝦蟆!蝦蟆!我連放你三次,你又跳上三次,莫非是可憐我無兒無女,要做我的兒女嗎?如果是的,你可叫三聲。蝦蟆聽了,果然呷呷呷呷的叫了三聲,寡婦便將蝦蟆用衣包着,日日喂養,認作義子,一連養十二年,已經長得很大,寡婦看牠寂寞有心打算替牠娶個妻子,便用重賂請了媒人,至鄰寨說親,因爲媒人的花言巧語,果然說得一家親事,於是擇定吉日,迎娶過門,新婦一見丈夫,並非是人,乃是蝦蟆,心裏很不願意,但因木已成舟,無法毀親,但心裏總想謀害蝦蟆的性命,以便再嫁,等到夜深,蝦蟆進房,新婦亦隨後進房,到了房中,忽然不見蝦蟆蹤跡,遍尋無着,不知躲在何處,待至天明,新婦起身,又見蝦蟆由房裏出來,每天如此,一連過了一年,夫妻並未同床,待至新年,苗俗例須拜年,新婦要在正月初二日,回家拜年,寡婦勸她婦俟初四日,春好粑粑,和蝦蟆一同前去,到了初四日,蝦蟆夫婦一同

年,蝦蟆走在前面,新婦跟在後面,有心要將蝦蟆踹死,但是總踹不着,回來時也是如此,那年十月,寨中舉行盛會,蝦蟆之妻,也去赴會,蝦蟆見其妻已去,即將蝦蟆皮脫去,放在牛欄牆角上,換了新裝,也去赴會,到會場時,只見大家正在打鼓唱歌,許多婦女見蝦蟆長得好看,都想和他對唱,他卻不肯,單要找他的妻子對唱,一唱唱到五更雞叫時,蝦蟆將紙包了貓吃剩的鼠頭兩個,送給她作爲紀念品,其妻也解了裙上的花絲帶子兩根,送給他作爲紀念品,待至天明散會,蝦蟆即先回家中,脫去衣服,仍將蝦蟆皮套上,將那花絲帶子兩根,掛在帳子上面,其妻回來,看見帳子上有花絲帶子兩根,心中疑惑,仔細看來,乃是自己送人的原物,正在出神,只聽蝦蟆問道:"昨夜唱歌好快樂,只是得了爛鼠腦殼兩個,"妻子聽了,心中明白,知道昨晚對唱的男子,就是蝦蟆,不禁大喜,從此也不再想謀害他了,但是蝦蟆總是不肯和她同房,到了第二年,又舉行盛會,蝦蟆的妻子仍去赴會,走到半路,暗地回來,躲在屋後窺看蝦蟆的行動,後見他脫去蝦蟆皮,穿起新裝出門去了,便即將蝦蟆皮取來,用刀斫爛,放在火爐上燒了,燒完之後,才去赴會,到了會場,蝦蟆要和她同唱,她卻不肯,散會回來,蝦蟆找皮無着,便問其妻,她將斫爛燒毀之事一一說了,蝦蟆聽了,長嘆不已,說道:"可害了我了!從此不能轉到海裏去見爹娘了!"妻子道:"你就真轉去,豈不很好,何必要做蝦蟆,"他便把龍王可憐寡婦孤單,特差他來做了義子,俟寡婦死後,仍須回去的話,說了一遍,妻子再三勸他不要回去,始終不聽,二人竟爭吵起來,蝦蟆一氣就走出門去,她便隨後追趕,終趕不上,走到一處三岔路口,忽然不見蝦蟆去路,不知是走那條路去的,即爬上一株大桑樹上去看,也不見踪跡,心裏怨恨,自縊而死,過路的人看

見,即報知寡婦,寡婦聽說,痛不欲生,即通知娘家,雙方到場驗看,確是自縊而死,各無異言,但她的屍體,已經腐爛生蛆,夜裏託夢給他的母親道:"我身上的肉,已腐化成蛆,你老人家,可將這蛆取回家中,喂以桑葉,長大後便能吐絲作繭,繭子可以繅絲織綢,母親醒來,果到那桑樹上,捉蛆回來,飼以桑葉,長大後眞能吐絲作繭,便請木匠做個繅車,繅絲織綢,後人因此才知養蠶,現在苗人尙稱蠶爲"得根得牙 [taʏ kəŋʏ taʏ jɑ1],[kəŋʏ]是蠶,[jɑ1]是姊,即蠶兒大姐的意義,因爲牠是一個嫁了龍兒而沒有同房的女子的屍身變成的.(乾城楊宏印講述).

(7) 水牛怎麼不在水裏!

從前的水牛是在水裏生活的,有一次,牠到岸上來吃草,卻被田楊兩家的工人看見了,在古時,田楊兩家是天下最富的,世界上沒有一處沒有他們的田地,當時那個工人看見了,就回來告訴主人,主人就召集了許多工人,叫他們去牽牛到家裏來,衆工人們到了那裏,看那水牛力氣很大,正在無法牽牠的時候,恰巧有一隻螃蟹爬到牛嘴旁邊,牠將大螯向牛鼻孔裏一穿,就把牠的鼻子穿通,他們就用索子穿在被蟹穿通的鼻子裏,水牛就很服從的給他們牽了回來,從此水牛就在岸上生活了.(鳳凰吳良佐講述).

(8) 貓和狗爲什麼各不相容!

從前有一個人家,有三個兒子,家業每年可收一千擔穀子,後來兒子長大成人,都已娶了妻室,父母則先後亡故,父母在時,兄弟並未析產分爨,父母亡故之後,兄弟三人商量,仍舊合居,免

得旁人嚴論他們兄弟不睦或爭妯不和。家業則由三人輪年管理。第一年由大哥管理，第二年就輪着二哥，第三年再由三弟來管。

第一年由大哥管理的結果，年終計算收入只有八百擔穀子，較之父母在時，少了兩百擔。大哥心中自然覺得非常過意不去。

第二年輪着二哥來管理，到了年終一算，卻只收得六百擔穀子，更比大哥管理的一年少收了兩百擔，比父母在時的收入竟少了四百擔，心裏自然更覺得過意不去。大哥已經管過一年，知道稼穡的艱難，所以並沒有說什麼。但三弟口裏雖然不說，心裏卻大不滿意，想道："大哥管了一年，就少收了兩百擔；二哥管了一年，又少收了兩百擔。這樣下去再過三年不是連飯也不得吃了！明年我來管理，必須要設法增加收入才好。"

到了第三年，輪着三弟來管了。他接了事之後，就想了一個擴大田地面積的辦法。想把連阡累陌的田地，刨去阡陌，就天天鳩工刨削，刨到後來，刨着一塊大石頭聳立田間，立時就請石匠來鑿。鑿了一天，差不多快鑿完了，到明天去看，又見石塊聳立，和未鑿時一般大小。大家都非常詫異，只得又鑿，到晚上收工，又快鑿完了。後天去看，又是如前。石匠見了，心裏怕懼，不敢再打。回到家裏，三弟見了問道："你可曾鑿完了沒有？"石匠告以兩日來鑿石情形，並表示不敢再鑿之意。三弟意志堅強，決心要鑿，吩咐石匠道："你只管替我鑿去，工錢有一天算一天，不鑿去不止。"於是石匠就繼續去鑿，鑿了多天，始終沒有鑿去。

有一天，有幾個異鄉人由那裏經過，其中有一個人是懂得地理的，見了那塊石頭生得特奇，就知裏面定有寶物在內。打聽

母該地主人正想把這石頭鑿去,就費了些許的銀錢買了下來,又買了許多乾柴,堆在那石頭上面,燒起來,這一夥人就在周圍圍坐着看守。

二哥的妻子看了他們的行動,心裏暗暗想道:"他們把我們的石頭燒起來,爲什麼要有這許多人圍坐着看守?難道裏面有什麼寶物不成?"等到夜晚,她就悄悄的前去窺探。只見他們因爲守了三日三夜,都在睡睡不多時,又見由火堆裏爬出一個東西來,仔細一看,卻是烏龜,婦人忙就捉住回家去了就放在一個米桶裏面,那米自然會滿起來,天天取米總不見淺後又放在裝別樣東西的桶裏,也是取用不盡。知道這個烏龜是個寶貝,因此他們的家業,也一天天的富足這一年的收入,當然不會比父母在時減少,並且大大的增加了。

後來這個烏龜的消息,傳了出去,傳到皇帝那裏去了皇帝就想借來一看,就派人到他家來商借,主人沒法,只得把烏龜交出皇帝得了烏龜,就把牠放在錢桶裏面,那錢桶裏的錢自然也就取用不盡了。

那兄弟三人的一家,自從烏龜被皇帝借去之後,當然米桶裏的米和錢桶裏的錢以及其他各樣物件,都是一經取用,就要盡的了,家業自然也一天不如一天,過了數年,竟是很窮了連衣食差不多也不能週全了。家有一狗一貓,因爲主人窮了,常常不能得食,不免常常要挨餓,貓對狗道:"你餓嗎?我是餓得很呢!現在主人窮了,所以也沒有飯來餵我們了!先前主人有烏龜的時候,我們吃的多麼好!現在那烏龜被皇帝強要借去,連我倆都也吃虧了!我想替主人家去取那烏龜回來,恢復我倆從前的快活,你看好不好?"狗答道:"好是很好,只怕做不到啊!"貓又說道:"凡

事只要同心協力去做,有甚麼做不到!"狗聽了貓兒的話,把尾巴搖了幾搖,喜道:"好!好!我倆就去吧。"它們果真一同去替主人取烏龜去了。

貓狗兩個,走了數日,到了一條大河邊,只見那水浪很大,貓便開言道:"我倆怎能過得去"!狗答道:"我能泅水"。貓又說道:"我也能泅水,不過這水浪太大,恐怕力量不均,到了江心,被水浪衝翻,豈不一命嗚呼!"狗道:"水浪雖大,我是能泅過去。你坐在我的背上,我背你泅過去罷!"不一時狗背貓泅過了河去,到了彼岸,再向前進,又走了數日,到了皇帝的家裏了。過了幾天,還不見烏龜的所在,後來,卻被那貓兒看見了,在一個木桶裏面。原來皇帝得了那烏龜,就特製一個木桶,內分兩層,底層裝着烏龜,上層裝着別的東西,所以貓雖看見了,卻無法可取,只在木桶的旁邊守着。有一天,忽見一個很大的老鼠從那裏經過,貓兒一口就把牠咬着,老鼠哀告道:"我很可憐,你爲何要咬我!"貓兒答道:"你替我在這桶裏咬通一個孔,我就放你。不然就把你咬死。"老鼠只得拼命的咬,咬了很久,才咬通了一個大孔。貓兒由那孔裏取出烏龜,約同了狗如飛似的跑回去了。

貓和狗得了烏龜喜歡非常,日夜飛跑,跑了數日,又到了那條大河。貓口裏含着烏龜,仍是坐在狗背上,泅過河去,急急跑回家去。到了主人的門口,因爲天已昏黑,關了大門,無法進去。狗對貓道:"我倆又冷又餓,不能等到明天早晨,不如你先含着烏龜,由柱子爬上,跳進屋去。但你進去之後,應即叫人開門,讓我回家,你不要得了飯吃,就忘卻了我!"貓依言爬上,跳進屋去了。家人一見貓兒回來,口裏含着一個烏龜,喜歡非常,又見全身濕透,知是又餓又冷,急忙餵飯吃,給火烘它。得了火和飯,就忘記了狗。狗

在外面受冷不住,等了好久,還不肯開門,知是貓兒忘記了牠,心裏大怒,就在門外汪汪汪的大叫起來,大家在屋裏聽了,知道狗也回來了,急忙開門,狗走到屋裏見貓臥在火坑上向火,怒氣冲冲的走到火坑上把貓兒幾口一咬就咬死了。

因此,貓和那狗結下世仇,所以現在的貓見不得狗,狗也見不得貓,就是因爲這個緣故。(鳳凰吳良佐講述)。

(9)鴨子的來歷

鴨子在從前祇是天上有,世界上是沒有的,但是現在世界上怎麼又有那麼多的鴨子呢!

據說當初世界上的人們,到了秋收的時期,很精踹五穀,天上的玉皇大帝見了,心裏不忍;便命鴨子下界,專食世人精踹的五穀,鴨子回奏道:"我等到了凡間,覓食的地方,無非是曠野之地;到了夜晚,難免不給野貓老鼠傷害,伏望我皇另派賢能,不勝感荷之至。"玉帝道:"野貓老鼠,何必害怕!我今賜你們一個籬笆,你們到下界要睡時,把籬笆圍起,就不用怕野貓老鼠了。待到冬臘月的時候,你們便可回到天上來了。"

所以現在放鴨子的人們,到了夜晚,便用籬笆把鴨子圍住;因而不爲野貓老鼠所傷害。待至冬臘月間,所有鴨子,十九都給宰殺吃了。(鳳凰吳良佐講述)。

(10)鴉片的來歷

從前某皇帝的女兒,生得滿面麻子,醜陋不堪,朝中大小官員,個個都不願意做駙馬。她生到三十歲左右,還是一個閨中處女。皇帝也無可奈何!她雖貴爲公主,卻享不到夫妻之樂。想到了

終身的事,不免要痛哭流涕,悲傷不堪!

有一天,她含淚對母親說道:"我雖是一個的公主,反不如一個奴婢,奴婢倒有人要,我卻沒有人要,叫我怎不傷心!我若死了,總要變成一種東西,使世人愛我,並且脫離不了我,母親!我要死了!你必須要把我埋在某某地方,久後我坟上生了什麼,你總要替我培植,不要拔去!要等他結出果來,設法使他變成有用的東西."

她死了之後,母親果然依照她所指定的地方埋了,後來生出幾根草來,母親就不准人拔去;且令人加意培植,加肥料,沒有多久,就開出紫色的花,結出果來,母親就命人割來,製成藥品,可治腰痛,腹痛等病,一吃了他就可見效,但是吃久了就無法脫離他了,所以現在苗族中的俗話,稱人吸了鴉片煙,就說他是和麻藥發戀愛(凰凰吳良佐譯述).

4. 神仙神話

(11)灶神故事甲

從前有一家人,家業很富,主人有一個女兒,年已十七八歲,人來說親,總是嫌人家窮,不肯將女兒許字.女兒問她父親道:"人來說親,你總是不肯,難道要養我到一百歲嗎!"父親道:"你真傻!我是要給你找富貴人家,將來你可不愁穿不愁吃."女兒道:"萬事都由命中注定,如果我有富貴命,即使把我許給叫化子,也不愁穿不愁吃."父親一聽氣極了,便要把她送給叫化子.女兒又道:"只要你給我一匹馬,讓我自己去找好了."父親真個給她一匹馬,並給了三百兩銀子就不管她了.次日一早,她便帶了銀子騎了一匹馬走了.她在馬上的時候,心裏默祝道:"今天

這匹馬引我走那裏,我就到那裏到什麼地方站住了,我就在那裏找丈夫。我的命好命醜,全憑這匹馬。"說罷就加上幾鞭,那馬便飛跑的走了。牠走過那些高樓大廈都不站住,走到天色將晚的時候,走到一個茅草棚門前站住了。只見屋內有一老婦,她便下馬問那老婦道:"我可在你老人家這裏搭食一餐飯嗎?"老婦看她是個年輕女子,便點頭請她進屋。她坐定之後,又問道:"你可有兒子嗎?"老婦道:"我有一個兒子,現在外燒炭未歸。"她心裏想道:"那便是我的丈夫了。"便對老婦道:"我就做你的媳婦罷!"老婦忙道:"我家裏很窮,我的兒子天天在外燒炭,所得的錢還不够我母子倆吃喝,怎麼養得起你呢?"女子道:"我可幫你兒子做纖可以够吃。"老婦無論如何不肯。正在相持不決的時候,老婦的兒子回來了。老婦便把那女子要做媳婦的意思對兒子說了。兒子也和他母親一樣的一套話,不敢要那女子做妻子,並道:"今天的晚飯食不够你吃的。"女子道:"今天的晚飯既不够吃,我現在給你一錠銀子,你去買米去。"他把銀子接在手裏看了一看說:"這不是石頭嗎?怎樣能買得米來?""你不要管牠是石頭是銀子,你拿去給人家,自然會有米給你。"他只得拿了那錠銀子走去買米。走到買米人家的門口,有幾條狗追着他要咬,他便拿銀子向狗扔去,跑回家來了。女子問道:"怎麼沒有買得米回來?"他便把有狗咬,用銀子打狗的事說了。女子罵道:"你真笨!怎樣可以拿銀子打狗呢?"說罷,又拿出一錠銀子給他,叫他趕快去買米。他道:"這和你先前給我的是一樣的,怎樣能買得米來?""都是銀子怎麼不是一樣的呢?""如果這個真是銀子,那我看見我燒炭的地方多得很。""真的嗎?你快先去買了米回來!明天我和你一起去看。"他聽了女子的話,便去買米。果真買得回來

下,心裏非常歡喜,吃了晚飯,二人便去至炭窰,女子一看,果是銀子,二人急忙拾取,挑了好幾挑回去,從此結爲夫妻,買田買地,成了一家富戶,夫妻二人因爲發了財,要做善事,便做起道場,施飯給叫化子及許多窮人吃,其中有一個年老的叫化子,因爲人多擠不上,已經挨了兩天餓了,到了第三天他又沒有吃到飯,卻巧遇見了女主人,便哭着道:"我來這裏已經第三天了,沒有吃到一口飯!請你特別捨施一碗飯罷!"女主人看他可憐,且很面善,便引他進屋,給他飯吃,問起姓名鄉里,知是自己親生的父親,原來他自從女兒出門之後,家裏便一年不如一年,不到十年,竟弄到窮極無聊的境地,不得已而過這乞討的生活,好不容易得到富戶施飯的機會,不料又因自己年老,擠不上衆人,挨了兩三天的餓,當日幸得女主人特別捨施,飽餐一頓,也不知道就是吃的親生女兒家裏的飯,他女兒也不說明,到他臨走的時候,送他一葉粑粑,裏面裝了三十錠銀子,叫他背回家去再吃,他背到半路肚中餓了,又不喜歡吃那糯米做的粑粑,卻巧遇見一些在田裏工作的人在那裏吃飯,他便向他們去討飯吃,情願把一葉子粑粑換一頓飯吃,到了次日仍是討飯,後來又討到女兒家裏,女兒見他父親又來討飯,問道:"前次我給你的銀子難道都用完了,怎麼還要討飯!父親聽了,悔恨不已,只怨自己命苦,也不說什麼,就投進灶孔裏燒死!後來就成爲灶王菩薩.(鳳凰吳文祥講述).

(12)灶神故事乙

從前某村莊有兩兄弟,弟名五子大敗,家業很是富足,有一位算命先生,很是靈驗,替那村莊上的人算了命,一個個都說得

分毫不差,所以村人都很相信他。五子大敗也就請那先生到家來算命。當下把生年月日報了,先生就一推算,說道:"照你的命上說來,你是個窮人,不該有這麼富足的家業,若要把這家業保持得永久,除非娶一個有富貴命的妻子來替你保持不可。那女子名叫五子大奔,現在不知她住在什麼地方,若你肯聽我的話,可替你查訪。"五子大敗聽了,深怕將來窮了受苦,只得答應。到明天,五子大敗送了他一些盤費,就請那先生替他查訪去了。

算命先生走了數日,卻查訪不着。有一天,他走到一個村莊裏去訪問,原來五子大奔就在那裏。她的父母很窮,生活非常困難。那先生走進她的屋裏說道:"某處某員外要娶你的女兒做妻子,特請我做媒來了。"五子大奔的父母聽了急忙答道:"我們是貧窮人家,怎能夠和員外做親戚。我們送他,恐怕員外都不能要呢。你莫非是來取笑我們嗎?"先生聽了,急忙答道:"並非取笑。因爲那員外不嫌貧寒,只要人品可取。你們肯了,也是你女兒的命好。"五子大奔的父親聽了道:"先生!你莫見怪!因爲我從來沒有聽見過員外要娶貧寒人家的女子的,所以我以爲你是來取笑我們。如果眞的員外請你來做媒,那就是我們祖宗有德,家門有幸了。"先生聽了說道:"你既願意,我就回去報告員外了。等他選好了日子,再來報你。"說罷他就回到五子大敗那裏說明了。五子大敗就請他算定日子,以便迎娶。他又到女家去報了吉期。

到了迎親的日子,五子大敗就把五子大奔娶了來家。夫婦二人也很和睦,過了一二年,生下一個兒子。苗俗生兒滿月,親戚朋友都來賀喜。所以五子大敗的兒子到了滿月的時候,親戚朋友自然都來了。不過他的岳父岳母家裏因爲很窮,所以不甚熱鬧,來人也都是步行的。

不久,五子大敗的大哥也生了一個兒子,到滿月的時候,五子大敗不免要去替他大哥招待客人.因爲岳家很富,來的客人,都是轎子的轎子,馬的馬,非常熱鬧.五子大敗覺得自己的大不如人,無非因爲岳家貧窮的關係.自此以後,五子大敗就不樂意他的妻子五子大奔了.不久,五子大奔已覺着了,就對他道:"你不要我,我可以走;請你送給我一匹馬就很好了."⑥五子大敗道:"若是你肯走,自然還要送給你數百兩銀子,怎麽一匹馬就够了呢!"五子大奔答道:"銀子送與不送,都不要緊;只請你莫少我一匹馬!"五子大敗即叫人牽出一匹馬,又取五百兩銀子,一起交送五子大奔.五子大奔得了銀子和馬,就收拾她自己的衣物,走出大門,上了馬暗祝道:"今天這匹馬引我走那裏,我就到那裏;到什麽地方站住了,我就在那裏找丈夫.我的命好命醜全憑這匹馬."祝罷,加了幾鞭,那馬如飛的跑去了.

那匹馬由早飯後跑到吃夜飯的時候,約莫走了有八九十里之遠,到了一個山坡脚下,站着不動.五子大奔便由馬上向四面一望,卻不見有人家.再打幾鞭,那馬還是不動.她自言自語的道:"我丈夫的家想必就在這裏了."隨即跳下馬來,把馬拴在樹脚下,走上半山去看.只見對面的山脚下,有一個茅棚,茅棚裏面,透出烟來.一時就很喜歡的牽着馬走到了茅棚,將馬拴在茅棚後,走進裏面,卻只有一個老婆婆在那裏吹火煮飯.她就喊道:"老婆婆!你家有清水嗎!給我喝一口!"那婆婆抬起頭來,見是一位婦人,忙指着水缸答道:"有".她就開了缸蓋,舀了一碗喝,喝完,就在椅子上坐下,便問了老婆婆的姓氏,說道:"老婆婆!我來做你的媳婦好嗎!"老婆婆答道:"我家很窮,我兒是砍柴爲生的,怎能够娶得起你!"五子大奔答道:"你兒子砍柴,我做了你的媳婦,也去

砍柴就是了。"不一時,那兒子砍得一挑柴回來,母親就向她兒子說道:"我兒!現在這姐姐要來做你的妻子,你可養得起她麼?"兒子答道:"我母子窮人,有時候還要挨餓,怎敢要她!"五子大奔說道:"我特意來找一個窮人,我從前也是一個窮人的女兒,因爲現在做了員外的妻子,生了一個兒子,後來他嫌我是窮人的女兒,把我休了,送我一匹馬。"母子二人齊聲說道:"你是員外的妻子,若是我們要了你,員外聽見了,怎麼得了!"五子大奔說道:"這怕甚麼!他休我的時候,我曾要他詛咒吃血❶這怕甚麼。"母子二人聽了仍是猶豫不決。五子大奔又道:"無論你們肯與不肯,我總是要做你們媳婦的。"母子二人不得已只得答應了。五子大奔就取出一錠銀子給她丈夫道:"你拿這錠東西去買米,我來煮飯。"丈夫接在手裏道:"你這東西能買得米嗎!"半信半疑的拿着口袋去了。剛走到買米人家的大門,就有幾條狗在狂吠他就把銀子向狗擲去,而後跑回家來。五子大奔問道:"買得米麼?"他就把狗咬,用銀子打狗之事說了一遍。五子大奔說道:"你眞蠢極了!銀子也可拿去打狗,不知可惜!曉得狗多,應該帶一根棒去就好了。"說罷,又取出一錠來給他道:"你再拿去,這次不可打狗了!"他只得又去買米。到了大門,那狗又是狂叫起來,這次他已帶了一根棒,所以狗不能來近他的身。屋裏走出一個人,問他做甚麼來的。他答道:"買米。"就把口袋和銀子交給那人。他見那人也不說話,拿了口袋和銀子就走,所以還是疑惑不定。

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❶ 苗人遇有爭執寬恕,雙方各不相下時,常由雙方當事人,各備雞酒,同至廟中(在湘西一帶爲天王廟),殺雞血於酒中,飲血酒而誓之,謂之吃血。(參看苗防備覽卷入風俗考上及本報告宗教與巫術章1. 苗教(II)吃血。)

一會兒,那人提了一滿口袋的米給他,他才相信那錠東西果是銀子,歡歡喜喜的背了口袋跑回家來,走到家裏,把米交給妻子道:"你這個東西果眞可以買得米來!但像這樣的,我們的屋旁多得很呢."說罷,就和妻子一同去看,只見滿地的黃金白銀,一錠錠的光輝奪目.妻子見了就叫丈夫回去拿了一個簸箕來,夫妻兩人一同拾取,一共拾得一二十簸箕才完.從此以後,這個砍柴的,就變成一個富翁了.夫妻共議,要做七天七夜的道場.擇定日子,昭告天下的叫化子,每天送飯兩餐.

五子大敗自從休了妻子五子大奔之後,所有金銀不翼而飛,家業一天一天的落下來:不到十年,家業用完,竟做了叫化子了.那日到了五子大奔的家裏,因爲到遲了,所以在末尾站着.送飯是由前頭發起,到了末尾,飯已完了.五子大敗只得挨了一夜餓.到明天早晨,發飯人因爲昨夜末尾有些人沒有得到飯吃,所以由末尾發起.那知五子大敗卻因爲昨夜由前頭發起,所以今天就在前頭站着.發到前頭飯又完了.五子大敗又挨了一頓餓.到夜來發飯的時候,五子大敗卻因爲早飯是由末尾發起,所以又在末尾站着.發飯人卻因爲早晨發飯,還有前頭的幾個人沒有得到飯吃,所以又從前頭發起,發到末尾,飯又完了.五子大敗三次未得一飯,飢餓極了.

五子大奔在每次發飯的時候,常在一邊看着,見叫化子中有一個很像她的前夫五子大敗,暗想他有這樣多的家業未必就窮到這一步,心裏狐疑,所以很注意他.後見他三次不得飯吃,就對發飯的人說:三次尚有不得飯吃的,快叫到屋裏來吃.發飯人就把五子大敗引到灶房邊吃飯.五子大奔就到灶房邊仔細觀看,確與前夫面貌絲毫不差,問道:"你是什麼地方的人!怎的

一個男子漢要來討飯!"五子大敗答道:"我是某地方的人,從前我家也很富足,後來被我一個人用完了!現在懊悔不及,連飯都不得吃了!不得已只得來討飯吃。"五子大奔又問道:"你從前討過妻子沒有?有兒女沒有?"他答道:"我從前也曾討過某地方的女子,做了幾年的夫妻,生下一個兒子,後因嫌她家業貧寒,所以把她休了,誰知把妻子休了之後,那些金銀便不翼而飛去了,家業因此中落。到了現在連飯也不得吃,自然也討不起妻子了!說完,傷感不已!五子大奔聽了知是前夫五子大敗來了,便又問道:"你認得我嗎?"五子大敗仔細觀看,覺得似曾相識,但一時卻想不起來,她又直說道:"我就是你的前妻五子大奔,你從前看不起我,把我休了,我以爲你已討得了一個富貴的女子,想不到你倒變成叫化子了!"說得五子大敗啞口無言,雙目垂淚,她又問道:"你兒子呢?"五子大敗答在家裏,她又罵道:"你這人毫無心肝,怎的你來討飯,不把兒子同來!眞是窮得活該!"五子大敗聽了,自己覺得慚愧,也無話可答,連飯也不吃了,就要回去。五子大奔說道:"且慢,我給你二十個粑粑,回去送你的兒子。"一時就用粑粑內包銀子,包了二十個送他,囑咐道:"你回去要引兒子前來。

五子大敗受了粑粑,走到路上,覺得很重,腹中又飢,更背不起,他又不喜吃粑粑,就把粑粑和人家換飯吃,因爲他已換了幾天的飯,吃飯格外吃得多,一連換去了十八個粑粑的飯才飽,所賸只有兩個粑粑了,回到家裏就拿送母親,母親就拿去燒,不料燒了許久,還不得熟,剖開看時,裏面卻包着銀子,五子大敗見了,知道換飯上當,心中感激五子大奔的恩情,越恨自己的命窮。

五子大敗將粑粑換飯的人家,原來是五子大奔所開設的

店子。店夥回來報告五子大奔說："某天有個叫化子把粑粑和我們換飯吃,把粑裏面都包有銀子;換了一十八個粑粑,共得一十八錠銀子。五子大奔暗想："這人怎麼這樣的沒福,我送他二十錠銀子,他都受不起。"

過了幾天,五子大敗引着兒子到來,仍坐灶門前,五子大奔問道："那天我送你二十個粑粑,你送誰吃的?"他答道："那天承你記念夫妻之情,送我這樣多的銀子,可惜我無福享受!走到路上,因爲肚子餓了,就拿粑粑和人家換飯吃,一連換去了十八錠銀子,所賸兩錠,到家後送母親燒吃,母親燒了好久不熟,劈開看時,才知裏面有銀子。"說罷,又落下淚來。五子大奔說道："你眞沒有福分!二十錠銀子也受不起,怪不得窮!但你還有孝心,所賸兩錠,送給母親,不送兒子。"後又說了許多舊事,五子大敗聽了,心如刀割,無顏活着,乃爬進灶孔裏面燒死。後來五子大敗成了灶王菩薩。(鳳凰 吳良佐 講述)。

(13)小蛙

從前有個老人,因爲沒有兒子,天天在家裏哭。有一天早晨,他牽着一頭牛到河邊喝水,便坐在河邊哭泣不止。驚動了水中的龍王,知道那老人是爲了沒有兒子而哭,便差小蛙上來做他的兒子。小蛙到了水面問老人道："你爲什麼在這兒哭?"老人答道："我是因爲沒有兒子。"小蛙道："我來做你的兒子好嗎?"老人笑道："你是一個小蛙,怎麼可做我的兒子!即使做了我的兒子,也不能幫我做事呢!"小蛙道："我雖然是個小蛙,但很可以幫你做事,什麼事我都能做。"老人道："既然如此,你幫我看牛,我要回家煮飯去了。"說罷,便把牛交給小蛙,自己回家去了。到了吃飯

的時候,小蛙果然能把牛趕到家裏,老人非常歡喜,從此便不再哭了,並問小蛙能不能耕田,小蛙答道:"只要把犂架裝配好了,我就能耕田了。"老人就幫他裝配犂架,領去田裏。小蛙就坐在犂柄上耕起田來,老人看了,更加歡喜。從此老人也不再請人,所有的田,竟由小蛙獨自耕好了。老人就請了媒人代他說親,說成之後,便討了家來。回門之日,妻子騎馬,他牽了馬在前面走。妻子預先帶了一口袋石子,要想把小蛙打死。走到路上,便用石子來打;每打一石子,小蛙只要一跳,就打不着了。這樣把一口袋的石子打完,還是沒有打着。到了岳家,給他椅子坐,他不願坐,卻跳在灶上去。晚上給他被褥,他不願要,卻睡在妻子的鞋尖裏面,這樣過了三天,小蛙和妻子便一同回家。妻子還是帶了一口袋石子要打小蛙,但在路上把石子打完,始終沒有打着。回到家裏,小蛙就報告父親,父親罵了媳婦一頓,以後便不很敢欺侮他了,但是心裏總不滿意小蛙。

有一次,寨中舉行歌舞盛會,媳婦得了公公的允許,便去赴會,他也稟告過父親,脫去小蛙衣,藏在屋後岩洞內,變成一個美少年前去赴會。這是他父親第一次見他的人形,自然歡喜非常。到了會場,他妻子見他是個美少年,便和他對歌,歌畢,小蛙先回,到家後便把小蛙衣穿起,妻子後回,到家後便把赴會與一美少年對歌的事報告公公。小蛙在旁插口道:"像我不像我!"妻子用棒打他一下,公公罵道:"你怎麼可以打我的兒子!"她便不敢再打了。

第二天,媳婦又得了公公的允許前往赴會。小蛙也是先稟告了父親,脫去蛙衣變成美少年前往赴會。仍是夫妻二人對歌了一天回來,媳婦又報告公公道:"今天仍是與那美少年對歌

了一天。"小蛙又插口道:"像我不像我!"妻子又打着他罵道:"你這個死蛙,人家是個美男子,怎麼會像你!"公公又罵媳婦道:"你不該打他,我只有這個兒子。"她自然又不敢罵了。

第三天,媳婦又要去赴會,公公低聲對她說道:"你去到半路就回來,我有要緊話和你說。"她問公公有什麼要緊話,見他不肯就說,只得走了。小蛙見妻子又走了,隨後便脫了蛙衣也赴會去了。媳婦到了半路就回來,問公公有什麼要緊話說,公公叫她先去屋後岩洞裏看看有什麼東西。媳婦走去一看,只見一件小蛙衣,她就取了來給公公看。公公叫她收起,仍去赴會。也仍是夫妻二人,對了一天歌回來。小蛙先到家,便去岩洞中取蛙衣來穿,不料已經不見了,便問父親。父親道:"今天並沒有什麼人到屋後去,且等你妻子回來問她見沒有見。"小蛙道:"我沒有蛙衣,便不能變蛙,我的眞相要給她知道了。"話沒有說完,他的妻子來了。妻子見了他,已知就是她的丈夫小蛙的眞相,歡喜非常。從這一日起,夫妻二人才同床。以前已經做了一百零三天的夫妻,從來沒有同過床。後來生了三個兒子,都是勇猛過人,力大無比。

有一年,皇帝起造房屋,叫他們兄弟三人去幫忙。他們一個人抱一根柱,一個人抱一根樑,不消多時,把房架便搭成了。皇帝看了,暗暗想道:"竟有這樣大力的人!要是他們造起反來,我的江山如何能保!到晚上皇帝請他們吃飯,儘量給他們酒喝。明是酬勞,暗是要把他們灌醉,以便謀害。不料任憑喝多少酒,總是不得醉。要想下毒藥,又恐毒死在屋裏不便。後來想了一法,在他們回去的時候,賞給一罈藥酒。他們回到路上,老大即想喝酒,不知皇帝賞給的是什麼酒,就取來喝了一口,立刻就死了。老二一見詫異道:"這是什麼酒!怎麼喝了一口就死了!我倒不相信!"便

也喝一口，也立刻死了。老三見兩個哥哥都喝酒喝死了，怒道："怎麼這個酒喝了一點就會死！我來把牠一起喝了，看牠怎樣！"說罷，他把那酒罈裏的腊酒，一口氣就喝完。自然，他也立刻死了。

小蛙夫妻在家聽了三個兒子都給皇帝用藥酒毒死的消息，心裏雖然悲痛，但也無可如何，只得前去收了屍身回來埋葬。有一天，小蛙忽向妻子要討蛙衣，妻子怕他仍變小蛙，不肯給他。小蛙哭道："我倆夫妻兒子也養了多年了，連蛙衣還不肯給我！"妻子不得已，只得給了他。他得了蛙衣，立即變成小蛙，跳出門去了。妻子隨後就追，無奈追他不上。追到河邊，只見小蛙已經跳入河裏去了。她就在河邊大哭起來，竟哭死在那裏。

據現在苗人傳說，那老人姓楊，小蛙生的三個兒子，就是三位天王菩薩。（鳳凰吳良佐講述）。

(14)挨餓成仙

某村莊裏有個男子，年紀約有三十左右。上無父母，下無兄弟。非常可憐他為人很忠實老誠，但作事卻很魯鈍。所以同村的人多欺侮他。他受了人家的欺侮，也沒法出氣，祇有暗自悲傷。他因受了這種說不出的痛苦，就有出世之想。

有一天，他走到左近的一個菴堂裏，對和尚說道："師傅！我想來做你的徒弟，求你收納！"和尚答道："你要來做我的徒弟是沒有什麼不可以，不過我們收徒有一定的規章，先說給你聽一下。若是你能夠遵照規章，我就可以收你為徒。不然，休怪我不肯收你！凡來此地為徒的第一就要挨七天七夜的餓，少了一天或一夜，都是不行的。為師的我也跟着你挨餓，且在這七天七夜之內，還要工作。"他聽了師傅的話答道："蒙師傅不棄，徒弟自當遵

命,於是他就在那裏挨着餓砍柴挑水,工作不息。

但那師傅是買了許多餅子放在枕頭邊天天的吃,並不是眞的跟他挨餓。他挨了六天六夜,已覺得身手無力。到第七天早晨,師傅仍是喊他去挑水。他也照常挑了水桶走到水井邊去。不料有一隻老虎在那裏,並且開口對他說道:"今天我要吃你!快放下水桶給我來吃!"他答道:"請稍待一刻,等我挑水回去,送我師傅,再來給你吃。"老虎點頭。他就挑水回去,把水倒了之後,回轉就走。師傅問道:"徒弟!你走到那裏去!"他走着答道:"水井邊有一隻老虎要吃我,我特地去送給他吃的。"師傅聽了這話覺得奇怪,也就跟在他後面追去。還沒有走到水井,只見半天雲裏現出兩個人影,一個就是徒弟。師傅高聲喊道:"徒弟你要等我!"他從雲端裏答道:"我先去,等你枕頭邊的餅子吃完了再來接你!"說罷,一會兒就不見了。師傅看見徒弟成仙,自己倒反不如,懊恨不已。(鳳凰吳良佐講述)。

(15)天女與農夫

從前有一個農夫,幫人在田裏耕田。耕到下午的時候,那牛覺得疲倦了,就對他道:"你放了我,讓我到坡上去吃點兒草!"農夫道:"我放了你,我倆的工夫做不成,主人家豈不要責備我!"牛道:"不要緊!你用力在犂上壓着,把繩子扯斷,你就可回到家裏去搓草繩,我倆豈不都得休息了嗎!"他一想,倒也不錯,便真個把繩子扯斷了。他就把牛放在山坡吃草,拿起一節扯斷的繩子回去回到家裏,便找些稻草來搓繩。等到繩子搓好,天已昏黑,也耕不得田了。他便走到田裏去,把牛和犂等一起拿了回來。

第二天,農夫仍然到田裏去耕田。耕到下午,那牛又對他道:

"你再放我到坡上去吃草!今天屋裏有客來,現在正在辦酒招待你若回去也可吃些。農夫道:"今天我又回去,主人不是要責備嗎?"牛道:"我有一個法子,使主人不能罵你。你再在犂上緊緊壓着,我就用力的拉,犂必定要斷,斷了你就可回去,找木頭削過。等你削好了,酒飯也就要辦好,人家吃時,不免要喊你同吃,豈不很好?"他一想的確很好,就真個把犂弄斷,拿着一節斷犂回去。走到家裏,果見有客人,他就去尋了木頭來削成犂,等到削好,酒飯也已辦好,主人就喊他同吃。吃飽了,他仍然到田裏去牛問他道:"你得酒飯吃了嗎?"他答道:"果真得吃了。"便又從事耕田,沒有好久,天色已黑,回家去了

第三天,他還是去耕田不一會,來了七個不大不小的雀兒,在附近一個塘裏洗澡原來這七個雀兒,是天上的七姊妹化身下來,衣件脫在一邊,凡人不能看見他們的原身,但那牛是看得很清楚就對農人道:"你放我吃點兒草!我可使你終身享福。"他因為前兩次牛的說話都很靈驗,所以也有點相信,問道:"你怎的可使我終身享福呢?"牛答道:"你且放了我,我自有道理。"農人就把牛放了,那牛就慢慢的走到那七姊妹放衣服的塘邊,悄悄的銜了一套衣裙在口裏,飛跑回來,說道:"你把這套衣服好生收起不久自有女子來對你討取因為她的裸體都被你看見了,所以她願意做你的妻子但是這套衣裙,你兩人結婚以後,還是不可還給她的若是你還了她,恐怕你倆就做不成夫妻了!"他聽了牛的話,心裏非常喜歡,便把衣服收下,依然趕着牛耕田。

那七姊妹在塘裏洗完澡之後,走上岸來穿衣服,卻不見了一套,六個姊妹都飛去了,只賸一個赤身露體的站在那裏她看那農人在田裏耕田,就走去對他說道:"請你分我一條裙子穿!"

那人抬頭一看,見是一個女子,赤身露體,不禁笑了一笑,問道:"你爲什麼衣褲都沒有!"她含羞答道:"請勿取笑,快給我一條褲子穿!"說畢,耳紅面赤。農人便不再問,即解下外面的一條褲子和一件衣服給她,她就急忙穿好說道:"哥哥!爲妹的乃是吳鄉人氏,家裏離此地很遠,現在路費全無,回去不得,我想我們女子,終究是不能獨立的,現在情願做你的妻子,不曉得你肯容納麼!"農人答道:"休得取笑!我是一個幫人耕作的農人,自已的生活還顧不過來,怎能養得起你!"她答道:"哥哥不嫌妹子醜陋,就不再推辭!"農人見她說得誠懇,就答應了。他便趕着牛帶她一同回去,夫妻兩人就一起幫那家作工。

到了冬臘月間,他倆算了工錢回去,自行起屋,買些田地,自耕自食,倒也勉可餬口,不待外求,約有一年光景,就生下一個兒子,再過兩年,又生一個,夫妻二人非常恩愛,所有的工作都是共同合作。有一天她對丈夫說道:"今天你在家裏帶着孩兒,讓我去摘豬菜。"丈夫答應,她就背着背篼,帶了鐮刀去了。到日中的時候,孩兒餓了,哭泣不已,他拿了許多東西來給他玩,還是哭個不住,忽然想起當年他妻子的那一套衣服,就爬到樓頂上的一個木孔孔裏,伸手取了出來,孩兒見了那一套紅紅綠綠的衣服,馬上就止住了哭聲,玩了一會,依然的把那套衣服收進木孔孔裏去,不好久,他妻子背着一滿篼的豬菜回來了。

第二天,她還是去摘豬菜,丈夫在家帶着孩兒,到了日中,孩兒又是不住的哭,他仍去樓頂上的木孔中取那套衣服出來給孩兒玩,也就不哭了,玩了一會,仍又收去,天色將晚,妻子又背了一滿篼的豬菜回來。

第三天,他對他妻子說道:"今天我不耐煩帶着孩兒了,讓

我去搞猪菜罷!"他妻子笑道:"你帶了兩天孩兒就不耐煩了!我終年累月的帶着,從沒有不耐煩過。你就去罷!"丈夫去後不久,婦人問她的大兒子道:"昨天你弟弟哭沒有?"兒子便把如何哭,如何取花花綠綠的衣服給他玩一一說了。她一想花花綠綠的衣服,莫非就是我當年的那一套?就問兒子是從那裏取出來的。兒子起初不肯說,因爲父親吩咐過不准說給母親聽。後聽母親說要給他糖吃,才說出是樓頂上的一個木孔孔裏取出來的。母親即刻就爬到樓頂上伸手到木孔裏一摸,果眞是她的衣服。馬上就取來穿好,帶着兩個兒子,一躍而飛到半天空的雲端裏,回到她原來的地方去了。

那天丈夫回來,不見了妻子和兒子各處尋找不着,左鄰右舍去問,也多回說不知當夜連飯也不吃了,一夜睡不成眠,一天亮就起床,遍地尋找,遇人就問。後來找到從前放牛的所在,就坐着哭倒不休。恰好先前的那隻牛,正在那裏吃草,見他啼哭,知是不見了妻兒,忙向前告訴他道:"你的妻子,是天上七姊妹中的一個,不是凡間的人。昨天是回到她原來的在所去了。"他問牛道:"現在她們天上去了,怎麼辦呢?"牛閉着眼睛想了一回,說道:"現在你的兒子正在大門外和一些孩子做聖田挖地的遊戲。你的妻子正在屋裏做針線。你若去時不可直接進屋,恐怕她不能出來會你。可先到門外,見了兒子他就哭起來。你的妻子聽見哭聲,就會出來的。"他道:"她在天上,我怎樣得去呢?"牛道:"你坐在我的頭上閉着眼睛,不要好久就可到天上了。"他就依然坐上牛頭,閉了眼睛,那牛用力向上蹤了幾下,便到半天空中了。不一會,張開眼睛看時,只見又是一個世界。有一高大的房屋,門外有幾個小孩,在那裏弄着泥水玩。走近一看,其中兩個,就是自己的

兒子,便上前用手在兩個兒子的頭上敲了幾下,便都哭喊起來。婦人聽見兒子的哭聲,就急忙丟了針線,跑出大門,一見丈夫,吃了一驚,便問如何能來到天上,怎麼知道我們在這裏?丈夫含淚答道:"是先前那隻牛告訴我,送我上來的。"妻子就邀進屋去,拿飯給他吃,並說道:"吃飽了,可去躲避!若是我父親回來,要謀害你的。天色既晚,父親回來,因聞着世人氣味,便問道:"怎的有世人的氣味!"她答道:"因爲有你外孫的一套衣服沒有洗。父親便叫明天趕快去洗。明天夜晚父親回來又問:"怎的還有世人的氣味!"她答道:"還有你大孫兒的一條褲子沒有洗。父親又叫快洗,明天夜晚父親回來,因爲仍有世人的氣味,罵道:"爲什麼還有世人的氣味!"她因無法隱瞞,只得實說道:"你的女壻來了。父親說道:"他既來此,何不請他出來見我!"她就放她丈夫出來,岳壻相見,寒暄之後,便一同吃飯,備問世上一切情形,他就一一的對答,一連數日有一天夜飯後,岳丈叫女壻,一同出去打獵。他妻子聽了,曉得父親不懷好意。就急忙喊他到旁邊說道:"你同他去必要小心,到夜間他睡的時候,他的兩脚要紮你身上的現在我送你一段木頭,等他睡着之後,你可把這木頭墊在他的脚下,離開了他去睡,才不致受他的毒手。當夜岳壻兩人一同出去打獵,走到一個山頂上,時已三更,岳丈說道:"我兩人就到此地睡罷。岳丈就叫他到近岩壁的一邊睡着,旁邊就是萬丈岩壁,岳丈打算待女壻睡後,一脚要把他踢下岩壁送他的命。不料他自己卻先睡着,女壻待他熟睡之後,就把那木頭墊在他的脚下,另向一邊去睡。岳丈一覺醒來,用力一脚踢去,以爲女壻必被踢下去了。不料女壻仍在一旁,也睡醒了。那時天已明亮,岳丈就爬起身來說道:"我倆回去"女壻便跟着他一同回家去了。

第二天五更時候,岳丈就起來叫女壻道:"今天你去到三個坳三個坡的地方把所有的樹木都給砍倒今天定要完工,不然你就休怪我爲岳丈的不客氣!" 女壻只得提着斧頭悶悶不樂的走到那坡上去砍起一直砍到他妻子送早飯來,還沒有砍上三根 見了妻子哭道:"我今休想活了!這樣多這樣大的樹木,叫我怎樣砍得完!"妻子答道:"請你不要害怕!我自有辦法且請快些吃飯,只聽他妻子口中念念有詞,忽然間一陣狂風,把那三個坳三個坡的樹木都吹斷了他一見轉憂爲喜妻子囑咐他道:"你等到夜晚再回來!免得他起疑"說罷提着飯筐回去了他待到天色已黑,回到家來岳丈問道:"砍完了嗎!"他便回答砍完了岳丈也不多話,便一同喝酒,吃過夜飯便各自睡覺去了.

第三天,岳丈又早早起來叫女壻道:"今天你把昨天砍斷的樹木,一起燒完 他就急忙起來,帶了火把走到那裏,就架起火來燒不料樹木都是生的,無法燒着一直到他妻子送早飯來,還沒有燒着一根 見了妻子又哭道:"昨天蒙你相救,得免於死今天恐是不免一死的了!"妻子答道:"請你還是不要害怕!仍有辦法 且請快些吃飯!"他一面吃着飯,又聽妻子念念有詞,忽然間又起了一陣火風把那三個坳三個坡的樹木,燒得乾乾淨淨他一見更是歡喜妻子又囑咐道:"你還是要等夜了才可回來!"說罷,又提着飯筐去了 待到天色黑了,他又回來岳丈問道:"燒完了嗎!"他又答稱燒完了.岳丈仍不多話,便一同喝酒吃過夜飯,也是各自睡覺去了

第四天,岳丈又早早起來,叫女壻道:"今天你拿三石三斗三升的小米,到你燒的地方去撒,三個坳三個坡的地方都要撒到" 他又急忙起來,挑了三石三斗三升小米去到那裏趕快就

撒了一早,還沒有撒上十丈寬的地方。等到妻子送早飯來,還是對妻子啼哭。妻子還是叫他不要害怕,且快吃飯。妻子又念念有詞,忽然間又是一陣狂風,把那三石三斗三升小米都吹撒在三坡三坳了。妻子又囑咐他等到夜晚再回家,提着飯簞去了。及至天黑回家,岳丈又問"撒完了嗎!"他便答稱撒完。當夜無話,各自睡覺。

第五天,岳丈又早早起來叫道:"今天你把昨天所撒的小米完全拾來,不可少了一粒。"他又急忙起來,擔着籮筐走去拾取小米。拾了一早晨還不到半升。心裏非常憂慮,不覺啼哭起來。妻子又送飯來了,見他哭泣,知他又有爲難,便對他說道:"我有法子拾起來。"說罷仍是口中念念有詞。忽然間來了千百鳥雀,替他啄拾。不上兩個時辰,就把三個坳三個坡地方的小米,都拾得乾乾淨淨。拾完了,各鳥都飛到籮筐裏吐出。內中有一個小鳥拾得之後,就飛去了。妻子仍是囑咐丈夫待晚回家,然後自己先走。及晚回到家裏,岳丈又問:"拾完了嗎!"他又答稱拾完了。岳丈就拿起升斗來量,卻少了一些。便大發雷霆,罵道:"你看少了我這些小米,該當何罪!"妻子在一邊聽了父親發怒,急忙走來問道父親爲什麼發怒!父親厲聲道:"你看他少了我這些小米。"女兒說道:"請不要發怒!無論什麼東西經過一撒一收,總要少掉一些,不可歸罪於他。"父親一想,倒也不錯。便赦了女壻的罪,仍然吃酒吃飯各自睡覺。

第六天,岳丈又早早起來叫女壻道:"今天你再去到三個坳三個坡的地方,把所有竹子,都要砍倒下來!"他由睡夢中驚醒,聽見吩咐,立刻起來,提着斧頭走去砍那竹子,砍了一個早晨,還沒有砍上五根。妻子又送飯來了。他流淚道:"今天叫我怎能

砍完這些竹子,恐仍不免一死."妻子道:"那麼多的樹木都砍完了,何愁這些竹子."說罷便又念念有詞,忽然一陣狂風,把那些竹子都吹斷了.他又轉憂作喜.妻子照舊囑咐他待晚再返,先自回去.及夜他回到家裏,岳丈又問:"砍完了嗎?"他照舊答稱砍完,一宿無話.

第七天,岳丈又叫他把所砍的竹子,把竹頭一律削尖,搬到某山的山頂上去."他只得又提着柴刀走去,削了又搬,搬了又削,一早晨,也搬不上幾根.妻子又送飯來,見丈夫哭泣,知道又有為難,只得安慰他幾句,又口裏念念有詞,忽然又是一陣狂風吹起來把那些竹子都吹尖了頭,一一吹到山頂上去了.及至天黑回去,岳丈又問:"搬完了嗎?"他又答稱搬完,一宿無話.

第八天,岳丈一早起來說道:"今天我二人同去,我到山頂上把竹子丟來,你在山脚下一一接着!"妻子聽了,忙對丈夫說道:"今天他又要謀害你了,須要小心!現在我送你馬鞭一根,他丟來的時候,可拿這馬鞭打着,切不可用手接.丟過了三根你可躲在一邊,再不要答應他了.你回家的時候,還要比前幾次遲一些."他就一一的記在心頭,暗暗拿着馬鞭,跟他岳丈去了.到了那裏,岳丈就上山,從山上把竹子丟下來,他就用馬鞭一打,化成一條小蛇去了.岳丈又丟第二根來,他又將馬鞭一打,化成一隻蜜蜂去了.岳丈又丟第三根來,他又將馬鞭一打,化成一條魚去了.他打了三根,就走到一邊躲避去了.岳丈又丟第四根來,聽得無人答應,心想必定死了,就趕快的丟,丟到黑夜,把那些竹子都丟完了才回來.他在山下聽見沒有竹子丟了,想必岳丈已經回去,他也就回到家裏.岳丈驚問道:"你沒有死,怎麼不答應我!"他答道:"我在山下接着竹子,因恐接不着,所以不得空答應你."岳

丈也沒有話說,又一同吃酒吃飯,一宿無話。

第九天,岳丈又叫女婿道:"今天你去你外公屋裏去借個鼓來!"妻子聽見了,即引他到沒有人的地方說道:"你外公就是雷公,性子極暴,你到他屋裏借鼓,不可問他,可私自扛來,他必來追你,現在我送你三樣東西:一是鑿子,二是梭子,三是一包針,若他追你將趕到的時候,可丟去一樣,丟完這三樣,你也回到屋裏了,到的時候,你岳丈叫你輕輕放下,你卻不要聽他,可用力高高的一扔。他一一記在心裏,就飛跑的去了,到了雷公的家裏,看見鼓放在堂屋,就背起來飛也似的跑了,雷公見鼓被人扛去,又不問他,立刻大怒,隨後追去差不多要趕上了,他就丟下一把鑿子,化成一重岩壁,把雷公擋住,等雷公爬過那重岩壁,他已走遠了,沒有多久,雷公又快趕上了,他又丟下一個梭子,化成一條大河,把雷公阻住,等雷公渡過那條大河,他又去遠了,沒有多久,雷公又快追上了,他又丟下一包針,化成一叢很密的森林,把雷公阻住,沒有跑多久,他已回到家裏了,岳丈就叫他把鼓輕輕的放下,他到門口,用力高高的一扔,那鼓轟的一聲響,好似打雷一般,把岳丈和外公的肚皮都震破了,後來他們夫妻兒女,就在天上過活了。(鳳凰吳良佐講述)

5. 龍王神話

(16)龍王愛聽吹嗩吶

從前某苗寨有兩個人,一窮一富,都沒有父母了,也都沒有妻妾,二人都喜歡吹嗩吶,常在一起吹着玩,有一天,他們在河邊吹得很久,給水裏的龍王聽見了,龍王覺得非常好聽,便差人上來請他們到水裏去吹,差人到了上面,見了二人,就把龍王要請

去水裏吹嗩吶的意思對他們說了。二人道："我們怎能下得水去！"差人道："你們只要閉了眼睛，一會兒就到了。"二人又道："我們怕淹死！我們不去。"差人急了道："我把水舀乾，我和你們一塊兒慢慢兒走去，你們可去嗎？"說罷，差人用手在水裏舀了三下，果然乾了。二人無奈，只得跟了差人慢慢兒走去。沒有走了多久，即見有一幢高大房屋，走進屋去，只見龍王滿面笑容，酒飯招待既畢，二人就把嗩吶在龍王面前吹起來，一吹就吹了兩天兩夜！他們把所有的曲子都吹完了，便報告龍王要辭別回家。龍王留他們不住，說道："我想送你們一點東西，不知你們要些什麼？"二人連說"不要"。龍王便命送他們三升穀米，三升小米。那個富人便接受了，那個窮人卻仍不要。龍王命他自己挑選一樣東西。他就向龍王討取供在神龕上的一朵花。龍王初似愛惜，沈吟一會兒說道："那裏有三朵花，你要那一朵？"窮人道："我要中間的一朵。"龍王即命自己取去。二人一同回家，寨中人見他們回來，問道："你們去了兩三年！是到那兒去的？"二人答道："我們去到龍王家不滿三天，那有兩三年！"二人各自回到家裏。那個接受龍王贈米的，三升穀米變成銀子，三升小米變成金子。他便用來買田買地，家業更富了。那個討得一朵花的，卻沒有變，還是一朵花。他便插在神龕上，每天仍是砍柴為生。有一天，他砍柴回來，見鍋中煮好一鍋飯，並做好一鍋菜。他很詫異，不知是誰做的。又恐怕有毒，不敢吃。想了半天，還是取了一點嘗試一下，覺得並沒有毒，便大着膽子，飽餐一頓。到了次日上山砍柴回家，又只見滿鍋的菜飯。這次他膽子大了，就毫不猶疑的飽餐一頓。飯後他到鄰舍去玩，說起家裏有現成菜飯吃的事。有一人說，曾見一美貌婦人在他家裏做飯。他心裏想道："難道是那花變的不成？"次日早晨，

他仍去山上砍柴,但走不多遠便回來了,暗暗窺探自己屋裏有沒有什麼動靜,後見煙囱出煙,便走近窗外,向內一看只見一個美貌女子在裏面煮飯,他便推門而入,那女子不及躲避,只得相見。男子說道:"我在龍王那裏曾經看見過你了,怎麼會到這裏來?"那女子道:"我是來做你妻子的。"男子又道:"我是個窮人,我每天砍柴,只够養活我一人,怎能養活你!我不能要你。"女子笑道:"你怕不得吃嗎!有我來煑你,你儘可不愁穿吃了。"二人說得投機,便成了夫妻。一年之後生了一個兒子,二人歡喜非常他要請丈人丈母家裏人前來吃酒,妻子勸阻不聽只得由他殺狗,殺豬,買酒,做豆腐,忙了一陣,一切預備好了,便問妻子如何去請。妻子道:"你可到河邊叫道:親爺親媽!我生一個兒子,明天請大家來我家吃酒!你這樣叫了之後,一定有蛙或魚上來問話,你可對他說清楚了,到明天他們自然會來的。"他聽了便走到河邊去叫,果見由水中來了一蛙,便把叫的意思對蛙說了,只見那蛙返身去了,他也就回到家裏,到了明天,只見龍王的幾個兒子來了,夫妻二人殷勤招待,喝了好幾罈酒,都還沒有醉意,夫對妻道:"酒不够喝了,如何是好!"妻子道:"你可把酸湯倒在酒裏給他們喝。"丈夫依言,果見一個個都醉倒了。一直到次日早晨才醒,後來就回到水裏去了,他們二人,做了幾十年的夫妻,生了三四個小孩,他的妻子便也回到水裏去了。(鳳凰吳良佐講述)。

(17)龍王愛聽吹喇叭

從前有個員外,生兩個兒子,大的叫做忽東,小的叫做忽西。都已長大了,某年秋收後,員外就招集兩個兒子說道:"我撫養你兩兄弟,已經成人了,現在每人給你一百兩銀子,各去做些生

意,或學些職業,也好成家立業."說罷,就取出二百兩銀子來,每人各給一百兩.次日,忽東忽西兩兄弟,就各帶行李分途去了.

忽東出去之後,就把一百兩銀子,做牛客的本錢,不到數月,賺得一羣牛回來.

忽西和他哥哥分手以後,甚麼生意也不做,和一個吹喇叭的學吹喇叭,把那一百兩銀子用完,學得一肚子的喇叭曲子回來.

到了冬臘月間,他倆一起回到家裏.忽東先把所得的一羣牛關在隔壁的一間空屋內,再去見他父親.父親見他們回來,便問忽東忽西可曾找得甚麼職業,做了甚麼生意回來?忽東答道:"我買得一羣牛回來."便引父親到隔壁的一間空屋去看.只見滿屋的牛,一個個又肥又大,心裏非常喜歡,稱贊忽東不絕口.又問忽西得甚麼東西回來?忽西答道:"父親!我也學得了.員外又問學得在那裏?他又答道:"我學得在口裏,便學着吹喇叭似的吹起來: i aŋ, i aŋ, aŋ he i aŋ, an han han han aŋ……." 他父親聽了,還不明白是甚麼東西?怒道:"到底你學得在那裏?怎麼'i aŋ, i aŋ'的?"他又答道:"我學得的就是'i aŋ i aŋ'."員外大怒罵道:"你這小子!我花了一百兩銀子,滿心望你富貴還鄉,誰知你什麼都得不到就回來了!這樣你只好出去討飯!"罵罷,便把忽西打了幾下,推出門外道:"現在我不要你做兒子了,你去討飯去罷."氣忿忿的關上了門,走進屋裏去了

忽西自從被趕出門之後,只得到各家去討飯.因爲他是員外的兒子,所以人家都多給些飯吃.他用竹做了一對喇叭,每天早晨討了早飯吃飽之後,就躺在岩壁脚下,把那一對喇叭'i aŋ i aŋ'的吹個不停.到了吃夜飯的時候再去討飯,吃飽了又去岩

壁脚下吹喇叭,這樣既可天天吹喇叭,又不愁挨餓,比在家時轉覺自由多了。

他天天這樣的吹,後來給龍王在底下聽見了,覺得很好聽。龍王就叫他兒子上岸去看看是那個吹的。兒子領命上去一看只見一人在岩壁脚下吹一對竹製喇叭,他就走近去問道:"老哥!你在做甚麼!"忽西聽見有人喊他,就停止了吹聲答道:"我沒有做甚麼,只因沒有事做,所以在這裏吹喇叭玩兒。"他又問明姓名,就回去稟告龍王。龍王就叫兒子上去引忽西前來。

龍王的兒子把忽西引到河邊說道:"忽西哥!你閉着眼睛,我背你去,待我叫你開眼時,你才可開!"忽西答應。一時忽西就給他背下水去,不久,龍王的兒子就叫忽西開眼。忽西開眼看時,只見一重又高又大的瓦屋,四面都砌着火磚,壯麗非常。走進屋去,龍王一見他便道:"忽西哥!你來了。我這幾天聽見上面'iɑŋ iɑŋ'的好聽得很,所以我才叫我的兒子請你下來。現在你既來了,請再吹一下給我聽!"忽西就把那竹製的喇叭吹起來。龍王聽了,非常高興,就要請他教他的兒子吹。忽西答應,龍王大喜,就叫人整備酒飯給他吃。原來龍王那裏所吃的米就是銀子,小米就是金子,並沒有世人所用的酒飯。幸龍王有個寶盒,裏面本是空的,若一喊起來,喊什麼就有什麼。忽西在龍王處所吃的酒飯都是由那寶盒裏面喊出來的。光陰迅速不覺過了三日。忽西已把所曉得的曲子都教完了。他就對龍王的兒子道:"我所曉得的曲子,都教完了,明天我想回去了!"龍王的兒子答道:"你教完了曲子要回去,我父親必定要送你什麼東西的,但你莫收,你只向他要神龕中間插一朵花的一個圓盒就好了。"到了晚上,他就向龍王告辭。龍王還要留他,他卻一意不肯。龍王見留他不住,

只得罷了。待到次日早晨,龍王叫人舀三升粘米送他,忽西不受;後又送他三升小米,他又不受。龍王問道:"你怎麼不肯受我禮物!"忽西答道:"如你一定要送,請送那神龕中間插一朵花的圓盒給我罷!"龍王就叫取了圓盒送他,又叫他的兒子送行。

忽西走到路上,把圓盒蓋打開卻是空的,裏面一些東西也沒有。他看了怒道:"叫我拿這空盒有甚麼用!不如把他扔去,隨手就扔在路上。悶悶不樂的再向前走去,走了半里多路,覺得腹中飢餓非常,一步也走不上去。他左思右想,想了片時,暗道:"莫非是那圓盒的關係嗎!我且回去拾他起來看是如何!"一時他就回到原處把圓盒拾起,再向前走,就不覺得飢餓了。暗想這個盒子,必是寶貝。再走幾步,他又記起在龍王處所吃的飯,都是由這盒子裏面喊出來的。心裏疑惑不定,就在路旁打開盒蓋,喊道:"世間頂好的酒飯快出來給我吃!"真的就有酒飯一碗一碗的擺在路旁邊了。他就吃了一飽,吃完又喊"收去!"那酒飯真的一碗一碗的擺進裏面去了。他再把蓋子蓋好,心裏非常喜歡,暗想有了這個圓盒,可以一世無憂無慮了。

走了多時,到了他的家裏了。父母已經亡故,只有他的兄嫂在家。恰巧那時他的哥哥,正接媳婦,他一進屋,哥哥見了,急忙問道:"弟弟!你回來了,這三年來你是到那裏去的!"他答道:"我才去龍王的家裏三天,怎麼你就說三年了!"說話時只見滿屋的人,問道:"哥哥!今夜有甚麼事!"忽東答道:"我今天接大媳婦,一會兒就到。"哥哥見他衣服襤褸,就嘱咐道:"弟弟,今夜客人來了,你的衣服很不整齊,可往別家去坐,早晚我叫人送飯來。俟客回去了,你再回來。"忽西答道:"怎麼我要往別家坐!你來了客,我應該替你陪陪。"哥哥又說道:"我不要你陪,你的衣服不整,恐怕客

人見笑。如你一定不肯走,我叫你的嫂嫂取我的皮袍給你穿。"忽西答道:"不要!不要!皮袍太重,我身上衣服很合身。如你要綢緞我可在那坪上鋪三層的綢緞。"忽東沒法,急得只是罵他扯蛋。忽西道:"我並不說謊,我明天還要整備酒飯請客呢。"

一會兒,炮打三響,鼓樂喧天,接親的回來了。人家個個都整衣出迎,忽西也走了出來,站在坪角,看看四面無人,就取出圓盒,打開蓋子,低聲喊道:"綢緞多多出來在坪上鋪起三層。說罷,綢緞子果然一疋疋的出來,鋪成三層。他收去圓盒,客也到了,踏在坪上,覺得軟而且柔,俯首仔細一看,見是綢緞,心裏非常羨慕他哥哥忽東回來,看見坪上都是鋪着綢緞,才相信他兄弟果不說謊。忽西就坐着陪客,坐了一陣,約有半夜時,客都要歸去了。忽西說道:"今夜你們到了這裏,明天請到我家玩耍一下。衆客答應,他哥哥在旁聽了,心裏非常着急,怕他出醜。一會兒客散後,忽西也就出門去了。

忽西出了大門,見有一塊田很寬,就取出盒來,打開蓋子,低聲喊道:"來一所很好的房屋,四方天井,屋內到處都要金銀鋪着。"喊罷,只見磚瓦柱子……等等,都從盒裏面出來,不一刻,就有一所富麗堂皇的房屋。中間天井,兩扇大門,一扇是金,一扇是銀。推開一扇門,就有很多的公雞叫起來了;又推開一扇門,就有許多的狗汪汪的叫起來。階前廊下無處不是金銀砌成。正屋裏還有三間房子,每間有一美貌女子,共有三人。忽西就對那三人道:"明天你們早早的辦飯,我要請客。"三個美女諾諾連聲,吩咐已畢,各各就寢。

次日早晨,忽西就到他哥哥的家裏對忽東說道:"哥哥!你家不要煮早飯了,請客人都到我那裏去吃罷!"忽東答道:"你不要

說謊話,到你屋裏在那裏!"忽西道:"我家就在底下,不信你可去看!"忽東不信,也不去看,後來因事走出大門,看見底下田裏有一所大瓦屋,非常壯觀,心想莫非就是忽西的屋,隨即回到家裏對他的妻子道:"忽西昨夜已在底下起成屋了!妻子不信道:"忽西會說謊話,你也信嗎!請同忽西拿甚麼來起屋!"忽東又說道:"眞的起成屋了,不信我領去看!"夫妻二人,一同走出大門去看,果見一所新屋,二人走到底下,仔細去看,只見大門一扇是金,一扇是銀,推開門就聽得雞鳴狗吠之聲,忽見三個美貌女子,由房裏走出來,喊道:"伯伯!❶你下來了!快請裏面坐!"二人一聽,想是弟婦,忙就答道:"下來了,你們怎的昨夜不來我屋裏替我陪客!三個婦人答道:"我們還要守屋,你弟弟到了,也就一樣了,稍待一刻,就請伯伯引客人來這裏吃早飯,我們已經辦好了。"二人答道:"客人吃早飯,隨便到那家都是一樣,你們何必費心。"後又說了幾句客套話,便辭出返家,忽東走在路上,心裏非常羨慕,想起弟婦貌美,登覺神魂不定,就起了與忽西掉換之念,回到家裏客都起床了,忽西隨後也來請了,忽東就和他一同引客到忽西的家裏,三個婦人都含笑相迎,招待非常慇懃,忽東見三婦又加一番裝扮,更加可愛,心想掉換,一時又說不出口,客人也都看癡了,酒飯擺好,都忘記了吃喝,一時飯罷,衆客就到處參觀,稱賞不已。後又聚坐一處,忽東忽西適並肩而坐,忽東乘機對忽西道:"弟弟!弟婦生得眞美麗,竟似仙女一般,不知道你的命會有這樣的好!若我能得像她們一般的一個,雖死也瞑目了。"忽西答道:"哥哥!我兩人卻是親兄弟,何苦取笑!"忽東又道:"並非取笑,如果你肯答應,我兩人可以掉換,不僅掉換妻子,連兒女家業我

❶ 註:妻子對丈夫兄弟的稱呼,與兒女稱丈夫的兄弟相同。

也情願連帶換給你。忽西答道："掉換我是情願的，只怕你弟婦們不肯，那我就沒有辦法了。忽東聽了，半憂半喜，喜的是忽西業已許可掉換，憂的是怕弟婦們不肯。一時又說道："你快回去和她們商量去罷！忽西應聲回去，對那三個婦人說道："我的哥哥見你們貌美，想和我掉換，我因爲是哥哥的情面，不能推卻，不知你們肯與不肯！三個婦人答道："也好，不過要他立下字據給你，並要他請你們的舅舅和親戚到場作證。忽西就對忽東說了，忽東歡喜似狂，不等散客，就催促家人 [t'a tʂ'u]❶ 起來，[t'a tʂ'u] 既畢，忽東就趁賀客未散，把與兄弟掉換妻兒家業之事當衆說明，並請舅舅及各親戚作證，立了字據，送給忽西。當夜兄弟互相交代，忽西就住兄屋，忽東便住弟屋。三個婦人迎面接來，仍然伯伯稱呼。忽東道："我們兄弟間做事眞稀奇，把你們三人竟換給我了！三婦滿面笑容，連稱很好！很好！一面慇懃招待忽東一見，心滿意足，得意非常。不一刻，就到床上安睡。那三個婦人卻每人各點一盞燈，各用一個 [wei]❷ 預備織布。其實並不是眞在紡織，乃是收拾一切東西。原來這三個女子是專爲龍王兒子報酬教曲之功而來的，今見忽西已得了妻兒家業，足够終身享受，目的既達，她們就預備走了。約有二更時候，忽東由睡裏醒來，還聽得她們工作聲響，起來叫道："這時你們還不睡覺，終夜工作，太辛苦了，到明天還可做呢！"三婦答道："伯伯！今夜我們要趕工，明天才上得織機。"忽東讚了幾句，又走到床上去睡了。到了半夜過後，三婦已將一切收拾完畢，就走到忽西那裏對他說道："忽西哥！現在你得了這樣大的家業，想必可够你終身享用，我

❶ [t'a tʂ'u] 是苗人接親散客時的一種禮節。

❷ [wei] 是苗人的一種紡織工具，竹製。

們要走了,你可把那圓盒退還我們!忽西就取出圓盒交給她們回龍王家去了.次晨忽東醒來一看,只見一坵耕過的乾田,自己睡在犂過的土塊上,房屋和各樣東西,已化爲烏有!心裏着急,急忙走到上面對忽西說了,並要退還一切.忽西說道:"這是你自己願意的,你且立了字據,又有舅舅及各親戚作證,還有甚麼說的呢!"忽東無言可答,追悔不及,只得往外去了.(鳳凰吳良佐講述).

(18)木匠和龍王的女兒

從前有一個木匠,家境非常寒苦,父親早已亡故了,只有老母尚在他每日替人作工,所得的工資,祇能免強供給母子二人衣食而已.

離他家約有一二里路遠的一個村莊裏,有一個員外家起屋,他是被邀去了.苗族的木匠,有一種最奇驗的邪術:能使人貧,能使人富.若是主人家待慢了他,他會在造屋的時候,作弄一種邪術,致使你的家業,不要幾年的光景,就化爲烏有.那位員外自然深知,所以天天要買些酒肉給木匠吃.

某天,龍王的女兒,變成一條金紫色的魚兒,在海面上游玩,適被一個老漁翁看見,一網就罩住了她,用籃穿了她,帶到員外的家裏去賣.員外就買了來款待木匠.木匠只見那魚的眼睛裏一顆一顆的淚珠往下掉,同時眼睛不住的看着木匠,好像是求救似的.木匠心中詫異,便不忍心吃牠了.當向員外說明,請求放生.員外看他爲人忠厚,就依言把魚放入水中去了.

後來員外的房屋竣工,木匠也就回家.因爲沒有工作,就和母親天天上山砍柴.有一天,他母子二人從山上回到家中,正待

預備晚餐,不料揭開鍋蓋,只見一滿鍋的白米飯,初不敢吃,後經母親嘗試,才放心吃了第二天早飯後,他兩人仍然上山砍柴,回來時又見同樣的一滿鍋白米飯,母子二人又放胆吃了,到了第三天,母子去到半路,木匠對他母親道:"今天我兩人不必砍柴去了,你且到別家去休息,讓我回家去看看,究竟是誰在煮飯!"說罷他就折轉身來,到他屋後,悄悄地坐着,約莫有二三個時辰,微微聽得鍋灶裏的響聲,同時又見炊煙,從那屋角邊直通出來,他就輕輕的走到大門邊,向內一推,裏面那女子不及躲避,只得含笑說道:"我的恩人請莫見罪,我是特地來報答你的大恩的。"那木匠見她是個美貌女子,年紀不過十七八歲,便開口問道:"小姐!你是何處公主!從來不曾相識,敢問到此有何見教!"女子答道:"我乃四海龍王女兒,因爲受了你救命之恩,特來報答你的,並無他意。說罷,就把那天在海裏閑坐,走出水面游玩,不幸被漁翁看見,一網就把她罩着,賣給員外,幸蒙他懇求員外放生等情,述了一遍,並道:"如不嫌醜陋,願託終身。"木匠聽了答道:"小姐!我乃手藝粗人,辱蒙見愛,何敢推辭,不過我沒有家產,如何養得起你!"話沒有說完,母親從外面走了進來,她一見就很恭敬的口稱"婆婆!你回來了。"老人抬頭一看,見是一個年輕美貌女子,便問:"你是何處人氏!我從沒有看見過,稱我婆婆怎能當受得起!"那女子見問,從容答道:"恕我冒昧!我不是世上的女子,乃是龍王的女兒因爲受了你兒子救命的恩情,特地前來報恩。"便又把前事,述了一遍,"如蒙婆婆不嫌醜陋,情願做你媳婦,藉報你兒子的大恩。"老人聽了忙道:"我們家中寒苦,自顧尚且不暇,何能養得起你!你乃千金小姐,不要誤了終身,快快別圖良緣。"她聽了,急忙說道:"婆婆!請你放心!我乃龍王親生女兒降妖捉

麼,呼風喚雨,件件都能。何況衣食之事!我做了你家的媳婦,衣食一切都在我身上,不要你費一點心。"母子二人聽了這話,心裏非常歡喜,只得允了。一會兒,天色將晚,要預備晚飯。她一面在燒水,一面叫她丈夫到米桶裏取米來煮。他皺着眉說道:"我們的米桶,早已沒有米了!"她反催促道:"快去取來!水開了好久不要糟蹋了柴火!你快去取,若是沒有,只管罵我。"她丈夫只得往取。卻也奇怪,一到桶邊,只見滿桶白米。木匠就此和龍王的女兒成了夫妻了。

光陰過的很快,不覺已是幾年。木匠家已修了一幢大瓦房。他的家業也富了,和當年的員外的家業竟相彷彿了。那員外因爲羨慕木匠的幸運和豔福,就存了謀夫奪妻的念頭。

員外自從起了不良之念,恨不得立刻就能够達到目的。但他左思右想,總想不出一個法子來。某天,適值木匠到員外的家裏來,員外就請他同桌吃飯。員外就對木匠說道:"你替我找三升黑米來!要洗的時候還是黑的,煮的時候,也是黑的,等熟了卻要潔白如雪,一點兒黑色也沒有。限你五日之內,就要取來!若有半點不對,我就決不相饒,你卻休怪我無理!"木匠仗他妻子的神通,就滿口承諾。回到家裏就對妻說員外要找如此如此的三升黑米。妻子說道:"這並不難,你明天可到你岳丈的家裏去取。我給你一個盒子,到了河邊,只要把這個盒子一搖,包你有條路。由那條路走去,就可到你岳丈家。"到明天,用了早飯,就整備扁擔籮筐,和一個盒子,飛快的走到河邊。先把盒子搖了幾搖,果見一條大路。走不數步,又見一幢大瓦屋。四面竹樹,儼如皇家宮殿。龍王就命人招待進屋。他述了來意,龍王就命舀米給他,送他回家。到了家裏宿了一宵。明早就擔到員外的家裏去。員外見了,就

叫人拿去煮,吩咐丫頭道:"洗的時候務須用力搓擦,若見了白色,逐來稟我."丫頭不敢有違,立刻抬到廚房去洗,不料無論怎樣用力搓擦,總是不見白色,及至煮熟了,揭開一看,卻是一顆顆的潔白如雪,全家主僕老少,莫不驚奇.員外見了,沒有話說,只得又請木匠吃飯.菜中有魚,員外就以魚爲由說道:"你再替我找三十六條魚來!要一條條的我銜住你,你銜住他,他又銜住我的尾巴,成爲一個圓圈.若是找不出來,仍不饒你! 木匠又允諾了.回到家中又對妻子說明.妻子叫他去找了三十六張楓樹的葉子,她就用針線把那三十六張葉子,一張一張的連了起來,舀一碗清水,口裏念着咒語,喝一口,噴在那葉子上面,就化成三十六條魚.他用繩穿了,送到員外的家裏.員外見了,暗自稱奇!謀害木匠之心更切.便又對木匠道:"我有一株很古的大樹,想必有一千多年了,大約三圍餘,高不下十丈.明天你給我用斧砍倒,限你三斧頭砍斷,若有半點留存,還是不能饒你."木匠聽了不覺大驚.因爲以前是靠着妻子的力量,現在砍樹,全要靠着自己的本領.但當時也不敢推辭,只得大着膽答應了.悶悶不樂的走回家去.他妻子一見忙問道:"今天又是甚麼事情使你這樣的不樂!" 他便把員外要他砍斷千年古樹的事述了一遍,並問:"可能替我設法! 她說:"這有何難!明天你去的時候,路旁有一片岩壁,走上一二步,可叫道:'仙家仙家!借我一把斧,用好就還.'自然有斧頭來給你.砍的時候,可對員外說:'你要三斧頭砍斷,現在我只要兩斧頭就行了'."明天早飯後,木匠走到路上,果見路旁有一片岩壁,他就走上一二步,叫道:"仙家! 仙家! 借我一把斧頭,用好就還."叫聲未畢,忽見岩上有一把長僅尺許的斧頭,他便拾在手裏前往員外家走去.剛到門口,只見聚了滿屋的人正在等他到

來。因爲員外家這株古樹,大家聞名。所以聽見了砍樹的消息,一個個都要來看。員外一見木匠到了,看他的斧頭又細又小,暗想:"今天必能達到目的了!"就引他到大樹旁邊。木匠走到樹脚下,抬頭一看,只見那株古樹果然很大,他把手中的斧頭把握好了,叫道:"員外!你要我三斧頭砍斷,現在我只須兩斧頭就行了。"員外聽了,到吃一驚。只見木匠說話未畢,即使力砍去,已去了大半,再加上一斧,一聲響亮,那樹已倒在地下了。衆人看了,齊聲喝采。員外卻大驚失色。木匠得意洋洋的說道:"員外!我這把古怪的斧頭,看來很小,力量倒很大。若是再大一點的樹,也不過一二斧就要斷的。員外聽了他說及'古怪'兩字,心生一計,說道:"木匠!你替我找一個古怪來,要能走動,並且口裏要能叫咕怪咕怪。"木匠聽說,又只得應允。回到家裏,對他的妻子說了。她暗想道:"這員外多麽可惡!三番四次要謀害我的丈夫!"想罷,便對丈夫說道:"明天找給你就是。等到晚上,丈夫睡了,她就找得一根包谷棒在手裏,用布連成一個動物模樣。舀一碗清水,口裏念着咒語,喝一口,噴在牠的上面,忽然間變成一個動物,口裏叫着咕怪咕怪。到明天吃了早飯,便叫丈夫帶去見員外,囑咐道:"員外如問牠吃的甚麽,你可說牠吃火藥。"木匠帶了古怪,走到員外的門口,故意打了幾下,那古怪便大聲叫着:"咕怪咕怪。"員外見了,冷笑問道:"牠吃甚麽?"木匠答道:"吃的火藥。"員外就命人取火藥給牠吃。見牠一口吃完。員外又命再取給牠,也是一口吃完。一連吃了許多口。員外暗道:"這確是一個古怪,看牠並沒多大,卻吃得進這樣多的東西。"就命人將牠放到火藥倉裏去吃。吃不多久,忽然間,一聲響亮,把員外的全家人畜器物和房屋等等,都不知炸到什麽地方去了。獨留木匠一人很驚異的慢慢走回家去。

(鳳凰吳良佐講述)。

6 鬼怪神話

(19)捉魂

從前有個麻老文,是一個讀書人,有一年他去考秀才回來,在路上遇着一個白面書生,同他在一個店裏過夜,雙方談起,知是同鄉,那白面書生說道:"我要去考秀才,如今到了此地,路費將要用盡,你如即日回家,請你到我家裏,說我在某處途中,路費用盡,急速寄些錢來,我家的門很高,牆外有一株很大的葡萄樹的便是,"老文心裏想道:"原來他住在我家對門那一個洞裏,且不管他是人是鬼,先答應了他回去再說。"那白面書生又說道:"我家裏很有些狗,無論何人,都去不得的,我現在送你一根馬鞭,如果牠們來咬你,可把這馬鞭舉起,牠們就讓你進去了。"老文一一答應,收了馬鞭,各自睡了,到了明天早晨,老文就與他分別,起程回家,一到家之後,當夜就去替白面書生報信,他手執一根馬鞭,走到洞門前,就舉起馬鞭,忽然間即不見了洞門,只見一所高大的房屋,有一條極寬的路走進去,他就一直往那大屋走去,到了大門,只見許多大蛇和蜈蚣來來往往,一見了人就張口要咬,老文舉起馬鞭,便都縮頭不動,進了第一進屋,又有許多野獸在那裏走來走去,一見了人,也都張口舞爪撲來,老文又舉起馬鞭,各野獸又都不敢動,一直走到裏面喊道:"老人家在屋嗎!"內裏答道:"在屋,請進來罷!"老文就走進去,見有男女老少數人,內有一老人,鬚髮都已白了,問老文道:"先生如何得到我這裏!有什麼事!"老文就取出那一根馬鞭給老人看,並說道:"我就住在附近,因日前考秀才回來,途遇一位少年先生,託我帶個口信,他

因爲攜帶的錢太少,路費將要用盡,請你急速寄些錢去."老人聽了,稱謝不已.就令家僕預備酒飯,招待非常週到.到了夜晚,並留他睡在堂屋.只見燈光明亮.仰望對面樓上,見有一人,四肢被綁,哭聲不絕.老文仔細一看,原來是他哥哥.也不敢作聲.到明日吃過早飯,便向老人辭行.老文走到家裏,就去看他哥哥.問他病可好些,哥哥答道:"近日不但不好,且加重了!"老文就將洞中情形一一說了,並勸他請老師來追魂.哥哥依言,就去請先生卜卦,擇一吉日,又去請老師備辦一切追魂用品.到了追魂的一天,老文依舊去至洞裏,先見了老人,吃晚飯後,老人留他在樓上睡,並囑咐他睡的時候不要作聲.老文睡到三更後,算來正是他哥哥在家裏請老師追魂的時候了,便伸頭往外一看,只見有一隻公雞,猛然飛來,到那被綁的人那裏,啄了三下沒有啄斷索子,便即飛去.後來天色漸明,老文起來見了老人聽他說道:"昨夜他們那個老師是不行的,如何敵得我們:他們如請了一個已做七代的老師來,那我們就沒有辦法了."老文記在心裏,早飯後辭別回來,對哥哥說道:"昨夜我們的錢是白費了的.快去請一個已經做了七代的老師來追魂才行."他哥哥只要病好,不怕費錢,就令人再備追魂用品,請了一位做過七代的老師,卜了日子,重行追魂.到了那天,老文又去洞裏,見了老人聽他說道:"今夜你來是很危險的,恐怕我不及照應你,只好睡在樓上,用被蓋好,一點都不能有聲響.因爲今夜來的老師兵馬極多,我們恐怕敵他不過."老文就到樓上去睡.等到了三更後,只聽鑼鼓齊鳴,忽見有一隻公雞飛來對被綁人啄了三下,沒有啄斷索子.又飛來一位姑娘,身穿銅衫,頭帶金冠,脚踏鳳頭鞋子,跳進來把被綁人一拉,毫不費力,索子已斷.她就把他負在肩上,飛了出去.後來,天亮

了,老文起來見了老人聽他說道:"昨夜不好,我們打敗了."老文飯也不吃,辭別回家,只見洞門外的蛇蟲野獸,都死在那裏,到家後見了哥哥,問道:"昨夜可好些嗎!哥哥說道:"昨夜我已能起來弄神,如今完全好了."老文便把到洞中的情形,一一述了一遍,衆人聽了,個個搖首伸舌,驚異不已.(鳳凰吳文祥講述).

(20)蟒蛇精

從前有個蟒蛇精,神通廣大,變化莫測.牠見龍王的女兒生得好看,硬要討來做妻子.龍王不肯,牠竟能把龍王的女兒搶去.龍王和牠鬬法,又鬬牠不過,也奈何牠不得,只是每天派人去打.蟒蛇精怒道:"你們天天來打,我也不要龍王的女兒做妻子了,但也不放她還你們."牠便把龍王的女兒的頭髮用銅釘釘在洞頂,自己卻變了一隻鷹飛走了.龍王一族最怕的是銅,所以蟒蛇精把銅釘釘住他女兒的頭髮,就沒有辦法了.

蟒蛇精變鷹飛去後,就飛到一個員外家的上空,往下一看,見有一個十七八歲的女子,生得美麗非常,在那裏玩.牠就飛下來一抓抓走了,將近飛回洞的時候,落下那個女子一隻鞋子.當時有個砍柴的,忽見從天空落下一隻女鞋,抬頭一看,只見一隻大鷹抓了一個女子,飛入岩洞中去了.他便拾起鞋子,等到砍好了柴,一併帶回家去了.

那個員外家裏,到晚不見女兒回家吃晚飯,各處找不着.員外着急,次日一早便叫人四處揚言:"如有能找得員外的女兒,就給他做妻子,並保薦他做官."那砍柴的看了這個消息,便帶那隻女鞋,到員外家來說道:"我昨天在一個岩洞附近砍柴,見有一隻大鷹,抓着一個女子飛入岩洞裏去了.當牠飛近洞的時

候,落下一隻女鞋。現在特地送來給你們看,是不是你們小姐的!員外接到手來一看,認得是女兒的鞋子。又叫妻子來看,更確認是她女兒的鞋子。員外對那砍柴的說道:"你若能下得洞去,救出我的女兒,我就把她許給你爲妻,並保薦你做官。"砍柴的欣然允諾。員外要叫人陪他同去,他道:"可以不用有人陪我去。我有一個兄弟,力大無比,我要回去和他一同前往。"說罷,在員外家取了繩索等應用物品回家去了。他回到家裏,對兄弟說道:"員外要叫你下洞去救他的女兒,救出之後,就給你做妻子,並保薦你做官。你如不去,他便捉你去坐牢,殺你也沒有準兒!"兄弟道:"不知那個洞有多深!怎樣下得去!"哥哥道:"那個洞並不怎樣深。你若肯去,我用繩索扣在你身上放你下去,找到員外女兒之後,就拖你們上來。"

二人商量好了,一同去到岩洞邊。哥哥就把繩索扣在兄弟身上,放他下去。兄弟到洞底,見旁邊有一點光亮。他便手執斧頭,向有光的地方走去,越走越亮。走了七八丈遠,見有一間小屋。前面就是一條小河,有一女子在那裏洗衣。細看那女子,卻在那裏哭泣。他便走上前問道:"姐姐!你爲什麼在這裏哭!"那女子抬頭一看,彷彿認得是她本寨的人,便答道:"我被一個蟒蛇精捉到這裏,逼着我做牠的妻子,你想我要不要哭!"答罷,仍是哭泣不已。他一聽,知道正是他要來救的女子,便把來意對她說了。那女子聽了非常歡喜,低聲道:"現在蟒蛇精在那邊,你是打不贏牠的。你若是給牠見了,我們都是死的。你且躲在這裏,待我煮了飯,天色晚了,我再來和你商量動手。"說罷,便煮飯去了。等到天黑之後,又隔了很久,那女子才回來,對他說道:"現在我已伺候蟒蛇精睡了,你可趁快去殺牠。牠睡着的時候,眼睛是鼓出的,醒的

時候是閉着的,須要小心! 他聽了,便拿起斧頭走進屋去,看見蟒蛇精的眼睛是鼓起的,只聽牠鼾聲如雷,他手使斧頭對準了蟒蛇精的頭上,一斧砍去,竟把牠砍死,顯出一條大蟒蛇的原形來,女子一見蟒蛇精死了,歡喜非常,便把飯取來,兩人飽餐一頓,在洞裏睡了一夜,那女子感激那砍柴的兄弟救命之恩,情願和他結爲夫妻,把一根藤子,一折兩段,各執一段爲憑,次日一早,二人一同到了洞底,摸着繩索,先把女子扣好,拉動繩索,那砍柴的在洞口等了一夜,天明之後,忽見繩索動了,便用力向上拉起,把女子拉出洞口,砍柴的一見救出女子,心中大喜,但恐兄弟和他爭奪,所以他再放繩索下洞拉兄弟時,卻故意把手一鬆,落下洞中,女子心裏着急,但也無可奈何,只得和他一同回家.

父母見女兒回家,歡喜非常,員外便先保薦砍柴的做了官,並選了好日,把女兒嫁給他,但女兒心中不願,到了好日,便裝病,臥床不起,只得改期,改了好幾次期,每次到期,女兒總是裝病,所以一直沒有能够成婚.

那砍柴的兄弟,自女子上去之後,只見繩索落了下來,久候不見拉動,心裏着急,坐在洞底大哭起來,忽見有人走來,問他何故哭泣,他便把殺死蟒蛇精,救出員外的女兒,一一說了那人道:"你那哥哥,因爲怕你和他爭奪員外的女兒做妻子,所以不拉你上去了,我就是龍王,我的女兒被那蟒蛇精釘在洞頂,請你快忙救出我的女兒,我送你上去. 他道:"你的女兒釘在洞頂,我沒有法子上去! 龍王道:"你可不必上去,只要你用斧頭打岩壁,她自然會下來的. 他便使起斧頭用力打着岩壁,每打一下,龍王女兒的頭髮便鬆了一下,打到後來,一起鬆了下來,龍王的女兒見頭髮既皆鬆下,便能下來,三人各各歡喜,一同回到龍王家去

了。龍王叫他的女兒,好好款待救命恩人。她便取出一個盒兒,擺在桌子上,口裏叫着菜酒,菜肉菜飯菜菜;自然就一一的擺好在桌子上了。二人吃完之後,她又叫:"收去!"自然就收得乾乾淨淨。次日,砍柴的兄弟便要去,龍王不肯,叫女兒陪了他看戲。她就陪他看了一天戲。第三日,龍王仍叫女兒陪他看戲。二人又看了一天。他對龍王女兒道:"明天我一定要回去了,因我家裏還有老母,不得不趕快回去。"她道:"你要走時,父親必定要送你東西;什麼你都可不要,只向他要一個盒兒罷了。到了次日,他又向龍王辭行,龍王挽留不住,便問他要什麼東西。他依龍王女兒預先告訴他的話,只要一個盒兒。龍王就叫女兒把那盒兒給了他,並送他出水。二人出了水,龍王女兒仍轉回去。他就一路向家裏去。走到中途,他把盒兒取出一看,裏面原來是空的。他發氣了,把那盒兒扔在路旁。不料走不到幾步,肚子裏餓起來了,再向前走,覺得更餓。退向後走,卻又覺得不餓了。心裏想道:"方才我帶了盒兒走路,毫不覺餓,難道那個盒兒是寶貝不成!"想罷,走回去重行拾起盒兒,再向前走,又不覺餓了。他又想起,龍王女兒曾用這盒兒叫酒叫飯。他也來試驗一下。便坐在路旁,取出盒兒,口裏叫着什麼就有什麼。他就飽餐一頓,叫聲"收去!"果然收得乾乾淨淨。他再慢慢走回家去。走到自己寨時,已經在深夜了。家家都已睡着了。在黑夜之中,不易找到自己的家。他記得自己的屋旁有一株樹,樹脚下便是一個廁所。他先摸索到那株樹和那廁所,才找到了家門。打着門,大叫母親開門。母親在屋內聽得打門,因爲已經隔了三四年,❶聽不出是她兒子的聲音,便問:"是誰!"他道:"是你兒子回來了。"母親將信將疑的起來開了門,一看果是自己的

❶在龍王的家裏一天,就是一年,他住了三天,就是三年。

兒子,他便把哥哥叫他搭救員外的女兒,有意謀害,幸遇龍王搭救的經過,詳細述了一遍.取出盒兒擺在桌上,叫了酒飯,陪母親吃了,然後睡覺.次日起來,又用盒兒叫了酒飯給母親吃了,並叫了唱戲的唱給母親聽.正在唱得熱鬧的時候,他哥哥從員外家騎馬回來了.他見屋裏唱戲,問起情由,兄弟一一說了.哥哥聽了,自然歡喜,但心裏卻非常詫異.於是一同看了戲,到晚上,兄弟又用盒兒叫了許多酒飯,母子三人一同吃了.各自睡覺.次日一早,哥哥起來,見兄弟的盒兒放在枕邊,便取在手中,對他說道:"你把盒兒借給我一天."說罷,便騎馬走了.

哥哥來到員外家裏,對員外說道:"我今天請你看戲.便把盒兒取出,放在桌上,叫了許多打鑼打鼓和唱戲的人唱著好戲.員外看了,也連聲叫好.唱到天黑,員外叫女壻喊他們回去.不料他們不走.員外大怒,女壻慌了,連忙跑回家去,叫兄弟來叫唱戲的回去.兄弟把盒兒拿在手裏,叫聲"回去!"只見那些唱戲的一一的走了.員外問起盒兒的來歷,兄弟便詳細說了一遍.員外一聽,知道女兒原來是他救的,立即把他的哥哥趕走了,叫女兒和他結婚,並保薦他做了官.(臺北吳鳳佐講述).

7. 陰陽界神話

(21)母猪討淚債

有夫妻二人,非常貧窮,以幫工爲生.也沒有生育過兒女.家有一隻母猪,因爲夫妻二人都幫人作工,所以不能好好的餵養.妻子每天還沒有亮的時候就起來,急忙的煮了猪飯,倒在猪槽裏,因爲還是沸燙的,那猪自然不能吃.她見猪不肯吃,常常罵道:"[kuɛŋ¹ tiɛŋ¹ ta¹ nɛŋ¹],● 送你飯吃,你都不吃,怕要死了!"罵了

● [kuɛŋ¹],苗語鬼;[tiɛŋ¹],發瘋;[ta¹],死;[nɛŋ¹],這.如"這個要被發瘋鬼打死的"之義,是苗人罵猪的口頭語.

幾句,出門幫人作工去了。那母猪想吃又不能吃,不吃又餓,又要被主人罵個不絕,只是常常啼哭。到晚間回來,她見猪槽裏的猪飯賸的很多,又罵道:"[kuen˨ tien˧ ta˧ nen˨],送你飯吃,你都不吃,怕要死了!"猪又只有啼哭。天天如此,過了三年,那母猪不知落了多少眼淚。但雖挨餓,每年還是要生幾胞猪子,一胞總是十餘隻。正值那時猪價昂貴,三年之間,他夫妻倆因此就起發了不少家業。再過幾年,竟成了一個富戶,而那母猪也死了。

母猪到了閻王面前,就告了一狀。閻王說道:"我要她賠你的眼淚。現在他夫妻倆已經有了一二百石的積食,只盼望一個兒子。你可去做他倆的兒子,他倆自然歡喜你,寶貝你,待過了四五年,我再收你回來。他夫妻倆必定要哭你,我怕不止三年,不是賠了你的眼淚了!"母猪聽了,喜歡非常,急忙答道"很好很好!"閻王就把牠投胎到那婦人肚裏去了。

那夫妻二人,自從發財之後,一心盼望兒子。後來果然生了一個兒子,長得活潑可愛,二人非常喜歡。到了四五歲時,能說能笑,更加可愛。不料忽然一病而亡!夫妻二人,哭得死去活來,飲食不進。

那夫妻二人,自從死了兒子之後,天天痛哭,後聽人說人死了,是住在陰陽州陰陽縣的。❶ 二人商量一同前往。後果到了陰

❶ 苗人傳說:人死了,即住在陰陽州陰陽縣。在那裏住的,死過的人也有,不曾死過的人也有,所以叫做陰陽州陰陽縣。在那裏所見的人,究竟是人是鬼,眼睛是分辨不來的。那裏所用的錢幣,與人金錢也有,美化過的紙錢也有,形式相同,而輕重則有別。所以那裏的商店,門口常擺着一盆水,把錢丟進裏面,沉的是陽世錢,浮的是陰世錢。一說:人死了,親人哭哭,就是喚他。如果到陰陽州陰陽縣去看他們,他們不但會怒,還要刀相向。又一說:那裏的人買肉,屠戶多擺着一盆水,首先把肉丟進盆裏,是沉的就砍肉;是浮的,只要將刀子在肉上做個樣子一砍就是了。那買肉的人也就不再問屠戶要肉,即自行走去。又一說:死過的人,若有父母兄弟去尋他,遇見他馬籠子買東西,可拾起一塊石頭,放在他籠內,他就和你說話了。若是沒有籠子,或不放石頭,無論你如何的喊他問他,他就是不理睬你的。

陽州陰陽縣,落在一家客店居住.店主人問了來意說道:"你的兒子前生原是一隻猪,做了你的兒子,是要討你的眼淚債的.因爲你家在貧窮的時候,曾有一隻母猪,你妻子每天煮一桶沸燙的猪飯送牠吃,牠既不能吃,還要挨罵,所以天天啼哭,哭了三年.過後牠死了,在閻王前告狀.閻王就叫牠投胎你家,做了你們的兒子.現在牠死了,你二人天天啼哭,就是賠牠的眼淚債.如今你倆是一片誠心來找他,恐怕他見了你不但不客氣,發起脾氣來,難免要殺你!我替你出個主意,不如裝一個假像,站在堂屋裏,你自己卻到我的樓上窺視,千萬不可走動,亦不可聲張."說罷,店主人真個裝起一個假像放在堂屋裏,叫他到樓上去.一面叫人喊他們兒子來.不料那個兒子得了消息,已經尋了來了,一進門口,見了他父親站在堂屋裏,就搶上幾步,提刀砍去,口裏罵道:"我在你家的時候,你夫妻如何的罵我!害我啼哭了三年,不知落了多少眼淚,現在你還要來找我!父親在樓上見了,大吃一驚!暗道:"若非店主人替我設法,我的老命,也要送在這裏了!"後來才死心塌地的回家去了.(鳳凰吳良佐講述).

(22)討債的兒子

有夫妻二人,只生一個兒子.左手給他帶了一隻手圈,他們以爲是可保長命的.到了十幾歲,染了重病,不知請了多少醫生來治,祭了多少神,費了不少錢米,還是不得痊愈.兒子就對他父親說:"我家曾有一匹騾子,你請老師來把這騾子祭神.若還是不好,我死也甘心了!父親因爲愛兒心切,自然立刻答應.就請老師來把這騾子祭神.祭了之後,不過一二日,兒子就死了.父母雖然不勝悲傷,終日啼哭,竟至飲食不進.

後來聽人說,人死必到陰陽州陰陽縣去.夫妻商量,就去那裏找尋兒子.走到之後,住在一家客店,店主人問他爲什麼來此!他就把他的來意說了.店主人聽了,就對他說道:"你那兒子乃是來討債的,因爲你從前該他很多的債.現在你來找他,我怕他就要對你不住!也許要殺你.若你一定要見他一面,那末我替你想個主意:我把豆腐渣做成你的樣子,睡在這床鋪上,你卻悄悄地在上面的樓上窺視,但不可聲張,不然恐怕性命難保."他聽了店主人的話,也有點畏懼,便不敢相見,只得聽從店主人的主意,用豆腐渣裝成一個假人放在床鋪上,自己卻避上樓去.店主人就叫人喊那兒子來.兒子一聽父親來尋,大怒,取了一把刀子來到客店,只見父親睡在床鋪上,馬上用刀亂砍,口裏罵道:"我到你家裏,你把我的一隻左手拘了十幾年,❶我不過是來你家取賬,你把一匹馬子送我,也就清債了.現在你倒要找我,非殺死你不可!"父親在樓上聽了,只是發抖,不敢作聲.待他走了,即行回家,以後也不再想念兒子了.(鳳凰吳良佐講述).

(23)討債與還債的兒子

從前有一家富戶,生有兩個兒子,長兒不聽父母教訓,嫖賭吃喝無所不爲.不數年間,就把父母的家業弄窮了.他長到二十歲,就死了.父母因爲兒子不肖,所以死了也不悲傷.第二個兒子大不相同,生性誠樸,又很孝順,所以父母非常寵愛.長大了又勤於工作,做了三四年,竟把從前阿哥當賣的田地完全收回來了.不幸在二十歲上,也一病而死.父母當然非常悲傷,後來父親就到陰陽州陰陽縣去找尋兒子.

❶苗人以爲生前帶的手圈或項圈等,死後就是鎖子.

那父親到了陰陽州陰陽縣,就落在一家店子。店主人問了來意,勸他不必相見:因爲見了面不獨無益,還恐加害。他因沒有後人,又衰年遇力衰,生死都是一樣,所以一定要見。店主人不得已,就替他把兩個兒子一齊喊來。大兒子見了他說道:"我是向你討債的,你還有什麼事來找我!"第二個兒子見了他說道:"我是還你債的,已經還清了,甚麼事還要來找我!"說罷,二人怒氣勃勃的走了。他見了這樣子,也不再想念兒子,很甘心的回家去了。(鳳凰吳良佐講述)。

(二)傳說

傳說和神話不同:後者是說來使人崇敬及信仰的,它能影響世界,影響人類的命運。前者只是使人聽了都相信是眞的,它不含巫術宗教的意義。這種傳說,大抵都有記憶可憑,或者是人所常常經歷的事物範圍以內的傳述,也有得自異時異地而與當前的文化不一致的傳聞。它可使過去歷史揭開帳幕,使聽衆聽了很熱心而激起希望和野心的興趣。雖其中有許多情節是顯然不可能的,但確也含有眞的歷史的傳述。所以我們說,傳說是有歷史性的。但它的傳播往往很廣,傳到某一部落,除隨時隨地添上去的枝節細葉以外,爲適應本地人的心理,還加上許多本地色彩。要判斷這種故事的眞確性,須特別注意傳述的途徑,然後才可以從事辨別。

傳說雖然含有歷史性,但究竟不一定是史實。它雖和以神爲中樞的神話不同。但神話演進之後,則中樞的"神格"便近於"人性",於是神話也就變成傳說了。所以神話和傳說,嚴格說來,實在沒有什麼大分別。英人柯克士(M. R. Cox)氏說:"神話的故

事,有關於歷史上的人物或特別的地方的,則常稱之爲傳說."❶這個界說,雖可給我們一個區別的標準,但原始民族根本就沒有歷史,又如何能分辨誰是歷史上的人物,誰又不是!在苗族的故事中,我們所認爲傳說的,大抵有地點可指的,所敍述的人物,也大都是有姓有名,或僅有姓而無名,或僅有名或綽號而無姓,並且在本地有不少人是熟知的.

(1)石老牙傳說

從前乾城中阿鄉,有個石老牙,寄寓木林地方,號召一般弟兄,專在該處打刼爲業.有一天,皇上運輸金餅前往衛城,路經木林,被石老牙打搶殆盡,被搶人當即投官派人捉拿.老牙聞知即便逃走,去至枷兒坡駐紮.他駐在那裏,便養起豬、鴨、雞、犬、牛、羊等家畜.每天把牛、羊、豬、雞放在枷兒坡,不料這許多畜類,均願往敖里坡方面走去,石老牙見畜類如此,以爲敖里坡地方是個吉地,他便即遷去居住.後來果然生男育女,成了家業.他的勢力很大,鄰近各寨,都願附和他.凡桃、李、瓜、菓成熟,均要摘去進貢老牙.皇上就下令鎮溪營官捉拿,他因畏老牙的勢力,假意和老牙認交朋友,相交能久,竟同兄弟一樣.有一次石老牙請營官到家喝酒,喝至深夜,營官欲回鎮溪,要求老牙沿途保護.老牙親自送至桐油坪地方,即被營官命兵士捉住.原來營官先已在那裏設了伏兵.營官即把老牙帶到鎮溪,關在牢內,備文呈報皇上.不久,聖旨就到,限期斬首.牢頭聞知,當將斬首的消息,告知老牙.老牙得了消息,即將身邊所有的銀錢交給牢頭請他備辦酒肉,與牢頭痛

❶見氏所著 Introduction to Folklore, 鄭振鐸譯本名民俗學概說,頁 202—203.

飲,把他灌得醺醺大醉。老牙乘他醉臥不醒,跪地向天禱告道:"今晚月明如晝,不易逃走。如老牙有救,望求老天降下滂沱大雨!"禱畢,不久,果然黑雲四起,大雨如注。老牙當將牢門劈開逃出北門。因河中水漲,不能即渡,即暫憩息。牢頭醒來,不見了老牙,大吃一驚。即報告營官,派人追尋。一兵士找到北門外,見老牙在那裏憩息,便去擒他。無奈氣力太小,反被老牙捉住。兵士請求饒命,老牙不肯,便將兵士拋向河中淹死。老牙知營官必派多人尋找,如果找得,必定立刻送命。便即冒險跳水,游過河去向楊家嶺方面走去,到他兄弟老清家中。行至大門,大喊開門。老清聽見,初尚驚疑,不敢開門。老牙說明逃獄情形,老清始來開門。老牙進屋之後,兄弟相見敍談一番。休息一天,次日即由角缸山盤旋回家。在途中看見兒子亞秋亞有兄弟,趕白水牛數頭。老牙上前詢問,知是要去變賣,把錢贖父親之命。老牙即命兒子快趕水牛,隨同父親回敖里坡。後營官又呈報皇上,不久,奉到聖旨,優遇老牙,並賞賜黑旗二面,地[illegible]三[illegible]二面,紅傘一把,紋銀十二兩。著仍在木林地方駐紮,保護上下船隻,往來客商。不准部下亂行搶刼。從此,老牙悔改邪歸正,成爲好人了。(乾城石啓貴講述)。

(2) 楊芳傳說

貴州松桃縣料果地方,有個人名叫楊芳。父親早亡,窮極無聊,而母親忽又病故。無錢安埋,當向其姐夫家中去借葬費。借得之後回到中途,見人賭博,也就去賭。不料一進賭場,就把借得的錢輸了。只得空手回家。行經某村地方,見一岩洞,洞口有一黃牛在那裏吃草。楊芳上前想捉那黃牛,黃牛見人去捉,向前逃走。他一把捉住那牛的尾巴,牛駭極而奔,奔入岩洞中便不見了。楊芳

略知風水,知那山洞是龍開口的地方,急忙回到家中,便將母親用稻草包着,因恐旁人看見,說他不孝,乘夜背負到那岩洞中去葬了,葬好之後,他也覺得問心不安,便在洞口嚎啕大哭,適有一羣盜匪,搶了許多財物由洞前經過,聽見痛哭之聲,誤爲團兵追來,各各拋棄搶得的財物,四散奔逃,楊芳見匪走後,即把所有財物,挑了回家。

過了三四日,楊芳的姐姐前來弔喪,到家一看,不料棺材也不見了!問起情由,知已安葬,那位姐丈是深通風水的,問起葬地情形,楊芳引他去看,姐丈說道:"這倒是一塊吉地,可惜用了衣服棺木而葬,便不見得好了,應該用稻草捲着屍身下葬才好,現在雖已葬成,如能挖開重葬,仍可發吉。"姐姐聽了也主張重葬,楊芳聽了姐夫的話,心裏暗自歡喜,即對姐夫和姐姐說道:"棺木下面,我已用稻草鋪着,棺木上面也已用稻草蓋着,那就等於用稻草捲一樣了。"姐夫和姐姐都不信,硬要重葬,楊芳急了道:"不要重葬了!我眞是用稻草葬的。"姐夫問道:"如果是用稻草葬的,那你寅時葬下,卯時就要發了,否則就是謊話。"楊芳答道:"確是寅葬卯發。"姐丈又問:"你發的甚麼?"楊芳道:"那天寅時把母親葬好,到了卯時,有一羣搶匪,不知在何處搶了財物,經過那裏,我正在放聲大哭,他們聽見我的聲音,疑係團兵追到,把所有財物,概行拋棄,四散奔逃,我看四面無人,就把那些財物,都搬到家裏來了。"說畢,並出示所得物,他的姐夫姐姐始信以爲眞。

那時鎮筆總兵大人,正在招募新兵,楊芳因發了財,不安心爲農,立志就要投軍,所有家內財物,交給姐夫和姐姐代管,楊芳到了總兵大人面前,總兵要試他的膽量,吩咐道:"你可用刀砍我兩刀!"楊芳即取馬刀,向總兵大人肩部砍去,幸得左右衛兵,

把刀鎗鬥,未能砍着,總兵看他膽量過人,因此很信任他.他跟隨總兵左右,每遇作戰,奮勇異常,屢建奇功.先派充百總,繼升屯官,終又拔補協鎮.後因皇上有旨,要挑選精兵,調赴省城.總兵即選定楊芳前往.楊芳奉令赴省任職,連戰皆捷.一再升官晉級,名聞海內.到了四十餘歲他便不願爲官,意圖休憩,告退還鄉.仍在料果地方,安居樂業.那時鎮筸邊境又起叛亂,出了四十八個匪兵,成羣結黨,到處騷擾.鎮筸官兵,亦被匪兵殺死不少.他們且到處做牧後種,屠殺民衆.據說殺死的人,河水也給血染紅了.地方衆紳,公稟到省,轉奏皇上,要楊芳坐鎮鎮筸,維護地方.皇上准奏,楊芳即到鎮筸接印視事.當將四十八名匪兵,一一招安來歸,作隨身護衛.匪兵情願聽他指揮,過了六年之久,皇上下令,要解四十八名匪兵到省,梟首示衆.楊芳奉令之後,假意與衆匪兵說道:"皇上要我下省,加我功勞.我有意帶你們一同前往,不知你們都願去省否.衆匪兵道:"皇上既有旨加功,該去才好.我等自當隨從護衛."楊芳見衆匪兵情願同去,心中暗喜.擇定日期,率領前往.到省之後,又轉赴京都,晉謁皇上.皇上便命設法殺死匪兵.楊芳遵旨,率領匪兵從北門進城,到了駐紮地點,待至深夜,衆兵皆睡.楊芳即令部下,將那些匪兵,一一處死.皇上就把楊芳加功,封爲振武將軍.此後地方安寧.楊芳仍舊回鄉,隱居不仕.(乾城龍世昌轉述).

(3) 守備官入賊夥

昔年有個苗守備官,任職已歷有十餘年.因他管理不善,虧欠了屯倉公穀.

時有苗民石某之家,被盜偷竊,捉獲盜犯三人,送到守備官

處訊問確實,即將解送縣府懲辦。盜犯知道守備官虧欠公款,便私向守備官道:"如能開釋我們,願去偷別人財物,送你賠償公款。"守備官聽了此言,正合其意,便即放了三個盜犯,實行出去偷竊。守備官亦隨同前往。於黑夜三更時,到了某鄉村中。盜匪先躲在森林之中,後探聽得某富戶的一家人均已熟睡,即用刀鑿通牆壁,三人進入屋內,守備官在門外守路。三盜找到一個大櫃子,揭起櫃蓋,用香火一照,看見許多銀錢服飾,堆積滿櫃。便一包一包取出,三人各得一擔挑了出來,與守備官相會,並請守備官也去偷他數包,於是守備官真個前去,先偷得五六包,還不知足,又去再偷。因那櫃子裏的東西,上面的都偷去了,只餘下面一層,用手難以取到,他便把頭鑽入櫃內偷取。忽然主人醒覺,即大呼有賊,立刻起來把櫃蓋關住,壓着守備官腰部,不得脫身出來。隣人聽說有賊,大家前來,即將守備官捉住,用一大塊布叉口袋撐開叉口,把他投入袋內,鎖住袋口,吊在屋樑上,用手推動,一來一往,撞着木柱,痛極不堪。守備官大聲喊道:"我是守備老爺,不是盜犯!真正的盜賊,已偷得財物去了!"衆人也不理他,仍在推來推去。三盜看守備官痛得可憐,即縱火焚燒房屋。一時火光四照,衆人均往救火。三盜趁着無人之時,即把叉口袋放下,救出守備官來。另將失盜老主人捉住,放在袋內鎖着袋口,仍掛在屋樑上。後來衆人將火救熄轉來,痛恨已極,便把叉口袋用力推來推去。老人在內痛極喊道:"我不是強盜,我是失盜的主人。請莫推撞,快解放下來!"衆人都不相信,推撞愈重,竟將老人撞死了!後來解下叉口袋來一看,果是失盜的老主人,兒子才放聲大哭,弄得人財兩空。

那三個盜賊救了守備官後,即同行回家,將所得的財物,交

給守備官變價,還清公穀,他們便得免於解縣治罪。(乾城石啓貴講述)。

(4)大龍洞與小龍洞的傳說

湘西鳳凰,乾城,永綏三縣邊境,有兩處瀑布:大龍洞和小龍洞,相傳大龍洞是姑母,小龍洞是媳婦,二人素不和睦,彼此視爲仇敵。大龍洞苗語謂之"烏秋";小龍洞苗語謂之"烏牙"。媳婦平日性太倔強,使姑母難堪,所以她橫一大山,隔住小龍洞的水聲。媳婦便開一澗,使水流入深潭,激起潺潺水聲,仍舊嘈得姑母不安,姑母大怒,即請雷公將澗水劈斷,因此小龍洞才沒有水聲。此後兩下更不和睦,兩邊所出的水,也不相容。大龍洞的水是混的,小龍洞的水是清的,漲水時間亦不相同。水流下去各沿一邊至黃蜡寨上有一大岩山,聳立河中出爲調解,雙方同意,兩水才得合流而下。(乾城龍才貴講述,石啓貴筆記。)

(5)雷洞山的傳說

保靖縣雷洞山,在三廳地方,很是著名。相傳眞有雷神常住洞中。雷洞山苗名"及冬",是男性。附近尙有巳舍山也是男性;又有阿躬里翠山是女性。在古時這三個山都是變化莫測。故有雷洞大王,雷洞二王,雷洞三王之神。凡害病的人,身體發熱,囈語,即敬山神,謂之"贖魂"。相傳謂病人魂魄,被山神捉去,敬神後即可痊愈。阿躬里翠當青年時,姿色極佳,嫁與巳舍山爲妻,過門有年,夫妻和好。後及冬山見她美麗,忽起野心,恃強霸佔爲妻。巳舍不服,即與及冬大起爭端。巳舍帶了兩個兄弟,要殺及冬。及冬胸部竟被巳舍用梭鏢穿通。犵狫能山見及冬爲梭鏢所傷,便來幫助。

將巴合等斫了數刀,巴合二弟的頭部被斫斷淡落河中,現在河中尚有一山,看來很像人頭,雙方雖然受傷或死,彼此仍不相讓,八刀山聞信,即來調解,卻被及冬誤斫了八刀,因此有八刀山之稱,阿躬里翠看雙方各不相下,便用腰裙把他們隔開,方才息爭。現在雷洞山附近有一山看來好像裙摺,就是阿躬里翠的腰裙,那個大山洞就是及冬被梭標穿通的胸部。(永綏施應文講述,乾城石啓貴筆記)。

(6)龍仙娘

保靖有著名的仙娘,姓龍氏,十餘歲時就得仙女傳授,所以人都稱爲仙娘,凡有病痛,天災人禍等等,都能未卜先知,靈驗不爽,十年前,天旱數月無雨,各處設法求雨,均無效,即有人去問仙娘,各寨的人羣聚圍觀,先問仙娘道:"雷神現在何處!"仙娘道:"雷神已回來了"又問:"雷神既已回來,可否給我們一看!"仙娘道:"你們看!雷神現已開眼給你們看了"衆人抬頭一望,果見電光閃閃,又問:"幾時有雨!"仙娘道:"五天後必下大雨"屆期果然大雨如注。(乾城龍啓澄講述,石啓貴筆記)

(7)戴老師求雨

昔年乾城有個戴老師,係鎮溪鄉人,他的法術非常高明,惟因家中極窮,地方人士都不相信他,有一年,遇了大旱,禾苗乾枯,田土開裂,各地人民,均設壇求雨,各地都請了苗老師及客老師迎神,祭雷,清醮,各種方法都做到了,均屢問效,乾城地方人士,即想出進洞拿龍求雨之法,當下召請各處老師齊來,擇定日期到小龍洞拿龍,共請得法術高妙的老師七十二人,在乾城設七十

二個兩壇,布置清楚,結伴向小龍洞而去,獨戴老師一人,沒有人請教,他知道那些都是無用之舉,便以私人資格,從旁參加,走到小龍洞地方,但聞鑼鼓喧闐,角號之聲,連續不已,七十二個老師,均穿紅衣戴法帽,大念咒語,四處拿龍,總是無效,戴老師從旁說道:"半山上水潭口邊,有龍兩條出現,各位老師何不捉將下來!"衆老師一看,果然有龍兩條,但無法上去,只能看着罷了,戴老師看各老師沒有法術,便即施展妙法,差動五猖兵馬,用橋布一捲,拋架陰橋一座,到半山水潭口上,請衆老師上去,各老師又無法上去,默然不答,戴老師看他們無法上橋拿龍,便將陰橋撤回,改用五猖旗一面,插在山脚下水潭口旁邊,潭內立刻就現出五條龍來,衆老師看見五條龍在潭中游來游去,勢很兇猛,也不敢上前捉拿,戴老師便將五條龍一起捉在手中,問衆老師道:"我們同來到這塊地方的人,是要一船同走!還是各保各爲好!"良久無人答應,旁邊有一人隨意答道:"要各保各"。戴老師聽了此言,心中大怒,當將所捉五條龍放死了三條,即差發兵馬,開山破洞,一時間狂風陡作,雷雨交加,忽漲大水,將洞口道路淹沒不見,衆老師見此情形,都駭得魂飛魄散,無處躲避,結果,竟都隨波濤下流,戴老師乘水初漲之時,即將雨傘一把,化船一隻,本人坐在傘內,另有一個龍老師,本在七十二個老師之中,因和戴老師是同教,彼此尚屬相好,戴老師因念交情,就將他救起,坐在傘內,二人飄飄蕩蕩,隨水下流,戴老師乘傘飄水時,正在大雨滂沱,他手執馬鞭,向後一指,雨即止住不落,那時距乾城五六十里周圍地方,仍是天旱,戴老師回到鎮溪,即上大山坡頂上,設壇求雨,每天行三次法事,天即降三次大雨,落雨範圍,限在該坡上,周圍約一里以內,其他地方都沒有雨,地方人士因見戴老師法術高明,大衆

相商,即請他代求雨澤。戴老師也不推辭,當整裝出發時,身穿紅衣一件,將三個衣角下擺紮住,只空後面一方。到了乾城見了地方人士,先講明求雨代價三百六十吊錢,然後設壇虔求。請神的時候,戴老師即將紅衣四角放下,用師刀、柳枝作法。忽然大雨驟至,不但全縣境內,處處甘霖;即鄰近各縣地方,亦沾雨澤。於是地方人士無不熱烈歡慶。從此戴老師聲名大振。

後三四年內乾城地方又是天旱,又請戴老師設壇求雨。他便發動五猖兵馬,往古丈縣屬的龍鼻嘴坳上大岩洞拿龍。當進洞時,吩咐隨從道:"此洞險惡,我進洞內拿龍時,你們即掛草鞋一雙在洞口上。你們擂鼓之際,如看見草鞋自動,互相打架,即抬大鼓一個嵌在洞口。"他再三叮嚀始進洞去。後果見草鞋互相打架,但隨從看得眼花,忘記用鼓嵌住洞門。忽然洞門岩石長起,封閉洞口,只留師刀大小一個小孔。衆人都不得出來。所有後方雨壇一切,均由龍老師代爲照料。三日後果得大雨。可憐戴老師困在洞中,幾日幾夜未見回來。地方人士即派人至洞口查看,才知洞口封塞。後來戴老師化身變做鶴兒由孔中流出,一直流到所里伏波宮井口上。出口時再變身爲人,對衆人說道:"我吹牛角三聲,如有人接着我的牛角吹起來,我可再活得三年。否則我就要死了。"說畢,即吹牛角三聲。適有一個小孩,在山上看牛,用樹皮做成牛角,吹着玩。聽了牛角之聲,便把樹皮牛角接吹三聲。因此,他果然再過三年才死。(乾城龍滿金講述,石啓貴筆記)。

(8) 關於苗姓的傳說甲——吳姓及大吳小吳之分

姓吳的祖宗爲阿剖稿扁要。生有兩個兒子,大的名叫代金,小的名叫代小。代金的子孫爲大吳,代小的子孫爲小吳。

代合代小兩兄弟在未分家的時候,有一次家裏祭老人過生,因爲是在夜間三四更的時候,代小已經睡着了,到吃粑粑的時候,大家喊他起來吃粑粑,叫去叫來都叫不醒,後來叫得他恨起來了,詛咒道:"我不吃你們的粑粑,若是吃了將來要絕子絕孫。"所以至今代小的子孫還是不吃祭老人過生的粑粑,恐怕吃了子孫不旺。

(9)關於苗姓的傳說乙——龍姓及大龍小龍之分

姓龍的祖宗是阿剖稿老乜,阿剖稿老乜生有十二個兒子,即雍厄、奥希、大免、若奴、代黑、代差、禾略、禾魯、代能、代本、大刮、大胥;現在分爲十二房,但各房的子孫,都不能結婚。

還有禾逢也是屬於姓龍的,據說他們的祖宗,也是阿剖稿老乜,不過不是親生的,乃是妾帶來的隨娘兒,成人之後,曾起爭執,後來雙方商定親生的子孫姓大龍,隨娘兒的子孫姓小龍。

(10)關於苗姓的傳說丙——姓石的及他們的禁忌

姓石的祖宗是仙家、把白,他們的子孫是不吃狗肉的,因爲他生了出來長到幾個月後,母親就死了,沒有奶吃,天天的啼哭,正值他家的狗生了小狗,他就天天隨着狗兒吃奶,後來長大了,因感狗的恩德,所以不吃狗肉,因此,現在他的子子孫孫都不吃狗肉。

(11)關於苗姓的傳說丁——麻姓

姓麻的以苗音分起來,也有兩樣一爲吃牛的姓麻;一爲吃猪的姓麻這樣分的原因現在已經不知道了。

姓龍的若奴不吃麻姓的家仙肉。

從前有姓若奴的一個人,娶麻姓女爲妻,生下一個兒子,父母就死了,因爲沒有人撫養,所以外祖父母就帶來撫養,外祖母很愛這個外甥,買了一隻猪給他做私房,同時另買一隻預備打家先用的,兩猪的大小肥瘦,是一個樣子,打家先的那天,錯捉了外孫的一隻,後來發覺了,外祖父母便叫大家不要聲張,即請老師也代他一併求保佑就是了,因爲這個原因,所以現在若奴一姓人和麻姓互相不吃家先肉。

(12)關於苗姓的傳說戊——姓田的不吃雞肉和狗肉

從前苗族有田氏兄弟二人,兄名拉黑,弟名拉吼,那時有人經告他倆兄弟,行爲不正,官府定於某夜雞叫和狗叫的時候動身前往捉拿,誰知那夜直到天明雞和狗都不曾叫一聲,官兵也就沒有去捉,拉黑拉吼兩兄弟才沒有被捕,因此他二人深感雞和狗的恩德,共誓以後不吃雞狗的肉,拉黑不吃雞肉拉吼不吃狗肉。所以現在拉黑的子孫不吃雞肉; 拉吼的子孫不吃狗肉。(以上甲、乙、丙、丁、戊五傳說,都是凰凰與良佐錄述)

(三)寓言

寓言乃是民族的一種,本是說來使人快樂的,但它含有一種目的及一種教訓,和箴言 (proverb) 的關係很密切,所以我們說是含有倫理性的,從這種故事的地方背景,社會學的聯繫和社會上的功能去看眼,多少可以看出苗人的一些關於道德的觀念,例如我們讀了以下所記的孝子發財、死牛、不孝的女兒、孝養父母四個故事,可知他們有重孝的觀念;讀了善報與惡報及

石解生兩個故事,可知他們有爲善的觀念.此外如窮漢得志與窮漢發富的戒欺貧,鹿母誅害嫡子與隨娘兒的戒作惡,貧財送命的戒貪財,變牛還債的戒負債,都是很能勸人的.而於姻緣前定,貧女富命及叫化女兒的富貴命三個故事中,尤可知道他們相信婚姻富貴,都是由命運而定的.我們知道,這些故事並不一定是苗族所固有;但假使是由漢人所傳去,也可知他們沾染漢族的道德觀念,已非一日了.

(1)孝子發財

康熙年間,有個龍可得,生子二人,長名布能,二名布領.可得早亡,有妻尚在.有一天問長子道:"我家裏貧苦,日後我死,你如何辦理葬事?"長子答道:"你老人家死後,兒子毫不費力,將你背至河邊,或懸岩上,拋將下去便好了."母親聽了,點一點頭,默默無言.又問二子道:"我家裏貧苦,日後我死你如何辦理葬事."二子答道:"你老人家死後,做兒子的應該殺豬宰牛,祭供母親,並請老師畫經超度,預備上好衣服棺木,一家大小披麻戴孝,送上墨山."母親聽了也點一點頭,默默無言.沒有好久,母親得病,醫藥罔效,竟就死了.長子布能,不但不理,並想實行將母親尸身拋棄.二子布領不肯,要替母親辦創葬事.只可惜手邊無錢.後來想得一妙計.因他母親在日就大富翁楊才有家搗舂草,天天到他家去做工.他便乘黑夜時候,將母親屍身靠立門口,明早家人起來開門,屍身倒地.才有一見駭然,便請人向布領說道:"你娘死在我家門口,不知如何死的.她就我家多年,一向很好,現既死了,我承認你母親的葬費罷了."布領聽了此言,心中歡喜,立即承認.布領得了錢,便照他在母親生病說的辦法安葬過了三朝之

後,布領到墳上加土,並栽一根竹子.不久,竹子生根發芽長大了.布領看竹長成,即在墳前跪下叫道:"母親的靈魂在上,你小兒在下,如保佑我,即由竹枝葉上,落下金銀!若不保佑我,即由竹枝葉上落下岩土!"說畢,用手一搖,果然落下金銀.布領歡喜,即檢了金銀,放在衣包,回到家中.布能見了問他金銀何來!布領即將實情相告.布能等到明天,也去搖竹子.先到母親墳前跪下,禱告道:"母親!你若有心保佑我,就由竹子枝葉上落下金銀寶貝,否則落下沙土狗屎!"禱畢,用手一搖,果落下沙土狗屎.布能一見,心中大怒,就將竹子斫倒在地,取到家中.布領問道:"哥哥!今天搖搖竹子如何!"布能道:"今天搖搖竹子,搖得沙土狗屎!我心中大怒,已將竹子斫倒,現在取回來了."布領無法,便將竹子,用刀劈成篾子,編成魚罩,放在河塘口上.禱告道:"母親!如有心保佑我,即罩得大魚;否則即罩得大蛇."明天去看,果得一罩大魚.即取回來.布能看見當即問道:"你的大魚何來!"布領答道:"這是罩得來的."布能就借了魚罩,也去河塘口上放好.禱告道:"母親!請你保佑我罩得大魚!"明天去看,罩得一罩大蛇.布能心中大怒,將魚罩打爛拿回家中.布領問道:"昨晚放魚罩罩得什麼!"布能答道:"昨晚放的魚罩,今天竟得大蛇.所以我心中很不高興,就把魚罩打爛了."布領又把魚罩斫得齊齊整整,做一個雞窩,放在村莊附近的荒坪上.禱告道:"母親!你有心保佑我,這窩內可得雞蛋,否則就得雞屎."早上放在那裏,晚上前去一看,果有鄰近的雞生蛋在內.他就取了回家.布能見了問道:"今天雞窩內又有些什麼"!布領說道:"今天得蛋五六個".布能又借了窩去放在那裏,禱告道:"母親!如有心保佑我,今天就得一窩雞蛋;否則就得一窩雞屎."夜裏去看,只見一窩雞屎.心裏又是大怒,

就將雞窩打爛,拿回家來.布領問道:"今天裝得多少雞蛋!"布能答道:"今天裝得一窩雞屎!我因不高興,已將雞窩打爛,拿回來了."布領沒法,便將雞窩用火燒成灰燼,拿去肥青瓜,青瓜長大結瓜布領用一麻布叉口袋,繫在瓜架上,他卻坐在袋中看守到了深夜有山鬼前來偷瓜,偷了幾個之後,摸着麻布叉口袋,以爲是個大瓜,便一起抬去.到了山洞裏,一山鬼說道:"今天發大財了!快取金碗銀碗把這大瓜分來吃罷!"衆山鬼齊聲答道:"好!好!"等到金碗,銀碗,金筷,銀筷等擺好之後,布領大聲喊道:"該死的山鬼!把我的瓜都偷到這裏來了!"山鬼聽了都驚走了.布領卽把山鬼的金碗,銀碗和金筷,銀筷,都取了回來因此發了大財回到家中,布能問道:"這些金,銀,碗,筷何來!"布領照實說了布能也想發這個財,便借一麻布叉口袋,繫在布領的瓜架上,他也坐在袋中,到夜深時山鬼果來了,偷摘大瓜之後,又摸着麻布叉口袋,以爲又是一個大瓜,卽解繩抬去,抬到懸岩時,布能忽由袋內放了一個屁,臭不堪聞,山鬼以爲瓜已爛了,抬起又走,不料布能因爲受寒,有點瀉肚,又放了一個屁,連屎都出來,較前更臭不可聞.山鬼說道:"此瓜確實爛了!"卽將袋拋下山去.布能就此一命嗚呼(乾城龍承瑞講述,石啓貴筆記)

(2) 泥牛

從前有兄弟二人,父親已經死了,只有母親還在.兄弟已經分家,哥哥比較富有,弟弟是砍柴爲生,母親卻和弟弟一起住.

有一天,弟弟和母親砍柴.弟弟在山上砍,母親在底下拾取,一個不小心,把一根柴扔在母親頭上,他急忙下來一看,見母親死了,就放聲大哭.忽然來了一個老人,見他哭得可憐,問他爲什

麼要哭!死的是他什麼人!怎麼樣死的,他便一一對那老人說了。老人道:"我有法子使你母親復活,你且不要哭!"他聽了歡喜非常,忙問老人道:"你老人家有什麼法子可救我的母親,快請告我!"老人叫他先到河邊舀一碗水來,他便急忙舀來送給老人。老人口裏念念有詞,喝一口水,向他母親的身上噴去,不多久的時候,母親果然慢慢醒過來,母子向老人叩頭道謝,老人又叫取一塊泥巴來,捏成泥牛,交給母子二人,並囑咐道:"你把這個泥牛拿到家裏,放在神龕便了。"囑咐既畢,老人說聲:"走",便不見了。

母子二人柴也不砍了,拿了泥牛,歡歡喜喜的走回家去,即照那老人吩咐的話,把泥牛擺在神龕上,次日早晨起來一看,只見泥牛屁股下面有二三兩銀子,取去之後,過了一日,又有二三兩銀子,天天如此,取用不盡,有一天哥哥來了,問起弟弟近來不見砍柴,而穿吃都很富足,究竟從是那裏來的!弟弟便把母親被他扔柴打死,遇一老人救活,並送一泥牛,因此天天得銀子二三兩的事,一一實說了。哥哥聽了暗暗想道:"我明天也同母親去砍柴,故意把她打死,那老人想必一定還要來救活母親,送我泥牛的。"主意已定,便對母親說道:"明天你也和我一同去那山上砍柴!"母親素知長子不孝,要她同去砍柴,一定不懷好意,便拒絕不肯,他也不管母親肯不肯,走回家去了。

次日一早,他便帶了柴刀走來叫母親同去,母親堅說走不動,他道:"母親走不動時,做兒子的應當背了你走。"說着,拉了就走,走到山邊對母親說道:"你在下面拾取,我到上面去砍。"他砍了柴,便對着母親打去,一下打不着再打二下,他母親左避右避,避到後來,沒有力氣避了,竟被他打死,他見母親已被打死,心中大喜,下來假意伏在母親身上哭泣,沒有多久,果有一個老人來

了,問他爲什麼要哭,死的是他什麼人,怎麼樣死的?他也照他的弟弟對答老人的話一一說了。老人道:"我有法子使你母親復活,你快去河邊舀一碗水來!"他因發財心切,對那老人道:"我且先去取一塊泥巴來,你給我捏成泥牛,而後再去河邊舀水。老人知他貪財心狠,不願母親死活,說一聲:"走,就不見了。(鳳凰吳良佐講述)

(3)不孝的女兒

從前有個石富謀,妻子吳氏,家業頗富,有五個女兒:長女名喚貼敗,次女貼官,三女貼所,四女貼叭,五女貼舒。她們姊妹五個,有三個已經嫁人了。貼敗嫁給廖支松,已生一個兒子。貼官嫁給麻天老,也生一個兒子。貼所嫁給龍老大,生一男一女。只有貼叭貼舒兩個尚未嫁人。後來二老先後病故,因爲沒有兒子,五個姊妹爭奪產業,各不相讓,便去打官司,連雙親的葬事也不辦了。等到她們五個姊妹的官司打畢,父母的屍體已經腐臭了,所爭的產業,卻被官府判充公用。五個姊妹一點產業沒有得着,後來貧窮得連飯也沒有吃了。只得討飯過活。有一天,她們五個姊妹走到河邊,貼所貼叭貼舒三個被水冲去淹死,貼敗貼官二人無處藏身,住在山洞裏,又被老虎吃了。(鳳凰吳宗宜講述)

(4)孝養養母

昔年乾城寶樂鄉有個龍樹仁,娶妻廖氏生有一子名家元。樹仁早亡,家元後由廖氏撫養成人,娶妻楊氏。家元平日聽信楊氏的話,常常不給母親飯吃,不給母親衣穿。到了七八月的時候,工作正忙,家元就叫母親終日在曬穀坪看守穀子,不給中餐。廖

氏天天挨餓,不敢說出。等到穀子曬完之後,家元因爲不再要人煮料,即將母親背至荒山岩洞內,不給飲食被服,意在任她飢寒而死。

不料廖氏命不該絕,在附近山洞的村中,有個石大德,父母早亡,孤獨一人,生性樂善好施,有一天,帶有一隻白狗,至山上挖地,隨帶中飯放在一邊,那隻白狗便用口銜了裝飯算籮,送至岩洞中,廖氏正在飢餓,一見了飯,便拿來吃了。大德挖地挖到晌午,要吃中餐時,忽不見了算籮,以爲被人偷去,也不去追究。明日挖地,仍是帶了白狗中飯放在原處,及至中午,又不見了中飯,這樣一連好幾天,天天如此,大德心疑,再到次日,又將中飯放在原處,他卻不去工作,躲在草旁窺看,只見白狗銜了算籮中飯往山洞走去,大德暗暗跟隨,到了洞中,只見廖氏在洞吃飯,狗在旁站着。大德進洞,便問廖氏來歷,她便一一說出,哭泣不止,大德看她可憐,一想自己又沒有母親,便將她背至家中,認爲義母,撫養終年。大德侍奉義母,孝順非常,後來感動天上,玉帝差了神仙下界,那位神仙變做一個叫化子到大德家討飯,大德出外,獨廖氏一人在家,廖氏見叫化子來討飯,便叫自去鍋裏取飯,叫化子便將鍋內之飯,吃得乾乾淨淨,一點無餘,廖氏自己也未得中飯吃,晚上大德回來,看鍋裏的飯吃得乾乾淨淨,便問義母道:"今天留飯太少,鍋裏的飯一點都沒有了,肚裏餓嗎!"廖氏便把叫化子討飯的詳情,述了一遍,大德聽了說道:"可憐你老人家挨餓一天,二天自當多留些飯,除送叫化子外,你老人家仍要吃飽。"自後天天多留,叫化子天天來討,都是吃不完的,廖氏吃飽,還可有餘。神仙以大德孝心異好,次日再來,吃飽飯之後,就將銀子裝滿鍋中,仍用鍋蓋蓋好,晚上,大德回家,揭鍋一看,只見滿鍋都是銀子,

歡喜非常,從此發財買田置地娶妻庞氏,後生三男二女.

那個家元自將生母棄置岩洞之後,一連數年,運氣不佳,家族人亡,只得到處討飯過活.一天,討到大德家中,適大德夫婦省親遠去,只有庞氏在家,同起叫化子來歷,知是親生兒子家元,庞氏憐念親生,不計前仇,即給他飯吃,並把經過情形告訴了兒子.家元接飯在手,聽了母親的一番話,悔恨不及,連飯也吃不下咽.不數日就死了.大德夫婦回來,見家元已死,便出具衣服棺木,代為安葬.(乾城龍厚大述,石啓貴筆記)

(5)善報與惡報

從前某處地方有兩個人,姓名都不曉得,後人因為他倆心地的善惡,和後來的報應,就稱他倆做善報和惡報.

有一次,他倆不知是從什麼地方工作回來,每人所得的工資,都是八百.惡報居心險惡,他見了善報的八百工資,就起了一種謀奪的心,不過尋不出一個機會.他倆回到路上,走到一處下有岩壁的所在,岩壁是非常的高,下面有一塊不寬不狹的荒地,荒地中又生長着一叢天然的葱,並且長得非常茂密.他倆見了都想去採葱,四下裏一望,卻也沒有路徑可下得去.但是惡報就心生了一個主意,說道:"善報!這葱實在可愛!我倆下去採一些來做夜飯來."善報答道:"好是好的,不過下去不得,怎麼辦呢!"惡報說道:"這個容易得很;你若是肯下去,可把你所帶的帕子連結起來放你下去,等你採得葱了,我再拖你上來."善報答道:"這個很好."一時善報就把自己的衣服脫下,惡報也就把他倆的帕子的兩頭緊緊的打了一個結,將一頭束在善報的腰間,輕輕的向那岩壁下放去.但是惡報因為一心要想奪取這八百個

大袋,放到一半的時候,就把帕子完全丟下.一聲響,那可憐的善報,已淹淹一息,跌落在那荒地上了.惡報在上看了許久,見他動也不動,以爲眞個死了.轉身拾起善報的衣服,由口袋裏取出錢來,數了一數,歡歡喜喜的回家去了。

卻說善報跌落在那荒地上,過了一些時候,慢慢的醒轉來了.覺得疼痛非常,嗚咽叫痛.但不敢大聲,因恐有老虎前來吞害,不免有性命之虞.不久,太陽落下去了,忽聽得在岩壁中有人言語.原來有一位仙人,在那岩壁中間的一個岩洞裏居住,當太陽下山後,他就出洞外遊玩.忽然看見一個人睡在地下,嘴裏不住的嗚咽叫痛,就對他的兒孫道:"這才是巧!這個眞怪!你們看!這底下有一個人睡着啊!"善報在底下聽得清楚,抬頭叫道:"是誰!是誰!救我一救!"神仙問道:"你是那個!睡在這裏作甚!"善報便把經過情形說了一遍,並向那仙人求救.仙人說道:"拖你上去是可以的,不過今夜你還是耐煩的睡一夜,等到三更半夜,自有人來說根源給你聽.明天再拖你上來不遲,"說畢,神仙進洞去了.善報無奈,只得睡在那兒.不一時,天就黑了。

大約到了三更的時候,善報還不曾睡着,心裏想道:"那人說有人來說根源,怎麼這時候還沒有來呢!"忽然間有一隻老虎來了.見了善報自言自語的說道:"世上的人爲什麼這樣的蠢!某寨中某家人家的屋後,埋有兩罐銀子,不曉得過了多少年代,人家都忘卻了.還不去到那裏去挖!倒來睡在這裏做甚麼!"說畢去了.善報聽得是老虎,一點也不敢動,也不做聲,只是一句一句的聽他說畢了.

過了一會兒,大約有四更的時候了,又聽見一個老蛇來了.見了善報又自言自語道:"世上的人眞這樣的蠢!某地方某山

上有一個很大的泉水,僅僅只蓋着一塊岩板,人們都不知道,底下有許多荒地,可開得很寬的田,都不晓得到那裏去挖開泉水,開那些田,不是就吃不完了嗎!倒來睡在這裏做甚麼啊!"說罷又去了.善報仍是默默的聽着,記在心裏.

又過了一會兒,大約有五更的時候了,又來了一隻野貓,見了善報,也是自言自語的說道:"世上的人爲什麼這樣的蠢!某地方某家人家的女子,不知道病了幾年了,許多醫士診治不愈,現在她的父母出了重賞,若是有人能將他女兒治好,可得二百兩銀子的醫費,或將女兒許配也是可以的,她的病魔是我弄成,她的魂魄被我取得,收藏在她屋旁的三株大樹的脚根,還不知道到那裏把那三株大樹挖倒,那女子的病自然好了,那末要銀子可得銀子,要妻子可以得妻子.倒來睡在這裏做甚麼呢!"說罷,又去了.善報也默默的聽着,記在心裏.

不多時,天已亮了,住在岩洞裏的神仙們都起來了,出來問善報道:"你昨夜曾聽得人家說根源了麼!"善報聽得有人問他,就急忙答道:"已經聽得清清楚楚了."神仙又道:"你聽得甚麼!可說給我聽嗎!"善報就把老虎、老蛇和野貓所說的話,從頭至尾,說了一遍,神仙道:"那可好了,你終身幸福無窮盡了.現在我送你上去罷!"忽然間一陣狂風,把善報不知不覺的刮到路上去了.

善報一面走一面想着,在路上非常歡喜,回到自己家裏住了一宵,明天就到某村某某家人家的屋後,把鋤頭挖了幾下,果然得了兩錠銀子,歡歡喜喜的跑回家裏來,住了幾天,又走到某地方的某山上去,對着那地方的人們說:"你們眞正蠢啊!這裏有個很大的泉水,還不知道挖出來,開墾這些荒地做田!你們看

有多少穀子呢!"那些人回答他道:"你說我們蠢,究竟不知道是你蠢還是我們蠢!如果眞的有泉水,我們怎不去挖!卽是我們不挖,前代的祖宗未必也不去挖。既然我們蠢,未必前代的祖宗也蠢恐怕你只會來罵我們蠢啊!現在我也不必和你計較蠢與不蠢,只要你有本事找出泉水來,那末我們開墾成的田情願分給你一半,不要你費一些力。善報很喜歡的說道:"你說的話當眞麼!那些人答道:"怎麼不眞!只要你挖出泉水來。"善報就說:"快擔鋤頭來,我兩人去挖罷!"就引着那人走到那有泉水的所在的一個岩板上,對那人道:"把這岩頭挖開!"那人兩手抬起鋤頭一挖,不好久,岩頭挖開了,冒出一股水來。那人不覺驚喜:善報說道:"眞是不眞!那人道:"你先生有神仙的眼光,才能看到這裏的泉水。日後我們開成了田,你就來分一半罷!"那人又留他到家裏去,住了幾天,招待很是慇勤。善報回去的時候,在家裏住了幾天,又走到一個村寨,就到有一個女子病了數年還沒有好的某家裏去。卽開言道:"你家女子患病,數年不能起床,眞是可憐!若用我來醫治,包在十天或半月之內,就能痊愈。聽得你家出有重賞,誰人治好,得數百兩銀子,或娶女爲妻,不知確否!"那家的主人答道:"千眞萬確,只要你有本領就是了。"善報就假意走到那女子的床前,拿一拿脈,看一看相,就問那主人道:"你家的左側方,眞非有三株大樹嗎!"主人答道:"有"。善報說道:"你們可把那三棵大樹砍倒,連根挖開。"主人就叫家裏的工人一齊動手,不一刻,那三株大樹都倒了,連根都一起挖起來了。"善報說道:"這樣你女子的病不過十五天之內就能起床了。"主人忙道:"你請在這裏等候,若是眞的好了,我們自當重謝。"善報唯允。從此以後,那女子的身體就一天好似一天,恰恰滿十五天,眞的痊愈

了,那家的人個個喜歡,主人就問善報,究竟要銀還是要妻!善報想了一回,見那女子貌美,自己又沒有妻子,一時就答道:"不如把女配我做個妻子爲好."主人滿口承允,不久成婚,夫妻二人將所得金銀,安置田地後來成了那地方的大富翁了

光陰很快,不覺過了數年,有一天,要去某地做貿買,走到路上,正遇着惡報,惡報看他身上的穿着,好像富貴人的模樣,就問道:"我以爲你那年在岩壁下死了,怎麼現在還在,且像一個富貴人家的裝扮呢!"善報不慌不忙的答道:"自從那年你把我放到岩壁下去採蕈,我並沒有死,到夜來有幾位神仙在岩壁中間的一個岩洞裏出來說話,我聽得有說話的聲音,就喊求救,神仙對我說道:'你爲甚麼睏在這裏!'我便從實的告他,他又教我等到夜晚,有人來說根原給我聽了,明天再救不遲,那時我因爲救命要緊,再三要求,也不肯答應,及至夜來,約有二三更的時候,眞有老虎,老蛇,野貓回來,一個個說出根原給我聽,我便一一默記在心裏,到明天天亮了,神仙才救我上來,我就照他們所說的話去一一照做,原來件件眞確,所以我差不多變成一個大富翁了 惡報聽了羨慕得了不得,一時就說道:"現在我請你把我從岩壁放下去,使我也得同你一般的得到錢財,豈不是我也變成一個富翁了嗎! 不一時,他兩人就走向那年他領一同作工回來的路上去,到了岩壁的地方,善報就好好的把惡報放下去,因爲那岩壁很高,帕子又短,人站在上面,未免膽戰心驚,所以帕子還沒有放完,便失手的落了下去,善報自己也差不多要跌下去,只見惡報跌了下去,動也不動,要想設法去救,無奈無路可通,只得回家去了,惡報自跌落之後,幾乎一命歸天,約有一二個時辰,才醒轉來,看看四處高山,發又跌落得週身疼痛,只得睡着,待天

晚了,果然有幾個仙人出來,見了他就說道:"怎麼的今天有人睡到這裏來! 惡報一聽有人說話,暗想這必定是神仙了,立即哀求救命!神仙答道:"要我救你卻不難,不過要等人來說根原給你聽,明天再來救你不遲."惡報聽了,心裏非常得意,不一時,天夜了,惡報暗想我這次運氣好了,只待人來說根原給我聽,豈不是就富足了,想到這裏,不覺歡喜非常,大約到了二更的時候,來了一隻老虎,見了惡報自言自語道:"這裏睡有一個新鮮東西,明天早晨,我們可以飽餐一頓."惡報聽了,嚇得魂不附體;暗想我這次性命休矣,不覺兩目流下淚來,待到三更的時候,又來了一條老蛇,見了惡報也是自言自語的說道:"這裏睡有一個好東西,害我們到處都找過了."惡報聽了,更嚇得魂飛魄散!兩淚汪汪,到了四更的時候,又來了一隻野貓,見了惡報,也是同老虎,老蛇一樣的說法,不一會兒,天還沒有十分的亮,野外的走獸昆蟲,都一齊到來,沒有幾分鐘,把一個活活的惡報,吃得片骨都沒有.(鳳凰吳良佐講述).

(6)石胖生

石胖生是一個很誠實的人,他只有一個母親和一個兄長,家裏非常窮困,他兄弟領除砍柴爲生外,別無所事,石胖生因爲窮了十代了,所以閻王在他額上都刻有石胖生三字,不論是誰遇着了他,看見額上刻有三字,就是不認識他的,也曉得他是石胖生,曉得他是十代的窮漢子.

石胖生每天到人家的家裏賣柴的時候,就是三歲的小孩子,也要說他是十代的窮漢,所以石胖生自己很覺得沒趣,走到東家也說他是十代的窮漢,走到西家也說他是十代的窮漢,心

裏非常難受.有一天,忽然發起脾氣來了!自己說道:"我一生從不曾做過沒陰德或傷天理的事,爲甚麼窮了十代!"想去閻王那裏問問根源,到底是甚麼原因!心意已定,就對他母親和兄長說明.他母親和兄長也並不阻攔.

到明天他就動身了.走了一程,恰從某員外的門口經過.員外見了,就高聲問道:"石祥生你要到什麼地方去!"他答道:"我因窮了十代,現在要去閻王那裏問個原因."員外又道:"我想煩你代問一事.我有一個女兒,今年一十八歲,現在還不能說話.若你到了閻王的跟前,請代問閻王一聲,我這個女兒到了十八歲還不能說話,是什麼的原因!"他滿口承允.員外就取出數十錠銀子,送給他做盤費.他不肯收,經再三懇切表示,才收了兩錠.

石祥生又走了一程,走到一個岩壁脚下.那岩壁下恰有兩個老者——神仙——在那裏打草鞋.見了他就高聲問道:"石祥生你要到什麼地方去!"他答道:"我窮困了十代,現在要去閻王那裏問個原因.我走到路上,從某員外的門口經過,員外又託我代問他女兒十八歲還不能說話的原因."那兩老者聽了說道:"石祥生!你也代我們問一問:'現在我們有兩株桃樹和兩株李樹,今已十多年了,年年只開花而不結果.'請你代問閻王看是什麼原因!"他也滿口承允.那兩老者就送給他一雙草鞋.他也收了.豈知那草鞋乃是仙履,穿上了脚,走路不覺疲勞.

石祥生又走了一程,走到一條大河.那是到閻王那裏去必經之路.他到了河邊,看看河水很深,水面又很闊,怎能走過!想要回去,路程又來得很遠;要想前進,又有大河阻隔.真是進退兩難,禁不住放聲大哭!哭了一會兒,忽然由水裏冒出兩條如門板大的黃色金魚來,見了他問道:"石祥生!你要到什麼地方去!爲何

在這裏啼哭!" 他又把因爲窮了十代,要去閻王那裏問原因及員外和兩個老者託他代問原因的情由,說了一遍,並訴說現在進退兩難的苦衷.那兩條金魚聽了說道:"石祥生!你不要啼哭,你要去閻王那裏,我們可背你過河.不過我們也要請你代問一聲我們住在這裏,差不多已經有了數百年,但是要想上水去既不成,下水去也不行,覺得很不自由.請你代問閻王,是什麼原因.他自然是滿口承允.一時,那兩條金魚就背他走過河去.

石祥生渡河之後,又走了一程,不覺走到西天地界.不多時,就到了閻王的殿前了.他走到閻王面前,就雙膝跪下.閻王見了他問道:"石祥生!你是因自己的事來!還是因別人的事來!" 他答道:"別人的事也有,我自己的事也有." 閻王說道:"我說了你的事,就不能說人家的事;若是說了人家的事,就不能說你的事.只能說一邊,你想一下,是說人家的事好,或是說你自己的事好!" 石祥生默想:"這就難了!說了人家的事,我自己的事就不能說了若是只說我自己的事,但我已經受人家的託,且受了人家的盤費,受人家的草鞋,而且那兩條金魚又背我過河;豈能失信!若是只替人家的說,不說我自己的,那我走了這樣遠的路程,豈不是白辛苦!總之我命窮總是窮,不如只替人家說罷了!" 想罷,答道:"請替人家說罷了.我命窮總是窮!" 閻王說道:"那末你把別人的事說來我聽!" 石祥生就從頭至尾的把那三起情由,一一詳述一遍.閻王聽了,即便答道:"那河裏的兩條金魚,上水上不得,下水下不去,就是因爲他倆吃多了螺絲了.他本分只該吃四顆,現在他多吃兩顆了.叫他吐兩顆出來,就能上水下水了——螺絲就是寶貝.——那岩壁下兩老者的兩株桃樹和兩株李樹,只開花不結果的緣故,就是因爲他們栽錯了地址,叫他把

兩株桃樹移栽到兩株李樹的地方,兩株李樹移栽到桃樹的地方,就能開花結果了.那員外的女兒十八歲不能說話,只要見了丈夫就能說話了."石祥生聽了,遂即對閻王作了三個長揖,悶悶不樂的轉身取原路回家.

石祥生回到大河邊,那兩條金魚就急忙迎着問道:"石祥生!你到那裏,閻王怎樣的告訴你!"他答道:"我到閻王那裏,他說只能說一邊的事:說了我的,就不能說你的:說了你的,就不能說我的.我因爲已經受了你們的囑託,不能不先說你們的事:所以我自己的事就不能說了."兩條金魚就問道:"我們的事怎樣說的呢!他答道:"閻王說:你們兩位上水上不得,下水下不得的緣故,就是因爲你倆多吃了人家的螺絲.你倆的本分只應該吃四顆,現在多吃兩顆了.如能吐出兩顆來,自然就能上水下水了".兩條金魚聽了,就跳上岸來,臥倒地下,叫他踏上肚子,不一時,吐出兩顆螺絲說道:"這些螺絲是極有用的,現在就送給你罷."石祥生當即受下.那兩條金魚就背他過河,互相稱謝而別.

石祥生又到岩壁脚下,那兩老者見了,就急忙問道:"石祥生!你回來了!閻王怎樣告訴你!"他又把閻王所說只能說一邊事的話述了一遍,答道:"閻王說,你們的兩株桃樹和兩株李樹,只能開花而不結果的原因,就是因爲栽錯了地址.只要你們把兩株桃樹移栽到兩株李樹的地方,兩株李樹移栽到兩株桃樹的地方,互相掉換一下,就自然能結起果子來了."兩老者聽了滿心歡喜,因爲都已年邁力衰,無法移栽,且又無處請人,就要請他代爲移栽.石祥生因爲離家已久,恐怕家人懸念,初不承允,後經兩老者懇切求助,只得允了.就先挖着李樹,不一時,挖倒了,不料每株李樹脚下,各有一罈銀子.他見了,就丟下鋤頭,去責問兩

老者道："你們似乎有點看我不起！這也是你們再三的要求我，我才替你們挖。怎麼還要來耍弄我！把我當做一個貪財的人呢！現在我不替你們挖了。"兩老者不明瞭他的意思，急忙問道："石祥生！怎麼又不肯替我們挖了！你說我們看你不起，耍弄你，是怎樣的看不起！怎樣的耍弄你呢！"他聽了滿面怒容的答道："你們把兩罈銀子藏在李樹脚下，要來試我是否貪財嗎！"兩老者答道："石祥生！你快不要誤會！我們並無銀子藏在裏面。現在你挖得了，就是你的財氣，應該給你。"他又答道："雖然不是你們藏的，但還是你們的東西，怎樣又說是我的財氣！"兩老者又道："石祥生！是你的財氣。如果是我們的，早就挖來用了，怎的還要來打草鞋爲生呢！"但他決然表示不受，兩老者見他意志堅決，只得罷了，又請他再去挖兩株桃樹。他又在桃樹的根脚挖不多時，挖出兩罈金子來。他見了更是忿怒，忙把鋤頭丟開，走向老者那裏來。老者見了，忙又問道："石祥生！你又挖到了麼！"他答道："挖倒不挖倒，都不管我的事；你們另找人去挖罷！"老者見他語帶怒氣，便急問道："怎的又不肯替我們挖呢！"他答道："我石祥生雖然是窮了十代，但從不拿人家的寃枉錢，你們不要看我不起。我一片至誠，替你們挖着，你們卻要來耍弄我，在李樹下藏着兩罈銀子，在桃樹下又藏着兩罈金子！"老者聽了道："石祥生！請你不要發氣！我們不曾有銀子金子藏在樹脚來耍弄你，現在你挖得了，就是你的，不必多疑！"他答道："怎樣是我的財氣！若是我拿了，豈不是貪財了！"兩老者又再三勸他接受，結果只肯收受兩罈銀子，那兩罈金子，還是由兩老者收了。他又把那四株樹掉換了地位，一一栽好。兩老者備了酒肉送他吃，再要留他住幾時，他卻不肯，就挑了兩罈銀子回家去了。

石祥生又走了一程,不覺到了那員外家,員外正在門口,一見了他就急忙迎着問道:"石祥生你回來了!閻王怎樣回答你!"他又把閻王問答的話述了一遍,又說道:"你的女兒到了十八歲不能說話,閻王說,待她見了丈夫,就自然能說話了."員外就邀他進屋,剛到大門邊,他那女兒見了他,就開口說道:"石祥生!你回來了!"員外聽了滿心歡喜,進到屋裏,酒飯招待,不一刻他就要辭別員外回家去,員外說道:"賢壻!怎樣就不肯坐了!莫非我待慢了你!你說閻王說我這女兒見了丈夫就能說話,今天她見了你就能喊你,你豈不是就是她的丈夫嗎!現在你就是我的女壻了."他聽了半晌方才答道:"員外:你是一個富貴的人,我是一個窮了十代的窮漢,怎配做你的女壻呢!員外說道:"請莫謙辭,我這女兒從來不曾說過一句話的,所以才請問閻王,閻王既告訴你說是見了丈夫就能說話,現在她見你回來,就能喊你石祥生,你就是她的丈夫了.這也是你倆的姻緣."他不得已,只得應允.後來員外就送他金銀,叫他回去稟告母親.

他回到家裏,便把經過的事,從頭至尾的說了一遍.母親和哥哥都不相信,他想討地基建造房屋,他母親連荒地也不肯給他.後來他只得回到員外家裏,就請木匠起屋,與員外的女兒成了婚,又去請他母兄來同住.(鳳鳳 吳良佐 講述).

(7)窮漢得志

從前有吳、龍、廖、石四個人,同學數年.吳龍二人家富,姓石的家裏還可以過,惟有姓廖的極貧.吳龍二人看不起姓廖的,不把他當作同學看待.姓廖的知道吳家栽菜,菜子很多,龍家喂雞,雞很多,石家有菜園,種絲瓜,絲瓜很多.有一天,姓廖的走到姓吳的

家中,說道:"吳兄!今天特來你家吃餐梨子!"姓吳的聽了答道:"今天對不起你,我們地方有個習慣,天陰不摘梨。雖有梨子,不好摘送你吃。因此姓廖的吃不到梨,羞得面紅耳赤走了。第二天又走到姓龍的家中說道:"龍兄!你家的雞喂得很多,特來你家找一餐雞肉吃!姓龍的聽了答道:"今天對不起你,我這地方有個習慣,逢卯不殺雞。今天是卯日,不能把雞殺送你吃。因此姓廖的又吃不到雞,祇得含羞走了。第三天,又走到姓石的家中說道:"石兄!你家絲瓜很多,今天特來吃餐絲瓜!"姓石的答道:"我家絲瓜確實很多;你既來此,我就辦餐絲瓜給你吃。於是把絲瓜及飯辦好,二人暢飲長談,飽餐一頓。姓廖的感謝不已。回到家中,想起吳龍兩位同學,實在看不起人。自己就發憤讀書。他雖然窮,志氣很好。因爲努力用功的結果,後來做了本地的汛官。他因街道彎曲,要從新修一條直街。吳龍的房屋應該拆讓。吳龍二人再三請求,不允改道。地方士紳,都代要求,亦仍不准。二人無法,只得請出姓石的同學來代爲求情,方蒙照准。并出牌示云:"陰天不摘梨,逢卯不殺雞。絲瓜情義好,衙城街不移。(乾城石啓貴講述)。

(8)窮漢暴富

從前有個石春得,是保靖人,家極窮,惟人品很高,憑媒說定梁宏才的三女爲妻。宏才本嫌春得家貧,不肯將他的三女許字,惟女愛郎才,願嫁春得,宏才祇得許之。後來出嫁至春得家,夫妻非常和好。但宏才卻很輕視他們,因爲他的大女二女,都是嫁的富人。宏才將慶六十大壽之前,通知各親友來吃壽酒,女壻至親,當然是要來的囑期,衆親都到。大女壻二女壻均招待在客房。三

女及女婿御在廚房內燒茶煮飯,並幫着挑水洗碗,夫妻二人悶悶不樂,大女婿及二女婿坐在席上說些生意不好,賺錢幾萬幾萬,高談闊論,洋洋得意,說話之間,很有輕視三女婿夫妻之意,三女婿聽了,即接口說道:"你們講些什麼,真說生意賺錢,以爲得意,即你們兩家的財產合攏來,都沒有我的家業大,如果不信,可到我家裏去看!"大女婿二女婿聽了此言,也不答他一句,等到席散,彼此相邀一同去看,到了那裏一看,只見茅屋一間,破舊不堪,走進屋去,無法容身,春得夫妻二人,見客來家,即向隣居借米煮飯,春得上市賣肉回來,因肉太少,就到後面竹園裏去拔筍來炒肉,進園的時候,忽見蟒蛇一條,長有丈餘,竄入筍旁穴中,春得由後追看,走到穴口一看,只見金銀滿穴,不覺欣然大喜,即轉身告知妻子,夫妻一同將金銀取出,搬入房內,後將飯菜辦成,送客吃後,即引大姊夫二姊夫進房去看金銀,果見金銀堆積滿房,二人看後,默默無言,以後宝才的三個女婿,還算春得最富.(永綏石瑤初講述,乾城石啓貴筆記)

(9)庶母謀害嫡子

從前湘西邊境有一苗民姓庶名老咱,有妻妾各一,各生一男,妾生的男名喚春生,方八歲,妻生的男名喚二生,年方五歲,後來老咱病故,不久其妻也病故,春生全賴庶母撫養,不料庶母居心不良,虐待嫡子,她以爲綠豆的養分比黃豆好,所以常將綠豆給自己的兒子吃,把黃豆給春生吃,不料後來二生越養越瘦,春生反而越養越肥了,庶母心中忌恨,要想謀害春生,有一天帶了二子去遊玩,到一頂高的岩洞上面,假意說道:"這洞下有水,有怪石,有奇花異草,很好看,春生!你可來看!"春生便即來到庶母

面前,庶母以替春生梳頭爲名,叫他面向洞,背向母,庶母在他背後把春生一推,就推下洞去了,以爲春生必死,帶了二生回家,心中非常快樂!不料春生跌入洞中,到了一處小平地,完全無恙,他到了那裏四面一看,見有一洞,好像房間,但並無一人,又見有一小鑼,那時春生勞倦,聽見有人對他說道:"這是仙鑼,打了隨要隨有."春生就把鑼提起來打了一下說道:"我要飯吃!"果然有飯擺在面前,又打一下說道:"我要酒喝!"果然酒也來了,他便把碗筷菜肉一一要全了,吃飽了飯,時候不早,天色漸黑,又要了鋪蓋過夜,到夜深時,來了各樣走獸,老虎說道:"有生人氣味",猴子說道:"不是!是菜飯的氣味."老虎便不說了,到天將曉時,走獸一齊出洞去了,春生心下一想:"此鑼既能隨心所欲,何不打一下,說聲我要飛上去,豈不是好嗎!"便拿起鑼來一打說道:"我要飛上去!"果然人鑼都飛出了洞口,他便歡歡喜喜的回到家中,庶母一見,倒嚇了一跳,驚問道:"你前日失足跌下洞去,怎得出來!"春生就把在洞裏的經過說了一遍,庶母道:"原來你就靠這個仙鑼出來的!"春生說道:"可惜還有一個小鼓沒有拿來."庶母忙道:"待我去取來",到了次日,庶母便同了春生前往岩洞,叫春生把她推下洞去,果見有一小鼓擺在那裏,惟時候已經不早,不及取了出洞,只得在洞內住宿,到了夜深時候,各種野獸又都回來,老虎說道:"有生人的氣味."猴子聽了就跳上樓去,果見有一婦人在那裏瞌睡,鑼卻不見了,就伸手扭着婦人的鼻子,拋上洞來,可憐庶母的鼻子,長到四尺,不得已跑回家來,見了春生道:"鼓沒有取得,鼻子卻長了,白走一場,不要說了!這長鼻子怎麼辦呢!"春生道:"待兒試將仙鑼來打,看能不能縮短!"說畢,便取了仙鑼打一下說道:"我庶母鼻子太長,望天地衆神,讓他縮短!"

說罷,果然縮了一寸,如此打了十餘下,才縮了十餘寸,庶母性急惱了道:"氏然能縮何不快打,使我鼻子快些縮短,豈不好嗎!"說罷,自行取了鎚,急忙連打數十下,不料把長鼻子縮成喇叭形,更不像人了!(風俗長文辭編述).

(10)隨娘兒

從前有夫妻二人,家業非常豐富,生有一個女兒,長到五六歲時,母親就死了,所以一家只有父女兩人,父親因爲沒有兒子,家業又大,深恐繼承無人,所以就娶了一個妻來,她本是再醮之婦,與前夫已生有一子,再嫁時她帶了來,所以那一家之中就有了四人了.

那女兒非常聰明,又很孝順,極得她父親的鍾愛,特爲一間書房,請了一位先生教他讀書.一家融融洩洩,非常快樂.自從她父親娶了後母之後,她就沒有那麼快樂了.那隨娘兒,是要常來和她鬧鬧的,甚至盜了他母親的權威,還要來欺凌她.她是一個很聰明的女子,知道自己是一個女子,將來總要出嫁,不能繼承家業,所以她總是不與爭吵,凡事退讓.那隨娘兒還要到他母親的面前,說她的不是,她的母親也不問是非,非打即罵,她只有暗自哭泣,但在父親面前,總是隱忍不言.

有一天隨娘兒從早飯到她書房來,把她的書籍筆墨,踏意亂丟亂踐,她仍是等閒視之,他不但不罵,反把書籍拉亂,硯池打破,那女兒氣極了,就罵了他幾句,他也不與她對罵,回去就向他的母親哭訴,她母親聽了必怒異常,對她兒子說道:"我兒!你不要哭,現在她父親在家,不必爭鬧,待他去了,伯她不死在我的手裏!"隨娘兒聽了,心裏非常快樂,當時就停住了哭.從此以後,他

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

母親對那女兒倒很更深了。

某天,父親要去某地方收賬,命隨娘兒同行,那隨娘兒本想要乘她父親去後,謀害姐姐,父命難違,只得同行,後來他們走到一個村莊,那隨娘兒便假裝肚痛,兩手抱着肚子,口裏不住的喊叫父親見了,急忙問道:"我兒你痛到這樣!如何是好!我的事情是很要緊的,人家已經與我約好了,今天結賬,你若一步也走不得,那你只好在這村莊住了,待我回來再設法求治。"他答了一聲是,待他父親自己背着包袱走遠了,就三脚兩步的跑回家去。先向母說明,母子二人非常喜歡,過了幾天那教書先生也回去了,到了次日,他母子二人,就跑到書房裏面,那女兒一見來勢兇兇,知是想來謀害,就雙膝跪下,母親走到跟前,就是幾脚,把那女兒踢了半死,女兒苦苦哀求,她不但不理,反加踢上幾脚,接遠又把幾張椅子扔在身上,可憐那年輕無母的弱女,便沒有氣了,於是母子二人揪住頭髮,拖到一塊荒僻山野的處所棄了,回到家裏,這才心滿意快!

誰知那女兒命不該絕,當她昏絕的時候,就有一個打傷鬼和一個吊頸鬼,各站一邊,爭奪替死,兩鬼你爭我奪,怎奈那女並未真死,過了一些時候,忽然醒轉來了,那時天已昏黑,已是三四更了,看看自己睡的地方,卻在荒郊野外,不覺放聲大哭,後想這時候父親也該回來了,還不如回去的好。

她父親收賬回家,母子二人急忙迎着,隨娘兒報道:"父親!姐姐死了!"他父親聽了問道:"幾時死的!染了何病!"他母親便接着答道:"她染了痢疾,你去的第二天,她就病了。也曾請醫診治,並不見效,到了第三天就死了。"父親哭着問道:"埋在什麼地方!我要去看!"母親答稱埋在河岸上,第二天就下大雨,恐已

裝水冲去了!"父親聽了,悲傷不已!他母子倆也伴爲歎息!當夜到了四更時候,忽聞女兒喊門之聲,父親初疑是鬼,不敢開門,後來聽她喊得親切,便開了門,一見果是親生女兒,不覺父女二人,號哭大哭,父親問她:"究竟你到了什麼地方!"她答道:"母親和弟弟一同把我打死,棄在荒野的一塊荒地,幸兒命不該絕,今夜醒了轉來,"她父親聽了,就要去殺那母子二人,女子急忙勸道:"父親!你不要殺他們,現在你還沒有兒子,若是殺了他們,將來有誰承宗接代!不如暫且隱忍,不要去罵他們!以免結怨他們。"父親被她說了,一想倒也不錯,當下就不去殺那母子二人,父女二人悲傷了一回,就同床和衣而睡,次日天明,女兒起來燒火熱水,母子二人一見,不覺吃了一驚,面面相覷,半晌說不出話來,後來父親起來,見他不說不罵,大家也就不提起這事了,從此以後,她父親無論有什麼要事,也不敢離家了,誰知那隨娘兒居心謀奪家產,竟起了殺父之念。

某夜三更後,那隨娘兒悄悄起來,手使一把利刀,在岩上磨得鋒快,走到父親的臥房來,輕輕的開了房門,見他父親側身向外睡着,他要殺又不敢殺,回頭走到岩上再把刀磨了幾下,又來到臥房,見父親還是照舊睡着,他仍是要殺又不敢下手,又跑到岩邊把刀磨了幾下,再到父親的臥房,見他父親側身向內睡了,他就大起膽子,把刀子對着頸項,用力砍下一刀,只見他父親身首分爲兩節,一命歸陰了!他便以爲眞個是殺死父親,就悄悄的走進自己的臥房去睡了。

不料那被砍身死的,並不是他的父,乃是他的生母,原來他父親平日所睡的,本是那間房,惟有那夜卻睡在別一間房裏的,他平日所睡的那一間房,卻是他的生母睡了,女兒起來熱好了

水經到父親的臥房,開門一看,只見鮮血滿地,以爲父親被人謀殺了!哭倒在地,地父親在別間房裏聽了哭聲,急忙起來,走到自己房門前,只見女兒哭倒在地,又見滿地鮮血,驚愕不置!急忙問道:"何故如此!"女兒答道:"你看房裏遍地是血,想是昨夜有人來謀殺你,現在床上那被殺的,想必就是母親."一時,他父女倆走到床前看時,果是母親.父親暗自想道:"這是我命不該死,如我昨夜還睡在這裏,現在早去見閻王了!"

那隨娘兒初在臥房裏聽見了哭聲,心裏以爲眞個死了,非常喜歡,看怎這個家業定是我的了.後來忽然不聽見哭聲,但聞有人說話,心裏有些疑惑,就悄悄的起來,一看父親和姐姐在房裏說話,心裏暗暗着慌,自嘆道:"我昨夜誤殺母親了!怎麼辦呢!"又轉到自己的臥房去睡,暗自飲泣,停了一會,女兒跑到他臥房來喊道:"弟弟!弟弟!快起來!不知昨夜是誰把母親殺了!你還睡啊!"他聽了,怒氣冲冲的走出房來,一直到母親被殺的房裏,看看遍地是血,罵道:"我母親不是你們謀殺是誰殺的!若是別人殺的,應該由大門來,現在大門不開,人家怎樣的來!即不從大門來,旁邊也應該挖有壁洞,現在壁洞既然沒有,大門又沒有開,不是你們殺的嗎!我必定要去告官."說畢,就急忙走到官府裏面告道:"我是一個隨娘兒,從某年某月隨同生母嫁到某村某家,至今已數年之久,誰料他家有個女兒,居心險毒,平日用了許多險惡的手段,來欺凌我的母親,昨夜母親被死在床上,現在還望求大老爺替我作主,可憐我是無父無母無依無靠的隨娘兒!"那官府聽了,大發雷霆,隨即派兵捉拿凶手,可憐一無辜的女子,被那凶惡的兵士捉到官署.官府拍案問道:"你怎麼這樣的險惡!把一個後母殺了!試問你後母是不是你父親娶進來的!既是

你父親娶來,就是你的母親.現在你殺了她,可知該當何罪!女兒垂淚哀告道:"不是我殺的,不知昨夜是誰殺的!"官府拍案罵道:"你還可殺的,還要強辯,叫聲打!那站堂的兵士就將女子拖倒,一五一十的打了七八十下,官府纔喊停止.隨又叫聲押去.到了明天,就綁赴法場開刀!誰知她命不該死.當她綁到法場,刀夫手將刀一砍,卻被觀世音菩薩,把旗子擋着,拖到一塊荒地去了.那些兵士見她倒了,以爲是死,就排隊回衙.當夜約有三更時候,那女兒忽然醒轉.見是一片荒地,不知怎樣到了這裏.思想冤枉被殺之事,不覺放聲大哭.又想父親在家,不知要怎樣悲傷,便趁夜間走回家去.

她父親一聽官府殺他的女兒,痛哭昏倒,半晌醒來,終日不進飲食.夜晚睡在床上,又終夜不寐.待到三更以後,忽聞女兒大喊開門.又以爲女兒鬼魂前來,不肯開門.後經說明並未被殺,她父親纔肯起來開門.一見果眞未死,喜出望外,便相抱大哭.父親說道:"我兒!總是我作的孽,使你受這兩次的苦.現在你既未死,我們也去告狀.待到次日天明,父女兩人,就到另一官府去告狀.到了官府裏面,把經過的一切,詳細稟告了,並求官府作主,代爲伸冤.官府聽了隨即派人捉拿那隨娘兒前來當堂審問.隨娘兒初猶被賴,不肯承認.後經官府驅出口供,把他綁至荒郊殺了.(鳳凰吳良佐講述).

(11)貪財送命

昔年古丈有個人,名叫張文,家裏極窮,僅有老母一人.有一天,他上山斫柴,走到一處地方,初時天色還好,一會兒大風雨起,忽然天變,卻降大雪.沒有多久,積雪約有寸厚,遍地白雪,道路眞

辨,值有一塊岩石獨沒有雪,張文即在岩上休息,抬頭一望,天邊有一飛鷹,忽然飛來岩石附近,轉來轉去叫着問道:"石頭上站的是何人!我要到你那裏,你可不要搶我!我要與你認做朋友."張文答道:"我不搶你,儘管放心大膽的來!你既願意與我認做朋友,我也極願和你做朋友."說畢,鷹看他十分誠意,就飛下來與他同坐,並問這樣的雪天到此何事?張文便將窮苦情形述了一番,鷹聽了看他可憐,就告訴他一個取銀子方法,並叫他預備七尺長的叉口袋一個,跟牠同去,保可得銀子,張文聽了,自是歡喜,就預備叉口袋,由鷹背他至日出地方去了,當下取得一些銀子寶物,裝在袋內,就回來了,第二天張文又到原處,只見那鷹又飛來了,說道:"老鷹呀!前所得的銀子,拿去還賬養母均用完了,鷹聽了,又叫他速備叉口袋一個,要十尺長,張文早已備好大叉口袋,就同鷹去,到了日出的地方,取得一些銀子,放在叉口袋內,因袋太大,銀子沒有袋滿,取了再取,總不放手,不料銀子沒有袋滿,太陽卻已出來了,竟將鷹和張文,一起曬死,(乾城石啓貴講述).

(12)變牛還債

從前有個石者,家裏很貧窮,向他同寨的一個富人名叫石黑的借了三千錢,他父子二人天天幫人做苦工,過了好幾年,仍舊無錢還債,後石者得一重病,將死的時候,囑咐他兒子老生道:"當年我欠石黑的三千錢,他日有錢時,應急還他的."說畢,石者就死了,後來,老生有意不還,對石黑說道:"我父生前欠你的債,在他死後,你該來說明,我纔可以承認,現在我可不能還你錢了."石黑也不計較,有一夜,石黑睡後,忽然夢見一小黃牛,來到

牛欄中,並對石黑說道:"我是來還你債的.等到天亮,他起來到牛欄中一看,果然多了一隻黃牛了.(鳳凰吳宗宣講述).

(13)姻緣前定

從前有一個年輕婦人,死在路旁,適有一個青年男子從那裏經過,見一女屍,赤身露體,倒臥路旁,心中不忍,當時就解下自己的褲子,蓋在她的兩腿.後來又有一個少年,也從那裏經過見了那個女屍,下身祇蓋一條褲子,也不忍心,就解了自己的衣服,替她蓋好.後來又有一個青年走到那裏,見了那個女屍,上身祇蓋一件衣服,下身祇蓋一條褲子,也不忍心,就解了自己的帕子,給那婦人包在頭上

到了次日,又有一位富家少年男子,騎着一匹馬,帶了幾個從人,經過那裏,見了那個女屍的樣子,心裏非常不忍.他回到家中,就着人購辦棺木,把那婦人安埋,並買些紙錢來燒給她.

那婦人到了閻王殿前,閻王就派她投胎.投在一個富翁家.長到十六七歲的時候,人來說親,她父母總是拒絕不肯.後來那送她棺木的人要娶妻,請人來說,她父母竟允許了.過門之後,非常和好.

但不久,她和一個中年男子,一見傾心,竟和他私通起來.兩人感情,非常濃厚.約莫經過一年,她還送了他一條褲料.過後也就慢慢的淡薄,斷絕往來了.

後來,又愛上了一個,私通了也有一年光景.她並送他 件衣料.以後兩人就漸漸的脫離關係了.

最後,又愛上一個,私通了沒有好久.她送了他一根帕子,以後就不再往來了.從此以後,她就改邪歸正,養兒育女,不再有不

規矩的行爲了。原來她所私通的三個人,就是她前世送鞋子,衣服和帕子的人。(凰凰吳良佐講述)。

(14)貧女富命

從前湘西地方有個吳有靈,家財極富。娶妻歐氏,夫婦好合。一日夫婦同到山上,搖板栗遊玩,夫搖妻拾,積成一堆。後來二人同剝殼取仁。丈夫每去一殼,裏面祇是一仁,任選那一個,裏面總是一仁。其妻每去一殼,裏面常有三個至五個的仁。後來夫妻各取一個板栗,互相調換去殼。結果,夫去殼的板栗,仍祇有一個仁,妻去殼的還是有好幾個仁。有靈暗想我的命不如人。又想道:"我家裏有這樣多的家產,她原是貧賤人家的女子。豈有命比我高之理!"因此悶悶不樂。便對他的妻子道:"你的命好,你出去罷!讓我這個命窮人獨在這裏罷!"妻泣道:"這不過是偶然的事,你何必多心!萬難逃命。"有靈的意思,非常堅決,不肯回心轉意。妻不得已,痛哭一場,請求給她一匹馬,獨自一個走了。她跪地對天祝禱道:"我今騎在馬背,任馬行走。遇坑則死,投水則溺。幸而走到人家,即爲某家人。富貴貧賤均所不計。"禱畢,便跨上馬背,面向馬後,任馬行走,也不加鞭。走到日落西山,已走入深山中,到一茅舍。婦人下馬向屋內一看,見有一老婦在那裏守門,問道:"你老人家可還有人?"老婦人道:"我有一個兒子,現在外工作,尚未回家。"婦人聽罷,雙膝跪地,拜向老婦說道:"天緣湊巧,我是來做你媳婦的,萬望收留;"老婦看她是個貴婦人樣子,不敢答應。婦人便把經過情形說了一遍,請老婦垂憐,救全性命。老婦只得允許了。及兒子回家,婦人就以丈夫相稱。他卻真名其妙。經母親一一說明,他初尚不肯,後經再三相勸,才肯配成夫妻。二人日

日上山工作,夫唱婦隨,非常快樂。一日,妻子取出白銀一錠,交給丈夫買米。夫接在手裏仔細一看說道:"這是白銀嗎!我前日走到某山,見有一大堆在那裏!妻子說道:"豈肯騙你!你快引我去看來!二人一齊出門,走到那裏一看,果見一大堆白銀,光亮奪目!妻子道:"你怎麽見了白銀還不能認得!"二人歡天喜地取銀而歸,來回挑了十餘擔才完。從此家業富足。她的前夫自離她之後,卻漸漸貧寒,至無立錐之地。(鳳凰吳文祥講述)。

(15)叫化女兒的富貴命

從前有個叫化婆,引着一個兒子,和兩個女兒討飯。

有一天,母子四人,走到一個村莊去討飯時,恰有一個算命先生替那村莊的人們算命,只聽大家都齊聲稱讚那算命先生的準確。後見衆人算完了,那叫化婆就走近先生的面前,請那先生替她的兒女們算命。先生就問先算那一個!可把生辰八字報來。叫化婆就把她長女的生辰報了。先生就排了天干地支陰陽推算起來,說道:"你這女兒將來大富大貴,要做某員外某公子的媳婦,你們都可靠她享福。這個八字好極了!可惜你們是討米爲生,若是富足一點,我也可得一筆很大的算命金。"叫化婆答道:"先生請莫取笑我們!我們窮到這樣,怎能與富貴人家攀親!"先生正色說道:"請你不要誤會我的好意,我是說的實話,你這女兒的命實在是好!現在雖然是討米爲生,將來定必富貴。"叫化婆才歡喜說道:"我這女兒命果是好,也就罷了。只怕那富貴人家不肯來討叫化子的女兒啊!"先生又道:"你可放心,到了那時,自然會有人來討的。"說罷,並問這有二個小孩,要不要算命。叫化婆因爲沒有算命金了,便不再請他算了,把替長女算命的錢

送給先生之後,就稱謝而去.

那先生算的命,可眞是準!到了某月某日,叫化婆一行四人走到一個村莊,到了一位員外的家門:正值那員外的前妻亡故了,還不曾續娶.那員外見了叫化婆的長女非常喜悅,就有把她娶來做妻的意思.悄悄的吩咐丫頭道:"我想要討她做妻,你且先多送米飯,然後再和那老婆婆說明,看她肯與不肯!"丫頭遵命送了米飯,就對叫化婆道:"你這女兒也長大了,肯給我們員外做妻子嗎?"叫化婆道:"員外怎的會要我們討米人,不要來取笑罷!"說罷,就要走了.丫頭正色道:"你這老婆婆不要多疑!人家確是有心要娶你的女兒,所以送你那麼多的米飯.不信,你們自己可去問來!那叫化婆一看員外還坐在門口,便高聲問道:"員外眞的要嗎!"員外答道:"要你的大女做我的妻子."叫化婆聽了立即牽了兒女們就走,口裏大叫:"不要來取笑!"丫頭急忙追上說道:"你們不要誤會,快回來!員外確是眞心要你女兒.因爲他的前妻已經亡故了,現在還沒有續娶,所以叫我來和你商量."叫化婆聽丫頭說得眞切,才信以爲實.忙又說道:"我的女兒衣服襤褸,怎能見你們的主人!"丫頭答道:"到了員外家裏不愁沒有衣穿,只怕你女兒還穿不完呢!連你們都可穿好吃好呢!"說罷,就去報告員外.員外喜道:"快去煮起飯米!"自己就先去取出亡妻的數套衣服,送給她們穿,並說道:"現在且拿這些衣服穿起,日後再請裁縫來替你多多的縫幾套."一會兒,飯已辦好,員外就和他們同桌吃飯.從此以後,叫化婆的大女兒做了員外的妻子了.過了幾時,她們就要辭別,員外款留不住,就取出金銀送給她們,並勸她們今後不要再去討飯,拿了這些金銀可去置些田地.她們自然滿口稱謝,回到家鄉去了.

員外續娶之後,過了一年,他的妻子就懷孕了.過了數月,生下一個兒子.員外非常歡喜,到滿月的時候,親友都來慶賀.苗俗生了兒女,岳家例須送給帽子、衣服、褲子、襁褓等等.那員外的岳母原是叫化婆,雖然得了一些金銀,究竟還是窮,沒有送得帽子,衣服等物.只是空身來賀喜罷了.員外心裏就不樂意.因此以後這妻子也不喜歡了.

沒有多久,員外的弟弟也生一個兒子,到滿月的時候,親友都來慶賀,外公外婆送來銀帽子、金帽子、綢緞衣褲,非常熱鬧.員外見了,更覺得自己不及別人.暗地埋怨妻子的家裏貧窮,遂萌了休妻之念.回到家裏見了妻子滿面怒容,妻子喊他也不應.妻子知道是不滿意自己,心裏悶悶不樂.過了幾天,員外對她道:"我送你五百兩銀子,送你出去罷."妻子答道:"我總希望你不要休我,若你無論如何定要休我,我也只得離開你家,免得你在天天怨我恨我."員外又道:"我是決意要休你了!"妻子又答道:"你既決定要休我,我也沒有辦法,但請你送我一匹馬!"員外答道:"只要你肯走,要一匹馬是可以的."隨即叫人備了馬,又取出五百兩銀子送給她.她接了銀子,牽着馬就走,男工女婢都落淚送出門來.她在上馬之先,暗地祝告道:"這馬今天引我到那裏,我就在那裏找丈夫,貧富貴賤不論!祝罷,上馬加鞭而去.

那馬走了一個多時辰,走到一個茅屋面前的地坪,就站着不動.婦人一看,見是一間茅屋,屋後有個石洞.心裏想道:"這馬站在這裏不動,難道我的丈夫就在這裏嗎."再打幾鞭,那馬還是不動.她就跳下馬來,走進茅屋裏面,高聲叫道:"有人在屋嗎!我討你們口涼水喝."只聽茅屋裏有一老婆婆答道:"涼水是有的,請你站到外面,待我舀來給你."她聽了就走進屋去,自己舀

得涼水喝了，就坐在火坑邊的一塊岩板上。老婆婆見了說道："姐姐!莫在那裏坐，髒了你的衣服，等我取椅子來給你坐。"她答道："老婆婆!不要緊。"後她又問那老婆婆的姓氏，談些家常，知道她姓田氏，只有一個兒子，以賣炭爲生，年已二十餘歲，尚未娶妻。那時兒已出去賣炭去了。她就說道："老婆婆!如不嫌棄，我願做你的媳婦!"老婆婆答道："姐姐!不要戲耍我們，我家窮到這個地步，連飯也不得吃，怎能討得起媳婦!就是討得起，也不配討像你這樣的富貴女子啊!你快作客去罷。"她又道："老婆婆!我實在情願來做你媳婦的，不是戲耍於你，也不作客。你要我，我自然要做你的媳婦，不要我，我也要做的。"老婆婆還不曾回答，兒子已從外面挑着一副空炭簍子回來了。見有馬在門口，暗道："不知是誰人到我屋裏來了!"及至屋裏，看見一個年輕婦人和母親坐着說話，問道："母親!是誰來了!"老婆婆答道："她說要做你的妻子呢!"兒子笑道："做我妻子那好得很!"老婆婆急忙說道："我兒怎麼這樣的鹵莽!這姐姐不知是誰家員外的妻子!若是你娶了她，將來惹出事來，豈不害了我們全家!你看她的穿着，可是做你妻子的人嗎!"兒子聽了，吃了一驚，急忙連稱："不要!不要!"並對她說道："姐姐!請快走罷!遲了，我們這裏又沒有地方給你睡。你說要做我妻子，我是斷然不敢要的，因爲我家很窮，養不起你。"她答道："我是決意不去了，不管你們要與不要，我總是要在你家做媳婦的。"老婆婆和她的兒子齊聲說道："這你不是要害我們全家的性命嗎!既是你不肯走，我且先把你的馬放出去，看你走不走!"兒子就跑到拴馬的地方，將索子解了，又打了幾棒；那馬走了幾步，又站着不走了。任憑你如何的打，還是不動。婦人才喊道："你不要打馬!我對你實說罷。"母子二人聽得，就問她說些什

麼!她道:"我起初本是一個叫化子的女兒,誰知討到某員外的家裏,員外見我生得有幾分姿色,就娶我做妻.初時我倆夫妻本是和睦恩愛,過了一年多,生了一個兒子因我母親貧窮,滿月時沒有送得什麼好東西,丈夫心裏就大不滿意.從此以後,他就不喜歡我了!後來,我的一個叔叔也生了一個兒子,因爲人家的外公外婆家裏很富足,所以到做滿月的時候,送的禮很重,來客便個個都是騎馬坐轎,非常熱鬧.我丈夫見了,心裏就更比以前不滿意我了!不多日子,他就對我說,送我五百兩銀子,叫我走,我又向他要了一匹馬就走.我上馬的時候,曾暗暗祝告,馬引我走到什麼地方站了,我就在那裏找丈夫.現在牠站在你們的坪上,站住不走了.這不是我倆的姻緣嗎!"母子聽了道:"你是員外的妻子,員外知道我們要你,豈不是要告我們嗎. 她答道:"這你們可以放心!他休我的時候,我已經要他立過字詛過咒了,還有什麼不放心嗎! 母子道:"但是我們很窮,恐怕養不起你. 她又答道:"只要你們要我,我現在還有五百兩銀子和一匹馬,我們可以拿這銀子,買畝田地. 母子聽了,這才放心. 她就由包袱裏面取出一錠銀子給丈夫道:"你拿這銀子去買米來我們煮飯吃!"丈夫接到手裏,說道:"這是岩塊啊!那裏是銀子呢!"母親罵道!"你這蠢東西!你從來也沒有見過銀子,怎會認得!"兒子答道:"母親!這眞不是銀子,像這樣的銀子,我們屋後的洞裏面多得很,還有比這個更大的呢!"母親又罵道:"你眞是見鬼!一片胡說! 兒子道:"母親不信,我引你們去看. 妻子聽他說得眞切,就叫一同往洞裏去看.及至石洞一看,果見一錠一錠,一塊一塊的銀子,光耀奪目.妻子見了喜道:"且眞奇怪,有了這些銀子,一世衣食可以不愁了.你快回去拿東西來檢拾!" 他聽妻子的話,喜歡非常,飛快

的跑回去了。回到家裏對母親說了，母親也自喜歡。他就取炭婆子和兩個背簍到洞裏來，母親也跟來，三人一同檢拾，檢了兩日，方才檢完。從此就置田買地，成了一個富戶。過了一二年，妻子就生了一個兒子，又建造成新屋；一家安享富貴，自不必說。

員外家裏，自休妻之後，家業就一年不如一年，常常賣田賣地，因爲田地很多，賣到後來，他的寨中，竟沒有人受買得起。後來打聽得他被休的妻子，已經改嫁在某處某家，想起從前曾給她五百兩銀子，就請人去問，看是否受買得起！索價六百兩銀子。中人就去訪問，見了那婦人就說明了某員外賣田之意。婦人聽了說道："他的寨中，我想也會有人受買得起，怎麼要賣到我們這裏來了？"中人答道："有是有人收買得起，不過員外特意要賣與你。"婦人聽了，知道員外要看她的貧富，就笑答道："他既特意要賣與我們，那是他的一番好意，我們是很感激的！他索價也不多，只要六百兩銀子，我現在送他七百兩，加他一百兩。中人聽了，稱讚不已！說道："價錢你已出過討價，自無不賣之理，待我們回去回覆他一聲，再來你這裏，看幾時吃酒水。中人回到員外家裏說了經過。員外聽了也稱讚不已。又對中人道："我現在就要用錢，請你快去問她幾時吃酒水！"次日，中人就去婦人家裏，她就備了酒肉，款待中人。一面就說定了吃酒水的日子。中人用完酒飯，就回覆員外去了。

到了吃酒水的日子，中人引了員外同到她家裏來。中人先到，員外隨後也來了。到了門口，只見一所大瓦屋，修得很整齊，心裏非常難受；越想越氣，不覺大怒起來，返身就走回去，另請中人賣與別家去了。

那中人走到婦人家裏，心想員外即刻就到，那知久待，還不

見來,走到門外去望,也不見踪跡,婦人問道:"怎麼員外還不見來!中人答道:"先前我們來到門口的時候,望見他來到後面,誰知現在還沒有到,我們也莫名其妙了!"婦人說道:"怕不願意賣給我們罷!你們可再回去問他。中人也覺得沒趣,只得回去到了員外家裏,只見員外怒氣冲冲對中人道:"今天我對不起你們,請你們原諒!我的田已另請人賣與別家去了,無論如何不能賣與她了,因爲她先前不知搬去我多少金銀,使我現在週轉不靈,現在我誓必告他一狀,才能消我胸中之恨!"中人等聽了,也不和他爭辯,大家散去。

員外把田賣去之後,餘怒未已,就以前妻捲逃和拼夫拐帶的罪,經告到某官府,官府就把那婦人一家都捉到衙門,官府開審的時候,拍案問道:"你幾時拐人家的妻子!快快從實招來!若有半句虛僞,就要定你死罪!"她丈夫聽了,嚇得魂不附體,不知所對,婦人從容叩頭答道:"我丈夫實不知情,罪在我一人身上,容我從實稟告。"她就從討飯算命說起,把如何討飯討到員外門上,如何做了員外的妻子,又如何被休,如何重嫁,如何發財的經過情形,從頭至尾說得有情有理,說罷,哀哭不已,官府聽了,拍案指着員外罵道:"你這人只仗着你家的富足,愛了她,又把她休了,現在又來誣告她,是什麼道理!"也就把員外押了起來,並重加處罪;一面把婦人一家釋放了案,[illegible] 吳文祥講述

(四)趣事

趣事也是民談的一種,旨在使人發笑,它的內容,大都是談諧百出,所以我們說是含有滑稽性的,但在談諧或滑稽之中,也往往含有一些諷刺的意味,聽了這種故事,也並不是徒使我們

發笑而已。

(1)兩個騙子

從前有田正紅與李邦猷兩人,專事串通作騙。某年年底,大家忙着過年,他們都因無錢,肉也不能買一點來吃。卽想出主意。二人一同走到街上人衆之處,田正紅假作向李邦猷討債,爭吵起來。適有一個老富翁,抱了一個小孩子,由該處經過。見他們爭吵,便從旁勸解。雙方因卽息爭。二人感謝老人不已,就請他進館子吃麵,以表示酬謝之意。老人不肯,田正紅硬用手拖了進去,坐定之後,專等麵來。李邦猷見老人就坐,卽與小孩玩耍。帶了小孩竟走出門去了!田正紅一見,便也以吸煙爲名,走了出來。李邦猷便卽去至肉店,買豬肉二十斤,與店主說定,先將肉送回家去,把小孩留在肉店,等到取了錢來付清肉賬,再領小孩回家。誰知李邦猷卻是一去不返。那個老人在館子裏久候他們不來,將麵吃完,便走出來,麵館主人要他算賬不肯,雙方就爭吵起來,一吵吵出門外面,忽見小孩在肉店裏大聲哭喊,老人正要去抱小孩,忽被肉店主人阻止說道:"拿肉錢來!"老人聽了此言,真明其妙,便問:"誰買肉來!"店主就說道:"先有一個人,領這小孩子到此買肉,買去二十斤。說定將這小孩留在這裏,回去取錢。等到這個時候,還不見來。現在你老人家既來領這小孩回去,肉錢當然由你老人家付清,否則這小孩是不能領去的。老人這才明白自己受騙,再三申辨,也是沒有用。最後祇得付了麵錢又付了肉錢,才能將小孩領回家去。(乾城龍把林講述,石啓貴筆記。)

(2)兩個善詐的人

從前苗鄉有一個大誇人,善於誇張,有一天,在乾城某客店住宿,遇着一個小誇人,亦在同處落店,雨下初會便談起來了,大誇人問道:"朋友!你今天是從那一塊地方來的!"小誇人答道:"我今天是從江西洛陽橋來的。"大誇人聽了此言,心裏一想,乾城隔江西洛陽橋,有數千里之遙,說今天由江西來,豈不是明明騙我嗎!當即問道:"你今天既從江西洛陽橋來的,聽說江西洛陽橋很高,究竟有好高,你可知道!"小誇人答道:"江西洛陽橋,人人都知是很高,究竟有好高,我實在是不曉得的,聽說那塊地方的人,正月十五日晚上,在橋上玩龍燈獅子,不意人來擁擠,擠着一個小孩子落下水去,直至五月初五日中午,那個小孩才落到橋下,給划龍舟的人看見,才將他救起,你看這座橋,究竟是有好高!"大誇人聽了點頭不已。小誇人又轉問大誇人道:"今天你又是從那塊地方來的!"大誇人答道:"我是從湖南長沙來的。"小誇人聽了此言,心裏也一想,長沙隔乾城也有近千的路程,怎能行到!豈不是明明騙我嗎!當即問道:"你從湖南長沙來的,聽說長沙地方,有個蘿蔔很大,究竟有好大,你可知道!"大誇人答道:"我從湖南長沙來的,湖南長沙的那個蘿蔔,人人都知是很大,究竟有好大,我實在是不曉得的,聽那塊地方的人說,從前曹操帶領八十三萬人馬下江南,由長沙經過,自兵開到之日起,至兵開去之日止,長沙地方的人,用這個蘿蔔招待曹軍,這個蘿蔔,僅僅切了一半,還剩有一半,你看這個蘿蔔究竟是有好大!小誇人聽了也是點頭不已。(乾城石國用譯述,石啓貴筆記。)

(8)三個好朋友

從前有三個人,一個是瘸子,一個是雙瞎眼睛,一個是常流

鼻涕.他們三個本是好朋友.有一天,三人相約去館子吃拼伙.● 並議定吃的時候,癩子不能搔癢;爛眼睛的不能拭眼淚;流鼻涕的不能揩鼻涕.如果有人犯了條件,就由他出酒席錢.三人同意之後,就開始喝酒.沒有多久,癩子的頭發起癢來了.要想搔癢,又怕驗了,就想出個主意,說道:"我從前看見打猴兒鼓,左手一打,右手梳着腦殼,右手一打,左手梳着腦殼;打來打去,梳來梳去."他口裏說着,手裏表演着.左手一搔,右手一搔,搔來搔去,早把癩癩搔得不癢了.後來爛眼睛的,流了滿面的眼淚,連吃也看不見了,心裏很不耐煩,也就想出一個主意,說道:"我從前到街上,看見一人拉弓.口裏說着,手裏形容着.向左邊一拉,右手拭着眼淚,向右邊一拉,左手拭着眼淚,拉來拉去,也把眼淚拭個乾淨.後來流鼻涕的,鼻涕也流了滿嘴,實在忍不住了.也就想出個主意,說道:"我從前走到街市,看見許多小孩子,在街市上打架.雙方動手的時候,你刮着我的鼻子,我刮着你的鼻子,刮來刮去."他口裏說着,手裏也表演着.左手把鼻子一揩,右手把鼻子一揩,揩來揩去,也把鼻涕揩得乾乾淨淨.於是他們三個人,都不算犯着議定的條件.酒席錢仍歸三人公攤.(永綏石成器講述,乾城石啓貴筆記.)

(4)七個兄弟

從前有一個員外,家業非常豐富,只是膝下無兒.他因妻子沒有生育,以後一連娶了六個妻,也是一個都不生育.七個妻妾自相商議道:"兒女乃上天所賜,必須要有陰功積德的人才能得兒女.所以她們就暗積陰功.所有叫化子到她們家來討米,總

● 吃拼伙,即合伙吃飯.

是送給一滿碗的白米,米內還暗放着一些銀錢,所以到過她家討米的叫化子,個個都滿口稱善.

天上有一位仙人,見她們行善積德,就假裝一個叫化子,也來討米,員外的妻子照例送他一碗米,並暗放些銀錢.他得了米和錢之後,滿口道謝,隨去問道:"你家有幾個兒女!"她答道:"我們七個姊妹,都沒有生下一個兒女!"他嘆道:"你們這樣大的家業,沒有一個承接的人,豈不可惜!"員外的妻子聽他說了這話,不覺流下淚來,一言不發.仙人又道:"我的背笈裏有幾粒南瓜子,現在我送給你們.你們吃到肚裏,就會懷孕了."說罷取出七粒瓜子,叫她分送七個姊妹,每人各吃一粒.仙人走後,員外的妻子,果真把七粒南瓜子分吃了.

光陰迅速,不覺過了一年,她們七個姊妹,在同一天同一個時辰中產下七個兒子.員外歡喜非常,滿月之日,各親朋都來道賀,員外殺雞宰羊招待親朋.員外就請外公外婆給外孫取名.外公外婆卻不肯,仍請員外來取名,員外也是不肯.

那仙人已算定她們某天生產,某天滿月,又假裝一個叫化子來到員外的門口.員外的妻子見了,就急忙請他進屋,一同款待,但他堅辭不肯.說道:"我乃乞食的人,怎敢和你家的貴客同坐!若棄不棄,請即在此地擺些酒肉給我吃,就感恩不淺了!"主人就叫人拿些酒肉擺到門外送給他吃.這值員外和他的岳丈岳母在屋裏正在互相推辭着替七個孩子取名,他帶笑大聲叫道:"員外及各位貴客!且請聽我一言,我想來給你家七位少爺取名,即按七位妻妾的次序:第一取名叫大力士,第二叫鐵子產,第三叫順風耳,第四叫冷清清,第五叫長脚手,第六叫鐵頸項,第七叫五馬分屍."說罷,大家都齊聲道好,員外及妻妾亦皆滿心

歡喜,大家又喝起酒來,直喝至盡歡而散.

後來七個兒子都生長成人,容貌卻是一樣,別人也認不清誰是誰來.

一日,皇太子接了媳婦,正走到他們附近的路上大力士聽了,就跑去搶親.因爲他氣力太大,送親和接親人們都打他不過,竟被他搶去.那些接親的人,只得回去稟告皇帝.皇帝聽了,大發雷霆.隨即派兵捉拿.員外和妻妾聽了,都非常害怕,便罵兒子大力士不該搶親.大力士道:"父親和各位母親休要害怕,他既是派兵來,只要我一人抵擋就够了.請你們殺猪宰羊,等候我把他們引來款待.說畢就走出去了.員外就叫人殺猪宰羊,預備酒飯.他走去不到十里之遙,就遇着官兵,便笑嘻嘻的對他們說道:"你們來了,辛苦辛苦!我恐怕你們不知道我的屋裏,特地前來歡迎的.請到舍下先喝一杯酒罷!"那些官兵因見他只是一人,諒無多大本領,暗想先至他屋裏再捉他不遲.便真的跟着他走到了屋裏,只見酒飯早已擺好,各官兵也不客氣,酒飯畢,各官兵吃個酒足飯飽.然後帶他去見皇帝.皇帝傳旨,令先收押,明天五更處斬.這個消息,早給順風耳在家聽見了.就喊鐵頸項道:"大力士明天要給人家殺了,你快去救他的命!"鐵頸項當夜就偷進牢獄,把大力士放了,自己替他坐在牢裏.等到次日天明,皇帝就命師赴刑場開刀.不料一刀砍去,不但沒有砍死,反把刀子的口都砍捲了.連換幾把刀子,都是一樣.刀夫手不得已,把他帶回奏知皇帝.皇帝也是無法,只得仍把他收押起來.後與文武官員商議,決定明天五更把他燒死.順風耳在屋裏又聽見了,就喊冷清清道:"明天鐵頸項要給人家燒了,你快去救他!"冷清清當夜就跑到牢獄裏把鐵頸項放了,自己替他坐在牢裏.到明天皇帝

就叫人把他綑倒在地,上面堆些乾柴,放火來燒,不一時,燒得火燄冲天,總以爲是燒死了,不料火熄之後,人來把灰撥開,他還是好好的睡在那裏,一些沒有損傷,大家都驚異不置,只得又把他帶回,奏知皇帝,皇帝又與各官商議,決定明早用甑子把他蒸死,順風耳在屋裏又聽見了,就喊甑子蒸道:"明天冷清清要給人家蒸死了,你快去救他!"甑子蒸當夜就急忙跑進牢獄去,把冷清清放了,自己替他,到明天,皇帝又叫人把他放到甑子裏,甑子蒸道:"請放些稻草,以便我睡覺."一會兒,蓋子蓋好,灶裏燒着很猛烈的火,甑子蒸因爲睡不着,便利用稻草,在裏面打起草鞋來了!打到快完成的時候,他便用力拉,不料用力太過,一聲響,草繩忽然斷了!外面的人聽了,以爲是肚皮發開,揭蓋看時只見他在裏面打草鞋,衆人不覺都大笑起來,皇帝見了,也覺好笑,只得把他再爲收押,復與各官商議,文武各官齊聲說道:"這人恐不是凡人,一定是神仙."皇帝道:"現在我把他丟下河去,淹死如何!"各官齊聲稱善,就決定明早把他丟下河去,順風耳在屋裏又聽見了,就叫長脚手道:"明天甑子蒸要給人家丟下河去,你快去救他!"長脚手當夜也就飛快的跑到牢獄裏去,把甑子蒸放了,自己代替,到明天皇帝就命人把他丟到河裏去,不料他在河裏肚臍還露在水外!衆人見了都驚訝不已!皇帝見了,便問各官道:"這人有這樣大的本領,將來我的江山也難免被他奪去,如何是好!"一人奏道:"我想得一個五馬分屍的法子,不知可行否!"皇帝便命回去即辦,順風耳在裏聽見了,就叫五馬分屍道:"明天長脚手要給人家五馬分屍了!你快去救他!"五馬分屍當夜也就跑到牢獄裏去,把長脚手放了,自己代替,到明天皇帝就叫人押了出來,文武各官以及該地的男女老幼,都來觀看,只見牽

來五匹馬,一匹細看頭,兩匹細看手,還有兩匹細看脚,每匹馬上騎一人,各人一齊加鞭,那五匹馬便各用力向前奔馳,不一刻,就飛騰到半天空去了,那騎馬的五人都各魂飛魄散,皇帝和各官見了,大家心驚膽戰,齊聲哀告道:"快請下來,以後不敢再爲難你了,情願把鳥婆送給你,"五馬分屍聽了,就落下地來,皇帝叫人替他整飾,並把鳥婆送他,五馬分屍自是歡喜,便回家去了。(黑黑吳良佐講述)

(5)懶漢發財

石才富,保靖縣人,父母早亡,無人管教,當幼年時,就遊手好閒,不肯工作,非常懶惰,所以鄰近各寨的人,都稱之爲懶人,他有一種特性,平日專吃清水,不吃飯亦不餓,九天才吃一次飯,他的綽名已遠近皆知,有一天夜裏,銀子前來喊叫道:"懶人懶人!請快開門!"懶人在屋內答道:"何人喊門!銀子答道:"我是銀子大哥,"懶人道:"銀子大哥!我見過了,却不開門,"銀子看他不肯開門,只得回轉,轉至中途,遇着金子來看懶人,金子便邀銀子一同前往,到大門時,金子喊道:"懶人懶人!請快開門,"懶人聽見,又答道:"何人喊門!"金子答道:"我是金子大哥",懶人道:"金子我見過了,却不開門,"金子看他不肯開門,不得已回轉,轉至中途,又遇蛋氣前來,問道:"你兩人由何處來的!金子銀子齊聲答道:"我等是到懶人處,因他不肯開門,才回來的,"蛋氣聽了,便邀金子大哥和銀子大哥一同再看懶人,將至大門時,喊道:"懶人懶人!請快開門!"懶人答道:"何人喊門!"蛋氣答道:"我是蛋氣大哥,"懶人聽說答道:"蛋氣大哥!我從來見過,請我要開門一看,"於是懶人把門一開,蛋氣,金子,銀子三位大哥一齊進屋,懶人見他們都

過了房,款客異常,知道時來運轉,特別招待他們,從此恒人就發了大財.(永綏石初振時述,乾隆石啓貴筆記.)

(6)交手

從前有個麻道德,黑且矮人,家裏還好,惟人過於愚蠢,所以鄰近的人,都稱他爲"交手".●壯年時,娶妻龍氏,性亦懦弱.

有一次,龍氏家裏吃牛,● 要堵交手拾腿,期前,交手就要預辦衣服,以便做客.交手上街買布,他因不識布的好醜,便問他的妻子.妻道:"不通眼的,就是好布."交手聽了,就去買布.見一販子挑一擔布,由市上經過,他喊聲買布,賣布人就放下擔子,取出布來給他看.交手拿布當天一照,見都是通眼,看了一疋又一疋,總說不好,所以沒有買成.後來又見一位挑五色紙的人,交手也不知是紙,又喊聲買布,賣紙人也把擔停了,取出紙來給他看,交手一看不通眼,便以爲很好,當下講定價錢,紅、黃、藍、白色,色買一些回去.到了家中,其妻罵道:"這乃是紙!怎的可做衣服!"交手不信,買了灰翻給他的妻子,叫她剪貼.妻子無奈,剪了二三天,竟將衣褲剪貼成了.到了吃牛之期,交手即穿了紙衣紙褲,挑些禮物,隨同其妻前去.行至某地,要涉水過河,只得把紙衣紙褲脫下,掛在一根竹竿上,赤身過河,及至彼岸,無法取下衣褲,妻教交手將竹竿放下來取.交手將竹竿放下,身體也就臥下.竹竿豎起,身體也就站起;仍是取不得衣褲,妻看他無法,才代取下.交手便將衣褲穿好再走.將到一村莊時,忽遇天下大雨,交手衣褲盡濕,妻子就叫他到廁所暫避,等他先過屋去,取了衣褲穿起再去.交手聽妻

● 交手,苗語原稱是"恒人",此處是"愚人"之義.

● 吃牛或殺牛,參看苗族的牛祭 1 苗族(4)殺牛.

之言,果進廁所,立着不便,躲在那裏守候,不意岳母適去倒水,交手一見,大聲喊道:"真鼠倒水!岳母聞聽此言,即縮脚退入屋內,問她的女兒廁所內是誰!女兒說是交手,一面就取了衣褲送給交手穿着,岳母也即到廁所請交手到屋裏來,交手自愧不便,轉身就跑回去,連岳母的面也不見了。

到了新年,交手偕妻到岳母家中拜年,岳母即洗糯米,舂粑粑招待,將至天黑,交手坐在火爐邊向火,並未點燈,岳母行至火爐邊,交手不辨,疑是妻子,因久候性急,想吃粑粑,便用手拍着岳母肩膊,輕輕的說道:"快點扭幾個大粑粑送我吃!岳母答道:"自然要送吃的,何用你說!"交手知是岳母,自覺很難爲情,便不待吃粑粑,獨自睡覺,後來粑粑舂成,岳母取了粑粑數個,去到床邊,送給交手吃,到了床邊,只見交手已經睡着了,站了一會,要喊怕喊,不料交手忽然舉起手來,要扯岳母的褲子,說道:"快來和我睡覺!"岳母答道:"我是送粑粑來的,不是小女。"交手一聽,知是岳母,更不好意思,連粑粑都不要,鑽進被內就睡,一覺醒來,已是半夜,肚裏有些餓了,起來想偷粑粑吃,不意行至堂屋,足上踢着一把鋤鋼,鋤柄打着腦袋,疑是岳母用棍來打,當即退後,不敢再偷,轉身又去火爐邊,偷取蜂蜜,用手插入罐內,取得蜜糖,但抽不出手來,要喊又怕岳母來打,只得提了罐子走向外面,用力打彈,抽出手來,時正大雨響雷,岳母正在外面小解,將罐打去,正當一聲大雷,岳母疑被雷劈,大聲喊道:"雷公真劈!我是解手的。"喊聲未了,罐已打中交手閉聲,知已打了岳母,便不聲不響的跑走了。(乾城石啓貴講述)

(7)慕作劇

昔年永綏苗鄉,有三個人結伴出外遊玩,一個叫麻成萬,一個叫龍富光,一個叫楊先宜,先宜家中富有,麻龍二人,卻都很窮,想打楊的主意,二人暗地商妥,適有一婦人,遠遠而來,麻成萬說道:"後面有一個十七八歲的少婦,我們來打一個賭,如那一個能够與少婦交言,並嗅她的鼻子,輸錢若干串,"楊先宜即開言說道:"我和你們打賭,你們如有人能做到,我認輸十串錢,"麻成萬說道:"你當眞肯捨得出錢,我自有主意去做,"楊先宜說道:"決就去做,要那個女人不發怒,才算是贏,否則我不出錢,"麻成萬說道:"這是自然的",便叫楊先宜在前面先走,並囑咐不要離遠,總要看見才好,安排既畢,只見那少婦身背一個籮筐,急步走來,麻成萬在路旁左看右看,故意擋着她的路,少婦開口問道:"你找什麼東西!"麻成萬答道:"我找一個已剝皮的柚子,你檢得沒有!"少婦答道:"沒有,連見也沒有看見,"麻成萬正色道:"不會的,我各處找不到,這時候又沒有閒雜人走路,這個柚子會到那裏去呢!眞非是你吃了!"少婦急道:"如果吃了,口上要有酸味,你可用鼻子聞我一聞!"成萬聽了,即用鼻子在少婦口上一聞,一面說聲果無酸味,一面大聲叫着楊先宜道:"快看!你現在輸了!快把錢拿來!"楊先宜只得認輸出錢,龍富光從旁插口道:"快些把錢送來!"先宜即將錢交代清楚,先宜又道:"後面又有一個婦人騎馬而來,你能用手摸得她的下腿,我願再輸十吊錢,"成萬說道:"你當眞再肯輸錢,我自能再做,"成萬等那騎馬婦人走近,仍在路旁左看右看,故意擋住她的路,婦人問道:"你找什麼!"成萬答道:"我找馬鞭,你可看見!"婦人答道:"沒有",成萬又道:"眞非是你檢得了!"一面說着,一面用手摸着那婦人的褲腳,看她脚下的鞋子,左邊看了,又看右邊,他手中早就預備了一個蟲兒,

放在褲襠裏了。駡嘵那婦人道："你褲襠內有個毒蟲，快撿起褲子，我幫你來捉！"該婦人着駡，即撿起褲子，露出下腿。成萬一面用手捉蟲，一面用手摸着下腿，高聲喊先宜道："快輸錢來"！先宜又輸了十吊錢。龍富光見成萬得錢，要和他分，成萬不肯。富光心中懷恨，但口裏並不說出來。三人玩了好久，方才回家。到分路的時候，龍富光約他們二人，次日到他家來。表面是請他們吃飯，實際是圖報復。富光回到家中，便囑咐其妻云："明天如有兩個客來，你可取點心送他們吃，我卻裝睡在床上不起來。客若問我，你可說剛才在此裏，現在不知那裏去了，不久可望回來。"到了明天，二人果然來了。龍富光的妻子如法對答。等到二人把點心吃了，富光方才起來問道："今天遲了，還不給客人吃早飯麼！"妻子答道："已給點心吃了。"富光即大罵其妻道："那些點心中有毒藥，怎麼可吃！"二人聽了此言，着駡問道："有何方法可救！"富光道："只有喝尿一法，可使毒藥嘔出。"二人馬上喝了兩碗尿。富光哈哈大笑，二人知是上當，又氣又餓，回轉去了。(乾城龍雙指講述，石啓貴筆記)

(8) 神算

從前永綏有一吳文富，家裏很富。生女三人，都已嫁了人家。劉二桃是他的第三女壻。惟家裏窮苦不堪，非大女壻及二女壻可比。所以每到岳丈家中，常被賤視。晚上睡眠，連被也不給一條。對於大女壻及二女壻，卻款待很厚。二桃看了這種情形，心中不平。每天晚上，便不睡覺，專習各種圖術，因此汗水常流。岳丈暗地一看，心想天氣那麼寒冷，怎麼二桃反而出汗！便問二桃道："這種冷天怎麼出汗！"二桃婉言答道："我這衣服，乃是寶物，看似破

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

書,最能解家."岳丈道:"我可以皮衣和你相換".二桃應允.於是就得新衣一件,穿了回去.後因正月拜年,要到岳丈家去.心裏想出一計,意在博得岳丈歡心,他先暗地偷了岳丈家中肥豬一隻,寄在土瓦窰內.害得岳丈到處尋找失豬,問卜測字,毫無着落.二桃到了岳家,自稱能够推算.岳丈就請女壻推算.二桃假意推算一番,即說豬在瓦窰內.派人走去一尋,果在那裏,即將豬趕回家中.此後岳丈就很相信二桃神算,才把二桃特別看重,不似從前的輕視他了.後有某縣官失去印信一顆,尋訪名家推算.二桃岳丈因爲是一個地方上的紳士,與官府常有往來,便推薦二桃的神算.縣官果然相信,就派人往請二桃.原來那顆印信,是他兩個隨從偷的.縣官不知,卻派這兩個隨從去請二桃.二人奉派請了二桃走到中途,二桃越思越想,不勝焦燥.因爲他本來不會推算,如何能知縣官印信失落的所在.他們在途三人同行,縣官的兩個隨從,一個在前,一個在後,把二桃夾在中間.二桃忽然嘆道:"今天我來,前也是死,後也是死,不死還有那條路可走!"兩個隨從聽得此言,吃了一驚,暗想二桃算法果然很靈,便請求二桃救命.二桃看他們二人心虛,便質問起來,叫他們趕快照實說來,可以救他們的性命.二人說出印信是放在屋後牆上.二桃大喜.見了縣官,假作推算之後,便說印信放在屋後牆上.縣官即派人到屋後牆上去看,果然得了印信,應了二桃神算.縣官不勝歡喜.他見二桃算法靈驗,要將女兒許配.他的女兒年約十八,姿色可人,意欲許字二桃爲妻.女兒雖從父命,但不信二桃有這種神算.他想出一計試驗二桃.他拿出空皮箱一只,給二桃推算箱內是裝何物.算中了才願做他的妻子.二桃一看實在無法.對天歎道:"我二桃就死在這皮箱裏了"!小姐聽了此言,以爲二桃算中.因

箱內確是放二個桃子,小姐就很情願的做了二桃的妻子。(乾城石啓貴講述。)

(9)嫌貧愛富

從前有個苗人,不詳姓氏,只知名喚老八,他有三女,都已出嫁了,長次二女都是嫁的富人,惟有小女壻是個貧人,有一年正月,三個女壻都來拜年,到了晚上要睡的時候,岳父母便命僕人把稻草來鋪在灶後面,給小女壻睡,卻招待兩個大女壻睡在堂屋裏,二更後大家都去睡了,那位岳父去看他的三個壻的睡法,到兩個大女壻牀前,一看說道:"你看富人睡的模樣畢竟不同,彎彎曲曲的,好像一條龍,眞眞好看!"又走到小女壻的草鋪上一看,說道:"你看窮人睡的模樣完全和富人不同,睡的畢直,呆呆板板的,好像死了一般。"小壻那時並未睡覺,聽了這種話,好不氣悶!但也無法,只得假寐,裝作不聽見。到了第二夜,岳父又走去看,見兩個大女壻睡的畢直,說道:"你看富人睡的形狀畢竟不同,睡的是整整齊齊的。"又走到小女壻的草鋪一看,見他彎彎曲曲的睡,說道:"你看窮人睡的形狀,是彎彎曲曲的,好像是狗睡一般。"小女壻也是聽見的,只是假裝不聽見。到了第三夜,小女壻就生出一計,等到兩個大女壻睡覺之後,他就拉了一堆屎,用他睡的稻草包好,暗暗塞在兩個大聯襟被內,及至天明,二人醒後,大女壻疑心二女壻把屎拉在床上,問道:"你做些什麼事!"二女壻正也在疑心是大女壻把屎拉在床上,聽了大女壻問的話,怒道:"你自己做的事反來問人!如今我滿身是屎,都是你害的。"二人互相爭論,各不肯認,又不敢高聲,只得連忙起來把衣服穿好,不好意思去岳父那裏辭別就走了。後有人報知他

們的岳父母,心中自然很不高興.想道:"我爲你們正在殺了一隻豬,另外又買了許多食品,你們竟不辭而別,是什麼意思!"就叫小壻去請他們回來.他便追趕了一程,沒有趕到.回來報知岳父母時,廚子已把許多菜擺在桌上.小女壻吃得酒醉飯飽,心裏好不快樂.(鳳凰吳文祥講述)

(10)聰敏的學徒

從前湘西地方有一苗民專做手藝,教了許多學徒.有一次,有五個學徒快畢業了.師傅要獎勵他們,說道:"你們的手藝已經件件精通,我今理應獎勵你們.我現在坐在屋裏,那個說得我出去,我就給他最好的獎勵."幾個徒弟爭着說,都不能說得師傅出去.中有一個,初時不說,等人家先說,看看都沒有辦法了.他才開口說道:"師傅!要我們說你出去,我們是沒有辦法了.只好請師傅坐在門外,讓我們說師傅進來罷!"師傅就真個出去,坐在門外說道:"你們就說我進來罷"!那個學徒笑道:"我已經說得師傅出去了!"(鳳凰吳良佐講述)

(11)糯米飯塞狗腸子

從前有一個姓石的,家中養有一隻狗,他想用糯米飯塞在狗腸子裏吃,但嫌手續太麻煩.後來想到一個好法子,就把那狗挨了幾天餓,只給水不給飯吃.用意是要把狗的腸子洗個乾淨.過了三四天,他以爲狗的腸子定必洗淨了,就煮一鍋糯米飯,給那狗吃一個大飽.再把狗殺了.把腸子取出,放在鍋裏煮.煮熟之後,他以爲這個味兒一定很好,滿意要吃一個飽.不料吃的時候,臭不可當.捏起鼻子來吃,吃了一寸多長,便不能下嚥了.(鳳凰吳良佐講述)

十一、歌謠

(一)苗歌略說

歌謠在苗人的生活中,特別是在各種儀式中,是佔着很重要的位置的.他們日常既隨時隨地即興口占,表現當時的情緒或敍述當地的事件,而每遇舉行某種儀式或集會時,更多男女對歌,日夜不休,且有接連至數日夜者.他們即興口占的歌謠,大都唱過即完,保存的很少;❶ 即有一些被較多人所傳唱因而流傳下來的,也完全靠不很確切和不能經久的記憶力,詞句每多傳訛或竟完全改變;所以至今沒有定形.至在各種儀式中如宗教或婚嫁等所唱的歌謠,則因常常傳習,雖也全靠記憶力傳誦,詞句間不免有傳訛或改變,但其內容在大體上可以說是大致相同;所以保存的也較多.因此之故,我們在湘西所蒐集得來的苗歌,以儀式歌爲多,即興歌甚少.

苗人的即興歌,或爲表現內心現象的抒情歌,或爲表現外界現象的敍事歌.前者不外乎咏嘆他們的喜悅或悲傷,後者則多由與他們興趣最接近的人或事物的範圍以內取材而來.其內容雖似淺薄粗野,然很值得我們深刻的注意;因爲可以幫助我們對於他們的情緒生活,有一種直接的觀察.

他們的儀式歌,大抵多是敍述關於那種儀式活動的情形,有時也帶有發抒個人情緒或表示願望的詞句.其內容自然也是淺薄粗野,但很可以幫助我們對於他們的習俗信仰獲得相

❶ 參看周作人:歌謠 p. 81. 收入經敍文編歌謠論集.

當的瞭解.

我們知道,在原始歌謠中,其可被認爲抒情歌的,多少總含有一些敍事的原素;被認爲敍事歌的,也多少總帶有一些抒情的性質.所以斯賓塞(Herbert Spenser)氏說:"最低級文化的詩是一種'不分體'(undifferentiated)的詩,"❶其實不僅低級文化的詩不易分體,即高級文明的詩,依體裁分類,也總不免帶一點勉強;因爲純粹的抒情詩歌或敍事詩歌,無論是在哪種文化程度的作品中,都找不出來的.在這裏,我們只依歌謠的性質,把蒐集得來的湘西苗歌分作四類:第一類是關於婚嫁,宗教等的儀式歌(第1至32首);第二類是關於打花鼓,打秋等的遊戲歌(第33至38首).第三類是關於男女相思的情歌(第39至42首);第四類是關於苗鄉匪亂的敍事歌(第43至44首).

這四類歌謠僅代表我們蒐集所得,且經用國際音標記錄下來的四十四首苗歌.這無論在量上或在質上都太不充分了.我們當然不能希望根據這些不充分的片斷材料而對全體下什麼結論;但是也不容否認,有了這些片斷的材料,或者也能使讀者對於苗人的情緒生活以及習俗信仰可以窺見一斑.不過以我們很有限的苗語知識,把這些苗人歌謠譯成漢文,實難望其能完全代表他們親似淺薄,實很廣博的內容和價值.因爲苗語和漢語完全不同:即使有最大的語言學天才,也不能保證沒有偶然發生的錯誤.而在蒐集和記音上,即使能避免一切的錯誤,但在翻譯上也不能擔保完全能吻合原意.德人格羅斯(Ernest Grosse)氏說:"用法語從來不能表現出歌德(Gœthe)歌

❶ Ernest Grosse: The Beginnings of art, p. 234 引斯氏First Principle之說.

曲中的神韻:卽用最接近的英語來翻譯也時常會失去德國詩歌大部份的特質。❶我們又怎能希望苗歌的原意,在翻成漢文以後,能完全吻合原意!但在蒐集,記音,及翻譯上,可以說是已經費了我們的心力,在這裏可以分別說明一下。

蒐集和記音——要蒐集未經記錄的歌謠,第一步當然是要找人來唱,但是無論怎樣喜歡唱歌的人,當你特地請他唱時卻多是不肯唱的,卽使在他唱得興高采烈時,他若發覺你在竊聽也會立刻停止的,其實就是完全聽了,除非你在苗中住過一年半載,苗語已經學得很好了,方才能够瞭解他們的歌詞。我們在苗中前後不過五十日,雖說日夕與苗人相處,但所學習的苗語究竟有限,自然不能聽了就懂,所以我們蒐集歌謠,一定要先物色那肯唱且能用漢語解釋給我們聽的苗人,幸得湘西地方當局的協助,很順利的就給我們請得下列三位苗人:——

吳宗宜,男性,年二十五歲,鳳凰縣北鄉居奇寨(距縣城約百里)人,以下所記第1至7,10至18,23至28,39至44計二十八首,都是此君所唱的(包括他所臨時學來的在內)。

石吳氏,女性,年約五十歲,乾城西鄉大新寨(距縣城約六十里)人,以下所記第33至35計三首,都是她所唱的。

龍勝發,男性,年三十八歲,永綏破口寨(距舊廳治衙城十二里)人,以下所記第8至9,19至22,29至32,36至38計十三首,都是此君所唱的。

以上三人雖分屬三縣,其實相距各不過數十里,因距三縣交界均不甚遠,他們都能唱苗歌,且都能說漢話;而吳宗宜君不但把他自己會唱的唱給我們聽,並且還臨時學了一些歌來唱,

❶ The Beginnings of art, p. 233.

來解釋給我們聽,我們得到了這三位供給苗歌材料,即開始記音工作.

我們在記錄每首苗歌之前,必請他們將全首歌詞先唱一遍,而後再逐字逐句的用國際音標記錄.記畢一首之後,即由記者看了記錄下來的音唱讀一遍,(一時當然不能學像他們音樂的唱調,只是一種簡單化一律化的讀歌調),以求矯正;待他們認爲沒有錯誤後,再請他們用漢語逐字逐句的解釋一遍.同時由我們逐字逐句的把意義記錄下來.這樣,便算記畢一首.上述三位所唱的苗歌,都是這樣一首一首的被記錄下來的.

翻譯—— 翻譯而要不失原意本來很難,而於詩歌爲尤難.我們的翻譯,只求達意;達可云信,雅則非所敢言;至於韻律的講究,更無暇顧及.即在達意的原則上,我們雖處處力求避免錯誤,然終不敢確保完全吻合原意.所以我們對於每首苗歌,除記音及漢文譯文外,並於每音之下,一一用漢文附註其義,以便讀者可以就音義以探索原意.如果讀者能在原音義的探索上,發見了漢文譯文的錯誤,深望能不吝賜教,予以指正!

苗歌的表現法—— 我們在記錄並翻譯了這四十四首苗歌之後,對於苗人的情緒生活及習俗信仰,當然不敢以一斑之見,而作窺全豹之論,然對於他們歌謠的表現法上,則亦有可一言者.

我們所蒐集得的苗歌,都是七言的.❶最少四句成一首,多

❶ 永順縣志卷七所記苗歌亦均七言.惟據民國明爲縣志所錄則亦有首一句爲三言,餘三句爲七言者.近人胡懷琛氏在他的中國民歌研究中也錄了兩首苗歌,其一,首一句三言,餘三句七言;其二,四句七言.最近吳澤霖氏在他的貴州紅苗黑苗的調查一文中記有十首苗歌,其中八首都是七言的;惟有一首共八句是五言的,另一首則亦首一句三言,餘三句七言.

則六句,八句,十句……以至數十句不等。本報告所收最長的苗歌爲鬧土匪歌其二(第44首),多至二十八句。其表現之最緊要的方法有二:一爲詞句的重沓,二爲句尾的押韻。重沓之法,以每兩句爲一節,唱過兩句之後,卽重唱一遍,上句全依原詞,下句略更易一二字,(如第8首送親歌其五)或亦有全句易詞者(如第9首送親歌其六,第三句與第一句全同,第四句與第二句不同)。以下所記四十四首苗歌,只有8,9,19,20,21,22,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,38十六首重沓,其餘二十八首如法亦可重沓;惟因記錄時唱者未唱重沓詞句,我們初亦不知其有重沓之法;及後發見其法,但已不及再補了。

押韻之法,除很少的自首至末句句同用一韻的(如第13首,送親歌其十,自首至末同用[ɛ]韻)以外,大多數是奇數句尾音與奇數句尾音相押,偶數句尾音與偶數句尾音相押。卽句句用韻,隔句相押。例如一首四句的歌,其每句尾音均用韻,第一、三兩句尾音押一韻,第二、四兩句尾音另押一韻(如第1首請媒求媳歌其一),其六句、八句、十句……的歌,則一、三、五、七、九……各句尾音押一韻,二、四、六、八、十……各句尾音另押一韻。這是最普通的形式。但較長的歌,則無論奇數句或偶數句,很多不能一韻到底;便不得不用通韻或叶韻之法,而轉韻尤多。這裏所謂通韻或叶韻,並無嚴格的規則,大抵韻音近似的程度够可以通融互相押韻,卽可認爲通韻。在苗語的二十八個韻音中(詳見本報告苗語章),如下列的幾組韻音均可互相押韻:——

ɛ, iɛ, uɛ, io;

i, ei, uei;

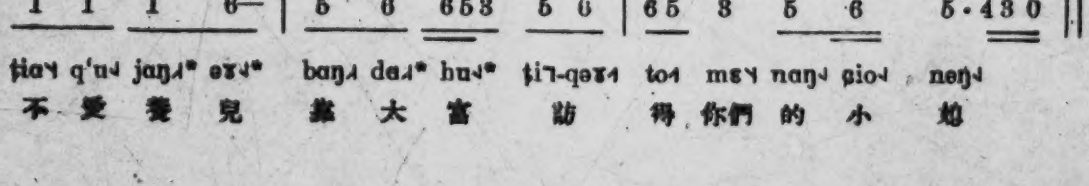
ɛ, iɛ, ɑ, iɑ, ɑ, iɑ;

o, io, u, iɤ, aɤ, eɤ, uɤ.

其韻音本不夠近似的程度,但因押韻的關係,把它改讀成和別一韻音相同,卻可認爲叶韻.如第5首送親歌其二第四句尾音本爲[no˧](麻),改讀作(nɑ˧);第9首送親歌其六第八句尾音本爲漢語借字[tɕɿ˩](子),改讀作[tɕəɤ˩];第20首三朝散親歌,其二,第十二句尾音本爲[moŋ˧](你),改讀作[meŋ˧];第27首賀喜男孩歌其三,第五句尾音本爲[meŋ˧](明亮),改讀作[mi˧]等等.至於轉韻,則錯綜變化,不可以一體拘.上文說過,苗歌本來是奇數句押奇數句的韻,偶數句押偶數句的韻.分別說來,就是奇數句與偶數句各自句句用韻;綜合說來,則偶數句用的韻對奇數句用的韻而言,卻是一種轉韻.現在所謂轉韻,是單指奇數句或偶數句的各自轉韻而言.轉韻之法,有連用隔用之別.連用的如第4首,送親歌其一的偶數句中第二、四、兩句用[eŋ]韻,第六、八、十三句轉[i]韻.隔用的如第8首,送親歌其五的偶數句中第二、六、兩句用[ɛ]韻,第四、八兩句轉[oŋ]韻.又如第9首,送親歌其六的奇數句爲連用轉韻,偶數句爲隔句轉韻.這兩種是比較有規則的轉韻法.此外不規則的很多,如第21首,三朝散客歌其三的偶數句中第二、四、六、十四句用一韻,第八、十二兩句轉一韻;第29首,吃牛歌其一的奇數句中第一、三、兩句用一韻,第五、七、兩句轉一韻;第九、十一兩句又轉一韻;第32首,接龍歌其二的奇數句中第一、三、九、十一、四句用一韻,第五、七、十三、十五、四句轉一韻,第37首,打秋歌其二的偶數句中第二、四、十、三句用一韻,第六、八、十二、三句轉一韻;第38首,打秋歌其三的偶數句中第二、四、兩句用一韻,六、十、兩句轉一韻,八、十二、兩句又轉一韻;第48首,鬧土匪歌其一的奇數句中第一、七、九、十三、四句用一韻,第三、五、十一、三句轉一韻;第

C調 tɕeŋ˨˩˧* kɔɤ˧˥-ʂɔɤ˧ nɛ˨˩˨ neŋ˧˥ 另

請 媒 求 媳



44首,圍土匪歌其二的奇數句中第一、十三、十七、三句用一韻,第三、五、七、九、十一、十五、十九、二一、二三、二五、十句轉一韻(第二七句不押韻),其偶數句中第二、四、六、八、十四、十六、二二、二六、二八、九句用一韻,第十、十二、十八、二十、二四、五句轉一韻,這都只可以說是苗歌轉韻的變格,然大都出於自然,並非有意爲之。

至於苗歌的樂調,卻很簡單。我們在苗中曾聽過好些人的唱調,他們的節奏都是差不多的。我們只用簡譜譜出一首的唱法作個例。(歌見上面)讀者如果會唱了一首,大概就會唱其餘的各首了。

(二)音標及其他符號說明

以下所記苗歌是用下列的國際音標記音:——

a 讀如吳語❶"法[fa]"字(無錫音)的韻母或法語"la"的"a".

ɑ 讀如吳語"家[kɑ]"字(江陰語音)的韻母或英語"father"的"ɑ".

ʂ 讀如國音ㄕ(sh).❷

e 讀如吳語"梅[me]"字(無錫音)的韻母或法語"thé".的"é".

ə 讀如國音ㄜ(e)或英語"fallen"的"e".

ɛ 讀如吳語"三[sɛ]"字(寧波音)的韻母或法語"même"的

❶此處舉例所用吳語的標音是根據趙元任先生的現代吳語的研究一書。下同。

❷這是國音字母的第一、二別式:前者是第一式,即注音符號;括弧中的是第二式,即羅馬字。下同。

"θ".

h 讀如吳語"好[hɔ]"字(上海音)的聲母或英語"hall"的"h".

ɦ 讀如吳語"鞋[ɦɑ]"字(上海音)的聲母或英語"aha"的"h".

i 讀如國音ㄧ(i)或法語"si"的"i"而舌位略低.

j 讀如吳語"欲[jo]"字(常熟音)的聲母或法語"bien"的"i".

k 讀如國音ㄍ(g)或德國南部語"gold"的"g". 低調時讀濁音作[g],讀如吳語"狂[g'uɑ̃]"字(上海音)的聲母除送氣或英語"go"的"o".

k' 讀如國音ㄎ(k)或英語"backhand"的"kh".

l 讀如國音ㄌ(l)或英語"lose"的"l".

lh 讀如國音ㄌ(l)加ㄏ(h). 低調時[h]讀濁音作[ɦ].

ʅ 讀如國音ㄓ(j)、ㄔ(ch)、ㄕ(sh)、ㄖ(r)的韻母.

m 讀如國音ㄇ(m)或英語"man"的"m".

mh 讀如國音ㄇ(m)加ㄏ(h). 低調時[h]讀濁音作[ɦ].

mp' 讀如國音ㄇ(m)加ㄆ(p). 低調時[p']讀濁音作[b].

n 讀如國音ㄋ(n)或英語"no"的"n".

nh 讀如國音ㄋ(n)加ㄏ(h). 低調時[h]讀濁音作[ɦ].

nt' 讀如國音ㄋ(n)加ㄊ(t). 低調時[t']讀濁音作[d].

ntʂ' 讀如國音ㄋ(n)加ㄔ(ch). 低調時[tʂ']讀濁音作[dʐ].

ɲ 讀如吳語"年[ɲɪ]"字(上海音)的聲母或法語"oignon!"的"gn".

ɲt' 讀如吳語"年[ɲɪ]"字(上海音)的聲母加古音❶ "癲[ɲ'i]"

❶ 此處所舉古音的例是根據高本漢(Bernhard Karlgren)氏的報告.參看趙元任先生現代吳語的研究中的趙音音類表頁18.下同.

字的聲母,低調時[ɖ']讀濁音作[ɖ]。

ŋ 讀如吳語"熬[ŋo]"字(上海音)的聲母或英語"singer"的"ng"。

ŋk' 讀如吳語"熬[ŋo]"字(上海音)的聲母加國音ㄎ(k),低調時[k']讀音作[g]。

ŋq' 讀如吳語"熬[ŋo]"字(上海音)的聲母加以小舌與舌根最後部閉塞而成的[k']音,低調時[q']讀濁音作[ɢ]。

o 讀如國音ㄛ(o)或法語"robe"的"o"。

p 讀如國音ㄅ(b)或德國南部語"boden"的"b"。低調時讀濁音作[b],讀如吳語"巴[bo]"字(松江音)的聲母或英語"bow"的"b"。

p' 讀如國音ㄆ(p)或英語"haphazard"的"ph"。

q 讀如以小舌與舌根最後部閉塞而成的[k]音,低調時讀濁音作[ɢ]。

q' 讀如以小舌與舌根最後部閉塞而成的[k']音。

ʂ 讀如國音ㄕ(sh)或英語"tree"的"r"。

t 讀如國音ㄉ(d)或德國南部語"das"的"d"。低調讀濁音[d],讀如吳語"多[du]"字(松江音)的聲母或英語"do"的"d"。

t' 讀如國音ㄊ(t)或英語"hothouse"的"th"。

tɕ 讀如國音ㄐ(j)。低調時讀濁音作[dʑ],讀如吳語"城[dʑ'ɛŋ]"字(常熟音)的聲母除送氣。

tʂ' 讀如國音ㄔ(ch)或英語"true"的"tr"。

ʈ 讀如古音"知[ʈie]"字的聲母,低調時讀濁音作[ɖ],讀如古音"池[ɖ'i]"字的聲母。

ɿ' 讀如古音"癡[ɿ'i]"字的聲母。

u 讀如吳語"綠[lu]"字(常熟音)的韻母或法語"sou"的"ou"而舌位略低。

ɤ 讀如吳語"看[k'ɤ]"字(常熟音)的韻母。

w 讀如吳語"胡[wu]"字(常熟音)的聲母或法語"oui"的"ou"。

ɹ 讀如國音ㄖ(r)或英語"draw"的"r"。

聲調符號如下:——

˥ 示高平調。

˧˥ 示高升調。

˥˧ 示高降調。

˨˧ 示低升調。

˧˨ 示低降調。

上列音標及調號僅附簡略說明,其詳可看本報告語言集二,苗語音類。

其他符號如下:——

* 記在一詞的右上角,示漢語借詞,但以顯然可辨的爲限。

? 記在一詞的右上角,示疑似的漢語借詞,究竟是不是借自漢語尚不能斷言。

- 記在兩詞之間,示複詞。

(三)苗歌記音

以下記苗歌四十四首:第1至32是關於婚嫁、宗教等的儀式歌,第33至38是關於打花鼓、打秋等的遊戲歌,第39至42是關

於男女相思的情歌,第43至44是關於苗鄉匪亂的敍事歌。

1. tʂ'eŋ˥˧* kəɤ˥˧-ʂəɤ˧ nɛ˨˩ neŋ˥˧❶(1)
請 媒 求 媳

mei˨˩*-ʐeŋ˨˩* tʂ'eŋ˥˧* lo˨˩ ʨiɛ˧ ta˥˧¹-lu˨˩ʔ,
媒 人 請 來 已 縣

kəɤ˥˧-ʂəɤ˧ wu˨˩* hua˨˩*❷ʨi˥˧❸-tɛ˥˧ teŋ˥˧.
媒 妁 無 法 止 步

ʨia˥˧ q'u˨˩ jaŋ˨˩* eɤ˨˩* baŋ˨˩ da˨˩* hu˨˩*²,
不 愛 養 兒 靠 大 富

ʨi˥˧-qəɤ˧ to˧ mɛ˥˧-naŋ˨˩ ɕio˨˩ neŋ˥˧.
訪 得 你們 的 小 媳

請媒求媳(其一)

媒人請來已上縣, 媒妁無法再止步。
不愛養兒靠大富, 訪得貴府的小女。

2. tʂ'eŋ˥˧* kəɤ˥˧-ʂəɤ˧ nɛ˨˩ neŋ˥˧ (2)
請 媒 求 媳

əɤ˨˩ lɛ˨˩ kəɤ˥˧-ʂəɤ˧ əɤ˨˩ ŋoŋ˨˩ lu˨˩*,
兩 個 媒人 兩 匹 縣

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❶ [ta˥˧]是冠在名詞如鳥、獸、魚、蟲等動物之前的詞頭(參看語言學(三)語法篇第13.詞頭)。

❷ 雲南某方言學者[f]多數讀爲[h]。

❸ [ʨi˥˧]是冠來一個發動詞之前的詞頭(參看語言學(三)語法篇第13.詞頭)。

ɔʒ˨ du˨ ja˨˩*-laŋ˨˩*❶ ɔʒ˨ ŋoŋ˨ mei˨.
兩個 牙郎 兩匹 馬

dʑo˨˩˧ u˨ ɦa˧ lhie˧ ta˥ tɛ˥ u˨,
塘 水 也 要 變 條 河

dʑo˨˩˧ pu˥ ɦa˧ p'u˨ ta˥ tɛ˥ ɦɛ˥.
塘 岸 也 倒 幾 根 草

請媒求姻(其二)

兩個媒人兩匹馬, 兩個牙郎兩匹馬.
塘水也要變條河, 塘岸也倒幾根草.

附記

以上兩首是男家央媒向女家說親,女家留飲時唱的歌(參看家庭及婚喪習俗章(一)婚姻).

8. taŋ˧ ʂ'io˨ naŋ˨ ɦa˥
迎親的歌

ʂioŋ˧ ta˥ ʂioŋ˧-peŋ˥ kaʒ˥ ɦa˥ ʂ'i˥,
坐到堂屋把歌唱

ko˥❷-li˧* p'ei˨ joŋ˨˩˧ a˥-lɛ˨ neŋ˨.❸
禮節該用一個羅

❶ 牙郎,本係屬官之稱,苗中沿用作新人之稱。永綏廳志云:"牙郎者,即苗中新人也。"

❷ [ko˥]是冠在名詞前(除台知 鳥、獸、魚、蟲 除外)的詞頭(參看語言章(三)語法概略, 13. 詞頭)。

❸ [neŋ˨]是指示形容詞,苗語形容詞大多數在被形容的名詞之後(參看語言章(三)語法概略, 4. 形容詞)。

mhaŋ˨˩-naŋ˧ ʂa˧ p'ei˧ ɑɤ˧ ʈi˥-deŋ˧,
夜 今 也 該 唱 熱 鬧

ʂa˧ ɲi˧ ko˨˩-ŋaŋ˨˩ moŋ˧ k'ɑɛ˨˩˦* ʂaŋ˨˩˦*.
也 是 時 候 去 快 心

naɤ˧ ɑɤ˧ ɐɤ˧ ʂaŋ˧ kaɤ˨˩ ɦo˧* ɕi˧*,
就 唱 兩 首 以 賀 喜

ʈi˨˩ to˧ ko˨˩-naŋ˧ haɤ˨˩˦* li˧* ʂeŋ˨˩˦*.
沒 得 什 麼 好 禮 行

迎親歌

坐到堂屋把歌唱, 依禮該是這樣行.
今晚應該唱熱鬧, 也是及時把樂行.
就唱兩首以賀喜, 沒有什麼作禮敬.

附記

以上一首是苗家娶親時,雙方親友齊集男家喜筵後男家開唱的歌.(參看家庭及婚喪習俗章(一)婚姻).

4. ʂoŋ˥˧? ʈ'io˧ naŋ˧ ʂa˨˩ (1)
送 親 的 歌

ʂoŋ˥˧? ʈ'io˧ ʂoŋ˥˧? qa˧ mɛ˨˩ teŋ˨˩ ʃo˧,
送 親 送 到 你們 地方 來

ta˨˩-k'i˨˩ ɑ˥ ji˧* mɛ˨˩ naŋ˧ teŋ˨˩.
剩 才 一 夜 你們 的 地方

ʂoŋ˥˧? gaŋ˧ mɛ˨˩ ʂa˧ fnɛ˨˩ lo˧ po˨˩,
送 給 你們 敬 你們 來 到

ɑ˨˩●-nɛ˧ ɑ˨˩-moŋ˧ ʈi˥-ʂa˧ neŋ˨˩.
阿 公 阿 姑 敬 地

● [ɑ˨˩] 是冠在某於自身的親屬稱謂前的詞頭(參看親言章(三)親族稱呼 13. 詞頭).

pa˨˧ la˧˥ mo˨˧ hua˧ ɕio˧˥ ʂi˥-ndʐo˧˩,
睡 遲 你 要 起 早

po˨˧ noŋ˧˥ po˨˧ pa˨˧ ta˧˥ nɦɛ˧˩-ɕi˧˥.
他 吃 他 睡 到 下午

ndʐa˨˩ mɛ˧ mo˨˧ hua˧ tɕʻua˥˧ lhie˧ ndʐo˧˩,
洗 臉 你 要 煮 飯 早

ko˨˧˥ wa˧˩ ko˨˧˥ ʂio˧˥ ko˨˧˥ ʂi˥-ʂʻi˧˩
刷 鍋 刷 罐 刷 淨

ɕiɛ˧˥ lhie˧ tɕʻei˧˥˧ ɲia˧ mo˨˧ naŋ˧˩ po˧˥,
熟 飯 催 喊 你 的 夫

nha˧˥˧ nɛ˧˩ nha˧˥˧ moŋ˧˩ ɑ˥ ko˨˧˥ ʂi˧˥.
喊 阿公 喊 阿姑 一 路 來

送親歌(其一)

送親送到貴處來，　　來到貴處才一夜.
送給你們來教訓，　　阿公阿姑教媳婦.
睡遲你要起得早，　　他們吃睡到下午.
洗了臉要早煮飯，　　刷鍋刷罐刷乾淨.
飯熟催喊你丈夫，　　喊公喊姑一起吃.

5. ɕoŋ˥˧˥ ʂʻio˧˩ naŋ˧˩ ɕa˧˥ (2)
送 親 的 歌

ɕoŋ˥˧˥ ʂʻio˧˩ nɛ˧˥ ka˨˧˥ ɕu˧˥-ɕei˧˩ ndʑi˧˩,
送 親 人 拿 緞子 紅

nɛ˧˥ mɛ˧˥ ta˧˥ pʻo˧˥ mo˧˩-la˧˩ tɕa˧˥.❶
人 有 幾 疋 布名 家(漢)家

❶ [tɕa˧˥] 義即"客家"，而人對漢人之稱;作名詞用時,其前還加詞頭[ko˧˥]或[o˧˥];此處作形容詞用,故不加詞頭.(參看附言本歌後註第 13. 詞頭).

pɐɤ˥-ko˥ noŋ˧ kaɤ˥ mieŋ˧*-huɑ˥* ɲi˧,
我們 只 把 棉 花 紡

nɑŋ˧ ndiɤ˧ ʐeŋ˥-ʂɑ˨ moŋ˨ təɤ˥ nɑ˧(no˧).●
只 上 山峯 高 去 剝 麻

jo˧ peŋ˥ ʨiɛ˧ nɛ˥ ʨi˥ ɲiɛ˨ li˧*,
少 錢 使 人 不 知 禮

ʂɑ˧ tei˧* ʨi˥ to˧ wɛ˨ tʂʻoŋ˥* ʨiɑ˥*.
也 對 不 得 我 親 家

送親歌(其二)

送親人拏紅緞子, 人有幾疋客家布,
我們只把棉花紡, 只上高山去剝麻,
錢少使人不知禮, 也對不住我親家.

6. poŋ˥? ʨʻio˨ nɑŋ˨ ʂɑ˥ (3)
送 親 的 歌

ʨie˥ taɤ˧ dʐu˨ poɤ˥ ʨie˥ lɦo˨ ɕia˨,
起 足跟 門 屋 起 足 輕

ɕia˨ lɦo˨ ɕia˨ ʨio˧ qɑ˧ mɛ˥ ʐɑŋ˨.
輕 足 輕 步 到 你們 寨

pie˥ lɦo˨ u˨ ɕiɤ˧ ʨi˥ ɕiɑŋ˥ kɑ˥,
脚 脚 水 露 未 曾 乾

ta˥ dʐo˨? laɤ˧-ʐoɤ˨ ta˥ teŋ˥ mɑŋ˨.
到 着 上 岩 成 步 路

tʂʻɑɤ˧ ʨiɤ˥* tʂʻɑɤ˧ lhie˧ ʨioŋ˧ tʂei˧-tʂɑ˥,
醉 酒 醉 飯 坐 自 在

mɛ˥ ʨiɑŋ˧ ʂɑ˥ ɕio˨ lo˨ ʨi˥-tʂʻɑŋ˥.
你們 放 歌 曲 來 慈

● 原意謂原應作[no˧];為應因叶韻之故,故變作[nɑ˧] (參看本章論叶韻一節)。

送親歌(其三)

起脚出門脚步輕, 輕脚輕步到貴寨.
脚底露水尚未乾, 踏在岩上成足跡.
酒醉飯飽坐自在, 你們放歌來相邀.

7. ʂoŋ˥˧? ʈʂ'io˩˧ naŋ˩ ʂa˥˧ (4)
送 親 的 歌

ʈʂi˥˧-tʂei˩ ʈʂi˥˧-tʂa˧˥˩ naŋ˩ pa˧˥˩ ʈʂioŋ˩,
聚 集 陪 我們 坐

ʈʂi˥˧-tʂa˧˥˩ naŋ˩ pa˧˥˩ ʈʂioŋ˩ ta˥˧-neŋ˩.
集 陪 我們 坐 這 裏

ɑ˥˧-pa˩˧? p'u˥˧ naŋ˩ ɑ˥˧-pa˩˧? toŋ˥˧,
一 半 講 的 一 半 聽

mba˩ dʐo˩˧? ko˥˧-ʈʂ'i˩ ʂa˩ ʈʂi˥˧ p'ieŋ˥˧❶(p'i˥˧).
想 着 心 也 不 空

送親歌(其四)

相聚相集陪我坐, 相集陪我坐這裏.
一半講來一半聽, 想在心裏也不空.

8. ʂoŋ˥˧? ʈʂ'io˩ naŋ˩ ʂa˥˧ (5)
送 親 的 歌

ʈʂ'u˥˧? k'a˩˧* loŋ˩ t'oŋ˥˧? mɛ˥˧ naŋ˩ ʐaŋ˩,
作 客 來 通 你們 的 寨

❶ 空,重語原應作[p'i˥˧];此處因叶韻之故,故發作[p'ieŋ˥˧]。(參看本章論叶韻一節)。

pɑʒ˧ loŋ˨ tʂ'u˧? k'ɑ˥* mɛ˧ naŋ˨ tɛ˧;
我們 來 做 客 你們 的 地方

tʂ'u˧? k'ɑ˥* loŋ˨ t'oŋ˧? mɛ˧ naŋ˨ ʂaŋ˨,
作 客 來 通 你們 的 寨

pɑʒ˧ loŋ˨ tʂ'u˧? k'ɑ˥* mɛ˧ naŋ˨ toŋ˧.
我們 來 做 客 你們 的 地方

ʨi˧ to˥ nɛ˧ ɑʒ˨ tʂoŋ˧* ʨi˥-tʂ'aŋ˧,
不 得 人 唱 總 邀

ʨi˥-tʂ'aŋ˧ ɑ˥-mhaŋ˧ naŋ˨-neŋ˨ mɛ˧;
邀 一 夜 樣 還 有

ʨi˧ to˥ nɛ˧ ɑʒ˨ tʂoŋ˧* ʨi˥-tʂ'aŋ˧,
不 得 人 唱 總 邀

ʨi˥-tʂ'aŋ˧ ɑ˥-mhaŋ˧ naŋ˨-neŋ˨ lhioŋ˥.
邀 一 夜 樣 還 多。

送親歌(其五)

作客來到你貴寨, 我來作客你貴處;
作客來到你貴寨, 我來作客貴地方。
未得人唱總相邀, 相邀一夜還樣有;
不得人唱總相邊, 相邀一夜還樣多。

9. poŋ˥? ʨ'io˨ naŋ˨ ʂa˧ (6)
送 親 的 歌

ʂa˧ ɕio˨ dʐu˨* k'ɔʒ˧* ʨiɛ˥ ta˥ ʨio˥,
歌 曲 住 口 成 幾 年

ko˥* jɛ˨* bu˨* tʂ'aŋ˥* dʐeŋ˨* ʨi˧* ɲiɛ˨*;
歌 也 不 唱 成 幾 年

ʂa˧ ɕio˨ dʐu˨* k'ɔʒ˧* ʨiɛ˥ ta˧ ʨio˥,
歌 曲 住 口 成 幾 年

bu˨˩˦* ʐɿ˨˩˦* ʈiɛ˧˥* ɲiɛ˨˩˦* dʐɛ˨˩˦* dʐu˨˩˦* k'ɔɤ˧˥*.
不 是 今 年 才 住 口

mɛ˧˥ la˨˩˦ ɦu˨˩˦? pa˧˥ lhie˧ ʂɿ˧˥ ɑɤ˨˩˦,
你們總 和 我們 要 歌 唱

naŋ˨˩˦ p'o˧˥ boŋ˨˩˦ ʂoŋ˨˩˦ ʈi˧˥ tɔ˧˥ k'ɛ˧˥;
似 炮 響 聲 沒 有 彈

mɛ˧˥ la˨˩˦ ɦu˨˩˦? pa˧˥ lhie˧ ʂɿ˧˥ ɑɤ˨˩˦,
你們總 和 我們 要 歌 唱

naŋ˨˩˦ p'o˧˥ boŋ˨˩˦ ʂoŋ˨˩˦ ʈi˧˥ tɔ˧˥ tʂɔɤ˧˥*(tʂɿ˧˥*).●
似 炮 響 聲 沒 有 子

送親歌(其六)

歌曲住口已幾年, 歌也不唱有幾年:
歌曲住口已幾年, 不是今年才住口.
你們要我把歌唱, 恰似炮響沒有彈:
你們要我把歌唱, 恰似炮響沒彈子.

10. ʂoŋ˧˥? ʈ'io˨˩˦ naŋ˨˩˦ ʂɿ˧˥ (7)
送 親 的 歌

ʈi˧˥ ʈiɛ˧ ndu˧-ʐo˨˩˦ ʈi˧˥ tɔ˧˥ lu˧*?
栽 成 樹 梨 哪 條 路

ʈi˧˥ ʈiɛ˧ ndu˧-ʐo˧ ʈi˧˥ tɔ˧˥ u˨˩˦?
栽 成 樹 梨 哪 條 河

ndu˧-ʐo˨˩˦ hua˧˥* kɔ˧˥ ʈi˧˥-pɛ˧˥ ndu˧.
樹 梨 發 枝 分 樹

ndu˧-ʐo˧ ʈiaŋ˧ kɔ˧˥ ʈi˧˥-pɛ˧˥ ʈ'io˨˩˦.
樹 梨 放 枝 分 親

● [tʂɔɤ˧˥](子)是黑語借字,後部子彈,原應發作[tʂɿ˧˥];此是因叶韻之故,故發作[tʂɔɤ˧˥],(苗語本來韻叶韻一般)

送親歌(其七)

栽成栗樹哪條路! 栽成栗樹哪條河!
栗樹發枝分成樹, 栗樹放枝又分枝。

11. ʂoŋ˥˩ʔ ʈʂʻio˩ maɹ˩ ʂa˧˥ (8)
送 親 的 歌

ɲiɤ˩-ɕi˩ tɤɤ˧˥ tɛ˧˥ tu˥ ʈi˥-tʂʻa˧˥,
日 後 有 些 話 說

tʂʻa˧˥ tu˧˥ gaŋ˩ mɤɤ˩ gaŋ˩ wɛ˩ ɕiaŋ˧˥*.
說 話 給 你 給 我 想

wu˩* laŋ˩* lio˧˥* ʂɿ˩* pia˧˥ tʂo˧˥ ma˧˥,❶
吳 龍 廖 石 五 六 姓

pia˧˥ ma˧˥ ʈi˥-pɛ˧˥ tʂʻu˧˥ʔ la˩ tʂaŋ˧˥.
五 姓 分 做 親 更迭

送親歌(其八)

日後有些話來說, 說話給你給我想。
吳龍廖石五六姓, 五姓更迭做親成。

12. ʂoŋ˥˩ʔ ʈʂʻio˩ maŋ˩ ʂa˧˥ (9)
送 親 的 歌

a˧˥-nɛ˩ a˧˥-moŋ˩ ʈi˥-ɲiɤ˩ ɕiɛ˩ʔ,
岳 父 岳 母 歡 喜 壻

❶ 苗族傳說風俗考云:"苗姓吳、龍、石、廖、廖五姓為真苗,其他,龍、廖、吳、石、迭皆姓乃外族入贅,習其俗久,遂成族類"。苗語:吳[ɕio˧˥],龍[pia˧˥],廖[ɔua˧˥ tʂa˧˥],石[ɔua˧˥ ɕiaŋ˧˥],廖[kʻa˧˥]。

ɑ˥-moŋ˩ tə˧˥ʔ-tə˧˥ʔ ʂi˥-ɲiɛ˩ wei˩.
岳母很很歡喜壻

ʂi˥-ɕiaŋ˥ ʂioŋ˩ dʐo˩ʔ ka˧˥ jɛ˩˥* ʂ'iɛ˩*,
未曾坐着把煙勸

ʂioŋ˩ dʐo˩ʔ ʂi˥-tʂoŋ˥ də˧˩ gaŋ˩ gi˩.
坐着床板就送茶

送親歌(其九)

岳父岳母歡迎壻, 岳母極意歡迎壻,
未曾坐下把煙勸, 坐在床上就送茶.

13. ʂoŋ˥ʔ ʂ'io˩ naŋ˩ ʂa˥ (10)
送親的歌

tʂo˥ ʂi˧˥* tʂo˥ dʐo˩ tɛ˥ p'u˩ qu˧˥,
斟酒斟在小盃白

tʂo˥ pɛ˥ ə˧˩ wɛ˩ʔ ʂi˥-ʂio˩ tə˧˥.
斟滿兩回返轉手

ko˥-tə˧˥ tʂ'o˩ tʂei˩ wɛ˩ ʂi˥-k'ə˧˩,
手接碗我道謝

tʂ'o˩ tʂei˩ ʂi˥-k'ə˧˩ mp'u˩ du˩ pə˧˥.
接碗道謝嫁主屋

送親歌(其十)

斟酒斟在白盃中, 斟酒兩回返轉手.
用手接碗我道謝, 接碗道謝你主嫁.

附記

以上第4至13十首是苗家娶親時女家唱的歌(參看家庭及婚姻習俗章(一)婚姻)

14. naŋ˨ tioŋ˧ ɑɑɤ˨ ʂɑ˥ (1)
陪 坐 唱 歌

ti˥-tiɛ˥* tɑ˥-neŋ˨ ʂɑ˧ mɛ˥ jo˧,
見 這 裏 也 有 少

ti˥-tʂ'ɑŋ˥ tɑ˥-neŋ˨ ʂɑ˧ mɛ˥ wɛ˨,
逢 這 裏 也 有 伴

mp'ɑ˧ lo˨ pɛ˥* mɤɤ˨ tʂ'o˧ pɛ˥* tiɤ˧,
婦 來 拜 你 跪 拜 膝

mhaŋ˥-neŋ˨ ɑ˧-mhaŋ˥ qɑ˥ ji˧* kuɛ˥*
今 夜 一 夜 莫 也 怪

mhaŋ˥-neŋ˨ noŋ˥ lhio˧ t'ɑ˨ ti˥ to˧
今 夜 吃 多 出 不 得

ti˥ to˧ ʐu˧ ʂɑ˥ lo˨ bei˧* mɛ˥.
不 得 好 歌 來 陪 你們

陪唱歌(其一)

這裏相見也少有，　　這裏相逢也僅有。
新婚來拜膝下跪，　　今天一夜也莫怪。
今夜多吃不得出，　　不得好歌來陪你。

15. naŋ˨ tioŋ˧ ɑɑɤ˨ ʂɑ˥ (2)
陪 坐 唱 歌

lo˨ lhio˧ mɛ˥ pɤɤ˥ tʂ'u˥? nɛ˥ k'ɑ˧*,
來 多 你們 屋 做 人 客

ʐu˧ dʐo˧ ti˥-tʂei˧ lo˨ tɑ˥-neŋ˨.
好 人 娶 來 這 裏

naŋ˨ tɛ˥ li˧*-ɕeŋ˥* ʈi˥ t'ə˨˩˦ pɛ˥,
像 兒 禮 行 未 透 滿

nɛ˨˩ ma˧ ʂə˨˩˦ tɛ˥ maŋ˥-ʈia˥ heŋ˧.
母 父 養 兒 盡 很

ʐu˧ ʈ'io˨ ʐu˧ la˨ ʂa˧ p'ei˨ ta˥,
好 親 好 親 也 該 到

li˧*-ɕeŋ˨* ʈi˥-po˧ gaŋ˨˩ mə˨˩˦ eŋ˥.
禮 行 擺 給 你 看

陪唱歌(其二)

多到貴府來作客, 好人多來貴府聚。
兒似禮貌未懂透, 父母養兒也太盡。
好親好親也該到, 擺着禮貌給你看。

16. naŋ˨ ʈioŋ˧ ga˨˩˦ ʂa˥ (3)
陪 坐 唱 歌

a˥-mi˨ ʂə˨˩˦ tɛ˥ ʈi˥ jaŋ˨˩ toŋ˥,
阿 媽 養 兒 不 學 工作

ʂə˨˩˦ pa˨˩˦ ʈi˥ jaŋ˨˩ ko˥-ʈioŋ˥ mbɛ˨.
養 我 不 學 舂 臼 粉,耙

nɛ˥ p'u˥ tu˧ ntʂ'a˥ ʈi˥ ɲiɛ˨ toŋ˧,
人 說 話 粗 不 喜 聽

tu˧ ʐa˨˩ ʈi˥ mɛ˥ lo˨ ta˥ wɛ˨.
話 乖 沒 有 來 到 我

ʐu˧ ʈ'io˨ ʐu˧ la˨ bei˨˩* pa˨˩˦ ʈioŋ˧,
好 親 好 親 陪 我 坐

ʐu˧ dʐo˨˩ ʈi˥-tʂei˧ lo˨ taŋ˧ wa˨.
好 人 聚 來 等 我

陪唱歌(其三)

阿媽養兒不做活, 養我不學舂粑粑.
人說粗話不喜聽, 沒有乖話來耳邊.
好親好眷陪我坐, 好人相聚來等我.

17. naŋ˨ ʈioŋ˧ ɢaɤ˨ ʂa˥ (4)
陪 坐 唱 歌

mɛ˥ qaɤ˥ nɛ˥ ʐu˧ ɲi˧ ʈi˥ lɛ˨?
你們 蒙 人 好 是 哪 個

ta˥ ɲi˧ ʈi˥ lɛ˨ mɛ˥ po˥ wɛ˨!
真 是 哪 個 你們 告 我

ʂaŋ˧ lo˨ ʈi˥-haɤ˧ maɤ˨ naŋ˨ tɛ˥,
快 來 幫 忙 你 的 兒

ʈi˥-haɤ˧ mɛ˥ tɛ˥ qa˥ ji˨ wɛ˨.
幫 忙 你們 兒 莫 惹 我

ʈi˥ to˧ ʐu˧ ʂa˥ ta˥* bei˧* mɛ˥,
不 得 好 歌 答 陪 你們

ʈi˥ ʤu˧ ko˥-ʈʻi˥ ʂa˧ ʈi˥ ŋqʻɛ˥.
不 和 肚 也 不 快

陪唱歌(其四)

貴蒙好人是哪位! 究竟是誰你告我!
快來相幫你的兒, 相幫你兒莫惹我.
不得好歌答和你, 不和心裏也不快.

18. naŋ˨ ʈioŋ˧ ɢaɤ˨ ʂa˥ (5)
陪 坐 唱 歌

wɛ˨ lo˨ tʂ'u˧? k'a˧* ʈie˩ lɦo˨ ɕia˨,
我 來 作 客 起 脚 輕

ɕia˨ lɦo˨ ɕia˨ ʈio˧ qa˧ mɛ˩ ʐaŋ˨.
輕 脚 輕 蹓 到 你們 寨

ko˩-ta˞˧ u˨ ɕi˞˧ ʈi˩ ɕiaŋ˩ k'a˩,
足 跟 水 露 不 曾 乾

tʂa˩* dʐo˨* la˞˧ ʐə˞˨ tə˞˩ teŋ˩ maŋ˨.
站 着 上 岩 有 足步 蹟

ɖio˨ ʈi˞˩* ɖio˨ lhie˧ ʈioŋ˧ tʂei˧-tʂa˩,
了 酒 了 飯 坐 自 在

mɛ˩ ʈiaŋ˧ ʂo˨ ga˞˨ lo˨ ʈi˥-tʂ'aŋ˩.
你們 放 聲 唱 來 邀

陪唱歌(其五)

我來作客起脚輕, 輕脚輕步到貴寨.
足跟露水尚未乾, 站在岩上有足蹟.
酒醉飯飽坐自在, 你放歌聲來相邀.

附記

以上第14至18五首是苗家娶親時雙方親友唱的歌.(參看家庭及婚姻習俗章(一)婚姻).

19. taŋ˧ ʈ'io˨ pu˧ nɦɛ˨ pũ˧ ji˨* p'u˩ tu˧ ʈ'io˨ (1)
迎 親 三 日 三 夜 講 話 親

tɛ˩ ʐaŋ˧ nɦɛ˨ nɦɛ˧ ŋa˨ gaŋ˧ nɛ˧,
苗 幼 日 日 哭 向 媽

kɛ˥-gɛ˨ ʂu˨* k'u˩* la˨ ʈi˩ ɖio˨.
情 情 訴 苦 總 不 完

tɛ˥ ʂaŋ˩ nɦɛ˨ nɦɛ˨ ŋa˨ gaŋ˩ nɛ˨,
孩 幼 日 日 哭 向 媽

kɛ˥-gɛ˨ ʂu˨* k'u˥* gaŋ˩ ɑɤ˥-pɑ˩.
悄 悄 訴 苦 向 阿爸

ʨi˥ to˩ ko˥-ɖiɤ˩ kaɤ˥ ʂoŋ˥? wɛ˨,
不 得 什 麼 以 送 我

ʨi˥ ʨ'io˨ ʨiɑ˥ moŋ˨ tʂ'u˥? mp'ɑ˩-ʨ'io˨.
非 親 不好 去 做 新 娘

ʨi˥ to˩ ko˥-diɤ˩ kaɤ˥ ʂoŋ˥? wɛ˨,
不 得 什 麼 以 送 我

ʨi˥ ʨ'io˨ ʨiɑ˥ moŋ˨ qa˩ nɛ˥ ʨiɑ˥*.
非 親 不好 去 到 人 家

nɛ˩ mɑ˩ ʂu˨* ɖieŋ˨* tɛ˥ ʨioŋ˩ gɛ˨,
母 父 訴 情 孩 坐 生氣

ʨi˥-ʨiɑ˩ toŋ˥-ɐɤ˨ kɛ˥-gɛ˨ jo˨.
遮 袖 衣 悄 悄 哭

nɛ˩ mɑ˩ ʂu˨* ɖieŋ˨* [illegible] ʨioŋ˩ gɛ˨,
母 父 訴 情 坐 生氣

ʨi˥-ʨiɑ˩ toŋ˥-ɐɤ˨ kɛ˥-gɛ˨ ŋa˨.
遮 袖 衣 悄 悄 泣

三朝散客歌(其一,女家唱)

小孩日日向媽哭, 悄悄訴苦說不完;
小孩日日向媽哭, 悄悄訴苦向阿爸.
沒有什麼來送我, 非親不會做新娘;
沒有什麼來送我, 非親不會到人家.
父母訴情女生氣, 遮了衣袖悄悄哭;
父母訴情女生氣, 遮了衣袖悄悄泣.

20. taŋ˧ ʈʂʰio˨ pu˧ nɦɛ˨ pu˧ ji˨˩* pʰu˥ tu˧ ʈʂʰio˨ (2)
迎親 三日 三夜 講話 親

ʈʂi˥ to˧ ɑ˥-ɕiɤ˥ pi˥-ə˨˩ ja˥,
不得 一套 衣服 單

ʈʂi˥ mɛ˥ ɑ˥-ɕiaŋ˧* pi˥-ə˨˩ mie˨˩*;
沒有 一箱 衣服 棉

ʈʂi˥ to˧ ɑ˥-ɕiɤ˥ pi˥-ə˨˩ ja˥,
不得 一套 衣服 單

ʈʂi˥ mɛ˥ ɑ˥-ɕiaŋ˧* pi˥-ə˨˩ mie˨˩*.
沒有 一箱 衣服 棉

gaŋ˨ nɛ˥ tɛ˥-ja˧ ʈʂi˥ lɛ˨˩ ɑ˥,
給 人 阿姊 哪個 一

ja˨˩ ɲi˧ ɑ˥-nɛ˨˩ naŋ˨˩ neŋ˥ ɕiɛ˨˩;
又 是 阿公 的 媳 新

gaŋ˨ nɛ˥ tɛ˥-ja˧ ʈʂi˥ lɛ˨˩ ɑ˥,
給 人 阿姊 哪個 一

ja˨˩ ɲi˧ ɑ˥-nɛ˨˩ naŋ˨˩ tɛ˥ neŋ˥.
又 是 阿公 的 小 媳

mɛ˥ ʂa˧ ɖia˨ pa˥˧ ka˥˧ bu˨ ba˨˩,
你們 也 怕 我們 把 名 壞

ʐi˥˧* tu˧ pei˥ pʰei˧ pʰu˥ lɛ˨˩ tɛ˥;
受 話 四 方 講 短 處

mɛ˥ ʂa˧ ɖia˨ pa˥˧ ka˥˧ bu˨ ba˨˩,
你們 也 怕 我們 把 名 壞

ʐi˥˧* tu˧ pei˥ pʰei˧ nɛ˥ dei˧ meŋ˨˩(moŋ˨˩),❶
受 話 四 方 人 怨 你

三朝散親歌(其二,女家唱)

❶ 你,查所原稿[mɔ˥˩]或[mɔŋ˨˩];品歌冒叶韻故改作[meŋ˨˩]。

沒有一套單衣服, 沒有一箱棉衣服.
沒有一套單衣服, 沒有一箱棉衣裳.
哪位阿姊送給人, 便是阿公新媳婦;
哪位阿姊送給人, 便是阿公小媳婦.
你也怕我把名壞, 四方受話說短長;
你也怕我把名壞, 四方受話人怨你.

21. taŋ˧ ʈʂʻio˨˩ pu˧ nɦɛ˨˩ pu˧ ji˨˩* pʻu˥˧ tu˧ ʈʂʻio˨˩ (3)
迎 親 三 日 三 夜 講 話 親

ɑ˥˧-ko˥˧ bu˨˩ teŋ˥˧ kaɤ˥˧ li˧* pʻu˥˧,
一 邊 客 地方 把 禮 講

ɑ˥˧-nɛ˨˩ ɑ˥˧-moŋ˨˩ ɲiɛ˨˩ li˧* ʈʂʻi˥˧*;
阿 公 阿 姑 知 禮 齊

ɑ˥˧-ko˥˧ bu˨˩ teŋ˥˧ kaɤ˥˧ li˧* pʻu˥˧,
一 邊 客 地方 把 禮 講

ɑ˥˧-nɛ˨˩ ɑ˥˧-moŋ˨˩ ɲiɛ˨˩ li˧* tɕʻei˥˧.
阿 公 阿 姑 知 禮 齊

ɕiɛ˧* ʈʂieŋ˥˧* mei˨˩*-ʂeŋ˨˩* ɦeɤ˧* ʈʂieŋ˥˧* tʂu˧*,
先 敬 媒 人 後 敬 主

keɤ˥˧-ɕeɤ˧ gɑŋ˨˩ ndʑiɤ˨˩ eɤ˨˩-lɛ˨˩ ndei˨˩;
媒 人 送 上 兩 疋 布

ɕiɛ˧* ʈʂieŋ˥˧* mei˨˩*-ʂeŋ˨˩* ɦeɤ˧* ʈʂieŋ˥˧* tʂu˧*,
先 敬 媒 人 後 敬 主

keɤ˥˧-ɕeɤ˧ gɑŋ˨˩ ndʑiɤ˨˩ ndei˨˩ eɤ˨˩-lɛ˨˩.
媒 人 送 上 布 兩 疋

paɤ˥˧ lɑ˨˩ ʈʂi˥˧ mɛ˥˧ teɤ˧* tu˧ pʻu˥˧,
我們 總 不 有 多 話 講

kɛ˥˧-gɛ˨˩ ʈʂi˥˧-ɲiɛ˨˩ ʈʂio˧ ko˥˧-ʈʂʻi˨˩;
情 情 歡 喜 存 腹 中

pɑɤ˧ lɑ˨ ʈi˧ mɛ˧ tɤɤ˧* tu˧ p'u˧,
我們 總 不 有 多 話 講

kɛ˥-gɛ˨ ʈi˥-ʂɑ˧ ko˧-lɑɤ˧-qɛ˧.
悄 悄 邪 視 眼 中

三朝散客歌(其三,男家唱)

客人一邊把禮講, 阿公阿姑知禮節,
客人一邊把禮講, 阿公阿姑全知禮.
先敬媒人後敬主, 媒人送上兩疋布;
先敬媒人後敬主, 媒人送上布兩疋.
我們沒有多話講, 悄悄歡喜在心中;
我們沒有多話講, 悄悄邪視在眼中;

22. tɑŋ˧ ʈ'io˨ pu˧ nɦɛ˨ pu˧ ji˨* p'u˧ tu˧ ʈ'io˨ (4)
迎 親 三 日 三 夜 講 話 親

kɤɤ˧-mei˧ loŋ˨ jɑŋ˨ tɛ˧-mp'ɑ˧ ʈiɑŋ˧,
妹 妹 來 過 女 兒 放

jɑ˨-kɤɤ˧ ʂoŋ˥? qɑ˧ pɑɤ˧ nɑŋ˨ pɛ˧;
姊 妹 送 到 我們 的 地方

kɤɤ˧-mei˧ loŋ˨ jɑŋ˨ tɛ˧-mp'ɑ˧ ʈiɑŋ˧,
妹 妹 來 過 女 兒 放

jɑ˨-kɤɤ˨ ʂoŋ˥? qɑ˧ pɑɤ˧ nɑŋ˨ tʂoŋ˧.
姊 妹 送 到 我們 的 床

ʈiɑŋ˧*-huɑŋ˧* ʈiɑŋ˧*-tʂɿ˧* mɛ˧ lɑ˨ gɑŋ˧,
帳 房 帳 子 你們 總 給

kɤɤ˧-nɤɤ˨ tʂei˧* kɑ˧* pɑ˧-kɑɤ˧ ɕiɛ˨;
前 面 再 掛 帳 鈎 新

ʈiɑŋ˧*-huɑŋ˧* ʈiɑŋ˧*-tʂɿ˧* mɛ˧ lɑ˨ gɑŋ˧,
帳 房 帳 子 你們 總 給

kɔɤ˥-nɔɤ˩ tʂei˩* ka˥ pa˥-kaɤ˩ ŋoŋ˩.
前 面 再 掛 帳 鈎 銀

ɲioʌ˩-nɦɛ˩ taˀ-maŋ˩ ʈi˥ mɛ˥ taŋ˥,
熱 天 蚊 子 不 有 進

ɲioʌ˩-noŋ˩ ʈiˀ-tʂei˥ ʈi˥ mɛ˥ p'ei˥;
冷 天 冷 風 不 有 透

ɲioʌ˩-nɦɛ˩ taˀ-maŋ˩ ʈi˥ mɛ˥ taŋ˥,
熱 天 蚊 子 不 有 進

ɲioʌ˩-noŋ˩ ʈiˀ-tʂei˥ ʈi˥ mɛ˥ p'ei˥.
冷 天 冷 風 不 有 通

三朝散客歌(其四,男家唱)

妹妹來過女兒放, 姊妹送到敝地方;
妹妹來過女兒放, 姊妹送到我們床。
帳房帳子你們送, 前面掛上新帳鈎;
帳房帳子你們送, 前面掛上銀帳鈎。
熱天蚊子沒有進, 冷天冷風不能透;
熱天蚊子沒有進, 冷天冷風不能通。

附記

以上第19至22四首是苗家娶親後第三日散客時唱的歌(參看家庭及婚姻習俗章(一)婚姻)

23. tʂ'eŋ˥* nɛ˥-k'a˩* ʈi˥ ʐei˩
請 人 客 無 來

paɤ˩ ɲi˩ qaɤ˥ neŋ˩ ʈiɛ˩ oɤ˩ mhaŋ˥,
睡 在 寨 頭 已 兩 夜

ʈiɴ to˧ koɴ-naŋ˨ gaŋ˨ jəɤ˨ ʈiɤɴ*.
不 得 什 麼 供給 下 酒

ʂeŋ˧ ŋa˨ koɴ-tɛɴ ʈiɴ queŋɴ t'aŋ˧.
地方 狹窄 地 方 不 寬 房間

tʂaɤ˧*-hoɴ* ʈiɴ to˧ tɛɴ tɛɴ məɤ˨.
招 呼 不 到 小 小 魚

tʂaŋ˧ moŋ˨ tei˧* nɛɴ qaɴ ʈiɴ-tʂ'a˧,
回 去 對 人 莫 說

tei˧* dʐu˨* ʈiɴ to˧ tu˧-lɛ˨ ȵiɛ˨.
對 住 不 得 自 己 知

ʂeŋ˧ ŋa˨ koɴ-tɛɴ ʈiɴ queŋɴ la˨,
地方 狹窄 地 方 不 寬 田

a˥-taŋɴ naŋ˨ u˨ miɛɴ pa˧ miɛɴ.
一 塘 的 水 淺 又 淺

請客無菜

睡在本寨已兩夜，　沒有什麼供下酒。
地方狹窄不寬暢，　招待不週小小魚。
回去切莫對人說，　對不住人自己知。
地方狹窄不寬廣，　一塘的水淺又淺。

附記

以上一首是苗家請客時主人唱的歌。

24. tʂ'uɴ' nɛɴ-k'a˧*
作 人 客

tʂ'uɴ' bu˨ mɛɴ teŋɴ lo˨ a˥-ji˨*,
作 客 你們 地方 來 一夜

ʈʻiɑ˥* ɦo˨ ɑ˥-ji˨* mɛ˥ naŋ˨ teŋ˥.
恰 來 一 夜 你們 的 地方

ʈʻiɛ˥* mɛ˥ ɵɤ˨-lɛ˨ ʐu˩ ko˥-li˩*,
見 你們 兩 個 好 禮 貌

ʈi˥-mba˨ li˩*-ʂeŋ˥* ɲi˩ mɵɤ˨ ʂeŋ˥ ʂei˥).❶
說 禮 貌 是 你 能

bei˩ ʂoŋ˨ bei˩ mɵɤ˨ wɛ˨ ʈi˥ bei˩,
夢 蝦 夢 魚 我 不 夢

ɲi˥-mhaŋ˥ bei˩ ta˥ pɑ˥-doŋ˨-ʂeŋ˨*.
昨 夜 夢 到 紫 微 星

作客歌

作客貴處已一夜, 恰來一夜貴地方.
見你兩個好禮貌, 要說禮貌是你能.
夢蝦夢魚我不夢, 昨夜夢到紫微星.

附記

以上一首是苗家請客時客人唱的歌.

25. ɦo˩*-ʂi˩* tɛ˥-ɲi˩ (1)
賀喜孩男

to˩ tɛ˥ pu˩-ta˩ lo˨ tʂei˩ dʐo˩,
得 子 三 朝 來 聚 人

ʈi˥-haɤ˩ ʈiaŋ˩ ʂeŋ˥* ɑ˥-kɵɤ˥ la˨.
相 就 放 心 一 處 親

ʈia˩* kuɛ˩* qo˥ neŋ˨ jaŋ˨-jaŋ˨ lhio˩
加 官 從 此 慢 慢 富

❶ 能,苗語原為[ʂei˥];此處因叶韻改讀作[ʂeŋ˥] (參看本章末叶韻一覽)。

nɑŋ˨ ndu˨ huɑ˧˥* tɛ˥ ʂɑ˧ pɛ˥ ʂɑ˨˩*.
像 木 發 枝 也 滿 山

賀生子(其一)

生子三朝來聚人, 放心相就一門親,
從此加官慢慢富, 樹木發枝也滿山.

26. ɦo˨˩*-ɕi˧˥* tɛ˥-ɲi˧ (2)
賀喜孩男

wɛ˨ lo˧ tɕ'ɔɛ˥˧* liɛ˥˧* tɕ'ɔɛ˥˧* ɖio˨ miɛ˥˧*,
我 來 醜 臉 醜 了 面

tei˧˥* dʐu˨˩* ʈi˥ to˧ ɑ˥-wɑ˨ neŋ˨.
對 住 不 得 一 回 這

ɑ˥-tɑ˥ gɑŋ˨ ʐu˧ pi˥-ɔɛ˨ ɕiɛ˨,
外 祖 送 好 衣 服 新

ʈio˥ ʐɑŋ˧ to˧ lhio˧ pi˥-ɔɛ˨ neŋ˨.
孫 幼 得 多 衣 服 穿

賀生子(其二)

我來醜醜了面, 對不住是這一回.
外祖送來新衣服, 外孫多得衣服穿.

27. ɦo˨˩*-ɕi˧˥* tɛ˥-ɲi˧ (3)
賀喜孩男

ɑ˥-tɑ˥ ŋɑ˥'ɛ˥ ʈio˥ ʐu˧ ko˥-ʎi˧˥*,
外 祖 看 孫 好 體 我

ɔɛ˨ pu˧ pei˥ ʈie˧ ko˥-jeŋ˨ pɛ˥,
二 三 回 找 雞 飯 滿

ʂu˧ mieŋ˧* ʂu˧ hua˥˩ ɑa˧ tɛ˥˩-pi˧,
好 命 好 運 見 孩 男

tɑ˥˩*-bɔ˥˩* ha˧˥ ɑa˧˥ ʂa˧ ʨi˥˩-jɛ˧.
大 伙 就 唱 也 喜 歡

nɑŋ˧ qɛ˥˩ qɔ˥˩ nɑŋ˧ jɑŋ˧-jɑŋ˧ mi˧,●
像 星 從 此 慢 慢 亮

kɔ˥˩-ŋɑŋ˥˩ meŋ˧ lhɑ˧ ʨi˥˩ mɛ˥˩ qɛ˥˩.
時 候 亮 月 一 沒 有 星

賀生子(其三)

外面看孩好雖說, 二三四挑簡便調,
好命好運得男孩, 大家就唱多喜歡,
如星從此慢慢亮, 月明時候沒有星。

附記

以上第25至27三首是苗家生了小孩請客時唱的歌。

28. ɦɔ˧*-ɕi˧* ɖiɛ˧ pɔ˥˩
賀喜造屋

ɖiɛ˧ pɔ˥˩ ɖiɛ˧ dʐɔ˧˥ ʂoŋ˧ qɔ˥˩-lo˧,
造 屋 造 着 龍 口

ɖiɛ˧ dʐɔ˧˥ tɑ˥˩-ʂoŋ˧ nɑŋ˧ pɔŋ˥˩ kuɑ˥˩,
造 着 龍 的 頭 過

ʨio˥˩ ʂɔɛ˧ lhio˧ nɑŋ˧ gu˧ ʂɔɛ˧ lhio˧,
九 代 富 和 十 代 富

● 明亮,這說屋光 [meŋ˧]; 此處用叶韻故讀你 [mi˧]。(參看本章後叶韻一節)。

miɹ lɛɹ miɹ duɹ lhioɹ jaɹ-jaɹ.
幾 個 幾 個 富 全全

賀造屋

造屋造在龍的口， 造在龍的頸項邊。
九代富來十代富， 人人個個全全富。

附記

以上一首是苗家建造房屋請客時唱的歌。

29. noŋˬ pieɹ❶ (1)
吃 水牛

noŋˬ pieɹ poˬ* taˬ laɹ peiˬ koˬ,
吃 水牛 報 到 裏 四 邊

koˬ* tʂ'uɹ* ʈ'ieŋˬ* boŋɹ* mɛˬ ɲaɹ loŋɹ;
各 處 裏 朋 你們 也 來

noŋˬ pieɹ poˬ* taˬ laɹ peiˬ koˬ,
吃 水牛 報 到 裏 四 邊

koˬ* tʂ'uɹ* ʈ'ieŋˬ* boŋɹ* mɛˬ ɲaɹ taˬ.
各 處 裏 朋 你們 也 到

taˬ ɲiɛɹ ʈ'ieŋˬ* ʈiɛˬ* mɛˬ jaɹ loŋɹ,
到 日期 請 酒 你們 全 來

ɲiɹ dʐoŋɹ tʂaɛɹ ʑiˬ diɛɹ*-diɛɹ* loŋɹ;
是 人 從 哪裏 全 全 來

taˬ ɲiɛɹ ʈ'ieŋˬ* ʈiɛˬ* mɛˬ jaɹ loŋɹ,
到 日期 請 酒 你們 全 來

❶吃牛,本來是牛,其他苗牛用水牛來翻譯(參看基爾與宿敵第1.首歌(4)殺牛)。

ɲi˧ dʐoŋ˩ tʂa˧˥ ʈi˥ loŋ˩ ɖie˩*-ɖie˩*.
是 人 從 哪 來 全 全

pa˧˥ ɕiaŋ˧* taŋ˧ mɛ˥ ɑ˥-t'ɛ˧ ɲia˩,
我們 想 待 你們 一 餐 肉

gaŋ˩ mɛ˥ noŋ˥ tʂ'a˧˥ ʂaŋ˧-ʂaŋ˧ moŋ˩;
給 你們 吃 飽 快 快 去

pa˧˥ ɕiaŋ˧* taŋ˧ mɛ˥ ɑ˥-t'ɛ˧ ɲia˩,
我們 想 待 你們 一 餐 肉

gaŋ˩ mɛ˥ da˩*-da˩* po˥* ji˩* tʂ'a˥˧*.
給 你們 大 大 飽 一 餐

吃牛歌(其一)

吃牛報往四處親, 各處親朋也都來;
吃牛報往四處親, 各處親朋也來到.
到期請酒你全來, 各處客人全全來;
到期請酒你全來, 各處客人來全全.
我想待你一餐肉, 給你吃飽快快去;
我想待你一餐肉, 給你大大飽一餐.

80. noŋ˥ ɲie˩ (2)
吃 水牛

ʂa˥˧* to˧* ʂu˧-ɲie˩ ʂoŋ˥? mieŋ˩ ʈi˧˥*,
算 得 好 日 趕 大 酒

ʂu˧-ɲi˧˥ ta˥ ŋaŋ˥ tʂ'a˥ noŋ˥ ɲie˩;
好 日 到 時 才 吃 牛

ʂa˥˧* to˧* ʂu˧-ɲie˩ ʂoŋ˥? mieŋ ʈi˧˥*,
算 得 好 日 趕 大 酒

ʂa˥˧* to˧* ʂu˧-ɲi˧˥ tʂ'a˥ t'ieŋ˧* ɕi˥*.
算 得 好 日 才 請 客

lhie˧ gaŋ˩ t'iɛ˧*-kuɛ˧* ɖi˩*-lieŋ˩* tɕɿ˥*,
要 送 天 官 戴 帽 子

tɕ˥-mp'a˧ tɕ˥-ɲioŋ˧ ʝa˩-ʝa˩ mɛ˥;
女 兒 男 兒 全全 有

lhie˧ gaŋ˩ t'iɛ˧*-kuɛ˧* ɖi˩*-lieŋ˩* tɕɿ˥*,
要 送 毛 官 戴 帽 子

tɕ˥-mp'a˧ tɕ˥-ɲioŋ˧ ʝa˩-ʝa˩ pi˥.
女 兒 男 兒 全全 生

吃牛歌(其二)

算得好日送大酒, 好日到時才吃牛;
算得好日送大酒, 算得好日才請席,
要送天官戴帽子, 女兒男兒全全有,
要送天官戴帽子, 女兒男兒全全生.

附記

以上兩首是苗家舉行椎牛祭典請客飲酒的歌.(參看巫術與宗教章1. 苗教(4)椎牛).

81. ʐa˧ ʐoŋ˩˨(1)
接 龍

tɕei˧ ʈ'io˩ tɕei˧ la˩ ta˧ ɲioŋ˧ loŋ˩,
來 圍 來 看 我 人家 來

mɛ˥ tɕei˥* ʐa˧ ʐoŋ˩ pa˥˧ loŋ˩ tɕɿ˥;
你們 來 接 龍 我們 來 看

tɕei˧ ʈ'io˩ tɕei˧ la˩ ta˧ ɲioŋ˧ loŋ˩,
來 圍 來 看 我 人家 來

mɛ˥ tɕei˥˩* ʂa˧ ʂoŋ˨˩ pa˧˥ tɕ'a˧ tɕa˥.
你們 寨 接 龍 我們 才 看

ŋo˨˩* tɕa˧* mo˨˩* ɕiaŋ˧* ʂu˧ t'ɿ˥˩* pia˨˩,
我 轉 莫 想 好 吃 肉

ʐioŋ˧ neŋ˨˩ wɛ˨˩ lhie˧ mɛ˥ pia˨˩ noŋ˥;
坐 這 我 要 你們 肉 吃

ŋo˨˩* tɕa˧* mo˨˩* ɕiaŋ˧* ʂu˧ ʑ'i˨˩* pia˨˩,
我 轉 莫 想 好 吃 肉

ʐioŋ˧ neŋ˨˩ wɛ˨˩ lhie˧ mɛ˥ ʂa˥ bioŋ˨˩.
坐 這 我 要 你們 歌 出

接龍歌(其一)

聚聚聚客人多來, 貴寨接龍我來看;
聚聚聚客人多來, 貴寨接龍我才看.
遠去不想好肉吃, 坐等你們肉來吃;
遠去不想好肉吃, 坐等你們歌來唱.

82. ʂa˧ ʂoŋ˨˩ (2)
接龍

ʐie˥˩* loŋ˨˩* tɕei˧ dʐoŋ˨˩ mɛ˥ ta˥ pioŋ˧,
接 龍 聚 人 有 幾 人寨

pa˧˥ loŋ˨˩ tɕ'u˥˩? k'a˧* mɛ˥ nāŋ˨˩ tɛ˥;
我們 來 作 客 你們 的 地方

ʐie˥˩* loŋ˨˩* tɕei˧ dʐoŋ˨˩ mɛ˥ ta˥ pioŋ˧,
接 龍 聚 人 有 幾 人寨

pa˧˥ loŋ˨˩ tɕ'u˥˩ k'a˧ mɛ˥ naŋ˨˩ tɛ˥,
我們 來 作 客 你們 的 地坪

ʐi˥-noŋ˥˩ ʐi˥-ɑa˧˥ mɛ˥ qa˥ jaŋ˨˩,
吃 唱 你們 莫 多

p'u˧ tu˧ pi˥* li˧* mɛ˧ dʐei˩ tʂ'ei˧;
說 話 比 雖 有 層 次

ʈi˥-noŋ˧ ʈi˥-ɑɤ˩ mɛ˧ qɑ˧ jɑŋ˩,
吃 唱 你們 莫 多

p'u˧ tu˧ pi˥* li˧* ɲi˧ moŋ˩ ʈiɛ˧,
說 話 比 雖 是 你 成

ɑ˥-lɛ˩ to˧ tu˧ ɵɤ˩-lɛ˩ noŋ˩,
一個 得 話 兩個 聽

ɑ˥-tu˧ dʐa˩* gu˩ ʂ˩* dʐa˩* pɛ˧*;
一句 傳 十 十 傳 百

ɑ˥-lɛ˩ to˧ tu˧ ɵɤ˩-lɛ˩ noŋ˩,
一個 得 話 兩個 聽

ɑ˥-tu˧ dʐa˩* gu˩ pɛ˧* dʐa˩ ʈ'iɛ˧*,
一句 傳 十 百 傳 千

p'u˧ moŋ˩ tɛ˧-jɑ˧ dʐei˩* ɕio˧* kuɑŋ˧*,
說 你 姊妹 才 學 廣

weŋ˩* mieŋ˩* ʈiɛ˧* miɛ˧* k'o˧* ji˩* tɛ˧*,
聞 名 見 面 可 以 得

p'u˧ moŋ˩ tɛ˧-jɑ˧ dʐei˩* ɕio˧* kuɑŋ˧*,
說 你 姊妹 才 學 廣

weŋ˩* mieŋ˩* ʈiɛ˧* miɛ˧* peŋ˧* ko˧* ʐɛ˩*.
聞 名 見 面 本 果 然

接龍歌(其二)

接龍泉人有幾家, 我來作客貴地方;
接龍泉人有幾家, 我來作客貴地坪.
吃喝歌唱你莫多, 講話比雖有層次;
吃喝歌唱你莫多, 講話比雖是你成.
一個講話兩個聽, 一句傳十十傳百;
一個講話兩個聽, 一句傳十百傳千.

說你姊妹才學廣， 聞名見面可以得；
說你姊妹才學廣， 聞名見面本果然。

附記

以上兩首是苗家舉行接龍祭典請客時唱的歌（參看巫術與宗教章1. 苗教(14)接龍）。

38. pa˧˥ mo˧˥-pie˨˩● (1)
打 花 鼓

a˥-le˨˩ mi˥ no˧˥ mo˧˩ ʂie˨˩ ʐu˨˩,
一個 大 鼓 你 成 好

a˥-le˨˩ mi˥ du˨˩ mo˧˩ pei˥ pɛ˥;
一個 大 鼓 你 會 擂

a˥-le˨˩ mi˥ no˧˥ mo˧˩ ʂie˨˩ ʐu˨˩,
一個 大 鼓 你 成 好

a˥-le˨˩ mi˥ du˨˩ mo˧˩ pei˥ tʂ'a˥,
一個 大 鼓 你 會 起(打)

pei˥ pa˧˥ ja˨˩ pei˥ ʂie˨˩ kua˨˩ pa˧˥*
會 打 又 會 成 鈎 手

pei˥ ta˧˥ ja˨˩ pei˥ ʂie˨˩ kua˨˩ qɛ˥;
會 打 又 會 成 鈎 小指

pei˥ pa˧˥ ja˨˩ pei˥ ʂie˨˩ kua˨˩ pa˧˥,
會 打 又 會 成 鈎 手

pei˥ ta˧˥ ja˨˩ pei˥ ʂie˨˩ kua˨˩ nda˨˩.
會 打 又 會 成 鈎 大指

● [mo˧˥] 是說，[pie˨˩] 是水牛；直譯當為水牛說之後，接打花鼓。又名打銅鼓，多在稻牛祭祭中舉行，因稻牛所用的犧牲多用水牛，故有水牛說之名。因銅鼓之名，則以其打鼓時加銅鼓伴，故漢人習以為名。（參看巫術與宗教章1. 苗教(4)稻牛）。

打花鼓歌(其一)

一個大鼓你放好, 一個大鼓你會擂;
一個大鼓你放好, 一個大鼓你會打。
會打又會打鈎手, 會打又會鈎小指;
會打又會打鈎手, 會打又會鈎大指。

84. paɤ˥ noŋ˥-pie˨ (2)
打 花 鼓

tɕ'ei˧˥ wɛ˨ loŋ˨ paɤ˥ mɛ˥ noŋ˥ boŋ˨,
催喊 我 來 打 你們 鼓 響

tɕ'ei˧˥ jɑ˧ loŋ˨ paɤ˥ ʂiɤ˧˥ tɔɤ˥ mo˨:●
喊 妹 來 打 皮 棒 花

tɕ'ei˧˥ wɛ˨ loŋ˨ paɤ˥ mɛ˥ noŋ˥ boŋ˨,
催喊 我 來 打 你們 鼓 響

tɕ'ei˧˥ jɑ˧ loŋ˨ paɤ˥ ʂiɤ˧˥ tɔɤ˥ jɔɤ˨.
喊 妹 來 打 皮 棒 牛

paɤ˥ noŋ˥ ɕiaŋ˧˥* jeŋ˨* mɛ˥ ɑ˥-ko˥,
打 鼓 相 贏 你們 一 邊

paɤ˥ tɛ˧˥ mi˥ du˨ ɕiaŋ˧˥* jeŋ˨* mɔɤ˨;
打 得 大 鼓 相 贏 你

paɤ˥ noŋ˥ ɕiaŋ˧˥* jeŋ˨* mɛ˥ ɑ˥-ko˥,
打 鼓 相 贏 你們 一 邊

paɤ˥ tɛ˧˥ mi˥ du˨ ɕiaŋ˧˥* jeŋ˨* pɔɤ˥.
打 得 大 鼓 相 贏 他

打花鼓歌(其二)

● [mo˨] 的韻母 [o] 與 [jɔɤ˨] [mɔɤ˨] [pɔɤ˥] 的韻母 [ɔɤ] 區別。(參看本章語音第一節)。

喊我來打你鼓響, 喊妹來打花皮棒;
喊我來打你鼓響, 喊妹來打牛皮棒。
打鼓相贏你一遍, 打得大鼓相贏你。
打鼓相贏你一遍, 打得大鼓相贏他。

85. pa˧˥ noŋ˥˧-pie˨˩ (8)
打 花 鼓

tɕ'ei˨˩˨ wɛ˨˩ loŋ˨˩ pa˧˥ mɛ˧˥ noŋ˥˧ boŋ˨˩,
催喊 我 來 打 你們 鼓 響

ko˧˥-tɔ˧˥ tɕ'oŋ˧˥ ʂi˧˥ ʂi˧˥ ɕiaŋ˨˩ ɕei˧˥;
手 槌 皮 宋 曾 會

tɕ'ei˨˩˨ wɛ˨˩ loŋ˨˩ pa˧˥ mɛ˧˥ noŋ˥˧ boŋ˨˩,
催喊 我 打 鼓 你們 鼓 響

ko˧˥-tɔ˧˥ tɕ'oŋ˧˥ ʂi˧˥ ʂi˧˥ ɕiaŋ˨˩ ʐaŋ˨˩.
手 槌 皮 宋 曾 打

ta˧˥* ku˥˧* ɕa˧˥* ɕɿ˧˥* lu˨˩* ji˨˩* t'a˧˥˨˩*,
打 鼓 三 十 六 一 套

tɕei˧˥* ɕioŋ˨˩ lhie˨˩ tɕei˧˥ a˥˧-haŋ˨˩* ʂi˧˥;
在 人家 要 指 一 項 哪

ta˧˥* ku˥˧* ɕa˧˥* ɕɿ˨˩* lu˨˩* ji˨˩* t'a˧˥˨˩*,
打 鼓 三 十 六 一 套

tɕei˧˥* ɕioŋ˨˩ lhie˨˩ tɕei˧˥ na˨˩* ji˨˩*-haŋ˨˩*.
在 人家 要 指 哪 一 項

打花鼓歌(其三)

喊我來打你鼓響, 手頭皮槌宋曾會;
喊我來打你鼓響, 手頭皮槌宋曾打。
打鼓三十六一套, 在人要指哪一項;

打鼓三十六一套， 在人要指哪一樣。

附記

以上第33,34,35三首是苗人打花鼓時唱的歌。(參看鼓舞與遊技章(一)鼓舞及巫術與宗教章1.苗教(4)椎牛)。

36. dɯ˨ ʂ'iɤ˧ (1)
打 秋

tɕeŋ˥˩* jɛ˨˩* tɕ'u˧˥* pɑ˥˩* kaɤ˥˩ ʂ'iɤ˧ ʂiɤ˥˩,
正 月 初 八 把 秋 豎

tɕoɤ˥˩ tɕa˧ koɤ˥˩ loŋ˧ pu˧-lɑ˨ qɛ˥˩:
捆 紮 梢 頂 三 個 角

tɕeŋ˥˩* jɛ˨˩* tɕ'u˧˥* pɑ˥˩* kaɤ˥˩ ʂ'iɤ˧ ʂiɤ˥˩,
正 月 初 八 把 秋 豎

tɕoɤ˥˩ tɕa˧ koɤ˥˩ loŋ˧ lɑ˨ ɑ˥-ɕɛ˥˩.
捆 紮 梢 頂 總 一樣

tɕoŋ˧˥* tɕei˧˥* ji˩˨* tɕeŋ˥˩* lɛ˨˩* pɑŋ˧˥* tɕoɤ˧˥*,
乘 塞 一 陣 來 就 做

ʐu˧ ʂiɤ˥˩* mi˧˥* ɦua˩˨* ʂ'i˨˩* haɤ˥˩* ɕiɛ˥˩*;
好 酒 來 飯 吃 好 些

tɕoŋ˧˥* tɕei˧˥* ji˩˨* tɕeŋ˥˩* lɛ˨˩* pɑŋ˧˥* tɕoɤ˧˥*,
乘 塞 一 陣 來 就 做

ʐu˧ ʂiɤ˥˩* mi˧˥* ɦua˩˨* ʂ'i˨˩* to˧˥* ɕiɛ˥˩*.
好 酒 來 飯 吃 多 些

tɕ'u˥? ʂiɤ˧ lio˧-huɑ˥˩ nha˧? paɤ˥˩ ndiɤ˩˨,
做 成 秋 架 頭 我們 上

ɑ˥-bɑ˨˩* mɑ˥-ʐɑŋ˧ ʂi˥-ɕei˧ qɛ˥˩;
一 班 青 年 笑 眯 眯

tɕ'u˥? ʂiɤ˧ lio˧-huɑ˥˩ nha˧? paɤ˥˩ ndiɤ˩˨,
做 成 秋 架 頭 我們 上

ɑ˥-bɑ˨˩˦* mɑ˧˥-ʂɑŋ˧ ʈi˥-ɲiɛ˨˩ jɛ˨˩.
一 班 青 年 歡 喜

打秋歌(其一)

正月初八把秋豎, 捆紮頂梢三個角;
正月初八把秋豎, 捆紮頂梢綁一梭.
亲亲一陣來就做, 好酒米飯吃好些;
亲亲一陣來就做, 好酒米飯吃多些.
做成秋架喊我上, 一班青年笑詼詼;
做成秋架喊我上, 一班青年笑嘻嘻.

87. du˨˩ ʈʻiɛ˧˥* (2)
打 秋

goɛ˨˩ ʈio˧ wɛ˨˩˦* ɲiɛ˨˩˦* ɲi˧ lhɑ˧-ɑ˥,
喜 年 完 年 是 月 一

tɛ˧˥-mpʻɑ˧ tɛ˧˥-ɲi˧ ɕɑ˧ lo˨˩ tɕei˧;
女 男 也 來 耍

goɛ˨˩ ʈio˧ wɛ˨˩˦* ɲiɛ˨˩˦* ɲi˧ lhɑ˧-ɑ˥,
喜 年 完 年 是 月 一

tɛ˧˥-mpʻɑ˧ tɛ˧˥-ɲi˧ ɕɑ˧ lo˨˩ ɖi˨˩˦*.
女 男 也 來 齊

wɛ˨˩˦* ɲiɛ˨˩˦* tɕoɛ˧˥* ko˧˥* ʈʻiɛ˧˥* lɛ˨˩˦* pɑ˧˥*,
完 年 做 個 秋 來 耍

ʈi˥-nhɑ˧˥? lhie˧ du˨˩ pɑ˧˥* ʂɑŋ˨˩˦* tʻɛ˨˩˦*;
哦 要 打 八 人 推

wɛ˨˩˦* ɲiɛ˨˩˦* tɕoɛ˧˥* ko˧˥* ʈʻiɛ˧˥* lɛ˨˩˦* pɑ˧˥*,
完 年 做 個 秋 來 耍

ʈi˥-nhɑ˧˥? lhie˧ du˨˩ pɑ˧˥* ʂɑŋ˨˩˦* dɛ˨˩˦*.
哦 要 打 八 人 抬

ɕiɛ˧*-ʈiɑ˥* jɛ˩* tʂaɤ˧ tɑ˥-loŋ˧ tʂa˧,
仙 家 也 從 頂 上 見

ʈʻiʌ*-ʈiɛ˥*● ŋqʻɛ˧ ɑa˩ geŋʌ* hue˧* ɕi˧*;
七 姊 看 見 更 歡 喜

ɕiɛ˧*-ʈiɑ˥* jɛ˩* tʂaɤ˧ tɑ˥-loŋ˧ tʂa˧,
仙 家 也 從 頂 上 見

ʈʻiʌ*-ʈiɛ˥* ŋqʻɛ˧ ɑa˩ tɤɤ˧* ɕi˧* hue˧*.
七 姊 看 見 多 喜 歡

打秋歌(其二)

歲喜年終是正月, 男男女女都來耍;
歲喜年終是正月, 男男女女都來齊.
年終做個秋來耍, 都叫要打八人推;
年終做個秋來耍, 都叫要打八人抬.
仙家也從頂上見, 七姊看見更歡喜;
仙家也從頂上見, 七姊看見多喜歡.

88. du˩ ʈʻiɤ˧* (3)
打 秋

lio˧-huɑ˥ ʈi˥-hɤɤ˥ ʈiɛ˧ noŋ˥ boŋ˩,
秋 架 聲 響 成 鼓 響

jiʌ* ʈi˧* dʑɛŋ˩* mieŋ˩* ʈʻiɛ˧* ɕiɑʌ* ɕiaŋ˧*;
一 聲 成 名 天 下 響

lio˧-huɑ˥ ʈi˥-hɤɤ˥ ʈiɛ˧ noŋ˥ boŋ˩,
秋 架 聲 響 成 鼓 響

● 苗中傳說,天上有七姊妹,即七星,按星,常之第一星大姊,第二姊,……第七姊。

jiʌ* ʈiʌ* dʐeŋ˨* mieŋ˨* ʈ'iɛ˧* ɕiɑʌ* jɑŋ˨*.
一 舉 成 名 天 下 揚

ʈ'iɛ˧* pieŋ˧* ɖi˨* hu˧* loŋ˨* ʈieŋ˨*, doŋ˨*
天 兵 地 府 龍 驚 動

pɑɤ˥ tʂɑɤ˧ qoɤ˥ toŋ˥ lɑ˨ ʂɑ˧ noŋ˨;
我們 從 遠 地 總 也 聽

ʈ'iɛ˧* piɑŋ˧* ɖi˨* hu˧* loŋ˨* ʈieŋ˨* doŋ˨*
天 兵 地 府 龍 驚 動

pɑɤ˥ tʂɑɤ˧ qoɤ˥ toŋ˥ lɑ˨ ʂɑ˧ ɲiɛ˨.
我們 從 遠 地 總 也 知

koɤ˧-mei˨ loŋ˨ tɑ˥ mɛ˥ tʂei˨* ʈioŋ˧,
妹 來 到 你們 寨 坐

ʐei˨ lɑ˨ loŋ˨ ndiɤʌ huɑ˥* dɛ˨* ɖiɑŋ˨*;
拖 哥 來 上 花 樓 場

koɤ˧-mei˨ loŋ˨ tɑ˥ mɛ˥ tʂei˨* ʈioŋ˧,
妹 來 到 你們 寨 坐

ʐei˨ lɑ˨ loŋ˨ ndiɤʌ lio˧-huɑ˥ ɕiɛ˨.
拖 哥 來 上 鞦 架 新

打鞦歌(其三)

鞦架作聲成鼓響, 一舉成名天下揚;
鞦架作聲成鼓響, 一舉成名天下揚.
天兵地府龍驚動, 我從遠處總也聽;
天兵地府龍驚動, 我從遠處總也知.
小妹來到貴寨坐, 拖哥來上花樓場;
小妹來到貴寨坐, 拖哥來上新鞦架.

附記

以上86,87,88,三首是苗人打秋時唱的歌.(參看鼓舞與遊技章(二)遊技(4)打秋).

89. koˬ-ʈʿiˏ ɕiaŋˏ* koˬ-mpʿaˏ (1)
心 想 婦 女

laɤˏ-qɛˬ tʂaˏ mpʿaˏ koˬ-ʈʿiˏ ɕiaŋˏ*,
眼 見 婦人 心 想

kɛ˥-gɛˏ ɕiaŋˏ* mɔɤˏ dʐoˏ taˬ-nɛˏ(neŋˏ).❶
悄悄 想 你 在 這裏

ɲiˏ kuɛˏ* lhieˏ kaɤˬ pieŋˬ*-ʈʿiɛˏ*❷ gaŋˏ,
在 官 要 把 裏 帖 送

lhieˏ tʂʿuˬ? pieŋˬ*-ʈʿiɛˏ* gaŋˏ moŋˏ ŋqʿɛˏ.
要 做 裏 帖 給 你 看

ɦuaˏ*-kiɛˬ* loˏ loˏ koˬ-ʐɔɤˏ ʐaŋˏ,
凡 間 下 來 時 幼

liˏ*-ɕeŋˬ* ʈi˥-paˏ gaŋˏ moŋˏ ŋqʿɛˏ.
連 行 擺 給 你 看

心想婦人(其一)

眼見佳人心裏想, 悄悄想你在心裏.
在官要把裏帖送, 要做裏帖給你看.
凡間下來是妙年, 連行擺着給你看.

---

❶這裏,苗語原爲[taˬ-ɔŋˏ],此處因叶韻之故,改讀作[taˬ-nɛˏ].(參看本章鼓叶韻一段).

❷裏帖,苗語,此處是情書之意.苗人知道要將男情送給女方時用的是裏帖;因即以爲要將愛情表達於對方時用的情書,也稱裏帖.

40. koɴ-ʈʂʻiɴ ɕiaŋ˧˥* koɴ-mpʻa˧˥ (2)
心 想 婚 女

queiɴ-qɛɴ ʈʂiɛ˧˥ ɖʐio˧˥ nduʌ˧˥ ʈʂʻiɤ˧˥ ʂaŋ˧˥,
眉 毛 成 了 樹 柳 嫩

pʻo˧˥-mɛ˧˥ naŋ˧˥ peŋɴ taɴ a˥-tʂəɤɴ.●
臉 面 似 花 開 一 朵

ʈʂi˥-ɲhɛ˧˥ ɕiaŋ˧˥* naŋ˧˥ ʈʂi˥-mhaŋɴ ɕiaŋ˧˥*,
白 天 想 和 黑 夜 想

koɴ-ʈʂʻiɴ jɛ˧˥ ʂu˧˥ ʈʂiɴ ʈʂʻiaŋɴ pʻuɴ.
心 愛 好 不 能 講

心想婚人(其二)

眉毛有如嫩柳葉, 臉面好似一朵花.
白天想來黑夜想, 心裏愛好不能講.

41. nei˧˥-kəɤɴ ʈʂi˥-tʂʻaŋ˧˥ koɴ-mpʻa˧˥
路 遇 婚 女

tʻa˧˥-ɲhɛ˧˥ a˥-ɲhɛ˧˥ pəɤɴ ʈʂi˥-tʂʻaŋ˧˥,
今 天 一 天 我們 遇

ʈʂi˥-tʂʻaŋ˧˥ ʈʂi˥-ʈʂa˧˥ nɛɴ naŋ˧˥ əɤɴ.
遇 見 人 的 妻

ʈʂaɴ-ʂoŋ˧˥ ʈʂi˥-tʂa˧˥ lioɴ u˧˥ taŋɴ?,
鴛 鴦 見 泉 水 塘

ta˥-tɛɴ ʈʂi˥-tʂʻaŋ˧˥ nduʌ˧˥ peŋɴ tʂəɤɴ.
蜂 遇 樹 花 蕊

● [ʂəɤɴ] 的韻母 [əɤɴ] 與 [pʻuɴ] 的韻母 [u] 通韻。(參看本章的通韻一節)。

mɛ˥ mieŋ˨˩* ʈi˥-ʂa˧ ʈi˥ mieŋ˨˩* naŋ˧,
有 命 見 無 命 合

qɛ˥-lha˧ lhie˧ mɛ˨˩ na˧˥* ta˥ tə˧˥.
要 要 取 難 到 手

途遇婦人

今天我們來相遇，　相遇相見他人妻。
雲雀相見泉水塘，　雲蜂相遇在花園。
有命相見無命合，　要取明星難到手。

42. ko˥-mp'a˧ ʈi˥-ʂ'ei˧ ɕiɛ˨˩*-ji˨˩*
婦 女 推 辭 嫌 疑

hu˧ pa˧˥ ŋua˨˩?-dʐa˨˩? kua˧ o˥-ʈio˧,
跟 我們 玩 耍 過 年 ,

mɛ˥ tɛ˥ ʂoŋ˥? gaŋ˨ ʂ'u˥? nɛ˥ ə˧˥.
有 兒 送 給 做 人 妻

ho˥*-ʂeŋ˥* hua˨˩* ʂa˨* mə˧˥ ʈi˥-ʐu˧,
好 生 劃 算 你 好

qa˥ moŋ˨ maŋ˧*-je˨˩* hua˨˩* ʈi˥-li˧˥.
莫 去 盲 眼 劃 錯

ʈi˥ p'ei˨ ʂaŋ˥ p'u˥ tɛ˥-tɛ˥ tu˧,
不 談 再 說 小 小 話

taŋ˥*-ʂeŋ˨˩* nda˨ mə˧˥ ʈiɛ˧ k'oŋ˨-ʂə˧˥*(tɕi˥)
當 心 罵 你 成 蠱 子

婦人遊說

跟我玩耍過幾年，　有女嫁給人做妻。
好生劃算你才好，　莫去盲眼劃算錯。

不該再說小小話， 當心罵你是蠢子

附記

以上第39,40,41,42四首是苗中的情歌.前兩首在舉行各種集會時也有唱的,後兩首則大都是在山野男女相遇時所唱。

48. t'ɔɤ˧*-huei˧* no˨* (1)
土 匪 關

fu˨*-na˨* ʂi˥-tʂ'o˧* ʂiɛ˧ ta˥ ʂio˧,
湖 南 吵 已 幾 年

ʐa˨ ɲi˧ ʂi˥ lɛ˨ naŋ˧ ʂioŋ˧ ɲiɛ˥.
任 是 哪 個 只 坐 哭

ɕiɛ˧*-t'oŋ˥* ʂioŋ˧ waŋ˨* ʂi˥ tɤɤ˥ bu˨,
宣 統 坐 王 沒 有 名

ko˥-jeŋ˨* ʂio˥* gaŋ˨ jɛ˨*-ʂʅ˨*-k'ɛ˥*.
印 交 給 袁 世 凱

ma˥-neŋ˨ pɛ˧*-ʂeŋ˨* ja˨-ja˨ k'u˥*,
如 今 百 姓 全 全 苦

dʐei˨*-tʂʅ˥* tʂ'o˧*-no˨* ʂi˥ to˧ dɛ˨.
賊 子 吵 鬧 不 得 息

dei˨*-huaŋ˥* ɖiɛ˨*-ɖiɛ˨* tʂ'u˥? ʂi˥ to˧,
地 方 全 全 做 不 得

pa˧* ɲi˥ da˨* ɖi˨* naŋ˧ ʂioŋ˧ ɲiɛ˥.
搬 在 大 地 只 坐 哭

mieŋ˨*-kuei˥* ʂiɛ˧ ɖio˨ ɤɤ˨ gu˨ ʂio˧,
民 國 成 了 二 十 年

t'ɔɤ˧*-huei˥* hua˥ pɛ˥ a˥-tu˧ teŋ˥.
土 匪 關 滿 一 片 地

ʂi˥ ʂ'iaŋ˥ pa˥* hua˧* ʂ'iɤ˧ ʂi˥ ʐu˧,
不 得 辦 法 愁 不 好

pɛ˧*-ʂeŋ˨˩* ja˨˩-ja˨˩ ʈi˥˧ ʈ'iaŋ˥˧ ɲieŋ˨˩.
百 姓 全全 不 得 在

dei˨˩*-huaŋ˥˧* hu˧-da˨˩ kaɤ˥˧ ndaɤ˨˩ ko˧*,
地 方 團體 把 狀 告

ɲa˧ to˧ t'oŋ˥˧*-lieŋ˨˩*❶ haɤ˧ tʂa˧* kieŋ˥˧.
也 得 統 領 幫 紮 兵

闖土匪歌(其一)

湖南吵鬧已有年，　任是哪個只坐哭。
宣統坐位沒有名，　印信交給袁世凱。
如今百姓個個苦，　賊子吵鬧不得息。
地方完全做不成，　擱在大地只坐哭。
民國成立二十年，　土匪鬧滿一片地，
不得辦法愁不愁，　百姓個個不得住。
地方團體把狀告，　也得統領幫紮兵。

44. t'ɤɤ˧*-hueiɤ˥˧* no˨˩*(2)
土 匪 鬧

ko˥˧-ɕioŋ˥˧ ʈi˥-tʂ'o˧* ʈiɛ˧ ta˥˧ ʈio˧,
苗 家 吵 已 幾 年

ʐiɤ˨˩* k'u˥˧* ʐiɤ˨˩* na˧* ʈioŋ˧ ta˥˧-neŋ˨˩.
受 苦 受 難 坐 這 裏

pi˥-qaɤ˥˧ ko˥˧-ʐeŋ˥˧ ʈi˥˧ tɤɤ˥˧ lu˨˩*,
山 坡 山 峯 沒 有 路

la˨˩ u˨˩ ɦuaŋ˨˩* tʂ'u˥˧? po˥˧-pi˥˧ ɲieŋ˨˩.
田 水 荒 做 草 坪 荒

❶統領,這即舊軍官名,相當於現在軍制的旅長。這人不知,圖給舊稱。

ɑ˥-pɑ˧? ʈɤ˧ bieŋ˨˩* jɑ˨˩ tɑ˥* hu˧*,
一 半 因 貧 才 打 富

qɔɤ˥ lɔ˧ ɕiɛ˧* ɖiɔ˨˩ ʂɑɤ˧*-pɑ˥*-ɕieŋ˧*.
遠 空 現 了 掃 把 星

nɛ˥-kueŋ˥ nɛ˥-ŋɔ˨˩* loŋ˨˩*-ʂɑ˧*-u˥*.❶
人 鬼 人 惡 龍 三 五

tɔɤ˥*-li˨˩* nɑŋ˨˩ dʐɔ˧ mɛ˥ tɑ˥-meŋ˨˩.
獨 立 的 人 有 許 多

ɑ˥-pɑ˧? dɔɤ˨˩ ɲi˧ tʂei˧-kɑɤ˥-ʐu˥❷,
一 半 就 是 土 蠻 龍

tɑ˥-ʈi˥ ʂɑ˧ ɲi˧ kɔ˥-pɔ˥ huei˥*.
到 處 也 是 窠 匪

piɑ˥-qɛ˥ ŋɑ˧*❸ daŋ˧* ʂɑ˧ ʂeŋ˧*-ʐu˧,
天 星 庵 堂 也 生 好

tɑ˥*-hɔ˥* tʂ'u˥? ʐu˧ ɑ˥-lɛ˨˩ tʂei˥*.
大 夥 做 好 一 個 寨

ʈi˥ mbɑ˨˩ t'ɔɤ˧*-huei˥* tɑ˥-wei˥ bɔ˨˩.
不 想 土 匪 忽 然 進

ɦɔ˧*-ɕiaŋ˨˩* kɔ˥* ndɑ˧ tɔɤ˥?-tɔɤ˥? peŋ˥.
和 尚 告 罵 很 很 怕

ʈi˥ mɛ˥ kɔ˥-p'ei˧ tʂ'u˥? ʈi˥-ʐu˧,
沒 有 法 子 做 好

ʂɑ˧* jeŋ˨˩*❹ pɛ˥*-ʂeŋ˨˩* nɑŋ˧ ʈioŋ˧ eŋ˥.
三 營 百 姓 只 坐 着

dɑ˨˩*-tʂɑŋ˥* ʈioŋ˥ kieŋ˥ lɔ˨˩ tɑ˥*-hɔ˥*.
團 長 帶 兵 來 大 夥

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❶ 苗鄉著匪,民國十五六年時,侵犯風,乾,綏三縣歷二年餘,後死於永綏會城。

❷ 苗匪龍三五生地,在風凰北鄉。

❸ 在風凰鴉保寨西南二十餘里,龍角洞之西。

❹ 風凰北九鄉設分防三營:右營駐鴉保寨,上右營駐龍角洞,上左營駐楊木營。

pɛ˧*-ʂeŋ˨˩* lo˨˩ naŋ˨˩ ʂa˧ tʂei˧ pei˥.
百 姓 來 的 也 齊 整

piɑ˥-mba˨˩ pei˥-tɛ˥ wei˥* ʐu˧-ʐu˧,
五 方 四 處 圍 好 好

-ɵɤ˨˩-ko˥ k'ɛ˧*-tʂ'aŋ˥* ʈiɛ˧ ɑ˥-k'i˥.
兩 邊 開 仗 成 一 陣

ʐeŋ˨˩*-ma˨˩* ʈi˥-ʈiɛ˥ ʈiɛ˧ ɕio˨˩ tu˧,
人 匪 重 疊 成 塊 雲

tʂa˥*-dei˨˩* ɕio˥ ma˨˩* ko˥-tɛ˥ queŋ˥.
站 隊 立 滿 地 方 寬

nei˨˩-kɵɤ˥ ʈ'iɤ˧ lhio˧ ko˥-kɵɤ˥ ndu˧,
路 上 寨 多 枝 樹

tei˧ tʂei˧ dɵɤ˧*-ɕiaŋ˨˩* ʂa˧ ʈi˥ p'i˧.
在 後 投 降 也 不 知

ma˥-neŋ˨˩ paɤ˥ teŋ˥ ʈiaŋ˧-ʈiaŋ˧ ʐu˧,
如 今 我們 地方 將 將 好

nɛ˥-kuɛ˧* nɛ˥-lhio˧ ʈi˥ lhie˧ peŋ˥.
人 官 人 富 不 要 怕

ɲi˧ ɑɤ˨˩ kaɤ˥ lo˨˩ gaŋ˧ mɛ˥ to˧,
是 唱 拿 來 給 你們 聽

ɲiɛ˨˩ lhie˧ ɲiɑ˥ ʈi˥ tʂ'ɑ˧ k'uɛ˥* ʂeŋ˥*.
知 要 時 哪 才 寬 心

關土匪歌(其二)

苗家吵鬧已有年, 受苦受難坐在此.
山坡山峯沒有路, 水田荒做草坪場.
一半因病才打富, 這空現出掃把星.
如鬼惡人龍三五, 獨立的人有許多.
一半就因土蠻龍, 到處都是土匪窩.
天星庫堂也生好, 大家做好一個寨.

不想土匪忽然進，　和尚叫罵無失措。
沒有法子做得好，　三營百姓只坐看。
團長帶兵大家來，　百姓來的也齊整。
五方四面圍好好，　兩邊開仗打一陣。
人馬重疊成塊塊，　隊伍站滿地方寬。
路上多塞樹木枝，　在後投降也不知。
如今地方將將好，　達官富人不要怕。
歌唱拿來給你聽，　知要何時才寬心。

附記

以上兩首是敍述近時苗鄉匪亂的敍事歌。

十二 語言

苗語在東南亞州諸語系中,究應歸入那一系,論者頗不一致英人格黎遜(Sir George Abraham Grierson)氏、❶法人馬伯樂(Henri Maspero)氏❷瑞士人戴密微(Paul Demieville)氏、❸國人李方桂❹氏等均以苗語獨立一系,英人戴維斯(H. R. Davies)氏、❺羅威(C. C. Lowis)氏、❻國人丁文江氏❼等均以之屬孟吉蔑語系(Mon-Khmer family),而德人斯密特(P. W. Schmidt)氏則以之屬泰語系(Thai-Sprachen)。❽這可見一般學者對於苗語系屬意見的分歧,關於這個問題的研究,乃比較語言學之事,且須藉很豐富而有正確性的材料以爲根據就現有東南亞洲語言的材料而論,這個問題的解決,恐尚非其時,而在本報告中附帶報告一些苗語材料的篇幅範圍以內,也談不到此,所以這裏我們不能詳加討論。

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❶ 格氏以苗瑤合稱爲蠻語系(man famely),見 Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. I, Part I, p. 39.。

❷ Langues, p. 67, Jeorge Maspero: Un Empire Colonial Française L'Indochine, Tome 1, Paris, 1929.

❸ 戴氏稱爲苗語系,見印度支那語言書目,林語堂譯文,收入林氏語言學論叢, pp. 218-238.。

❹ 李氏稱爲苗瑤語系,見英文中國年鑑,Language and Dialects, pp. 59-65., 1937.

❺ Yunnan, the Link between India and the Yang-tze, pp. 337-343.。

❻ The Tribes of Burma, Ethnographical Survey of India, Burma, No. 4, pp. 12-13.。

❼ V. K. Ting:Native Tribes of Yunnan, China Medical Journal, 1921. (按丁氏的分類,後經修改,亦以苗瑤獨立爲一類;見藝文叢刊自序。)

❽ P. W. Schmidt: Die Sprach Familien und Sprachenkreise der Erde, p. 183.。

過去關於記載苗語的書籍,漢文的如清段汝霖楚南苗志,田雯黔書,貝青喬苗俗記,嚴如熤苗防備覽以及有苗族的各省縣志書等,都是用漢字直音記一些單語:如"天曰各達,地曰雜等等(見苗防備覽風俗考)。日文的如鳥居龍藏苗族調查報告,其關於語言一章,也只是用羅馬字略依西文拼法記一些單語,並附記一些短語而已西文書中如愛德侯(J. Edkins)氏苗語字彙(A Vocabulary of the Miao Dialects),維亞爾(Paul Vial)氏法苗字典(Lexique Française-Miao-tseu)等專書,及霍西(A. Hosie)氏華西三年記(Three Years in Western China),派克(E. H. Parkers)氏揚子江上游(Up the Yang-tse),克拉克(S. R. Clarke)氏在中國西南土族中(Among the Tribes in South-West China),克拉客(C. W. Clarke)氏華西的苗族及其他土族(The Miao-tze and other Tribes in Western China),拉古貝里(Terrien de Lacouperie)氏,漢人以前的中國語言(The Languages of China before Chinese),多隆(D'Ollone)氏中國非漢民族的語言(Langues des perples non Chinois de la Chine)等附記苗語的諸書,也都是用羅馬字各依各的拼法,記許多單語,至多也不過加記一些簡單語句,較之中、日文書所記苗語,也並不高明多少所以在苗音的分析上,上述這些書都很少可供比較研究之資至關於聲調及語法方面,更多沒有提及,其記載較詳確且能顧及聲調的,還只有法教士薩維那(F. M. Savina)氏的苗法字典(Dictionnaire Miao-Français)與苗族史(Histoire des Miao)中的第一章苗語的比較研究,及厄斯歧洛(Joseph Esquirol)氏的苗法法苗字典(Dictionnaire Kanao-Francais et Francais-Kanao)。可惜二氏對於現代語音學似少涉獵,故其關於語音的描寫,不能給我們一

個較清楚的概念,惟二氏之書亦自有其足供參考之處,這是作者要向他們致謝的。

我們知道,苗語是沒有文字的,有之,則近數十年來西洋教士在四川、雲南、貴州、諸省苗寨中傳教所創行的拼音文字,即所謂"坡拉氏字母"(Pollard Script)。❶ 那是坡拉(Sam Pollard)氏杜撰的傳教工具,不是真有這種苗文;至前代載籍如清初陸次雲峒谿纪志志餘所記苗文,❷ 其來源既不可考,而所謂"苗",是否是狹義的"苗族",抑或對於西南土著民族的泛稱,與"蠻""夷"二字同義,我們也無從知道。又法人多隆氏在中國非漢民族的文字(L'ecritures des peuples nonchinois de la Chine)一書中,也記其所謂苗文,實則其所記三百餘苗字中,有很多極易辨認爲草書漢字:如犬、馬、牙、舌、黑、白、黃、綠、紅、藍、死、葬等等。另有一些則爲會意的漢字,如以"好"爲苗語"健康之義,"不好"爲"病","得生"爲"生兒"等等。其數字則爲一般商人習用的號碼字,即一、二、三、乂、乡、上、上、上、文、十等等。❸ 或多氏不能盡辨其爲漢字,而誤認爲苗文,正未可知。此外又有誤以倮倮爲苗族,因而認倮倮文爲苗文的,如於曜卿氏即以史地叢刊所載倮倮文爲苗文。❹ 又華學湅氏國文探索一斑❺ 有中華民國現在通行文字表,列回苗漢蒙藏五種文字,也是把倮倮文當作苗文。實則倮倮爲藏緬系的一族,與苗族迥異。所以在尚未發見古已有之的真正苗文以前,我們

❶ 參看閔宥:論 Pollard Script,載西南邊疆創刊號,pp. 43-53。

❷ 志餘並見於陸雲士全集及昭代叢書丙集,但苗文僅見於全集本,昭代本未刊入。

❸ 參看註書 p. 274 以下。

❹ 貴州苗族調查,載東方雜誌第二十卷第十三、十四號。

❺ 民國十年天津博物館發行。

不能認苗族爲有文字的民族。因此,下文所記,也不及苗文。惟坡氏所創行的拼音文字,在音類等方面也不無參考的價值,那倒是不能一筆抹煞的。

(一)記音說明

本報告所記苗語,完全是憑直接聽記。當時雖經再三審辨,但不敢自信爲絕無錯誤。我們知道,記錄語音,特別是聲調,如單字音的調值,聯詞的聲調變化等等,最好是用灌音機把所有的詞句都灌了起來,以便帶回之後,再行細細的審辨矯正。可惜我們這次調查,沒有攜帶那種儀器;所以除非把原發音人找來,現在自然是沒有方法再把它一一矯正了。

我們所記苗語的發音人是下列兩位:

吳良佐,男姓,年二十二歲,鳳凰縣北鄉邦珍寨(距縣城約八十里)人。母親石氏,永綏洗水塘人。二十歲來鳳凰縣城,入鳳乾麻三縣聯立鄉村師範學校肄業,一年後畢業。他的漢語程度相當的不錯。

吳文祥,男姓,年二十三歲,鳳凰縣東北鄉都良田(距縣城約四十里)人。母親是本鄉人。他入小學讀書是在距家五里的得勝營鎮上。三年前來鳳凰縣城,入鄉村師範學校肄業,與吳良佐是同班畢業的。曾返本寨教讀,旋又來至縣城執教。他的漢語程度也很不錯。

我們調查苗語所用的表格是參照法國巴黎大學民族學研究所的導師哥桑(Marcel Cohen)氏的語言問題格(Questionnaire linguistique)略加增損而成的。我們請到了上述的兩位吳君之後,即分別按照表格從頭至尾問了一遍,隨時又加以補充,

並把普通語法上的結構及變化詢問一遍,同時卽用國際音標一一記錄下來.吳良佐君被問的比較詳細,吳文祥君是問來以資矯正的.但後來因爲時間匆促,未及全問,只問了單字音的一部份.

我們聽記苗語是從六月二十九晚起至七月六晚止,又七月五、六、及九、十日;共費時八晚又四日.每日工作的時間因正當盛暑,日間約祇六七小時,晚間約二三小時,共計不過四十餘小時.

此外我們並曾聽記一些乾城和永綏的苗語,在發音上與鳳凰苗語雖各略有差異,但大體是相同的.那兩位發音人如下:

石啓貴,男性,年三十四歲,乾城縣北門外仙鎮營(距縣城約三里)人.母親吳氏,本縣三叉坪人.他曾在長沙軍治法政學校畢業,漢語程度自然很好.漢文知識也相當的不錯.

龍定國,男性,年五十歲,永綏縣破口寨(距舊廳治衙城十二里)人.母親田氏,本鄉腦一坪人.他自幼在家種田,曾任本寨保董八年.漢語說得很不流利,更不識漢文.

我們所記石、龍兩君的苗語,費時各不過十餘小時,所以問的都不詳細.而龍君了解漢語的程度不够,不免有誤解的地方,所獲太少.故所得材料不足供比較研究之資.祇將其差異較顯著的單詞,附記在後面詞彙中各相當單詞之後.用( )記出的是乾城苗語,用{ }記出的是永綏苗語.

本報告所記苗語,在語音方面,偏重其音類,並未注意到語音分辨的細處;故採用寬式國際音標,● 只記音位 (Pho

● 參看 Daniel Jones: An Outline of English Phonetics, p. 50 及國際語音學會編印的國際音標表 (Chart of the International Phonetic Alphabet, revised to 1932)。此表曾由趙元任先生譯成漢文,並附加許多原文所缺的音標,一九三七年教育部編譯推行委員會印行。

neme)。● 至標聲調，則採用趙元任先生的"聲調字母"(Tone-letter)。●

關於每個音位的描寫，暨用中西語音舉例說明。中國語音以國音爲主，國音所沒有的，輔以吳方音。西國語音以英語爲主，英語所沒有的，輔以法、德語音。所舉諸例，關於國音的，大部份是參考趙元任先生的外國人用中國國語留聲機片課本(A Phonograph Course in the Chinese National Language)，吳方音是參考他的現代吳語的研究。關於英語的是參考英人瓊斯(Daniel Jones)氏的英語語音學大綱(An Outline of English Phonetics)，法、德語是法人巴西(Poul Passy)氏的比較語音學概要(Petite phonétique comparée)。●(詳在這裏說明，下文不再一一分註。

(二)苗語音類

1 聲母　苗語的每個音綴(syllable)與澳語一樣，除少數無聲母的以外，都是合兩部份的音素而成；前面的部份叫做聲母(initial)，後面的部份叫做韻母(final)。苗語的聲母，經我們分析歸納，共得三十三個音位如下(括弧中的音標不在此數，因爲都是受聲調影響的變讀，並不自成音位)：

p	(b)	p'	m	mp'a	(mb)
ta˥-pa˧	ba˨	p'o˧-mɛ˧	ma˨	ko˧-mp'a˧	ta˥-mba˨
天	壞	臉	乳	妻	猪

● Y. R. Chao: The Non-Uniqueness of Phonemic Solutions of Phonetic Systems (趙元任：音位標音法的多能性)，載國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊第四本第四分。

● Ditto: A System of Tone-letters, Le Maitre Phonétique, 1930 p. 24.。

● Troisième édition, Berlin, 1922, 有劉復譯本，民十九年，上海商務印書館印行。

mh●	w
mhaŋ˧	wɛ˨˩
晚	我

t	(d)	t'	n	nt'	(nd)	nh	(nɦ)	l
ta˧	du˨˩	t'ɛ˧	nɔ˧	nt'ɛ˧	ndɑ˨˩	nha˧	nɦɛ˨˩	ta˥-la˧
殺	砍	髮	人	蓋	罵	喊	日	兔

lh	(lɦ)
lha˧	ko˧-lɦo˨˩
月	足

tɕ	(dʑ)	tɕ'	ntɕ'	(ndʑ)	ɕ	ʑ
ko˧-tɕa˧	dʑɔ˨˩	tɕ'ɔ˧	ma˧-ntɕ'a˧	ndʑa˨˩	ɕa˧	ʑoŋ˨˩
漢人	傭人	跪	粗	洗	歌	龍

ȶ	(ɖ)	ȶ'	ɲ	ɲȶ'	(ɲɖ)	ɕ	j
ȶi˧	ɖiɤ˨˩	ȶ'i˧	ɲia˧	ɲȶ'i˧	ɲɖio˨˩	ɕi˧	ji˨˩
不	他們	唱	肉	血	認識	餓	八

k	(g)	k'	ŋ	ŋk'
tɛ˧-kɔɤ˧	gɔɤ˨˩	k'aŋ˧	ma˧-ŋa˨˩	ȶi˥-ŋk'ɔɤ˧
弟	終	管子	湿	袴子

q	(ɢ)	q'	ŋq'	(ŋɢ)	h	ɦ
ta˥-qa˧	ɢa˨˩	ma˧-q'a˧	ŋq'ɛ˧	ta˥-ŋɢo˨˩	hu˧	ko˧-ɦi˨˩
難	見	乾燥	看	鴿子	喝	椅

上列各個音位的發音部位和方法略如下面所述:——

[p]是雙唇,清而純的塞音,高調時約與國音"ㄅ(b)"或德國南部語"boden"的"b"讀法相同,但在低調時,則變濁而爲[b],● 與松江"巴[bo]"字的聲母或英語"bow"的"b"

● 依聲調變化的例[mh]當有低調的[mɦ],[ŋk']當有低調的[ŋg]。但在我們的調查材料中並未發見,故只得暫缺。

● 這種高清低濁的變化,在苗語中也有類似的現象(參看于道泉趙元任合著的倉洛苗語情歌記音說明)。惟此處及以下所用高調是指˥˧˩三種調類,低調是指˨˩˨兩種調類;說見後。

讀法相同。坡氏苗文字母的"ɹ"卽代表這兩個音。

[p'] 是雙脣,淸而送氣的塞音,與國音"ㄆ(p)"或英語"haphazard"的"ph"讀法相同。

[m] 是雙脣,帶音的鼻音;與國音"ㄇ(m)"或英語"ma"的"m"讀法相同。

[mp'] 是雙脣,前濁後淸而送氣的鼻塞音:高調時約與國音"ㄇ(m)加"ㄆ(p)"的讀法相同。● 但在低調時,則其後一音素變濁而成[mb]。坡氏以"(ɹ"代表這兩個音

[mh] 是雙脣,濁而送氣的鼻擦音;高調時約與國音"ㄇ(m)"加"ㄏ(h)的讀法相同。● 但在低調時,則其送氣變濁而成[mɦ]。

[w] 是雙脣的擦音,約與常熟"胡[wu]字的聲母或法語"oui"的"ou"讀法相同。

[t] 是舌尖淸而純的塞音;高調時約與國音"ㄉ(d)"或德國南部語"das"的"d"讀法相同。但在低調時則變濁而爲[d],約與松江"多[du]"字的聲母或英語"do"的"d"讀法相同。坡氏以"T"代表這兩個音。

[t'] 是舌尖淸而送氣的塞音;與國音"ㄊ(t)"或英語"hothouse"的"th"讀法相同。

[n] 是舌尖帶音的鼻音;與國音"ㄋ(n)"或英語"no"的"n"讀法相同。

[nt'] 是舌尖前濁後淸而送氣的鼻塞音;高調時約與國音

● [m] 的音標雖像,聲格說來,只是[p'] 前微帶一點[m];用聲式標音可作[^{m}p']。

● [h] 的音標雖像,聲格說來,只是[m] 後微帶一點[h];用聲式標音可作[m^{h}]。以下所論[nh]、[lh] 亦同樣可標作[n^{h}]、[l^{h}]。

"ㄋ(n)"加"ㄊ(t)"的讀法相同。● 但在低調時則其後一音素變濁而成[nd]。坡氏以"(T"代表這兩個音。

[nh] 是舌尖,濁而送氣的鼻擦音:高調時約與國音"ㄋ(n)加"ㄏ(h)"的讀法相同。但在低調時則其送氣變濁而成[nɦ]。

[l]是舌尖,帶音的邊音:與國音"ㄌ(l)"或英語"lose"的"l"讀法相同。

[lh]是舌尖,濁而送氣的邊擦音:高調時約與國音"ㄌ(l)"加"ㄏ(h)"的讀法相同,但在低調時則其送氣變濁而成[lɦ]。

[tʂ]是舌尖略捲,清而純的塞擦音,用嚴式標音應作[tʂ];高調時約與國音"ㄓ(j)"的讀法相近,惟部位稍前。但在低調時則變濁而爲[dʐ],與常熟"城[dʐʿɛŋ]"字的聲母除送氣的讀法相同。坡氏以"十"代表這兩個音。

[tʂʿ] 是舌尖略捲,清而送氣的塞擦音,用嚴式標音應作[tʂʿ];約與國音"ㄔ(ch)"或英語"true"的"tr"讀法相近,惟部位稍前。

[ntʂʿ] 是舌尖略捲,前濁後清而送氣的鼻塞擦音,用嚴式標音應作[ntʂʿ];高調時約與國音"ㄋ(n)"加"ㄔ(ch)"的讀法相近。但在低調時則後一音素變濁而成[ndʐ]。坡氏以"(十"代表這兩個音。

[ʂ]是舌尖略捲的清擦音,與國音"ㄕ(sh)"或英語"tree"的"r"讀法相近,惟部位稍前。

[ʐ]是舌尖略捲的濁擦音,與國音"ㄖ(r)"或英語"draw"的

● [n]的音標雖像,只是[tʿ]前發音一點[n];用嚴式標音可作[ⁿtʿ]。以下所記[ntʂʿ]亦同惟可標作[ⁿtʂʿ]。

"r"讀法相近,惟部位稍前。

[ʈ]是舌面,清而純的塞音;高調時似爲高本漢 [Bernhard Karlgren]氏所假定的古"知母"音,約如"知[ʈie]"字聲母的讀法。薩維那氏以爲卽安南語中的"ch"音。❶ 按安南語的"ch",馬伯樂(Henri Maspero)氏認爲是半塞音 (mi-occlusive),❷ 卽塞擦音,而高氏則認爲是一個純粹的塞音。❸ 其在低調時則變濁而爲[ɖ],卽高氏假定的古"澄母"音,約如"池"[ɖʻi]字聲母除送氣的讀法。

[ʈʻ]是舌面,清而送氣的塞音,似爲高氏所假定的古"徹母"音,約如"癡[ʈʻi]"字聲母的讀法。

[ɲ]是舌面,帶音的鼻音;與上海"年"[ɲɪ]字的聲母或法語"oignon"的"gn"讀法相同。

[ɲʈʻ]是舌面,前濁後清而送氣的鼻塞音;讀如上海"年[ɲi]"字的聲母加古音"癡[ʈʻi]"字的聲母。❹ 低調時後一音素變濁而成[ɲɖ]。

[ɕ]是舌面,清而純的擦音;約與國音"ㄒ(sh)"的讀法相同。

[j]是舌面,較[ɕ]部位略後的濁擦音;約與常熟"欲[jo]"字的聲母讀法相同,頗似法語"bien"的"i"音。

[k]是舌根,清而純的塞音,高調時約與國音"ㄍ(g)"或德國南部語"gold"的"g"讀法相同,但在低調時則變濁而成[g],約與上海"狂['guɒ~]"字聲母除送氣的讀法相同。極似英語"go"的"g"音。坡氏以"ㄱ"代表這兩個音。

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❶ F. M. Savina: Dictionnaire Miao-Tseu-Français, p. XXIII, Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, tome XVI, No. 2, 1917.。

❷ Études sur la Phonétique Historique de la Langue Annamite, p. 27, ditto, tome X II, No. 1, 1912.。

❸ Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise, p. 260.。

❹ [ɲ]的音極輕微,只是[ʈʻ]前微帶一點[ɲ];發式輕者可作[ⁿʈʻ]。

[k']是舌根,清而送氣的塞音;與國音"ㄎ(k)"或英語"back-hand"的"kh"讀法相同。

[ŋ]是舌根,帶音的鼻音;與上海"熬[ŋɔ]"字的聲母或英語"singer"中的"ng"讀法相同。

[ŋk']是舌根,前濁後清而送氣的鼻塞音;讀如上海"熬[ŋɔ]"字的聲母加國音"ㄎ(k)"。● 低調時後一音素變濁而成[ŋg],坡氏以"(ㄱ代表這兩個音。

[q]是小舌,清而純的塞音;低調時變濁而成[ɢ]。這兩個音與[k][g]讀法頗相近,其差異即在後者是由喉肩與舌根閉塞而成,而後者是由小舌與舌根最後部閉塞而成。因其讀法相近,所以很多記苗語的書都不給分別,坡氏以"丁"代表這兩個音,以別於代表[k]和[g]的"ㄱ"。

[q']是小舌,清而送氣的塞音。

[ŋq']是小舌,前濁後清而送氣的鼻塞音;讀如上海"熬[ŋɔ]"字的聲母加[q']。低調時後一音素變濁而成[ŋɢ]。這兩個音用最式的標音應作[ɴq]和[ɴɢ],但是我們在苗語中尚未發見[ɴ]音,所以沒有採用這個音標,坡氏以"(丁"代表這兩個音。

[h]是喉部清擦音;與上海"好[hɔ]"字的聲母或英語"half"的"h"讀法相同。

[ɦ]是喉部濁擦音;約與上海"鞋"[ɦa]字的聲母或英語"aha"的"h"讀法相同。

總括以上所述,我們可以列成一聲母表如下:

● [ŋ]的音亦極輕微,只是[k']前微帶一點[ŋ];最式標音可作[ᵑk']。以下所記[ŋq']亦同樣可標作[ᵑq']。

苗語聲母表

方法＼部位			上唇	前齒龈	後齒龈	龈腭間	硬腭	小舌	喉
			下唇	舌尖		舌面	舌根	舌根後	
塞音	清	純	p	t		ʈ	k	q	
		送氣	p'	t'		ʈ'	k'	q'	
	濁		(b)	(d)		(ɖ)	(g)	(ɢ)	
塞擦音	清	純			tʂ				
		送氣			tʂ'				
	濁				(dʐ)				
鼻音			m	n		ɲ	ŋ		
鼻塞音	清		mp'	nt'		ɲʈ'	ŋk'	ŋq'	
	濁		(mb)	(nd)		(ɲɖ)		(ŋɢ)	
鼻擦音	清		mh	nh					
	濁			(nɦ)					
鼻塞擦音	清				ntʂ'				
	濁				(ndʐ)				
邊音				l					
邊擦音	清			lh					
	濁			(lɦ)					
擦音	清				ʂ	ɕ			h
	濁		w		ʐ	j			ɦ

上表所列括弧中的聲母,都是各上格聲母在低調時的變讀,並不自成音位。)

2. 韻母 苗音的韻母可分爲元音韻(陰韻)與鼻輔音韻(陽韻)兩種如下:——

元音韻

ɛ	n	ɑ	o	ei	aɤ	eɤ
mɛ˧	ko˧-la˩	tɑ˥-pɑ˧	ko˧-to˩	tɑ˥-pei˧	paɤ˩	meɤ˩
有	親戚	天	斧	頭	睡	你

i	ie	iɛ	ia	iɑ	io	iɤ
ji˩	pie˧	ɕiɛ˧	mɑ˧-ɕia˩	piɑ˧	mɑ˧-lio˩	tɕu˩-miɤ˩
八	四	油	輕	五	綠	耳

u	ɯɛ	ua	uɑ	uɤ	uei
pu˩	mɑ˧-ɕuɛ˩	pi˥-qua˧	kuɑ˩	tɑ˥-quɤ˧	quei˧-ɣɛ˧
三	黑	桃子	過	狗	眉毛

鼻輔音韻

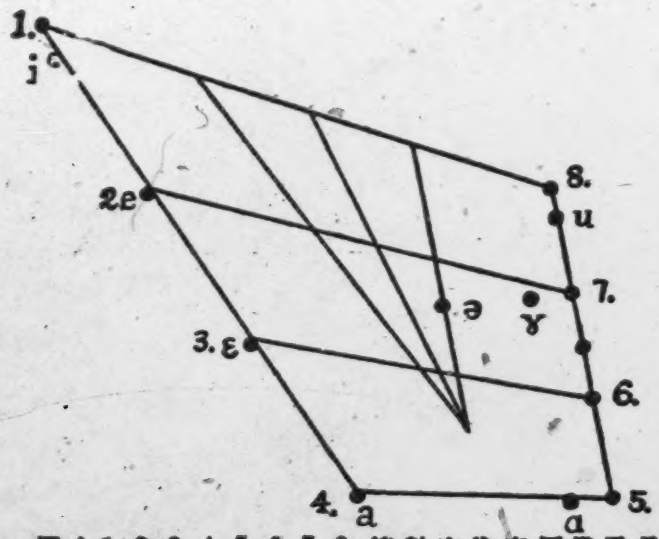
eŋ	aŋ	oŋ	ieŋ	iɑŋ	ioŋ
ko˧-peŋ˧	tɑ˥-maŋ˩	noŋ˧	kieŋ˧	mɑ˧-tiɑŋ˧	ko˧-ɕioŋ˧
花	貓	吃	兵	甜	苗人

ueŋ	uɑŋ
mɑ˧-queŋ˧	quɑŋ˧
寬	慈

上列元音韻二十個,鼻輔音韻八個:一共是二十八個韻母。(此外尚有一個舌尖元音[ɿ],但只見於漢語借字,當非苗語原有,這裏不闌入。)這些韻母中所含的元音大體可以歸納爲[e]、[ɛ]、[a]、[ɑ]、[o]、[ɤ]、[e]、[i]、[u]九個音位。這九個元音的舌位,可以根據標準元音圖❶繪成下面的形式:

❶ Daniel Jones: An Outline of English Phonetics, fourth edition, pp. 36-37, also The Pronunciation of Russian, p. 37.

苗語元音舌位圖



1. 圖中1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.等數字代表標準元音的舌位。
2. 紅點代表苗語元音的舌位。
3. 黑點代表與苗音不合的標準元音。

[i]單用時較第一標準元音舌位略低,即較國音"ㄧ(i)"或法語"si"的"i"均略低,在[ie]、[iɛ]、[ia]、[ei]、[uei]則更低,在[iɑ]、[io]、[iɤ]且略偏後。

[e]約相當於第二標準元音,即等於無錫"梅[me]"字的韻母或法語"thé"的"é",這個元音只用在[ei]、[uei]、[ie]複元音韻及[eŋ]、[ieŋ]、[ueŋ]、鼻韻音韻中。

[ɛ]約相當於第三標準元音,即等於寧波"三[sɛ]"字的韻母或法語"même"的"è",在[iɛ]及[uɛ]均略高。

[ɑ]約相當於第四標準元音,即等於無錫"法[fɑ]"字的韻

母或法語"la"的"a"。在[ia]及[ua]均略高。

[ɑ]較第五標準元音略前,但不及國音"ㄚ(a)"之前,約相當於江陰"家[kɑ]字(語音)的韻母或英語"falher"的a音。

[o]較第六標準元音略高,近似國音"ㄛ(o)"或法語"robe"的"o"音。

[u]較第八標準元音略低,即較法語"sou"的"ou"略低,近似常熟"綠[lu]"字的韻母在[uɛ]、[ua]、[uɑ]、[uɤ]、[uei],舌位均稍前,近於英語"book"的"oo"音。

[ɤ]約相當於第七標準元音而稍前,但不圓脣;等於常熟"看[k'ɤ]字的韻母,這個元音只用在複元音韻[eɤ]、[aɤ]、[uɤ]中。

[ə]是中性元音而略偏後,近似國音"ㄜ(e)或英語"fallen"的"e"音,這個元音只用在複元音韻[eɤ]中。

[ei]、[aɤ]、[eɤ]三韻母都是前一元音居主要地位,是所謂"降複元音(falling diphthong)。[1]其[i]頭韻母[ie]、[iɛ]、[ia]、[iɑ]、[io]、[iɤ],與[u]頭韻母[uɛ]、[ua]、[uɑ]、[uɤ]、[uei],都是後一元音居主要地位,是所謂"升複元音"(rising diphthong)。[2]

八個鼻輔音韻的韻尾都是舌根鼻音[ŋ]。在諸鼻輔音韻中,其發音常不很顯著;其在[eŋ]、[ieŋ]、[ueŋ]三韻母中,只是在其前一元音之後微加一點[ŋ]音,嚴式標音可作[eᵑ]、[ieᵑ]、[ueᵑ],在[ɑŋ]、[oŋ]、[iɑŋ]、[ioŋ]、[uɑŋ]五韻母中,則在其前一元音發音時即帶有鼻音;因其後脣並不將鼻

[1] G. Noël-Armfield: General Phonetics, p. 25.。

[2] Ibid.。

腔緊閉,所以由氣管出來的氣大部份雖走口腔,但同時有一小部份卻走鼻腔,幾乎有變成鼻化元音的傾向。

聲調: 我們知道,苗語與漢語一樣,也是單音綴(monosyllabic)而複音調(polytonic)的。漢語每一音綴的構成,不獨由於一定的一個聲母和韻母的結合,並常有一定的聲調(指單字音,聯字成句則有變化)相伴;苗語也正相同。所以苗語的聲調乃是每一音綴的構成份子,不能隨意變動。兩個同聲母和韻母的音綴,其聲調不同,意義便也各不相同。

湘西苗語單字音的調類有五:❶(1)高平,(2)高升,(3)高降,(4)低升,(5)低降。其調位(toneme)約略如下:——

類名	例字		調位起止
(1) 高平	noŋ˥	鼓	55:
(2) 高升	noŋ˦˥	冷	45:
(3) 高降	noŋ˥˧	吃	53:
(4) 低升	noŋ˨˩˦	雨	13:
(5) 低降	noŋ˨˩˨	閉	21:

以上例字中所標調號,是所謂字母式的聲調符號,或稱聲調字母。它是以一根豎線爲比較線,以尋常短字母的高度爲準,全高分爲四等分,因而得低、半低、中、半高、高、五點,稱爲1.2.3.4.5.豎線旁邊就當簡單化的時間音高曲線代表聲調,調位的曲

❶ 法國薩維那(F. M. Savina)氏所記法屬東京的苗語聲調亦有五類(見 Histoire des Miao, p. XIX),但法尼斯歧洛(Joseph Esquirol)氏所記貴州黃平黑苗(Kanao)語調則有八類(見 Dictionnaire Kanao-Français et Français-Kanao; pp. VIII-IX),葛維漢(D. C. Graham)氏所記川苗語調有九類(見 The Customs of the Ch'uan Miao, pp. 52-53)。

線畫在豎線的左邊;例如上列[noŋ]字的高平調畫作"˥",高升調畫作"˧˥",……;稱述調類時用數字代表高低,用兩豎點":"代表豎線;例如上列高平調寫作"55:",高升調寫作"45:"❶……。

(三)語法概略

苗語與其他單音語語一樣,詞的本身沒有變化,只在其作用上發生變化,作用的所以變化,即由於各詞在句中所處的地位關係而來,所以研究苗語語法,最重要的是語句的結構或句法(syntax)。過去研究苗語語法的很少,即有,亦很簡略;例如薩維那氏在苗法字典導言中所述及的,本書所記,自然也不能詳細;因爲調查的時間短促,所得材料有限,現在只能就調查所及,取其有例可說有理可解的語句及詞類,簡略加以說明。至調查所未及,以及無例可說無理可解的地方(其中也許是當與無例無理,也許是有例有理而我們沒有發見),只好暫付闕如,以待將來的補苴。

1. 語句的結構

苗語正常語句的基本結構,與一般語言相同,是主語在前,謂語在後;例如:——

pəɤ˥˧ paɤ˧˥ (他睡覺)。
他 睡覺

上舉一例的主語爲[pəɤ˥˧],作主語的主要詞類常爲名詞或代詞,這裏的[pəɤ˥˧]是代詞,[paɤ˧˥]爲謂語,作謂語的主要詞類常爲動詞或動詞及其所帶的名詞或代詞;這裏的謂語只有一個動

❶這是完全採用趙元任先生的辦法;參看氏與于道泉合著的全州瑤歌記音說明, pp. 1-8。

詞[pa˨˧].

作謂語的動詞如爲外動詞,則必需帶一受詞:例如:——

wɛ˨˩ noŋ˧˥ lhi˧˥ (我吃飯).
我 吃 飯

上舉一例的主語爲[wɛ˨˩],[lhi˧˥]爲動詞[noŋ˧˥]所帶的受詞.兩詞相合而成謂語.作受詞的詞類也常爲名詞或代詞,這裏的[lhi˧˥]是名詞.[wɛ˨˩]對謂語而言爲主語,對受詞而言則爲主詞,就其與謂語的關係而言,又稱主格.[lhi˧˥]對動詞[noŋ˧˥]而言爲受詞,就其與主語的關係而言則稱受格.

由上舉兩例所示,我們可把苗語正常語句的結構,列成一簡單的公式如下:——

名詞或代詞(主格)+動詞+名詞或代詞(受格).

惟上舉兩例句,都只是由最簡單的觀念構成,事實上有許多語句的主語與謂語常包含着較複雜的觀念:例如:——

wɛ˨˩-naŋ˨˩ kə˨˧˥-bu˨˩ ma˧˥-ʐu˧˥ noŋ˧˥ mɛ˧˥-naŋ˨˩
我 的 朋 友 好 吃 你們的

lhi˧˥-ndʐo˨˩ (我的好朋友吃你們的早飯).
飯 早

在這句例句中,[wɛ˨˩-naŋ˨˩](我的),[kə˨˧˥,bu˨˩](朋友),及[ma˧˥-ʐu˧˥]三個觀念合成一個主語;[lhi˧˥](飯)與[ndʐo˨˩](早)兩個觀念合成一個動詞[noŋ˧˥]的受詞.用以表示這些觀念的詞類既異,而其在句中所處的地位亦各不同.位次最前的[wɛ˨˩-naŋ˨˩](我的)是領格代詞,其作用與形容詞相等;其次的[kə˨˧˥-bu˨˩](朋友)是名詞,處於主格的地位;再次的[ma˧˥-ʐu˧˥](好)是形容詞,與[wɛ˨˩-naŋ˨˩]同處於主格相關的地位.再次的[noŋ˧˥]是動詞,處於謂語的主要地位.再次的是[mɛ˧˥-naŋ˨˩](你們的)是領格代詞再次的[lhi˧˥](飯)

是名詞,處於受格的地位;最末的[ndʐo˨˩]是形容詞,與[mɛɤ˧-naŋ˨˩]同處於受格相關的地位.由這個例句所示,我們可把觀念較複雜的語句的結構,也列成公式如下:——

名詞或代詞(領格)+名詞(主格)+形容詞+動詞+名詞或代詞(領格)+名詞(受格)+形容詞.

由這公式所示,可知苗語正常語句的結構,與漢語所不同者,只有形容詞的位次在被形容的名詞之後.但是有些受漢化較深的,也常把形容詞放在名詞前面(參看形容詞).

詢問句的詞類位次與正常語句相同;有時亦在句尾加一詢問助詞(參看詢問詞).

2. 名詞

苗語的名詞在形式上沒有性(gender)、數(number)、位(case)的變化.其性別多用形容詞或其作用等於形容詞的詞來表示;例如[tɛɤ˧](孩),如爲男性,則在[tɛɤ˧]後加[ɲi˧˥](男),而爲[tɛɤ˧-ɲi˧˥](男孩).如爲女性,則在[tɛɤ˧]後加[mp'ɑ˧˥](女),而爲[tɛɤ˧-mp'ɑ˧˥](女孩).

數別多要看上下文才能決定.位別則由其在句中所處的地位關係來辨別(參看語句的結構).

3. 代詞

(1)人稱代詞只是單數與複數有別:——

數別 / 稱別	單數	複數
自稱	wɛ˨˩ (我)	paɤ˧, paɤ˧-koɤ˧ (我們)
對稱	maɤ˨˩(你)	mɛɤ˧, mɛɤ˧-koɤ˧ (你們)
他稱	paɤ˧ (他)	ɕiɤ˨, ɕiɤ˨-koɤ˧ (他們)

上表所列複數人稱代詞有二式,第一式常用在受格,第二式常用在主格.

例1: pɑʒ˥-koˬ pɑʒ˥ ɖiʒʌ (我們打他們).
我 們 打 他們

例2: ɖiʒʌ-koˬ ʈiɛ˥ moŋ˩ (他們生病).
他 們 生 病

例3: pəʒ˥ ʈiʔ-ŋqʻɛ˥ ɑɑ˩ pɑʒ˥ (他看見我們).
他 看 見 我們

(2)領格代詞只要在人稱代詞後加[nɑŋ˩](的)即成,(複數用第一式).

人稱＼數別	單數	複數
自稱	wɛ˩-nɑŋ˩(我的)	pɑʒ-nɑŋ˩ (我們的)
對稱	məʒ˩-nɑŋ˩(你的)	mɛ˥-nɑŋ˩(你們的)
他稱	pəʒ˥-nɑŋ˩ (他的)	ɖiʒ˩-nɑŋ˩(他們的)

(3)複稱(reflexive)代詞只要在人稱代詞後加[pɑ˩-tu˩](自己)即成.

人稱＼數別	單數	複數
自稱	wɛ˩ pɑ˥-tu˩ (我自己)	pɑʒ˥, pɑʒ˥-koˬ } pɑ˥-tu˩(我們自己)
對稱	məʒ˩ pɑ˥-tu˩(你自己)	mɛ˥, mɛ˥-koˬ } pɑ˥-tu˩(你們自己)
他稱	pəʒ˥ pɑ˥-tu˩ (他自己)	ɖiʒʌ, ɖiʒʌ-koˬ } pɑ˥-tu˩(他們自己)

(4)指示代詞只有近指與遠指之別:近指用[neŋ˩](這),遠指用[toˬ](那).惟這兩詞都不單獨用,常跟在量詞之後.嚴格說來,

實與指示形容詞無異。

例1: wɛ˨ lhie˧ ɑ˥-lɛ˨ neŋ˨ (我要這個)。
我 要 一個 這

例2: pe˩˧ lhie˧ ɑ˥-ba˨ neŋ˨ (他要這些)。
他 要 一些 這

例3: me˩˧ lhie˧ ɑ˥-lɛ˨ to˥ (你要那個)。
你 要 一個 那

例4: wɛ˨ lhie˧ ɑ˥-ba˨ to˥ (我要那些)。
我 要 一些 那

(5)詢問代詞有[ʈi˥](哪)與[ko˥-naŋ˨](什麼)兩詞。[ʈi˥]用以詢問人地或物,其性質與指示代詞[neŋ˨]及[to˥]相同,亦不單獨用。詢人或物時常跟在量詞之後,詢地則跟在[tɑ˥]之後。[ko˥-naŋ˨]用以詢問事或物,乃是其正的詢問代詞。

例1: ɖi˩˧-ko˥ ndio˨ mɑ˥-lhio˧ ke˩˧-bu˨, me˩˧ ndio˧
他們 認識 多 朋友

ɑ˥-lɛ˨ ʈi˥? (他們認識許多朋友,你認識哪個?)

例2: ɑ˥-lɛ˨ neŋ˨ ɲi˧ ko˥-naŋ˨? (這是什麼?)
一個 這 是 什麼

例3: me˩˧ ɲi˧ qo˧ ʈi˥-he˩˧ lo˨ naŋ, pe˩˧ ɲi˧ qo˧
你 是 從 乾城 來 的 他 是 從

tɑ˥-ʈi˥ lo˨ naŋ˨? (你是從乾城來的,他是從哪裏
裏 哪 來 的

來的?)

4. 形容詞

苗語形容詞常用在被形容的名詞之後,其次序與漢語形容詞相反。例如:

ŋaŋ˥ noŋ˧(冷季,即冬季;) ʂei˨ ɕio˨(酸菜); a˩˧ lɛ˨(短衣)
季 冷 菜 酸 衣 短

但有少數形容詞是用在被形容的名詞之前的,例如:

mieŋ˨ dʐu˨ = 大門; ʐu˨ ɲa˥ = 好歌。
大 門 好 歌

上舉的例是"屬性的用法"(attributive use)。其"表詞的用法"(predicative use)即將形容詞當作表詞(predicate)或表詞的一部份,與漢語卻相同,例如:

當作表詞: mə˩˧ ʐu˨ ta˥● (你真好)。
你 好 真

當作表詞的一部份: pə˩˧ ɲi˨ mo˨ ɕio˨ (他乏了)。
他 是 乏 了

這些形容詞在單獨用時,普通多在前面加一"詞頭"(prefix)"[ma˥]",例如:

ma˥-noŋ˨ (冷); ma˥-ɕio˨ (酸); ma˥-lɛ˨ (短)。

常用的形容詞可分爲下列五類:

1. 描寫形容詞 上舉各例多屬這類,此外尚有將名詞用作描寫形容詞的,例如:

ndei˨-no˨ (麻布); q'o˥-po˨ ŋoŋ˨ (銀錫子)。
布 麻 錫 子 銀

2. 指示形容詞 即將指示代詞[neŋ˨]與[to˥]加在所指名詞之後,例如:

近指用[neŋ˨]: o˥-lɛ˨ nɛ˥ neŋ˨ (這個人); q'u˨
一個 人 這 地

neŋ˨ (這地方);
這

o˥-ʐə˩˧ neŋ˨ (這時候); o˥-lɛ˨ ko˥-toŋ˥
一 時 這 一個 東 西

neŋ˨ (這東西)。
這

● [ta˥] 是狀詞,參看狀詞節。

遠指用[to˥]: ɑ˥-lɛ˨ nɛ˥ to˥(那個人); q'u˩ to˥(那地方);
一個 人 那 地 那

ɑ˥-ʂɐɤ˩ to˥(那時候); ɑ˥-lɛ˨ ko˥-toŋ˥
一 時 那 一個 東 西

to˥ (那東西).
那

8. 詢問形容詞 即將詢問代詞[ti˥]與[ko˥-naŋ˨]加在所詢名詞之前或後,例如:

[ti˥]加在後: ŋaŋ˥ ti˥(什麼時候); q'u˩ ti˥(什麼地方);
時 哪 地 哪

[ko˥-naŋ˨]加在前: ko˥-naŋ˨ nɛ˥(什麼人);
什 麼 人

4. 數量形容詞 常用在被計數的名詞之前,其次序與漢語相同,例如:

ɑ˥ nɦɛ˨(一日,一天); ɐɤ˨ lhɑ˩(兩個月); ɑ˥ gu˨ ɐɤ˨ ʨio˩
(十二年,十二歲).

序數在漢語中須在數詞前加"第"字,在苗語中卻沒有其加在[lhɑ˩](月)後的數詞,頗有序數的意味例如: [lhɑ˩ ɐɤ˨] (二月)與[ɐɤ˨ lhɑ˩]之爲"兩個月"的意義不同.

其他計數,普通多在名詞之前附加一種量詞,這種量詞的變化頗多,例如: ɑ˥-lɛ˨ nɛ˥ (一個人); ɑ˥-goŋ˨ jɐɤ˨ (一頭牛); ɑ˥-ʂɑ˨ ki˩(一陣風),ɑ˥-tɛ˥ ɲ˩(一條河)等等.量詞大部是從名詞轉變而成爲形容詞性質的(參看量詞).

5. 個別形容詞 如"每","各"等,在苗語中是沒有的,普通多用[ɑ˨]來表示,例如:

ɑ˥ nɦɛ˨ pɐɤ˥-ko˥ non˩ ɐɤ˨ t'ɛ˥ lhie˩ ɐu˩ non˩ pu˩
一天 我們 吃 兩 餐 飯 或 吃 三
t'ɛ˩ (每天我們吃兩餐飯或三餐).
餐

6. 形容詞的比較,只有平比與差比兩種:

平比: ɑ˥-ʂei˩(一樣;一般)。例如:

pəɤ˧˥ nɑŋ˩ wɛ˨˩ pi˩ ɑ˥-ʂei˩ ʂɑ˨˩(他和我是一樣高)。
他 和 我 是 一樣 高

差比: pi˧˥(更……些;較……些)。例如:

wɛ˨˩ pi˧˥ pəɤ˧˥ mɑ˧˥-ʂɑ˨˩(我較他高些)。
我 較 他 (詞頭)高

[注意] 在作者調查所得的苗語詞彙中沒有發見表極比的"最""極"等語詞,振了極比的句子給苗人翻譯,也沒有相當於"最""極"的語詞。他們只能用"[təɤ˧˥ təɤ˧˥]"或"[heŋ˩]"二詞來表示,相當於漢語的"很"字。例如:"冬季這裏很冷"一句,他們用[təɤ˧˥ təɤ˧˥]表"很"譯作:

ŋɑŋ˧˥-noŋ˩ tɑ˧˥-neŋ˨˩ "təɤ˧˥ təɤ˧˥" noŋ˩.
季 冬 裏 這 很 很 冷

或用[heŋ]表"很",譯作:

ŋɑŋ˧˥-noŋ˩ tɑ˧˥-neŋ˨˩ noŋ˩ "heŋ".
季 冬 裏 這 冷 很

上述的[teɤ˧˥ teɤ˧˥],音近漢語的"多多":[hɔŋ˩],音近"很",是否是漢語借字,則不敢斷言。

5. 動詞

動詞本身沒有數(number)、人稱(person)、時候(tense)、語氣(mood)及語格(voice)的變化。

(1) 數與人稱均由主詞表示:——

例 1: wɛ˨˩ ʂei˩ ʂeŋ˨˩* (我寫信)。
我 寫 信

例 2: peɤ˧˥-koɤ˧˥ t'eɤ˨˩* ndaɤ˨˩ (他讀書)。
他 們 讀 書

例1的[pei˧](寫)爲"單數","自稱；例2的[tɐɤ˧*](讀)爲"複數，"他稱。

(2)時別則用助動詞表示:——

表示過去時用[ɖio˨˩]或[ntʂʿɑ˧ ɖio˧](有"了"及"已了"之義):

例1: pɐɤ˥ moŋ˧ ɖio˧(他已去了)
他 去 了

例2: pɐɤ˥ loŋ˧ ɖio˧(他已來了)。
他 來 了

表示未來時用[tɑ˥-maŋ˧](有"將要"之義):

例1: pɐɤ˥ tɑ˥-maŋ˧ moŋ˧(他將去了)。
他 將 去

例2: pɐɤ˥ tɑ˥-maŋ˧ loŋ˧(他將來了)。
他 將 來

表示正在進行時用[tei˧-to˥](有"正在"之義):

例1: pɐɤ˥ tei˧-to˥ moŋ˧(他正在去了)。
他 正 在 去

例2: pɐɤ˥ tei˧-to˥ loŋ˧(他正在來了)。
他 正 在 來

(3)命令語氣與漢語相同,有省去主詞"你"的,也有不省去的其實主詞的省去與不省去,與動詞無關,完全要看省去之後意思是不是明顯。

(4)被動語格簡直可以說是沒有,完全在語意上去辨別,例如:

主動: pɐɤ˥-ko˥ tɕo˧ pɑɤ˥-ʐɐɤ˧(我們種包穀)。
我 們 種 包 穀

被動: pɑɤ˥-ʐɐɤ˧ tɕo˧ ɲi˧ pi˥-qɑɤ˥(包穀種在山上)。
包 穀 種 在 山

tɑ˥-ŋɑɔ˥ ʈiaŋ˧ moŋ˧ ʈi˥-tɕei˧ pei˥ tɕɑŋ˥ lo˧(鴿子放
鴿 子 放 去 以 後 能 回 來

去後能回來).

6. 狀詞

苗語狀詞與形容詞相同,亦常用在被形容的各詞之後,例如:

mə˨˩˨ ʐu˧ ta˥(你眞好).
你 好 眞

常用的狀詞可分爲下列四類:

(1) 地位狀詞

neŋ˧˩-nu˧˩ 或 ta˥-neŋ˧˩ (這裏); to˥-nu˧˩ 或 ta˥-ɛ˥ (那裏; ma˥-qə˨˩˨ (遠); ma˥-ʐə˨˩˨ (近); ta˨˩˨-qa˨˩˨ (上): ta˥-haŋ˧ 下; kə˨˩˨-nə˨˩˨ (前); kə˨˩˨-tʂei˧ 或 ʈi˥-tʂei˧ (後); q'u˧-ʈi˥ 或 ta˥-ʈi˥ (何處).

(2) 表時狀詞

ʐə˨˩˨-neŋ˧˩ 或 ma˥-neŋ˧˩ (現在); ma˥-ei˧˩ (從前); ʈi˥-tʂei˧ (後來); ʈi˥-ndʐo˧˩ (早); ʈi˥-la˥ (遲); ŋaŋ˥-ʈi˥ (何時); leŋ˧˩-leŋ˧˩ (常常).

(3) 數量狀詞

ma˥-lhio˧ (多); ma˥-joŋ˧ (少); ja˧˩-ja˧˩(完全).

(4) 性狀狀詞

ʐu˧ (好); ba˧˩ (壞); ʈi˥-ʂaŋ˧ (快); ʈi˥-la˥ (慢); tʂei˧-ʈi˥ (怎樣,怎麼).

[注意一] 以上的狀詞有許多同時就是形容詞,因爲這些狀詞與形容詞在形式上沒有分別,完全要從詞義上去決定.

[注意二] 以上 [q'u˧-ʈi˥] 或 [ta˥-ʈi˥] (何處), [ŋaŋ˥-ʈi˥]

(何時),[tɕei˧-ʂi˥] (怎樣),也可認爲詢問狀詞。

7. 介詞

幾個常用的介詞是: [ni˧](在); [qo˥](從); [ta˥](到); [kaɤ˥](用),——在下面例句中均用" "號標出。

例1: nɛ˥ tɕu˥ kɤ˧-ton˥ "ni˧" nan˧ la˧ tɕo˧ la˧ (農人人 做 工 作 在 中 田 種 田 在田中種田)。

例2: ka˥-ndʐo˧ nfiɛ˧ "qo˥" to˥-nu˧ bion˧ lo˧ (早晨太陽早 晨 太陽 從 那 裏 出 來 從那裏出來)。

例3: paɤ˥-ko˥ kua˧ mien˧-lio˥ "ta˥" tɛ˥-lio˥ (我們過大我 們 過 大 泉水 到 小 泉水 龍洞到小龍洞)。●

例4: pɤ˥ "kaɤ˥" ko˥-to˧ du˧ taɤ˥ (他用斧砍柴)。他 用 斧 砍

8. 連詞

幾個常用的連詞是: [nan˧] (和,與,及); [ja˧] (又); [ʐa˧] (也,亦); ——在下面例句中均用" "標出。

例1: wɛ˧ ndio˧ pɤ˥ "nan˧" pɤ˥ nan˧ tɛ˥ (我認識他及我 認識 他 和 他 的 兒子 他的兒子)。

例2: pa˥-tɛ˥ ʂei˥ ndiɤ˧ ta˥-kuen˥ "ja˧" ʂei˥ ʂi˥-ʂɤ˥ 巫師能 求 神 又 能 驅

● 大龍洞與小龍洞是凰凰,乾城,永綏三縣交界處的名勝。這裏原有大小二泉水,實即大小二瀑布。

tɑ˥-kueŋ˩˦❶(巫師能求神又能驅鬼).
鬼

例8: pɔɤ˩˦ ʈiˇ ɲiɛ˨, mɔɤ˨ "ʂɑ˧" ɑ˥-hɔɤ˩˦ ʈiˇ ɲiɛ˨ (他不知
他 不 知 你 也 一點兒 不 知

你也一點兒不知)

9. 嘆詞

幾個常用的嘆詞是:[nɑ˧]或jɛ˨(表贊嘆);[ji˧]或[tʂɤ̞˩˦ tʂɤ̞˩˦](表鄙斥);[ei˩˦](表悲感);[ɛ˧-ɛ˧](表驚懼);……在下面例句中均用" "標出。

例1: "nɑ˧" (或"jɛ˨")! mɔɤ˨ ʂu˧ jaŋ˨ (你好美麗啊)!
啊 你 好 美的

例2: "ji˧"(或"tʂɤ̞˩˦-tʂɤ̞˩˦")! pɔɤ˩˦ ba˨ heŋ˧ (唉!他很壞)
唉 他 壞 很

例3: "ei˩˦!"! pɔɤ˩˦ ʈiˇ hu˧, ja˨ ʈiˇ noŋˇ (唉!他飯不飲,又
唉 他 不 飲 又 不 吃

不吃)!

例4: "ɛ˧-ɛ˧!"! ʈi˥-haɤ˧ ʍɛ˥˧ (啊啊!助我!)
啊 啊 助 我

10. 助詞

幾個常用的助詞是:[mɑ˨] (嗎); [ji˧](呢): [ɑ˨](吧,罷:[illegible](啦了); [ɑɤ˧](啊);……在下面例句中均用" "標出。

例1: mɔɤ˨ ʂu˧ "mɑ˨" (你好嗎)!
你 好

例2: pɔɤ˩˦ tʂei˧-ʈiˇ "ji˧" (他怎樣呢)!
他 怎 樣

---

❶直譯神鬼二詞不分,即用[tɑ˥-kueŋ˩˦]一詞。

例 3: mə˞˨ moŋ˨ "a˨" (你去罷)!
你 去 罷

例 4: wɛ˨ ʂa˧ moŋ˨ "la˨" (我也去啦)!
我 也 去

例 5: mə˞˨ p'u˩ ko˩-naŋ˨ "a˞˧" (你說什麼啊)!
你 說 什 麼 啊

11. 否定詞

苗語中否定詞常用一個 [ʈi˩] (不,沒) 加在動詞之前; 例如:——

例 1: wɛ˨ "ʈi˩" moŋ˨ (我不去)。
我 不 去

例 2: u˨ "ʈi˩" ɲi˧ ma˩-lio˨ naŋ˨ (水不是綠的)。
水 不 是 綠 的

例 3: pə˞˩ "ʈi˩" mɛ˩ taŋ˧ (或 ʈi˩ taŋ˧) (他沒有錢)。
他 沒 有 錢 沒 錢

"[ʈi˩ mɛ˩]" (沒有) 又可當作助動詞用; 例如:——

例 4: wɛ˨ "ʈi˩ mɛ˩" po˩ di˞˧ (我沒有告訴他們)。
我 沒 有 告訴 他們

例 5: pə˞˩ "ʈi˩ mɛ˩" ɕa˨ kua˧ di˞˧ (他沒有見過他們)。
他 沒 有 見 過 他們

"[ʈi˩ to˧]" (不得) 與 "[ʈi˩ ʂei˩]" (不能), 也都當作助動詞用; 例如:——

例 6: wɛ˨ po˩ "ʈi˩ to˧" mə˞˨ (我不能告訴你)。
我 告訴 不 得 你

例 7: pa˞˩-ko˩ ɲa˩-tu˧ "ʈi˩ ʂei˩" ʐu˨ a˞˩ (我們自己不能縫衣服)。
我 們 自 己 不 能 縫 衣服

12. 詢問詞

詢問語有兩種:一種是要確切答語的:例如:"這是什麼!其答語必須要說出個什麼來。另一種只要概括的答語;例如:"這個好嗎!其答語只要說"好 或"不好 。前者須用詢問代詞,形容詞或狀詞,至詢問助詞則可有可無。後者則語尾必須用詢問助詞。例如:——

例 1: ɑ˥-lɛ˨ neŋ˨ ɲi˩ koˬ-naŋ˨ "(ji˩)" 〔這(一個)是什麼
一個 這 是 什 麼 呢
"(呢)"〕!

例 2: pəɤˬ jɛ˨ ʈiˬ-lɛ˨ "(ji˩)" 〔他喜歡誰"(呢)"〕!
他 喜歡 誰

例 3: koˬ-haŋ˨ nɛˬ tei˩ neŋ˨-nu˨ "(ji˩)" 〔什麼人在這裏
什 麼 人 在 這 裏
"(呢)"〕!

例 4: pəɤˬ tɕei˩-ʈiˬ "(ji˩)" 〔他怎麼"(呢)"〕!
他 怎 麼 呢

以上四句的詢問助詞可有可無。

例 5: məɤ˨ pʻuˬ tu˩ ɕioŋˬ "ma˨" (你說苗話"嗎")!
你 說 話 苗 嗎

例 6: ɑ˥-lɛ˨ neŋ˨ dəɤ˨ ɲi˩ pɛɤˬ "ma˨" (這就是他"嗎")!
一個 這 就 是 他 嗎

以上兩句必須要用詢問助詞。

13. 詞頭

幾個普通的詞頭是:[ɑˬ];[koˬ]或[oˬ];[maˬ]或[maŋˬ];[ta˥],[ʈi˥];……

(1) ɑˬ 加在長於自身的親屬稱謂前;例如:——

ɑˬ-paˬ(爸爸); ɑˬ-miˬ(媽媽); ɑˬ-pʻəɤ˨(祖父); ɑˬ-ɲia˨(祖母); ɑˬ-nɛ˨(舅父,姑夫,岳父,阿公); ɑˬ-moŋ˩(舅母,姑母,岳母,

阿姑); aɴ-tʂ'ei˧ (伯父,姨夫); aɴ-koɴ (伯母,姨母); aɴ-jo˧ (叔父,姨夫); aɴ-ɲi˧ (叔母,姨母); aɴ-na˨˩ (兄); aɴ-ja˧ (姊).

(2) koɴ 或 o 加在名詞前(動物如鳥、獸、魚、蟲、除外)例如:——

koɴ-nɛɴ (人); kɔɴ-ɲi˧ (男人); koɴ-mp'a˧ (女人); koɴ-tʂaɴ (客家即漢人); koɴ-ɕioŋɴ (苗家即苗人); koɴ-tə˞˧ (手); koɴ-lɦo˨˩ (足); koɴ-tə˞ɴ (土,地); koɴ-taŋɴ (池塘); koɴ-ta˞ɴ (柴); koɴ-ndu˨˩ (樹,木); koɴ-ŋaŋɴ (船); koɴ-wa˨˩ (鍋); koɴ-tʂei˧ (碗).

如名詞前加量詞或領格代詞時,則不加[koɴ];例如:——

aɴ-dʑei˨˩ ndeŋ˨˩ (一把刀). me˞˨˩ naŋ˨˩ ndeŋ˨˩ (你的刀).
一 把 刀 你 的 刀

(3) maɴ 或 maŋɴ 加在形容詞前:例如:——

maɴ-ɕiɛ˨˩ (新); maɴ-qo˧ (舊,老); maɴ-lhio˧ (多,富); maɴ-joŋ˧ (少); maɴ-lio˨˩ (大); maɴ-ɕio˨˩ (小); maɴ-ndə˞˨˩ (長); maɴ-lɛ˨˩ (短); maɴ-ntʂ'aɴ (粗); maɴ-maŋ˨˩ (細); maɴ-nɛ˨˩ (軟); maɴ-taɴ (硬); maɴ-taɴ (直); maɴ-nk'uɴ (曲); maɴ-noŋ˧ (冷); maɴ-ɕioɴ (熱); maɴ-q'a˧ (乾); maɴ-ndei˨˩ (溼); maɴ-qə˞ɴ (遠); maɴ-ʑə˞˧ (近); maɴ-ʂaŋ˧ (快); maɴ-laɴ (慢); maɴ-ɕia˨˩ (輕); maɴ-heŋ˧ (重); maɴ-queŋɴ (寬); maɴ-ŋa˨˩ (窄); maɴ-ŋa˧ (動); maɴ-ɲie˨˩ (惰); maɴ-ʨiaŋɴ (甜); maɴ-ɕio˨˩ (酸); maɴ-a˨˩ (苦,鹹); maɴ-mie˨˩ (辣); maɴ-ndieŋ˧ (紅); maɴ-queŋɴ (黃); maɴ-lio˨˩ (綠); maɴ-mba˨˩ (藍); maɴ-mio˨˩ (青); maɴ-ɕuɛ˨˩ (黑); maɴ-qu˞ɴ (白).

如形容詞後或前加狀詞時,則不加[maɴ];例如:——

a˥-la˨˩ maɴ-lio˨˩ pi˥-qa˞ɴ (一座大山). a˥-lɛ˨˩ pi˥-qa˞ɴ
一 座 大 山 一 座 山

lio˨˩ heŋ˧ 或 a˥-lɛ˨˩ pi˥-qa˞ɴ tə˞ɴ tə˞ɴ lio˨˩ (一座山是
大 很 一 座 山 很 大

很大的).

(4) tɑ˥ 加在鳥、獸、魚、蟲等動物前;例如:——

tɑ˥-nu˧(鳥); tɑ˥-ŋɑo˨(鴿); tɑ˥-qɑ˧(雞); tɑ˥-nu˧-ʂo˧(鴨); tɑ˥ mei˨(馬); tɑ˥-jəɤ˨(黃牛); tɑ˥-ɲie˨(水牛); tɑ˥-joŋ˨(羊); tɑ˥-quɤ˧(狗); tɑ˥-mbɑʌ(猪); tɑ˥-liʌ(驢); tɑ˥-lu˨(騾); tɑ˥-lɑ˧(兎); tɑ˥-ʈio˥(虎); tɑ˥-ʈio˧(猴); tɑ˥-maŋʌ(貓); tɑ˥-neŋ˨(鼠); tɑ˥-ʐoŋ˨(龍); tɑ˥-neŋ˨(蛇);tɑ˥-miɤ˨(魚); tɑ˥-ʂoŋ˨(蝦); tɑ˥-tɛ˧(蜂); tɑ˥-mɑŋ˨(蚊);tɑ˥-mp'ɑ˧(螞蟻)。

如名詞前加量詞或領格代詞時,則不加[tɑ˥];例如:——

ɑ˥-ŋoŋ˨ mei˨(一匹馬)。 wɛ˨-nɑŋ˨ mei˨(我的馬)。
一 匹 馬 我 的 馬

(5) ʈi˥ 的用法有三:

(甲)加在某幾個名詞之前;例如:——

ʈi˥-ʈia˧(街),ʈi˥-nɦɛ˨(白天); ʈi˥-tɛ˧(小孩); ʈi˥-ŋk'əɤ˧(袴子);ʈi˥-pei˧(桌子);ʈi˥-tɑŋ˧(錢)。

(乙)加在某幾個形容詞之前;例如:——

ʈi˥-ndʐo˨(早);ʈi˥-la˧(遲,慢);ʈi˥-ʂɑŋ˧(快);ʈi˥-pie˧(慢); ʈi˥-ŋq'ɛ˧(快樂);ʈi˥-ʈa˧(眞實);ʈi˥-mba˨(扁);ʈi˥-nəɤ˨(前); ʈi˥-tʂei˧(後);ʈi˥-ɲiɛ˨(喜歡);ʈi˥-deŋʌ(熱鬧);ʈi˥-queŋ˧(寬);ʈi˥-nɑŋ˨(像),

(丙)加在某幾個動詞之前;例如:——

ʈi˥-p'u˧(說); ʈi˥-pi˧(比); ʈi˥-haɤ˧(助); ʈi˥-liɑ˧(拉); ʈi˥-tɛ˧(發誓); ʈi˥-qəɤ˧(說謊); ʈi˥-ki˧(跑); ʈi˥-t'aɤ˨(咳嗽); ʈi˥-ŋq'ɛ˧(看);ʈi˥-ʈiɛ˧(造,成);ʈi˥-tʂ'əɤ˧(驅);ʈi˥-tʂ'ɑŋ˧(遇)。

14. 量詞

量詞(numeral adjuncts),大都是由名詞轉變而爲形容詞

性質的計數詞。苗語中通用的量詞有[lɛ˨]、[tɛ˥]、[kəɤ˥]、[ŋoŋ˨]、[həɤ˥]、[tʂu˥]、[təɤ˥]、[tʂeŋ˥]、[ho˥]、[ʐɑ˨]、[qɑ˥]、[ko˥]、[qɑɤ˥]、[nuʌ]、[t'ɛ˥]、[p'o˥]、[tʂəɤ˥]、等等。茲將各量詞的用法,分別舉例說明如下:

(1) lɛ˨ 用以計各種形質的事物,大約相當於漢語的"個""所"、"隻"、"頂"、"座"、"滴"、"粒"、"聲"等量詞;例如:——

ɑ˥-lɛ˨ nɛ˥(一個人);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ nɦɛ˨(一個太陽);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ q'o˥(一個孔);ɑ˥ lɛ˨-q'o˥-piɤ˥ (一個窗戶);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ tʂo˥* (一個灶);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ taŋ˥ (一個水塘);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ to˥ (一個瓜);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ ʂei˩-tʂɑ˥ (一個辣椒);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ piɤ˥ (一所屋);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ tʂei˩ (一隻碗);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ wa˨ (一隻鍋);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ ki˥-mo˨ (一頂帽子);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ pi˥-qɑɤ˥ (一座山),ɑ˥-lɛ˨ ndʐieŋ˨* (一座城);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ n˨-qɛ˥ (一滴眼淚);ɑ˥ lɛ˨ lɛ˨-pɑɤ˥ (一粒穀子);ɑ˥-lɛ˨ ʂo˩ (一聲雷)。

(2) tɛ˥ 用以計長條形體的事物,大約相當於漢語的"個""枝"、"棵"、"根"、"條"、"把"等;例如:——

ɑ˥-tɛ˥ pi˥-ndɑ˨(一個手指);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ pɑ˥-miɤ˩ (一個鼻子);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ ʂiɛ˩ (一個牙齒);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ miɑ˨ (一個舌頭);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ təɤ˥ (一個錘子),ɑ˥-tɛ˥ tʂa˩ (一個鑽子);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ miɑ˩-koŋ˥ (一枝箭);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ ndu˨ (一棵樹);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ lho˥ (一根竹);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ u˨ (一條河);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ ʈia˥ (一條街);ɑ˥-tɛ˥ ʈ'iɛ˨* (一把尺)。

(3) kəɤ˥ 用以計原有一對而僅指其一的事物,大約相當於漢語的隻;例如:——

ɑ˥-kəɤ˥ qɛ˥ (一隻眼睛);ɑ˥-kəɤ˥ tʂu˩-miɤ˨ (一隻耳朵);

ɑ˥-kəɤ˧ təɤ˧(一隻手); ɑ˥-kəɤ˧ ɕi˨-təɤ˧ (一隻臂); ɑ˥ kəɤ˧ ʔho˨ (一隻脚); ɑ˥-kəɤ˧ pɑ˧ (一隻腿); ɑ˥-kəɤ˧ mɑ˨ (一隻奶).

(4) ŋoŋ˨ (甲)用以計成對的事物,大約相當於漢語的雙;例如:——

ɑ˥-ŋoŋ˨ tʂəɤ˧ (一雙筷子): ɑ˥-ŋoŋ˨ ɕio˧-mp'ei˧ (一雙鞋子).

(乙)用以計動物的數目,大約相當於漢語的"匹""頭"、"隻"等;例如:——

ɑ˥-ŋoŋ˨ mei˨ (一匹馬); ɑ˥-ŋoŋ˨ joŋ (一頭羊); ɑ˥-ŋoŋ˨ tɛ˧ (一隻蜂).

(5) həɤ˧ (甲)用以計有面可指的事物,相當於漢語的"張";例如:——

ɑ˥-həɤ˧ qɑ˧-lo˧ (一張嘴); ɑ˥-həɤ˧ tʂoŋ˧ (一張床).

(乙)用以計不易計數的事物,相當於漢語的"些""點"等;例如:——

ɑ˥-həɤ˧ nu˧-ʐei˨ (一些菜子); ɑ˥-həɤ˧ tu˧ (一點兒話語).

(6) tʂu˧ (甲)用以計有面可指的事物,用法同[həɤ˧],相當於漢語的"張";例如:——

ɑ˥-tʂu˧ p'o˧-mɛ˧ (一張臉); ɑ˥-tʂu˧ li˨* (一張弩); ɑ˥-tʂu˧ koŋ˥* (一張弓).

(乙)用以計長條形的事物,用法同[tɛ˧],相當於漢語的"根";例如:——

ɑ˥-tʂu˧ ndu˨ (一根木頭或一棵樹).

(7) tɐɤ˧ 用以計形體不一的事物，相當於漢語的"張"、"隻"、"根"等;例如:——

ɑ˥-tɐɤ˧ ʈi˧-pei˧ (一張桌子); ɑ˥-tɐɤ˧ ŋɑŋ˧ (一隻船); ɑ˥-tɐɤ˧ p'o˩ (一根館); ɑ˥-tɐɤ˧ q'o˩-ɢoŋ˨ (一根項圈).

(8) tʂeŋ˧ 亦用以計形體不一的事物，相當於漢語的"把"; 例如:——

ɑ˥-tʂeŋ˧ ndeŋ˨ (一把刀); ɑ˥-tʂeŋ˧ ɦi˩ (一把椅子); ɑ˥-tʂeŋ˧ to˩ (一把斧子); ɑ˥-tʂeŋ˧ q'o˩ (一把鋤頭); ɑ˥-tʂeŋ˧ ndi˨ (一把剪子).

(9) no˧ 用以計成對的事物，用法同[ŋoŋ˨]，相當於漢語的"對""副";例如:——

ɑ˥-ho˧ q'o˥-po˩ (一對手鐲); ɑ˥-no˧ q'o˥-miɤ˨ (一副耳環).

(10) ʐɑ˨ 用以計不可計數量的事物，相當於漢語的"陣"; 例如:——

ɑ˥-ʐɑ˨ ki˩ (一陣風); ɑ˥-ʐɑ˨-noŋ˨ (一陣雨).

(11) qɑ˧ 用以計形體大小無定的事物，相當於漢語的"塊"、"片"等;例如:——

ɑ˥-qɑ˧ ʐeɤ˨ (一塊石頭); ɑ˥-qɑ˧ ndio˨-tu˩ (一片雲彩).

(12) ko˧ 用以計棵條形的事物，相當於漢語的"棵"; 例如:——

ɑ˥-ko˧ ʐei˨ (一棵菜); ɑ˥-ko˧ neɤ˧ (一根禾).

(13) qaɤ˧ 用以計細條形的事物，相當於漢語的"根"; 例如:——

ɑ˥-qaɤ˧ tʂei˧ (一根線); ɑ˥-qaɤ˧ pi˧ (一根毛髮).

(14) nu˧ 用以計大條形的事物,用法同[tɛ˥]相當於漢語的"條"、"根"等;例如:——

ɑ˥-nu˧ nei˨-kəɤ˥(一條道路); ɑ˥-nu˧ lha˧(一根繩索)

(15) t'ɛ˥ 用以計進食的次數,相當於漢語的"餐":例如:——

ɑ˥-t'ɛ˥ lhi˧(一餐飯)

(16) p'o˥ 用以計布疋的件數,相當於漢語的"疋"; 例如:——

ɑ˥-p'o˥ ndei˨(一疋布)

(17) tɕəɤ˥ 用以計花卉的朵數,例如:——

ɑ˥-tɕəɤ˥ peŋ˥(一朵花)

(四)分類詞彙

本詞彙中"-"是分音綴的符號,連接詞頭及複合詞. 凡一語有兩讀者並記之,以","隔開,括在"( )"中的是乾城苗語,"{ }"中的是永綏苗語. 右上角註"*"號的是漢語借詞,但以顯然可辨的爲限,其疑似者則均附記"?"號.

1. 天

天 tɑ˥-piɑ˥(tɑ˥-pɑ˥)

日 nɦɛ˨

月 lhɑ˧

星 qɛ˥-lhɑ˧

雷 po˨(poŋ˨)

電 liɑ˨-po˨(liɑ˨-poŋ˨)

風 ki˧

雲 tu˧

雨 noŋ˩

露 uˬ-ɛiɤ˩

霜 tɤ˩

雪 mbɛ˩

2. 地

地 taˬ-tɤˬ

土 koˬ-tɤˬ (oˬ❶-tɤˬ)

山 pi˥-qaɤˬ

河 u˨

水 u˨

火 pi˥-taɤˬ

池塘 koˬ-taŋˬ?

田 ia˩

路 nei˨-kɤˬ

橋 ɕio˨*

岸 koˬ-tʂaɤˬ

石 koˬ-ʐɤɤ˨

3. 時

年 koˬ-ʈio˩

月 koˬ-lha˩

日 koˬ-nɦɛ˨

時 ʈiˬ-ɕieŋ˨* (ɕiˬ*

乾季 ŋaŋ˩-nɦɛ˨

---

❶ [koˬ],乾城苗人通讀 [oˬ],故作 [oˬ-tɤˬ]。以下凡有開頭[koˬ]者均從此,不復一一註出。

兩季	ŋaŋ˧-noŋ˧
今日	t'a˧-ɦiɛ˨
明日	ɕi˥-ɦiɛ˨
昨日	ɲi˥-ɦiɛ˨
上午	ɦiɛ˨-ndu˧
下午	ɦiɛ˨-ɕi˥
早晨	ka˥-ndʐo˧ (ka˥-ndʐoŋ˧)
傍晚	ɦiɛ˨-mhaŋ˥
晝間	ʈi˥-ɦiɛ˨
晚間	mhaŋ˥-ʈio˧ (mhaŋ˥-ʈiɤ˧)
正月	lha˧ a˥
二月	lha˧ ɤ˨
三月	lha˧ pu˧
四月	lha˧ pie˥
五月	lha˧ pia˥
六月	lha˧ tʂo˧
七月	lha˧ ʈioŋ˥
八月	lha˧ ji˨
九月	lha˧ ʈio˥
十月	lha˧ gu˨
十一月	lha˧ toŋ˥* (冬月)
十二月	lha˧ ʐɤ˧ (臘月)
初一日	a˥ ɦiɛ˨ lha˧, 或月初 o˥ pie˥ lha˧
初二日	ɤ˨ ɦiɛ˨ lha˧
初三日	pu˧ ɦiɛ˨ lha˧

初四日 pie˧ nɦɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥

初五日 piɑ˧ nɦɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥

初六日 tɕo˥ nɦɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥

初七日 ʈʂioŋ˥ nʂɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥

初八日 ji˨˩ nɦɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥

初九日 ʈʂio˧ nɦɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥

初十日 gu˨˩ nɦɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥

十五日 ɑ˥ gu˨˩ piɑ˧ nɦɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥, (或月中) tɑ˥ tɕoŋ˧ lhɑ˥

三十日 pu˥ gu˨˩ nɦɛ˨˩ lhɑ˥, (或月終) gɐɤ˨˩ lhɑ˥

4. 人(附親屬稱謂)

人 nɛ˧, miɛ˧

男人 ko˧-ɲi˥ (o˧-ɲieŋ˥)

女人 ko˧-mp'ɑ˥ (o˧-mbɑ˨˩)

老翁 tɛ˧-qo˥-ɲi˥ (o˧-nɛ˧-qoŋ˥), {nɛ˧-qo˥}

老婆 tɛ˧-qo˥-mp'ɑ˥ (o˧-nɛ˧-qoŋ˥-mbɑ˨˩), {nɛ˧-qo˥-mp'ɑ˥}

小孩 tɛ˧-tɛ˧

男孩 tɛ˧-ɲi˥

女孩 tɛ˧-mp'ɑ˥ (tɛ˧-mbɑ˨˩)

夫 po˧

妻 ɐɤ˧, mp'ɑ˥ (mbɑ˨˩)

妾 mp'ɑ˥-ʐɑŋ˥

父 ɑ˧-pɑ˧ (ɑ˧-mɑ˥)

母 ɑ˧-mi˨˩ (ɑ˧-nɛ˨˩)

繼父 ɑ˧-p'ɐɤ˨˩

繼母 ɑ˧-ɲiɑ˨˩

伯父 ɑ˥-tɕ'ei˩

伯母 ɑ˥-ko˥

叔父 ɑ˥-jo˩

叔母 ɑ˥-ɲi˩

舅父 ɑ˥-nɛ˩

舅母 ɑ˥-moŋ˩

姑夫 ɑ˥-nɛ˩

姑母 ɑ˥-moŋ˩

姨夫 ɑ˥-tɕ'ei˩, ɑ˥-jo˩

姨母 ɑ˥-ko˥, ɑ˥-ɲi˩

岳父 ɑ˥-nɛ˩

岳母 ɑ˥-moŋ˩

阿公 ɑ˥-nɛ˩

阿姑 ɑ˥-moŋ˩

兄 ɑ˥-nɑ˩

弟 tɛ˥-kɔɤ˩

姊 ɑ˥-jɑ˩

妹 tɛ˥-kɔɤ˩ (kɔɤ˩-mei˩)

兒子 tɛ˥-ɲi˩ (tɛ˥-ɲieŋ˩)

媳婦 neŋ˥

新婦 mp'ɑ˩-ʈ'io˩

女兒 tɛ˥-mp'ɑ˩ (tɛ˥-mbɑ˩)

女壻 tɛ˥-wei˩, tɛ˥-gis˩?

孫男 tɛ˥-ʈiɑ˥ (tɛ˥-kɑ˥-ɲieŋ˩), (tɛ˥-kɑ˥)

孫女 ʈiɑ˥-mp'ɑ˩ (tɛ˥-kɑ˥-mbɑ˩), (kɑ˥-mp'ɑ˩)

親戚 koˬ-la˨˩, koˬ-ʈʂʰio˨˩

朋友 kɤˬ-bu˨˩

教師 ɕa˨˩-ndaɤ˨˩

巫師 pa˥-tɛˬ

苗巫 pa˥-tɛˬ-ɕioŋˬ

客(漢)巫 pa˥-tɛˬ-tʂaˬ

蠱婆 mpʰa˧˥-ʈʂʰiˬ

苗人 koˬ-ɕioŋˬ

客(漢)人 koˬ-tʂaˬ

5. 人體

頭 ta˥-peiˬ, ta˥-pieˬ (pʰo˧˥-peiˬ), {paɤˬ-peiˬ}

髮 koˬ-piˬ

臉 pʰo˧˥-mɛ˧ {paɤˬ-mɛ˧}

眉 laɤ˧-qɛˬ (lɛ˧-qɛˬ)

眼 queiˬ-qɛˬ, piˬ-qɛˬ

耳 tʂu˧˥-miɤ˨˩ (dʐoŋ-miɤ˨˩), {dʐoŋ˧˥-moɤ˨˩}

鼻 pa˥-miɤ˧ {pa˥-moɤ˧}

口 qaˬ-lo˧ (qaˬ-loŋ˧)

舌 koˬ-mia˨˩

齒 koˬ-ɕiɛ˧

唇 koˬ-ʈiɤ˧-lo˧ (oˬ-ʈiɤ˧-loŋ˧)

喉 ɖiɤ˧-ŋoɤ˨˩

頸 ɕoŋˬ-ɕoŋ˨˩

肩 pieˬ-ʈiˬ (paˬ-ʈiˬ)

胸 po˧-laˬ(po˧-dʐaŋ˨˩), {paɤˬ-dʐaŋ˨˩}

腹 koˬ-ʂʻi˩

乳 ma˩

背 tɕei˧-tʂuˬ

腰 koˬ-ʈiɤˬ

手 koˬ-tɤɤ˧

臂 ɕi˩-tɤɤ˧

指 piˬ-ndaˬ

腿 koˬ-ɲaˬ

脚 koˬ-lhoˬ

趾 piˬ-ndaˬ-lhoˬ

膝 piˬ-ʈiɤ˧

臀 qaˬ-piɤ˧

除蚤 kie˧ (ki˧)

睾丸 koˬ-nɤɤ˩ (nɤɤ˩-ɕɤɤ˩)

除尸 kʻeŋˬ

血 nʂʻieŋˬ (nʂʻioŋˬ), {nʂʻiˬ}

肉 ɲiaˬ

皮 koˬ-ʈiɤ˧

骨 koˬ-ʂoŋˬ

淚 uˬ-qɛˬ

汗 uˬ-lheŋ˧

尿 uˬ-ʐaˬ

屎 qaˬ

6. 飲食(附食具)

飯 lhi˧, lhie˧

粥 kiˬ-ʂɛˬ

麵 miɤ˨˩*

猪肉 ɲiaˬ-mbɑ˨˩

牛肉 ɲiaˬ-jɔɤ˨˩

油 ɕiɛˬ

豐 ndʐiɤ˨˩

茶 gi˨˩

酒 ʐiɤˬ*

煙 jɛ˧˥*

鍋 koˬ-wa˨˩

碗 koˬ-tʂei˧˥

筷 koˬ-tʂəɤ˧˥

7. 衣飾(附縫具)

衣 aɤˬ

袴 ʈi˥-ŋk'əɤ˧˥

裙 taˬ

帽 kiˬ-mo˨˩*

包頭 ɕio˧˥-mɛ˧˥

鞋 ɕio˧˥-mp'eiˬ

襪 ɕio˧˥-wa˨˩*

耳環 q'o˥-miɤ˨˩ (q'o˥-məɤ˨˩), (q'ɑŋ˥-məɤ˨˩)

項圈 q'o˥-ɑoŋ˨˩ (q'ɑŋ˥-ɑoŋ˨˩)

手鐲 q'o˥-po˧˥ (q'ɑŋ-paɤ˧˥)

戒指 q'o˥-ndɑ˨˩ (q'ɑŋ˥-ndɑ˨˩)

絲 tʂeiˬ-tʂəɤˬ?❶ (koˬ-tʂəɤˬ)

❶ [tʂeiˬ]是線，[tʂəɤˬ]實是與語的"線"，似等"線線"之義。惟[tʂəɤˬ]是否是與語的音字，則不敢斷言。

綢 ndei˩-tʂəɤ˥?

棉 mieŋ˧*-huɑ˥*

布 ndei˩

麻 ko˥-no˧

麻布 ndei˩-no˧ (ndei˩-noŋ˧)

線 ko˥-tʂei˥

針 ko˥-ʈio˥

剪 ko˥-nd̪i˩

8. 居住(附傢具)

房屋 piɤ˥ (pəɤ˥)

房間 ko˥-t'ɑŋ˧

廚房(灶) ko˥-tʂo˥

臥房 tei˥-paɤ˧

門 pɑ˥-dʐu˩

大門 mieŋ˩-dʐu˩

後門 tʂei˧-dʐu˩

窗 q'o˥-piɤ˥ (q'o˥-pəɤ˥)

床 tʂoŋ˥-paɤ˧

桌 ʈi˥-pei˥

椅 ko˥-kəɤ˥

凳 ko˥-ɦi˩, ko˥-ɦie˩

9. 交通

車 ko˥-ʈ'io˧*

轎 dio˩*

船 ko˥-ŋɑŋ˥

篙 koˬ-piɑ˧-pɑ˧-ŋɑŋˬ

蔡 koˬ-ʂiɑ˧-pɑ˧-ŋɑŋˬ

10. 器具

鐮刀 koˬ-mo˧

鋤頭 koˬ-q'oˬ

耙頭 koˬ-liˬ˨?

磨子 ʐɐɤ˨˩-ʐo˨˩

斧子 koˬ-to˧

鋸子 koˬ-ɕio˧

鑽子 koˬ-tʂɑ˧?

鏈子 koˬ-tɐɤˬ

刀 koˬ-ndeŋ˨˩

槍 koˬ-p'o˧

弓 koŋ˥*

箭 koˬ-miɑ˧-koŋ˥*

11. 動物

鳥 tɑ˥-nu˧

雀 nu˧-tʂeiˬ

鴿 tɑ˥-ŋɑo˨˩?

鴉 pɑ˥-o˧ {pɑ˥-ɐɤ˧}

鷄 tɑ˥-qɑ˧

鴨 tɑ˥-nu˧-ʂo˧

馬 tɑ˥-mei˨˩

黃牛 tɑ˥-jɐɤ˨˩

水牛 tɑ˥-ɲie˨˩

羊 taɹ-joŋ˨˩

狗 taɹ-quɤ˥˧

猪 taɹ-mbaʌ˨

貓 taɹ-liʌ?

鼠 taɹ-luɹ˨˩?

兎 taɹ-laɹ˧

虎 taɹ-ʈioɹ˧

猴 taɹ-ʈioɹ˥˧

鮨 taɹ-maŋʌ˨

狐 taɹ-neŋʌ˨

龍 taɹ-ʂoŋ˨˩

蛇 taɹ-neŋ˨˩

魚 taɹ-mɤɹ˨˩

蝦 taɹ-poŋ˨˩

蜂 taɹ-tɛ˥˧

蠅 maŋ˨˩-lhieɹ˧●

蚊 taɹ-maŋ˨˩?

蜘蛛 paɹ-kɤɹ˥˧ (paɤɹ-kɤɹ˥˧)

螞蟻 taɹ-mp'aɹ˧

虱子 taɹ-tɛɹ˧

跳蚤 taɹ-tɛɹ˧-quɤ˥˧●

蟹 kieŋ˥˧-tʂɤɹ˥˧?●

● [maŋ˨˩]是蚊，[lhieɹ˧]是飯，我即"飯蚊"。

● [taɹ-teɹ˧]是風，[quɤ˥˧]是狗，我即"狗風"。

● [kieŋ˥˧]是魚，[tʂɤɹ˥˧]青近谷蟹的"蟹"，但爲"蟹魚"之義。

12. 植物

花 koɴ-peŋɴ

草 koɴ-ndʐɐɤ˧

竹 koɴ-lhoɴ

樹 koɴ-nduʌ

樹根 koɴ-ɕioŋ˩-nduʌ

樹枝 koɴ-kɐɤɴ-nduʌ

樹皮 koɴ-ɟiɤ˧-nduʌ

樹葉 koɴ-nu˩-nduʌ

桃樹 nduʌ-quɐɴ

杏樹 nduʌ-poŋɴ

禾 koɴ-nɐɤɴ

稻 lɛ˩-paɤɴ

米 ndʐoʌ

麥 qaɤɴ-mo˩

包穀 paɤɴ-ʐaɤ˧

黃豆 teiɴ

瓜 toɴ

青菜 ʐei˩-mio˩, ʐei˩-poŋ˩

蘿蔔 lhɑ˧?-bɐɤ˧?

芋頭 uɤʌ

蔥 quɑŋ˩-queiɴ

豆 paˀ

筍 mio˧

13. 鳥物

金 ɕɛ˨

銀 ŋoŋ˨

銅 toŋ˥˩?

鐵 lho˥˩

錫 lhia˨

14. 其他

城 ko˥˩-ndʑieŋ˨

街 ʈi˥˩-ʈia˥˩?(ʈi˥˩-kɛ˥˩*)

寨 ko˥˩-qa˥˩, ko˥˩-tʂei˨*, ko˥˩-ʐaŋ˨

坟 ko˥˩-ndʐeŋ˨

鬼(神) ta˥-kueŋ˥˩*

書(紙,字) nda˥˩

錢 ʈi˥-taŋ˨

15. 代詞

我 wɛ˨

我們 pa˥˩, pa˥˩-ko˥˩

我的 wɛ˨-naŋ˨

我們的 pa˥˩-naŋ˨

你 mə˥˩, moŋ˨

你們 mɛ˥˩, mɛ˥˩-ko˥˩

你的 mə˥˩-naŋ˨

你們的 mɛ˥˩-naŋ˨

他 pə˥˩

他們 ɕi˥˩, ɕi˥˩-ko˥˩

他的 pə˥˩-naŋ˨

他們的 ɖiɤʌ-nan˨

自己 pa˥-tu˨

別人 moŋ˨

誰 ʈi˥-lɛ˨

什麼 ko˥-naŋ˨

16. 數詞

一 a˥

二 ɤɤ˨

三 pu˨

四 piɤ˥

五 pia˥

六 ʂo˨

七 ʈioŋ˥

八 ji˨

九 ʈio˥

十 gu˨

十一 gu˨-a˥

十二 gu˨-ɤɤ˨

二十 ɤɤ˨-gu˨

二一 ɤɤ˨-gu˨-a˥

三十 pu˨-gu˨

四十 piɤ˥-gu˨

五十 pia˥-gu˨

六十 ʂo˨-gu˨

七十 ʈioŋ˨-gu˨

八十 ji˨-gu˨

九十 ʈio˥-gu˨

一百 a˥-pa˧*

一千 a˥-tʂ'a˨*

一萬 a˥-wa˨*

17. 形容詞

新 ma˥-ɕiɛ˨, maŋ˥❶-ɕiɛ˨

舊 ma˥-qo˧

多 ma˥-lhio˧

少 ma˥-joŋ˨

大 ma˥-lio˨

小 ma˥-ɕio˨

長 ma˥-ndæɤ˨

短 ma˥-lɛ˨

粗 ma˥-ntʂ'a˥

細 ma˥ maŋ˨

軟 ma˥-nɛ˨

硬 ma˥-ta˥

直 ma˥-ta˥

曲 ma˥-ŋk'u˥

冷 ma˥-noŋ˧

熱 ma˥-ɕio˥

乾 ma˥-q'a˧

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❶ [ma˥] 是據吳良佐、石啓貴、龍定國三家的說音，[maŋ˥] 是據吳文祺家的說音。以下凡有同樣[ma˥]者均倣此，不復一一註出。

遠 maɤ-ndei˨

遠 maɤ-qəɤ˥

近 maɤ-ʐəɤ˧

快 maɤ-ʂaŋ˧

慢 maɤ-laɤ

輕 maɤ-ɕia˨

重 maɤ-heŋ˧

寬 maɤ-queŋ˥

窄 maɤ-ŋa˨

動 maɤ-ŋa˧

惰 maɤ-ɲie˨

甜 maɤ-ʈiaŋ˥

酸 maɤ-ɕio˨

苦 maɤ-aɤ

鹹 maɤ-aɤ

辣 maɤ-mie˨

紅 maɤ-ndieŋ˧

黃 maɤ-queŋ˥

綠 maɤ-lio˨

藍 maɤ-mba˨

青 maɤ-mio˨

黑 maɤ-guɛ˨

白 maɤ-quɤ˥

(五)苗語的要點

由以上所記,可得幾條湘西苗語的要點如下:

1. 語音方面 聲母沒有脣齒音[f]、[v];[p]、[b]之前有時帶雙脣鼻音[m];[h]、[ɦ]之前帶邊音[l]或舌尖鼻音[n];[t]、[d]、[tʂ]、[dʐ]之前帶舌尖鼻音[n];[ʈ]、[ɖ]之前帶舌面鼻音[ɲ];[k']、[g]、[q']、[ɢ]之前帶舌根鼻音[ŋ];[tʂ]、[tʂ']、[ʂ]與[ts]、[ts']、[s]不分(現在都併入[tʂ]、[tʂ']、[ʂ]);[b]、[d]、[ɖ]、[g]、[ɢ]、[dʐ]等濁音都不自成音位,乃是與它們相當的[p]、[t]、[ʈ]、[k]、[q]、[tʂ]等清音在低調時的變體。韻母沒有撮口韻[y];[e]、[o]、[ɤ]都不單用,只見於複元音中;鼻音韻尾只有一個舌根鼻音[ŋ];舌尖元音[ɿ]只見於漢語借字。聲調有˥˧˩三類高調,及˨˩兩類低調。

2. 語法方面 主詞在動詞之前,受詞在動詞之後,但形容詞及狀詞則在名詞之後(除少數形容詞及狀詞例外);有些詢問句必須用詢問助詞;名詞、形容詞及少數動詞之前,常有一定的詞頭相伴;各種事物的計數,各有一定的量詞。

3. 語彙方面 有不少顯然可辨的漢語借字,在本報告所收詞彙中約佔百份之七。沒有相當於漢語"東、南、西、北"及"春、夏、秋、冬"的語詞。苗語表方位只有[nɦɛ˨˩-ta˧˥](日出之義,指東方)與[nɦɛ˨˩-mhaŋ˧˥](日晚之義,指西方二詞);表季候只有[ŋaŋ˧˥-nɦɛ˨˩](太陽季之義,指春夏)與[ŋaŋ˧˥-noŋ˨˩](冷季之義,指秋冬)二詞。

2: Ling and Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

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陳　浩(清): 黔苗圖說,國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所藏彩繪本。(有兩種英譯本,詳西文書目。)

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[p. 40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 162 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, principally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered-head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 114 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

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and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords. 361 [579]

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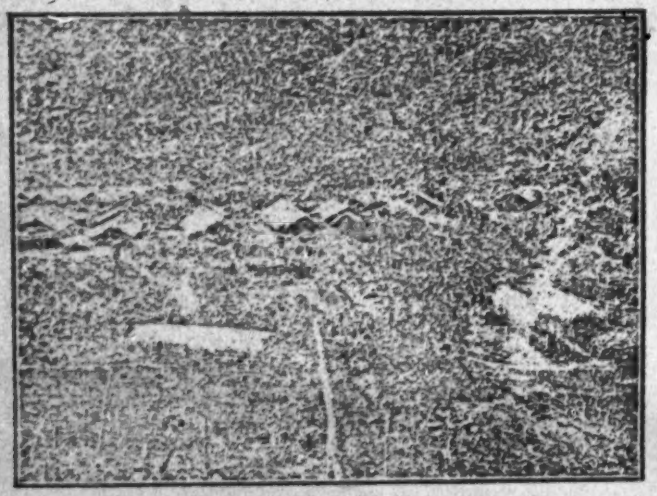

MIAO VILLAGE.

The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned. 361 621 622

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between 361

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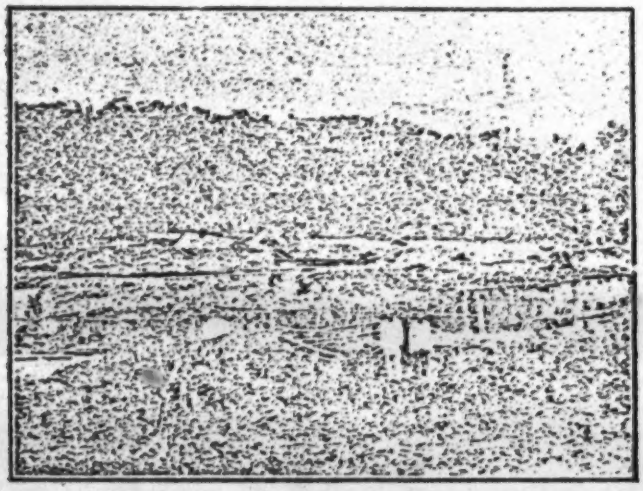
361 house and house, village and stream, village and forest, and later between village and village. The villages being on the
342 sloping hillsides, the householder must first level off the
361 site he has chosen. This he does carefully, and the bank of earth twelve or eighteen inches high left at one side of the plot makes the protection for the back side of the house. A shallow trench is dug between this bank and the edge of the wall, and around the other three sides of the rectangular levelled place, to drain off the torrents of water that fall during the tropical storms.

361



MIAO VILLAGE.

342 Four strong poles, standing about six feet above the ground, are driven firmly into the earth at each corner of the house-to-be. Ordinary houses are about thirty feet long and ten feet wide. At the middle of the two ends higher poles, standing about ten feet above the ground, are put in, and two more of the same height in the centre of the building and on a line with them, to hold the ridge-pole. Smaller posts are planted at regular intervals along the longer sides, and heavy bamboo or light timbers laid upon them to form the rest of the skeleton of the house. Light bamboo poles are lashed to ridgepole and sidepoles to take the place of rafters, and the top of the house is ready for the roof. No nails are used in the structure. Fastenings are made by means of bamboo or rattan withes, tied securely in place.

Roofing is done with one of three different kinds of material. Sometimes the leaves of the fan palm are used, laid overlapping each other. This roof is very easy to mend.

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as you merely stick another fan under the thatch wherever the water is dripping through. Sometimes bundles of a heavy swamp grass are used, or the third alternative is rattan. The big rattan branches are taken, stripped of leaves on one side of the mid-rib, laid one above the other with the leaves overlapping, and the whole section fastened to the roof. This sort of roofing takes longer to prepare but is probably the most durable of the three. 342

The walls are the next problem. Often they are of bamboo stakes driven into the ground close together and chinked with mud up to the low roof. Sometimes they are simply split bamboo woven into screens and fastened firmly into place. No windows are left except tiny square openings in the walls and these are by no means universal. One door is left in the middle of the long front side of the house, a bamboo screen with bamboo withes for hinges and an ingenious bamboo latchstring. The eaves project two or three feet over the roof edge in every direction. At the back they thus extend almost to the top of the bank of earth mentioned above. In the front they extend down so near the ground that it is almost impossible to enter from that side, but a simple matter to enter this tunnel-like verandah at the end of the house and walk along close to the wall until the door is reached. The pig troughs are usually situated under this verandah, and the chicken coops also. Trough and chicken coop are hardly the proper names for the articles though they are used for those purposes. Their construction will be explained later. At one or perhaps both ends of the house the roof is extended three or four feet and under the shelter thus formed the household firewood, rice mortar, fishing and other implements are stored. The cows, if the family possesses any, are tied at night in a rude shelter near the house.

The floor of the house is made of pounded mud, cracking in dry weather and damp in rainy seasons. The general division of house space is shown in the accompanying sketch. Two stones make the fireplace and the crude iron skillet rests on them while the fire is built on the floor. Long logs are burned, being pushed into the fire as they gradually burn away. The smoke finds an outlet wherever it can, as there is no chimney. Above the fire a shelf of bamboo holds the family supply of corn or whatnot that needs drying. Hanging shelves on either side of the living room hold the family property. The rice room has a floor of woven bamboo, about a foot from the ground. As sons of the family marry, another room may be built on to the original house, if the new family does not set up a separate establishment entirely. [354] [352]

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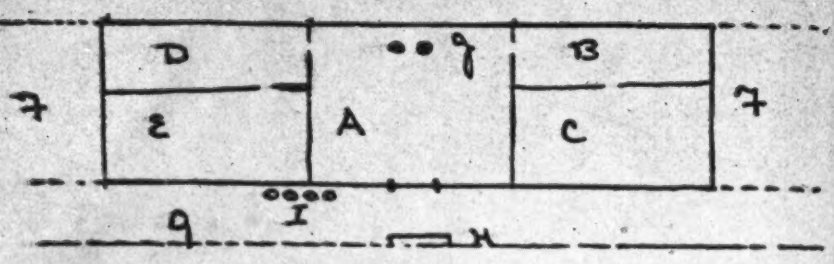


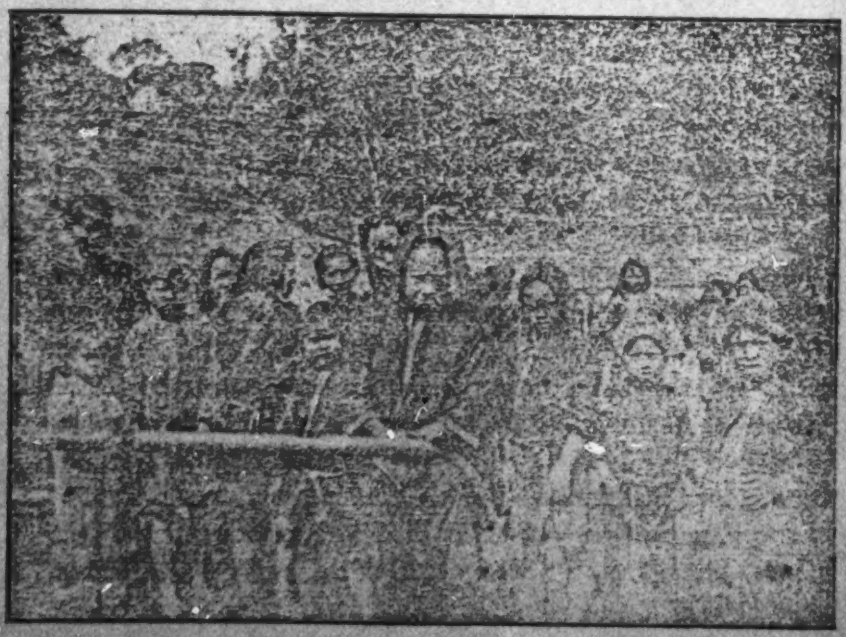
A—Living Room.
B—Parents' Room.
C—Rice Room.
D—Daughters' Room.
E—Sons' Room.
Used for various purposes.

F—Shelter for wood, etc.
G—Front verandah.
H—Pig trough.
I—Chicken coops.
J—Fire place.

I have seen one or two houses where there were three and four main entrances to the front verandah.

412 The utensils and implements used by the Miao are of the simplest. Rude iron hoes, heavy knives and the clumsy
415 iron skillets are purchased from the Hainanese traders. Sometimes the skillets are lacking and the rice is steamed

291



A Group of Miao Women and Children gathered round the pipe that carries the water to the village from a stream above.

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in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild 412
banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a
wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing 415
the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases. The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, [854]
the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native [226]
hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers, or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river [296]
side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on 241
hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Dif-
ferent from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing [224]
their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do [226]
they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance" would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life,

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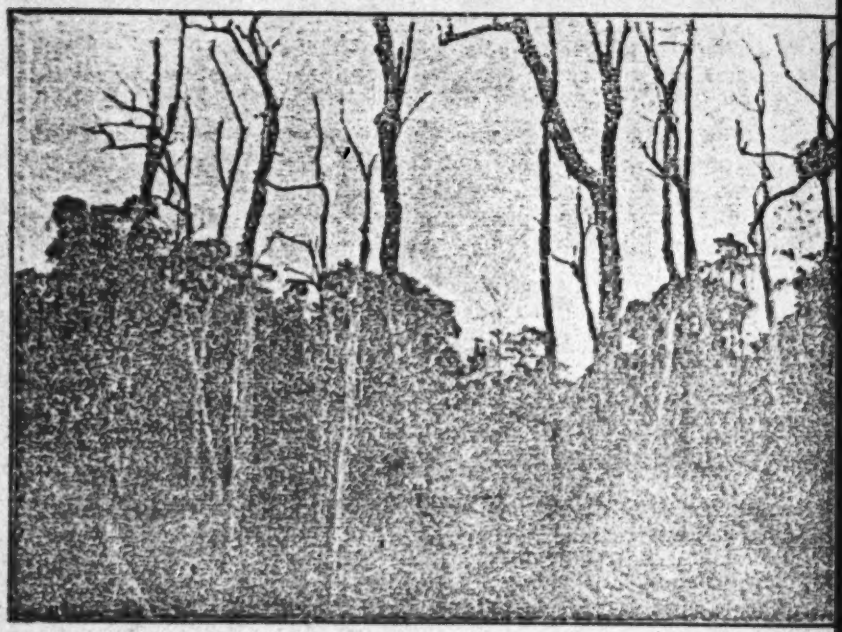

THIS SHOWS THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF TIMBER. THE MIAOS BURN THE GRASS AND FOLIAGE TO SOW THE UPLAND RICE.

at best. They are truly "the eternal pioneers," and one old-young woman told me she had moved *twelve* times in her life of forty-odd years.

231 Their few pigs they cannot afford to eat except at
241 wedding feasts, but sell them to the Hainanese traders.
262 Chickens and ducks they eat occasionally, and also prepare the salted eggs. They raise very few greens but occasionally will buy them from a neighbouring Loi village. Corn is raised a great deal—a small variety of maize that does very well on the hillsides. The heart of a certain variety of palm tree is a common food, and in times of famine roots of trees and brakes, bark, anything, must be used to stay the pangs of hunger. A well-to-do family may own a few cows, but they have a curious custom which they often follow, of giving their cows to the neighbouring Lois to care for. The calves of course revert to the original owner, but the Lois use the animals to work their rice fields and to haul the great logs of hardwood to the rivers.

224 Bears are found in the mountains, and the Miao prepare
262 pitfalls and traps for them, shooting them when they have been thus captured. A species of small antelope makes very good eating. Wild boar are also often captured, and likewise

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the porcupine, whose flesh is eaten, and whose shiny black and white quills, often a foot long, have various uses. The flying squirrel is a rarer victim, as only the poisoned dart shot from the crossbow by a skilled hunter is quick enough to strike it. Jungle fowl of all sorts are used for food. 224 262

The fishing is usually done on a large scale. If a youngster goes a-fishing, his outfit is a piece of bamboo and a piece of hemp string with a noose on the end, where he nooses his catch. But when the rivers are low a whole village or perhaps several villages will join in a common fishing expedition. Some of the men dam the river, others go to the forest and come back laden with the bark of a certain tree and a certain vine. These barks are pounded in mortars until well macerated, mixed, and pounds and pounds of the "medicine" are poured into the river above the dam. The mixture kills or stupifies the fish, which rise to the top of the water and are easily secured. The catch often amounts to a thousand-odd pounds of fish, not to mention crabs and eels and other creatures. The fish are cleaned immediately and the people eat them without fear although they say that a chicken or duck that eats the entrails will sometimes die from the poison. The fish not wanted for immediate consumption are salted down with a variety of pooped rice and kept for future use. This method may injure the small fish in the river—undoubtedly it does injure them in the immediate vicinity of the catching—but does not have any serious effect on the total supply, apparently. 226 824 227 226 [251]

The costume worn by the men differs very little from that worn by an ordinary Chinese labourer except in the way the coat fastens, as it laps a little to the left and fastens slantingly down the front. The costume worn by the women however, is the distinguishing feature of the people, and is a very attractive outfit in its blue and red with touches of other colours on the head kerchief. For a grown woman, the costume consists of a kerchief, a coat and a short skirt, both dark blue, and dark blue puttees. A narrow red silk girdle, about an inch wide, woven by the women themselves and ending in long fringe, is worn around the hips. The same style of tie, only about a quarter of an inch wide, fastens each puttee just below the knee. The material for the clothing is bought from the traders, and is a coarse, heavy, unbleached cotton cloth. The women dye the goods with indigo and set the colour with pigs blood. The coat is made quite like a Chinese woman's coat, but reaching to the knees and not lapping so far over to the side. A piece of turkey red cotton is embroidered and put on as a narrow collar band; the bottoms of the rather loose sleeves are edged the same 291

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291 way, and pieces are also put on both sides of the coat where it fastens, for a distance of six or seven inches down from the collar. The side seams are open for about eight inches from the bottom of the coat and are edged with red.

The skirt is a double piece of the same goods, the fold 291 coming at the bottom, and reaches to the knees. It is tied 531 around the hips with a tape. The skirt is not embroidered, but is elaborately stamped with figures of trees, bamboo, etc., in a distinct pattern. The method of stamping is very ingenious. A small piece of bamboo about eight inches long is whittled to a very narrow width in the centre for a distance of a quarter or an eighth of an inch, and the two ends then brought together and fastened, leaving the narrow piece straight across the bottom. Some beeswax is melted, and the woman dips her bamboo instrument in the wax and puts it quickly on the undyed goods. Dipping, dipping, dipping she puts her pattern on in perfect regularity, without any sort of guide, if she be skilful at it. Then the cloth is dyed, but the dye cannot penetrate the wax, which is later scalded off with boiling water, and the pattern is left, a very faint blue on the dark blue skirt.

The kerchief is embroidered with many symbolic designs. It too is the same dark blue cloth, a piece about fourteen inches square. With lighter blue thread and silk of all colours the cloth is almost covered with cross stitch and other forms of embroidery. The younger women and the girls make their's very gay, the older women not so much so. It is said that a woman working steadily takes a month to finish one kerchief, and a woman who must work too, will often need a year to finish one. So they are not easy to buy, even at the price of one dollar which we always give. The central motif is always worked out on the square as a basis, with the octagon and the isosceles right triangle as the natural variations in the figures. The swastika symbol is used a great deal. Birds, butterflies, silkworm moths, trees, flowers, horses, dogs, dragons, tortoises, Loi children and Hainanese children (two very different figures—and never a figure of a Miao child)—these are some of the symbols I managed to identify. The women speak very little Hainanese and I know no Miao so it was impossible to get all their meanings. The kerchief is worn with one point over the forehead and one down the back of the neck, the other two corners being brought around and tied in a knot at the back of the head. The younger girls wear the same costume as the women with the exception that they usually have pointed hoods, also embroidered, or sometimes hoods with the crown cut out to show the kerchief beneath. The babies wear little

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round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao 301
women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type 144
from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monoga- [595]
mous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or 854
the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much 462
as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the sun and rain from the child.

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583 585 [591] The young people are married at seventeen or eighteen, and it seems to make no difference whether the young couple live with the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or set up housekeeping in their own home. The wedding is usually held at the groom's home, two or three young girls and a young man or two from his village going for the bride and escorting her back. The bride wears no distinctive dress except a peculiar headdress under her kerchief, and an embroidered girdle of undyed cloth. She also carries two small towels of this same material thrown over her shoulders, and one to cover her face. According to their custom, the bride and groom sit on the same bench and eat and drink together, and then declare their allegiance to the family by serving tea to the parents or in some other simple way.

771 The Miao in their heathen state apparently worshipped any and all gods in an effort to appease them but with little definite idea or set ritual. Idols do not seem to be in evidence in their houses, and being a roving people, they [797] have no temples. They have within the last few years become interested in the Gospel and whole villages have become Christian, much as has been the case in the mass movement, so called, in India. They are a simple people, highly emotional and temperamentally religious, which is often true of hill peoples. Thus certain emotional phases of religion immediately become paramount in their eyes, and without careful teaching they are liable to be led astray on these points.

797 [2,2] The Miao have no written language of their own, but pick up Chinese character with amazing rapidity. The Christian villages each put up a chapel at their own expense, meet every morning for prayer before they go to their work, and every evening for a short service and an hour or so of study. When a Chinese evangelist or a missionary comes to the village, they study until midnight, when they are sent home in self-defence by the teachers—and at 2 a.m. they are up pounding rice, so that we wonder when they sleep. They are a wonderfully interesting people, these "Children of the Forest," as they style themselves, and it is a rare privilege to be among them and come to know them.

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PAPERS
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THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO OF KWEICHOW

BY

MARGARET PORTIA MICKEY

[v]

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
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1947

4 Mackey E-5 (1940-)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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FIG. 1. Map of Kweichow.

[iv]
[pp. i-iii blank]

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PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, however, sharply divides the dominant from the minor peoples—the *hsien*[1] towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily

[1] A *hsien* is a district—a subdivision of a province, roughly comparable to our county

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563 go through one of their villages while the women were away in the fields without knowing that he had seen non-Chinese people, for their faces look no different, and the costumes of the men are the same, while the houses, though perhaps poorer, do not deviate from ordinary rural Chinese architectural standards except for the layout of the village. Unless he were a very persistent and hardy traveler, however, the chances that he would reach such a village are remote, for these people inhabit refuge areas, and their homes are tucked away in the higher valleys and on the less fertile mountain slopes. Along the larger rivers, the main highroads of China, the traveler would see only Chinese.

The one province of China which is least fertile, least productive, and least influenced by the far-reaching arm of Western culture is Kweichow. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kweichow contains a larger proportion of non-Chinese "aborigines" than the other provinces of southern China. With more aborigines and fewer Chinese, and with less immediate Chinese influence than elsewhere, Kweichow is the ideal place in which to study the non-Chinese—in this case the Miao. That is why, in 1940, Miss Portia Mickey went there.

114 121 Before she undertook to study the daily life of a Miao village, Miss Mickey had had some ten years of experience in China, during which time she acquired a knowledge of Chinese. Aside from her linguistic qualification, she is a natural field ethnographer. Quiet and unobtrusive, she masks with her mild personality keen powers of observation, discrimination, and persistence. To go alone into the most backward part of the most backward province of China in war time, to live there under local conditions of nutrition and sanitation, and at the same time to keep detailed records of everything that went on, was a feat of no little courage and endurance for a small woman no longer young, on her first anthropological expedition.

roughly comparable to our county.

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000 Thanks to her, we are able to publish the first detailed, factual account of a Miao community. There are hundreds of such villages of Miao, each with a different name, usually describing some peculiarity of dress. The Miao have no overt intervillage organization. Each village is a separate unit, subject to the local Chinese governmental authority, just as are Chinese villages. If the Miao were ever a nation, that time is so far behind them that no trace of a larger organization remains. In order to study the Miao one must do it village by village. This account of the Cowrie Shell Miao is therefore but a beginning.

It is enough, however, to clear up much of the mystery about the relationship between aboriginal culture and that of the South Chinese. In her particular village Miss Mickey has shown that the two are much the same in many respects, and this is probably true in general. Whether the Miao have be-

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come sinified, the Chinese influenced by the aborigines, the two derived from similar cultural beginnings, etc., are historical problems which this paper does not attempt to solve. Miss Mickey has given us a living picture of the personnel of a Miao village, their daily tasks and yearly cycle of activities, their relations with each other and with the world outside. This picture should be useful not only to students of anthropology already familiar with the Chinese village studies of Fei and Yang, but also to people of other professions who wish to understand China; not the China of the Shanghai Bund, wartime Chunking, and the mission stations, but the China of the provinces, of the unpaved paths and of the villages, of the so-called aborigines as well as of the so-called Chinese. Her work will help them understand China as a whole.

Cambridge, Mass. CARLETON S. COON
December, 1946

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OCO THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO OF KWEICHOW

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INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF KWEICHOW[1]

133 KWEICHOW is a part of the Southwestern Tableland which, as a spur of the great Tibetan plateau, slopes to the south and east away from Tibet (fig. 1, frontispiece). It is bounded on the north by Szechuan, on the east by Hunan, on the south by Kwangsi, and on the west by Yünnan. The structural trend in Kweichow is east and west, with drainage to the south into the West River and to the north and east into the Yangtze River. The province slopes from a height of over 6000 feet in the west to less than 2000 feet in the east. Some valleys lie as high as 4000 feet, and mountain summits reach 9000. S. R. Clarke estimated that most of Kweichow is at least 3000 feet above sea level, the altitude constantly decreasing as one goes east. Wei-ning Lake, in the western part of the province is, he says, 7000 feet above sea level. The altitude of Kweiyang, the capital, is given by G. B. Cressey as 3468.56 feet. There are certainly high mountains in the western part of the province. The traveler going by motor road from Kunming to Kweiyang repeatedly has the feeling of being "on top of the world."

Three mountain ranges cross the province in a general east to west direction, the highest being the Wuling Mountains which form a watershed between the Wu and Yuan rivers. There is an old Chinese saying to the effect that seven-tenths of the province is mountains. It has been characterized as a labyrinth of hills and valleys, an ocean of little hills as seen from many a high hill. These little hills are of every conceivable shape, pyramid and sugar loaf types being very common. Some of the larger valleys are dotted with them; they range the length of others. In parts of the province these hills are bare and barren; in other parts they furnish timber for one of the main industries of the

[3a] [p. 2 blank]

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133 province. The valleys are usually narrow and the "plains" seldom large. There are high plains scattered through the mountains, separated from one another by gaps in the hills, or by passes over them. Some of the slopes are terraced, thus increasing the area of cultivable land. The only level valley of any size is that of the Nanning River, in which the capital, Kweiyang, is situated.

There are several rivers in the province, but they become navigable only as they are about to leave the province. The Wu River, which flows through the center of the province, a tributary of the Yangtze, is navigable from Sze-nan; at this point rafts of logs are launched. The Chang-ki, a branch of the Yuan, which flows into Tung-t'ing Lake, Hunan, is navigable at Sze-chow. It joins the main stream at Chen-yuan in the eastern part of the province. San-kioh is at the head of navigation on the Liu. Thus only in the extreme east and southeast of the province is there any river traffic. The fall of rivers is usually steep and there are many stretches of rapids. Springs and streams water the mountain valleys and cascade to lower levels by many a lovely waterfall. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the earth and come out again a considerable distance away.

491 When S. R. Clarke wrote of the province there were no roads over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven. Everything had to be carried by coolies or on the backs of ponies and mules. Four narrow old roads leading to the several provinces by which Kweichow is bounded all met at the capital, Kweiyang. The typical highways were narrow trails, paved with cobble stones or slabs of rock (fig. 14, *a*, *b*, *d*). Gradually roads were built following these main routes. The position of the province as a link be-

"China Provincial Atlas and Geography," 1935; Clarke, 1911.

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491 tween strategic points in "free China" led to the construction of motor roads through Kweiyang from Kunming in Yünnan to Chungking in Szechuan and from Kweiyang east to cities in Hunan and Kwangsi, following the old imperial highway from Peking. Others lead from Kweiyang south to Ting-fan and from the Kweiyang-Chungking road into the
49 northwestern part of the province. A railway in process of construction from Kiangsi to Kweiyang had been brought as far as Tu-yün, but the Japanese in their "farthest west" tore

[132]

FIG. 2. Average monthly precipitations over a four-year period at Kweiyang.

491 up the tracks. Still most of the travel over the province must be by stone roads or mountain paths, suitable only for pack animals and coolies. In the northwest these paths are so steep that the traveler ascends by following his pony and holding onto its tail. Throughout much of Kweichow the motor road is an exhilarating roller coaster, made the more exciting by the habit drivers have of coasting down the hills to save fuel. Brakes must be good.

132 Kweichow has a monsoon climate, in which the wind blows from the south and southeast in the summer and from the north and northeast in the winter. The parts of the province bordering on Hunan and Kwangsi are considered humid and unhealthy because of the prevalence of malarial fever. The temperatures are related to altitude rather than latitude, ranging from 86 to 14 degrees Fahrenheit. In general the climate is of the Yünnan plateau type, "ameliorated tropical," almost temperate. The annual rainfall is estimated at something over 39.5 inches. Observations (fig. 2) at Kweiyang[2] on rainfall over a four-year period give the following monthly precipitations in mm.: January, 29.5; February, [4a]
22.5; March, 27.5; April, 85.1; May, 165.7;

[2] Lat. 26° 18′ N., long. 106° 40′.

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June, 164.5; July, 247.9; August, 97.6; September, 164.5; October, 113.4; November, 45.1; December, 15.4, a total of 1169 mm., or 46.02 inches. The number of rainy days during the year averaged 168.5. There may be rapid changes of temperature. From October to February a peculiar fog fills the valleys; in some years there may be only twenty-five sunny days during that period. In Kweiyang I have known the sun to show itself through the thinner clouds only twice during January.

Although I had with me no means of keeping a record of variations in temperature and rainfall, references in my notes to the weather throughout the year would indicate that conditions in Ting-shui-pa paralleled quite closely those recorded in Kweiyang over a four-year period. This is to be expected since Ting-shui-pa is approximately thirty miles from Kweiyang as the crow flies, and at almost the same altitude. In Kweiyang the rainiest month of the year was July, with moderate to heavy rainfall April through June, and August through October and the remainder of the year comparatively dry. My notes indicate that July was indeed a very rainy month with "drenching rain" and "a solid week of rain, followed by sun and showers mixed, then more downpours." In March, April, and May there were periods of warm, sunny days broken by thunder showers or a few days of rain, but toward the end of May and during the first part of June there were hard rains, not always during the day, followed by a period when it was cloudy but there was no rain. August and September seem to have been generally fine and hot, but toward the end of September bad weather began, with mist and wind from the northeast. October and November were very wet, rainy or gray, misty days outnumbering the even partly sunny ones, but in November and December there were also some fine, sunny days. January and February continued to be cold and there was often a heavy mist. There was freezing weather early in December. In February there was ice and frost all over the mountains for two days and ice thick enough on the rice fields so that the children cut pieces of it out and carried them about.

[4b]

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Kweichow is considered the poorest agricultural province in all China. Much of the soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give but little space for farms, which are therefore usually small and cultivated by simple methods. Cultivation is confined chiefly to upland plains, the few open valleys and terraced hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of soil, slope, and water. The total area of cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at five per cent. At one time the chief crop was opium, but the Chinese Government has tried to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One geographer lists in order of second importance maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo, wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cotton, hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans, wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may be said that rice is grown wherever possible and there forms the staple food. In the poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot be grown, the people depend upon maize, barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one crop of rice grown and the harvest is in September or October. Winter crops commonly include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape. There is a variety of excellent vegetables grown through the year. Fruits of the province include peaches, pears, apricots, persimmons, oranges, and lemons. There are also large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, including a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves are thought to remain in Kweichow. The bambo trees are of several species, some suitable for construction and the making of articles of common household use and huge rain hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in the northern part of the province has industries for the making of a kind of cheap silk cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native umbrellas, and cotton goods. The villages of

311 [134] 245 137 288

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The villages of
Sze-nan and San-kioh both are important lumber centers. 313

Tigers are reported in the northeastern 136
part of the province. There are also said to be wolves, wild boars, white pheasants, and giant salamanders. I have seen wild cats in the hills and rabbits for sale in the market at Kweiyang. There are many domestic ani- 231
mals, including "yellow cows," water buffalo, pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and chickens. The first two are used as draft animals, for plowing. There are no full-sized horses, but ponies and small mules are used as pack animals.

In mineral wealth Kweichow is considered 135
to have greater possibilities than any other province of China. Coal is common and may be had for merely scratching the surface. The richest mercury mines in the world are in Kweichow. It is the only mineral exported, although from the iron in Wei-ning cooking vessels are manufactured which are sold all over Yünnan, as well as Kweichow. In addition, there are gold, silver, copper, and nitrate of potash in sufficient quantities to warrant mining them.

The province should also be of great in- 137
terest to botanists. I met in Kweiyang an Austrian who had collected over three hundred species of plants. As I went to market from the mountain village in which I was living to Lung-li I would count the flowering plants I saw. There were never fewer than thirty in blossom, many times more than fifty. At times the hills would be rosy with azaleas, at other times blue with bluebells of several kinds, while during their season more than a hundred white lilies would be in view at certain points. Hedges of wild roses border some of the paths. There are wild fruit trees, berries, and flowering vines. Nearly every flowering plant we grow with much care in our gardens is found wild on the Kweichow mountains.

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173 **Historical.** Chinese literature has references to the province of Kweichow and its peoples from the days of Shen-nung, when Emperor Yen married the daughter of Ch'ih-shui, from the southern part of the present

[5c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

province. It is a fascinating story. Native states were conquered and reconquered; clans whose names are still to be found among those known as "Old Chinese" were transported to the province; companies were led in by their

[5 d]

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193 feudal lords; land was given to garrisons and soldier villages which they were to keep "from generation to generation."

The entire tale is too long to tell here, but one small portion may be of interest.[2a] During the first period of the reign of Han Wu-ti (140–135 B.C.) an envoy was sent to Nan-yüeh, in the region occupied by present-day Kwangsi and Kwangtung. During his visit he was offered a relish of betel pepper from Shu, an ancient state with its capital at Ch'engtu. When he inquired whence this relish came, he was told that it was brought from Tsang-ko in the northwest by a river which has its source in the mountains northwest of Ting-fan-hsien in Kweichow. Upon his return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an) he inquired further concerning this relish and was told that it was a product peculiar to Shu, from which it had been taken in private trade to Yeh-lang, a state in what is now the western part of Kweichow and Kwangsi. It occurred to the envoy that by this trade route a way might be afforded for an army recruited in Yeh-lang to proceed against wealthy Nan-yüeh. Accordingly, he memorialized the throne and the project of constructing a road to this river was started; but the road was never finished because the soldiers engaged upon it suffered too much from weariness, hunger, and the "dampness of the weather," and the expense of keeping native peoples from revolt was too great.

The tradition and folklore of those peoples who have no written language, as well as Chinese historical writings, support the contention of all Kweichow people that their ancestors were immigrants from other provinces. Some came from the region between the lakes of Tung-t'ing in Hunan and Po-ying in Kiangsi, some across the borders from Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Szechuan. Among them were forced or voluntary immigrants who came as families or clans, garrison soldiers without families who married women from non-Chinese groups, and in more recent years farmers, business and professional men, and officials. [6a]

563 **Division of Peoples and Their Location.** S. R. Clarke[8] divides the people of the province

[2a] Cheng Teh-k'un, 1945. [8] Clarke, 1911.

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563 into six groups: First, two groups of Chinese — the Lao Han-jen ("Old Chinese"), who came as garrison soldiers from the ninth to the twelfth century and whose descendants through marriage with non-Chinese women are often taken at first to be tribes people, and the K'e-chia ("Guest people"). Some of the first speak an old Chinese dialect and their women wear most picturesque costumes. The headdress of the women in one group in An-shun Hsien gives them the name of Feng-t'ou jen (Phoenix-headed people). The K'e-chia first came from Kiangsi, not always willingly; later many came from Hunan and Szechuan. Second, the non-Chinese Kei-lao, Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia. Other western writers generally classify them by languages.

Chinese gazetteers give altogether just one hundred names for these peoples and suggest various methods by which they may be classified. In the notes to his translation of the Miao-Man section of the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh[4] Dr. Lin Yüeh-hwa places them in seven groups: the Miao proper, the Chung-chia, the Nung-chia, the Ch'i-lao, the Lo-lo, the Yao, and the P'o. The Research Bureau of the Sociology Department of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, of which Dr. Wu Tzu-lin was head, classified them as Lo-lo (more politely known as I-pien), Kei-lao, a Tai group, and Miao.

The I-pien are found in the extreme northwestern part of the province and are divided into T'u-mu or T'u-ssu, descendants of feudal lords, Hei-I, freemen and landowners, and Pai-I, serfs or slaves. Many of the Hei-I have in recent years taken the title and authority of T'u-ssu, while the latter have been rapidly disappearing. The Kei-lao, whose name is also pronounced Ch'i-lao, are found in fairly large numbers in P'u-ting, An-lung, and Lu-shan hsien. There are two explanations of the name Lo-lo. Some say it comes from the spirit basket (*lo lo*) hung up in the most sacred corner of the house. If this is so, their resentment against the name is understandable as an insult to their religion. The Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh[5] says that at the close of the Sui and the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty the capable leaders among the Man people [Gb]

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were advanced to the status of Kuei-chu. The Lo-tien people east of Kweiyang then called the Kuei-chu of the Lo family by the abbreviated title of Lo-kuei, which was finally corrupted to Lo-lo. This same source gives the origin of the Ch'i-lao or Kei-lao as Szechuan, from whence they were spread over the provinces of Kweichow and Kwangtung. In this source and by themselves the Kei-lao are divided into ten groups with such interesting names as Ch'ing (Blue), Hung (Red), Yeh-t'ou (Head-adorning), P'i-p'ao (long robe), Ch'ien-t'ou (Head-shaving), Ta-ya (Teeth-knocking), Kuo-ch'uan (Pot-ring), and Ta-t'ieh (Iron-working). 563

The Tai group includes the Chung-chia, Tung-chia, Shui-chia, and T'ung-chia. Of these, the Chung-chia in the central and southern sections of the province and the Tung-chia in the southeastern are most numerous and widely distributed, while the Shui-chia in the four southern hsien of Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, and Tu-chiang and the T'ung-chia in Lo-ch'ang and San-chiang Hsien are few. The origin of the name, Chung-chia, is given in the An-shun Fu-chih as follows: originally the words were written 重甲, meaning "heavy armor," and refer to the heavy infantry of invading armies. There are references to immigrating clans by the name of Tung and T'ung and of garrison soldiers who took the name of their commander, Chung. These people all speak Tai dialects and probably came from Szechuan, the ancestral home of the Tai, or from Kwangsi. The Shui-chia are fairly recent arrivals from Kwangsi.

For the Miao people there are as many as eighty or ninety different names. At Ta Hsia University, following the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh,[6] they are classified as Hua (Flowery), Hei (Black), Ch'ing (Blue), Pai (White), and Hung (Red) Miao, according to the predominant color of the tribal dress. Of these the Hua Miao in the west and northwest and the Hei Miao in the southeast are most numerous and widespread, while the Ch'ing Miao and Pai Miao in the central and the Hung Miao in the northeastern parts of the province are much less numerous and

[7a]

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more restricted in distribution. All other 563
names apply to sub-groups.

These often seem to be rather in the nature 101
of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians.

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played 301
and still do play various roles in China. From 436
very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger[1] quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in Dynasty they used cowries in trade." Marco

[76]

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301 Polo refers to them in this capacity in his de-
436 scription of the journey he took into the southwest of China on behalf of the Great Khan. The I-shu (異疏) says, "Yünnan people call the pei 'hai p'a,' p'a being the shell of the animal."[8] There are in the Museum at West China Union University at Ch'engtu metal objects made to represent cowries and once used as money. Hai-p'a (Cowrie Shell) Miao girls also wear ornaments of silver in the form of cowrie shells.

787 Another character, "cheng" (貞), has been interpreted as the fee paid to one who examines the markings on a shell. It might also be thought of as divination by means of cowrie shells. Among the Mo-so of Yünnan cowries are still used for that purpose. A full account of this is given in an article by Dr. T'ao Yün-kuei in the *Anthropological Journal*.[9] There are in the Ch'engtu Museum a number of the Mo-so divination classics from the collection made by Dr. Joseph Rock.

301 Still another character, "fen" (貯), suggests for us by its composition of shells and plants a third use to which these shells are put among many peoples of Southwest China, ornamentation. I have seen an apron used by the Ch'uan Miao of southern Szechuan, the

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301 piece worn over the blouse of a Cowrie Shell Miao woman, and the hat of a priest of the Ch'iang, all of which use cowrie shells in this way. Of the Ch'i-t'ou Ch'i-lao women it is written, "On their backs they wear sea-shells strung like pearls," while among the P'i-p'ao Ch'i-lao, "The woman bind their hair with blue thread. They wear blue cloth sashes on which they sew sea-shells." [10]

On the priest's hat these shells have further significance. They give him protection and added power. I have also seen these shells on the cap of a small child among the Ch'ing Miao of An-shun Hsien and on a cord around the wrist of a Chinese child, where they were considered a charm against evil. In each of the eye-sockets of the skull of a golden-haired monkey in the center of a Ch'iang priest's sacred bundle, also to be seen in the Ch'engtu Museum, is a cowrie shell.

Cowrie shells, usually alternating with circles, are used as decoration on the red, or painted Neolithic ware found in the Ma-ch'ang, Kansu site. In the Cowrie Shell Miao village in which I lived one of the women gave one of these shells to a Chinese girl who visited me there and who was about to be married.

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173 **Tradition of Origin.** According to Miss Li,[11] with whom I made my first visit to a Cowrie Shell Miao village, two places were mentioned as the original home of the Cowrie Shell Miao, Kiangsi and the Pearl River, where, one man said, they were known as Hai (Sea) Miao. The head of the family in which I lived insisted that their ancestor was a Chinese (Han-jen) by the name of Lei who migrated voluntarily from Chu-shih-hang in Kiangsi with his wife and settled in Ting-fan Hsien. As the descendants of their sons increased in number they adopted other Chinese surnames and his own family, my informant suggested, might be called Yang Lei Chia (the Yang branch of the Lei family).

131 **Present Distribution.** They are now to be found chiefly in the three *hsien* of Lung-li,

[11] T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939. [12] T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939.

[8c]

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131 Kuei-ting, and Ting-fan, a region of many mountain valleys at an average elevation of [491] three to four thousand feet. A motor highway crosses the first two of these *hsien* from Kweiyang east; a second runs from Kweiyang south to the *hsien* city of Ting-fan. There are some Cowrie Shell Miao in the cities, but most of them live in mountain villages, reached by stone roads or mountain paths suitable for travel on foot, on horseback, or by sedan chair only, and are engaged in agriculture. The center of their distribution is approximately where the three *hsien* come together. There has been no accurate census of this ethnic group. Small settlements of Chinese and villages of Chung-chia and Cowrie Shell Miao are often found in the same valley. In Kuei-ting Hsien I visited

[10] Lin Yüeh-hwa, 1941. [11] See p. 10.

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one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (楊 and 揚). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

[9a]

[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

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I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family 123
with whom I lived would accept no money
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all 421
the firewood I needed for heating and cooking.
In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated 152
arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinese dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either 194
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 193

[96]

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

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194 this point — including "singing tones" simi-
193 lar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sentence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

871 When a family can afford it one or more
177 boys — rarely a girl — receive some education. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

[10a]

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go beyond the local primary school. In the family in which I lived, for several generations one or more boys have graduated from middle school. There is one now in the *hsien* city of Lung-li, but formerly they had to go to Kweiyang. This family has furnished the teacher of the local school for two generations. Most of the men and many of the women speak Chinese, especially those who go to market a great deal. One of the priests in the village told Miss Li that he had a book of the ritual for "opening the way" written in Chinese, but he never showed it to us. A well-educated Miao often insists that he is Chinese (Han) and those in Kweiyang are sinicized.

[10b]

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122 **Periods of Residence.** In the fall of 1940, Dr. Wu Tzu-lin, then head of the Sociology Department and the Sociological Research Bureau of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, arranged for one of his research assistants, Miss Li Chih-jen, and me to spend a few months among the Cowrie Shell Miao in Lung-li Hsien. On the second of December we went by sedan chair from the *hsien* city of Lung-li to the valley of Ting-shui-pa, six miles to the southeast, a little less than half by motor road and the rest by stone mountain road. From a pass where there was a wooden gateway and a wayside shrine we could look down into the valley, a lovely one, almost like a park. All along the way I had marveled at the many flowers and red berries. Here there were bamboo thickets and a grove of oak with a few palms and conifers. The stone road ran between hedgerows of blossoming shrubs and fruit trees, through which flashed gay, singing birds. Beyond the hedges on the left we could see a large pond, with a little, white shrine and the village of Yang-chia-sai beyond it. My bearers would have taken me through the wood to the village, but Miss Li had gone on ahead to the office of the *lien pao* official, and I had perforce to follow her.

Dr. Wu had received permission from the head of the wealthiest family in the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai for us to live in his house. But the *hsien* magistrate sent with us a letter to the *lien pao* official, who had his office in a Chinese family temple four-

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tenths of a mile from the village. When the teacher of the school, also housed in the temple, a nephew of this village man, saw the letter he protested that his home was not suitable. As a result, we lived in the *lien pao* office until just before the Chinese lunar New Year, which was on January 27, but spent much time in the Miao village. We then returned to Kweiyang. I returned alone after a few days. This time I lived for two months in the "new house" (fig. 13, *e*) of this well-to-do family.

At Dr. Wu's suggestion, I came to the village again on February 1, 1942, and lived in the same rooms as before until December 3 of that year, when I moved into the city of Lung-li in order to be more free to work up the material I had gathered in this more than a year of observation. I had seen the calendar of activities; although there were many gaps in information, particularly as to vocabulary, songs, tunes, and ritual, there was enough for an initial study; I needed the change in order to get away from demands for gifts of such things as personal clothing and bedding and help in lawsuits involving even remote relations of the family, as well as of neighboring Chung-chia and Chinese that I do as much for them as I had for the people of the village. Finally, I felt that I had presumed upon their hospitality long enough. They were appreciative of the help I had been able to give them, however, and repeatedly invited me to return.

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General Description. Ting-shui-pa (see fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles long and half as wide, with mountains and hills surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told her they called the mountains to the north Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman, 131 133 103

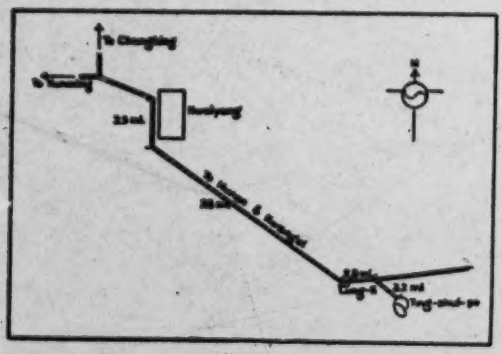

FIG. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

and those to the east the Mountain of the Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley was from the wayside shrine at the top of a pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent from the motor road. About a mile from the pass the road led between high hedges which screened the village vegetable gardens and the large pond from the road. Beyond the pond lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone road went on. At the further edge of a wood it divided, one fork going straight on into the other part of the valley separated from this one by low hills and beyond to the south. The other ran between the other side of the wood on its left and a group of grave mounds on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo thickets separated the road from a meadow where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little way beyond the village another turn, to the 131 133 361

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right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member. 361

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity—Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese—made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate. 133 241 312 311 137

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361 **Location and Layout.** Miss Li told me that the village was said to be "in the Dragon's Mouth." The large pond was to the west of the village. On the south were the wood, bamboo thickets, and the buffalo bull-fighting meadow (fig. 17, *a*). There were more bamboo thickets on the east. To the north was a rise of ground with rice fields between. Beyond the fields and thickets were fields and highways. They said that the fact that most of the houses of the village faced west was "good *feng shui*."[1] It was also good common sense, for the winds which brought inclement weather came from the northeast. One could enter the village by stone paths bordering the pond, through the wood, by a winding stone path from the south which continued through the village, dividing it into two parts known as Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, by a stone path from the east, or at various points between the houses on the north. Shang-sai and Hsia-sai mean Upper Stockade and Lower Stockade. The general impression was of a village open to the pond on the west and protected on other sides by trees, bamboo thickets, and higher land, with fields beyond.

I append a sketch map of the valley (fig. 4), and one of the village (fig. 5). In the village there were some sixty-odd buildings, of which but three were used for residence only. Thirty-three were divided into living rooms and stable or pig-sty, two into stable and kitchen. There were fourteen separate stables or pig-sties and nine granaries. There were also three shrines to the local deity — T'u Ti Miao — one beside the entrance to the village on the west, one where the stone path left the highway on the south (this was the chief one), and one where it left the village on the north. The "old house" of the chief family of the village was the only one which had a court with a gateway into it. This "heavenly well" was surrounded by (1) a small building of which the gateway was part and

[1] *Feng shui* (literally, "wind" and "water"). The geomantic system of the Chinese, by means of which favorable sites are determined for graves, houses,

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361 which housed the wooden grain-cleaning machine, with the sleeping room of the grown daughter above, (2) the five-*chien* building containing living rooms and a stable for cows, (3) a pig-sty, and (4) a five-*chien* building containing kitchen and stables for water buffalo and ponies. A granary stood to the north of this with the cesspool beyond.

This map is of March 1, 1941. In the three years following changes were made. House 6 and granary west of House 24 were demolished. A part of House 8 was taken off and with the material the widow and her daughter put up a tiny building to the north of the court, consisting of one room roofed with planks set on somewhat haphazard and a still smaller one roofed with tile. The porch west of House 16 had a shack added to it and the family in House 14 kept a cow in it. The pig pen before House 31 was removed. The framework of a building to be erected south of House 7 blew down in a gale and was never set up again. The whole of House 3 was made into a stable, and the stable which had faced it was turned to face west and used as a house. Two new houses, one with mud walls and thatch roof, one with interwoven straw walls and thatch roof, were built beyond the extreme southeast of the village.

The space between houses and other buildings was occupied by house foundations used as threshing floors (fig. 13 *b-e*), stone courts, gardens, and stone paths, of which two followed a winding way from the pond to a stone highway east of the village and one was that which divided the village into two parts, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai.

161 **Population.** January 21, 1941, there were one hundred eighty-seven persons in the village. The total population did not vary much during the three years following, but there was a continual shifting due to births and deaths and moving back and forth between villages. When I returned to the village in February, 1942, the family in House 16 had

and other buildings. These sites are said to have an influence on the people.

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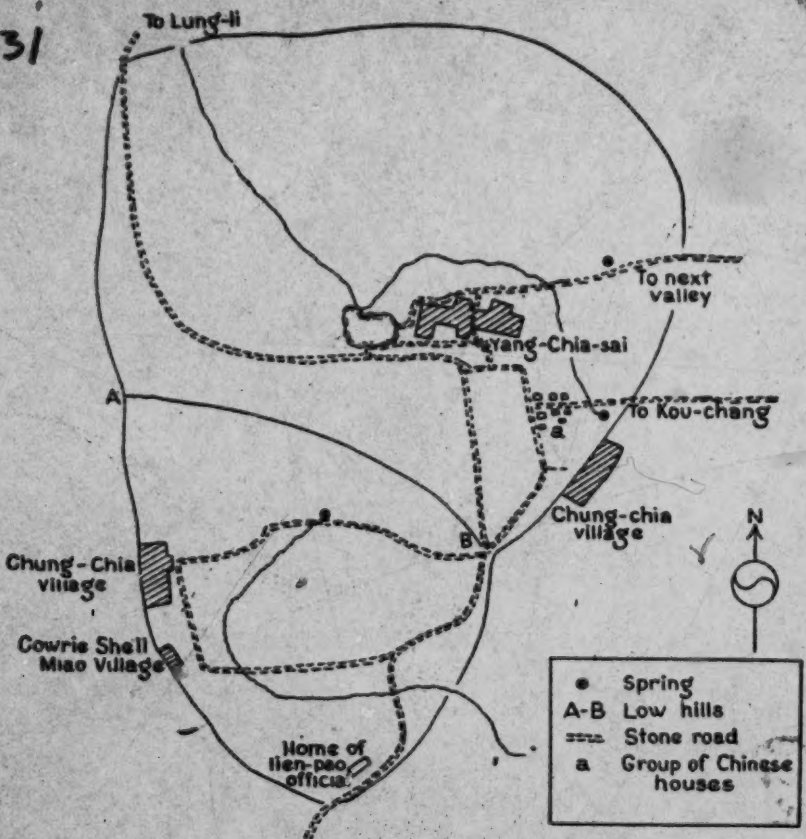

FIG. 4. Sketch map of the valley of Ting-chui-pa.

161 moved to some place in Ting-fan Hsien, but
during the year the son and his wife (their
baby daughter had died) returned and lived
for a time with his older brother in House 17.
They then moved back into House 16. Later
164 another brother came to live with the brother
in House 17 bringing his wife with him. The
son of the young man in House 15 had died
of dysentery during the summer and the sec-
ond son died of the same disease during the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

164 summer I was there. The young man later took a second wife. The old ladies in Houses 1 and 12 both died of old age, the old man in House 15 of heart disease, and a man of fifty-odd in House 31 of injuries due to the kick of a cow. A baby boy in House 8 died of malnutrition. At least thirteen children were born during this period, including two that died. The daughter of the widow in House 8 went to live permanently with her husband.

[13c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361

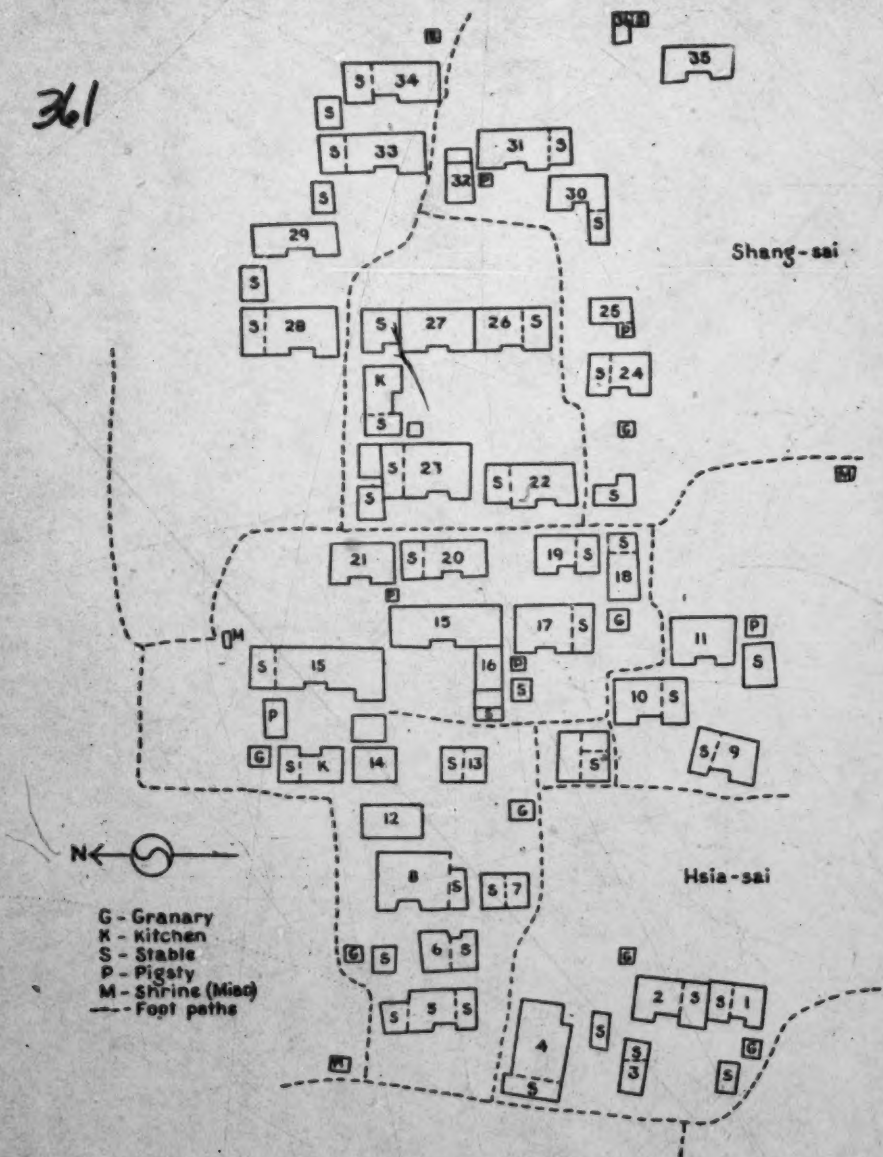

FIG. 5. Sketch map of the village of Yang-chia-sai (as of March 1, 1941).

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AES Misc AES

361

Population by Houses As of February 1, 1941

House Number	Occupants, with ages
1	Grandmother (81); grandson (33), his wife (28), boy (1), girl (6); second grandson (30)
2	Widow (57), sons (20, 18, 13) daughters (15, 7)
3	Women with absent husband (31), son (4)
4	Grandfather (64); married son (33), wife (38), son (1), daughters (3, 2)
5	Grandfather (72); married son (45), wife (47), daughter (6)
6	Man (28), wife (28), daughter (1)
7	Grandmother (55); son (30), wife (30), son (1); son (17)
8	Man (48), wife (47), daughters (20, 6)
	Widow (49), son (9), daughter (17)
9	Grandfather (64), wife (65); married son (33), wife (37), son (11), daughters (15, 3, 2)
10	Widower (43), sons (12, 4) daughter (9)
11	Grandmother (66); married son (33), wife (33), sons (11, 1) daughter (8); second son (29)
12	Grandmother (75); son (38), wife (43), daughter (19)
13	Grandfather (65); son (33), wife (36), son (3)
14	Widow (52), son (20)
15	Grandfather (68), two wives (70, 45); married son (28), wife (27), son (1); daughters (17, 8)
	Nephew (41), two wives (40, 38), sons (14, 9, 8, 12, 1)
	Nephew (33), wife (25), son (3), daughters (10, 6, 1)
	Nephew (33), wife (34)
16	Grandfather (53), two wives (57, 33); son (33), his wife (32), daughter (1); son (3), daughter (1)
17	Man (37), wife (32), daughter (8)
18	Widow (52), son (25), daughter (18)
19	Man (46), wife (47), sons (14, 7), daughter (11)
20	Man (31), wife (25), daughter (1)
21	Man (49), wife (44), daughters (16, 2)
22	Grandparents (70, 60); son (45), wife (40), sons (3, 1)
	Man (60), wife (64), son (28), daughter (16)
23	Man (50), wife (48), daughter (16), sons (12, 7 4)
24	Widow (60)
25	Man (34), wife (35), son (3)
26	Man (34), wife (38), sons (6, 4), daughter (2)
27	Grandparents (60, 59); married son (35), his wife (32), sons (5, 3), daughter (2); son (18), daughter (15)
28	Grandparents (74, 74); married son (43), wife (43), sons (10, 9, 5, 2), daughter (1)
29	Man (56), wife (60)
30	Man (35), wife (34), son (3)
31	Grandparents (56, 59); son (28), wife (25) wife pregnant
32	Man (37), wife (35), son (10), daughters (5, 2)
33	Grandparents (65, 65); married son (25), wife (25), son (4), daughter (6); son (19), daughter (18)
34	Grandmother (60); widowed son (26), daughter (2); son (18)

[15a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 A younger brother of the widower in House 10, with his wife, son, and daughter, moved into the southern part of the house but later built the new house with mud walls. The part of the house in which they had lived then became a stable, as originally intended. A new family, related to that in House 32, and consisting of a man, his wife and two sons, aged three and one, built the other new house. An elderly woman, a relative, came to live

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 with the family in House 14 and a family with a baby with the widow in House 34. Before her baby was born the wife of the young man in House 31 joined him. When the young man and his wife in House 16 moved back they brought a boy of twelve with them, but he later returned to his own home. The third nephew in House 15 and his wife moved away, and a boy of sixteen, relative of the old man's first wife, took his place. During

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

162

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS (see fig. 6)

Age	Male		Female		Total	
1	6		7		13	
2	1		7		8	
3	9		3		12	
4	5		0		5	
5	3	24	2	19	5	43
6	1		6		7	
7	2		1		3	
8	0		2		2	
9	3		0		3	
10	2	8	1	10	3	18
11	1		1		2	
12	4		0		4	
13	1		0		1	
14	2		0		2	
15	0	8	2	3	2	11
16	0		3		3	
17	1		2		3	
18	3		2		5	
19	1		1		2	
20	2	7	1	9	3	16
21	0		0		0	
22	0		0		0	
23	1		0		1	
24	0		0		0	
25	2	3	3	3	5	6
26	0		0		0	
27	0		1		1	
28	4		2		6	
29	1		0		1	
30	2	7	1	4	3	11
31	1		1		2	
32	0		3		3	
33	4		2		6	
34	2		2		4	
35	6	13	2	10	8	23
36	0		1		1	
37	2		1		3	
38	0		3		3	
39	0		0		0	
40	0	2	2	7	2	9
41	1		0		1	
42	0		0		0	
43	1		2		3	
44	0		1		1	
45	3	5	1	4	4	9

361 the busy season a boy of about the same age from Lung-li came to work there, too, and [16a]

000 FIG. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

162

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS (see fig. 6)

Age	Male		Female		Total	
46	1		0		1	
47	0		3		3	
48	1		1		2	
49	1		1		2	
50	1	4	0	5	1	9
51	0		0		0	
52	0		2		2	
53	1		0		1	
54	1		0		1	
55	0	2	1	3	1	5
56	2		0		2	
57	0		2		2	
58	1		0		1	
59	0		2		2	
60	2	5	4	8	6	13
61	0		0		0	
62	0		0		0	
63	2		1		3	
64	1		2		3	
65	1	4	0	3	1	7
66	0		1		1	
67	0		0		0	
68	1		0		1	
69	0		0		0	
70	0	1	0	1	0	2
71	0		0		0	
72	1		0		1	
73	0		0		0	
74	1		1		2	
75	0	2	1	2	1	4
76	0		0		0	
77	0		0		0	
78	0		0		0	
79	0		0		0	
80	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	0		0		0	
82	0		1		0	
83	0		0		0	
84	0		0		0	
85	0	0	0	1	0	1
		95		92		187

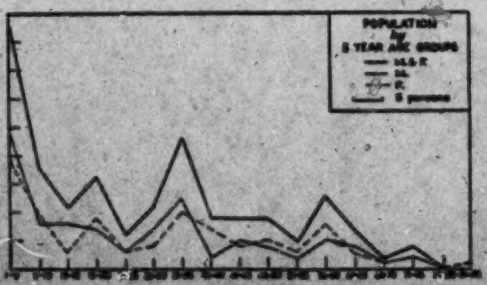

Fig. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai.

[16b]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

361 then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

596 621 Types of Family and Interrelationship. With the exception of a Chinese family by the name of Liu in House 4, who said that they were the original inhabitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

[17a]

4 Mickey E-8 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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621

might live in one house and a married son and his family remain with them, in addition to any younger brothers and sisters who were not yet married or who had not yet set up their own establishments. Other married sons and their families would be living in adjoining or separate houses. The widow in another house might be the wife of the father's brother. I could not work out this interrelationship completely while I was there, but give the following examples: In House 1 lived a grandmother with her married grandson and an unmarried one. In House 2 lived the widow of her son with her unmarried children. A nephew was with the aviation corps in Kunming and his wife and son lived in House 3. The men in Houses 10, 25, and 35 (brothers) were her nephews. The widowed sister-in-law of the man in House 12 lived in House 14. The man in House 17 was son of the old man

4:Michay E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

596 in House 16. The man in House 26 was son
of the man in House 27, as was also the man
621 in House 30. The younger man in House 28
was nephew of the man and wife in House 29.
With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House 34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife of the man in House 17.

596 If one considers them by households, they
592 included, first, one of the Chinese extended family type living in one connected group of buildings. This family consisted of a man of seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

[17c]

4.Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

596
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their son and his two wives and two sons, both of whom died, a second wife of the old man, aged forty-seven, her two unmarried daughters, a nephew with his two wives and five sons, a second nephew with a wife and five children, and the third nephew and his wife, succeeded by the two boys.

I came to know this family fairly well, as it was in their "new house" that I lived all my time in the village. The old man was head of the family. He was not well (heart disease) and seldom left his rooms in bad weather. Even on warm, sunny days he rarely left the court. It was usually a sign of something important going on when he came out. He dictated as to relations with the outside world, such as the sale of timber or grain, and his word was law in disputes. His second wife stayed very close and came into the room whenever he was likely to get excited. The

4.Mickey E-6 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE6

596
592

Types of Families

	No. of persons
1 large family with 1 man who has two wives, 2 married son by the first and two daughters by the second; three nephews with families	24
15 families with parents or widower or widow	
6 with married son, family, other unmarried children	37
6 with married son and his family	39
1 with married son and family, second wife and children	8
1 of widower and children	4
4 of widows with children	14
1 of widow alone	1
15 simple families (man, wife, children)	58
1 man and wife	2
Total	187

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 men of the family — his son, the nephews,
and their sons — and his own daughters had
592 free access to his rooms. The second wife
was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at
596 home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, e), aged nineteen,
512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning
[768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and

 eat.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

593 [875] eat. The older nephew was teacher in the *lien pao* school when it was in session. The son acted for the old man in business matters, though subject to his father's decisions. The oldest nephew became head of the family after the old man's death and the second nephew took his old sitting room. I got a Chinese newspaper, which I shared with the teacher and his uncle, a keen old man with remarkably able opinions and quite a bit of knowledge of the world, which he liked to discuss at length.

The son's first wife spoke less Chinese than any of the other women of the family except the old man's first wife, who spoke almost none. They were, therefore, harder to get to know well, but the more I saw of them the better I liked them. Others I found a bit trying because they wanted so much for their immediate family or close relatives, and I am almost certain that the married daughter of the old man or the second nephew's wife took for herself two large sheets of mine. I never learned to share everything I owned as they did within the family group.

The wife of the second nephew made up for him in spunk and energy. She did a great deal for me, often prepared dishes to eat with the rice and would then bring over her own large portion of rice and eat at least half of what she had prepared of the dishes, for which I had furnished the ingredients from market. Once I bought a piece of cloth in market, for which she hinted so strongly that I had to give it to her. She insisted upon doing my washing, brought me firewood and water, but in the end expected a handsome reward. Generally speaking, all of them wanted everything for their immediate family and close relatives. They showed no community spirit in the sense of sharing good things with others who were remotely related to them. Her oldest daughter, twelve, was very like her. In fact, she seemed to be a model Miao girl, pleasant, capable, and able to do only a little less than the older women in both field work
855 and embroidery. The second daughter was made responsible for two baby sisters and seemed to have a very jolly time with them, doing everything for them, after they were past the age when they required their mother much of the time, amusing them and teaching

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

them songs. The only boy was badly spoiled, but attractive when he willed to be. 855

The two wives of the oldest nephew were about equal in ability and attractiveness. One had three sons, the oldest of whom was a fine lad in middle school in Lung-li, the others two little imps. Heaven to one of them would have been all the good things to eat in the world in a pile and himself in the middle of it. The second wife had two sons, one who was usually set to watch ponies, cows, or water buffalo as they grazed and an adorable baby who was his father's delight.

These children all liked to try to teach me words and sentences. The boy and his cousin from Yang-niu-ts'un who were in middle school wanted me to help them with their English, which was a required subject, and would have given up school to study with me entirely.

The old man who lived in House 16 also had two wives, one much older than the other. 596 This older one had married sons and grandchildren, while the children of the second were mere babies. It was the old man and his family who moved back to their old home in Ting-fan Hsien and whose two married sons returned to Yang-chia-sai to live. I could not discover why this old man had taken a wife of the age of his sons, for the first wife had several sons and was still very vigorous and capable. The reasons for taking second wives in the other family were various. The old man needed someone more vigorous to serve him and manage the affairs of the household. The oldest nephew married a girl betrothed to a brother who died. The son married a second time when his two sons, the only children by the first wife, had both died.

One household contained a grandmother and two grandsons, one of whom had a family. Thirteen households consisted of one or more elderly persons and a married son with his family. Six of them had other grown sons or a son and daughter at home. In at least two other cases another married son and his family lived in separate houses. There was one case in which the parents were dead; two brothers lived in different parts of the same house in Hsia-sai and the third with his family in Shang-sai until one of the brothers built a house in Shang-sai, leaving the oldest

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 1361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and
563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the
463 whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'ü, who lived in the mountains and were iron-
596 workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and
764 one of the Wang (王) family. They had intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one
342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one.
342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-7)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
596 vited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight.
[515] In this family I saw the evening foot-washing,
[574] at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
353 leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

342 **Houses: Construction and Divisions Indicating Use.** The framework of houses, like those of Chinese and Chung-chia of this region, was constructed of large, round pillars and squared beams fitted together and secured with wooden pegs. A building was of from one to five *chien*.[1] Under the timbering was a stone foundation up to four feet high, which for living rooms was filled in with pounded clay. The stable was a pit with steps leading down into it. The roofs were of tile laid on fir planks or straw, reed, and grass thatch over bamboo poles lashed to the rafters. The typical plan called for a hall entered from a recessed porch about three feet wide, and one or two *chien* on either side, which were subdivided or left as one large room. No two houses in the village were exactly alike either in the actual arrangement of the rooms or in the uses to which they were put. The very small room back of the hall sometimes contained a loom or a rice-hulling machine, or was used for storage or as a sleeping room. One of the side rooms was used for animals, as a stable and kitchen with no partition, as kitchen and general living room with no partition, or divided by partitions. Any of these side rooms except the stable could have beds in them. In addition to his bedroom, back of which was a general utility room, the head of the family in which I lived had what might be called a private sitting room. During the colder weather there was a bed for him there. Back of each of the other front rooms there was a sleeping room. The loft was also used for that purpose both in the main house and in the building opposite. The "new house" (fig. 13, *e*) had five *chien*, of which one was divided into two bedrooms for the younger nephew and his family, one into the bedroom and a general room for the son and his first wife, one into the hall and a small room for storage, one into the bedroom and a general room for the son and his second wife, and one into kitchen and storeroom for fuel, lime,

[1] The standard section of a Chinese house.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

and so on. It was in the rooms for the son and his second wife that I lived before he married her. The front room was then a study and schoolroom. 342

The houses also varied considerably with regard to the material used for siding. The "old house" and one other had three walls of sundried brick and mud plaster and one of wood; the "new house" had three walls of perfectly matched and fitted large, gray brick and a fourth of wood. Others used any combination of planks vertical or horizontal, with or without the bark, interwoven bamboo strips with or without buffalo dung plaster, pieces of bamboo matting, bundles of straw or bundles of faggots, and the newest house had walls of beaten earth similar to those of the poorer Chinese houses in the vicinity. One house even had a wall of the tile intended for roofing, which will probably be used later for that purpose. The house of my host in Yang-niu-ts'un was, as I have said, of wood throughout. In general they built as good a house as they could afford, following Chinese styles.

Even the poorest house with one room, stable, and thatch roof had a loft for the storage of faggots, straw, unthreshed grain, baskets of grain and miscellaneous articles, sometimes piles of grain and other foods. None of the houses were weathertight, but this was not an unmixed evil, for there had to be some means of escape for most of the smoke from brushwood fires built in pits in the floor. The granaries were about six feet square and built on piles. The floor inside was of beaten earth on planks.

The wood used in construction was pine for the timbers, partitions, and loft flooring, fir and cypress for the roof planks, bamboo for poles across the rafters, interwoven siding, loft flooring and partitions. Tile, straw, grass, and reeds were used for roofing, bundles of straw or faggots for siding.

The better houses had above the door the *yin* and *yang* symbol (fig. 7), and the *pa kua* 342 353

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symbols for heaven and earth, ☰ and ☷. One house I saw had a festoon of wooden daggers above the door, also. The first two copy Chinese custom and the third resembles a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of An-shun Hsien.

[531]

FIG. 7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, *c*), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

Sanitary Arrangements. The toilets of the village were open cesspools or the woods and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

Furniture. In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

[22a]

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foreign clock, both broken. The usual seat was a small, rectangular stool about eight inches high, often lacking a leg or two. In some houses I saw a few sections of log, straw hassocks, or low, long benches. Sometimes a long, wide bench stood under the window. Beds were a wooden frame or box on four legs or supported by two sawhorses. In one house thick coffin boards laid on blocks of wood formed a bed. However, not all houses had beds or enough for all the family downstairs, so that some of them slept in the loft. Beds usually had a thick straw mattress, a straw mat, or both. A few had a mat of felt. There were comfortables of the Chinese type — a pad of cotton with a removable cover not quite as large as the pad on one side and large enough on the other to fold over and overlap the first piece, with mitered corners. Others were like a rug with a nap, woven of straw on a vertical loom. Hard, small, bolster-shaped pillows were stuffed with cotton and were for looks only.

Even where there was a built-up stove with cooking bowls fitted into it, much of the cooking was done in smaller bowls on an iron hoop on three legs. On the inner side of the ring were three prongs toward the center to support the bowl. This set over the fire in the floor, which also provided heat. The big stove was used for cooking rice, when a large number were to be cooked for, to make bean curd, to distill wine, or to prepare the mash for animals. Even at feasts men and women often sat around separate floor fires and ate from dishes set on a board across the bowl or from the broth being cooked in it. At times when there were many guests, such as a wedding or funeral, the men usually ate indoors, the women at tables out-of-doors. At the New Year feasts in the house men and women ate together, as well as for the evening meal after the work of the day was done. For the fires there were iron tongs and in the ashes were set earthen pots for tea. Over the fire were suspended a square of interwoven bamboo used as a shelf, a piece of iron with several hooks, and pieces of pork or beef in loops of straw.

Other furniture included wooden cupboards for food or one built on the outside of the house with doors opening into the room, various baskets and jars, trays and bowls (set

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on a bench or on top of the cupboard), jars of rice wine, and a bean mill. On the walls hung scythes for cutting wood, carrying poles, carpenter's tools, a wicker basket of chopsticks, skeins and balls of hemp thread, small jars of oil, and sometimes a water pipe. Leaning against the wall were pipes with long bamboo stems, bundles of faggots and carrying poles with baskets on either end. In a well-to-do home pieces of meat hung from the rafters. Lamps were the ordinary pottery saucer with pith wicks and vegetable or t'ung oil fuel. They were suspended by a wire from the rafters or set on an iron stand. For lighting the way or borrowing fire thin pieces of wood tipped with sulfur, small bundles of straw, or a few strips of bamboo were used. Generally speaking, the objects found in these villages were not for comfort but rather for utility and convenience. 352

Every home had a shrine to "Heaven, earth, rulers, relatives, and scholars," which was merely the inscription in Chinese characters on red paper pasted up on the wall facing the door, with appropriate sentiments on other strips on either side. In some homes there was also a shelf the full width of the room — the main hall, if there was one — with these inscriptions above and holders for incense, candles and other objects for worship on it. After the old man in the family in which I lived died a square table was set up in one corner of the main room with cloth forming a third side. On the table were the ancestral tablet, figures and cones of mosaic, colored paper with pompoms of frilled paper on top, a support for incense sticks, and small dishes. Along the top and sides of the opening were inscriptions in Chinese. I saw this shrine, also, in two houses in Yang-nin-ts'un, while in a third home the open shelf above a cupboard was used for this purpose. Here the objects were an ancestral tablet, a lamp, a support for incense sticks, and a gong. At dusk, as in Chinese Buddhist homes, they set in new, lighted incense sticks and beat the gong several times. 352 776

This main hall was not lived in as much as other rooms of the house, but according to the season the large bamboo mats used on the threshing floor, bamboo baskets for grain, various implements — plows, harrows, grain- 352 412

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

cleaning machines, flails—other baskets and trays were kept there (see fig. 13, *b-e*). During the rice harvest it was often piled full of grain until there had been enough sunny days to get it all sunned and stored or sold. When an adult died, the coffin was always set in this room with the foot toward the door. At the lunar New Year glutinous rice paste was pounded in a stone mortar and the cakes shaped in this room. Of course offerings were made here to ancestral spirits and to the gods of the household.

Food. The basis of their diet, like that of the Chinese in the district, was white rice. Except for a short time directly after a good rice harvest, this was mixed with beans or whole wheat flour in tiny balls. With it they ate cooked green vegetables from their own gardens, highly seasoned with salt and hot red or green chillies, fresh or dried. Their gardens had a succession of the following vegetables: turnips, celery, carrots, celery cabbage, spinach, white and sweet potatoes, lettuce root, rape, mustard, various kinds of beans and peas, maize, cucumbers, onions, garlic, leeks, and various other roots. In May, for instance, there were new potatoes, peas, and broad beans in the gardens and bamboo shoots in the thickets, in June green beans, rape leaves, and cabbage. Broth was made of dried beans and peas, and curd from soy beans. Nearly every family raised pigs. The pork was eaten both fresh and in the form of excellent smoked and cured meat and sausages. The blood was also mixed with bean curd and made into sausage. At rare intervals a cow was killed and the meat eaten fresh or dried. Now and then beef was brought into the village or bought in market. Of the bamboo two species were edible. In spring and fall bamboo shoots were much enjoyed. Potatoes were sliced very thin with the skins left on and fried. When corn was ripe it was eaten on the cob after being roasted in the hot ashes, or the kernels were mashed, wrapped in husks, boiled, and eaten from the husks. Persimmon and other pickles were made. If the water in the pond was not too deep in the spring, they dug for two kinds of water chestnut. Small fish were taken from the pond, either fished for with pole and line or caught in the hands as a large number of

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262 people waded from one end of the pond to
252 the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about
252 dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was al-
574 ways on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

24 Children seemed always to have something
857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

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261 market without some small treat for them.
857 Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

261 When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

252 For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yünnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

291 Clothing. The Cowrie Shell Miao men all wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of them could afford cloth shoes and therefore
292 wore straw sandals. For special occasions such as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear a new, long garment, belted in with a long blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth to form a large turban (*fig.* 18, *f*). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

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der, knotted on the right hip, and a spray of silver leaves in his cap. A priest wore a long yellow or orange robe of cloth or thin silk, whose skirt was shirred onto the waist, and a fancy scarf about his head or a bamboo rain-hat. Both the chanter and the drummer at the ritual in connection with "opening the way" and burial for the dead, and the priests in the procession which opened a bullfight wore this costume. 292

Some of the very little girls wore the tribal costume only on special occasions, but the older girls and women wore it constantly. For everyday they were barefoot or wore straw sandals of their own making. In the winter they wound the legs with cloth from ankle to knee. The remainder of the costume consisted of long, wide trousers of dark blue cloth, a front apron of finer dark blue cloth embroidered in white, which had to be two and a half feet long, and a back apron one and a half feet long of hemp cloth dyed dark blue, a blue blouse made on straight lines but worn folded surplice to the right, and belted in with the strings from the aprons and from an embroidered overpiece on the blouse (fig. 8, *a*, *b*), and a woven belt an arm-span long. On the head they wore a turban, which was sometimes just a length of cloth wound around, sometimes a carefully constructed one. Of course for the roughest work they wore their oldest, patched, faded, tattered clothes (see fig. 19, *c*). Unless they had lost them or given them to a daughter, the women and girls wore silver hooks like an inverted question mark in their ears (fig. 19, *c*), and the girls wore, also, heavy silver bracelets, silver neck loops and rings, and a Chinese thimble. 291 301

For the hemp apron they raised the hemp and processed it, made the thread, dyed it, and wove the cloth themselves. All other cloth, except the bands used to hold the pad about a baby spreadeagled on the back, which was also woven of hemp thread, and both cotton and silk thread were bought in the markets. They made hemp thread for mending and sewing. Of the heavier cotton they liked to buy white in the piece and dye it a very dark, almost black blue; but they also bought it already dyed. They used nutgalls (五倍子) mixed with earth as a dye. The 294

4:Michey E-S (1940-?) 1947 AES Misc AES

284 finer cloth, of which they also made blouses, was already dyed when bought.

283 Hemp thread was made as follows: The stalks were cut close to the ground and stripped of the leaves, which were put back on the hemp bed as fertilizer. The bark and fiber were stripped from the wands and the bark loosened and stripped from the fiber with a knife, one end of the strip being held with the toes and one with the left hand. The long fibers were hung in the sun to dry and bleach. They were then boiled and sunned again. For the cloth they made a coarse thread by twisting the split fibers with the fingers and then rolling them against the leg or thigh. The split fibers had previously been twisted in bunches into a darning ball shape, and as the thread was made it was wound in a figure eight around a loop of bamboo. From this it was made into skeins, which were boiled and then wound into balls like those of cord (fig. 18, *e*). When weaving was to be done the balls were set into a tub of water and reeled from it onto the shuttle.

301 For married women the better turban was put on as follows: The hair was braided in two braids to the front, being pieced out with thread if the hair was scanty. One of a pair of chopsticks was laid across the head above the forehead and these braids wound around to hold it securely in place. A piece of blue cloth was fitted lengthwise over the stick and fastened with a needle or two, or sewed. Over the stick was put another piece of blue cloth with the ends folded on top of the head, and a longer piece of white was wound around the head at the height of the base of the stick. Another white piece was wound around the head at the line—high forehead, tips of ears, nape of neck. Finally a longer strip of dark blue cloth was wound around the outside of the white, but higher in the back, and the ends were tucked in. The ends of the white cloth were pulled out to stand up like the ends of a bow. If the family was in mourning, the outer strip was white. For special occasions a second, usually bright blue strip was put on in such a way that about half an inch of the lower white cloth showed below it.

302 Unmarried girls shaved the head except 882 for the crown and braided the hair from that

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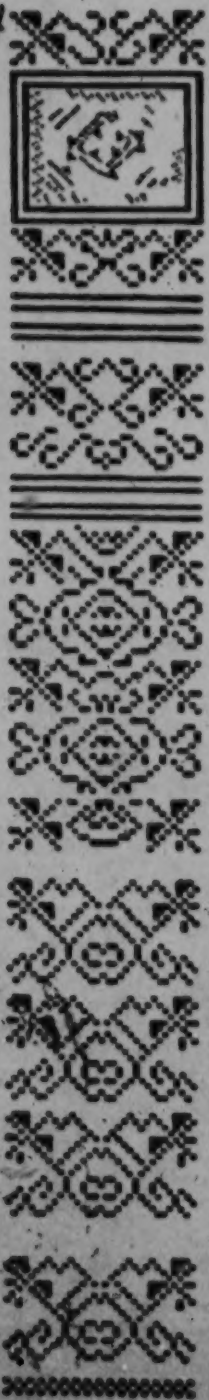

b

FIG. 8. Cross-stitch designs used in sections of the overpiece on the blouse. *a*, the front of overpiece; *b*, the back of overpiece (see p. 27).

[26a]

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302 882 forward in one braid. One short piece of white was set on across the forehead and tips of the ears and crossed at the nape of the neck. A similar piece of bright blue cloth was put on over it to show about half an inch of the white. These were secured with a narrow

[294 301]

FIG. 9. Embroidered design on narrow strip of white cloth.

strip of cloth. A piece of cloth, six feet long, was folded six times lengthwise and wound around the head with the two ends tied to stand up in the back like the ends of a bow. A piece of dark blue cloth, ten feet long, was folded in the same way, wound on the outside of the white one, and tucked in at the back. These two pieces formed a wide, flat, horizontal cartwheel turban with the braid lying inside.

301 A still more elaborate turban called for more strips in addition to the white and bright blue ones, which were sometimes lavender, black, other shades of blue, and white. This was worn by unmarried girls when they went to visit in other villages. More lengths of white cloth were also put on sometimes to make the turban that much wider. For such occasions as a bullfight they sometimes wore, instead of the plain dark blue outer strip, one of dark blue embroidered on the ends in white and lines of color, and for the length of two hand-spans in white so that when it was put on the design showed all around the head outside of a plain band of dark blue, and on the bow ends.

The front apron was embroidered in lines of colored silk thread and spaced rows of a design in white cotton thread. The overpiece (figs. 8; 20 *a*, *d*) on the blouse was made up of several pieces, each with its special name, method, and order of making, and design, and the stitches were so carefully taken that it could be worn with either side out. First, two long strips of dark blue cloth were covered an inch and a half wide down the center with an over-and-over stitch diagonally across two threads in coarse white thread. A narrow strip of white cloth of the same length was

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then embroidered in color. In front the design was of red and green (see fig. 9) with three lines of green, red, and blue lengthwise on either side. Over the shoulder and in the back it was a straight line of alternate orange and dark blue down the center with a wavy line of alternate red and green on either side. These two were sewed together with herringbone stitch in white. The outer edge of the blue piece was turned under and covered with a weaving stitch in two or five colors, as the maker wished. In front and back, between the white strips, were set strips of dark blue embroidered in horizontal bands of cross-stitch in white, each stitch crossing one thread. On the under side the stitches had to be horizontal. Almost at the top in each strip was a medallion in color, in which a dark red was predominant (figs. 19, *a-c*; 20, *a*, *d*). The one in front had a cross, and diagonal lines in the corners. That in the back had a design of crosses, with a bit of blue, green, and yellow in the open spaces. The strip in the back was wider than that in front. Two pieces were made for the back, the upper one of color or black on white, the lower one of color on red. These were sewed on across the ends so that the lower side was a little wider than the upper. Across the very end was sewed a row of about twenty cowrie shells. In front a strip of blue was sewed across the three strips and strings fastened to it. On the under side a strip of bright blue was sewed on over the white strip which lay on the shoulders. 301

I tried to make the overpiece but was not very successful. Not that I felt too badly about it, for they said that women over fifty were not supposed to be able to see to do it. I managed to make the strips of dark blue worked solidly in lines all the way up and down the strip and with mitered corners, and the zigzag lines on the white pieces, to fasten them together with herringbone stitch, and to turn in the edges with a weaving stitch in color. But the fine cross-stitch in the center strips was too much for me and I learned only that the stitches must be horizontal on the under side by doing them the other way. 295

An invitation to "drink wine" in another village called for new trousers, blouse, and overpiece, if possible, and the wide turban. 292 594

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For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth. 292 541 301

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide. 291

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants 292 585

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AFC

292
585

wore this orange blouse outside; the others black. To the outer blouses they tacked embroidered bands with silver disks on them as follows: at the bottom across the back and each hip one with thirty-nine small disks; around the upper arm two or three with twenty-two small disks on each; around the neck one embroidered in green, red, and blue with twenty-two large disks and a similar narrow band with twenty-nine small disks on it. Instead of the two aprons they wore a finely pleated, knee-length skirt of dark blue, almost black, heavy cloth with a six-inch band of white at the bottom. For the narrowest skirt twenty feet of cloth were required, or more. There were two of the woven belts worn with this costume, over a length of soft purple silk, whose ends showed in the back as if a handkerchief had been tucked in. The overpiece was covered with silver disks as described above and the extra ornaments were added. In addition, each girl had several neck loops and a silver chain about her neck from which were suspended five more neck loops so that they lay on her chest. At least two girls in one case had a row of small silver fish suspended from the chain in the back.

For this costume the women in a related household evolved a special turban for each girl, which consumed considerable time. It was like that worn by unmarried girls in that they shaved all but the crown of the head and put on the narrow, overlapping bands, but there were more of these — in one case seven, in another ten. The order of the strips was as follows: white, bright blue, orange, green, yellow, black, lavender, turquoise, white, lavender, from the inside out. These bands were so put on that they showed only a quarter of an inch of the one below, and the overlapping had to make a straight line up the back of the head. It was like that of the married women in that the stick was put on and the hair, braided in two braids, secured it. Two pieces of blue black cloth were put on over the stick in turn and sewed in place. A third piece, of soft, thin blue silk, was large enough to cover the stick and the top of the head. Another, narrow, but long, strip was put on so as to hold this firmly and tightly. A long strip of white cloth, folded six times lengthwise, was wound around the head

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292 horizontally, and finally the embroidered scarf
585 was put on so that the whole design showed and the ends were tied, at the back. All wore new straw sandals.

292 The costume in which two old ladies were
764 laid out while the ritual of "opening the way" was performed was still different (fig. 18, *f*). The turban was that of a married woman, with the embroidered scarf. Several blouses were put on, of which the outer was of orange silk, and in one case there were two pairs of trousers. Both the pleated skirt and aprons were worn. On the feet were cloth stockings and Chinese cloth shoes. In one case there was just one overpiece; in the other three were tacked together. This latter old lady had kept the old style turban scarf, overpiece, and front apron. The designs were different from those used at the time I was with them and the colors were faded soft and lovely, showing that silk thread with good dyes had been used. That sold in the markets now soon fades to almost white.

The designs on the front apron were in rows, one of birds with wings outspread, one of birds with wings folded, as if rising, and one of an animal, all in white. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that used in modern times, but that in the back was a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center. On the inner strip the four diagonal lines had become two, forming a cross. There were many strips with a dogtooth design on them. The cross-stitch designs were not of the fine type now used, but coarser, more like those on the overpiece worn by another group of Miao women I saw in the Lung-li market who said that they were Lao Hei Miao (Black Miao who had been long in the vicinity,) fig. 18, *f*. On the scarf the designs were of birds and medallions somewhat spaced. Her belt was of the same design as those I saw, but only half as wide.

292 These Lao Hei Miao women also wore trousers and aprons for everyday, but both aprons were of hemp and had no embroidery. Another group of Miao women, called by the Chinese Pai (White) Miao (fig. 20, *b*), wore the ceremonial skirt constantly over trousers

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which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed. 292

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family. 241

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*. For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children. 805 796 241 527

*See p. 50.

4.Michey E-8 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
527 embroidered and entertained young men from
541 other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or
[764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[a] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring
243 appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

Michey E-5 (1909-?)1967 AES Mizo AES

243 vary widely scattered near to and far from the
243 village, so that when the plants were ready for
241 transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

241 This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and
243 seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) con-
805 tinued for more than a month. During that
594 time the young people, both married and single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

241 During the third month (the second half of
312 April and the first half of May, 1942) there was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

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241 312 for flooding the fields. There were days of rain followed by rainy nights so that at least part of the day was sunny. They continued the preparation of fields and the carrying of fertilizer and began the harvest of rape, wheat, beans and peas.

241 For rape the whole plant was cut near the ground and the sheaves set, heads down, in the fields or along the beams of a barn or house. The seeds were later knocked out against the inside of a large, square wooden box in the field or on a threshing floor. For wheat each head was snapped off and thrown into a basket on a woman's back, to be dumped into the baskets on the carrying pole and taken to a mat on the threshing floor to be flailed. I helped twice with the reaping of wheat. Bean and pea plants were pulled up by the roots, bundled up, and hung up on the rafters to dry. When they were thoroughly dry the dirt was pounded off with a large wooden mallet, which could also be used to beat out the pulse. Or a flail was used. They were then sieved and winnowed in large, flat bamboo trays.

[335] One day fully half of the men of the village, under the direction of one of the older ones, were working together reroofing a house, while the young people went back and forth with their loads of fertilizer and empty baskets. However, the chief activity at this time was the preparation of fields into which rice, now several inches high, was transplanted later. Most of the fertilizer was carried to prepared fields, but some to fields not yet wholly cleared of other crops.

On the first of the fourth month I saw the members of our household working together to prepare a field which had been cleared of beans and rape. Two young men, one a member of the household, a relative who was something of a hired man, and one from another household, were plowing, the plows being drawn by water buffalo. The second nephew together with his wife formed one "team" and the son and his wife another to bring up water from the pond, along which this long field stretched, and pour it onto the field. They had attached ropes with sticks in them to the handles and to a point near the bottom of each bucket on each side, to hold by, so that they might together swing

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the bucket (regularly used for carrying water) down into the pond, up and over the bank (fig. 15, *e*). They got into a very nice rhythm. I had seen the second nephew turning a bean mill once, but aside from this that was the only real work I had seen either of these men do. The nephew seemed to be ashamed of it, too, for he stopped abruptly when he thought I was going to take his picture. However, evidently today everyone had to work. A younger boy was fishing and the other children playing nearby, so that it was quite a family party. 241

By the beginning of the fourth month (May 15, 1942) rice plants were ready for transplanting. Fields nearly to Lung-li, which is at a lower altitude, had already had plants set out in them (fig. 15, *a*). On the fourth of the month of the year I lived with them (May 18, 1942) our household again was first. They made quite an occasion of setting out the plants in a large square field, beyond the low hills and right beside a good-sized Chung-chia village. Very early the women of the family, with the exception of the old man's two wives, together with the women and girls of other households, bundled together the rice plants from one of the seed beds and piled them into their carrying baskets (fig. 16, *e*) — the same ones which had been used earlier to carry straw and manure. Two men were plowing and two harrowing in the flooded field when the long line of women approached and began tossing the bundles into the field. Before the plowing and harrowing were entirely finished the setting out of plants had begun. With Mo-mei setting the pace, each woman took a strip the width of the field, then turned and worked the length of it. They went home for a long lunch period about two o'clock. Afterward not all of them returned, but the work was finished well before dark. The usual good meal, featuring bean curd, was served. The family nonchalantly appropriated my bowls and chopsticks to use with theirs. 243 574

They were now in the midst of the busiest season of the year, for the harvest of wheat and its accompanying crops of broad beans, rape, and peas came just when the rice was ready for transplanting. One day I helped a widow (the chief shamaness of the village) 241

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241 with her two grandchildren, a boy of twelve and a girl of ten, who were reaping wheat. Some had been taken from the field. Now she was cutting the stalks about four inches from the ground. I helped the children lay the stalks together so that a number of heads could be struck off together, and to pick up what fell to the ground. At noon the boy went home with a load of wheat heads and returned with a basket of rice mixed with wheat, a dish of pickled green vegetable, and the necessary bowls and chopsticks. The women led us to a spring on the floor of the valley where we could get cold water to drink with our meal. I doubted the wisdom of drinking from a spring so near newly fertilized rice fields, but it was a very hot day. We brought a bowl of water back to the field so that the woman could sharpen her sickle on a small piece of stone she carried in a bamboo holder. We worked until well after sunset.

Although there was a good breeze, these days were very hot and everyone hoped for rain so that the fields could have a good flooding. Some of the fields from which the crops had been harvested were planted to maize and long beans. More fields which had crops in them were later planted to rice. By the middle of the fourth month (end of May, 1942) some former wheat fields were already planted to maize and soy beans, well up and requiring cultivation. Others were being plowed as they were cleared. In general, all fields that could be sufficiently flooded were given over to rice, the rest to maize, beans, tobacco, red chillies, and millet.

241 462 After the day in which sixteen women worked together to set out plants in the one large field, there were a few other occasions when a large group worked in the same field or adjacent ones (fig. 15, *a*). But in general women from several small households worked together in bundling up the rice plants (one man worked in one group), reaping wheat, transplanting, and so on, or each family took care of its own fields. While younger women were busy in the fields the older women in our household beat out pulse, flailed wheat and winnowed it, sunned rice, and kept an eye on the children when they were not playing away from home.

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312
241

About this time, when the people had just about given up hope of rain in time for preparing the fields and transplanting rice, the rain came in a flood. (Beginning of June) It poured one whole night and there were hard showers and storms on the next day. It rained for two nights following, also. This was just the kind of a rain needed to make upland fields ready for plowing and harrowing and to flood the lower ones. Our family had spent three days just before this in a second bout of bucketing water from the pond into the large field. Again men of the family and related households plowed and men and women formed teams for lifting water. Others were transplanting rice into fields of deep mud with no water on top. It was a time of many activities – harvesting, sunning, flailing, and winnowing of wheat, bringing in plants of rape, beans and peas. Both wheat and rape featured the markets in Lung-li and Kou-ch'ang. Rape is used to make the oil burned in lamps.

Another rain a week later lasted two days. I went to Lung-li to market on the first day and had the exciting experience of racing the storm home successfully. The hard rain of this day and night filled the rice fields and flooded even some that were rather well upland. The buffalo bullfighting meadow became a little pond. Almost all of the wheat and its accompanying crops (literally that, for they were planted together in various combinations) were in before this hard rain, and only a few wheat fields had straw still standing in them. Most of them had been made ready for other crops. Also, nearly all the seed beds had been stripped of their fine stand of rice plants and made into fields with even rows, like the others. It was almost time for the village to take a little breathing spell.

The men worked as steadily as the women, for the fields for rice had to be plowed and harrowed at least twice, some three times — after the wheat was harvested, when they were flooded, and again just before the plants were set out. It was common to see men plowing or harrowing at one end of a field, or in an adjacent one, just before the women moved in with their bundles of plants. I saw women carrying the plow and harrow to the field, but only two harrowing. I saw a few men bun-

4:Mickey E-8 (1909-7)1947 AES Misc AES

312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the
241 fields, but no men setting out plants.
243 I once tried my hand at helping and did fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they
[164] were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 By the end of the first week of the fifth
243 month (end of June) the transplanting of rice was complete. Then there was a season of
312 cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

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used the mattock, and as they worked they 312
fertilized the plants with night soil and wood 241
ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family
also used some lime mixed with manure, which 243
was left over from several loads carried to
another village eighteen *li*[3] away. Toward the
end of the fifth month several young men
had taken out the pile in the room back of
the kitchen in the new house and mixed it
with manure, after which some of the village
girls and women of our household carried it.
It must have been promised for a certain day,
for the trip was made in a drenching rain
which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei,
the oldest daughter, was a member of this
group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken 243
toward the transplanting of rice in different 462
localities and among different people in one
locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near
Kunming men bundled up the plants and
transported them, while only women were
allowed to set them out. I was told that this
was a custom borrowed from the non-Chinese there, who believed that the women insured fertility. Here the women did all of it, with only a few men helping with either bundling or setting out. In both cases the men did the plowing and most of the harrowing. In the one Chinese family in this village and those between the valley and Lüng-li I saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used up, so now and then the women went to get more. Often it was much mixed with dried grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass for the animals, which were kept in the stables, were brought in. Women and children took water buffalo out once or twice a day for a soaking in the large pond and for feeding upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultivation was the main task for all women, who took time out only to nurse a boil or catch up on washing and mending. The men went to market a great deal, most of them carrying wood in one form or another — planks, pieces of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles. They seemed able, with what they could find 241

[3] A measure of length reckoned at 360 paces or

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to sell from time to time, just to get through nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope. 241 [283]

It was after the middle of the seventh month (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel—grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke, and burned quickly. 374

Rice harvest began about the first of the eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods 243 512

about 1890 feet (.36 mile).

4:Mishey 3-8 (1900-7)1907 AES Misc AES

243 of work, they all stopped and rested. Some
512 lay down and slept on the ground; some older women laid stacks down on the ground and sat on them to talk and smoke; the younger women and girls got out their embroidery and worked on it. For about two hours at noon they went home to eat their lunch.

243 Women and children were also busy at home spreading out the grain on the mats,
252 sweeping out bits of stalk, and so on, spreading it again so that it could all get the sun, carrying it in again at night in the baskets, and rolling up and stacking the mats. Some of it was bought by dealers who made a price on uncut grain, some carried to market and sold there. There were two kinds of rice — *ta mi*[4] and *lo mi*.[5] In some cases a row or two of *lo mi* was planted on the edge of fields of other rice; in some cases the whole field was of it only. It brought a better price than the other and was used for the New Year cakes, at the festival of Tuan Yang, for the colored balls at Hsiao Mang, and for several other festivals. A fine dish of fat pork slices rolled in parched *lo mi* was often served at special meals.

243 When *lo mi* was planted in a field with other rice it was not cut with it, but later the stalks were carefully cut with a small knife blade set into one side of a wooden holder, and the sheaves were brought in and stored first in the hall below and then in the loft. Early in the morning we would form a sort of relay team, of which the old lady in the hall below saw to it that they were tied securely, several children and I carried them up the ladder, one boy stood on a bench and received them as they were handed up, then tossed them onto the platform above the main hall, whose ceiling is higher than that of the side rooms, and a woman stacked the sheaves there. At one time the main hall, a half *chien* room adjoining, and one *chien* of the loft were full of grain beaten out and waiting to be sunned dry. In time this all got sunned, sent to market, or stored in a granary or another part of the loft.

[4] Ordinary rice.
[5] Glutinous variety, white or black.

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241 Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more
231 fuel, or grass for the animals. The water
245 buffalo were taken out night and morning for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.[8] Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

243 The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice from sheaves were

[8] One-tenth of a sou (see note 7, p. 35), or 31.6 cubic inches.

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flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made. 243 [252]

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more. 241

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain. 241 512

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"[1] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the 527

[1] These weigh twenty-four *chin* (: pounds), or 31 pounds.

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year began. During this period there was 527
time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went 521
from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth 574
month (November 13). On the third of the 584
tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the 241
slackest season of the year, there was still 252
much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order. This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The tech- 241
nique of farming was identical with that of 462
Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

[35b]

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241 with the exception of the fact that the Miao
462 women seemed to do a greater proportion of the out-of-door work. That is, in a well-to-do Miao household the women worked just as hard as those in the poorer ones, but in a well-to-do Chinese family the women spent most of their time at home. The work of women will be discussed more in detail under Division of Labor.

241 The implements used were as follows: for
412 breaking up and cultivation of the ground—plows, harrows, and mattocks. The plow (fig. 13, *d*) had an iron share like two overlapping shingles and one upright piece through the beam. The end of the beam was the handle. The harrow was two beams with iron spikes on the under side and a transverse piece at either end, the whole forming a rectangle with projecting ends. The mattock had a long, wooden handle and a blade of iron about six inches wide at the edge. The harness was a slightly bent wooden beam laid across the neck of the animal with a heavy rope from it under its neck and two light ropes to the implement. As the man plowed or harrowed he guided the animal by another cord attached to one side of the yoke. The plow had to be lifted a little when turning corners. In use the harrow was weighted with a large stone. For reaping, gathering grass, and gathering fuel the sickle was used. It had a short wooden handle and an iron blade, originally with a straight cutting edge and rounded outer edge, but with much sharpening becoming a crescent. The men had a wooden holder of the shape as shown in figure 10 which they fastened with a straw cord about the waist to the small of the back. The handle of the sickle was thrust into the hole in the top of this with the blade up. A little bamboo basket for the whetting stone was worn at the belt in front. For beating out the grain they used a square wooden box, four feet each way and two deep, an upturned stone, a flail, bamboo baskets, and a bamboo mat. The beater took up a bundle of rice and beat out the grain on the inside of the box or against the upturned stone set on the mat. Or the sheaves were laid end to end and flailed. The flail was two lengths of bamboo or sticks fastened to a short piece in such a way that the worker could hold one length in her hands and swing the

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241 other under, back, over and down (fig. 16, *d*).
412 Two worked together sometimes, but not necessarily in rhythm. The woven baskets were shallow, with handles on the top of the
241 rim through which a carrying pole was thrust
415 and secured by wooden pegs. The bamboo
[285] mats in twilled pattern were as large as sixteen by nine feet. A two-inch bamboo pole was fastened to either end to help keep it flat while in use and then easily rolled up for storage.

FIG. 10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views.

Two types of basket had a great variety of uses. In a loosely woven one fertilizer was carried to the fields and bundles of rice plants taken from seed beds to fields (fig. 16, *e*). In closely woven ones grain and other crops were brought in (fig. 16, *c*, *f*). When grain was to be sunned it was brought out in these baskets to the mats on the threshing floor and at night it was carried back in them. In this case the worker usually used only one at a time and someone had to help her swing it up to one shoulder, where she held it by putting that hand on her hip. She steadied it with the other hand. In them grain and other produce were taken to market.

Bamboo scoops were used to lift the grain from mats to baskets and a piece of wood with one straight side and a long handle to push the grain around so that all might get the sun evenly. The grain was first spread evenly on the mat and the bits of straw, sticks, etc., swept out with the broom of twigs. This was done several times. After a while the grain was all swept to the edges to allow the center to dry thoroughly and then to the center to allow the edges of the mat to dry. After this the mat was folded over the pile until it was possible to get several people together to put the grain into the baskets and
241 carry it to loft or granary. For more careful
412 cutting of rice straw the women had a knife blade set in one side of a more or less fancy shaped piece of wood or bamboo. This could

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also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark. 241 412

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make 241 412 463 563

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water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 442

462 Only 252 rarely did a man do any of the cooking. Butchering was done by men, but the preservation of meat and the preparation of dishes from meats was usually taken care of by women. They dried beef by placing the pieces on sticks across the opening in the stove from which a large cooking bowl had been removed and keeping a fire going under it. They cured pork and made sausage. Meat was smoked simply by hanging the pieces up over the floor firepit.

462 241 With the help of an older man now and then, women took full charge of kitchen gardens, from whence came vegetables used by the household for their own food or taken to market, and green stuff for the feeding of animals. They prepared the mash for cattle and ponies as well as the swill for pigs, and fed them. They also did most of the work in other fields after the plowing and harrowing were finished. If the ground was broken up not with the plow but the mattock, they did that, too. And cultivation from the sowing of the seed (the casting of rice into the seed beds excepted), through weeding, fertilizing, and transplanting to reaping was largely the work of women.

They gathered most of the firewood and other fuel, much of the grass for animals and for the raincapes they themselves made, and carried most of the water from springs for household use. They did their share of the cleaning of stables and carrying the straw and manure to the fields. They carried all the night soil from cesspools and applied it as fertilizer. If the pond was low enough in the spring, they got down into the thigh-deep mud and dug for the water chestnut known as *tzu ku*. Men, women, boys, and girls made a picnic of wading waist deep in the pond and "feeling" for fish and large snails, for food.

They bundled up the rice plants in the seed beds, transported them, and set them out. They reaped wheat and its attendant crops, flailed out the grain, winnowed and sunned it, dried the plants of rape, beans and peas, beat out the seeds and pulse. They cut the rice plants, both ordinary rice with the sickle and glutinous rice with a knife, helped to beat it out and transport the grain and straw, sunned, cleaned, winnowed, and hulled the grain, and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

462 from the straw of glutinous rice made sandals.
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They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it, stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, separated the strands, and from them made the two grades of thread — one for sewing and mending and one for weaving into cloth. They gathered and dried nutgalls and from them prepared a dye, by which they dyed white cloth bought in piece in the market an even, almost black blue. They made all the clothing for themselves and their families and their bedding. They wove the straw comforter, too. Girls and younger women made the embroidery on the overpiece, front apron, and turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older women made hemp thread and did the weaving of cloth for the back apron and bands for the baby pad. It was the older women who wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

462
283
386
291

286 Three types of loom were used. First there was that described in the making of the belt. Second, there was the vertical loom used for the weaving of straw comforters. This had two beams, one high and one near the floor, from which the warp ropes of twisted straw went back and forth. Two of the poles supporting the rafters served as uprights. The weft was similar to the warp, except that straw ends were left sticking out so that the result was smooth on one side and had a nap on the other. The weft was sent through by hand, in and out, over and under successive threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet. The third was used for the weaving of hemp cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of two by fours about eight feet long and three wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides and, a little lower down, across the ends, also one about two feet from one end. The upper pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at each end. Into this frame was set another, lighter one, going into the upper horizontal pieces at the back, but down into the bracing piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace about a foot above the main frame, across the front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights of this second frame, a board was put across for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

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was held firm by projecting rods which rested on a board across the frame. From the yarn beam the warp proceeded across the horizontal bar of the lighter frame, through two heddles of the frame variety made of bamboo rods with hemp thread between them, which were suspended from a roller laid across the lighter frame or through holes pierced in it, by straw rope and vine tendrils. They were a little wider than the piece of cloth used in the back apron, and the threads were about a foot long. From the lower ends similar ropes led to the fronts of two pedals. Other ropes of the same kind led from the backs of the pedals to the horizontal brace at the back of the main frame. From the heddles the warp proceeded to a reed, also suspended from the lighter frame, thence to the cloth beam set in slots in uprights in the longitudinal brace of the main frame, its longitudinal pieces and projecting above. The cloth beam was then held firm by straw rope tied around it and the frame behind the upright on one side. There were laze-rods set in just behind the front board. 286

Shed and countershed were formed by depressing first one pedal and then the other. The weft was shot through by hand, wound on bamboo shuttles of the shape as shown in figure 11. The weft was beaten up with the reed. Most of the warp thread was rolled on the yarn beam, but some extended beyond and lay in a basket. The reed was made of two pieces of wood, between which could be set and fastened a removable frame like that of the heddles, but without eyes in the thread which stretched between. The weaver took hold of two vertical bars as she beat up the weft. The contrivance was suspended by ropes attached to those bars.

Women also cooked the paste and beans and shaped the glutinous rice cakes, distilled rice wine, ground the beans and made bean curd, including that mixed with pig's blood at the lunar New Year. They helped cut tobacco in the fields, cutting the leaves from the stalk in such a way as to leave a piece of it for a hook by which they fastened it into a rope of straw made as they went. These ropes were festooned across the fronts of the houses to dry, after which it was ready to smoke in their long-stemmed pipes. 462 252 249

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miso AE5

The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended. 462 846

FIG. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there. 462

Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewod, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the beating out of grain in the field 462 241 [313]

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462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
with the carrying out of grain and carrying
241 it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste
252 was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
stone for a building's foundation, transport,
342 bark and trim the logs, and from them make
planks and beams. They fitted them together
412 according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
even to carrying a baby on the back while
855 plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
gent than the mothers, and the children en-
622 joyed being with them. Contacts with the
outside world, other than a certain amount of
875 buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

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442 It has already been noted that men and
241 women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai, Kou-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

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ing school, and the engineers' corps of the railway being built through the town from Kwangsi to Kweiyang. To it the people of the surrounding contryside, including at least three groups of Miao and the Chung-chia, went to market. It was also the seat of the *hsien* government and contained a middle school, postal and telegraph offices, and a co-operative bank, with all of which the non-Chinese, as well as the Chinese, had some dealings. A few of the more well-to-do families sent one of their boys to the middle school. Cases which could not be settled in the village or by the *lien pao* official, who was also a Chinese, were of necessity brought to the *hsien* court, as well as cases which involved both Miao and Chinese.

The market was held in an open space reserved for it just inside the east gate of the city. There were permanent sheds under which merchants who made the rounds of such markets displayed their stocks of cloth, notions, and articles manufactured elsewhere. Other sections of the grounds were reserved for eggs and poultry, sandal straw, farm implements, brown sugar cakes, fruits and vegetables, dishes and cooking utensils, pigs, tobacco, chillies, food stalls, articles of wood and bamboo, meat, firewood, grain, and the thin strips of sulfur-tipped wood used for carrying fire. The main market for wood was just outside the city gate.

People within a radius of perhaps ten miles and including Chinese, Chung-chia, and three, sometimes four, groups of Miao, attended this market to buy and sell. One group of Miao came from the mountains twenty-four miles to the south with charcoal. Each group had a distinctive costume worn by the women. That of Chung-chia women consisted of long, narrow trousers with a woven band of color at the ankles, a knee-length blouse in old Chinese style, a straight apron attached to the collar of the blouse with a silver chain and tied with embroidered strings in the back, and a tight skull cap. The women of one group of Miao wore dark blue trousers to below the knee, a skirt of many pleats of dark blue, bordered with a wide band of white, a blue blouse worn surplice and having a large sailor collar. Their legs were wound in many long strips of blue cloth. About the waist

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they wore a long, woven belt of straw and over the blouse an overpiece of straw. Their abundant hair was made into a large knot in the back. Around it and the head they wound a dark blue cloth turban. These were the charcoal burners. The women of another group who called themselves Lao Hei Miao wore long trousers, two aprons similar to those of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with no embroidering on the front one, a blouse worn surplice, an overpiece of the same type as that of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with much coarser stitches, no color, and no cowries, and a turban of a length of blue cloth wound around the head. 443 291

Kou-ch'ang and Hsin-ch'ang, the market village a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un, were typical market villages with the one main street widening out in the center to form a square. The main shops of the village lined the sides of this square. On market days itinerant merchants set up their stalls under awnings and local people and tribesmen spread their produce on mats on the ground.

The Cowrie Shell Miao took to market grain (rice, wheat, glutinous rice, millet), wood in various forms (planks, bamboo poles, firewood, poles, brushwood), fresh vegetables from gardens and fields, bamboo shoots, water chestnuts, sunflower seeds, nuts, rape seed, dried peas and beans, eggs, poultry, pigs and pork, grass raincapes, straw for sandals, and chaff. In the markets they bought cloth, thread — cotton and silk — salt, sugar, and such things as tobacco, red chillies, and fat pork for rendering out lard if their own supply had run low. The Chung-chia in the vicinity made wide white cloth, dried bean curd cakes, and straw sandals. The local Chinese (i.e., from Ting-shui-pa) sold straw sandals, tea, and hemp. The Cowrie Shell Miao made hemp cloth only for special uses of their own and straw sandals only for their own use. They had no extra hemp to sell, but did take to market sheaves of glutinous rice straw. 443 439

There were no shops whatever in the village. Now and then a peddlar of crockery, vegetable oil, charcoal, or notions came through the village. The transaction then was usually one of barter, the women paying in rice and eggs. At other times Chinese money and measurements were used. The silver orna-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

443 ments worn by the women were bought of a
439 Chinese silversmith in a certain village and had to be paid for in silver dollars. Beads and embroidered strips were also bought of the Chinese.

428 Inheritance. The family was the social unit. Descent was through males and the oldest living male was the head of the family. Non-personal property belonged to the family as a whole and even clothing and ornaments might be passed around, especially when one or more represented the family on some social occasion. Then, in order to do honor to the family and to their hosts, they made a display of the family wealth. A woman owned the

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428 ornaments she bought or had given her and the embroidery she made. She gave most of her ornaments to her daughters.

The possessions of the family as a whole were in land and animals. After the death of both parents the sons usually divided up the property, but all continued to work together in the cultivation of rice and the chief winter crops, leaving the care of gardens to the women of each household. If there were several married sons in a family, some had homes of their own, but they still gave mutual help. Some families had fairly extensive holdings in various directions from the village, but almost entirely in this one valley.

[426]

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INSTITUTIONS

THE daily tasks of living furnished the framework for group activities within the family and between families. Such activities included those connected with the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the cleaning of stables and the transportation of fertilizer, fishing and digging for water chestnuts, going to the mountains for firewood, and to market to sell and buy, and the construction and repair of a house, for these in which members of several households worked together were greatly enjoyed in the doing and always followed by a special meal furnished by the owners of the house, stable, or fields worked upon that day. When they went to market they waited until several had their loads ready before starting off. They also returned in groups and stopped to rest and talk at a point about half way, where they could drink from a spring or in a wayside teahouse. 591

When a household was of the extended family type living in a connected group of buildings, they furnished among themselves a good deal of social life, for men and women worked together or the women in their group, children played together, and together they gathered around the firepits to eat, talk, and smoke. On rainy days the women also came together to sew, make thread, and mend. Even when the buildings were more separate, the homes tended to be grouped so that the households mingled freely and helped one another at work or in the entertainment of guests. A group of girls were often seen in the home of one of them embroidering, chatting very gayly over designs and plans, smoking, and laughing. The village was not extensive and there was constant opportunity to meet and talk, with much teasing and laughter. Women carried leaves of tobacco in the folds of their turbans, men in rolls in little metal boxes; pipes and tobacco were shared in a group. 592

Calendric feasts afforded the opportunity for both interfamily and intervillage activities. The festivals of the lunar New Year, Ch'ing Ming, and San Yüeh San, as well as lesser festivals such as Tuan Yang and Hsiao Mang, were accompanied by offerings to the house 796 591

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god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born. 796 571

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders. 571

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes. 596

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village 621 [563]

[436]

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621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordi-
621 narily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the
648 litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to the village for the second period of residence,
689 the first of February, 1942, I found that the
648 old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in
123 prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

661 This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some
648 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed
123 by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

661 they did. But before anything could be done
648 he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his
123 captors took him to Hunan. He was well
treated and not forced to become a soldier, but served the commanding officer as a secretary. He was later released. I like to think that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the provincial government had something to do with his release before the soldiers were due to return to Kweichow. It was not until after the rice harvest that his family sent him traveling expenses so that he might come home. He arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

648 On the eighteenth of November I was asked
123 to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again.
685 This time a relative by the name of T'ang was being detained on complaint of some Chi-
661 nese. This man owned a wooded slope. The Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this man to make his wood into charcoal for them. No agreement was made, but they had him arrested to be held until he could produce fifty thousand *chin*,[2] more than sixty-six thousand pounds. What they wanted me to do was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate the matter quickly so that the man could be released. This I did. But when the *hsien* magistrate said he could be released if two would go surety for him, and they asked me to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had never seen the man and could not find out what it meant to be a guarantor under such circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live they continued to ask me to help them. Upon one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien* magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of stealing logs from his house while only his wife and children were at home. The Chinese said that he had sold them the logs before felling the trees on a hillside he owned and that they were only taking what already belonged to them. I was asked to urge the magistrate to investigate the matter before the Chinese should have time to convert the

[2] One and one-third pounds.

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timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of 123
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit- 685
nesses had not told the truth at other points. 661

Another case was that of a Miao who had
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
leased so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and
could not be found to ask him to change his
mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next
hsien, and after his condition that some mer-
chant in the city go surety for her was met,
she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed
money from his brother. This brother later
brought suit for the return of some of the
loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the
day set, but the brother did not appear to re-
ceive it. Later the family who had received
the loan sued the brother for the expense to
which they had been put because of his failure
to come and receive the payment on the day
set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most 671
small matters were settled among themselves.
Much of the old man's time was taken up with
such cases. Sometimes others of the village
elders were called in for consultation. This
was according to the Chinese Government
system, though in effect this formed the vil-
lage government, or council. If matters could
not be settled by them, they were taken before
the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the
hsien magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific
economic institutions. Families formed eco-
nomic units, and as such carried on trade with
Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie
Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting
country kinfolk to gather before they re-
turned to their villages from market. The
shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as
well, and much of their trade was really a
form of family visits. In their shops, as well

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as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

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778 between "verses." There was an inscription
on the roof, and others were about the open-
788 ing, all in Chinese. Inside were three large heads made of wood, of which one looked rather like a Buddha, one a fierce god with moustaches, and one just stern and calm. This last was in the center and had a red canopy like a tent around it. There were also two fierce-looking smaller figures, one on each side. There was a square block of wood inside the shrine, as well. On top were long pheasant tail feathers; at some of the houses they added more. Beside the feathers there was a bag of rice, into which a small measure of rice was put by someone in each household. At the left of the entrance, looking out, was a red bag containing incense sticks. Some lighted ones were stuck in before the entrance. At some houses they added these, also, and at least one household gave him a dollar. At the right of the entrance was suspended from the roof a ring of iron rope with some iron disks on it, and a dagger which stuck into the floor of the shrine. This ring was rather like that shaken by Taoist priests as they chanted. Below and in front hung a row of cloth strips with inscriptions on them and a polished bull's horn — not a water buffalo horn but much smaller. In front, across the shrine and hanging below it, was a cord with hemp strings tied to it at intervals.

I saw the same sort of a shrine on Lung-li streets at New Year's time. However, there it was more dilapidated and had only two pheasant feathers, the one middle head, the bag of incense sticks, the row of cloth strips, and the cord with hempen strings. The bag for rice lay on the ground behind it. The

*The soul, the spiritual part of man that ascends to heaven.

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778 two priests were not the same, but the chant
788 was the same and they had the same bored air. In both cases I believe they were saying prayers for the good fortune of the house and at the same time receiving a little rice as a fee.

346 **Ritual Structures.** The village contained
778 no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

776 **Deities.** Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,[3] was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,[4] remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

[4] The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

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Childbirth. After a girl was married she returned to her parents' home. There she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. Sometimes, but not always, when a woman was in labor a priest was asked to chant and cast lots in her behalf. This he did in a room adjacent to the one in which the mother was confined, or out-of-doors nearby. There were no midwives. The mother was assisted by other women who had borne children, either from her husband's or a related household. 844 591

The next morning after a child was born the mother might appear with the baby on her back, even in the kitchen where food was being prepared. There was no idea of impurity and she was not required to keep closely at home for a month or forty days, as in the case of Chinese in the vicinity and among some other groups of Miao. She might rest for three or four days, during which other women came to see the baby, but after that she worked as before at even the hardest of labor, with the baby on her back. I am not sure whether she was expected to refrain from certain foods, or not. I offered one mother an orange which she said she could not eat. She gave it to an older son. 846

Announcement Gifts. After the second grandson was born in the family where I was living, the father prepared gifts to send to the village from which his father had migrated, to the household in which an uncle still lived. First in the procession came two men playing the small trumpet. One of them led a black goat. This was a play on words, as the name of a goat (*yang*) has the same sound as the family name (*Yang*) and a word meaning "increase, growth." Then came two men bearing two poles, to which was fastened a whole dead pig, beautifully cleaned and white. After them came two men bearing a similar frame but empty. Last came a man bearing two baskets on a carrying pole. One of the baskets contained red candles and the other a 852

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

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THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS

[47a]

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piece of gray cloth with the Chinese character meaning "to inform" on it. The father accompanied this procession. When they got to their destination a feast was held, at which the pig was made into the chief dishes. 852

Naming of Children. Miss Li said that boys were named after animals and girls "Mei" (daughter, or younger sister) with a number or other designation to indicate their position in the family. I did hear one boy given the Miao word for Rooster as a name; but most of the boys had Chinese names of good meaning. In one family all the five boys except the youngest had names in which one of the two characters was the same for all. When the oldest boy went to middle school in Lung-li he took a "school name." The names I heard for girls were "Mei" with some word of pleasant meaning, such as "Happiness," "Treasure," "Purity." 553

In the case of boys a "generation name," chosen before the child was born, was also given. He was not called by this name, however, until he had his own wife and family. It was kept in the family records and in those of the *lien pao*. In the village of Yang-chia-sai the oldest generation had the generation name "Heng," with an individual one, the next generation "Cheng," and the third "Tan." But several men of the second oldest generation were still called by their "baby names," and none of the third generation by anything but the familiar names or nicknames. Girls kept their childhood name until they entered their husband's homes permanently, after which they were known as XXX (husband's surname) XX (maiden name) Family; that is, XXX of the XX Family. After her husband died she was known as Widow XX (maiden name) and, if, as almost always happened, in the same village there were several widows with the same maiden name, she was known as Widow XX whose eldest son was named Y. For instance, if a man in Yang-chia-sai, whose surname, of course, was Yang, married a woman from the Wu family, she would be known after she entered his family 551 562

511 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife
562 were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Edu-**
292 **cation.** While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long, two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

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855 more than two years old. However, then the mother seldom continued to take it with her, 855 for it could be left with older children in the 857 same part of the village if there was no one in the family to look after it. Often it was the sole duty of an older child to be responsible for the little one. Thus, in the second nephew's family, while the oldest girl helped her mother away from home, the next one took care of the baby, played with her on her back when the baby wanted to be carried, had to be within call when the baby woke up from her nap if she was put to bed in the house, sang to her until the little one began to sing the most commonly sung songs — farewell to the bride when she left her husband's village, lament for the dead, and the shamaness' song — and amused her in other ways. When this baby was about two and a half years old another sister was born. Then the older one had to play with those of her own age while the same older sister took care of both the baby and herself. The one boy in the family, who was five, either followed his father around or played with the other children. In general, the children in each of the two parts of the village, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, played together. There were nearly twenty in each group.

857 Much of the play of children was imitative of the activities of their elders. They made little loads to carry on miniature carrying poles, pushed the grain around on the mats, and so on. Children of six and older brought in small loads of garden stuff for the animals or small bundles of faggots and cypress sprays for the fire. But for the most of the day they were free to amuse themselves, fishing, gathering fruits, berries, or nuts in the village or nearby, or playing games. Certain of their games and activities were seasonal. In the fall boys played a game in which one boy tried to pull a stone out of a knot in a thong, with his own thong and stone. In the spring they made and whipped wooden tops. When the boys were playing with thongs and stones the girls were plaiting iris leaves and rushes into overpieces like the embroidered ones, pushing the pith out of plants to make neck loops and bracelets, and making pendant earrings of fern crosiers. I have also seen boys and girls together in a game like "Hawk and Chickens."

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When they were a little older they watched 857
animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches.

Children were indulged as far as the family 862
could afford to do so. The choicest bits were 865
often given them. Mothers brought back little packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Ssu-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that.

Only a few of the boys, and almost never 872
a girl, went to the school less than half a 177
mile away, and then only for a few years (fig. 18, *d*). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao

[49a]

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are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. 857 517 [535]

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836 [496]

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883 It might have been of the sort that existed
in An-lung Hsien. There between the time
836 of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

883 THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

For a long time I have been coming here.
836 The cool water here produces cool melons.
539 If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the
535 young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one
533 heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an evening after work — at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was [50a]
also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

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534 pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

533 They also made tunes on leaves and were
534 said to be able to send messages in this way. Among other Miao this was courting music,
584 accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

584 **Betrothal.** Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young people probably were acquainted.

585 **Wedding** (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food, men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

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On the day after the groom's arrival the bride and her attendants spent much time getting dressed. The longest part of the time was consumed in the arrangement of the turban, done by women of a closely related household. Meanwhile a feast was being prepared by men and women of the bride's family. It was served as soon as the girls — in one case seven, in the other nine — were ready. Indeed, they were urged to hurry up, as it was getting late. Tables were set in the court before the house. There the bride and her attendants sat at the first two tables and other women guests at the others. The groom and his attendants ate around one of the floor fires in the main room of the house. At one feast I attended, in addition to wine and rice, the dishes served were of various vegetables in season with pork, glutinous rice with sugar syrup, strips of very fat fresh roast pork, chicken, pork alone, fresh and dried bean curd.

While they were eating the loads of food and clothing were being prepared. The bride and her attendants got up from the table to supervise this. In one case the food consisted of a quarter of beef and a bushel of rice, in another of a large piece of pork, a bushel of rice, a jar of wine, and some cured meat. When they started out a woman from the bride's family ran after them and cut off a piece of the meat, which she brought back, laughing. The procession followed a definite order: the groom and his attendants, the men bearing the food, the men bearing the baskets containing the girls' everyday clothing and umbrellas, the bride and her attendants, all in single file. It was a gay and colorful one.

After the girls left the guests remained at the bride's home, feasting and drinking wine until they got quite happy and noisy. The object in drinking wine was partly to induce this happy state. Once when a visitor from Yang-niu-ts'un was in Yang-chia-sai I was invited with her to several houses in turn for a good meal. It was not considered necessary to eat much at every house, but the visitor, a very jolly woman, said I should have drunk more so that I could talk more.

[a] Literally, "drink wine," another pronunciation of *Tso chia.*

[b] This means a setting up the new household.

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The bridal party spent that afternoon getting to the groom's village. At the village they played and sang all night. The next day the bride's party was feasted by his relatives. On one occasion I saw, feasting took place about noon. The bride's party sat on two rows of benches facing one another on one of the threshing floors. The food was set in bowls on planks between them by women of a related household. 585

On the third day, after another night of singing and playing the *lu sheng*, the bride and her attendants returned to her village, accompanied by the groom, who brought gifts of meat and rice and spent the night there. When the bride and her attendants left the groom's village to return, the women of the village accompanied them, some stopping at the entrance to the village and some going a little way. At a point where the bride and her attendants were about to disappear from view they stopped and sang a song antiphonally with the other groups. Then they went on and the nearer group rushed after them to watch them out of sight. When they left they were still in ceremonial array, except for plainer blouses. They reached home dead tired and slept from the time of their arrival until the next day.

Tso Chia. After a girl was married she returned at once to her parents' home, where she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home, during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. When the first child was twenty-two days old girls from the mother's village were invited to "drink wine" in honor of the event. They called this "*tso k'ai.*"[2] Some said it was the same as "*tso chia.*"[3] Others said that it was the same as "*ch'ih chiu*" or "*tso chieh*"[4] — a time of rejoicing, calling, of course, for wine in abundance. Among the local Chungchia this was a combination of "*man yüeh*"[5] and the setting up of the permanent household in the groom's home. The bride's village sent with the guests at this feast among the Chungchia a red cupboard and clothing. 591 852 593

[4] This means to drink wine, or to attend a feast.
[5] The first month feast — The feast also given by the Chinese when a baby is a month old.

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593 From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

766 Death and Burial. When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

757 When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

764 535 The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

*A rectangle of brown "grass paper" with a de-

764 when the man of fifty-odd died, but was told
535 they danced for him. A man of about the same age died in Lo-ying, another Cowrie Shell Miao village near Yang-niu-ts'un. For him they danced two nights. A tripod was set up before a house in Yang-niu-ts'un in which lived a woman whose maiden name was Lo and who had come from that village.

764 The first funeral I saw was that of the oldest inhabitant of the village of Yang-chia-sai, a woman of eighty-four. She was related to practically everyone in the whole village and had relatives in other villages, as well. Moreover, she was the only one of her generation left in the village. Two nephews were with the aviation corps of the army, stationed in Kunming. She died on the twenty-third of the first month. I knew nothing about it until I heard the sound of drumming the next day and saw before the house of nearly every family in the village a tripod formed of carrying poles or other poles of the same length, tied together near the top. A wicker scoop rested on top of them, in which was a spray of thorn tied with rushes, a pair of chopsticks, and two bowls, one containing a cooked green vegetable and one cooked rice.

I followed the sound of the drum and found in the house in which the old lady's widowed daughter-in-law lived the following things: In the central room, near the right side as one faced the door and with its foot toward the door, was a coffin, raised a little from the floor. This was of the Chinese type and of wood of the proper thickness. The lid of the coffin was reversed. On it at the upper end was the body of the little, old lady, dressed in her best — new, high Chinese shoes, two pair of new trousers, the short pleated skirt worn by a bride and her attendants, the two aprons, three blouses, the outer one of orange silk, the overpiece, and her best turban with embroidered scarf. On the right side of her body at the waist was a large bunch of tobacco leaves. One of the local priests, who in this case, however, was acting in his capacity as a nephew, was kneeling at the foot of the coffin burning spirit money.[6] This he lighted in the flame of one of two red candles,

sign cut in it, used only for ritual purposes.

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stuck with lighted incense sticks in a measure of rice on the foot of the coffin. Beside the head of the coffin, on its left, was a small table, on which were a jar of wine, a big bowl, and two bamboo tubes. The most skillful and oldest priest of the village, wearing the yellow robe and a large bamboo rainhat, holding in his left arm a chicken and in his right hand a tube of bamboo, was standing by the table chanting. At his waist hung a sword in a wooden sheath. Before him around a fire sat several other men.

In the front room to the right was a cylindrical drum, nearly five feet long and two in diameter, made of wood, with oxhide ends. It had an iron ring fastened to each side. It was so suspended by a withe of bamboo tied to a beam across the room below the rafters that one end rested on the floor at the window and the other was at the height of a man's waist. Above the drum on the beam was suspended an ox's shin bone. Over the beam on one side were three sheaves of rice and on the other side two. A second priest in yellow robe (not from this village) stood before the drum with two sticks in his hand. Other men and boys sat on a bench in the corner of this room. In the front room on the other side sat several women and their children about a floor fire.

As the priest chanted a male relative from another village who sat in the side room with the drum plaited a bamboo basket. At times the priest beat the drum. After a while three of the older women, two daughters and the daughter-in-law, went out and knelt beside the coffin, singing the lament, every line of which ends in sobs. As they sang the priest killed the chicken with the sword at his side and the drum was rolled. This was the ritual of "opening the way." While the priest was chanting, a male relative brought in a rice steamer and put lengths of straw, pieces of bean curd, and a measure of rice into it. He set it on the foot of the coffin. Another man put a large bowl of water on the tripod over the fire and set the steamer in it. After the priest had killed the chicken he stripped off its feathers and the head together, and gave the body to a man, who took it into the yard and cleaned it, then put it into the bowl under the steamer. The priest cut the two lengths

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of bamboo lengthwise with the sword and cast lots with one pair. The other pair he laid across the top of the steamer. 764

A second, younger man put on the robe and chanted, being prompted, I thought, by the old priest, who now sat in the circle about the fire. As he chanted he poured wine from the bowl into the jar. Then a third man put on the robe and chanted as he dripped wine from the bowl onto the floor at the head of the coffin. By this time the bamboo basket was plaited. A man put cooked rice and bean curd into it. He shredded the meat of the chicken. Still a fourth man put on the robe and chanted. As he did so he dropped bits of the chicken into the basket. The women had gone back to their fire after the chicken was killed. I was invited to eat a meal of rice and bean curd broth with them. Not knowing what was going to happen, I went home. Later I found that the body had been put into the coffin and the coffin sealed, while the women sang the lament again. The next day I saw that the basket with rice, bean curd, and chicken in it, a small, square basket such as they carry lunch in, and the head and feathers of the chicken had been suspended from bamboo poles, stuck in the wall above the head of the coffin at the side of the room.

That first night from dusk until dawn a priest beat the drum and two young men of the village played the *lu sheng*. They stood beside the coffin first facing it, then one in front of the other, and finally facing one another. A few of the young girls of the village stood in the porch and danced.

The morning of the next day I found that two frames had been put up, of which one formed one large and two small arches at the edge of the porch. It was of bamboo covered with branches of cedar and a few paper roses stuck on here and there. In the room another frame formed a small arch to the right of the coffin and a large arch on the left. A solid piece of lattice came down to a table over the foot of the coffin. On the table was placed a red tablet behind a measure of rice covered with white paper. Over the arches inscriptions were written in Chinese and over the coffin on the lattice a single large character. On either side were scrolls with inscriptions on them. In front of the lattice was a

764 square measure of rice with incense sticks in it.

764 That night the young girls, even the tiny
535 ones, of the village and those from other villages who had come to the funeral danced around the room in which the coffin stood. Gradually young men playing the *lu sheng* joined them until there were nine. The little girls soon dropped out and went home to bed. The drum and *lu sheng* were played together, occasionally the drum alone. Some of the beats were on the bone. The rhythm was sometimes steady as if for marching; sometimes with several quick beats (usually six), a rest, and then one; sometimes syncopated, with many beats first on the drum and then on the bone. The dancing was a bouncing with bending of the knees, first on one foot and then on the other. The *lu sheng* players also danced and set the rhythm for the girls, who stood very close side by side in groups moving exactly together. The women of our household dressed me in their tribal costume and told me to go, too. I found the steady beat easy to follow, but not the syncopation, and the girls constantly urged me to be more vigorous. My efforts were almost too much for the solemnity of the old man's son, who was one of the *lu sheng* players. This drum and *lu sheng* playing were repeated for the succeeding three nights from dusk until dawn. During the day some of the small boys played on these instruments. All the Cowrie Shell Miao seemed to be musical and able to play, sing, and dance.

764 During the day men wrote appropriate sentiments in black on white paper and pasted them over the red ones on door and window frames. Banners of checked cloth with similar sentiments on white paper pasted to them were presented by guests as they arrived and someone in the family set them up against the front of the house. As groups of relatives from other villages arrived gunpowder charges or firecrackers were set off. Women in the groups knelt beside the coffin and sang the wailing song. On the third day after her death the most important men and women of the village were invited to a feast. I was included. A pig which one group brought had been killed and the dishes were of fat pork cooked in various ways, dry and fresh bean curd,

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celery, carrots, and lean pork. With the rice was mixed red beans. The women and a group of young men ate outside, the other men in the house. As they ate some of the women put choice pieces in front of them and at the end of the feast the women of the household gave them leaves in which to wrap them and carry them home. After this feast I saw bowls of feast food placed on the table over the foot of the coffin and the red tablet, bearing the same inscription as that later to be put on the gravestone, and which had been set behind the measure of rice covered with white paper, set on top of it. On the fourth day a similar feast was held, to which I was also invited. Between times I was asked to hold a clinic for villagers and guests. For this feast nearly everyone sat around tables in the court and most of the guests were men. Many firecrackers were set off.

Burial took place on the twenty-eighth. After breakfast, which was about nine-thirty, I got there to find that the coffin had been taken out into the yard and set on two benches. The various frames and the drum had been taken down. Before the procession started two priests in yellow robes sat at a table at the foot of the coffin. On the table were four bowls of wine and four of pork in broth and four sets of chopsticks. One of the priests chanted as he dripped wine from one of the bowls onto the ground. A group of women sang the wailing song, kneeling beside the coffin. The chief mourners wore a strip of white cloth around the head, with long ends hanging down the back. The son's widow had her hair hanging down her back for all the time until the day of the funeral, when she wore the cloth as a turban.

As the procession started gunpowder charges were set off, the two trumpets of different lengths known as the *sola* and *lapa* were played, and the grandson knelt down facing the coffin with bamboo sticks wound in strips of frilled white paper in his hands. Young men from other villages were carrying the coffin at first, but those from this village took it from them with a bit of scuffling and laughter. The procession was made up of musicians; several small boys holding bamboo poles with the gift banners suspended from them; the two priests holding umbrellas; the

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two chief men mourners, walking bent over and kneeling at every point where a path entered the one they were traversing, while the women sang the lament and gunpowder charges were set off; the bearers with the coffin; men carrying bundles of faggots, a roll made up of the frame which had been in the room wrapped around a piece of matting such as is used on a bed; men carrying the red tablet, and one carrying a chicken. Two of the women carried a roll of rags and one of the cotton from a comforter, wrapped with an old umbrella.

The procession went out of the village by the path to the south, then around it on the east and to a mound with other graves on it, just a little way northeast of the village. The graves already there were those of her husband's mother and his brother and sister-in-law. These graves had been faced with stones and a large stone tablet had been set up before each one. These bore the name of the deceased — married name in the case of the women, surname and given name in the case of the man — the names of the sons and grandsons who had erected them, and the date of erection.

When they reached the mound the boys set up the bamboo poles with banners on them on the mound. The men in the procession built one fire in the grave and burned much spirit money in it. They built a second fire to the right and a third to the left of the grave. These men kept the righthand fire burning briskly, while the women burned in the lefthand one the rags, the frame, and the mat. The nephew cut down a small tree so that the coffin could be moved from the mound into the grave. One of the priests took the chicken and, standing at the head of the grave, slowly waved it over the grave several times. He drew a little blood from the neck of the chicken with the sword hanging at his side and let it drip at the head of the grave. Then he threw the chicken so that it fell just beyond the foot of the grave. It was not dead and was carried home afterward. The bearers moved the coffin into the grave and laid the beam from which it had been sus-

*See p. 13.

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pended for carrying across the grave, resting on two benches. On the beam they laid a bag with rice in it, two books, and a compass. The local necromancer, a Chinese, took careful reading of the compass and directed that the coffin be moved slightly so as to rest exactly north and south, the foot to the north. The various things were removed. The necromancer took a sickle, said some words, and made menacing gestures with the sickle at the coffin. He also threw clods on it. The chief mourner knelt on the coffin facing its foot. The men pelted him with clods, laughing loudly as they did so. Altogether the funeral seemed to be a mixture of wailing, mostly prescribed, solemn chanting, and festivity. The priest again stood at the head of the grave and chanted, holding the umbrella over himself as he did so. At times he struck the coffin with his free hand.

Men of the family set the jar of wine with a rice bowl over the opening at the head of the coffin and the basket of rice, bean curd and chicken, the square basket, and the head and feathers of the chicken at the foot. Other men were directed to fill in the grave and make a mound over it, sodded at once. In the mound they stuck the old umbrella, handle down, at about where the head of the coffin would be, and a bamboo pole with leaves and white paper streamers they stuck in the center of the mound. At the foot they set the bamboo sticks which the chief mourner had carried and some lighted incense sticks. All the party then went home. There the family served another feast and various priests chanted as they prepared offerings to the spirits of earth, in the same way as at the ritual of opening the way. Those from a distance then returned to their villages. The tripods were taken down on the day of the burial and in front of several houses they set up a pair of water buffalo horns on a millstone, with a spray of thorn and one of rushes between. After the man had died from the kick of a cow[7] a similar arrangement was set up before his house and remained there several months. The grave of the old lady's father-in-law is the main one beyond the

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764 buffalo bullfighting meadow. Some of these graves are set exactly north and south, with the foot to the north — or east and west, with the foot to the east.

Another old lady, aged seventy-six, died just after the rice harvest began and in a comparatively poor household. One morning I went to see what the excitement was there and found her body in ordinary clothing lying on a straw bed by the firepit. (When anyone was seriously ill it was their custom to put him or her on a straw pallet on the floor by the fire, or on a bedstead in that room.) I watched them wash the body and dress it. The son washed the head and hands, the son's wife and another daughter-in-law the rest of the body. Then these two women put on the body her new trousers, the pleated skirt, five blouses, of which the outer one was of orange silk with yellow silk sleeves and band about the neck and down the front, a front apron, three overpieces tacked together, and a belt (see fig. 18, *f*). The blouses were folded surplice toward the left, instead of toward the right, as usual. The turban included the embroidered scarf and was put on very carefully. One daughter-in-law made stockings of white cloth for her. Later men's shoes were added. She wore earrings, two bracelets, and three neck loops of silver.

The designs on overpiece, apron, and turban were all different from those used by the Cowrie Shell Miao women when I was in the village. In design and fineness of work the overpiece resembled that worn by the women of another group of Miao in the *hsien* who called themselves Lao Hei Miao. On the apron the design was rows of birds with wings outspread, birds with wings folded, but as if rising, and a sort of animal, all in white. On the scarf appeared the same birds with medallions, not in close rows as now, but spaced. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that I saw being made, but of the back one a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center; the parts of the figure on the inner strip made a complete cross, instead of being four little converging lines. There were several strips with dog tooth design on them instead of a

764 zigzag. The cross stitch designs were very coarse. Those I saw being made were exceedingly fine. The belt was of the same design, but only half as wide. The colors in the overpiece were soft and beautiful, showing that good dyes had been used in the fine thread. That I saw used faded in a very short time.

After she was dressed the son and daughter-in-law laid her on a mat on the other side of the fire, with a pillow of bundles of straw under her head. The coffin, meanwhile, was set in the main room of the house opposite. The body was carried over by four men, while two others held the mat over it. The men washed their hands after carrying the body over and laying it on the reversed coffin lid. The oldest women of the village, together with several other women — the two daughters-in-law, a granddaughter, and a daughter — ten in all, knelt on either side of the coffin and sang the lament. A piece of white paper was put over the face of the corpse. A bundle of tobacco and two cloths were tucked in, as if suspended from the belt. That evening and the next day women came from other villages. One of the principal ones was her daughter. As they entered the village from the wood they began the lament and continued to sing as they knelt by the coffin.

This time the ceremonies of "opening the way," providing food for the soul's journey and encoffining were held the first part of the night, instead of in the afternoon as in the other case, and the drum and *lu sheng* were played for the remainder of the night. There was no bone above the drum in the side room; instead the drum was sometimes struck on the edge. The chief priest this time was the younger man who had burned spirit money at the foot of the coffin for his aunt. The woman's son and nephew knelt and burned the spirit money this time. First a priest beat the drum as the other priest who was to chant took one of the cloths from the woman's belt, wrung it out of the water in a small tub which the daughter-in-law held, and lightly "washed" all her body and clothing. He then tucked the wet cloth back into her belt. Firecrackers were set off outside.

During the chanting a man fashioned straw into a large square and put it down into a

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water bucket, which he then set in the loft. The priest stunned the chicken by beating its beak with the piece of bamboo he held in his right hand before he killed it. The other priest rolled the drum at this time, and all the women present, more than twenty of them, sang the lament. The daughter-in-law with whom she had lived continued after the others and until she was forced to stop by the other daughter-in-law and led from the room. As a man measured rice from a tray into the cooking vessel, he counted about thirty scoops and then dumped in the rest. The first of the two priests who dripped wine divided the pieces of bamboo to put across the steamer and both threw them on the table as if casting lots. The chief priest told me afterward that the refrain of the chant for "opening the way" — *Tou tseng ou* — meant the destination of the spirit, the "level land of Heaven," in which other Miao groups also believe. The body was also put into the coffin that night and the drum and *lu sheng* were played until dawn. I must confess that, believing the encoffining would not take place until the next day, I went home too soon.

When I got there the next day I saw white paper with inscriptions on it pasted up over the doorways and a white cross of paper on either side of the door frame of each house. A millstone was set on a wooden frame near the house in which the body lay, but without either water buffalo horns or rushes on it. The table was set over the foot of the coffin and on it were placed the red tablet with its inscription, various dishes of food, and the measure of rice with lighted incense sticks in it Her maiden name was Wu. In front of most of the houses of the village was set the tripod with a bamboo scoop on top. Each contained a bowl of rice, chopsticks, bowls of vegetable, mostly soy beans, and various twigs tied with long grass. In one case there was a dry twig, in one a vine, not the thorn alone, as before. That night young men played the drum and *lu sheng* and the girls danced, but not as sedately as before. One man from another village was especially lively and kept teasing the girls.

*Prayer paper.

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At daylight the next morning I heard the priest chanting. A little later the chanting was accompanied by the drum. When I got up I noticed that the table and the articles on it, the rice sheaves, and the coffin had been taken outside. The son's wife was lamenting beside it. Later that morning the burial took place. The son, wearing a peaked white paper cap and holding the prayer sticks, went first through the wood with the gravediggers. Then the procession, led by four women relatives, was formed. Two of them carried the same objects as in the other case. They were followed by the bearers with the coffin, and several villagers with many children. The procession went out of the village by the path to the south and to the grave site in fields belonging to the family, at the foot of the hills to the west. One of the men carried a bundle of faggots, one woman a mat and some comfortable padding, one clothing and an old umbrella. The women wailed as they walked. The men set off firecrackers and shouted. Two sticks with prayer streamers on them, exactly like the *gohei*[8] I saw in Japan, had been set in the fields on either side of the path into the graves.

At the grave, which was in a row with several others, the men built three fires. The one at the right of the grave, facing out from the hill, they kept burning fiercely. In the one in the grave they burned spirit money before the coffin was set in. The third was to the left of the grave. In it the women burned the padding and rags. After the bearers put the coffin into the grave the priest, wearing the yellow robe and holding an umbrella over himself, squatted at the head of the grave. The refrain of his chant was "*Ha ma lou*," meaning "Don't come back!" He also slapped the coffin several times. The daughter and some children threw clods on the coffin and into the hole, which the men then filled in. They sodded the mound and stuck the umbrella into it. The mat was carried home.

A good meal was served at breakfast time, before the burial. At noon there was an ordinary one for the women and a better one, including chicken, for the men. Supper was

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764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 **Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.** The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily. 757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757 I took with me the specifics for the troubles 123 mentioned and these, which a doctor at the Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put
123 it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

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women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages. 165 163

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual. 844 788 791

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground. 788 793

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

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the older man carried a live duck and a bowl of wine, one of the younger men a bag for rice, and the other a staff with leaves and white paper streamers, and a handful of spirit money. The older man chanted as before and kept muttering to himself as he went from one house to another. They told me this was called *sao ho hui.* 788 793

The activities of the priest in connection with death and burial have already been described. The priest also has a part to play in connection with bullfights (see pp. 76–80).

The ritual which Miss Li saw took place just outside of the village in the presence of the baby's father. This priest had before him a bowl of rice and one of wine. In his arm he held a live duck. After he had chanted he set an egg into the bowl of rice, spilled some of the wine, felt in the earth for "the child's spirit, or soul," wrapped up a bit of the earth in a cloth and gave it to the father, who took it and the duck and went home. The child died. 788 755 793

Before the taoist priest chanted, a table was set up before the shrine to the house god in the main hall of the house, partly in and partly out of the pile of unhulled rice lying there. Along the front of the table was the festoon of wooden daggers which usually hung above the door of this house. On the table were one of the priest's sacred books, a banner of white paper in a bamboo stick, a measure of rice with incense sticks in it, several bowls, and some bamboo lots. I had been invited to have supper with them because I had been helping them cut rice that day. While we were waiting for supper to be prepared in the home of the son, next door, we sat in the front side room in which the wife of the head of the house lay on a pallet of straw by the fire. The priest showed me three books from a bagful which he had brought with him. One contained his chants, one charts of the face with points marked on it, and the third explanations of the meaning of the dragon and other sacred things. Before he chanted again he took down a book which he had laid on the woven bamboo shelf above the fire, and placed it on the table. The three books I had been examining he put where the first book had been.

This man was dressed in a pair of loose khaki trousers and an old jersey. As he sang

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788 or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes
facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his
793 right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of
iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked
pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house
788 where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one
755 of these priests was called in on behalf of
793 the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

791 **The Priestess, or Shamaness.** (In Miao,
788 "*mu la*" or "*mo wa.*") There were three
women in the village who were able to go into
755 a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl — chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

* Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

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guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that in his own village he received nothing for his services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*[9] to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them, but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

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her feet never leaving the floor. She began her song, which was interrupted by speaking and action. As she sang, her hands assumed various positions: clasped in her lap close to her body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door — a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks — knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

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I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg

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was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable.

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Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave santonine and calomel. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round, white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side,

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788 and the frame was taken away. She struck
the hatchet down into the firepit between the
755 piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice
to the right ear, once to the left, again to the
791 right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room.[14] This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

[14] See p. 52.

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788 blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She
755 took the bowl in her left hand and poured
791 out some of the water. A bowl of rice was set before her. She poured out a little more of the water, then the remainder, and turned the bowl upside down beside the bowl of rice. The piece of pork was laid between the rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was taken away and the scythe put into her right hand. A small wooden tub with water in it was set near her left hand. She whetted the scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as before, and washed her hands in the tub. A duck's egg was given her, which she set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe five times toward the door. (We had been warned to move just in time.) She put a piece of blazing charcoal into the tub of water, which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from the fire to the door of the house. Again the tub and scythe were brought and used as before. Another egg was given her and set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire was taken to the door — a bundle of blazing spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into her right hand, and, as she swung it back and forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly upside down on the floor at her right the ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,[10] a baby of a year and a half, who had dysentry. Two days before the mother had told me he had a fever. I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin. Then I learned that he had dysentery, and gave her bismuth for him. They told me later that he had not taken it. I do not know whether that meant that he would not take it — it is hard for a child to take, being a powder that does not dissolve easily in water — or whether they did not give it. He developed meningitis and died during the night after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court before the old house water buffalo horns set upright on the stones, with rushes under them. I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

During the morning I saw a spray of thorn tied with rushes lying at the corner of the stable before the new house. Later, and this must have been part of the ceremony, though I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an open space before the house foundation in front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in the ground and went back to the old house. 788 755 791

[63a]

This was like carrying a bundle of burning straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the door and calling the soul to return. When I heard the singing I went into the court and the child's grandmother told me to go in. I thought the old man's second wife protested later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the ceremony.

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[63b]

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DETAILS OF CEREMONY (Speaking and song all in Miao)

Motion of hands	Motion of feet	Singing, and so on
Hanging beside thighs, before bench	Jumping together stiffly, toes not leaving floor	Singing
Right hand raised	" " "	"
Together before knees	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Before knees, but not together	"	Whistle 1 note, singing
On ground twice, fore and middle fingers touching, others under	"	" " " "
	"	Whistle 1 note
Clap once	"	Speaking, whistle, singing
On ground as before	"	Whistle
Hanging, right raised at times	"	Singing
Clap once	"	Speaking
" "	"	Whistle
Taking up pinches of ashes and putting them to right, left, right, left ear	Quiet	Singing, interrupted by two whistles
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Cupped, put down and up as if picking up something	Quiet	"
		Whistle, singing
Repeat; clasped at knees	Quiet	" "
Clap; raise right hand	Jumping	" "
Repeat; cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
(From this point on the head was kept turning from side to side.)		
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Repeat cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
Hanging beside thighs; head still	Jumping	Singing
Clap; repeat; clasped on lap	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, whistle
Clasped	Quiet	" "
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing
Hanging by thighs; clap	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clasped; left raised; clasped	"	"
Left raised; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Clap once	Quiet	Long whistle
Brought together; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Quiet
Hand on ground, as above; head turning	Quiet	Speaking
Clap	"	Whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
On ground, as above	Quiet	Whistle, speaking
Clap once	"	Singing

[63c]

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THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO OF KWEICHOW

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Hanging by thighs; clap once	Quiet	Singing, speaking
R. raised; clasped; hanging by thighs	"	Singing
Clap once; clasped	"	Speaking
R. raised; hanging by thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap and let fall, twice	"	"
Clasped; clap once; clasped	Quiet	Whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing
Right gesturing; clasped	"	Speaking
Before knees, but apart	"	"
Right on ground, as above	"	Whistle, speaking
Clasped at body; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, speaking
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Clasped at body	Jumping	Speaking, singing
Right up; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Right stretched front, thumb and forefinger pinched together	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	"
Clap; hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Repeat twice	"	Singing
Right, left, right raised in turn	"	Long whistle
Clap twice	"	Repeat; singing
Clap 7 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Held straight out to side, fluttering from wrist	" "	"
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Singing
Clap 9 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Held loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clap once	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front; right raised	Quiet	"
Takes up pinches of ashes, tucks in back of belt	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times	"	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle
Right raised; hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 5 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	" "	"
Right raised; clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs; clasped	"	"
Hanging by thighs; clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once	"	"
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Fast jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped; clap once	Quiet	Singing

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THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS

Hatchet put into right hand	Quiet	Speaking
Takes hatchet in both hands	"	"
Strikes hatchet down, then up	"	Singing
Strikes hatchet down into ashes of fire-pit	"	Whistle, singing
Takes up in left hand pinches of ashes, holds to right, left, right, left ear	Squatting	Whistle, singing
Puts pinch of ashes in back of belt	"	Singing
Holds hatchet in right hand	"	Speaking
Lets hatchet fall	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet, then lays it down	"	"

(A piece of meat in a straw loop was offered to her, but she did not take it.)

An egg was given to her, which she set up on end on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet	"	Singing, speaking alternate
Puts hatchet down	"	
Clasp; clap once; clasped	*Mu la*[11] back on bench, quiet	Whistle, singing, speaking
Hanging loosely; clasped	Quiet	Singing, whistle alternate
Right raised; hanging loosely	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	
A hen was given her which she held by its wings with the left hand. With the right she pulled out some down and let it fall into the ashes. Let hen go.	Squatting	Speaking
Repeated, but did not let hen go again	"	Singing, speaking
Hatchet put into right hand	"	Speaking
Almost severed hen's head, holding it on a board placed before her	"	Singing
Put hen in ashes, where it died	"	Singing
	Mu la back on bench	Speaking

(The hen was later made the chief dish of the feast.)

Hanging beside thighs; clap once	Jumping	Singing
Loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Right on ground, as above	"	Singing, whistle alternate; speaking, whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
She was given a small bundle of straw, which she tied in 3 bunches below and 5 above the straw which bound it, then held it in her left hand	Quiet	"

(Meanwhile the old man's first wife had been whittling 3 pieces of wood into the shape of knives, which she now striped black on the handles.)

She set the straw bundle on the floor at her left, and various persons capped the 5 bunches with egg shell	"	Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging loosely in front	Jumping	Singing
Clasped in lap	"	Whistle
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	
She took up bundle with egg shells on it	"	Singing

[11] The Miao word for shamaness.

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THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO OF KWEICHOW

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She took off shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set bundle down at her left	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, speaking
Clasped	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs; right raised	Jumping	Singing
She moved the egg shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set up the straw bundle on the board before her	"	Singing
Clasped	"	"
A lighted bundle of spirit money was given her	Jumping	Whistle, singing alternate
A bowl of rice and one of wine were set before her. Some sprays of cypress from the fire-pit were lighted and three sticks of incense laid across the bowls.	Quiet	Singing
A piece of meat was put before her and a piece of wood in her right hand	Squatting	Speaking
She took the three "knives" in her left hand and let the other fall in two pieces	"	"
She poured out the wine slowly	"	Speaking fast
She turned the bowl upside down	"	" "
Hands hanging loosely	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
(The straw was taken away. The egg had been quietly removed before.)		
Clap 8 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Clasped; hanging beside thighs	Quiet, then jumping	Singing
Clap 8 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once, let fall	"	"
Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(The chicken and hatchet were taken away.)		
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap twice	"	"
(Before her are now the upturned bowl with two pieces of wood on it, one with incense sticks across it, and the three knives, with a bowl back of them.)		
Clap twice	Quiet	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap; raise right hand	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	Singing, speaking, whistle, speaking, whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
(The feathers were taken from the fire-pit.)		
Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely, then clasped; repeat	Quiet	Singing

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THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS

Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(A branch of bamboo and a stick were placed in the ashes.)		
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 6 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle, singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
(An egg was placed at her right. The scythe was brought and the board taken away.)		
She took the scythe and sharpened it on the edge of the little tub of water. She set it up on the hearth handle down, took it up, and moved the ashes in the fire-pit	Squatting	Speaking
She took up pinches of ashes, put them to her ears as before and into the back of her belt	Squatting	Singing
She was given an egg, which she set up on end	"	Speaking
Clap once	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
(Ashes were put into the water in the tub; it was taken away.)		
She threw the scythe twice, almost to the door	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 6 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet, then jumping	Singing, whistle
She took the bamboo branch in her left hand	Quiet	Speaking
She laid it aside	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle, alternate
Clasped	Quiet	Repeat thrice
Hanging at side; right raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
(Another bamboo branch was brought.)		
With her left hand she set it on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking, singing, whistle
(A lighted stick was held under the branch.)		Blowing
She shook the branch		Speaking
(A piece of blue cloth was held under the branch, which was shaken as lighted sticks were held under it.)		Whistle, singing
(More sticks were lighted and used thus.)		
She shook the branch again		Singing
(Sticks were used as if looking for something fallen from the branch.)		
Clap once; then hanging loosely	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Holding edge of bench	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	Quiet	" "
(Another branch was brought and used as before. Two or more women looked for something and when it was found in rolled-up leaves, they wrapped it in the cloth and took it away. Much concern was shown about this and much care taken to insure getting something.)		
Clasped	Quiet	Singing

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Another egg was brought; she set it up on end	Squatting	Speaking
Clasped	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
She broke a leafless bamboo branch and put it into the ashes	Quiet	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	"	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	" "
Another chicken was brought, from which she took more feathers and put them into the fire	Squatting *Mu la* back on bench	Speaking
Out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely	"	Singing
Clap once; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
She tied a string to the leg of the chicken	"	Singing
Out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely	Quiet	Singing, speaking
She put pinches of ashes to her ears as before	Squatting	" " , alternate
An egg was brought; she set it on end	"	Speaking
Clap once; hanging beside thighs	*Mu la* back on bench, feet jumping	Singing
Clap 10 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clasped	Quiet	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 12 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Right on ground, as before	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
She put a pinch of ashes at back of belt	Quiet	"
Clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 15 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Right on ground, as before	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	Squatting	"
She picked up the hatchet and struck it on the hearth, then in the ashes. She took up pinches of ashes as before, and held them to her ear, then put a pinch in her belt	*Mu la* back on bench	Speaking, singing
She held the piece of meat over the ashes, then put it in them	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	*Mu la* back on bench	"
Resting on bench	Jumping	Singing
(The piece of meat was taken out.)		
Clap 4 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent

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Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clap 9 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
(The scythe and tub were brought.)		
She whetted the scythe, as before; set it on end, handle down; stirred the ashes with it; took up pinches of them, put them to her ear and in her belt.	Squatting	Silent
She tried to set the egg up on end, but failed	"	Singing
She threw the scythe 3 times	*Mu la* back on bench	Speaking
Resting on bench	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(Ashes were put in the water in the tub. It was taken away.)		
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing a long time
Clap once	"	Calling "Mu la"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle
(The egg was taken away.)		
She set her hand to swinging as if holding a bowl. In some confusion someone noticed the omission and supplied one hurriedly from those on the tray.		Singing, calling "Mu la"
She set the bowl upside down on the ground.		

[69a]

788 I had arrived after the ceremony began. On
755 the hearth before her was a partly burned
791 bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

[69b]

788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken
755 by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
791 nan, until money should be sent to him for traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of the three.

[342]

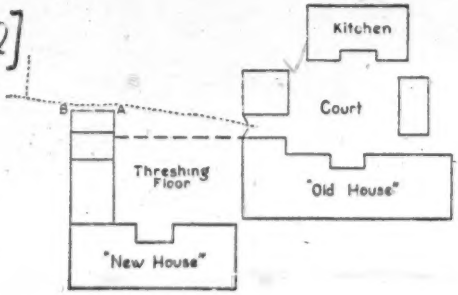

FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

[69c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 She had already begun to sing when I was
755 called in from helping with the sunning of grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame
791 of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

788 quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She
755 had a graceful motion of lifting the hand be-
fore the face and turning the palm upward, or
791 with the thumb slightly raised.

A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the *sheng* measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers, and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

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788 and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied
755 over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on her back. She threw the axe as the others had
791 thrown the scythe. A basin of water was brought so that she might wash her hands.

A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up – except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

[22] Graham, 1937, p. 90.

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from the wrist, clapping them before her, then raising the left hand before her face. Once she bent over double as she held her hands behind her and fluttered them. When she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

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Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamanesses in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after a funeral was guest at a meal in another home, to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

> When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.[27]

[71b]

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RITES OF INTENSIFICATION[1]

CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS

796 527 **The Lunar New Year.** Preparations for the period of leisure and festivity of which the lunar New Year was the central point began soon after the rice harvest. Glutinous rice cakes, some stuffed with beans, some made of the black rice, some colored red, but almost all white, rice wine, bean curd, pork in various forms, and sometimes beef had to be made ready not only for the feasts of the first month, but also for weddings, bullfights, and all occasions known as "invitations to drink wine." Of the weddings I saw or knew about all took place between the sixth of the tenth month and the eighteenth of the second month. Bullfights took place on the second day of the second month and in the eighth and ninth months.

They had to bring in a large supply of fuel, also, not only for the first fifteen days of the first month, at least, when as little work was done as possible, but also for the large amount of cooking involved in the making of these special foods. As many had new clothes as could afford them. This called for the dyeing of pieces of white cloth to a very dark blue, the cutting and making of garments, the embroidering of aprons and overpieces, the weaving of belts, and the making of pads for the babies. Clothing and bedding were washed wholesale so that no one need think of that for two or three weeks after the New Year. The whole village was put in order.

796 252 527 For the glutinous rice cakes the hulled rice was boiled to a stiff paste, which was then put into a large stone mortar and pounded with large, wooden mallets on long handles until it was of the right consistency to shape. If beans were to be put inside, they were boiled with herbs or ginger and salt to season them and the paste wrapped around them. Some liked a thin shell of paste, some a thicker one. For the pounding of the paste two strong men were needed; women did the rest. Freshly made cakes could be eaten as they were, for

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

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796 the cooking and pounding heated them and
they had not yet become stiff and hard. At
252 this stage they were also good cut in pieces
527 and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in
brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame
seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually
toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest
the air dry them out too much they were kept
in large jars full of water. When they formed
the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable
mixed with much red chillie was eaten with
the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice
were greatly prized because not much of this
grain was raised and it was sweeter than the
white. Red ones were liked because red is
the color of joy.

796 One morning I went into the kitchen and
found the old man's first wife and the second
273 nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden
527 cask with no top or bottom had been set,
large end down, in one of the large kettles
over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the
old lady's task to keep just the right fire going
under it. Sawdust was packed around the
lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been
put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl
with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam.
From a hole in one side of the cask ran a
length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen
jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth
to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was
a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This
equipment was owned by this household and
borrowed by others when there was occasion
to make a large supply. New wine was sweet
and had some rice in it. Later it became sour
or strong of alcohol.

796 Bean curd was made as follows: The soy
beans and water were dipped with a small
252 wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in
527 the upper of two millstones set on a wooden
frame at a convenient height. From between
the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a
trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

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anything added to cause it to curdle. The mill was turned in one of two ways: Either a wooden handle stuck up beside the upper millstone so that one operator had to lean over to turn it, or a curved beam rose from the rod in the side of this stone and had a handle at right angles to it, supported by a rope from the beam above. One or two persons pushed and pulled this around. I helped when they were making bean curd at the time of the second old lady's funeral. A hot fire of straw and grass was kept burning beneath one of the large bowls. Into it the operator of the mill poured the contents of the buckets of bean milk until it was full. When the milk had boiled up it was poured into a wicker tray or scoop with a cloth in it, set over a wooden cask. When the whey had gone through, hastened by some pressure on the cloth, the cloth was laid on a flat board and the curd cut into squares.

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The killing of the New Year pig was the occasion of an offering to the household gods and a feast in which all the dishes contained pork. In our family it was killed a week before New Year's Day. The old man's brother from Yang-niu-ts'un and his son, who went to school in Lung-li, the old man from House 33, and his sons helped. When I arrived a small table was set on the steps before the door. In the center of it was a *sheng* measure of rice with lighted incense sticks set in it, and at each corner a rice bowl containing (1) wine, (2) bean curd, (3) chillies, and (4) salt. To one corner of the table were fastened two long bamboo poles, both of which had some strips of white paper and leaves at the top. One was split finely to make a holder in which a bowl was set. The pig killed was a large one, worth well over a thousand Chinese dollars. The blood had been allowed to drip into a tub, after which the carcass had been put on a wooden frame, and the bristles scraped off. The entrails had been taken out and were being washed. The animal had been cut squarely in two from snout to tail. The two parts of the pig were taken into the hall and set on boards on the floor. They were then weighed and the women took pieces to make the dishes of the feast. The one I attended was of the following dishes: pig's blood broth, carrots and pork, celery and pork, and a soup

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of fat and lean pork, with a seasoning of chillies. All but the old man drank wine. I was invited to eat with the men and boys. The other women ate in the hall. After the feast the pig was cut up and the relatives went home with a big piece of it and two bunches of carrots. They gave me a piece of lean and a piece of fat.

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The next day there was mist everywhere and it became colder and colder until there was ice all over the mountains, bending the bamboo down to the ground. It was thick enough on rice fields so that the children cut slabs of it and carried them about. There was also some snow. This weather pleased the people very much. They said it meant that the crops would be good this year. Mo-mei spent most of these days making a new long garment for her oldest cousin as she sat by my fire. Some of the other girls were there one day, and on another, one of the women from House 11 came.

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The oldest nephew, Cheng-hsüan, and the son Cheng-hsiang spent most of the last day of the twelfth month writing appropriate New Year inscriptions in black on red or orange, and in white on blue paper. They got these formulae from a book of them. These strips of paper were pasted on the door frames and window frames, top and both sides. Red or orange indicated that the family was not in mourning, blue or white that it was. Those on blue paper Cheng-hsüan sent to his old home in Yang-niu-ts'un, as his mother had died during the year. (Cause of death: heart disease with edema.) That evening a feast was held in the big house at which the dishes were of pork — several of them — "long life noodles," bean curd, and a kind of spoon bread with egg in it. There were piles and piles of glutinous rice cakes laid out in the hall, and two young men were pounding more of the paste in a mortar. Some of the cakes had beans in them. I had given the family a large roll of firecrackers, half of which they set off at this time. The small boys scrambled for the paper cases. Incense sticks were set in at one side of the door sills of both the "new" and the "old" houses and the gate into the court.

The next morning they set off the rest of the roll of firecrackers and all had a special

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796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
552 before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
[124] pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
527 then other things in turn. I sat until noon with the old man and his second wife and found them very ready to answer questions about family history. The conversation led into that channel in an interesting way. The old man had been reading about Roosevelt in the newspaper and asked me questions, being most desirous of knowing whether there were many people named Lo in the United States. (The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
527 lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual place, but they had no visitors as yet. During the day children went around from house to house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
533 fires in the houses, the women about several
527 fires at certain points in the village and just inside the wood. The same women usually composed each group, but now and then one would visit a group not her own. The girls now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'
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[2] See p. 8.

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527 796 292 123 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 574 527 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 796 527 **San Yüeh San.**[3] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[3] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

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were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine. 796 782

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village. 527

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter. 796 527 769

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves – roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5-17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

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put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking.

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Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.[5] This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice — yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn.

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Tuan Yang.[6] In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21–June 4.)

[6] The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

[75b]

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796 527 Lung Hui.[7] For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

796 541 Bullfights (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.[8] The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, *f*). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

[7] "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 the fights were going on a large group of
541 men brought their caged thrushes together in one place to hear them sing against one another.

For this occasion both young men and young women wore very good clothing, new if possible. There were not many married women present. Two girls wore a silver ornament on the back of the overpiece (fig. 17, *c*), consisting of silver chains of beads to one silver cowrie shell, then to three, and then to five silver bells of various shapes. These made a fine tinkling as they walked. Two girls were dressed in the layers of colored blouses with embroidered pieces on the upper sleeves and silver disks covering the whole overpiece, trousers, and aprons, but not the pleated skirt. Several wore the fancy scarf on the turban. Two young men played the *lu sheng* at intervals during the afternoon.

The fights lasted from about ten o'clock in the morning to late afternon, when the guests went to the nearby villages. For much of the night the girls and young men played the *lu sheng*, talked and sang. The next day they went home, but the fights were held for three successive afternoons. I was invited to spend two weeks in Yang-niu-ts'un with relatives of those from Yang-chia-sai.

Another was held on this same field early in the eighth month of the lunar calendar. On the tenth, one was held at Hsin-ch'ang, a market town a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un. It took place in a level space just outside the village, with the road leading into the village crossing it well to one side. There were two slopes here, also. Only a few people stood on the west one, though they were joined by others as the sun came lower. It was a very hot day. Each group of villagers had flags of white with a design which faintly resembled a dragon on them, and staves topped with a rosette of white chicken feathers and other rosettes of colored paper at intervals along them.

We were early enough this time for the ceremony of *ta ch'ang*. This was a procession consisting of groups of men, including one or two in the orange or yellow robes of the

*The opening ceremony.

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priest. One priest led the bull, one man had a gong, one a long stick upon which was festooned a long, lighted string of firecrackers, two trumpets, and several villagers the banners and staves. Most of the bulls were covered with bright cloths of various colors or with red ribbons. The procession followed the foot of the hill upon which we stood, went around a clump of trees well beyond it, along the foot of the opposite hill, around the whole village and back to the field, where the bulls were divested of their finery and the banners and staves were set up in their former places. The "field" was thus defined as a plowed part which had been somewhat leveled off, one sodded and more level, some land on either side of the stone road leading into the village, and the village itself. As the procession moved nine gunpowder charges were set off twice at each end of the plowed section.

At this fight there was no gong when a fight was to be held, but a group of men with bamboo staves in their hands went to invite two bulls at either end of the field to be led on. It was so hot that only one really good fight took place. Most of the bulls just looked at one another as if to say, "Well, what do you think of that thing!" and then looked away. Sometimes one at once turned and ran.

It was market day at Hsin-ch'ang and those who attended the market also watched the fight. For the occasion even the little girls wore their best. This included the embroidered scarf on the turban showing the design on the edge, silver on the overpiece up to a maximum, which was the whole front and shoulder pieces covered with silver disks, large and small, four-petalled flowers of cowrie shells in the back with rows of shells suspended from them in two tiers, and a silver ornament consisting of chains, shells, and bells. It must have represented a goodly sum of money, as it could be bought only with real silver in the lump or Chinese silver dollars. Dr. Wu, in his account of the fight and sacrifice held each twelfth year, the initial one of a cycle, or "the year of the rat," speaks of a bullfight as a harvest festival coming after the harvest, when the period of relaxation begins, but this particular fight came right in the midst of harvest when the villagers were at their busiest.

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Two other fights I saw were held on the tenth of the ninth month of one year and the nineteenth of the ninth month the next year, at the meadow just outside Yang-chia-sai. Just before the first one we had been having bad weather for some time and, while it did not rain that day, it was still gray, misty in the valleys, and wet under foot. There was also a cold northeast wind. Therefore, fewer came than would have been the case had the weather been fine and the roads dry. The crowd seemed to be composed mostly of Chung-chia and Chinese from neighboring villages, with only a few visiting Cowrie Shell Miao. The audience filled the rise of ground with grave mounds on it to the east of the field. Sellers of noodles, nuts, candy, and wine occupied a piece of ground nearby.

Before the fights began a table was set up in the middle of the field and the usual objects of worship set upon it: a measure of rice with candles and incense sticks set in it, bowls of wine, and so on. The priests, of whom there were five, bowed to the ground before it before the *ta ch'ang* procession took place. After the procession it was removed and a cluster of lighted incense sticks was stuck in the ground at that place until they burned down. The procession consisted of five boys bearing large red banners on bamboo poles, a group of musicians, the five priests in orange silk robes, of whom the first carried a horn of wine which he spilled as he walked. The others carried umbrellas. After them came men with firecrackers and gongs and the gayly decked bulls, each led by one man. Some bulls without trappings did not go in the procession. This one followed the road to the south, around the group of Chinese houses and the temple, coming back to the highway along the wood, thence to the Tu Ti Miao, and onto the field, where they disbanded. The larger element of worship may have been due to the presence of important ancestral graves near by. However, this may have taken place at the Hsin-ch'ang field. I could not see what took place about a table there.

There were about a dozen bulls at the Yang-chia-sai fight and the fights were about as usual — some acted bored, one or two ran right off the field, two stampeded toward the

796 sellers of food, and there were one or two
541 really good fights. The banners were washed next day, and kept by our family.

The day of the fight held at the same place on the nineteenth of the ninth month of the following year was a bitterly cold one. So few bulls were brought that there was no procession. There was a larger group of Cowrie Shell Miao there than on the former occasion, however, because a young man in the village had just been married and the large group of wedding guests from other villages was still there. Several of the village girls put on their best clothes. There was one stam-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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pede into the sellers of sweetmeats which created much excitement and amusement, but no harm was done. Two bulls fought extremely well. Even after one bull had run off the field the other pursued him and continued the fight in a rice field until one of them had had enough and ran again. After the fights a feast was held at the home of the bridegroom, to which they invited me. The bride and her attendants and the bridegroom had already gone back to her village. Some of the guests sat at tables outside, but there was a group of men in one house and a group of the principal women guests in the other. I was asked to eat with them.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Bullfighting Among the Cowrie Shell Miao*

DR. WU TZU-LIN**

796 541 Bullfighting among the Cowrie Shell Miao is a part of ancestral worship. Originally it was an act in the great sacrifice when they killed a bull to pay reverence to their ancestors, doubtless so that the ancestors might see that only the value of a bull was sufficient to express their respect for so important a divinity. In the economy of an agricultural village, to kill a bull every year is an impossibility because of poverty, so that among the Cowrie Shell Miao each *tzu* year the wealthy do it once, and it is called *ta*. Between two such sacrifices there must be an interval of eleven full years, but in these eleven years they must do much in the way of preparation. First, the selection of the bull is an especially important thing. Bulls which clash horns must be male water buffalo, and their physique and the form of their horns are all extremely important. Besides, they pay special attention to the feeding of the bull. The daily work of the bull is comparatively light, the food, however, comparatively rich. Until almost the time of the duel what they eat is special, so that the bulls selected to fight are reared to be large, fat, and, of course, quite unlike those used for plowing.

Bullfights are all conducted in the ninth or tenth month of the Chinese calendar. On the one hand, of course, it is a token of remembrance of the ancestors; on the other, it is a kind of ritual pastime at a comparatively short interval after harvest. Having worked all year, in their big meeting on this day they forget all their troubles. So, although the formal sacrifice of killing a bull must come at intervals of eleven years, really the two or three pre-

*From an article in a local newspaper in Kweiyang, 1940.

ceding the sacrifice are all a preliminary to the fight. Thus, in ordinary years, while the bullfight is little like *the* fight, yet sometimes it has a period of preliminary offering. The elders of the villages used to make their decision and, about Ch'ing Ming, send a notice inscribed on a tablet of wood to villages within a radius of ten li to make their selection. In recent years instead of wood they use the red scroll and write on it, "Having fixed such and such a day of such and such a month, we hope each relative or friend who has a bull will come and bring it. So and so respectfully gives notice."

The arena for the fight is a piece of level land near a village or a rice field trampled smooth after water has been put upon it. Before the fight, at about nine in the morning, all the families lead the bulls to the field and, after they have assembled begin a *fu ch'ang* ritual. Each family makes the bull go around the boundary of the arena, with the body of the bull covered with red cloth and red silk given by relatives and friends. Wealthy people also put on the tips of the horns a sheath of silver three to four inches long. The priest puts on a yellow robe and, carrying in his hands a bull's horn full of rice wine, follows the bull, from time to time pouring wine on the path. A man following strikes a gong and another sets off firecrackers to add dignity. This is the first act of the fight.

From noon to three in the afternoon is the actual time of bullfighting. At the field the elders of the villages take charge. They also appoint a man as master of ceremonies, who roughly selects bulls of

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

equal body and horn points and matches them as fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop.

As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second act of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone—first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*. 796 782

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example. 796 782 252 [562]

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health. 796 782 527

796 After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be
782 preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always
have ten or more pair put away. After an old per-
527 son in the family dies all the families who have
them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set
it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

[80a]

796 luck until after burial, when it is put away. After
782 the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they
527 must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This sign then can be observed from a great distance.

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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

000 FIGURES 13–20

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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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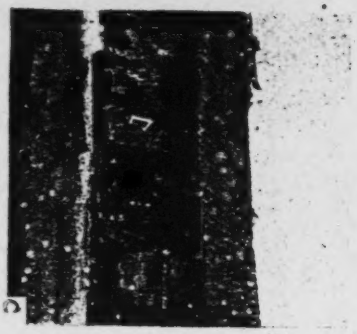

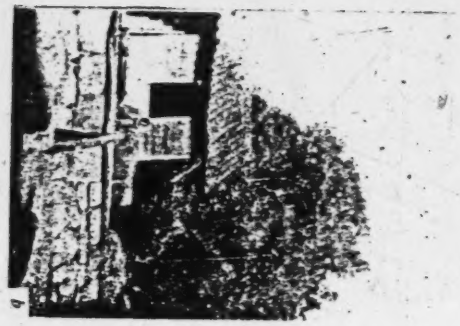

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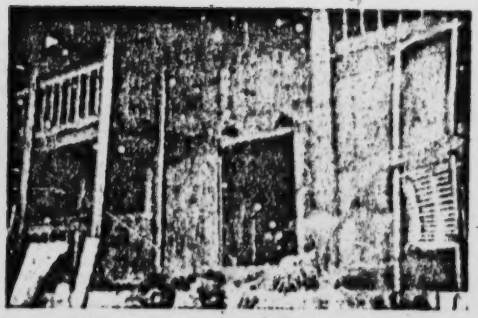

a, House under construction; *b*, Granary – small child by door, stone foundation used as threshing floor with spread mats. *c*, Village house, showing rolled mat on threshing floor and bundles of faggots lying against the house. *d*, Women sitting on the edge of the foundation, granary and plow in the background. *e*, Front of "new house," showing sheaves of rice, clothes drying, sedan chair, mats with grain drying on threshing floor. *f*, House in Yang-niu-ts'un, showing sedan chair and balconies – not a typical house.

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4-Mickey E-5 (1960-71)M7 ASF M1-60 AES

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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[87a]

[For captions, see p. 87b. -- Analyst]

4-Michey E-6 (1940-?) 1947 AES Misc AES

a, Stone road which leads to the pass at the highest point between the motor road and the village, showing women carrying grass. *b*, Approach to village, showing the stone road. *c*, View of the valley from the hills in the east, showing the setting of the village and the terraced rice fields. *d*, The stone road in the valley.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 M120 AE6

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[88a]

[For captions, see p. 88b.--Analyst]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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a, Family and friends setting out the rice plants. *b*, Man plowing, wife spreading night soil. *c*, Women setting out rice plants. *d*, Girls bundling plants in the field. *e*, Women bringing up water with bucket from the pond.

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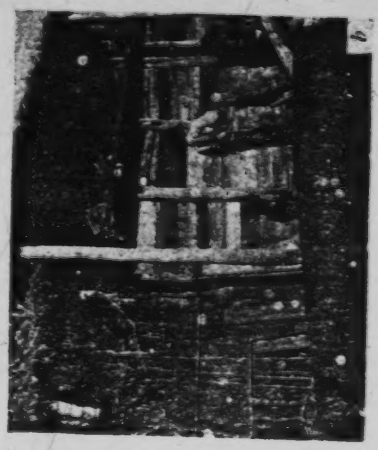
Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5



[For captions, see p. 89b. -- Analyst]

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

a, Man on the dike casting rice into the flooded seed beds. *b*, Woman hulling rice, showing rice-hulling machine. *c*, Woman cleaning rice (background), person behind pouring rice from basket into hopper, and in foreground a person pouring rice on a mat. *d*, Woman flailing grain on a threshing floor. *e*, People going through the village bearing rice plants from the seed beds to permanent fields. *f*, Preparing paddy for market by filling baskets and bags, showing grain-cleaning machine, baskets, and mats.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AES Misc AES

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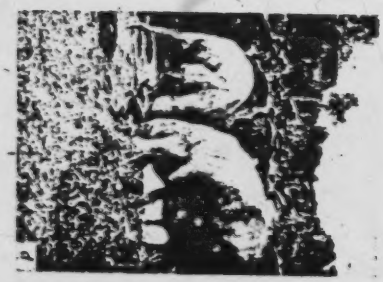

[For captions, see p. 90b. -- Analyst]

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-71)1967 AES Misc AES

a, Two women of the village following the path across the buffalo bullfighting meadow. b, Men on the bullfighting field, procession in the background. c, Back view of girls viewing bullfight, showing silver ornaments, embroidery band, and turbans. d, Bulls actually fighting. e, Group of men at bullfight with caged thrushes. f, Bulls fighting and spectators, showing group of men with staves.

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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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[For captions, see p. 91b.
--Analyst]

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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a, The *lu-sheng*. *b*, The *lu-sheng*, showing men dancing as they play the instrument. *c*. Old woman in ragged clothing. *d*, Two school boys before the shrine to the local deity at the south of the village. *e*, Woman winding bobbins from the ball in a tub of water, one of the priests is behind her. *f*, "Old Black" Miao, showing embroidery like that on the old woman's body at burial (see p. 56).

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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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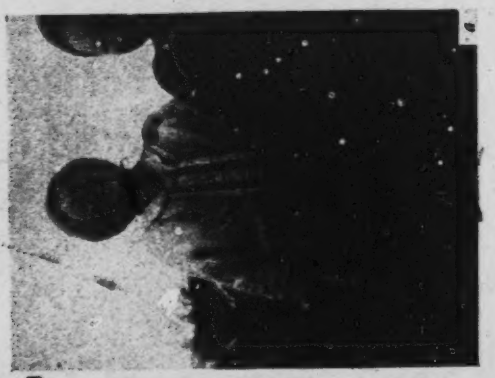

[For captions, see p. 92b.
--Analyst]

a, Two jolly village girls. *b*, Girl in village. *c*, Girls wearing everyday working clothes. *d*, "Old Black" Miao girls at market. *e*, Three little cousins standing before the entrance to a house in Yang-niu-ts'un —Mo-mei in background. *f*, Four brothers of a family in Yang-niu-ts'un.

4-Michey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AES Misc AES

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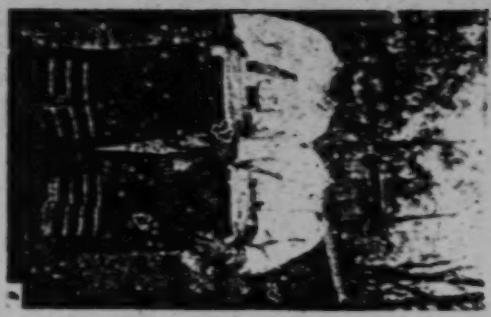

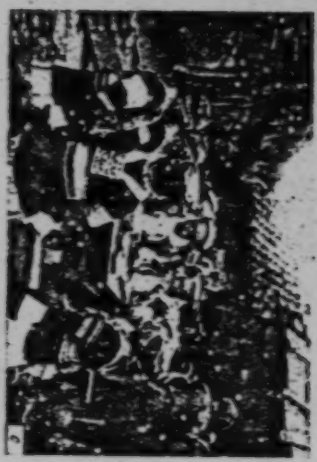

[For captions, see p. 93b. -- Analyst]

©Mickey B-6 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

a, d, Two village girls, showing turban and clothes which are usul only on occasion. *b*, Two of the "White" Miao. *c, e*, bride and her attendants, and women guests at feast at her home, showing the special turban and cerentonjal dress worn only by the bride and her attendants at her wedding.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 530

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

STONE-GATEWAY
AND
THE FLOWERY MIAO

BY

Samuel Pollard's Colleague, Successor and Friend,

WILL H. HUDSPETH, M.A.

"A little one shall become a thousand
and a small one a strong nation;
I the Lord will hasten it, in its day."

LONDON:
THE CARGATE PRESS,
HOLBORN HALL, E.C.1.

p. 3]

[pp. 1 and 2 contain no textual material].

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Frontispiece

REV. WILLIAM H. HUDSPETH

(IN MIAO COSTUME)

[Facing p. 3]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Printed in Great Britain by Wyman & Sons, Ltd.,
London, Fakenham and Reading

[p.4]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

This book
is dedicated to
the memory of
SAM POLLARD AND FRANK DYMOND
who fifty years ago sailed for China
and to
the Band of Preachers
(Miao, Nosu and Chinese) who in Yunnan and
Kweichow have lived and died for the good news.

China Bible House,
38, Hongkong Road,
Shanghai.
January, 1937

[p. 5]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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CHAPTER I

WHO ARE THE FLOWERY MIAO?

101 175 WHEN the first Chinese inhabitants came from the West, they encountered a half-savage population whom they were frequently compelled to fight. One of these races, the Miao-tzu, is still to be found in several provinces of China. The name means "Shoots", i.e., sons of the soil, and was probably given by the invaders. Originally nomads and hunters, the Miao-tzu have now settled in the mountain districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, in Western and Southern Szechuan, Hunan, Kuang-tung and Kwangsi, where they cultivate the soil and hunt whatever prey may be found. Divided into a great many tribes, numbering, it is said, more than fifty, they are often called, from the colour of their dress, Black Miao, White or River Miao, Red Miao, Magpie Miao, West-of-the-water Miao and Flowery Miao. All the Miao people look back to a common ancestor chieftain Ch'ih-Yu, who was defeated by the Yellow Emperor of China at a date prior to the days when Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan. Of Ch'ih-Yu these aboriginals still

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101 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary
175 defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these
262 that this book is mainly concerned. All are
[241] agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of large numbers of the people. They can usually afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers, the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government, and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour- [624]
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task. The women have very much more work to do than men. They weave the clothes, carry the water, collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress. A man wears sandals, which he himself has made, – short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a loose-fitting upper garment which is between a jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth. The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and, scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must [834] be recorded that though married women expose their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women 292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after 302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after 301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men, as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear- 292 rings, and on gala occasions every one, man or woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and harmonises beautifully with the mountains on which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary to be presented with a gala gown. English friends are highly amused when they are told that such a gown was grown in a village garden. Like Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet, the woollen texture is made from wool sheared from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is obtained from plants and roots gathered on the hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music. 534 The musical instrument par excellence is the *ggeh* which is played by the young men, who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A *ggeh* is made of bamboo pipes,

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[Photo by F. Deaville Walker

A NOSU VILLAGE

[Facing p. 13]

from four to six being let into a piece of hollowed 534
wood, the handle of this forming the mouthpiece. The sound, which is something like that of bagpipes, is produced by brass reeds fixed into the tubes which are of different lengths. Tunes played on these instruments seem weird and monotonous to the Westerner but they play a dangerous part in the life of the young people. When, on moonlight nights, pipers come to the outskirts of a village the music is irresistible to the girls, who go out to the players, and after posture-like dancing and antiphonal singing spend the night in their company. It is not unheard of for a mother to encourage her own fourteen-year-old daughter to go out to these youths. Human nature can sink very low.

The Miao are yellow-skinned and broad-nosed; 141
they are of short stature and have straight black hair. Occasionally one meets with a boy or girl whose hair is reddish and such children are unpopular. Like the Chinese the Miao language is tonal and [193]
mono-syllabic; in every other respect it is entirely 194
different. Happily their language is more easily learnt than Chinese, though the tones are quite as confusing. As an illustration, take a word which we would spell with the letters D and A. Pronounced with what scholars would term an upper even tone "*da*" means "to drag", "to seize"; pronounced with an ascending tone "*da*" means "to kill", with a departing tone "to come", with a lower even tone "to die" or "to kick". It will be readily understood how bewildering such a language can be.

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds. The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment,
342 since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

low stools, not more than four inches high, and 352
close at hand is an article of furniture which serves as a table, though it would be flattering to call it by that name. Arranged by the side of the walls are a grain bin, a cistern or tub in which the drinking water is kept, a contrivance which serves as a bed, a large iron pan for cooking and other purposes, and innumerable odds and ends which to you would appear useless but to the owner are valued family possessions. On rudely contrived shelves or in a roughly made cupboard are several earthenware or wooden basins with primitive chopsticks and spoons. You will notice the loom, which is 286
as primitive as that used in the days of the Biblical Pharaohs. It will interest you and you will wish to examine the framework, the warp beam, lease rods, shed stick, heddle-rod, cloth beam and unfinished fabric. Happily it is not a fixture and can be moved outside the house, so that the weary housewife can weave in the sun. For the most part the articles enumerated, together with bundles of clothes, form the whole household possessions of a Miao family. The tragedy of these mud huts 342
is not so much the poverty as the ugliness and the absence of cleanliness. The missionary often has to sleep in a house such as this, and when his bed has been set against the dividing wall, if this has been made of wattle as it frequently is, some animal will push his head through a hole in the partition to have a look at the stranger.

Miao salute one another with great cordiality, 576
men greeting men, and women, women, by rubbing

576 one another's left shoulder and asking "*Dieh zao nioh gioh?*"—"Are you well?" An adult greets children by rubbing or patting his or her head. The form of farewell is (the host) "Go slowly, go slowly" (the parting guest) "Sit slowly, sit slowly". They are wonderfully hospitable and guests are expected to eat to satisfy. How often the traveller sees them stuff away basin after basin of maize until he fears there will be a terrible accident! People will go short themselves so that visitors be generously treated. Should a guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and cooked—it is not always meticulously clean—and upon the departure of the guest a leg of the animal is always given to him. A non-observance of this custom would be a serious breach of good manners, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor. Hospitality is as characteristic of them as of the Arab, and a Miao will borrow food to entertain a guest. Though poor, thriftless and no lovers of fighting, they are simple and generous, honest and lovable. One of the child races of the world, they are as old as the Chinese, and when Moses led the children of Israel through the wilderness, the Miao were hunting wild beasts on their beloved hills and at the close of day their bards would sing a Miao version of the Creation, the Flood, and the Re-population of the World; and story-tellers would narrate quaint legends which have been handed down to this generation. Here is one. Would not Kipling have enjoyed it?

574 181

773 539 Long, long ago, instead of there being only one

sun in the skies, there were six, and in those days the world was beautifully warm. One year, however, the rain refused to come and by degrees all vegetables and trees were withered. A meeting of the old men was held to discuss what could be done. One man said this and another that until it was finally decided that the suns must be shot. A famous archer called Yang Yah was called and ordered to shoot the suns. Bringing his cross-bow and arrows, Yang Yah looked up at the suns and observed they were a long distance away. Fortunately, near by, there was a small lake in which all six suns were reflected and the happy thought came to Yang Yah that if he could shoot the reflections the same purpose would be served as hitting the suns themselves. Adjusting an arrow and taking careful aim, he released the trigger and hit sun number one right in the centre, upon which sun number one promptly disappeared. He shot a second arrow and sun number two disappeared, and so on with suns number, three, four and five, but as Yang Yah adjusted his arrow to shoot sun number six, this sun became vastly afraid and away it went beyond the horizon. The next morning—well, really there wasn't a next morning, as the sun refused to come out and day after day darkness was upon the face of the earth. To bring water from the springs people had to carry torches, and to plough the land, lights were suspended from the horns of the cows. What was to be done? A second gathering of the old men of the tribe was held; once more one man suggested this and another

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suggested that, until finally it was proposed that some one should call to the sun and ask him to come out, assuring him that no one would shoot him. But how were they to call to the sun? It was thought that a tiger would be able to do this rather well; so one was brought and loudly it roared. "Dear me!" thought the sun, "the people are still angry with me, I won't go out yet." Then some one wondered whether it wouldn't be a good thing to use a cow to call to the sun. The lowing of a cow is far-reaching and yet not so frightening as the roar of a tiger. So a cow was brought and loudly it lowed. "Aha!" thought the sun, "they are not quite so displeased with me as they were, but they are still angry; so I won't go out yet." Then some one had the happy idea of using a cock; the crow of a cock is far-reaching yet pleasing, and being placed on a perch, it crowed lustily. "What a very nice sound that is," thought the sun, "I'll just look out to see what is happening," and he peeped over the horizon. People were so pleased to see him that they shouted for joy. The sun was quite as delighted as the people, and from the red of the morning he fashioned a little comb which he placed on the head of the cock. Now every morning, before the sun comes out, the cock crows to tell him it is all right, no one will shoot him.

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CHAPTER II

IN THE SLOUGH OF DESPOND

Pictures of the People

THE Miao do not live alone. They are close neighbours of Chinese and of another tribe, the Nosu. 174

The Nosu (pronounced No-soo) are not illiterate as the Miao. They have a written language represented by some three thousand different words and are a fine, tall race, with a comparatively fair complexion. Probably of Aryan origin, they are distinct from the Chinese in language, customs and character. There is a stretch of hill country in the South of Szechuan where they still live under their own chiefs and are independent of Chinese rule. As to their religion, the Nosu worship nature, and have a great fear of evil spirits.

The Nosu of this story are under Chinese domination and are rapidly imbibing Chinese culture and civilisation.

For several generations the Flowery Miao, harried and dispossessed of their land, have been the shuttle-cock of both the Chinese and Nosu, who had come to regard them as "the offscouring of

174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being dis-
579 tilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

836 The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House" where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [346]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356]

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water in which the pig and entrails have been washed, are buried in this hole. Everything unclean is deposited here, nothing is thrown outside. The pig is then cut into pieces and heart, liver, stomach, everything placed into a large iron pan and boiled. At the same time millet or buckwheat is steamed, to be eaten with the boiled pig; meanwhile a strict silence is observed. When millet and pig are ready for eating, the family squat on the floor, and partake of a sacramental feast. The meat is taken with the fingers from a large wooden basin, and the millet with wooden ladles from a basket; and this is for them a kind of holy communion. The sons of the household and the immolator's wife share the meal, but not the daughters, since they some day will marry into another clan. All bones and gristle are burnt. At the end of the meal each participant stands over the fire, where with both hands he wipes his mouth, throwing the breath, as it were, into the flames, and then holding the hands over the fire, he rubs them together. In this manner, hands, mouth and breath are all cleansed. With the exception of the father and the eldest son, the inmates of the house now retire to sleep. Father and son wait until an hour or two before sunrise, when, standing near the door, the father eats a small piece of the cooked meat and in the hearing of his son quietly repeats a formula handed down from generation to generation: "We worship thee, oh door. Keep away sickness, keep away disease, keep away slander, keep away all that is injurious." With the dawn

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the 755
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

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754 aboriginal *materia medica*, an individual becomes incapacitated. The sickness weighs upon his mind, until after a time he becomes convinced that some one "overlooking" him has released invisible arrows which have entered into his system and caused the illness.

Once twenty rough, wild-looking Miao came to a missionary's home, begging him to help them adjudge a man accused of having the "evil eye". The offender, who was closely guarded, had a rather pleasant face, and certainly there did not appear to be anything abnormal about him. The missionary felt sorry, and could not understand why his accusers should be so bitter. He vehemently protested his innocence, and after the most minute enquiries, the missionary was unable to discover any one who could produce the slightest evidence of the man having performed any acts of conjuration, or of having had any dealings whatsoever with the "black art". Yet every man from his village was seething with rage; some of their children and women had been taken violently sick, and in each instance the sick ones had declared that at the outset of the trouble they had seen the face of the accused. Such was the panic of these men that had they not feared the local head man (who was a friend of the supposed wizard) they would have taken the law into their own hands and beaten the offender to death. It was said that he induced sickness by ejaculating evil upon any object he wished to injure; he could cast a spell or produce a malignant effect upon victims of his displeasure

either by letting his eye rest upon them or by merely 754
wishing them evil. Their only proof of this was that their children or wives had been taken ill after this supposed wizard had passed by their doors, or had been seen by them in the fields or on the hills. No words of the missionary could persuade those men that possibly they were mistaken.

This power of spitefully "overlooking" people 751
belongs to women as well as to men. In one village 758
typhoid broke out and took off a large number of victims. This is the blackest of all demons; it works havoc amongst the Miao, who fear it intensely. Hamlets and villages are frequently decimated by it. In one epidemic, out of a family of nine, seven had died of it. The ninth, a young wife, was so afraid that she ran away, no one knowing whither she had gone. An eighth member of the family had got over the typhoid and was being tended by this wife, but after she had absconded no one would enter the house. Thus, being bereft of all nursing and food, the patient eventually died from sheer starvation. In another instance the father, mother and two children all died; no one would enter the house to bury the bodies, so by degrees the village dogs devoured them. Perhaps the saddest case was that of a mother dying and leaving a young babe. As every one was afraid of infection the living babe was buried with the deceased mother. In this village, after several people had died of this dread disease, it began to be whispered that the sickness had been caused by an old widow woman, who

751 thereupon became suspect of being a witch.
758 Finally feelings ran so high that some of the men, armed with staves, entered the woman's house and literally beat her to death.

754 Men who practise the "black art" sometimes come to a bad end. One wizard, who had been accused several times of "overlooking" people, was rather proud that it should be thought he possessed this power. One day the brother of a man of some influence was taken ill, and within a short while he died, killed, it was believed, by a secret arrow released by this wizard. The elder brother was so infuriated that on the day of the burial he had the wizard brought to the village, beaten with bludgeons until he lost consciousness, carried to a newly dug grave and unceremoniously flung into it. On top of the unconscious but living wizard was lowered the coffin containing his supposed unfortunate victim, and the grave was filled up.

566 Another aspect of Miao life which needs our understanding and sympathy, is the dominance of the landlords, called for the most part "*t'u-muh*". The words "*t'u-muh*" are the Chinese for "earth's eyes" and are probably used to designate the enfeoffed eldest sons of aforetime Nosu chiefs. While some Miao are the tenants of small landowners, either Chinese or Nosu, a majority till the land of *t'u-muh*, who, as a class, are crafty, corrupt, capricious and at times inhumanly cruel. Before the Chinese Republic was founded in 1911, these *t'u-muh* had immense power; and though

occasionally one meets a *t'u-muh* who is humane, 566
the records of the others would not bear investigation. Oppressing the Miao, these *t'u-muh* exacted from them such heavy rents that it was impossible for them to make any progress. In one case it was calculated that each Miao tenant gave one hundred days' labour per year. A Miao could [671]
never get any redress, since in Manchu days, even if a Miao had dared to sue for justice, the law was always on the side of the rich, as is suggested by the Chinese proverb: "The doors of the law courts are always open; but if you only have right on your side, and not money, don't enter them."

If a Miao were lucky enough to breed a good foal, the *t'u-muh* would demand it; were he sufficiently thrifty to save a little *sycee*, the *t'u-muh* would find ways and means of getting hold of it; were his cattle to increase, the *t'u-muh* would trump up an excuse for inordinate extortion. The stories told of these overlords bear witness to the degrading effects that absolute authority and tyranny may have on a man. There were two brothers, both *t'u-muh*, and the younger, who was unmarried, was suspected by his elder brother of becoming too fond of his wife. On account of this, the elder brother arranged with a Szechuan boxer to murder his brother, for which the award was to be two hundred dollars. In course of time the brother was murdered and the boxer came for his promised recompense, but instead of being paid, he was trussed up like a pig and offered as a human sacrifice at the grave of the murdered younger brother to appease,

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A STREET IN STONE-GATEWAY

[Photo by Rev. H. Parsons

[Facing p. 28]

566 it was said, the departed spirit of the victim of this atrocity.

Such, then, are some of the conditions under which the Miao lived. Round their necks were the millstones of ignorance and oppression, and humanly speaking, they could never climb higher. They were chained in the Slough of Despond.

131 489 [423] And now let us travel to Miao-land, where these men and women dwell, a people who are amongst the most needy in the world. "Miao-land" is not a stretch of country where you will find Flowery Miao exclusively, because the Miao do not possess land. Miao-land is a section of China inhabited by a preponderance of Chinese, patches of Nosu and, in less accessible regions, large communities of Miao.

Embarking on either a French or a British steamer in that most beautiful harbour of Hongkong, we will slip down the China coast and after two, three or four days glide gently up the delta of the Red River into Haiphong. Here we will board a train which, after chugging for three days (at times the gradient is so steep that one feels that by leaning forward one could help the puffing engine), the train will deposit you in Yunnanfu, the capital of the province of Yunnan. The Tonkin-Yunnan railway, with its ascending slopes, its dauntless bridges, its viaducts and tortuous tunnels, is one of the engineering feats of the world of which the French nation may justly be proud. Kunming (Yunnanfu) is the terminus, but our

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131 destination still lies from ten to twelve days farther
489 north. The first day's journey may be made by recently introduced motor buses, but the last nine days must be travelled either in a sedan chair or on the back of a Yunnan pony. Yunnan ponies are wonderful beasts, being as sure-footed as goats. If you are particularly energetic you might walk. It is a charming, picturesque journey running over wild wooded hills, down beautiful valleys, past smiling landscapes. At one point the mountains rise to more than ten thousand feet above sea-level, and along this route you see China as she has been for centuries—there have been but few
600 changes. Each day you travel twenty-five or thirty miles and then rest at some little wayside inn, where you meet with a great deal of kindness. Naturally, these inns are neither so comfortable nor so sanitary as modern European hotels, and in summer they are always, in one sense, overcrowded. One hears a good deal these days of China's teeming population; you come into close personal contact with it in those inns and a tin of Keating's Insect Powder comes as a boon and a blessing to men. The historian Gibbon was amused by the Emperor Julian's boast that "his beard was populous". In some of these remote Chinese inns within an hour of retiring for the night the whole body can be populous. On such a journey one meets with amusing experiences. One night in such an inn a Chinese servant was arranging the missionary's blankets on one of the Chinese roughly made wooden bedsteads which was provided. A coolie

standing in the doorway was watching intently, and the missionary heard the following conversation. "What are you doing?" asked the coolie. "I am making the teacher's bed," was the reply, "what do you think I'm doing?" "Is the teacher going to sleep in those blankets?" came the further query. "Yes, where do you think he is going to sleep?" asked the boy. "Aiya," said the coolie, "I always thought those foreign devils were like horses and slept standing up"!!!

So, after nine days of "cloud and sunshine", Chinese inn and wild roses, where every prospect pleases, having passed through the little walled city of Tungchwan, which like Yunnanfu, was familiar enough to Samuel Pollard, you reach Chaotung, original home of Methodism in the province.

We must hasten on. There is another day's march to go, over still wilder country, beset by wilder men, over a bandit-ridden road where, once and again, the missionary has had to run for his life, "O'er moor and torrent" at last you arrive at what was once only a little Miao village called Hmao-li-nah. Its Chinese name is Shih-Men-Kan, and in English it is known as "Stone-Gateway", scene and centre of one of the greatest triumphs of the Gospel that any Chinese missionary has ever witnessed.

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CHAPTER III

OUT OF THE MIRE

The Story of Stone-Gateway

ONE day in 1903 a band of hunters met Mr. James R. Adam, a China Inland Missionary working in Anshun in the West of Kweichow. From their dress Mr. Adam knew that they belonged to one of the Miao tribes and when told they had been hunting the wild boar and were half famished and weary, he shared his meal with them. As they talked together Mr. Adam told them in plain, easy language, the story of Jesus Christ and how He had come to seek and to save that which was lost. "And did He come to seek us?" asked the Miao. "Yes," was the quiet answer, "Jesus came to seek you." That some one should love and care for the Miao was a new idea to these men, and though it took them a long time to comprehend it, when they did slightly understand, they went back to their hamlets with the extraordinary news that they had met a foreigner who, speaking to them with kindness and sympathy, had told them that some one called Jesus loved the Miao. Soon after this, from

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797 villages nine days' journey away, numbers of Miao tramped to Anshun to make quite sure that no mistake had been made.

Picture these early scouts as they journey. Each carries a felt cape which in the daytime serves as an overcoat and at night as a blanket, and every one has a bag of oatmeal, a basin and chopsticks or a wooden spoon; the oatmeal mixed with water serves as breakfast, lunch and evening meal. Thus they travelled to learn more about the Saviour who had come to seek them. After some months the seekers became too numerous for Mr. Adam to cope with; so, learning that Chaotung was nearer to them than Anshun, he sent them to this city with a letter to his friend Samuel Pollard, who, with Frank Dymond, was Methodism's representative in that faraway corner of China. On July 12th, 1904, the first four Miao entered the compound of the Chaotung Methodist Mission, and stayed five days. In his own incomparable way Pollard told them as simply as he could the Gospel story, the Chinese language being the medium of teaching. Pollard's charm of manner, grace of speech and depth of understanding, won the hearts of those four scouts who, thrilled beyond expression, returned to their homes with the tidings that they had found a Saviour. The effect was electrical; hearts were swept with the thrill of a new hope and the glad tidings spread throughout scores of villages among the mountain fastnesses of Kweichow and Yunnan. Afterwards there was a steady procession of Miao pilgrims who came seeking the White

Teacher—tens, scores, then hundreds came until the citizens of Chaotung became filled with alarm. They began to wonder whether the Miao were going to rebel. Such a strange awakening of a tribe caused weird rumours to be circulated throughout the country districts, and with a view to impeding the movement it was reported that Pollard gave the Miao poison to pollute springs and streams, and to kill their landlords and Chinese rulers. Magical gifts were attributed to him; it was said he could see three feet into the earth and that when he dropped water into the mouths of the illiterate Miao they immediately believed the foreign doctrine. But the pilgrimage was not arrested and coming from the four quarters of the district, they swarmed everywhere, until the strain on Pollard became immense. 797

Beginning at five o'clock in the morning, they would study their Chinese catechisms through the whole day, making it well-nigh impossible for the missionary to get any rest. Pollard had to start at the very beginning; he had to teach them both to read and to understand the doctrines of the Christian religion; he had to teach them to pray, he had to teach them to sing; but he was equal to the need and with an iron-like will took up the task. To him the coming of the Miao was a Divine call, and nothing daunted him. During the early days the language was a great difficulty, since no one knew a word of Miao and the Miao knew little Chinese. Pollard at once set himself the work of learning their language and after a few weeks

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application he could give short addresses to the tribesmen in their own tongue. As soon as he had acquired a certain ease and fluency in the use of Miao words he went off on a tour of inspection to ascertain the extent of his new work. He visited dozens of villages and though everywhere he learnt that Nosu *t'u-muh* and landlords were ready to employ any means to stop the Miao from becoming Christians, he also discovered that already a change had come into the lives of these hillmen who, to the perplexity of their enemies, evinced a brave obstinacy. A new self-respect had come to them, a sense of moral regeneration; the tribe was on the march, a mass movement was developing and, though beaten, chained, robbed and tortured, no persecution could prevent them from pursuing their quest.

At the outset the Miao had said: "This news is too good to keep ourselves, let us send the message on to the next village"; and forthwith they began to carry out their purpose and met together for reading, prayer and exhortation. It happened, therefore, that sometimes Pollard would arrive at a village which he had never visited, and find a number of enquirers meeting week by week at each other's houses. In March, 1905, a powerful *t'u-muh*, Mr. An, made over to the Church about ten acres of land at the out-of-the-world hamlet called Stone-Gateway which we reached at the close of the last chapter. About twenty-two miles east of Chaotung, Stone-Gateway is just within the Province of Kweichow. As in those days, Stone-

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Gateway consisted only of the broad breast of a barren hill near a few Miao cottages, Mr. An thought he had given a useless piece of land. But it proved to be an admirable centre; it was in the midst of numerous Miao villages and nearby, just below the surface, was enough coal to last for tens of years. Building operations commenced at once, and by May a chapel was opened in which there were seats for about two hundred and fifty and standing room for five hundred persons.

Some people would have thought little of this poor, roughly built chapel with its mud walls and thatched roof, but to the Miao, who out of their poverty had subscribed to erect this first Christian temple in Miao country, it was a Cathedral. Such was the beginning of the work at Stone-Gateway. As the years have passed by, this out-of-the-world hamlet has become the Mecca of the Miao and is celebrated amongst tribesmen of three provinces, Kweichow, Yunnan and Szechuan. The chapel became the centre of a new life, and later schools were built and a number of small whitewashed buildings erected, where the worshippers and preachers could be lodged. Pollard's famous five-pound house was put up and thereafter Pollard became the Moses of the Miao; he was their teacher, their protector, their leader, their lawgiver. With infinite patience and consummate skill he gave the people a new orientation. By kindling new interests and higher loves he helped them to get rid of their evil customs. He purified their marriage practices and led them in a great fight against

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drunkenness and immorality. The Miao had been accustomed to holding a great annual gathering on the hillside on the fifth day of the fifth moon, when thousands of people would meet together and, to the playing of pipes and the singing of love songs, they would let loose their passions. This festal day Pollard captured for Jesus Christ and in place of the riotous merrymaking, there was a joyous singing of Christian hymns taught to the Miao on the tonic sol-fa system, the preaching of the Word, and in later years an exhibition of skill and drill given by schoolchildren. It is not the purpose of this book to give the details of those early days. These can all be read in the Rev. W. A. Grist's well-documented book on *Samuel Pollard;* from Mr. E. H. Hayes's book on *Sam Pollard of Yunnan;* and in Sam Pollard's own *The Story of the Miao.* It is necessary, however, that readers should realise the extent of Pollard's parish, and there is no more adequate description of this than Pollard's own account: "If a day's journey were supposed to be about twenty or twenty-five miles over rough mountainous roads, then in the North East the Mission stretches five days, to the East three days, to the South East four and a half days, in the North West three and a half days, Westward two and a half days and in the South West three and a half days." During the next few years in carefully selected centres throughout the district, chapels were built and schools opened. The chief of these were Rice Ear Valley, Long Sea, Great Level, Halfway House and Heavenborn

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Bridge of which we shall catch glimpses on future pages. And still the movement spread until our Church asked the China Inland Mission to take over in the South-West. This led to the founding of a new centre at Sa-pu-shan. 797

In 1907 this gallant troubadour had a narrow escape. Betrayed by an unbelieving Miao he was set upon in the night and with iron weapons and clubs almost beaten to death; but in the goodness of God, when Pollard was expecting that every blow would be his last, an unknown Chinese wearing a sheepskin jacket stooped down and putting his arms around him, ordered the beating to cease. The Miao were distressed beyond measure, but that beating gave Pollard a place in their hearts and affections that nothing else could have done. During his next furlough, by thrilling and passionate appeals Pollard captured the interest and love of thousands of young people. I was one of these, and as I pen these lines I can see again the man who bewitched me and started me on an adventure which, with the passing of years, has become ever more thrilling and alluring. The first time I saw and heard Pollard was in Sheffield, and I was swept off my feet. In 1910 I joined him at Stone-Gateway, where I was able to see and study him off the stage, as it were. It is one thing to see a brilliant man on the platform and a very different thing to live with him. I lived with Pollard for nearly four years and my admiration for him increased. His whole-heartedness, his white-hot enthusiasm, his arresting, magnetic personality, his passionate

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797 devotion to Christ fascinated me. I have listened to him preach the Gospel in brilliant Chinese and then go into our Stone-Gateway Chapel and in Miao sway an audience of a thousand tribesmen. He would discuss plans and schemes with Miao deacons, comfort and encourage mothers and then romp like a boy with Miao children who, when he said good-bye, would sit by the wayside and cry as though their little hearts would break. I longed to become like him. "Flowers of God's heart" he used to call the kiddies, and woe betide any one who caused one of these to stumble.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the White Teacher was confronted was that the Miao possessed no written characters. Pollard solved the problem by providing phonetic signs to represent Miao sounds and by adapting the system employed in shorthand of vocalising consonants. This system of writing came to be known as "The Pollard Script", and since it was quickly and easily learned by the Miao, they became proud of having their language in a written form which they could call their own. Pollard used the script for the translation of passages of scripture, hymns and simple Christian doctrines, and afterwards primers were prepared. Later the Gospel of St. Mark and other Gospels were translated and put into circulation and no one will ever be able to calculate the enormous influence which the light-giving Word has exerted on
797 the Miao. Before the Pollard script, books and a
212 library were unknown. The great majority of
539 these tribesmen had never handled even a sheet of

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writing paper or a pen. They had heard that once upon a time there were books; a tribal legend described how long, long ago the Miao lived on the north side of the Yangtze River, but the conquering Chinese came and drove them from their land and homes. Coming to the river and possessing no boats they debated what should be done with the books and in the end they strapped them to their shoulders and swam across, but the water ran so swiftly and the river was so wide, that the books were washed away and fishes swallowed them. This was the story. When the British and Foreign Bible Society sent the first Gospels and these were distributed the legend grew—the-once-upon-a-time lost books had been found, found in the white man's country, and they told the incomparable story that Jesus loved the Miao. Only the imagination can conceive what this meant to those hillmen; some of whom travelled for days to view the books. The establishment of schools brought light and understanding to the minds of both boys and girls; fathers would undertake all the work in their fields so that a son might be free to study; and mothers carrying supplies to their boys at school would trudge weary miles over hills and mountains.

On September 15th, 1915, Samuel Pollard, the greatest missionary who ever worked in South-West China, passed into eternal rest. For eleven years he had lived day and night for his Miao who, when he died, said to his lifelong chum, Frank Dymond: "He is ours, let us bury him; we will

arrange for coffin, bearers, grave and tombstone; for we loved him more than our fathers, and he was ever kind to us."

They did this and laid him to rest on a mount overlooking the hills and dales over and through which he had travelled so often, and for a few successive nights men stayed upon the hillside watching near the grave. Throughout Miao-land, eyes were moist, voices were hushed and there was a sob in men's throats, but hearts were shining with a new light, the light of the love of Jesus Christ. Since those days harassed men and wearied women have often gone to the little grave and prayed to the spirit of the man whose life was burnt out in their service; and many have expressed the wish to be buried alongside Pollard. "We wouldn't feel lonely then," they said. And can we wonder at these things? He had found them in the Slough of Despond, wallowing and sinking in the mire, and like Bunyan's "Help" he had given them his hand, drawn them out, set them upon sound ground and bid them go on their way. When Pollard left us there was a Christian community of more than ten thousand and to this day the most precious memory hundreds of these tribesmen possess is that of their little, fragile teacher riding over their hills, coming to their villages and bringing light, love and healing to their dark, burdened lives. The wilderness had blossomed; crooked places had been made straight.

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CHAPTER IV

THE EBB AND THE FLOW

Pictures of Miao Churches

THE story of the early years of Christianity amongst the Miao is the story of a tide, which, flowing high and strong, carried thousands of people forward to spiritual freedom. The Good News spread over the hills like a sea moving across yellow sands, ever gaining ground in its onward course. Metaphorically speaking, the skies were cloudless, a gentle breeze blew from the south, the sun was warm and minds were at peace with the world. But with the passing of the White Teacher dark clouds gathered, cold angry winds blew, a chill struck upon brave hearts, hamlets and villages were swept with confused alarm and the Sea of Faith retreated. The ebb had commenced some three or four years before this apparent misfortune, though only those behind the scenes had detected it. Now it became noticeable, but knowing what lay ahead the missionaries were strengthened by the love and loyalty of a rare band of noble preachers and by the affection of little children. Early in

the morning of the day following Pollard's death, his saddened colleague watched his door slowly pushed open. This was followed by the entrance of three dirty little kiddies who stole gently over to his bedside and stroking his hands and face whispered: "Teacher, you won't leave us, will you?" "You will be our father and mother now, won't you?" "No, I won't leave you," he said, and from that day the Flowery Miao of South-West China have been written on his heart. It is that colleague who writes these words.

Looking back over the years that have passed we understand now that possibly retrogression is an essential element of progress. We go forward and then we go back that we may go forward again; and history seems to support this thesis. Happily the foundation had been well and truly laid and though "the rain descended and the winds blew, the house fell not, for it was founded upon a rock".

As was to be expected, the Miao came to see that the Gospel was not a panacea for all their troubles. Every flower was not a rose, every goose was not a swan. Though they believed the Truth, the Miao had still to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, and sometimes the crops failed and famine stalked the land. Hunger is a terrible thing and it is heart-breaking to watch people growing thinner and thinner when the only thing they can do is to tighten the waistbelt and hunt for bracken and other roots out of which, together with a very little grain, a kind of gruel can be made, which for a time staves off exhaustion and keeps body and

soul together. The worst famine we ever had to face was in 1918 and it was weathered by the brave and unselfish devotion of the Rev. H. and Mrs. Parsons, to whose work amongst the Miao, were this book larger, we could easily devote a chapter. Suffice it to say that in the annals of our Church their names should be recorded in letters of gold. It was during this famine[1] that there was committed the only murder of which we ever knew a Miao to be guilty, and in this the pangs of hunger were the cause. 00C 762 681

A young man out seeking food met an elderly man carrying a small bag of grain. They were near one of the many bottomless pits which are found upon these hills. No one was near and it was the work of a moment to snatch the bag, but in the scuffle the old man, slipping into the pit, was killed. When it became known, the village elders offered the youth a knife or a length of rope and told him they didn't wish to see him again. He chose the rope and, like Judas, "went away and hanged himself". There is a peculiarity amongst the Miao which has always been distressing to their friends. It is their tendency readily to commit suicide, it is said, a not uncommon feature amongst aboriginals. Such instances as the following are by no means exceptional: A boy and a girl who were very much attached to each other and forbidden by their parents to marry, hanged themselves with a single piece of rope. A little schoolgirl at Stone-Gateway who had been reproved by her teacher slipped 762

1 [OF 1918--ANALYST]

762 quietly out of the room and, going down the hill, took her own life. A woman, who lived not far from us, one evening committed suicide because she had burnt the food she was cooking for her children.

000 After Pollard's death there was a recrudescence of drunkenness, immorality and superstition; but we must not be surprised at this. In England, after centuries of Christianity we are still faced with an appalling drink problem, an urgent sex question, and a spiritualist society. This is closely allied to necromancy. "Wine is a mocker" and "strong drink a brawler", whether in England or in China, and all over the world the teaching of Proverbs is terrifyingly true: "On account of a whorish woman a man is brought to a piece of bread." The dense darkness was not, and could not be dispersed in eleven years, but there is no need to paint the shadows too black; the high lights are too fascinating. Throughout the province there was civil war and brigandage and political unrest, whilst amongst our Miao were bad cases of backsliding. Throughout scores of villages, however, the habit of prayer and pure living and the study of God's loved word was being acquired. The year 1917 was a memorable date, as it was during this year that the British and Foreign Bible Society printed and published in the Flowery Miao language, the whole of the New Testament. The work of translation had been done by Sam Pollard and the Rev. A. G. Nicholls of the China Inland Mission, but with James Yang, Pollard's gifted amanuensis,

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his colleague and successor had the joy of reading and correcting the proofs as they came from the printing house in Yokohama, where type for the script was specially made, and a first edition of five thousand copies issued. This was followed by a second edition in 1919 and a third in 1929, a total of ten thousand copies of the Book being put into circulation.[1] The Rev. G. W. Sheppard of the British and Foreign Bible Society has stated that he thought few, if any, books of the first publications in the first written letters in any human language had attained such a record sale.

But we are anticipating our story; we must go back to the earlier years and witness the joy and hope that was kindled by the lamp of God's Word in the lives of the Miao. Each village was visited in turn by colporteur-readers, the people called together as opportunity permitted, and to old and young the old, old story was spelled out word by word. The Good News sank into hundreds of hungry hearts and there came an ever-growing appreciation of the Holy Book. On Sundays it was always enchanting to

[1] As with all first translations of the Scriptures, in the course of years and after experience and use, a revision of the text became desirable. This was undertaken by the Rev. W. H. Hudspeth and the Rev. A. G. Nicholls, both of them being assisted by educated Miao teachers, and the Revised Hwa Miao Testament was published in February of 1936. The first edition of seven thousand copies was sold out immediately and a second edition is now being put into circulation.

watch groups of Miao sitting on the ground making out, word by word, the sayings and doings of Jesus. Let us peep at them in some hillside chapel. A hush is on the hills, rocks and trees are silvered by the moon, the little building is lit with pine-wood torches and there is a strange gathering of faces; for here are to be seen from one to two hundred people of both sexes and all ages, "from childhood to the old and grey-headed", listening to the Word. These people have met in the evening, not for amusement, drunkenness or gaming, but to hear the sacred volume read aloud and explained to them. Imagine yourself visiting a poor sick man who had not walked for some three years. Near to a small wood fire he lay on goatskins spread on the cold ground. His emaciated body was covered with dirty homespun, but his face shone with an unspeakable joy. As you sat on your low stool watching him, you wondered why the man, amidst such squalor, could be so contented. "What makes you so happy?" you asked. From under the block of wood which served as his pillow he extracted a much-worn copy of John's Gospel. "This, this," he answered, grasping his precious book, "this tells me about Jesus and His love for me." So the missionaries learned that amongst the Miao the Gospel was everywhere a golden key to the hearts and homes of men. And in what unknown ways the work bore fruit can only be conjectured.

Now let us go to one of the out-stations; ambling along on our ponies will be singularly

pleasant. Forgetful that there are such luxuries as cars, buses, trams and trains, you will become interested in the call of the birds, the patches of wild flowers, and, if it is spring, of fruit blossom, and the promise of growing crops upon which the very lives of the people depend. Though not a common occurrence, you might catch sight of a stray wolf. There are times when wolves become disconcertingly fierce, preferring children to sheep and bringing disaster to lonely homes. One of our women, whilst hoeing the maize, had put down her babe in a cape on the ground at a distance of only a few yards. In the twinkling of an eye a huge wolf snatched the child and though immediately a hue and cry was raised, nothing could be done to recover the wee babe. One of our farmers was carrying a little boy when he came face to face with a wolf. Putting down his bundle the farmer, armed with a cudgel, gave chase. The wolf ran off but, after a while, returning by a circuitous route, almost succeeded in carrying away the boy before the farmer could reach the spot. The wolf had undoubtedly marked the spot where the bundle had been set down.

If in our journey we have had to cross a river we will have realised how dangerous and exciting swollen torrents can become. Frequently people are carried away by a river in spate and not seldom you may have to lodge in a wayside inn until the water has subsided. Usually, however, we risk it, our unpaid carriers crossing and recrossing until all the baggage is safely over and

then last of all we cross on sturdy ponies with a man on each side holding the saddle girth.

Perhaps a few miles from our destination we will be met by men carrying cross-bows and arrows. On enquiry we will learn that there has been a highway robbery and the Miao, taking no risks, are determined that their teachers shall come to no harm. Approaching the chapel we will be welcomed by a batch of schoolboys. They will be bearing their school banners and two of the scholars will be lustily blowing bugles. Some tens of members will give us such a generous greeting that our hearts will be warmed and we will be glad to be visiting them.

Arriving at the chapel (or school; in many centres a single building serves the two purposes) we will be invited to take our seats for the communal meal, which is invariably a feature of the teacher's visit. A sheep, pig or goat will have been slaughtered and boiled; maize will have been steamed and though, from our point of view, the food is rough and unpalatable, we realise that to our hosts it is a royal feast, and we will partake of it as though it were thoroughly enjoyable. Such feasts always seem like the counterpart of the chapel teas prepared to welcome the deputation in England. A few of the elders will sit at our table, whilst a dozen or more people will stand around to watch how we manipulate chopsticks.

As soon as the repast is over we bring out one of the footballs sent by English friends and as usual this will give endless delight to thirty or

forty men and boys, who will kick and chase it until well-nigh exhausted. Amongst the Miao nothing creates so much fun and laughter as a football.

In the evening there will be a prayer meeting, and when this is finished you will be glad to get to bed. If perchance we are at some centre where next door to the chapel there is a private room, we will have an opportunity of undressing and ridding ourselves of the parasites we have collected. Amongst the Miao lice and fleas are without number, and possibly this is the explanation of the frequent typhoid epidemics.

The next morning being Sunday there will be an early service at seven, and this will be attended by perhaps a hundred people, but the real business of the day will commence after breakfast, with the arrival of friends from outlying villages.

A few have walked twenty miles and as they plan to spend the night, each will be equipped with a felt cape and a bag of oatmeal, this being all the baggage they need. If we go for a short stroll we may be fortunate enough to watch, unseen, a company of girls putting on their pretty festive skirts over soiled ones, and standing beside a pool of water they will use it as a mirror. Touching up their hair they will titivate themselves as is the fashion with English girls. They haven't taken to using rouge and lipstick yet, but woman is woman all the world over.

Mothers with new babies will come to have them named, and this is not so easy as it might appear;

as, at times, the babies are numerous and sufficient names do not come readily to the mind. A name may be suggested for a child and then it cannot be used as his cousin bears it. A second may be suggested, only to find that this name is his uncle's and it may be that a third and a fourth will be suggested before the parents are satisfied. Some missionaries use biblical names only and, during the years, these names have been almost exhausted. At times the mother will forget the name that has been given to her child and she will return to have her memory refreshed! As all babies look much alike to a stranger, the missionary may have forgotten, but the difficulty is solved by giving it a new name, and lest the mother should again forget it her friends come and learn it too. Sometimes a girl who has grown up doesn't like her name and will come to have it changed.

The midday service may last for anything from two to three hours. Seeing a visitor present the members will wish to have a reception meeting. An old man will speak for the deacons, a young man for the youths, a woman or girl to represent the large number of women and girls who are always present. Listening to these uneducated people giving their testimony to what the Gospel has done for them will be intensely interesting, and when one has been downhearted and feared the tide was ebbing, the reminder of the change that Jesus has brought has acted like a tonic. Some of the speeches are very neat. For instance, a girl commences by stating that there

is an old Miao proverb which says "When the magpie calls guests are coming"; the Miao for this is rhythmic and plays a part in their mythology. "*Ke-nchah nchah, nchah, nchah, ia ma k'a da.*" "Hearing the magpie call *nchah, nchah, nchah,*" she continues "I wondered what guest could be coming to our village, when lo and behold, our father and mother came." It was well done.

There may be a baptismal service, and in what we may call our third service we will celebrate the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Though the elements will be simply buckwheat cake and tea you will realise intensely that these are sufficient to bring to remembrance the eternal verities of the broken body and the shed blood. The mud-built walls are often as sacred as a beautiful cathedral. When most of the people have withdrawn a few will stay behind to ask for special prayer. They will be people who are unwell, or in deep sorrow, or troubled with evil spirits. Once a woman came to ask about her baby who had died a few days before. The previous day this woman's living son had been lost in the mists on the hills and he had been out all night. "I wonder, teacher," she said, "whether my little one might be lost on the hills on the other side." We were able to comfort her by saying that little ones were precious to Jesus, Who had said: "Suffer little children and forbid them not to come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

After the evening service we may sit around some cottage fire and tell stories. It is but seldom that

one meets with legends which might be termed universal, but there is a charm about some of these that bears translation into English. This is the story of Nglieh-giah.

539 The *nglieh-giah* is a small bird, a little bigger than a sparrow. It is very dark blue in colour with a snow-white head and in South-West China it is always seen by the side of streams or rivers, hopping from stone to stone or flitting from rock to rock, ever gazing into the water as though searching for something. Legend says that long, long ago Nglieh-giah, as a youth, fell in love with the daughter of the king of under-the-waters. Her name was Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang. Nglieh-giah's wooing was successful and the day came when he proudly led her as his bride to the poor little hut where he lived. Nglieh-giah was so destitute that he had no cattle, but his wife was more than equal to this. She sent him to her father with instructions that when her father wished to give him a present, as he undoubtedly would do, Nglieh-giah was to decline everything and later to ask for two hairs from his father-in-law's beard. These were to be placed in a covered basket which Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang gave to Nglieh-giah at the same time explaining that though as he returned home the basket would grow heavier and heavier, he was on no account to look within. Away went Nglieh-giah to his father-in-law's home and as had been said he was offered this and that, but declining every proffered gift he asked for two hairs from his host's beard, and these being given to him they were placed in the

basket and the lid put on. Then Nglieh-giah 539
started on his homeward journey. As he went along the basket became heavier and heavier, until Nglieh-giah, unable to restrain his curiosity any longer, peeped inside, when behold there jumped out all kinds of wild beasts—tigers and leopards, wolves and bears, and many other kinds too, and there flew out all kinds of birds—crows, magpies, eagles and kites, red-billed jays and pheasants, larks and thrushes. The lid was shut quickly, but not before these had escaped. When Nglieh-giah reached home and gave the basket to his wife, she scolded him severely for opening it since now, she said, our animals will be few. We will only have chickens, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, cats and dogs. With the passing of time, by the help and wisdom of his wife, Nglieh-giah grew rich, but alas, he grew tired of Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang and his love towards her waxed cold. One day he was invited to a feast given by Pluto, king of the underworld and being a good piper Nglieh-giah became very popular, and after this he was asked frequently to Pluto's realm. Now Pluto had two beautiful daughters who were much admired by Nglieh-giah and one day he asked them to marry him. "But you already have a wife," said these girls, "you must first get rid of her." Angry and disappointed, Nglieh-giah returned home and, quarrelling with his wife, he said he didn't want her any more and that she must go away. His wife begged him not to behave in such an ungallant manner, but Nglieh-giah became so querulous and ungracious

539 that at length Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang said that since he had brought her from the waters he must take her back to the river. Nglieh-giah did this, and as his wife walked into the river she once more begged him not to give her up, but Nglieh-giah had grown hard and cruel and he wouldn't change his mind. Farther and farther she walked into the river, begging that he would not send her away, but Nglieh-giah insisted on her going. Just before Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang disappeared under the waters she waved a rattan stick which she was carrying and suddenly all her cattle came scampering up and they too disappeared with her under the water. On Nglieh-giah's returning home he discovered that all his cattle had vanished, even his gala clothes had gone. However, taking his reed pipes he went off to Pluto's home but here, too, things had changed. Instead of being petted and welcomed by Pluto's daughters, he was ridiculed and spat upon by them, who told him he was ugly and poor and altogether undesirable. Disappointed and filled with remorse, Nglieh-giah went back to the river, where he wandered up and down the banks looking for his wife. Meeting a frog he was asked what was the matter and bursting into tears Nglieh-giah told his uncle, the frog, all that had happened.

"Oh," said the frog, "I'll help you. I'll swallow the water, only you must not laugh." The frog commenced to swallow, but on seeing its stomach growing bigger and bigger Nglieh-giah laughed outright, whereupon all the water came back.

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Presently he met a toad who also enquired what was the matter and who, on the same condition as had been made by the frog, offered to swallow the water. So the toad commenced to swallow and eventually there at the bottom of the river Nglieh-giah saw his pretty wife sitting at her loom weaving snowy white cloth. Hastening down to her he said how very, very sorry he was for all that had happened and begged her to return to him. "No, no," she said, "I cannot come back, but I will give you this length of cloth," and taking a knife she cut from the loom the cloth she was weaving, and this Nglieh-giah wound round his head. To this very day you may still see Nglieh-giah hopping from stone to stone or flitting from rock to rock ever looking for his wife. 539

With stories like these they beguile the hours till it is time to sleep. 000

On the following morning after breakfast, members and scholars will gather to wish us God-speed. They will walk with us some two or three miles, and then, arranging themselves, the group will sing "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah" or one of their many hymns, the whole hillside re-echoing to their singing. After praying with them and saying "good-bye" we will mount our ponies and set off to some other out-station. It always makes one sad to say good-bye; it is like leaving a few sheep in a wilderness. As we move along we will sometimes hear young shepherds singing hymns which have become very dear to them: "Oh happy day", "Rock of Ages", and those simple but heart-

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comforting words "Jesus loves me"; these hymns having taken the place of what the Miao themselves call devil-songs.

Such things as these could have happened in over thirty centres, in some of which as many as a thousand people might gather together. This chapter began with the ebbing of the tide, but that is not the end of the story. Through the years Pollard's work has wonderfully advanced. When he laid down his life in 1915, the European war was shaking even the mountains of China. Since then have come revolution, disorder, banditry and red armies. But through it all this work of God has marvellously grown. There is no story of Methodism more full of God's helping hand and triumphant grace. Now we turn to individual pictures in this great scene.

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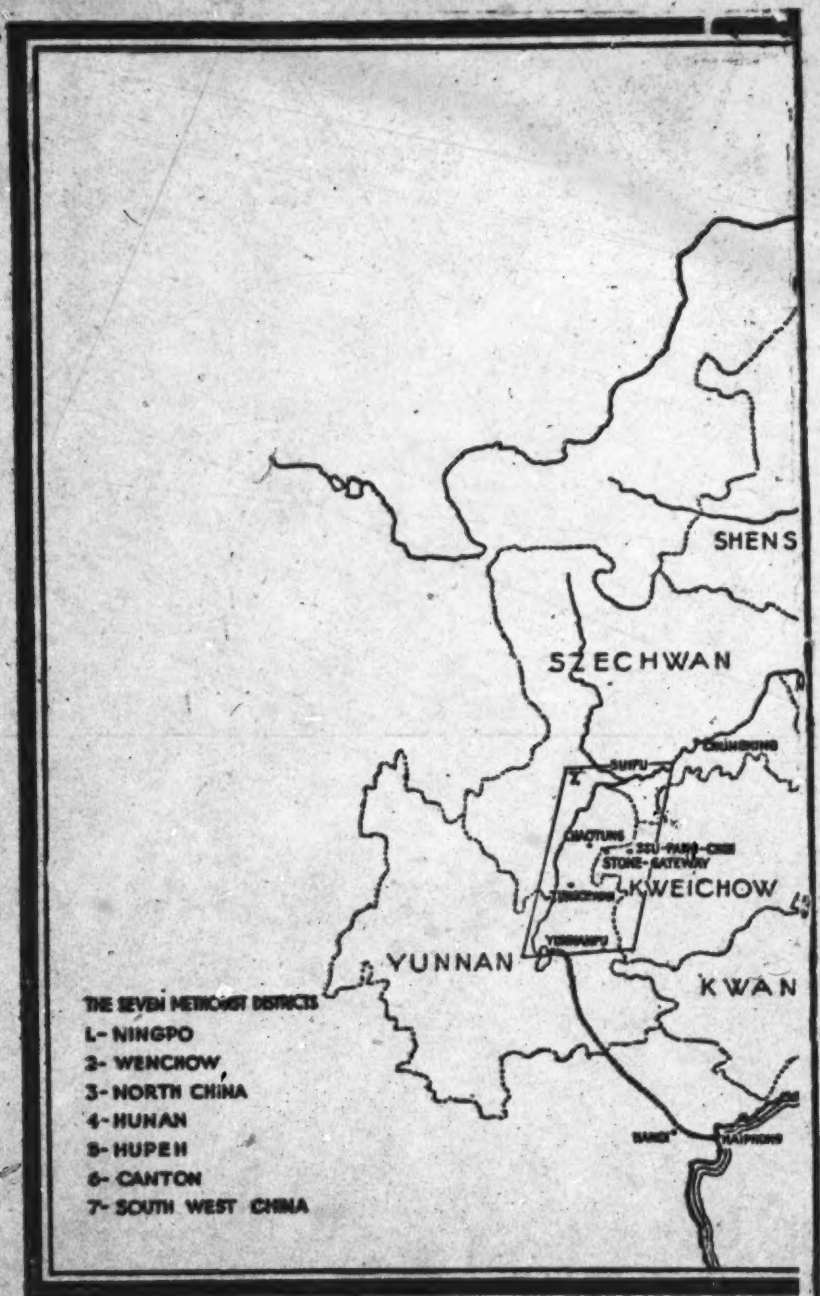

[END PAPER MAP A]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[END PAPER MAP B]

6:Ch'en E-5 (no date)1942 AE5 Miao AE5

000 RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE MIAO AND I TRIBES IN AN-SHUN, KWEICHOW

By

Ch'en Kuo-chün

Translated by

Lien-en Tsao

Pien-cheng Kung-lun /Frontier Affairs/, Vol. 1, No. 7, 8 (March 10, 1942), pp. 88-92

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6:Ch'en--1 E-5 (no date)1942 AE5 Miao AE5

Religious Beliefs of the Miao and I
Tribes in An-shun, Kweichow

An-shun is a center of the Miao and I tribes in Kweichow province, where there are two Miao tribes, the Ch'ing /green/ Miao and the Hua /flower/ Miao, and one I tribe, the Chung-chia. Although there are various groups of Miao-I with different customs, from the point of view of religious beliefs they are all polytheists. In recent decades due to contacts with the Chinese people a portion of the Chung-chia have been assimilated. Besides setting up family altars and worshipping ancestors, they believe in Kuan-yin /goddess of mercy/, Confucius, Kuan-kung /a deified hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the god of war/ and other gods. The Catholics and the Protestants have also exerted in recent years a strong latent influence on the Miao and I villagers. [101] 771

The following is a brief study of the religious development and beliefs of the Miao-I tribes.

/89/ The Catholic church in the city of An-shun is known as Shan-tsung T'ang /hall of goodness/ with four branch halls at Kung-pu, Mo-wan-tung, Shui-tang-chai and Ch'iu-chow. They all hold properties which are yearly on the increase. It is said that the Catholic Church at An-shun was established by a certain French priest some fifty years ago. Today, it is administered by Lengkuohsien /transliterated/ and Chailiszu /transliterated/, both French, and the expenses for maintaining it comes from the Catholic headquarters in Kweiyang. The church maintains an elementary school, studying chiefly the Bible, and the enrollment is about from 30 to 40 boys from Catholic families. Within the hsien district there are about 2000 Catholics, one-half of them being the Chung-chia people. 797 [162]

797 They are mostly converted to the faith because
427 they are tenant farmers on the land owned by the church. This land, also known as the "bible-hall land", is scattered over a number of localities that border on the Chung-chia villages. The profits from the land are equally divided. The advantages for tenant farmers being more than elsewhere, many Chung-chia people become believers in order to cultivate the church land. Every Sunday the farmers attend mass in nearby churches. During harvest time in October the church would send out priests to the villages to supervise harvests, where they also conduct religious services morning and night, requiring all believers to attend (some of the villages have small churches). The priest remains in each village for about a week, putting up with the richest family, but the expenses on food are borne by all the tenant farmers in the village. In recent years this relationship is undergoing a change as it is said that the priests have indulged in extortions which have greatly shaken the faith of the Miao-I believers.

797 Besides Catholics there are Protestants within the district. The China Inland Mission maintains a Gospel Church in An-shun. It was established in 1897 by an American missionary, Tanchüshih /transliterated/, who went deep into the Miao villages in many areas. His friendli-
[162] ness and sincerity won him many converts. At present there are in this hsien area from 5000 to 6000 Christians, both Chinese and Miao-I. The missionary was especially successful among the Hua Miao, and there are more Christians
792 among this tribe than among others. The leader
797 of the Hua Miao in An-shun was Yang Ching-an, who was trained by Tanchüshih. In the early years of the Chinese Republic, Yang had followed the American missionary to Shanghai and Nanking. With his extensive experience he was considered

6:Ch'en--3 E-5 (no date)1942 AE5 Miao AE5

an enlightened person among the Miao. His re- 797
ligious fervor, however, was a little too ex- 792
cessive, and it disqualified him as a true lead-
er of his people. He preached among them for
more than twenty years with great success, but
since he and his foreign associates had left the
church, no one succeeded them as a full time
preacher. The church school has been closed
down. There are only two American doctors in
the hospital, having charge at the same time of
the church, but they have no time for preaching.
So the faith of the Miao and I in Protestant
Christianity is also on the decline.

Besides the Catholic Church and the China Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists have recently established a church in An-shun to spread the Christian principles but rather on a small scale. At present the work is carried on by a young man of the Hua Miao tribe, named Tang Chen-ying, with about thirty members equally divided among the Chinese and Miao-I, and a church school of over ten Miao children.

The Miao and I in An-shun are largely un- 771
educated and superstitious, believing strongly 181
in ghosts and evil spirits. All their daily and farm activities, trading, sickness, marriage and funeral events are subject to the influences of the spirits.

The following are some examples:

(1) Spiritual Media. The names for spiri- 791
tual media in An-shun are the same in the Miao-I language as in the Chinese. The men are known as Kwei-shih or Tuan-kung; the women, Mi-la or Mi-pu. Their duty is to sacrifice to the spirits to invoke their aid and to provide a medium between the spiritual and the human worlds. As such they are respected by the people. All ancestor worship and funeral events have to be presided over by the Kwei-shih. Every

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

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paper money placed on a sieve, and to carry them outside the village gate to be discarded on the ground. Then the sick person will recover immediately.

2. The Shrinking Head Spirit. When one meets this spirit on a mountain slope, one acquires a terrible headache; the antidote is to throw a bowl of rice with water at the village gate.

3. The Wealth Wasting Hundred Blessing Spirit. This spirit when encountered causes a person to vomit; the antidote is the same as for the Shrinking Head Spirit.

4. The Nine Worms Spirit. When a man gets this spirit he would feel cold all over his body and would vomit. To cure this sickness one has to make an effigy of a worm with paper and rice straw and leave it at the intersection of three roads outside the village.

5. The Drowning Spirit. When one meets this spirit one gets a terrible stomach-ache. In order to get cured one takes a bowl of rice with water, plants a burning incense in it and leaves it on the road outside the village.

6. The Suspended Spirit. This spirit gives one pain in the heart and stomach; the cure for this sickness is the same as that for the shrinking head spirit.

7. The Wolf Dog Spirit. If one has a severe stomach-ache while working in the field, he must have encountered this spirit. The method of cure is to knead a ball of clay into the shape of a dog to be discarded by the sick man at a distant place.

8. The Headless Spirit. If a child cries without stop at the intersection of three roads, he must have seen a headless ghost. To stop the child crying, take a bowl of water, place a bamboo leaf in it, and leave it at the junction.

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755 9. The Eagle Spirit. If someone feels weak and painful all over the body while walking outside the village or in the field, you can take a small chicken, circle it around the sick person's head a few times, and then send it to a distant place. He will soon get well.

10. The Dragon Tail Spirit. If walking in the field one finds great pain in one's legs, it is because this spirit is giving trouble. Make a flag out of a piece of flower paper and walk with it around the field, and the pain in the leg will cease.

11. The Tree Spirit. Meeting this spirit gives one pain all over the body. To cure this illness take a piece of good meat, a cup of tea and a bowl of rice to the tree spirit in the village. After the sacrifice the sickness will be cured.

12. The Buffalo Spirit. When one meets this spirit one has a swollen stomach. Take a bowl of ashes from wheat husk and scatter it outside the village.

13. The Earth Spirit. One vomits after meeting this spirit, and the method of cure is the same as that for the sickness caused by the buffalo spirit.

14. The Wine Spirit. This spirit gives a person giddiness, and to get rid of him one burns three pieces of paper money outside the house.

15. The Mother Pig Spirit. Meeting this spirit one feels feverish all over the body. Take a pair of candles and several sticks of incense, stick them up beside the door, and this spirit will go away.

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796 (3) The Village God. After the spring sacrifice to the tree god the Miao and I people within the hsien district would chop off a piece of wood to make a pair of idols to be placed in front of the village gate, or sometimes in a low

house erected for the god for the special purpose of guarding the village gate, such as the Chinese earth buddha. This is known among the Miao-I as the village god who maintains peace and security for the entire population of the village. Every sixth day of the sixth moon the village makes a public sacrifice to this god. 776 ~~746~~

(4) The Tree God. The Miao-I people always plant trees at the back of their village. The woods thus formed is known as the "Rear Dragon", and there the biggest tree is chosen as the tree god. The villagers dare not touch a blade of grass or a twig of wood in the woods. If inadvertently one picks up something and becomes sick, one is said to have offended the tree god. Every year on the head-dragon day of the second moon the villagers would build a straw pavilion before the tree god as an altar for sacrifice, and the sacrificial ritual is led by the Kwei-shih. All villagers participate in the ceremony, bringing meat and rice as gifts.

/91/ (5) The Buffalo King and the Horse King. Near the larger Miao-I villages in the hsien area there are low huts built for the buffalo king and the horse king, whom the Miao-I worship diligently because they look after the welfare of the cattle in the village. The eleventh day of the tenth moon is set aside for the worship of the buffalo king; and the twenty-third day of the sixth moon, for the horse king. The sacrifice is made with a cock and a pig's head. If there is sickness among the cattle in the village, then the cure is effected by sacrificing good meat, paper and candles before the respective gods.

(6) The Spirit Tablet. The Miao-I have adopted the Chinese custom of ancestral worship, placing in the family hall, no matter how small and ugly, a wooden tablet, on which are pasted words such as "the Seat of the Heaven and Earth Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others. 769

000 lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others.
796 (7) Sweeping the Village. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao every year stage a village sweeping ceremony, the idea being to avoid sickness and disaster during the year. The conditions and rituals of the two being different, they are separately described as follows:

796 (A) Village Sweeping of the Hua Miao. Every
791 year on the head dragon day of the second moon, the Hua Miao would collect enough money in the village to perform village sweeping. They first put up a straw pavilion in front of the tree god, in which incense and candles are lit, and led by the Kwei-shih each family would come forth to worship and make sacrifices of rice. After the ceremony is over, the gathering proceeds to a nearby river to dig up a few piculs of river sand, and thence to the mountain to gather a few dozen rattan vines. They twist the rice straw into ropes, on which they fly little colored pennants. Then the Kwei-shih would tie the ropes around the tree god, the earth god and the village god. Next he would visit every family in the village, holding a cock in one hand and dragging a dog with the other; he was followed by the villagers carrying sand and rattan vines. Reaching each house, Kwei-shih would circle around the hall with the cock and dog, and upon leaving, tie a rope on the gate. Sprinkling sand all around and shaking the rattan vines, the party would give a loud yell. When all the households are visited and serviced, the villagers would gather together outside the village, killing the chicken and dog and cooking them in a huge cauldron for a feast.

(B) Village Sweeping of the Ch'ing Miao. One of the days toward the end of the lunar New Year or in the second moon is set aside for village sweeping by the Ch'ing Miao. A few days before the event the village head who happens to

be in charge that year through a system of rotation would collect ten cents from each family for the purpose of purchasing chicken, duck, beancurd, paper money, incense, candles and colored paper. With the paper they make little triangular flags and stick them on the gate. The Kwei-shih would carry a long knife in the right hand and a dragon-head cane in the left, and followed by a man carrying a chicken and a duck, would descend upon each household, wielding the sword and shouting: 796 791

I come not your money to clear,
Nor your rice I level;
Surely I come not to take your lady dear,
But I sweep off the devil --
To the western area.

After the ceremony all family members crowd around the Kwei-shih as they move out of the village to a three-forked road in the west. Tossing the dragon-head cane onto the ground, the Kwei-shih burns it up with lighted papers and candles. Then, after killing the chicken and the duck, he sprinkles the blood on the road. The chicken and duck are cooked together with beancurd and other foodstuffs in a huge cauldron and eaten by the villagers on the roadside.

(8) The Chia Performance. When a person dies among the Hua Miao, the rest of the family would pray to him for their safety and health. If the years after his death prove prosperous to the family, then on passing the thirteenth year its members would perform Chia or the great Chai, involving the sacrifice of a buffalo in his memory. If at that time the family does not have the means to make a sacrifice, then the Kwei-shih may be invited to respectfully inform the deceased person of a postponement of the sacrificial date. Before performing Chia 769

769 the family must buy a buffalo way ahead of the date so that it can grow fat for the occasion. On the vacant ground outside the village a small straw pavilion is erected as the altar of sacrifice. The offspring of the deceased would lead the buffalo to the altar, and waving a large butcher's knife, shout several times: "Let no one rob our buffalo!" Inside the pavilion, incense and candles are lit and placed alongside such sacrificial items as chicken and duck. Standing beside the straw pavilion, the Kwei-shih would pray to the dead: "Your descendants so-and-so send you a buffalo and wish you would watch over them always." The man then brings the butcher's knife upon the buffalo's head. If the animal is killed with one stroke, then the greatest luck would attend the household. The head of the buffalo is placed in the pavilion as a sacrifice and the beef is cooked in a huge cauldron. Those friends and relations, who have come with five measures of rice and one jar of wine as gifts, now partake of the feast. After it is over, each one carries home three pieces of beef on a pointed bamboo stick.

751 (9) Hong Ma and Hong Pa. In the Miao-I
847 village one often sees abandoned butchered children lying around. The heads and legs of these dead children are severed with a kitchen knife by their own parents, the same knife thrown beside the body with blood strewn all over, - the whole presenting a gruesome spectacle. This happened because the dead child's parents had brought to this world several sons who had died of the same illness, and so they believed that an evil spirit must have possessed them and been reborn several times to "hong ma and hong pa" (to deceive the parents). Therefore, this child is now decapitated and slaughtered so that the headless and limbless spirit of vengeance would not be able to come to

the womb again. After this any child born is 751
sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and 847
butchering have to be done before the child
breathes his last. When the parents perceive
that the illness of the child is identical to
that of the other deceased children, /92/ they
expect him to die, and taking advantage of his
still being alive they cut off his head and
legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention
would not be effective. It is said that some
ignorant Chinese in the same locality also fol-
low this custom.

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of 787
the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a 852
fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If 856
his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed
to grow until he is six or twelve years old when
he has his first haircut. The long unshaved
hair is said to help preserve the life of the
child. The first haircut is an occasion for
great celebration: every household in the vil-
lage would hang out red and green festoons and
send greetings to the parents, who in turn would
give a party, killing chicken and pig for a
great feast.

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child 755
among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without 753
stop, the parents would attribute the cause of
the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse",
a colloquial name for the locust. They would
hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled
with rice and water, and little images of horses
cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop
the cry of the child.

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-
I first becomes ill, the general assumption is
that he has run into some starving ghost. The
family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked
rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of
rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body. So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

amined. If the white of the egg shows a concave dent, then it is a proof of the existence of the poison. Thereupon the members of the sick person's family would shout curses outside the gate, so that the dispenser of the venom would come by himself or herself to get rid of it. Also there are cases where sick persons escape to other villages to avoid attack by these poisonous agents. We have closely investigated many areas but have not yet discovered a single instance of some one who actually possesses poisonous insects or medicines. This is after all pure superstition. But the Miao people believe in it strongly and take every precaution against it. A woman who is suspected of possessing poisonous insects may never expect to be married, and a man who is found to own such medicines is subject to lynching and expulsion. The belief of the I tribe in this connection is less deeply rooted than that of the Miao. 754 787

(16) Feng-shui. The Chung-chia in An-shun believe in Feng-shui /wind and water/ much more than the local Chinese. In the Chung-chia village there are one or two persons noted for their ability to divine Feng-shui such as in building a house and erecting grave mounds, the fortune of the offspring being dependent upon how these are located in relation to nature, mountain and river, and their shapes and conditions. It is further believed that the unusual rocks and overhanging cliffs as well as the green trees and gigantic vines in the mountains are endowed with the spiritual essence of the universe which serves to suppress the baleful vapors of the valleys and rivers. So even though it is known that a certain mountain yields valuable minerals, people will not mine them for fear of upsetting the stabilizing influence of these precious substances. 787 823

Of all the foregoing superstitions the 000

000 Miao and the I people in An-shun not only dare not entertain any doubts and suspicions, but also refuse to let any other people to have different opinions. So, in the course of our investigations, we encountered innumerable difficulties. The writer has recorded only that which has been heard and said.

771 , 113

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

[For data concerning religious beliefs and practices of the Chung-chia in the An-shun area, Kweichow, who have acculturated to neighboring Miao and Chinese, see 6: Ch-en, AE5 Miao, category 116. --Analyst]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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Photo by *Robert Powell.*

A Black Miao (Heh Miao) Maiden in Festive Attire.

The necklets, bracelets, and crown are all made of silver.

Frontispiece.

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

AMONG THE TRIBES

000

IN

SOUTH-WEST CHINA

BY

SAMUEL R. CLARKE

FOR THIRTY-THREE YEARS A MISSIONARY IN CHINA

CHINA INLAND MISSION

LONDON, PHILADELPHIA, TORONTO, MELBOURNE AND SHANGHAI

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PREFACE

ONE of the most striking features of missionary work in Asia to-day is the remarkable progress of the Gospel among the humbler races of that great Continent. In India, we are told, the great mass movements, which are either just beginning or are in full progress among the depressed classes, are at present attracting the greatest attention. In Korea, the recent history of which country has not inaptly been termed a tragedy, the progress of Christianity is one of the marvels of modern Missions. And in China, the great spiritual awakening among the despised non-Chinese races of Kweichow and Yunnan has many things in common with that in Korea.

These movements of God's Spirit cannot be accidental, though they may be like the wind which bloweth where it listeth. They consequently deserve careful consideration, for they may have valuable lessons for the student of Missions to learn. They can hardly fail to remind us that to-day, as in the days of Christ, God is pleased to reveal to babes things hidden

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

from the wise and prudent. They may also have an important bearing upon the questions of missionary methods and missionary qualifications which are exercising the minds of not a few just now. Above all, they certainly emphasise the importance of belief in and dependence upon the working of the Holy Spirit.

Until the last few years, little has been known about the non-Chinese tribes of south-west China. With the friendly and even intimate relationships now established between the missionary and some of the tribes that ignorance is passing away. Hitherto, however, comparatively little has been published about them beyond a number of isolated articles in missionary magazines and some small booklets. The official reports of Mr. Colborne Baber and Mr. Consul Bourne are perhaps the chief exceptions. The present work it is therefore hoped will meet a distinct need.

114 The author, the Rev. Samuel R. Clarke, who for thirty-three years has been a missionary in China, by reason of a residence of more than twenty years in Kweichow, and his careful study of the tribes, their customs, and some of their languages, has special qualifications for the writing of a more detailed account. It should be mentioned that the author, when he came home on furlough, had no thought of writing a book. He has therefore not had the advantages of reference to his own library and notes. This

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

volume, however, is his kind response to a request that he would publish the story of the work of grace among the non-Chinese tribes of Kweichow, and it will, we feel sure, find many grateful readers. The book, as it will be seen, is divided into two parts, with Appendices. Part I. deals with the Tribes and their Customs, etc., and Part II. with the work done among them. The Appendices, with their philological tables, will be of special value to the student. There may be some who may prefer to read the Second Part first, but those who may do so will hardly fail to want to know the facts about the people themselves recorded in Part I.

It is a remarkable fact that in the provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan, where work among the Chinese has been notoriously barren and unfruitful, this great work of grace among the non-Chinese tribes should have broken out. Communities which a few years ago were ignorant, degraded, and immoral, are now pure and Christian. Scores of villages have become wholly Christian, and hundreds of other villages are nominally Christian. One worker has estimated that, as the result of the work of the last seven or eight years, there are now some 50,000 of these people at least nominally Christian.

The strain upon those engaged in this work is not small. The area over which the work extends is many thousands of square miles, and the country is mountainous, some of the villages

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

being situated about 8000 feet above sea-level. Anshunfu, with its 16 out-stations, has only 9 workers (5 men, 3 wives, and 1 single lady). Yet in this district, about one hundred and fifty miles from north to south, 1480 aborigines were baptized in 1906, more than 500 in 1907, 800 during 1908, 356 during 1909, and 260 during 1910. At the close of 1910 the total number of Communicants, not to speak of adherents, was 3500. What are 9 workers for the oversight of such a district, with such scattered congregations! The district around Sapushan in Yunnan, also extending about one hundred miles from limit to limit, has 24 out-stations, but only 4 foreign workers. It may also be added that in the whole of the province of Kweichow, in which (if Shihmenkan and neighbourhood be excepted) the China Inland Mission is the only Protestant Mission, there is no medical missionary. In Yunnan the one medical missionary connected with the China Inland Mission is now away on furlough.

An hospital, however, is in course of erection in the Anshunfu district for use in the work among the tribes-people. This is being built with funds specially contributed for that purpose, though as yet there is no doctor to take charge. If the publication of this book should do nothing else than lead to this need being supplied, it would doubtless gratify the author; but greater things than these are hoped.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

The following graphic and generous description of one of the small band of workers—which may be taken as applicable to the others—written by the Rev. Samuel Pollard, of the United Methodist Mission, who has himself an intimate knowledge of the work, and who has been richly blessed in his own labours, will help the reader to picture the missionaries at their work, and show how much these interesting peoples and the self-denying workers need and deserve the support which only can be given by sympathetic prayer :—

"The South Australian missionary, Rev. Arthur G. Nicholls, and his few colleagues, some Australian and some English, who are working like Trojans in the midst of God's great prairie fire, may also be reckoned among the heroes who are establishing the kingdom of heaven upon earth. I have wondered what one like Ralph Connor would do with Arthur Nicholls if he only knew his story. Loved and trusted by multitudes, despised and hated by many, cut off from the comforts and pleasures of civilisation, facing a thousand and one dangers, healing the sick, teaching the ignorant, comforting the bereaved, playing with the children, stamping out drink and opium, fighting the demon of impurity, showing a timid people how to be self-reliant and enterprising, and returning to his headquarters every few weeks, like a man who has been touching the very bedrock of humanity, Arthur Nicholls goes on his way little thinking what a hero he is, and count-

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ing himself repaid over and over again because the people love him. I wonder what the Master will by and by say to these brave workers?"

Could the brave workers, toiling amid these overwhelming though encouraging conditions, voice what is in their hearts as a preface to this volume, they would doubtless emphasise the wonderful opportunities which now exist for work among these tribes. They might also suggest that these opportunities may not wait, though at present there seems no limit to the good which might be done if the Church of God were to adequately respond to this modern cry from another Macedonia. But whatever they might or might not say, they certainly would, out of a full heart, plead—"Brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified."

MARSHALL BROOMHALL.

CHINA INLAND MISSION, LONDON,
28th March 1911.

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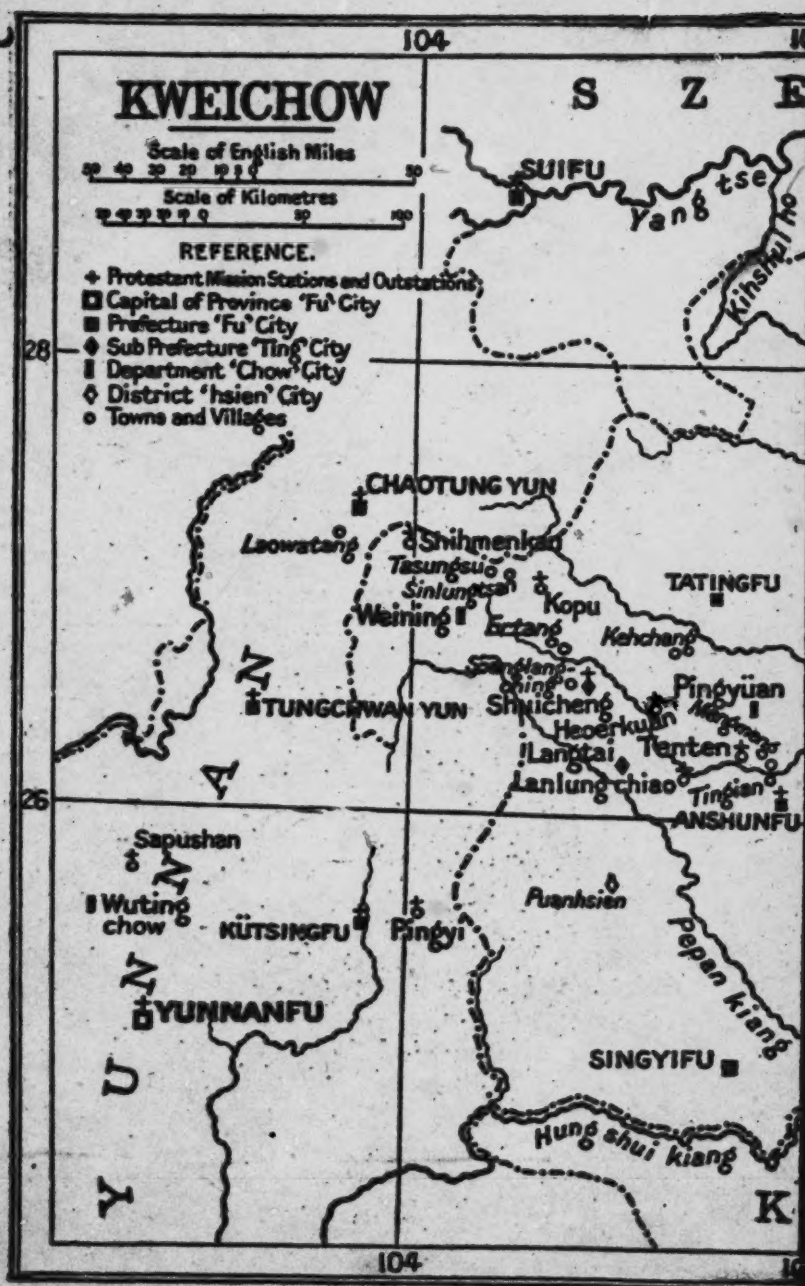

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "AMONG TH

For the area around Sapush

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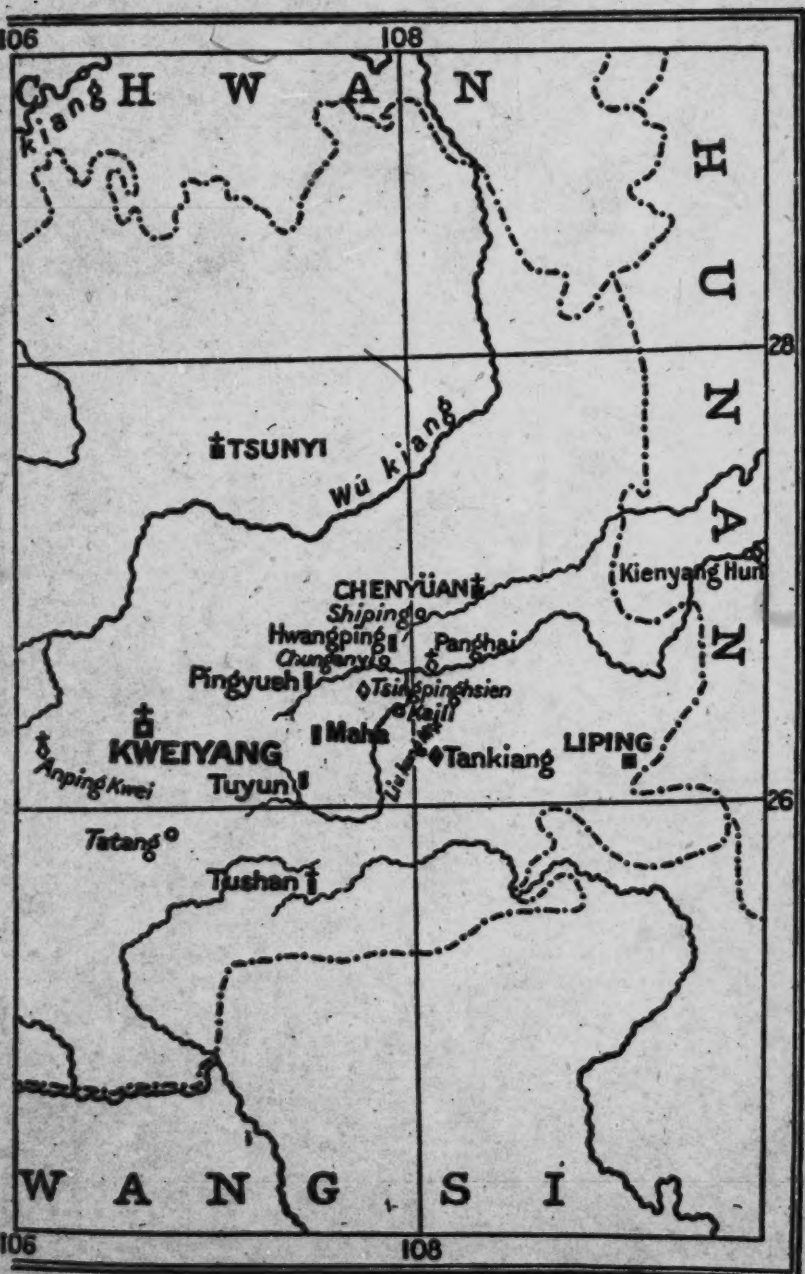

Stanford's Geog. Estab.t, London.

TRIBES IN SOUTH-WEST CHINA."

In Yunnan, see next page.

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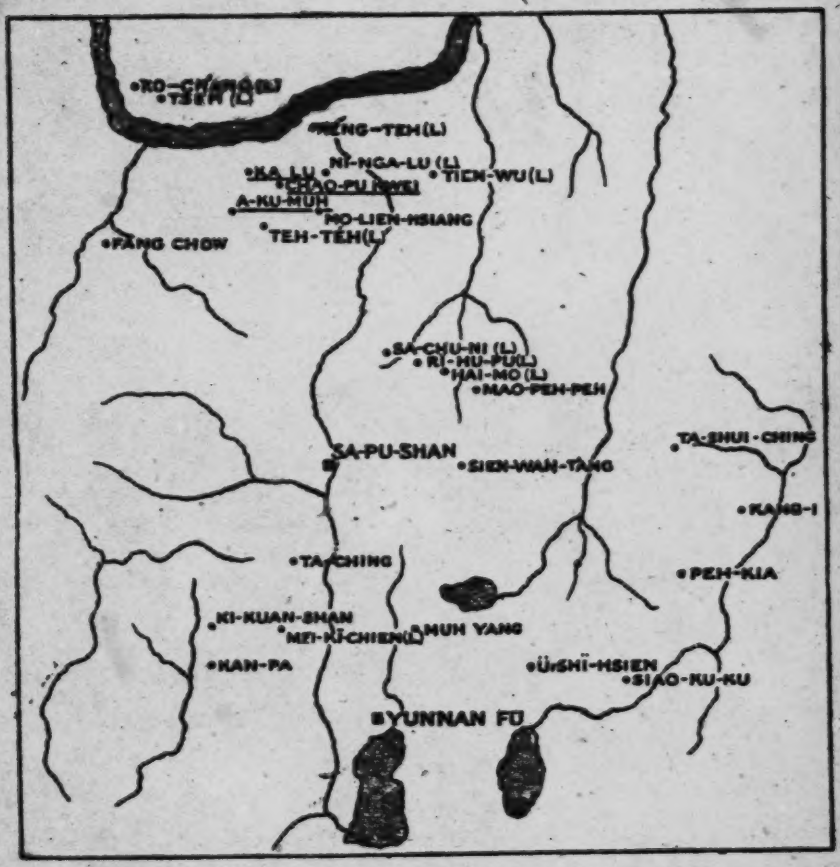

MAP, SHOWING CENTRES ROUND SAPUSHAN WHERE CHAPELS HAVE BEEN BUILT BY MIAO CHRISTIANS.

The names with an (L) after them are places where the Le-su tribe live. The three names underlined are occupied by La-ka, and the rest by Hwa Miao. There are about one hundred and ten villages in the whole district, where services are held every evening. Where villages are too far from Chapel centres the Christians meet in some house. The Miao and Le-su tribes have Scripture portions, and morning texts for each day in the year, in their own language. These are used by the leaders at the prayer meetings. There are nearly eight hundred Church members, and about three thousand catechumens —most of them living in Christian homes. At Sapushan the Chapel is large enough to seat eight hundred worshippers, and is built of sun-dried brick, and tiled.

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PART I

THE PROVINCE OF KWEICHOW AND ITS NON-CHINESE RACES

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"There is probably no family of the human race—certainly no family with such claims to consideration—of which so little is accurately known as of the non-Chinese races of Southern China. This is in great measure due to the perfect maze of senseless names, taken from the Chinese, in which the subject is involved. In the *Topography of the Yunnan Province* (edition of 1836) there is a catalogue of 141 classes of aborigines, each with a separate name and illustration, without any attempt to arrive at a broader classification."—Consul F. S. A. BOURNE.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROVINCE AND ITS PEOPLES

Ancient history—Chinese and Miao—The Miao move westward —Kweichow—Constituted a province—General characteristics of the province—Original Chinese—New Chinese—The non-Chinese—The Keh-lao.

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WHEN the people now known as Chinese reached the regions which at present form the provinces of Shensi and Shansi in north China, they found much land already occupied by tribes not unlike themselves. These tribes were doubtless the descendants of people who had, at an earlier date, migrated from the west. Those to the south were called *Nan Man* or Southern Barbarians. They were also called *Miao*. The character *Miao*, as written in the "Book of History," means tender blades of grass or sprouts, and it is hard to decide whether the people were so named in consequence of the district they occupied, or whether the district took its name from the people. The word is

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175 evidently Chinese, and seems to be a natural term for all newcomers to apply to the aborigines, whom they regard as sons of the soil.

In the "Canon of Shuen" it is recorded that Shuen drove the San Miao into San Wei. Whether San Miao was the name of one tribe or meant three tribes[1] is not clear. San Wei was a district extending from what is now Kiukiang, in the province of Kiangsi, to Yochow, at the mouth of the Tungting Lake in the province of Hunan. This was about 4000 years ago. Later on, as the Miao continued rebellious, Yü was sent, at the command of Shuen, to correct them. For reasons which do not appear, Yü sent back his army and determined to try the effect of moral suasion on these unmanageable people, and in seventy days the Prince of the Miao came to make his submission!

From that time forth the struggle has proceeded between the ever-encroaching Chinese and the Miao, in which struggle the more civilised and better organised Chinese have always, in the end, prevailed. About 800 B.C. Shuen Wang, one of the kings of the Chow dynasty, sent an expedition against them.

[1] San is Chinese for three.

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Fang Shuh, who was the leader, proceeded with 175
three thousand chariots as far as the present cities of Changsha and Changte in Hunan. Three mailed warriors rode in each chariot, and these, with other soldiers, made up a force of some thirty thousand men. The barbarians, alarmed at the news of recent Chinese victories over the Northern Tartars, and terrified by the beating of drums and cymbals, submitted without resistance.

During the reign of Shih Hwang Ti, the Emperor who built the Great Wall and overthrew the feudal system of China (200 B.C.), cities were built in what are now the southern provinces of the Empire, and the whole of that country was brought under real or nominal subjection. The wilder west was, however, still unsubdued, and into these higher and less fertile regions many of the Miao withdrew.

When the Chinese first came upon the scene, the *Nan Man* or *Miao* were probably as numerous, if not more numerous than the new arrivals. The Chinese, however, were not only more civilised but under one government, whereas the Miao were divided under many local kings and rulers. The inevitable result followed. The Miao were gradually destroyed, or absorbed 175
by the conquering race, or driven to the less 177

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175 desirable regions of the west and south-west.
177 This process of absorption has been going on since the days of Yao and Shuen, 2356 B.C., and may be observed at the present time in the province of Kweichow. In that province many of the Chinese have Miao wives or concubines, and the children of such marriages always claim to be and are looked upon as Chinese.

121 The writer has neither the intention nor the ability to recall the history of the Miao tribes from the earliest times. His purpose, so far as he is able, is to describe briefly the different peoples now inhabiting the province of Kweichow, more especially the non-Chinese peoples. West China, Tibet, Burma, Tongking, Annam, and Siam are inhabited by many tribes, and it is impossible not to ask such interesting questions as: Who are they? Whence came they? and When? After a residence of more than twenty years in the province of Kweichow, where we have learned something about these tribes, it is our purpose to set down what we know.

103 The two characters *Kwei-chow* as they are now written, and have been written for about six hundred years, mean "Precious or Honourable Region." But eighteen hundred years ago, during the Han dynasty, the name was written

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with the character *Kwei* meaning "demon" and thus would mean "Demon Region," that is, "the region inhabited by demons." Sometimes it was written *Kwei Fang*, "demon place" or "land of demons." The inhabitants were also called *Lo-sï Kwei* or "Lo-sï demons," which probably had reference to the spiral form in which some of them did up their hair. 103

What is now Kweichow was only constituted a province, with Kweiyang Fu as its capital, about two hundred years ago. Previous to that time that portion of the present province north of the Wu-kiang or "Crow River" was part of the province of Szechwan. South of that river were semi-independent kingdoms; *I-chia* or *Lo-lo* who call themselves *No-su* in the west, and *Miao-chia* in the east. Hundreds of years previous to that time Chinese armies had marched into Kweichow and left garrisons in different places. 175

One hundred and fifty years ago, when Roman Catholic missionaries made a map of the Empire, some parts of southern Kweichow were put down as occupied by *Sen Miao* or "Independent Miao." Evidently at that time some of the Miao were still independent, for if they had in any way admitted Chinese sovereignty they would not have been reckoned

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175 as *Sen Miao*. The various tribes within the Empire, and those on the border, are divided into *Sen* and *Su* tribes. *Sen* means "raw," and *Su* means "ripe" or "cooked." The independent tribes are "raw," and those who acknowledge Chinese sovereignty are "cooked." There are no Miao, or any other tribe in Kweichow now, who claim to be independent. The last vestiges of independence passed away forty years ago when the latest Miao rebellion of any importance was put down after years of mutual slaughter. Talking recently with a Miao who remembered that time, he said, "Our people were worse than the Chinese and killed more women and children than they did."

133 Most of Kweichow is at least three thousand feet above sea-level, the altitude constantly increasing as the traveller goes west. Weining Lake, in the north-west, a large sheet of water fifty miles long and in some places nearly twenty miles broad, is 7000 feet above sea-level. We saw no boats and there appears to be no traffic on the lake. The hills are not exceedingly high, but they are everywhere. The province is a labyrinth of hills and valleys, and probably not one-fifth of the surface of it is cultivated or cultivable.

When the traveller reaches the top of a high

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hill and looks about him, he frequently sees all /33
around, as far as the eye can reach, an ocean of little hills, sometimes hundreds of them. They are of every conceivable shape, among which the pyramid and sugar-loaf shape are very common. Most of these hills are bare and barren, and there is little timber to be seen. The valleys between are for the most part narrow, and what might be called the plains are seldom very long or very broad. There are innumerable caves and caverns among these hills, some of which are very large. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the bowels of the earth, and come out again a considerable distance away. There are many waterfalls to be seen, some of which after a heavy fall of rain are magnificent.

There are very few waterways in Kweichow, /33
as most of the streams only become navigable 487
as they are leaving the province. The longest navigable river, the Chang-ki, is a branch of the Yüan River, and joins what is called the main stream from Chenyüan at the city of Kienyang Hun in Hunan. This stream, which flows through a region occupied for the most part by Heh Miao, is navigable when in flood almost to Tuyün, and all the year round as far as Kai-li in the Tsingpinghsien district. The boat-

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ASCENDING A RAPID ON THE PANCHAI RIVER.

[facing p. 7]

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House Boat approaching a Rapid on the River below Yuanchowfu, Hunan.

To face page 8.

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133 men on this river are nearly all Heh Miao, who
487 convey goods to and from Hungkiang in Hunan. This stream, however, in consequence of long and difficult rapids, is only navigable for small boats, whereas the Chenyüan branch is navigable for river boats of the largest size. This lack of waterways, and the fact that there is no road, as far as we know, in the province over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven, makes the conveyance of produce a costly under-
482 taking. Everything has to be carried by coolies, or on the backs of ponies and mules, and consequently it doubles the cost of rice to carry it one hundred and twenty miles.

162 The population of Kweichow is probably between seven and ten millions. In speaking of numbers, in the absence of trustworthy census returns, it must be understood that we are giving opinions formed from our own observation, influenced by the estimates of others who are as well qualified to judge as ourselves. In this way, then, we put the population of the province at between seven and ten millions, and reckon that one-half of these are Chinese and the rest mostly Miao and Chung-chia.

To a traveller passing through Kweichow, the Chinese would appear to greatly outnumber the non-Chinese. This is because the Chinese

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162 are mostly settled in the cities and towns, and in those districts which are nearer the cities and the great high-roads. Away from the cities and high-roads in the south-west and south-east, the non-Chinese greatly outnumber the Chinese. It must also be remembered that the Chung-chia men, and some of the men of the other tribes, dress exactly the same as Chinese peasants, and by the traveller might be taken for Chinese.

000 The Chinese of the province are divided into the *Lao-han-ren* and *Keh-chia*, that is, the "Original or Old Chinese" and the "Immigrants." The immigrants are very many, and the Old Chinese very few. Some of the Old Chinese claim that their ancestors settled in the province as early as the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and others as late as the fourteenth century. These were the soldiers left in the country as the results of early conquests and occupations, who married native women and settled down as cultivators of the soil. The descendants of these now form separate communities, speaking the old dialect their forebears brought into the country, or a modification of it, and able also to speak the mandarin dialect of the New Chinese. They are a sturdy industrious race who generally

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000 own the land they cultivate, but are regarded by the New Chinese much the same as the Miao and Chung-chia.

Among these Old Chinese are the following: The *P'u-tsï* or *T'un-tsï*, that is "Garrison people," in the Anshunfu prefecture; the *La-pa-tsï* in the western part of Anshunfu and in the Puanhsien district. The *Ch'uan-chün-tsï*, so called because the women wear long skirts like Miao and Chung-chia women, are found in Anshunfu, Weining, and Pingyüan districts. The *Feng-t'eo-ren* or "Phœnix-headed," named from the style in which the women do their hair, are to be seen along the main road from Kwei-yang to Anshunfu. It is not possible at present to say how many of these Old Chinese there are, but we venture to think there are only several tens of thousands of them. There may be, however, in other parts of the province other of these garrison people whom we have not seen or recognised, and of whom we have never heard. Doubtless many of these Old Chinese have, in the course of time, been absorbed among the non-Chinese or among the New Chinese.

The New Chinese are the descendants of those who settled in Kweichow when and since it was constituted a province of the Empire.

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There can be no doubt that the earlier of these immigrants were from the province of Kiangsi, and some of them at least were compelled to colonise Kweichow much against their will. Most of the Chinese now in the province would claim Kiangsi as the old home of their family. But in recent years, we do not venture to say for how many, the immigrants have nearly all been from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, and mostly from Szechwan. Since we first entered the province thirty years ago there has been a constant stream of people, sometimes rising and falling, flowing into Kweichow from the populous province of Szechwan. 000

The language spoken by the Chinese of Kweichow is good Mandarin, more like the dialect of Peking than that of Nanking, and much better mandarin than that spoken in many parts of Hunan. As one might expect, it is most like the Chinese spoken in Szechwan, and a man from Kweichow would be easily understood in north and central China where the Mandarin dialect is spoken.

The non-Chinese are nearly all of them cultivators of the soil, and live, as a rule, not on the land they cultivate, but, for the sake of mutual protection, in hamlets and villages. 361

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361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of
443 protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessaries as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means "family" or "tribe."
563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the "Miao tribe" or
101 "tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsi*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

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of speaking of them. People, unless they wish 563
to be rude, should speak and write of them as 101
Miao, or *Miao-chia*.

Of the four races mentioned above, the Miao- 563
chia and Chung-chia are numerous and important, the I-chia not so numerous but still important. Later on these will be dealt with at greater length. The Keh-lao, however, are now nearly extinct; many of them have married into Chung-chia and Old Chinese families. Some writers have spoken of them as extinct. As far as we know, there are now only several hamlets of them in the Anshun prefecture, which altogether do not number more than two or three hundred families.

These people claim, and rightly, we believe, to be the real aborigines of that region. In some parts of the province the Miao claim to be the aborigines, but where the Miao and Keh-lao occupy the same district, the Miao allow that the Keh-lao were there before themselves. From the similarity of names, we might suppose that these Lao or Keh-lao are the same as a branch of the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, southern Yunnan, and other regions. This, however, we think is not so, as we have good reason to conclude that the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, and elsewhere, are the

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563 same or closely related to the Chung-chia of Kweichow.

The language of the Keh-lao is quite different from every other spoken in the province, although like all the languages spoken in Kweichow it is syllabic and, we think, tonic. Most of them can also speak Chinese. The men dress as Chinese and wear the queue, but the women wear a costume peculiar to themselves, and have their hair done up in a knob at the top of their head, much like the style of a Taoist priest. Like all the other non-Chinese races the women do not bind their feet. In appearance they are, we think, most like the Miao.

All the Keh-lao we know or have heard of are in Anshun prefecture. Mr. and Mrs. Adam have visited some of them and have been kindly welcomed by them. About fifteen miles from Anshunfu, on the way to Ten-ten, an out-station among the Miao, is a Keh-lao hamlet where Mr. and Mrs. Adam always rest and have a meal, as there are no inns on the way to Ten-ten. The same family always entertains them, furnishing hot water for them, food for their coolies, and grass for their ponies. On the first occasion the old lady, when offered money for her hospitality, was quite offended, and said, "Ah well! don't come back again." However,

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the difficulty was got over by always taking a present for the hostess or her grand-daughter. We have been in that hamlet, and if we had not been told they were Keh-lao, should certainly have thought they were Miao.

563

The Keh-lao, like all the inhabitants of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, are great believers in demons and are very superstitious, but thus far we have had no opportunity of learning more of their religious notions. They are also known under the following names: *Hua*[1] Keh-lao, from the various colours in the dress of the women; *Ya-yu*[2] Keh-lao, from the custom of breaking a front tooth of a bride before she goes to her husband's home. They are also called the *Hung*[3] Keh-lao, that is the Red Keh-lao. Possibly Keh-lao means aboriginal, but this is only a guess. The Chinese have other names for them, but as these are the reverse of complimentary, out of respect for an ancient and vanishing people we shall not in these pages hand those names down to posterity.

[1] Hua = parti-coloured. [2] Ya = tooth. [3] Hung = red.

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CHAPTER II

THE LANGUAGES AND CUSTOMS OF THE MIAO

Chinese and non-Chinese—How named—How differentiated—Miao languages and dialects—Lack of literature—Love of litigation—Dacoits—The Black Miao—Other Miao—Moral condition.

162 If we estimate the population of Kweichow at eight millions, half of these as Chinese and the rest as Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia, we shall not be far from the truth. The Chung-chia are probably as numerous as the Miao-chia and I-chia together, and the Miao-chia much more numerous than the I-chia or Lo-lo. The I-chia are only to be found in the west and north-west, and even there are still outnumbered by the Miao. As the Miao were probably in what is now called Kweichow before the Chung-chia, and in most parts of it before the I-chia, the Miao may be first described.

101 The Chinese say there are seventy tribes of Miao, but one Chinese work makes that number

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include every sort of non-Chinese people, and is therefore misleading. As far as our observation goes, the Chinese who live in those regions make no mistake about the different races, and call them by their proper Chinese names. Many of the Miao men, as already mentioned, dress much the same as the Chinese peasants, but the women of all the tribes wear a costume peculiar to themselves, and it is from these differences that the Chinese name them. Thus, the women of the *Heh* or "Black Miao" wear a dark chocolate-coloured embroidered costume; the men of that tribe also often wear calico of a dark-brown or chocolate colour. For this reason the Chinese call them Black Miao. The *Ya-ch'io*, or "Magpie Miao," are so called because the dark-blue and white costume of their women suggests the magpie. There are the *Hua* or "Parti-coloured Miao," the *Peh* or "White Miao," and so on. Some few of them, however, are otherwise named, as the *Sa*, or "Shrimp Miao," because they catch and sell fresh-water shrimps. There are also the *Shui-hsi-Miao*, "West of the water Miao," the water here referred to doubtless being the river flowing between Anshunfu and Tating.

The most numerous and most important of these tribes are the Heh Miao in the south-

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A Group of Heh Miao (Black Miao) taken at Panghai.
Mrs. Powell is seen standing at the back of the picture on the reader's left.

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101 east and the Hua Miao in the west and north-west. In some parts the Hua Miao are called the Ta-hua-Miao. Here *Ta* means "great," and that adjective is probably used because there are so many of them and because they extend over so large a district. Some of the Miao are also found in the province of Yunnan, and some in the province of Hunan. But who is to decide what constitutes a tribe, and hence how many tribes there are? The Hua Miao of Anshunfu, both men and women, dress quite differently from the Ta-hua-Miao of Weining, but their language is much the same, and they are evidently the same tribe. The Heh Miao of Singyifu in the south-west are manifestly the same in dress and appearance as the Heh Miao of the south-east, though so widely separated geographically. Those of Singyifu moved, or were moved, from the south-east to where they are now, since the time when the great Miao and Mohammedan rebellions nearly depopulated the south-west of Kweichow. The Ya-ch'io Miao of Tating district speak almost the same dialect as the Peh Miao of Kao-san, about forty miles to the north-east of them. In Hwangping Chow there is a small tribe called the Keh-teo Miao living among the Heh Miao, but quite different from them in dress and appear-

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101 ance, being shorter and coarser looking than the Heh Miao. They speak also a dialect more like that of the Hua Miao of the west than that of the Heh Miao among whom they dwell. Probably they were where they are now before the Heh Miao moved into that region. For our part we think it a waste of time to try and count how many tribes of Miao there are. Any one who could speak three or four of their dialects would in all probability understand and be understood by them all.

000 Some writers have mentioned the Yao or Yao-ren of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and say that some of them are to be found in the south-east corner of Kweichow, and that they are a tribe of Miao. The *Yao* probably means "wild dog" or "jackal." Whether they are to be found in Kweichow or whether they are a tri of the Miao we cannot say; we never met or heard of any of them in Kweichow. But missionaries or travellers in that out-of-the-way corner of the province might inquire about them. From the lists of words of the different languages spoken in Kweichow, printed in the Appendix, the student may be able to discover if the Yao-ren are related to the Miao or to any of the other tribes of Kweichow.

Other writers mention the Li-ren or Li-mu,

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600 the aborigines of Hainan, and say they are probably the same as the Miao, and that the name seems to be retained in Liping, also in the south-east corner of Kweichow. We are not qualified to pass an opinion on that matter. It is, of course, quite possible that while most of the Miao were pressed westward by the Chinese, some of them may have been driven south, and might be found in the island of Hainan. The word *Li* in their name means "black" or "dark brown"; it also means "numerous." There is a State of Li, mentioned at the beginning of the tenth book of the "Book of History," which was conquered by the Chief of the West, A.D. 1123. The Chinese have for four thousand years used this word to designate themselves, and still call themselves the *Li-min*, which is generally translated "Black-haired people." This name, which is one of the first the Chinese used for themselves, suggests a very interesting question. All the people among whom the Chinese are now living have the same sort of hair, eyes, and complexion as themselves. Why, then, did they designate themselves the Dark or Black people? Did they at one time live in the neighbourhood of people who were fair-haired and of lighter complexion than themselves? But the problem of the Li-ren,

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the Black or Dark men, the aborigines of Hainan, is a problem which must be left for some missionary or traveller to solve.

As mentioned above, all the languages spoken in Kweichow are syllabic and tonic, but the Miao language appears to be more like the Chinese or, at all events, more like Mandarin Chinese than those spoken by the Keh-lao, Chung-chia, or I-chia. Naturally in all these languages there are words manifestly borrowed from the Chinese; but leaving out such words, there seem more resemblances between the Chinese and Miao words than between the Chinese and any of the others, or between Miao and any of the others.

Of the non-Chinese languages spoken in Kweichow we know Heh Miao and Chung-chia best, and it is worthy of note that in both of these, as a rule, the adjective comes after the noun, whereas in Chinese the adjective comes before the noun. There are also other marked peculiarities which differentiate these languages from the Chinese and from one another, but for the most part the syntax of all these languages is very much the same, that is to say, there are no conjugations, no declensions, and no inflexion of words. Like Mandarin Chinese, none of the Miao dialects we know have any

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194 final consonants other than "*n*" and "*ng*." They have, however, some initial sounds which are not found in Chinese, among which may be noted the "*Ll*" of the Welsh among the Heh Miao and also among the I-chia. This initial sound in some of the Miao dialects changes to "*Kl*" and "*Bl*."

The Chung-chia, besides the final "*n*" and "*ng*," have also as finals *k*, *m*, *p*, and *t*. The Heh Miao have eight tones, and some of the other dialects probably as many, though we have heard of some which have only four. The Chung-chia have six tones. How many the I-chia and Keh-lao have we are not able to say. The student has to study these languages some time before he can decide how many tones they use. Of course, all these people utter all the various tones correctly for their own dialects, but are quite unable to say how many tones there are. There are, moreover, in some of these tones such fine gradations of pitch and inflexion that only the practised ear can distinguish between them.

197 192 The various dialects spoken by the Miao tribes differ considerably, so much so that a Heh Miao from the south-east cannot understand anything of the dialect spoken by a Heh Miao of the west. If, however, the vocabularies

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of these two most dissimilar dialects are compared, it is easily seen that they are both variations of a common speech. Naturally these variations are most marked in cases where the tribes are most widely separated geographically. But the differences of dialect in tribes which are only thirty or forty miles apart are sometimes very great. In some of these cases it is very often the commonest words which show the greatest changes; for instance, the pronouns, the negatives, and such common words as the verbs "to be" and "to have." This striking difference of speech among people who must at one time have spoken the same language suggests that they have not only been separated geographically, but have also been apart for long periods of time.

The Heh Miao call themselves *mp'eo* or *de mp'eo*. *De* is merely a personal prefix. This word or sound *mp'eo* also means embroidery. The Heh Miao women, and the women of most of the other Miao tribes, wear a good deal of embroidery in their costume. The amount of embroidery on the clothing of a Heh Miao young woman is astonishing. It takes them years to do the embroidery on the jacket and skirt in which they hope to be married, and one of the commonest sights in a Heh Miao village

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291 531 is a group of young girls, sitting round the door of one of the houses, laughing and chatting and doing their embroidery. When the costumes are finished, they are worn on gala days before they are married and on festive occasions for years afterwards. I have asked my teacher and others if they call themselves *mp'eo* because of the embroidery their women wear, but none of them was able to say why they call themselves by that name.

101 The Ya-chio Miao of Tatung, who live about one hundred miles distant from the nearest Heh Miao, call themselves *mp'ü*, which is the same word and means " embroidery " also with them. They also were not able to tell me why they are so named. The Hua Miao call themselves *hmung* and *hmung-a-li*. The Shui-hsi Miao and Peh Miao also call themselves *hmung*, and some of the other Miao call themselves *hmao*. Now all these words *mp'ü*, *mp'eo*, *hmao*, *hmung* are doubtless the same word, but whether *hmao* and *hmung* also mean embroidery or not in those dialects we are not at present able to say.

173 As these people have no literature, they can say very little that is trustworthy about their own origin and history. The Heh Miao say they came from Kiangsi province, and that is where the Chinese place the San Miao in the

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"Book of History." The Heh Miao, we have 173
every reason to think, were the last to move into Kweichow. Some of them are to be found in Hunan, which lies between Kiangsi and Kweichow, and we believe traces of their language are to be found in some of the local dialects of Kiangsi. The Hua Miao say they have always lived where, or very near to where, they are now. However, when the Keh-lao are mentioned, they readily admit that the Keh-lao were in the district before them. Probably the Hua Miao were the first of the Miao tribes to move into those regions, it may be two thousand or more years ago.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say their old home was in Tongking, and that they came to Kweichow by way of Szechwan and Yunnan. This is absurd, and we only put it on record because they insisted that it was so. They also say that when they die their souls return to their ancestors in Tongking. There can be no doubt these 174
various tribes originally came from farther east, though at vastly different periods, some of them two thousand years ago, and the Heh Miao last of all within the last five hundred years. It may be, however, and is indeed very probable, that some of them moved about in different directions before they settled down

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174 where we find them now. Tongking, which the Ya-ch'io Miao pronounce as the Chinese do *Tung-chin*, may be one of the old capitals of China called "The Eastern Metropolis."[1]

622 Till recent times the Miao, while actually subject to China, were ruled by their own hereditary chiefs. This system is now passing away, if it has not already ceased to exist. We have heard of Miao chiefs still exercising hereditary authority at the present time, but we have not met them or been, so far as we know, in their districts. The men now responsible for their districts and fellow-tribesmen to the Imperial magistrates are appointed by those magistrates. These men are called *Tuan* or headmen, just as the same sort of men are called by the same name among the Chinese. These are something like Justices of the Peace in England, having authority in their own jurisdiction to settle minor disputes, while all serious cases are tried by the Chinese magistrate. These headmen are also responsible for the collection of the land tax. Among the Miao they are generally very ignorant men, not able to read and write. Thus it appears that the

[1] Peking = Northern Capital. Nanking = Southern Capital. Tungking = Eastern Capital. Compare the Japanese Tokio (Tungking) = Eastern Capital.

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Miao are ruled much in the same way as the 622
Chinese who live in villages and hamlets.

The Miao are, we have many reasons to 691
think, more litigious than the Chinese, constantly going "to have the law" on some one, or some one going "to have the law" on them. In many cases the affair is brought before the local headman, but on these occasions it is difficult to satisfy both parties, and the loser is almost certain to carry the case before the district magistrate. It is amazing to note how much of their time and money these people spend in legal proceedings, and very often fail to get justice after all. But it is a point of honour with them, and they think it due to themselves and their reputations to fight a case to the bitter end.

This love of litigation is encouraged by 691
the secretaries and underlings in the various 661
Yamen, who depend for their living principally on the law cases, civil and criminal, brought before the magistrate. If there were no litigation these men would starve. Thus cases that have been settled, and possibly justly settled, by the headman, can always be reopened before the district magistrate, and cases settled by one magistrate can be retried by his successor. This is not from any love of justice, but for the

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691 sake of the bribes, squeezes, and fees that are
661 to be obtained from the litigants. The average incumbency of a district magistrate in Kweichow is not, we think, over twelve months.

Not only do the Yamen people profit by the cases brought before the magistrate, but very often underlings, and others in league with the Yamen, foment litigation and exhort the simple country-folk to take their grievances, or reopen their cases, before the magistrate. The longer a case lasts, and the more people can be drawn into it, the more profit there is for the Yamen. Very often cases are trumped up and false accusations made, and even if the accused finally obtains a verdict in his favour, it will only be after he has been mercilessly squeezed by these harpies. Probably on account of their ignorance and the lack of men among them with literary degrees, which would give them the privilege of interviewing the magistrate, the Miao are even more squeezed than the Chinese. Yamen secretaries, however, are neither partial nor particular, but always willing and zealous to extort money from everybody they can lay their hands on.

594 Among the Miao nearly all the disputes
586 arise on account of their land or their women. They recognise the marriage relation, but do

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not observe it as strictly as the Chinese. Miao 594
women have more liberty and are more uncon- 586
ventional than Chinese women, and consequently many of their marriages are the result of mutual liking. Not infrequently, however, a girl is practically sold for money to a husband chosen by the parents, and in these cases the result is often disastrous. The young woman will probably run away from her husband's home and continue to meet her lover. If pressure is brought to bear upon her from her parents or parents-in-law, as it generally is, she may return to her husband's home, make herself thoroughly disagreeable, and run away again in a short time. After this has happened 586
repeatedly, the husband in despair tries all he can to find out who is the lover. When he finds this out, he sends an invitation to the lover and to his wife's people to come before the elders of the district and talk over his grievance. Sometimes these discussions last for days. The husband pretends to want his wife back, but as a matter of fact he has had quite enough of her, and really desires to have the money he paid for her returned to him. The wife's father pretends to be very angry, says his daughter was not well treated, that notwithstanding the hard work she had to do

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586 and the little food she got, she is willing to return, but her husband has never come to his home to fetch her. Note, it is the custom for a husband to make a present to his wife's father on such an occasion.

Many angry words are spoken by the three parties concerned, and after everybody has added his or her word to the discussion, the case may be ended by the elders suggesting that the lover should repay the husband the cost of his wife and marry her himself, and that the husband should take the money and go elsewhere for a wife. If, however, the lover's influence is strong, the elders may decide that the girl go back to her husband, knowing that she will do nothing of the sort, or will not stay with him if she does go back. The case is thus only postponed for another time. We have assisted at some of the discussions of these matrimonial cases and know how hard they [691] are to settle. These daughter-in-law cases are not often brought before the Chinese magistrate, except when they have led to fighting, and, as sometimes happens, to serious wounds and homicide.

627 In the west and north-west of the province, when the Miao are the tenants of the I-chia landholders, all disputes about the land are

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settled by the landlord, and their matrimonial 627
disputes are settled among themselves, so there is very little litigation among them in the Chinese courts.

To help the reader to understand the con- 579
ditions under which the people of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, live outside the cities and towns, it should be mentioned that in most parts of the province there are local bands of robbers, dacoits they would be called in Burma, who prey upon travellers and upon the people who live in little villages and hamlets. As the population varies all over the province, some of these bands are composed of Chinese, some of Miao, and some of Chinese and Miao.

Two or three years ago when we were at 579
Panghai, two days south-west of Chenyüan, 628
the Panghai robbers, while prowling not far from Pingtsai, fifteen miles lower down the river, kidnapped a Miao girl who was sister, or something else, to one of the Pingtsai band of robbers. The Pingtsai robbers resented this and threatened to come to Panghai and attack the Panghai band. Thereupon there was a great sharpening of swords and spears in Panghai market-place and much tall talk. The Pingtsai men, however, did not come, and we never heard how the affair was settled. Both

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579 628 these bands were made up of Chinese and Miao. Not infrequently Yamen runners and soldiers are connected with these bands and go out with them on their marauding expeditions. Some of the local gentry and Justices of the Peace, too, are often in league with them and share the plunder.

579 651 As far as we are able to judge, the Miao are not difficult to govern. They are not turbulent people, and if let alone or justly treated would never cause any trouble. But they do assert themselves sometimes even now, when the extortion of Yamen tax-gatherers drives them to desperation. Four years ago when Mr. and Mrs. B. Curtis Waters were travelling from Tushan to Kweiyang, they put up at an inn in the prefectural city of Tuyün. Suddenly about two thousand Heh Miao marched into the city armed with swords, spears, and guns. They called out to the shopkeepers and people in the street not to be afraid, they would not rob or injure them, all they wanted was the Prefect, and him they were going to kill. They rushed into the Prefect's Yamen, and wounded one of the secretaries whom they mistook for the Prefect, and the Prefect had time to escape. That revolt was provoked by the Yamen tax-collectors, who, under the pretext of founding

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schools, squeezed the Miao unmercifully. The 579
District or County magistrate, whose Yamen 651
was within the city, reasoned with them and persuaded them to go away. They returned to their homes, and later on the affair was settled by the nominal punishment of some of the Miao and a more just collection of the education rate.

Of all the Miao in Kweichow, the Heh or 463
Black Miao are the most intelligent and the most self-reliant. Most of them own the land they cultivate, many of them are well-to-do, and in many respects they seem nearly equal, if not quite equal, to the Chinese peasantry around them. We have observed, however, that the artisans among them are neither so skilful nor so trustworthy as those among the Chinese. The Heh Miao not only bring their [443]
cattle and produce to market, but many of them engage in trade and open stalls on the market-place. Some of them buy pigs, rice, and other local products, and carry them for sale in their own boats to Hungkiang in Hunan. On the river that flows from Kai-li to Kienyang Hun, fifteen miles above Hungkiang, all the boatmen appear to be Miao. Elsewhere, however, the Miao seem to be poorer and inferior to the Chinese and Chung-chia. In Weining 020

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A Black Miao Mother and her two Daughters at Panghai.

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427 district they[1] In Weining are most of them the tenants of the I-chia.

273 Drink is, we believe, in most cases the cause of their poverty and degradation. The love of whisky, which they make for themselves, is a prevailing vice among them all, men and women. Festivals, marriages, funerals, and sacrificial observances in reference to the dead, are all occasions for the reckless consumption of whisky. Chinese women at feasts sometimes drink more whisky than is good for them, but they have the good sense even then to stay indoors till the effects of it have passed away. We cannot remember that we ever saw an intoxicated Chinese woman. But Miao women glory in their shame, and are not infrequently seen hilariously, helplessly drunk, parading, or trying to parade, along the village street. Some of these drinking bouts, on the occasion of a marriage or funeral, go on for three days and nights, and the sounds of drunken songs and revelry are heard all over the village.

000 Morally most of them are below, and some of them immeasurably below, the Chinese. We know most about the Heh Miao and the Hua Miao, and these probably are the two extremes—the Heh Miao the best, and the Hua Miao and Ta-hua Miao of the west and north-west the

1 [ie, the Miao. -- Analyst]

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worst, of all the Miao tribes. We have lived much among the Heh Miao, and believe there are plenty of decent women among them. But there are no decent women among the Ta-hua Miao, or there were none until the missionaries went among them. The Ta-hua Miao of Wei-ning district and around Chaotung were, and in some cases are still, so bad that they could hardly be worse. This is describing their moral condition in very few words, but these are quite enough. The less said on this topic the better, and so we leave it.

The vice of opium smoking is not so prevalent among them as it is among the Chinese, but many of them grow, and some of them smoke, opium. During our own experience among them for fifteen years we have noticed the habit becoming more and more prevalent. In villages where fifteen years ago only one or two smoked surreptitiously, there are now houses where many of them go and smoke openly. In the elevated regions of the west, where opium cannot be grown, the habit is almost unknown, but elsewhere it is spreading among them.

Opium may not be a specific for all the ills that flesh is heir to, but it seldom fails to ease pain and give temporary relief, and among

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276 people who have no medical science, with opium always at hand, it is easy to foresee what the state of matters will be in the course of time if things go on as they are. Fortunately, the Chinese Government seem determined to put an end to the cultivation of the poppy, and if they do put a stop to it, as we believe they will sooner or later, there will be an end to this vice among the Miao. Most of them are too poor to buy it for themselves, so cannot use it if they do not produce it.

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CHAPTER III

MIAO LEGENDS

Black Miao legends—The Creation—The Flood—The earth repeopled—Hua Miao legend of Flood—Ya-ch'io legend of Flood—Fu-hsi—P'an-ku—Yao and Shuen's Flood.

THE Miao have no written language. This is a very remarkable fact if we bear in mind that the Chinese have cultivated literature for nearly four thousand years, while the Miao have been their neighbours, and some of them near neighbours, for all this length of time. The two races, though often contending, have not always been in arms one against another; there has always been some, and generally a good deal of intercourse between them. Their average intelligence is not equal to that of the Chinese, but some of them are equal to the average Chinese. They are not by any means savages or wild people, and they have unquestionably learned many things from the Chinese, and yet they never learned

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212 from them the art of writing their own language.

[193] The Miao language, like the Chinese, is syllabic, unencumbered with conjugations or other inflexions, and it would be very easy to represent Miao words by Chinese characters 871 which are not phonetic but ideographic. At the present time there are schools in the Miao villages where Chinese literature is taught. Probably from earliest times there have been some Miao, as there are now, who could read and write Chinese, and yet not one of them, as far as we know, ever attempted to put down their own words in writing. If such an attempt was ever made, it evidently met with no acceptance among the tribesmen, who remain to-day as illiterate as their ancestors in the days of Yao and Shuen.

872 When we opened a school at Panghai some 212 years ago, and offered to teach the scholars to write their own language in the Roman script, the parents would not consent, but wished their children to learn to read and write Chinese. Their way of looking at the matter is not hard to understand. What writing they have to do must be done for them in Chinese. Any Miao 212 who can read and write passably may easily make his living among his neighbours by doing

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their reading and writing for them. All proclamations and official notifications, all pleas and counter-pleas in law cases have to be written in Chinese. When a Miao headman receives a dispatch from the magistrate, he has to find some one to read it for him and write his reply. All their contracts, mortgages, and deeds of sale or rental are written in Chinese, and not one in a hundred of them when he buys a piece of land is able to read the deed of sale when it is written. 212

A man once explained to me how it happens that they have no written language. He said that many years ago the Miao were living in the neighbourhood of the Chinese, and the Chinese were too crafty for them, so they determined to move westward and live by themselves. At that time they knew a few characters, but evidently knew very little else. After travelling for many days they came to a vast sheet of water, and, having no boats, were unable to proceed. As some of them stood perplexed at the edge of the water, they noticed some water-spiders moving about on the surface of it, and they said one to another, "If these little things can walk on the water, why cannot we?" Thereupon they tried to walk on the surface of the water, which nearly cost them 212 173

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212 173 their lives. Before they managed to get back again on the bank, they swallowed a great deal of water, and with the water they swallowed all the characters they knew, and have been without characters ever since! This may be regarded as an historical romance with a basis of fact. They did move west away from the Chinese, and the sheet of water was doubtless the Tungting Lake. But are we to gather from it that there was a time when they had some characters, but have since forgotten them?

538 If the Miao have no literature, they have plenty of legends handed down from earlier times. Who composed these legends no one knows; they are taught by the older people to the girls and boys. Many of them are in verse, five syllables to a line, the stanzas being of unequal length, one stanza interrogative and one responsive. These are sung or recited at their festivals by two persons or two groups, generally one group of young men and one group of young women, one group interrogating and the other responding. Among these legends, which I have written down from the dictation of my Heh Miao teacher, is a story of the Creation and a story of the Flood. The story of Creation commences:

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Who made heaven and earth?
Who made insects?
Who made men?
Made male and made female?
I who speak don't know.

Vang-vai (Heavenly King) made heaven and earth.
Zie-ne made insects.
Zie-ne made men and demons,
Made male and made female.
How is it you don't know?

How made heaven and earth?
How made insects?
How made men and demons?
Made male and made female?
I who speak don't know.

Heavenly King is (or was) intelligent.
Spat a lot of spittle into his hand,
Clapped his hands with a noise,
Produced heaven and earth.
Tall wild grass made insects.
Stones made men and demons.
Made male and made female.
How is it you don't know?

Made heaven in what way?
Made earth in what way?
Thus by rote I sing,
But don't understand.

Made heaven like a sun-hat.
Made earth like a dust-pan.
Why don't you understand?
Made heaven a single lump,
Made earth a single lump.

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Who put heaven up?
Heaven then so very high.
Who separated earth low down?
Earth then deep and low.
I sing and don't understand.

The poem then goes on to relate how heaven and earth were kept apart after they were separated. They tried all sorts of wood and all sorts of metal, and at length decided to prop up heaven with pillars made of silver. But where were they to get fire to melt the silver? Fire had gone up to heaven; how were they to bring it down? Fire eventually came down from heaven in a stone, and with raw steel and tinder they extracted the fire from the stone. After heaven had been propped up with silver pillars, the sun and moon and milky-way were fixed in their places. The sun, however, went away and would not come back. Thereupon they sent various beasts and birds to call the sun to return, but they would not go; or if they went, the sun refused to come at their call. Finally, they sent the cock to call the sun to return, and when the cock crew the sun came back. The poem concludes that the proof of this is that when the cock crows the sun rises!

"Heavenly King" is a translation of *Vang-*

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"Heavenly King" is a translation of Vang-
vai, the two words used as the name of the 773
Creator. In this legend it is very interesting 776
to note how clearly and simply they say "Heavenly King made heaven and earth." This is so different to the elaborate and confused cosmogeny of the Chinese as to compel the opinion that we have here a very old tradition, and one which they did not learn from the Chinese. The stanzas given above contain all that is said of the Heavenly King. In the rest of the poem, of more than a thousand lines, *Zie-ne* and others in turn come upon the scene and do things, but who these were, or if Zie-ne is another name for the Creator, we have not been able to discover. But we feel almost sure that Zie-ne is an earthly person and not the Heavenly King. There is a word *ne* of the same tone which means "land," generally "low-lying land." If it is the same word, then Zie-ne means "earthly Zie" and must be distinguished from "Heavenly Vang." Zie may merely be a name. In the legend of the Deluge, "Zie" or "A-Zie" is the only male survivor. "A" is a very common prefix to names and relationships.

In the Heh Miao metrical version of the 773
Flood, that catastrophy was in consequence of a quarrel between the two brothers A-Fo and

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773 A-Zie. *F'o* means "thunder," but as we have just mentioned above, we do not know what *Zie* means. These two fell out about the division of the family possessions, a very common source of ill-feeling among the Miao and others. Thunder evidently lived above, probably in heaven, and A-Zie lived on earth. When Thunder threatened to destroy the earth with a deluge, A-Zie hollowed out a large gourd for himself, and collected a hundred kinds and a thousand sorts of seeds, and put them in a smaller gourd.

After the Flood, when the earth dragon had swallowed up all the water, and the hill dragon all the mist, the earth was again habitable. As all the people on the earth had been destroyed, and they were the only persons surviving, A-Zie asked his sister to be his wife. How this sister had been preserved is not clear in the Heh Miao version. She declined to be his wife on the ground that such a marriage was not proper. When A-Zie insisted, his sister proposed that each of them should take a millstone, and going to the top of adjacent hills should roll them down into the valley below. If these should be found together in the valley, one over the other after the manner of millstones, she would consent to marry him,

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but if they were found apart she would not be his wife. 773

Now this A-Zie was a very crafty fellow, and thinking how very improbable it was that two stones rolled from adjacent hills should thus come together, he secretly procured two other millstones, and put them one upon the other in the valley. The millstones that the brother and sister rolled from the hill-tops were lost in the brushwood, but when they came down into the valley, A-Zie showed his sister the two stones he had placed in the position required, and claimed that she should be his wife. She, however, was not yet satisfied, and demanded another appeal to chance or overruling providence. She suggested that a scabbard for two knives should be placed in the valley, and each of them taking a knife should hurl them from the adjacent hill-tops into the valley. If both knives were found in the scabbard, she would be his wife; if otherwise, she would not.

A-Zie, again thinking it very improbable that the knives would be thrown into the scabbard from such a great distance, surreptitiously put two other knives in the scabbard. The knives thrown from the hill-tops were, as he expected, lost, but when they came

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773 down into the valley, he showed her the two knives in the scabbard and she finally consented to be his wife. In course of time a child was born to them without any limbs. A-Zie was very angry, and taking a big knife killed the child, chopped it to bits, and scattered the bits all over the hill-side. Next morning they discovered that these pieces had all changed into men and women, and thus the earth was repeopled.

Part of this legend may, as an illustration of all, be given in a rough translation of the Metric Version:

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Zie demanded his sister in marriage,
His sister spoke,
Spoke how?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Then his sister spoke,
You want to marry your sister;
Lift up a millstone each opposite,
Let go to roll to the valley;
(If) they roll and make one,
You marry your sister.
If the stones rest apart in the valley,
(We) both go and rest in our own place.
So his sister spoke,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

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Let the stones go into the valley; 773
Did the stones then make one (or) 538
Did the stones rest apart?
I who sing don't know.

The stones rested apart.
Zie contrived wickedly,
Put stones in the valley,
Called his sister to come
To see the stones become one.
A-Zie then spoke,
Now we two will marry,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

His sister again spoke,
Spoke words nicely,
How did she speak?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

His sister again spoke,
Take knives each on a separate hill,
Throw the knives into the valley;
(If they) enter into one sheath,
We two will marry.
(If) the knives rest apart,
We will rest apart.
So his sister spoke,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

A-Zie then hit on a plan,
Made up his mind what to do,
He would have his sister for wife.
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

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A-Zie then hit on a plan,
He made his heart wicked,
Made two pairs of knives,
He placed knives in the valley,
(They) rested apart.
Threw and went into the grass,
(He) called his sister to come
To see the two knives in a pair.
Now we two will marry,
He would have his sister for wife,
Why don't you understand?

Would have his sister for wife,
The two returned home.
Who did they ask (about it)?
Commanded what?
So the two got married.
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

So the two returned home,
And asked their Mother,
Their Mother then said,
Heaven has no people,
Earth has no people,
You two must marry.
Kill buffaloes, kill cows, receive guests,
Hang meat on the branches of the "Zan" tree,
Call your brother cousin,[1]
Hang meat on the branches of the "Ma sang" tree,
Call your Mother mother-in-law,
So their Mother spoke,
Spoke words thus,
And the two got married.
Why don't you understand?

[1] Not a human being but a genius or fairy; the same with the guests.

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So the two got married,
Afterwards they had a child,
Had a child, what sort?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Afterwards they had a child,
Had a child like a hammer,
Why don't you understand?

They had a child which had no arms or legs—
this is why they say it was like a hammer.

Had a child like a hammer,
Zie saw, did Zie love it?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Zie saw and did not love it,
Zie saw and Zie got angry,
Why don't you understand?

A-Zie was full of anger,
Took the child and did what?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

A-Zie was full of anger,
Zie drew out a great knife,
Took the child and chopped it up,
Why don't you understand?

Zie took the child and chopped it up,
Where did he throw (the pieces)?
Flesh went and got a name,
What did they become and what were they called?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

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He sowed them on the hill,
In the morning they became people,
Thus they got a name,
What they became so they were called,
Why don't you understand?

773 Mr. H. J. Hewitt had the same story told him, in a different way, by the Hua Miao. Years ago they told me their story, but I did not write it down; so here is Mr. Hewitt's version.

According to this, two brothers ploughed a field one day, and next morning found the soil all replaced and smoothed over as if it had never been disturbed. This happened four times, and being greatly perplexed they decided to plough the field over once more and observe what happened. In the middle of the night while the brothers were watching, one on one side of the field and the other on the other side, they saw an old woman descend from heaven with a board in her hand, who, after replacing the clods of earth, smoothed them with the board. The elder brother at once shouted to the younger one to come and help him to kill the old woman who had undone all their work. But the younger brother suggested that they should first ask her why she did this and put them to so much trouble. So they

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asked the old woman why she had acted so, and made them labour in vain. She then told them it was useless for them to waste time in ploughing land as a great flood was coming to drown the world. She then advised the younger brother, because he had been kind to her and prevented the elder brother killing her, to save himself in a huge wooden drum. He was to cut down a tree, hollow it out from the bottom upwards, and nail a piece of skin over the opening. She told the elder brother, because he had wished to kill her, to make for himself an iron drum. They were each to retire into their respective drums when the flood came.

When the flood came and the waters rose, the younger brother invited his sister to take refuge in his drum, and she did so. The elder brother was drowned in his iron drum, but the younger brother and his sister were safely preserved in the wooden one. The waters rose half-way up to heaven, and so high were the brother and sister carried in the hollow tree. With the rush of water they were carried hither and thither, and the tree at length was seen by one of the Genii of heaven, who thought it was some huge creature with as many horns as the tree had branches. He was very much alarmed, and said: "I have only twelve horns,

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773 but this thing has many more; whatever shall I do?" Thereupon he cried out for the dragon, lizards, tadpoles, and eels to clear out the channels and make holes for the waters of the flood to recede, and thus deliver him from the monster with so many horns.

Through the efforts of the dragon and his crew, after twenty days the waters subsided, and the hollow tree stuck half-way down a steep and dangerous precipice. Then it came to pass that an eagle built its nest and hatched two young ones. This suggested a mode of deliverance from their difficult situation to the young man. He plucked some hair from his head, plaited a small cord, and with this tied the wings of the young eagles so that when they were fledged they were unable to fly.

The mother-bird was much perplexed when in due time her young ones could not fly, and went to consult a fairy about it. The fairy said, "Go and ask the stem of the tree near to which your nest is built, and it will tell you what to do. In return for this you must take the tree and fly away with it down to the ground." So the bird flew back to its nest, and addressing the tree, said: "Let my young ones fly, I pray thee." The man in the tree replied, "If I let them fly will you carry me down to the ground

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in safety ?" The eagle promised to do so, and the young man at once unfastened the cords he had tied round the wings of the young eagles, and they were immediately able to fly. Then the eagle took the tree, with the brother and sister in it, and flew with it down to the ground.

On coming out from their late abode, these two survivors found themselves in great straits. They had no companions, no fire, and no rice to eat. The brother seeing a red bird not far from him, picked up a piece of old iron and struck at it. The bird flew away, and the iron struck a rock which gave forth a spark. Thus they discovered the way to get fire, and having gathered some dry stalks, they made a fire at which they warmed themselves.

Finding no other human beings on the earth, the brother proposed to his sister that they should be man and wife. Here also the sister was unwilling, and here also the matter was to be decided by the two millstones as in the Heh Miao story; but in the Hua Miao version it was the brother who proposed that test. Here also the millstones were found in the valley one upon the other, but nothing is said about the way in which the brother deceived his sister. For a second trial the sister was to

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take a needle and the brother a piece of thread and throw them into the valley; if the needle was found threaded in the valley, it was agreed they should marry. The needle was found threaded in the valley, and so they became man and wife. When their child was born without arms and legs, they appealed to the fairy about it, who told them to cut up the child in a hundred pieces, and throw the pieces in a hundred different places. They did this, and next morning all these pieces had turned into men and women, who took their names from the things on which the pieces had fallen. Thus one was called Water, another Wood, another Stone, and so on. Hence the "hundred families,"[1] and this is how the earth was repeopled and how people got their names.

The Ya-ch'io Miao, three or four days south of Kweiyang, also tell the Story of the Flood. They also tell of a brother and sister, the only survivors, who were saved in a huge bottle gourd they had hollowed out for themselves. They also tell the story of the millstones, but as the second test they mention two trees. If both bore fruit, they would marry; if one bore fruit and the other did not, they would not

[1] The Chinese Book of Names is called *Peh-chia-sing* or "Hundred Family Names."

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marry. Finally, they married and had two children, who were born mute and without arms or legs. These they cut in pieces, and the pieces turned into men and women. 773

The Ya-ch'io Miao say the man's name was Bu-i, and his sister's name Ku-eh ("eh" like "i" in "Sir"). When talking Chinese they call Bu-i "Fu-hsi," who is sometimes called the Chinese Noah. *Bu* probably means "ancestor," and *I* means "one" or "first," and thus *Bu-i* almost certainly means "First Ancestor." In the name of the sister, *Ku* may mean "ancient," and *eh* means "water." The Miao, as we have mentioned, have no characters which would help to settle the meaning of a word. As in Chinese, they have many words pronounced exactly the same, but with very different meanings, so Chinese students, at all events, will understand why it is not wise to dogmatise about the meaning of Miao names. Besides, my Ya-ch'io Miao vocabulary is very limited, but future students might bear these points in mind.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say that P'an-ku divided heaven and earth. P'an-ku in their own language they call Wa-Ku-lo. Now the Chinese are by no means clear or unanimous as to the meaning of P'an-ku. It is generally understood

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773 to be the name of a person, but some scholars suggest that the two words *P'an-ku* mean "ancient times." Beyond all question the word *Ku* as written means "ancient," "antiquity," and the word *P'an*, among the many other things it means, means also "to coil," "to wind," "coiled," "winding." Thus *P'an-ku* might mean "revolving ages" and be equivalent to "long, long ago." In that case *P'an-ku k'ai t'ien, p'i ti* would mean "long, long ago heaven and earth were divided" (or formed). *Wa-ku-lo* is the Ya-ch'io name or equivalent of *P'an-ku*. *Wa* means "ten thousand" and *lo* means "old." I am not sure what *ku* means, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that it means the same here as in the name of the only woman survivor of the Flood, Ku-eh, and the same as in the Chinese name P'an-ku, that is, that it is the Chinese word *Ku* and means "ancient," "antiquity." This then would give us "Old ten thousand ages ago" as the Ya-ch'io Miao equivalent of P'an-ku. It should be noted that in the Miao language the adjectives come after nouns, and in adding the adjective "lo" they would put it after Wa-ku. Wa-ku is evidently their rendering of the Chinese P'an-ku, and lo is an addition of their own which personifies the term. Did they in former

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times say "Ages long ago, heaven and earth were divided"? And in course of time, as the tradition passed from generation to generation, and the meaning of it was partly lost, did they personify the term "ages ago" by adding the word "old" to it, and thus say Wa-ku-lo, Old Wa-ku, divided heaven and earth? It seems very like it.

In all the Miao stories of the Flood, the three mentioned above and others, there are always just two survivors, a brother and sister, who became man and wife. It is interesting to note that Ovid in his Story of the Deluge knows only of two survivors, Deucalion and Pyrrha his wife, who was also his sister. This is manifest from the way Deucalion addresses her, "O soror, O coniux, O femina sola superstes." They were told by an oracle to throw the bones of their great mother behind them. When they understood that by their great mother the earth was meant, and that by bones stones were meant, they threw stones behind them. Those thrown by the man became men, and those thrown by the woman became women, and thus in Ovid's story the earth was repeopled. If it should be objected that Deucalion and Pyrrha were only cousins, it is also possible that the two Miao survivors were also cousins.

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The children of brothers among the Miao and Chinese are reckoned as brothers and sisters, and not allowed to marry.

We mentioned above that Bu-i, which almost certainly means "First Ancestor," is the Ya-ch'io Miao name for Fu-hsi, who is sometimes called the Chinese Noah. Readers may thereby be led to infer that the Chinese also have a story of Noah's Deluge, but this would be misleading. At the very dawn of Chinese history, in the days of Yao and Shuen, 2200 B.C., the "Book of History" mentions a terrible inundation which desolated the land. This must have been caused at that time by an abnormal rise of the Yellow River, and probably also by the giving way of its embankments. Subsequently this water, which covered much of the land for many years, was drawn off by the unwearied labours of Yü, who later became King and Founder of the Hsia dynasty. It was after nine years' hard work, clearing out the old and cutting new channels for the water, that the land was drained. There can be no doubt that Yao, Shuen, and Yü were historical characters, but much of what is said of them in the "Historical Books" is legendary. They were the earliest leaders of the Chinese people, and later times regarded them as ideal kings, endowing

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them with all virtue, all wisdom, and with superhuman ability.

It is not difficult in those legends of the overflow of the Yellow River to trace the legend of an earlier and more terrible flood. It is said, "In their vast extent they (the waters) embrace the mountains and over-top the hills, threatening heaven with their floods." This is very extraordinary language to use in describing an abnormal rise of the Yellow River. Dr. Legge, in his Prolegomena to the *Shu King* or "Book of History," touches on this question, and concludes by saying, "I think, therefore, that in the description of the inundation of Yao's time we have an imperfect reference to the Deluge of Noah."

Why Fu-hsi is sometimes called the Chinese Noah is not very clear. According to Chinese mythology, P'an-ku was the first man, but Fu-hsi was also the first man of another epoch, and it is worthy of note that there were ten generations between P'an-ku and Fu-hsi. The time of Fu-hsi is given as 2852 B.C. Evidently for these reasons some writers have spoken of Fu-hsi as the Chinese Noah. This opinion is confirmed by the Ya-ch'io Miao legend of Bu-i, who was beyond all doubt their Noah, and whom when speaking Chinese they call Fu-hsi.

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CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Religious beliefs of Miao—Musical festivals—Pony-running—Buffalo fights—Fear of demons—Wizards or exorcists—Soothsayers—Witchcraft—Heaven—Funeral ceremonies—Offerings to ancestors—Marriage customs—Miao tales.

000 It is somewhat difficult for a stranger and foreigner to learn the religious beliefs of a people like the Miao. They know, or suspect, that the foreigner does not believe what they believe, and they are afraid that he may laugh at them. Even to themselves they cannot give a very satisfactory reason for much of what they believe and practise. When pressed for a reason or an explanation, they reply that their people have always said and done such things, and they are manifestly unwilling to discuss such matters.

We have, however, known some of them so long, and some of them so intimately, as to justify us in venturing some opinions on this subject. Although the Miao are reticent in

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the presence of a foreigner, converts and in- 000
quirers are ready to talk about and explain things frankly to the missionary. It must be remembered that some of these Miao tribes have been widely separated in time and space, so that what may truly be said of some of them may not be true of all. And here it may as well be admitted that we who have been so much among them have yet a good deal to learn, and possibly something of what has been learned has not been properly understood. But the religious ideas and practices of a new people, for the Miao are a new people to many of our readers, are always interesting, so we shall now put down what we have learned, or think we have learned, about them.

And first let it be said that, as far as our 771
own observation goes, the Miao have no idols and do not worship any gods. We have heard of idols among the Miao, but cannot remember ever to have seen them. They have no temples and no priests, and we never saw them engaged in any act of adoration. They are certainly not Buddhists. They practise certain rites in reference to the dead or to demons, such as a stranger might naturally suppose were acts of divine worship, but they are not acts of divine worship as the term is generally understood.

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771 From the earliest times the Chinese have known and worshipped *Shang-ti* as the Supreme Being, and have also worshipped inferior local deities. Many of the Miao have been living in close touch with the Chinese for ages, and some of them, as at present, have intermixed much with the Chinese, but, as far as we know, they have not copied the Chinese in their earlier worship of Shang-ti, or in their later worship of Buddhist and Taoist idols.

Most of the Chinese now say they worship Heaven and Earth, and the Miao, when asked about their objects of worship, will sometimes say they worship Heaven and Earth. This, we think, they have learned to say from the Chinese, and learned to say recently. We have often seen the Chinese worshipping Heaven and Earth, and though we have been in and out among the Miao now for fifteen years, we never saw them worshipping Heaven and Earth or any other object. Little shrines may sometimes be seen at the entrance to their villages, but this building of shrines is said to be a recent innovation. We have frequently seen them sacrificing animals and making offerings to the dead, but we never saw them worshipping at a shrine. After years of intercourse and inquiry among them, we are of opinion that those

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who are not Christians do not pray to or worship any Supreme Being. 771

This is the more remarkable as they have the story of a Creation. The Heh Miao say Vang-vai made heaven and earth, and Zie-ne made other things, but they never worship Vang-vai or Zie-ne. The Hua Miao say that in the beginning there was no heaven and earth. There was a man named Gloe-an, and his wife Ngo-a, and these had two sons. The elder, beating about with a brass hammer, made forty-eight heavens, or a heaven in forty-eight parts. The younger son, with an iron hammer, beat about and made earth in forty-eight compartments. We never heard of them worshipping these persons. 773

All the Miao have musical festivals once or twice a year, now in one part of the country and now in another. If asked why they hold these festivals, they say that if they failed to do so their harvests would be bad; and yet they do not profess to understand how the harvests are influenced by this custom. If ever there was a religious element in their musical festivals, there does not seem to be anything religious about them now. As at present conducted they are fêtes, attended by the people from all the countryside, at which there is not 796 527

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only music but also pony-running and buffalo fights. These fêtes are great occasions for social intercourse among the old folk and for courting among the young. A young man once remarked to a missionary, "If I do not go to the festivals I shall never get a wife." Scores and hundreds of girls are to be seen there in all the glory of richly-embroidered clothes and heavy silver ornaments, and just as many young men in their finery.

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The musical instrument they play at these festivals they call *Ki*, and the Chinese call it *Lu sen* or "six tones." They are made of bamboo pipes, sometimes six being let into a piece of wood like a hollow club, the handle of which is the mouth-piece. The noise—perhaps we ought to say sound—is produced by a brass tongue attached to a small metal frame (such as are used in concertinas and harmoniums) let into the bamboo tube, one in each of them. The sound is something like the sound of the bagpipes. They are made in sets of different sizes, the smallest having pipes about three feet long, and the largest with pipes twelve or fourteen feet long. The lower end of the large pipes is put into a drum or cylinder three or four feet long, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree. These large reeds give forth a very creepy

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The top picture gives a glimpse of a Hua Miao (Flowery Miao) Festival held outside the city of Anshunfu.

The lower picture is a group of Ta-hua Miao (Great Flowery Miao) hunters at Ten-ten, thirty miles north of Anshunfu. (See page 184.)

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sound, the lowest note, we believe, to which 534
mortal ears are sensible. The tunes they play
are very monotonous.

At the Heh Miao festivals, five players in a 535
row, with instruments of different sizes, wheel 796
round and round the man who plays the large
pipes with the drum. A row of five young
women go round with them, sometimes facing
them and moving backwards, sometimes behind
and following. To alter their position the
young women wheel outside of the circle, let
the pipers go round, and then wheel in again.
This they call dancing, but there is no real
dancing about it; it is merely pacing, yet it
seems to interest them, and they do it very
seriously. We think it must be reckoned bad
form for them to laugh or smile while thus
engaged, for we have seen the girls severely
exerting themselves to keep their faces straight,
when they evidently wanted at least to smile.
As for the pipers, it is no laughing or smiling 533
matter for them. They exert themselves so 796
much that their cheeks are swollen, their eyes
seem to stand out of their heads, and the
perspiration streams down their red faces.
We have seen thirty or forty of these groups
of ten, circling round on one plot of ground,
hemmed in by hundreds of spectators. The

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533 796 sound of so many pipes all playing independently at the same time and place is certainly not music, and soon becomes positively exasperating to some ears. On the edge of the crowd are sweetstuff and cake sellers, and other hawkers moving about.

796 All the Miao have these festivals, but the music and pacing are not the same. Among the Hua Miao and Shui-hsi Miao, the women do not dance, but men dressed up in women's clothes, with their hair done up like women, take their place. Among the Hua Miao, all the babies born during the year are taken to these festivals, and carried about on the backs of their fathers. Many of the Miao villages around Anshunfu have, besides the pipes, their own band of four musicians, provided with a drum, a pair of cymbals, and two flageolets or flutes. These musicians are often invited and paid by the Chinese to play at their marriages, funerals, and other functions.

541 796 The pony-runnings at these festivals are not races, and there are no prizes given. A piece of land is selected, level or nearly level, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. Along this they gallop in a line one after another. On reaching the end of the course they turn off, and walk or trot back again to the starting-

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place, like boys who have made a slide on the ice. When on the course they gallop the ponies at the top of their speed. Any one on a pony can join in or leave off when he likes.

We have attended these festivals, but have never seen a buffalo fight. We have seen men urging on the buffaloes to fight with one another, but the animals either did not understand what was expected of them or they had too much sense to do anything so foolish. On one occasion we saw a buffalo, exasperated by these attempts, break away from its tormentors and tear away at full speed across the ground. It overturned a pony and its rider, but did not attempt to gore them. All the buffalo wanted was to get clear away, and as everybody there showed the utmost possible alacrity to give it plenty of room, it succeeded. We have heard, however, that buffaloes do fight sometimes at these festivals, and that now and then one gets killed in the contest. They also fight sometimes of their own accord. We once saw two combatant buffaloes with their horns locked together, and half of the village pulling at ropes attached to their hind legs. They were finally pulled apart, and neither of them seemed any the worse for the encounter.

The Miao and, we think, all the other races

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A Group of Heh Miao (Black Miao) Pipe-Players at Panghai.

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771 THE MIAO AND, WE THINK, ALL THE OTHER RACES of Eastern Asia ought to be reckoned as Animists. The Chinese may call themselves Confucianists and Buddhists, but they are also Animists. It is conceivable that in a short time many of them will profess to be Agnostics and Materialists, but they will also be Animists. For all the peoples of Eastern Asia the world is full of immaterial powers and intelligences, even certain rocks and trees are possessed of some sort of spiritual efficacy. Among the Miao these spiritual beings are demons and always inimical to human kind.

771 At first we were inclined to think that the
755 Miao worshipped demons, but when again and again they denied this, and seemed unfeignedly amused at the idea of worshipping demons, we concluded that we were mistaken. The performances they go through, which seem to us like religious rites, are done to drive away or keep away the demons, and to counteract their evil influences. If a man is ill, or his cattle sick, if he has had bad luck, or any misfortune befalls him, he attributes this to demons; and a wizard or exorcist is summoned. Their modes of procedure are various, but might generally be summed up as offerings, unintelligible mutterings, and the throwing about of rice water and
755 knives in every direction. They also believe

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in the use of herbs as medicine, but when to take medicine and when to send for the exorcist is not very clear. We imagine when a man is sick he first takes medicine, and if this fails to act as it ought, he concludes there is a demon troubling him and sends for an exorcist to deal with it. In the case of ague, the Heh Miao always think it is a demon, and the sufferer goes away into the woods to hide himself and thus escape from it. 755

Any man who has learned the incantations and knows how things ought to be done, may be a wizard or exorcist. Their fees are not exorbitant. A quart or two of rice, and a little of anything else that may be going, pork or whisky, is all they get for their services. There are usually two or three of them in every village. The Miao say that their exorcists are the same as the Chinese *tuan-kung* or Taoists, and so it appears to us they are. 791

Sometimes a man is accused of having a demon, and this is a bad thing for the man, if it is generally believed. This does not mean that he is possessed by a devil, but that he has at his command a demon who does his will to the injury of others. We know a man who lately accused a neighbour before the Chinese magistrate for saying that he had a demon. 754

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754 They believe also in such demon possession as is recorded in the New Testament; so do also the Chinese.

791 They also believe in soothsayers, and often when anything is lost or stolen, or if an unknown person has injured their property, they consult them. After the soothsayer has received his fee, he performs certain ceremonies, and after a longer or shorter time a demon takes possession of him. He at once begins to mutter and answer questions, without moving his lips, something after the manner of a ventriloquist. Very often the answers are correct, but not always. The Miao say it is the demon who speaks, not the man. Sometimes the soothsayer will tell a man to offer oxen in sacrifice to his deceased parents when his luck is bad. These soothsayers do not eat flesh meat. A missionary once asked one of them if he were still practising his art, whereat all the other Miao laughed, and the man replied, "Since I have begun to eat meat the demon will not come to me."

754 The Miao are great believers in witches and witchcraft, but they say that only one here and there can really bewitch people. Even the Chinese are afraid of Miao witches, and fear to eat food offered them by the Miao lest they

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should be bewitched or poisoned. Missionaries, 754
who are not infrequently appealed to by Chinese when they fancy themselves bewitched by the Miao, mostly find them to be suffering from malarial. The Miao say that the witch throws things down on the road, sometimes only a straw, and the first person who comes along is bewitched. They may also bewitch a person's food and in this way injure him. Some time ago the whole countryside not far from Anshunfu was troubled by a witch. The Miao from that region came in a body to the district magistrate in Anshunfu city, and petitioned that the witch might be removed from that neighbourhood. The witch was arrested and banished.

All the Miao believe in the soul and a future 775
state. The Ya-ch'io Miao say that a man has three souls—one is his shadow, one is his reflection as seen in the water, and the third is his real self. Probably they learned this from the Chinese. As a rule, we think they only know and speak of one soul. They also believe in heaven, but most of them know nothing about a hell. The Hua Miao say there is a place in the earth where demons are, but do not mention it as a place to which the souls of the wicked go. They think that ordinary people, that is most

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775 people, when they die go to heaven, but that very wicked people are born again on earth in a very wretched condition. We doubt if they attach the same idea of superlative bliss to the place where the dead go as is generally associated with heaven, but we must think of it as heaven because they call it so, and speak of it as being above the sky. The ancient Chinese seem to have had no knowledge of a purgatory or hell. In the Classical Books the good kings who died are mentioned as being in heaven with their loyal ministers, but nothing is said of bad kings and bad ministers who died, or of the common people. What the Chinese now say of hell or purgatory they learned from the Buddhists, and if any Miao now talk of hell, they have probably learnt it from the Chinese.

764 Of course, beliefs and practices vary among the different tribes, and their funeral ceremonies and rites concerning the dead are not all just the same. Among the Heh Miao when a man dies they plait a mat of bamboo, six feet by two feet, upon which they lay the corpse. In dressing the dead they do not fasten the clothes in the usual way on the right side, but lay them loose on the left side. Next they invite an exorcist to drive away any evil influences that might injure the living or the dead, and to choose

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a day for the interment. To drive away all evil influences, he kills an ox, pig, sheep, fowl, or duck. If the deceased is a man, he kills a male animal; if a woman, a female one. The animal and any other victim used is subsequently eaten. All the relations of the family are notified, who come to console and make presents, mostly of calico, though some may give satin to cover the corpse. Sometimes the relations give the animals used in sacrifice, and sometimes money to assist in the expenses.

A suitable day having been chosen for the burial, before beginning to dig the grave, they make a hole in the middle of the plot, and having burned a small piece of flesh, they put it in the hole. This sod with the burnt meat is then cut out and placed on one side, to be finally put on the top of the grave. When the grave, which is not very deep, is dug, the empty coffin is placed in it. On the bottom of the coffin they spread five, seven, or nine layers of paper. Why this is done no one seems to know.

Before the body is carried out, the exorcist "calls the road" or "opens the road." The idea is that the soul of the deceased is going on a long journey, and the exorcist tells him, or her, the route. He says: "You will see the Centipede Hill; don't be afraid (there are lots of

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centipedes on it). When you come to the Snow Mountain, don't fear the cold. When you come to the door of heaven, an old man guards it who will not let you in. Tell him who you are and all about yourself, and he will allow you to enter." On entering heaven the deceased may meet father or mother, or some other relation, and live with them. If he does get into heaven he will be happy, but if he fails to enter he will have to be reborn and suffer on earth. When the exorcist has finished his directions, he wrings the neck of a fowl, and this fowl in the other world will lead the soul to the door of heaven.

The body is carried out on the bamboo mat or frame and laid in the coffin. A son of the deceased, or a younger member of the family, bewails the dead, and calls out the name or relationship three times. When the corpse is encoffined, the exorcist takes a short bamboo tube in which is some water, and splits it on the coffin, saying, "On which side this water flows, drink water on that side." This means that, on the journey to heaven, when the deceased is thirsty he is to drink water on that side of the road. Next the exorcist takes some blades of "cutting grass" and chops them in pieces, saying, "If your brother, or sister, or other

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relative follows you, you must send them back." 764
He then throws the chopper and the cut grass from the head of the grave past the foot of it. This is done to prevent any other of the family dying and following the deceased. Then the son with a mattock begins to fill in the grave; the others assist till the grave is filled in, and the earth piled over it.

When returning home, a tub or basin of water is placed on the road at the entrance of the village, in which all who have assisted at the burial wash their hands. The last person to wash smashes the tub or basin. On returning to the house they all eat a meal. On the third day after the funeral some of the family rise at cock-crow, and proceeding to the grave call upon the deceased to return. They pick up small stones and, throwing them at the grave, say, "Who is keeping our father? let him come back." In crossing a stream they lay a bamboo pole across it, and say that the spirit may pass over that. When daylight comes they burn incense at the grave and offer a fowl or duck and some whisky. The fowl or duck is killed at the grave, and the whisky poured out on the grave. On their return home they place the shoes of the departed near some water in a basin, with a towel, and call upon him to come and

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764 wash his face. They also offer some cooked fowl, whisky, and rice to the deceased. After these ceremonies some rice is given to all the guests, who may eat it at once or take it home with them.

763 The Hua Miao, when a man or woman is about to die, send for the exorcist, who first assures himself that the patient is actually dying and not merely fainting. When it appears that the sick person is really dying, the exorcist relates the story of Gloe-an and Ngo-a, the first man and woman, and the making of heaven and earth, so that the moribund may know his way about after death. The exorcist then says: "I shall now show you the way to heaven. On the road there are many creeping things, so you must wear a pair of hemp sandals lest they bite your feet. When you get half-way up, you will see tigers with their mouths wide open waiting to devour you. Carry some hemp on your back, and when a tiger attempts to bite you, let him bite the hemp, and make your escape. When you are half-way up, the sun shines with a burning heat; take this piece of calico and cover your eyes—you will find it in your breast pocket.

"When you arrive at the gate of heaven, the door-keeper may refuse to let you in, and you

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must beseech him to let you pass. If he says, 763
'If I open the gate will you transform yourself and be my ox?' you must answer, 'No! I will not.' If he says, 'Will you be my horse?' you must say, 'No! I will not.' Then say to him, 'I will transform myself and be your servant.' When you say this, he will open the door, and you must quickly pass in and go on. After walking for some time you will come to a place where there are three roads; the one to the right is for Chinese, the one to the left for I-chia, and the one in the middle is the Hua Miao road, which all your forefathers have taken. If some one finely dressed comes to show you the way, it is some one come to deceive you, and not one of your ancestors. If a person wearing coarse clothes comes to lead you, follow him, he is one of your forefathers. If some one with a bad heart asks, 'Who brought you here?' you must say, 'One tall and stout.' If they ask you, 'Can you find him?' you must say, 'You cannot overtake him, his eyes are as big as a cup and his ears as big as a fan.' And now," the exorcist concludes, "I have shown you the way to your ancestors and the demons (or spirits), and you must remain there for ever."

Subsequently, at different periods, the Miao 764
offer sacrifices to their ancestors. Probably all 782

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764 the oxen killed among them are killed as offer-
782 ings to their ancestors or to demons. We were never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and
796 Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

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Very often a couple or a group of young people go out for long walks together. It would be well, for obvious reasons, if there were less of that sort of thing. After living for some time among the Chinese, who are nothing if not conventional, and among whom Mrs. Grundy is well-nigh omnipotent, it is surprising and amusing to visit a Kweichow market among the Miao, and see the lads and lasses frolicking with one another on the street and around the stalls. It reminds one of a country fair at home.

But sometimes, and not infrequently, the girl's parents object to her lover, and from mercenary motives arrange a marriage without consulting the inclinations of the young people. The price paid for a wife among the Miao is usually from thirty to sixty Mexican dollars. These mercenary marriages nearly always prove a miserable failure, and lead to numerous daughter-in-law disputes. Not that those marriages which are the result of mutual liking are always happy. We imagine that many, perhaps one-half of the Miao women over thirty years of age, have been married once or twice to men who are now living, before they settled down with the man they now call their husband.

We know one girl who left her first husband because she did not like him. After her parents

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584 had repaid the money the husband's family had expended on the marriage, she married again, and now seems settled and contented with her husband and two or three children. Another woman we know was betrothed when a girl to a man who left home for awhile, and while he was away her parents married her to another. When the man to whom she had been betrothed came back and claimed her, the man who had married her gave her up, and she became the wife of the other. We know another young woman, not yet thirty, who is subject to epileptic fits, who has been married half-a-dozen, perhaps a dozen, times. When her new husband discovers she is subject to these fits, he sends her home again and does not want her.

585 After a marriage has been arranged, a day is fixed for the receiving of the bride. The kinsfolk and friends of both parties are invited, a room is cleared out—sometimes it is the cow-house, which is really a part of the dwelling-house—and seats put all round against the wall for the guests. The guests all make presents to the bridegroom's family—rice, or jars of whisky, and sometimes silver. These contributions to their host considerably diminish the cost of the marriage feast. The bride, who walks from her

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parents' home, escorted by her girl friends all dressed in their best and wearing their silver ornaments, generally arrives during the afternoon. 585

Among the Hua Miao, after the evening meal, the bride and one of her companions lay aside their fine clothes, and, taking a tub half full of water, wash the feet of all the guests, beginning with the men. When this is done they all settle themselves for a night of whisky-drinking and song-singing. The guests sing the virtue of their host, praising the kindly way he has received them and the rich food provided for their entertainment. Then the host, or some one on his behalf, replies also in song, belittling the host and grieving over the contemptible style in which the guests have been treated. The legends of the tribe are also chanted one after another; sometimes one voice leading and the others joining in a sort of chorus; sometimes one party singing interrogatively and another party singing responsively. The feasting, singing, and noise go on for three days and nights, at the end of which time the guests depart and the bride, with her companions, returns to her parents' home. Sometimes the bride stays more than three days at the home of her husband.

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585 The return of the bride to her parents' home is also somewhat of a festive occasion. I shall here copy some lines from my wife's diary, which describes the return of a bride among the Heh-Miao after staying at the bridegroom's home for twelve days :—

"Took Rosie to see a bride returning to her mother's home. A group of seven or eight young women dressed in their best, and with flags made of red and green paper, were waiting on a little hill for her arrival. After waiting a long time, we saw the bridal party approaching. First came three men, and then six men carrying three slaughtered pigs on poles. One man carried two large baskets of cotton swinging on a pole, and another man carried four jackets
585 and four skirts in the same way. The bride
292 wore a crown, a magnificent piece of workman-
301 ship—ribbons, birds, flowers, and filigree work, all made of silver. Around her neck she had seven silver necklets, some large and solid looking and some very prettily worked. She had also seven or eight bracelets on each arm, and silver spangles all over that part of the jacket that was not embroidered. She also wore a richly embroidered skirt. Mrs. P'an told me the dress and silver ornaments were worth at least one hundred and thirty Mexican dollars.

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When she came in sight the young women and 585
some girls went to meet her, and she asked them to go before her to her home. When she arrived at home two women stood just inside the door, one on each side, with a pot and a small cup. I think all the guests were offered whisky, but I only saw the bride drink it. Inside were many guests assembled who were drinking. Some of the schoolgirls came in to see me during the evening, all of them smelling of whisky. The feasting, singing, and gambling went on all night and for three days. I saw some of the women quite tipsy."

After returning to her home, the girl remains with her parents till she is sent for by her husband's family, which usually happens at sowing or reaping time, when there is much work to be done. When sent for, the bride goes to her husband's home without any fuss, takes her place in her new home, and does her share of the house and farm work. Sometimes, [586]
if the husband or husband's family are not satisfied with the bride, they do not ask her to return, in which case she gets married to another man. Among the Hua Miao it is the rule not to send for the newly married till she has had her first baby.

Not only do the Miao sing and recite the old

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Not only do the Miao sing and recite long old
538 legends in verse, handed down from very early times, but they are also, or at least some of them are, great story-tellers. Some of these stories I took down from the dictation of my Miao teacher. They are not like Chinese stories, which are moral or immoral—mostly moral. Miao stories are not moral, but if we should say they were immoral, it might suggest a wrong opinion of them. We might, I think, call them unmoral, for they do not teach or illustrate the beauty of filial piety, loyalty, truthfulness, or any other moral excellence. In their stories one or more persons are clumsily crafty, and other persons are preternaturally simple. It is the crafty or lying people who always come off best to the confusion of all honest and simple folk. That sort of thing amuses them immensely.

Some of their stories profess to explain in an amusing, if not satisfactory, way how certain things happen to be as they are. We have mentioned already how the Miao explain why they have no written characters, and why the sun rises when the cock crows. We shall now give a couple of short stories told to explain certain facts in natural history, which may interest our readers.

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The Dog, the Cat, the Rat, and the Sheep

"Once upon a time the dog and the cat 538
agreed to be cousins. The dog said, 'We two have now agreed to be cousins, there must be no stealing between us.' The cat replied, 'We shall steal other people's things; we two are kinsfolk, how can we rob one another?'

"Not long afterwards the dog took off his horns, and putting them on one side, stooped down to lick the inside of a stone mortar. In a little time he straightened himself, looked around, and not seeing his horns, said to the cat, 'Have you seen my horns?' The cat replied, 'I have not seen them. I certainly do not look after your horns for you.'

"The dog searched everywhere, but could not find them, and meeting the rat, he asked if he had seen them. The rat answered, 'I know where they are.' 'Well,' said the dog, 'you tell me where they are.' The rat replied, 'Your cousin the cat has stolen your horns and put them in a cupboard.' The dog went to the cupboard and found it was shut, so he said to the rat, 'You get in and bring them out for me.' The rat inquired what reward he should get for doing this, and the dog replied, 'When I eat anything, you shall eat with me.'

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538 "So the rat gnawed a hole in the cupboard, and dragged out the horns with his teeth. As he was doing this the cat saw him, and snatched them away. The dog thereupon pursued the cat, and the cat made off to the top of a tree. The dog at the foot of the tree cried out, 'Beat him!' The cat at the top of the tree said, 'I'm not afraid.' When it was dark the dog went home, and the cat, coming down from the tree, gave the horns to the sheep.

"And now the cat worries the rat, and the dog likes to chase the sheep and bite them. So instead of friendship there is enmity between them all, because of things that happened long ago."

The Swallow and the Toad

"In old times the rice plant bore grain from the bottom to the top of the stalk. This just suited the swallow, but the toad did not like it. 'It would be well,' said he, 'if instead of one harvest in the year there were three harvests per annum.' 'No,' said the swallow, 'it would be better if one harvest yielded enough for three years.' 'That,' objected the toad, 'would be very bad.' 'How would it be very bad?' asked the swallow. 'Because,' replied the toad, 'the ground would be overgrown with

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weeds.' 'But,' urged the swallow, 'the weeds would be very convenient, we could rest in the shade of them.' 'You only think of yourself,' said the toad. 'Well,' asked the swallow, 'how would it be bad for you?' 'I prefer,' said the toad, 'that there should be three harvests every year; thus there would be no weeds, and the snakes would not be able to seize me.' 538

"The swallow, however, would not agree to any such arrangement, and so they quarrelled.

"'You go,' suggested the swallow to the toad, 'and make an accusation against me.' 'Accuse you!' cried the toad; 'yes, I certainly shall go and accuse you.' The swallow thought the toad would be a long time on the road, so he said to the toad, 'You go first. I'll come along at my leisure.'

"The toad, however, was clever. He took a piece of wood and threw it in the water, and getting upon the piece of wood he floated quickly down with the stream. In this way he was the first to arrive before the king.

"The king asked him what he came about, and the toad replied, 'I have come to make an accusation.' 'Concerning what matter,' inquired the king, 'do you wish to make an accusation?' 'I desire,' said the toad, 'that

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538 there should be three crops every year to supply the year's need. The swallow will not agree to this, and says he prefers that one year's crop should suffice for three years. I say that thus the ground would be overgrown with weeds, and the snake would come and eat me. So we quarrelled over it, and the swallow beat me.'

"Thereupon the king allowed the claim of the toad that every year there should be three crops, and the toad returned to his home.

"Later on the swallow, having delayed and amused himself on the way, arrived. The king asked him, 'What have you come about?' The swallow replied, 'I have come to make an accusation.' 'Concerning what matter,' demanded the king, 'do you wish to make an accusation?' 'I desire,' said the swallow, 'that one harvest should suffice for three years. The toad will not consent to this, and he beat me, so I have come to accuse him.'

"'But,' said the king, 'the matter is already decided. You will find it recorded here. You can read it.'

"The swallow, seeing the toad's claim was allowed, kept on protesting, whereupon the king with his hand hit the swallow on the top of the head, and ever since the top of the swallow's head has been flat."

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Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

CHAPTER V

THE CHUNG-CHIA OR SHAN TRIBES

The Chung-chia or Shans—The Nan-chao of Yunnan—Notes from Siam—Migration to Kweichow—Chung-chia claim to be Chinese—Religious ideas—Funeral customs—Animists—Their dishonesty.

101 161 Of all the non-Chinese people found in China proper we think those people who in Kweichow are called the *Chung-chia* are the most numerous, and, for some reasons, perhaps the most interesting. There are probably six or seven millions of them in the four Chinese provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung, and twice as many more in the adjoining states of Burma, Tongking, and Siam. In Burma they are called the *Shans* or Shan tribes. On the southern border of the Chinese Empire they are called the *Laos* or *Lao* tribes, and in Tongking and Siam they are called the *Tai* or Tai tribes. In fact, there seems to be no end to the names by which the various divisions 000 of this race are designated. Who are they?

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Chung-chia

Whence came they? Their history and diffusion, and their relation to other races of south-eastern Asia, are very interesting problems which still await solution. What we know, or have heard of them, we shall here set down, and hope that sooner or later these problems may be solved.

175 About seven hundred years ago Kublai Khan overthrew a kingdom, called the Nan-chao, in Yunnan. There is a history of that kingdom, in two volumes, published in Chinese at Yunnan-fu; we have seen this work, but have had no opportunity of reading it. That kingdom was formed by the amalgamation of six Chao tribes, and hence called the Nan-chao or Southern Chao, and these were Shan tribes. With the extinction of that kingdom, Yunnan was made a province and incorporated in the Chinese Empire, whereas up till that time it was only an occasional possession. Many of those people still remain in southern Yunnan, but many of them have moved to the east and farther south.

101 161 We have recently received some very valuable notes concerning these people from the Rev. J. H. Freeman, missionary of the American Presbyterian Mission at Chieng-mai, Siam.[1]

[1] See also an article by Rev. W. Clifton Dodd in *The Chinese Recorder*, December 1910.

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He says: "We are at work in northern Siam among the *Tai*, *Yuen*, and other tribes (*Lao*, *Lü*, *Küng*, and *Tai-nüeh*), who together are known as *Lao* or *Laos*. They are the largest compact section of the *Tai* race, having in common a written character and a speech which differs so little that for 600 miles S.E. to N.W. and about the same distance S.W. to N.E. one can understand them all readily, whether in Siamese, French, British, or Chinese (western Yunnan) territory. They number, say, six millions. To the south of them are Siamese numbering three millions; a kindred people, but using a different written character, and a speech not readily understood by our people, mixed with Cambodian, etc. West of the Salween River in Burma are the western *Shans*, numbering about two hundred and fifty thousand, whose speech differs also through Burman influence."

Mr. Freeman has been fifteen years in northern Siam and is much interested, both from a scientific point of view and from a missionary standpoint, in the various races of that part of Asia. As a missionary among the Siamese, he is specially interested in the various branches of the *Tai* or *Shan* race. He says, "I will briefly state what I have learned."

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"First: The language of the *Tai* people south and west of the Red River (Mani River of Tongking) is substantially identical with the *Tai* language spoken farther west, save that those farther west lack the religious, polite, and abstract terms which the *Laos* (*Yuen, Khün, Lü, Lao*, etc.) have derived from Pali, the language of Western Buddhism. They also lack almost wholly the written character which the Laos received with Buddhism from India. Other differences of vocabulary are slight. I could talk with them pretty freely on everyday subjects.

"Second: When you cross the divide from the valley of the Red River to that of the Si-kiang at Lang-son, Dong-dang, Bao-sac, Cao-bang, etc.—all in French Tongking—you find a people, the *Thos* and *Mawngs*, whose speech differs most widely from the *Tai* of northern Siam. But tone and pronunciation are quite close to the *Lü*, who are on both banks of the Mekong in French, British, and Chinese territory. There are many of them even in Siam. Their vocabulary does not differ essentially from *Laos*. The *Tho* people of Tongking pronounce vowels and diphthongs as do the *Lü*, and their vocabulary is not very different. I made a vocabulary of four hundred common words, and found only

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Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

sixty-seven, or one in six, which cannot readily be identified with anything in the Chieng-mai dialect, but many more differ sufficiently to make them difficult to catch in conversation. Fully two-thirds of the words, however, in common speech are the same, having only slight differences in tone and pronunciation. 197

"Third: The country speech in and near Lungchow in Kwangsi is the same as the *Tho*, and the people are generally called *Tho* or *Tai-lô*. There is, however, a large admixture of Cantonese and Mandarin in their words, and I found some difficulty in making them understand me. *Nawng* and *Lawng* are other terms used for these people; the latter to the south are said to differ little.

"Fourth: At Nanning (south Kwangsi) I first came in touch with the *Chawng*. These people are found south of Nanning all along the French border, and appear to be the same as are found north of Wuchow (Kwangsi). I did not see enough of them to be able to express very definitely any opinion about their language, save that it is *Tai*, and in general character the same as the *Tho*. They seem to occupy a very large area across the north of Kwangsi, from Kweilin and Pinglo to Szecheng. They are also to be found in the south, and I have reports 197 101

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

197 of them at various points between, as forming
101 the bulk of the population."

Mr. Freeman then mentions the large number of these people found in the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow, and referring to a list of *Chung-chia* words as spoken around Kwei-yangfu, given in an appendix to *The Chinese Empire*,[1] he says: "I have seen *The Chinese Empire*, and there is no question that the people (*i.e.* the *Chung-chia*) both in Kweichow and Kwangsi are *Tai*. It is difficult to tell how closely related they are to our people in Siam." He also refers to the *Li-mu* the aborigines of Hainan, mentioned in Chapter II., whom he calls *Loi*, and says they have many words like the *Tai*; but as he had not seen them, he does not venture any opinion about them. Some of the *Li-mu* or *Loi* are also found in the adjoining peninsula of Luichow in Kwangtung.

We have quoted Mr. Freeman at considerable length. His notes are so valuable that we are sure they will be appreciated by students and all who are interested in the ethnology of south-eastern Asia. We shall now deal with that

[1] *The Chinese Empire.* A General and Missionary Survey. Edited by Marshall Broomhall. Published by China Inland Mission, and Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1907. 7s. 6d. net.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

portion of the Tai or Shan race which is to be found in the province of Kweichow.

Some of these people drifted into Kweichow from the west one thousand years ago. There are now probably about two millions of them to be found, chiefly in the centre, south, and south-west of the province. They are commonly called *T'u-ren* or *T'u-chia* by the Chinese, which means "Indigenes" or "Natives," whereas the Chinese when speaking of themselves invariably use the term *K'eh-chia*, or "Immigrants." This proves that some of these people, at least, were in these regions when they were first colonised by the Chinese. There is, we think, at any rate at the present time, more similarity between them and the Chinese than between the Chinese and Miao. They are sometimes called *Chung-chia* around Kweiyang, *Yü-chia* about Anshunfu, and *Shui-chia* about Tushan, but the term *T'u-chia* is always understood and embraces them all.

The term *Chung-chia* is Chinese. *Chung* possibly means the second of three brothers; *Chia*, as we have already explained, means "Family" or "Tribe," and the term may be used to convey the idea that they are inferior to the Chinese and superior to the Miao. Another explanation is that *Chung-chia* means

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

101 heavy armour, and refers to the sort of armour used by them in ancient times. But etymological explanations are not always satisfactory; especially in Chinese, where so many words of vastly different meaning have the same, or very nearly the same, sound. Around Kweiyang and, we believe, elsewhere in the province they call themselves *Bu yuei*. *Bu* is a personal prefix, but what *yuei* means we are not able to say.

361 As we have mentioned elsewhere, the Chinese are most numerous in the cities and near the great high-roads of the province, and the various tribes-people in more out-of-the-way districts. Within ten miles of Kweiyang, the provincial capital, are some of the Miao, and probably two hundred villages and hamlets of the Chung-chia, some of them containing as many as two hundred families. Ten years ago Mr. Edgar Betts travelled across country from Tushan to Singyifu, a journey of seven days, nearly two hundred miles as the crow flies, through a region [609] entirely occupied by the Chung-chia. There were no high-roads and no inns; the people for the most part were well-to-do, and readily offered him hospitality at the end of each day's 177 journey. It is said that the inhabitants of Tushan city are mostly Chung-chia, or Shui-chia,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

as they are called there, and many of them admit that this is so. Some of them[1] engage in trade and settle in Chinese cities and towns, and if they remain there, as many of them do, they bind the feet of their girls and are reckoned as Chinese. The Chinese do not despise the Chung-chia as they do the Miao. Miao rebellions and uprisings are not infrequent, but we never heard of a Chung-chia rebellion. We know a Chung-chia man, living near Kweiyang, who nearly fifty years ago, when only eight years old, was carried off by a party of Miao rebels and taken to Hwangchow among the Heh Miao. He stayed with them till he was eighteen and then ran away home. He told me they did not treat him unkindly.

Wherever the Chung-chia are found in Kweichow, and we believe also in some parts of Kwangsi, they invariably assert that their ancestors were Chinese who came from the province of Kiangsi, and many of them name the prefecture and county from which their forefathers came. But it must be borne in mind that these people speak a language which is not a dialect of the Chinese, but resembles the speech of the Shans and Siamese, and, for the identification of scattered tribes, there is no more trustworthy guide than a comparison of

[1] [i.e., inhabitants of Tushan city.--Analyst]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

177 vocabularies. Most of the men, however, and
197 some of the women can also speak Chinese. It
[191] may interest, and possibly encourage, students of Chinese to know that many of the Chung-chia in speaking Chinese leave out all the aspirates; and yet the Chinese seem to understand them! We have heard them say, and we think the statement is true, that out of every three words they utter when speaking their own language, one is Chinese.

177 But how does it happen that these people, who speak another tongue, claim to be Chinese when they are not, or for the most part are not, Chinese? This, we think, is not very difficult to explain. When they entered Kweichow the Miao were there before them. They probably looked down on the Miao then, as they do now, especially as the Heh Miao, who are in almost every way their equals, had at that time not reached those parts. Before the Chinese really occupied the province and systematically colonised it, there had been frequent wars and military demonstrations against the turbulent Miao. There were also on these occasions garrisons left in different parts of the country. Some of these soldiers took native women as wives, and formed separate communities, and are now called the "Old Chinese." Others of

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

them, or the children of these garrison soldiers, 177
married into Chung-chia families. This marrying into Chung-chia families probably went on for a long period, so that in course of time many of them were really descended from the Chinese, and others were related to them by marriage. If any man traces his own ancestry back, say for half a dozen generations, he reaches a point of time when he has a large and varied assortment of ancestors, among whom he may select his extraction. This is emphatically true of Kweichow, where most of the Chung-chia now in the province have more or less Chinese blood in their veins. As the Chinese are the superior and ruling race, it is natural that as many as can claim to be related to them should do so, and this they are the more likely to do so as not to be regarded as Miao.

When two or three hundred years ago Chinese immigrants from Kiangsi entered the province in large numbers, and more men than women, doubtless many more of them married into Chung-chia families. The relations already existing between the Chung-chia and the earlier settlers would make it more easy and natural for the later settlers to ally themselves with Chung-chia families. It is to be noted that

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Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

177 the Chinese words which the Chung-chia have adopted into their own language are not pronounced as the Chinese now around them—who are mostly from Szechwan and Hunan—pronounce them, but as they are pronounced in Kiangsi and the lower regions of the Yangtze River.

142 177 291 The Chung-chia men can hardly be distinguished from the Chinese. Perhaps their noses are more flat and their eyebrows more bushy than among the typical Chinese, and the same may be said of the women. As most of them are agriculturalists, the men dress exactly the same as Chinese farmers and village folk. [292] On special occasions, like the Chinese country-people, they wear the jacket and long robe. Many of them compete at the civil and military examinations, and some of them have risen to high rank in the Imperial Service. The late Chen Kung-pao, Viceroy of Yunnan and Kweichow, was of this race.

[304] Like the women among the Miao, the Chung-chia women do not bind their feet. Their old 291 tribal or native costume is a rather tight-fitting 177 jacket, and a skirt very like the skirt worn by Miao women, but longer than some of the Miao skirts. This costume is still common in some parts, but around Kweiyang the Chinese fashion

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

for women of wearing loose jacket and trousers is evidently taking the place of the old style, especially among the younger women. Owing to their natural and more useful feet, they do more work in the fields than Chinese women. We cannot remember ever to have seen a Chinese woman planting rice in a paddy field, but we have often seen Miao and Chung-chia women going into the field alongside of the men and planting rice. 291 177 462

Although called by different names in various parts of the province, they are not divided into tribes like the Miao. About Anshunfu they are divided into two sorts: the *Pu-la-tsï*, who are dwellers in the plain; and the *Pu-lung-tsï*, who take their name from a powerful chief of former times named Lung. Their dialect varies in different parts, but not so much as to make them unintelligible to one another, as is the case among the Miao. We once had a servant, for two or three years, whom we took to be a Kwangsi Chinese, but talking to him one day about his native dialect, we found he was of the same race as the Chung-chia and could understand their speech. 101 197

We have not been able thus far to discover among them any old legends handed down from former times. If they ever possessed such 173

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

173 legends, their wish to be thought Chinese, and the claim that their ancestors were Chinese from Kiangsi, is a potential reason why such legends should be neglected, and in course of time forgotten. Possibly elsewhere others may be more successful in the search for legends than we have been.

212 [533] They have no written language of their own, but like the Miao do all their writing in Chinese. They have many simple love ditties which the young men and maidens sing to each other, and herein they are more like the Miao than the Chinese. We have seen some of these ditties written down in Chinese characters. Sometimes the character represents the sound of the Chung-chia word with more or less accuracy, and sometimes the meaning, which makes it very difficult for one who does not know the ditties to decipher.

771 As they claim to be Chinese, they do, or profess to do, as the Chinese do in religious matters; but they are certainly not so moral or so religious as the Chinese. Many of them have in their homes the same Heaven and Earth Tablet of five characters as the Chinese. There are sometimes little shrines just outside their villages, in which may be images or simply stones to represent local deities; but they do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

not build temples in their villages as the Chinese 771
do, nor do they, as a rule, invite Buddhist priests. They are, we think, more Taoist than Buddhist, but they have notions and practices which are neither Taoist nor Buddhist. Some of them 776
about Anshunfu seem to believe in two deities, a Good and an Evil one. The Good Being they call *Tut-ksien*, and say he lives in heaven, that he sends the rain and sunshine, and all good things come from him. This is all they know about him, and they neither offer sacrifices to him nor worship him. On the other hand, they are very much afraid of the Evil Being, and do all they know, or think they know, to appease him, by offerings and ceremonies which are generally performed in front of what they call "Spirit trees," that is, trees which from their great age, or for some other reason, are supposed to be intelligent and to have some sort of spiritual influence.

Their burial customs about Kweiyang are [764]
much the same as among the Chinese, but some 769
of their sacrifices to the dead are not the same. 782
The following is a description of the sacrifice of a bull, on behalf of a man recently dead, witnessed by my wife at Suei-ngan-pa, about five miles from Kweiyang:—

"In the yard of one of the houses a number

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

[292] of people had assembled. Most of the men
769 wore a strip of white calico across the middle
782 of the cap. A procession was formed and they all moved out of the yard. First came a man like a Taoist priest, accompanied by the chief mourner dressed in white, with a stick in his hand, inside of which there was said to be silver. This chief mourner walked bending forward and pointing the stick towards the ground. Next came a young red bull led by a new straw rope. Then followed a riderless horse with the dead man's cap fastened on the saddle; there were also a fan, a spectacle case, a pair of boots, and a bottle of whisky hanging from the sides of the saddle.

[292] "Following these came about eight women with white jackets and long white hoods, the back of some of the hoods almost reaching to the ground. They all had shoes and stockings such as men wear, and pleated skirts of green, blue, black, and grey. Each woman had an attendant carrying an umbrella over her head. The procession, led by a band of half a dozen musicians, who were blowing their trumpets all the time, passed out of the village into a ploughed field of unbroken clods. A new staff, with a paper streamer floating from the top, had been planted in the middle of the field, with an

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

upright spear and some matting tied round the foot of it. It was very hard moving over the rough clods, but the procession moved round the flagstaff three or four times. The bull was dragged along by the side of the procession, its pace hastened by the letting off of crackers between its feet. After tying the bull to the staff, all those present took up a position on one side of the field and prayers were chanted for a long time. Two trays containing meat and vegetables and pots of whisky were then brought forward, and after being offered to the dead, some of the food was eaten by the women.

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"After a long pause, a man mounted on the back of the bull and pulled a string hanging from the flagstaff, which let off bundles of crackers, and these went off one after another, many of them exploding in the face and about the head and feet and all around the bull. While the crackers were going off the procession moved round and round the staff, and, when the crackers were exhausted, left the ground and returned to the house, leaving the bull standing uninjured in the field. We were told that any one who had the courage to do so might approach the bull at dusk and despatch it. None of the family or kinsfolk of the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

769 deceased may eat any of the flesh of the bull,
782 but acquaintances and others of the villagers might cut off and carry away what they pleased."

They seem to have no definite opinion as to how the dead are benefited by these offerings. Some of them say that in some way the bull, after it is killed, makes a hole in heaven so that the soul of the deceased may get in. They say also it is their custom to do these things; if they make these offerings it is better for the dead, whereas if they failed to do so the spirits of their ancestors would return and make no end of trouble for them. Fear, we think, is the chief motive in these sacrificial observances.

755 We have said that the Chung-chia are more
[771] Taoists than Buddhists, and for this reason, Taoism, at the present time in China, is chiefly concerned with demons and malicious spiritual influences. Many of the Chinese, when there is sickness or misfortune in the family, or when their luck is bad, put it down to evil spirits and send for a Taoist priest, who by incantations, charms, and other performances drives away the pestilent demons, and counteracts their evil influences. In the same circumstances, Miao, Chung-chia, and No-su send for

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan - Thai AL3
Chung - chia

their local wizards or exorcists, who profess to 755
be able to deliver them from these persecuting demons in much the same way. Animism is, we think, the ancient and indigenous religion of the Chinese, as it is the religion of all the non-Chinese races of Kweichow. For all of them the spirit world is not far off, and is peopled by unseen intelligences whose constant interference in human affairs is not to the advantage of those concerned.

We do not think the claim of the Chung-chia 000
to be Chinese has done them any good. They appear to have all the defects of the Chinese and none of their better qualities. Among the Chinese are good, bad, and indifferent; among the Chung-chia some are bad, and the others perhaps not so bad. The Chinese generally 685
describe the Miao as turbulent, simple, and without proper notions of propriety; while they describe the Chung-chia as crafty, lying, and dishonest. This description would do for some of the Chinese themselves, but not for all. The Chinese say that every Chung-chia is a thief, and from what we know of them we should not feel justified in denying the charge. The thieves and robbers among the Miao prey upon travellers and distant hamlets, but the dishonest among the Chung-chia are sneak

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

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thieves who prowl around, especially at night, and pilfer from their friends and neighbours.

Living in the Miao villages, it is evident that the villagers trust one another, and will sometimes say to us when we appear overcareful about our belongings, "Don't be afraid, there are no thieves in this village." It is not so among the Chung-chia. We remember once riding into a Chung-chia village, and were almost deafened by twenty or thirty dogs who followed us, all barking at the top of their voices. When we had dismounted and entered the house in which we were to pass the night, I said to our host, "Well, we need have no fear of thieves in this village." "Ah!" he replied, "but we do fear them very much." "But," I said, "no thief could get near the place, the dogs make such a noise they would rouse every family in the village." Our host smiled and said, "If a thief comes he will not be a stranger, but a neighbour whom the dogs know very well and so will not bark at him. When anything is stolen during the night, the thief is sure to be a neighbour who sat round the fire, smoking and chatting and patting the dog during the evening."

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There are more schools in Chung-chia villages than among the Miao, and consequently more of them can read and write.

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Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

of them can read and write. We have heard it 212
said, and probably with a good deal of truth,
that when a Chung-chia can read and write he 212
gives up working, to live by his wits. This is 463
by no means a difficult way of making a living
in China. Learning how to write pleas and
counter-pleas, and methods of legal procedure,
he is constantly in and about the Yamens,
assisting in law cases, making profit for himself
out of other people's difficulties, and continually,
for obvious reasons, stirring up trouble among
neighbours. Such men are a great nuisance all
over China, and not least in out-of-the-way
places.

The Chung-chia districts and communities 621
are ruled just the same as the rural Chinese.
The headmen or local justices are generally well-
to-do Chung-chia, and many disputes are settled
without appealing to the Chinese magistrate.
But, like the Miao, the Chung-chia are very
litigious, and spend a good deal of their time
and money in Chinese courts. The power
exercised by local justices is very indefinite, so
that one is sometimes surprised at their helples-
ness, and at other times amazed at the extra-
ordinary power they seem to have. A leading 621
Chinese Justice of the Peace once asked me 685
what we did in our country to men who stole

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

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other people's crops. I replied that if the thief were caught, and the charge proved, he would be put in prison for some time. "Ah," he said, "when I catch them I have them strangled; it's the best way to do with such people."

About four years ago, in a Chung-chia village some three miles from Kweiyang, there was a well-known thief who was always stealing from his kinsfolk and neighbours. This at length so exasperated the villagers that they took the man, and in the presence of two local justices deliberated as to what was to be done with him. They decided that he was a man who could very well be spared, and with the consent of his parents, having bound him hand and foot, they threw him into a pond and drowned him. Subsequently some members of the culprit's family accused the two justices in the Prefect's Yamen of murdering the man. The justices were apprehended and kept in prison for several months, and only came out after they had been squeezed of about two hundred Mexican dollars. We know of an exactly similar case in a Chinese village, where the local headmen also drowned a man and that was an end of the matter. Possibly in the latter case there was no one in the village who had a grudge against the headmen, or who had any interest in bringing the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Shan-Thai- AL3
Chung-chia

Yamen underlings on the scene; or possibly the headmen had friends in the Yamen who would have barred any proceedings against them. The magistrate and the Yamen staff are ostensibly for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice; actually they do collect the taxes, but also extort all the money they can from the people by what is called the administration of justice. Some of the taxes collected go into the Imperial exchequer, but all the money they get from litigation goes into the pockets of the magistrate, his secretaries, or his underlings.

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Lolo AE4

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A No-su (Lo-lo) Spirit Hamper.

It is supposed to contain the spirit of a deceased person.

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Lolo AE4

CHAPTER VI

THE LO-LO OR NO-SU

The Lo-lo or No-su—Other names for them—Divided into Black and White—Rev. C. E. Hicks's article—Their arrival in Chaotung district—The independent Lo-lo—Mr. C. Baber's story—The Hsi-fan—The No-su of Chaotung and Weining—A decadent race—The feudal system—The Miao tenants—Religious ideas—Legends—The Flood—Marriage customs—Demonolatry—Burial customs—Slaves.

101 THERE can be no doubt that the Miao entered
769 Kweichow from the east, the Chung-chia from the west, and Lo-lo from the north-west. The term Lo-lo is a name used for them by the Chinese, because they keep, or believe they keep, the souls of their parents in a miniature basket or hamper, just as the Chinese believe they have the souls of their ancestors in ancestral tablets. The Chinese word for such a basket is *lo-lo*, and hence the name by which these people are gener-
769 ally known to foreigners. This miniature *lo-lo* is about four inches deep and six inches in circumference, made of split bamboo, commonly

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A GROUP OF NO-SU (LO-LO) WOMEN.

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Lolo AE4

769 wrapped round with a piece of calico, coarse as canvas, which is often the colour of a cocoanut from smoke and age. This *lo-lo* contains one or two bamboo tubes two or three inches long, about as thick as a man's little finger, and in the tube are fastened a bit of grass and a piece of sheep's wool. There is also a piece of bamboo six or seven inches long, like a thick pointed skewer, which goes through the *lo-lo*, and is doubtless used to fix it in its place. This *lo-lo* is sometimes kept in the house, sometimes placed in a tree, and sometimes hidden in a rock.

101 The Chinese also call them I-chia and I-pien, and these are the names mostly used in Kwei-chow. The word *I*, among many other things, means "remote," "foreign," and has the notion of barbarian in it. The word *pien* means "side," "place," "boundary." They call themselves *No-su*, and by this name we shall hereafter mostly speak of them.[1] What the two 564 words mean we are not able to say. They are divided into two classes, the Black and the White. The Black are the patricians or landholders; the White are the plebeians, the tenants and serfs, often the slaves, of the patricians. In Szechwan they speak of them as "Black bones"

[1] The term *Lo-lo* they themselves regard as derogatory, and it is to them offensive.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

564 and "White bones," but we never heard those terms used in Kweichow.

427 161 Although the Black No-su own so much of the land in north-west Kweichow and north-east of Yunnan, the No-su are not numerous. They are evidently a vanishing race, at any rate in Kweichow and around Chaotung. It is, we imagine, because of their diminishing numbers that they have taken so many of the Miao as tenants, who now greatly outnumber them.

A very interesting article on the No-su appeared in the March number of the *Chinese Recorder* for 1910, written by the Rev. C. E. Hicks of the United Methodist Mission, Chaotung, Yunnan. With Mr. Hicks's kind permission we make ample use of that article, and of a letter he has written us, in attempting to describe these people to our readers.

173 The No-su are not the original inhabitants of the Chaotung district and the adjoining parts of Kweichow. According to their own tradition, they came from Tibet, and it is worthy of note, as confirmation of this, that some of the No-su race are to be found all the way from the borders of Tibet to Chaotung. They say their ancestors were two brothers, Wu-sa and Wu-meng, who, like Esau and Jacob, struggled together in the womb of their mother; hence,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

173 say the No-su of the present time, the wildness of our hearts and our fondness for fighting.

Coming to the Chaotung Plain, they found a people already in possession of the land, whom they called the *P'u*, and whom the Chinese to-day speak of as the *Yao-ren*. This is the same name, and the Chinese use the same character for it as for the Yao-ren about Nien Chow in Kwangtung Province, mentioned in Chapter II. Possibly they are the same tribe. As we have already explained, the word *Yao* means "dog" or "jackal." This is a term that the Chinese would naturally apply to a people they regard as much inferior to themselves, and might apply it to very different races. It seems almost impossible now to discover who the Yao-ren, who preceded the No-su around Chaotung, really were. Chinese tradition in that district says they inhabited the plain many centuries ago, when it was covered with forests, and that their houses were like huge burrows in the hill-sides. The No-su say the Yao-ren moved to Szechwan, but the Chinese say they moved to Kwangtung. It may be the Chinese say they moved to Kwangtung because they know there are people now in that province known by that
172 name. The only vestige of the Yao race now remaining are the mounds of earth which are

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
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172 conspicuous on the plain. Some of these mounds have been opened, and in them have been found rough unhewn stones and burnt bricks of an unusually large size, marked with a peculiar pattern. Both Chinese and No-su are agreed that the Yao-ren were not Miao.

721 The ramifications of the race to which the No-su belong are most intricate, and the many names by which they are known are very puzzling. In Szechwan Province, north of the Yangtze River, and west of Suifu and Kiatingfu, is a large tract of country occupied by independent Lo-lo. This is sometimes called the Pa-pu country. There are chronic hostilities between them and the Chinese, from which the latter suffer most. They are constantly raiding Chinese territory and murdering as many as they can catch, or carrying them off to be held as slaves for ransom. They treat their captives most cruelly, and the Chinese show no mercy to them when they are able to retaliate.

212 In 1878, Mr. Colbourne Baber, British Resident at Chungking, travelled on the borders of the independent Lo-lo territory, but was not able to enter it. All around the border are some "tame" Lo-los dwelling among the Chinese, and Mr. Baber made the acquaintance of some of them. One of them gave him some pages of

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

Lo-lo characters, but could not read or interpret them. They were evidently ideographs, and suggested a clumsy attempt to imitate Chinese characters. This Lo-lo writing, and an account of Mr. Baber's journey, were published by the Royal Geographical Society of London in the same or following year; but is now out of print.[1]

Mr. Baber used to tell one story of his journey in that region which is amusing and worth repeating. He had put up one night in a Chinese stockaded village of between one and two hundred families, close to the border of the Lo-lo territory. He was lodged in a loft where he noticed a large heap of stone in one corner. A few days previously the village had been entered by a party of about thirty Lo-lo and the custom-house pillaged. Mr. Baber asked his host why the stones were placed on the loft, and the man explained they were there ready to be thrown at the Lo-lo if they should come; but he added, "The Lo-lo can throw farther and aim better than we can." "Do you not think," said Mr. Baber, "it was a shameful thing for thirty Lo-lo to enter a place like this, where there are so many men, and pillage the custom-house?" "Of course," replied his host, "it was a

[1] See *Special Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. i.

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721 shameful thing, but you can't expect a Lo-lo to have any sense of shame!"

Two years after Mr. Baber's journey my colleague (Mr. J. H. Riley) and I travelled in that region, but were not able to get into the independent territory. If we had insisted on going in, the Chinese authorities would either have prevented us by force, or sent such a large escort with us that we should have appeared as a military expedition. I remember one day going three days west of Pingshan, along the left bank of the Yangtze River, past the last navigable point; I got ahead of our party and came to a house by the wayside, and after talking to the man, who was Chinese, for a while, I asked him if there were any Lo-lo about, but he did not know what I meant. Then I used every term I could think of, "barbarians," "savages," "wild men," to try and convey my meaning, but he could not understand what I was trying to get at. At length our Lo-lo companion, who could talk Chinese, came up, and I set him to inquire if there were any Lo-lo in the neighbourhood. He also for a time tried in vain to make the man understand, using all sorts of terms. At last he used a term which probably he knew from the first would be best understood, and said, "Are there any sons of dogs about here?" At once

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the man understood, and replied, "Oh yes! there are some; you will see them when you get to Huang-lan-so." 721

Even to the present time these independent Lo-lo are still plundering the Chinese, and carrying them away to be used as slaves. Two or three years ago a British photographer eluded the watchfulness of the Chinese and got into that region. He was murdered, and only one of his coolies, who had been left for dead, came back to tell the story.

The Hsi-fan, who are found in so many parts of Szechwan and Yunnan, are evidently, from a comparison of their language, a branch of the Lo-lo or No-su race. In Wuting, north of Yunnanfu, and on to the River of Golden Sand, these people are to be found, and all over northern Yunnan. North of Wuting they are known as the Li-su, the La-ka, and the Kang-i. These are all No-su, though by intermarriage with other races in various districts their dialects and their customs may be somewhat modified. Who the Man-tsï are, who are found in so many parts of Szechwan and Yunnan, we cannot say, as we never met any of them, but we should not be surprised to find they were allied to the No-su. Or are they akin to the Yao-ren mentioned above? The word *Man*

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means "barbarian," and might be applied to any non-Chinese race. As we have mentioned in the first chapter, the Miao were once known as the Southern Man.

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So much about the No-su race in general. There is much more to be said about them, but we are not able to say it. We shall now relate what we know of interest about the people of that race who are to be found around Chaotung and in the Weining district. The first No-su chieftain to arrive about Chaotung was Yen Tsang-fu. He was a very cruel tyrant, punishing offences in a most rigorous manner. It was a common practice with him to gouge out the eyes of those who disobeyed his commands, and no matter how nearly related to himself the offender might be, there was no mitigation of the punishment. These chieftains, or territorial magnates, are called *T'u-mu* by the Chinese and *T'u-sï* in parts farther west. Their own designation for themselves is a term equivalent to the Chinese *Kuan yüen*, which means "magistrate" or "officer." These *T'u-mu*, or perhaps lairds would be the best term to use for them, have in many cases enriched themselves by claiming to be the owners of land occupied by weaker men, and by appropriating the estates of families which have become extinct.

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Perhaps the saddest fact about the No-su is 161
the rapidity with which they are dying out at 578
the present time in the north-west of Kweichow 181
and north-east of Yunnan. The unsanitary conditions in which they live—the water they drink is often drawn from stagnant pools fouled by sheep and cattle—and their riotous indulgence in whisky, opium, and other vices, sufficiently account for this. Such decadence of the race has given the strong an opportunity of enriching themselves at the expense of the weak, so that quarrelling and fighting about the division of land is always going on. They are burdened with the thought that their doom as a race is sealed. Some of them gather a little consolation from the coming of Christianity, and hope that it means the arrest of their decline. It may be, however, that the missionaries have arrived too late, for when deterioration of that sort sets in among any race it is difficult to arrest it.

When the Manchus came to China the No-su 175
were practically independent, and the city of Chaotung did not then exist. The Manchus brought Yunnan and Kweichow under effective Imperial control. The campaign against the No-su of Chaotung and Weining was successful, and these were brought under Chinese rule.

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175 The Chinese, however, did not interfere between
622 the lairds and their tenants, and left things very much as they were. As long as the lairds pay taxes, recognise the sovereignty of China, and make no serious trouble, they are let alone. When the laird is a strong, just man, the present system works well; but when he is a cruel tyrant, as many of them are, holding practically the power of life and death over his retainers and tenants, cruel things are very often done in those regions.

691 It is seldom that the tenants of these lairds
622 are engaged in litigation before the Chinese
661 magistrates, as their landlords settle all disputes for them which they cannot settle among themselves. This is doubtless a very good thing for the tenants, even though the laird may often be unjust in his decisions. The lairds themselves, however, are constantly at law with one another in the Chinese courts, and this is an opportunity for the magistrates to enrich themselves. The lairds are generally represented in these actions by their Chinese agents. It is said that very few of them dare enter a Chinese city because of the many serious and even capital charges laid against them in the Yamens. If they did enter the city of their district, they might be apprehended, and in that case mercilessly squeezed.

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Last year a laird was executed at Suei-ts'en in Kweichow, but he must have been a small one. 691 661

Thus there exists in north-western Kweichow and north-eastern Yunnan what is actually the feudal system. Many of the lairds own vast estates, as large as an English county, and all the people on the estate are their tenants. The lairds are all of them Black No-su, and the White No-su are their serfs or slaves. These lairds are nearly all related to one another, as they constantly intermarry for the sake of joining and enlarging their estates. A No-su heiress is always pestered and sometimes actually besieged by suitors. A laird always marries the daughter of some other laird, and as there is but a limited number of them, this constant intermarriage has doubtless contributed to the decadence of the race and to the frequency of lunacy among them. They may, and often do, have Chinese and Miao women as concubines. 564 427 581

The Miao tenants, who greatly outnumber the No-su tenants, are not slaves, but practically serfs. The soil is very poor, and any Miao, if he fancied a piece of unoccupied land, might build his hovel there and cultivate some of it. The lairds are glad to have them as tenants; the rent they pay is mostly in kind, and not by any means high. As a matter of fact, the tenants, 427

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As a matter of fact, the tenants,
427 for the sake of mutual protection, group themselves in hamlets and villages. Besides the nominal rent they pay, the laird has the right to make levies on them on special occasions, such as funerals, weddings, and when he has litigation in the Chinese courts. Each of the tenants also owes the laird so many days' labour during the year with his cattle, and this he pays in cultivating the land which the laird actually farms, and in gathering his crops. When the landlord has a dispute with another laird, his tenants are expected to follow him to the field if it comes to fighting, and to defend his residence if it is attacked.

427 These tenants, No-su and Miao, are very
511 poor, but, as far as I was able to judge, their
262 condition is not intolerable. Certainly they
342 appear to be better off than the peasantry were in France two hundred years ago, and than most of the peasantry are in Russia to-day. They live principally on maize, buckwheat, and oatmeal; their hovels are nearly always made of mud,
231 and badly thatched with straw. Many families have a pony, and all of them two or three cows, a few pigs, half a dozen or a dozen sheep and goats, and some fowls. The oxen are used for ploughing. Like the Chinese, they never milk their cattle and goats, and never use milk, butter,

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or cheese. This, we think, is a great pity as 231
there is plenty of unoccupied land, such as it is, which they can use as pasturage for their cattle. The children drive the cattle and sheep out to pasture on the hill-sides early in the morning, and stay to mind them till the time for the morning meal, when they drive them home again. During the middle of the day the cattle are penned up in the hovel, and let out to pasture during the afternoon, and driven home again as it is getting dark. There is plenty of 313
fuel about, and the tenants can go to the wood and bring home as much as they like. Moreover, there are no game laws.

There are wild beasts about, wolves, foxes, 136
leopards, wild boars, and even tigers; and 224
people, especially children, are not infrequently devoured by them. Some of the Miao are great hunters. They use spears, crossbows, and poisoned arrows. I think the poison they use is aconite. When they wound a leopard or tiger with their poisoned arrows, they allow the animal to get away, and later go after it. They generally find it dead or dying.

We have already mentioned Miao super- 177
stitions and legends, and here we shall only relate what we know of No-su religious beliefs and legends. These are the more difficult to learn

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177 because so many of their ancient customs have fallen into disuse during their intercourse with the Chinese. Most of the lairds have Chinese [875] teachers for their children, and many of them read Chinese. Some of them compete at the Chinese civil examinations, and a certain number of degrees are allotted to the No-su. All of them can speak Chinese.

788 After the ingathering of buckwheat, when the 776 crop is stacked on the threshing floor and the work of threshing is about to begin, the simple formula "Thank you, *Je-so-mo*" is pronounced. *Je-so-mo* seems to be a spirit who controls the crops; whether good or evil is not easy to determine. *Mo* is a generic term for "sage" or 776 "spirit." *Je-so* is so like the name *Je-su*, which the Chinese and Miao use for Jesus, that some of the No-su wished to use *Je-so* for the name of our Saviour; but to this the missionaries very wisely did not consent, as they did not know who, or what sort of a person, *Je-so-mo* was. *Je-so-mo* is not God, for when the No-su wish to speak of God they use the word *Se*, which means "Master" or "Lord." In the independent No-su territory, north of the Yangtze River in Szechwan, the term used for God is *Eh-nia*, and one No-su, who has had much intercourse with the independent No-su, asserts that

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there are three names for God, each representing different functions, if not persons, in the Godhead. These names are *Eh-nia*, *Keh-neh*, and *Um-p'a-ma*. 776

The No-su practise ancestor worship. We have already mentioned the *lo-lo*, or little hampers, in which they think they have the souls of their parents, and from which the Chinese have called them Lo-lo. At the ceremony of the consecration of these *lo-la* an exorcist attends, and a slave is set apart for the purpose of attending to all the rites connected with this worship of the deceased person. For persons who are short-lived the ancestor *lo-lo* is placed in a crevice of the wall of some forsaken and ruined building. Every three years the *lo-lo* is changed, and the old one burned. 769

Hill-worship is another important feature of No-su religious life. Houses are built at the foot of a hill, and sacrifices are regularly offered on the hill-side in the fourth month of each year. The exorcist determines which is the most propitious day, and the laird with his people proceed to the appointed place. A limestone rock, with an old tree trunk near, is chosen as an altar, and a sheep and pig are brought forward by the laird. The exorcist, having adjusted his clothes, sits cross-legged before the altar, and 796 782

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begins intoning his incantations in a low muttering voice. The victims are then slain, the blood poured beneath the altar, and a handful of rice and a lump of salt are placed beneath the stone. Some person then gathers a handful of green grass, and the exorcist having finished intoning, the altar is covered and all return to the house. The exorcist twists the grass into a rope which he hangs over the doorway of the house. Then out of a piece of willow a small arrow is made, a bow of corresponding size is cut out of a peach tree, and these are placed on the door-posts. Out of a piece of soft white wood the figure of a man is carved, and this, with two sticks placed crosswise, is fastened to the rope hanging over the doorway, with two other sticks one on each side. The exorcist proceeds with his incantations, muttering, "From now henceforth and for ever will the evil spirits keep away from this house."

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Most of the No-su at the present time observe the New Year festival, at the same time and with the same ceremonies as the Chinese. Formerly this was not so, and even now in the remoter districts some of them observe New Year's Day as the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese year. A pig and sheep are killed, cleaned, and hung up in the house for three days. On the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
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first day of the New Year they are taken down, 796
cut up, and cooked. The family sit on buck- 177
wheat straw in the middle of the chief room of the house. The head of the house invites the others to drink whisky, and the feasting begins. Presently one will start singing, and all join in the song:

"How firm is this house of mine! throughout the year the hearth fire has not ceased to burn. My food corn is abundant; I have silver and also cash. My cattle have increased to herds, my horses and mules have all white foreheads, *K'o k'o ha ha ha ha k'o k'o.* My sons are filial, my wife is virtuous. In the midst of flesh and whisky we sleep. Our happiness reaches unto heaven. Truly glorious is this glad New Year."

Some of the No-su, but not all of them, have 773
a legend of the Creation, but all of them have a legend of the Flood. They manifestly trace their genealogy from Noah. They say a certain man had three sons. He received warning that a flood was to come upon the earth, and the family discussed how they should save themselves when this calamity came upon them. One suggested an iron cupboard, another a stone one, but the suggestion of the third that they should make a cupboard of wood and store it with food was acted upon. Thus the

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773 family was saved; but they say nothing about animals.

773 The Miao of that region say that the land was
173 all divided among the three sons of Noah, who were the ancestors of the Miao, Chinese, and No-su. The Miao are the descendants of the eldest son. Unfortunately when the land was divided, they only used straw ropes for boundaries, while the No-su used stones. A fire occurred which burnt up their boundary ropes, but left the No-su stones uninjured. Thus they lost their land!

584 In the olden times the No-su did not beg for and betroth a wife as they do now, but obtained their wives by main force. At the present time, while milder methods prevail, there are still survivals of the ancient custom. As a rule, the betrothal now takes place very early, sometimes in infancy, and at the ceremony a fowl is killed,
583 each party taking a rib of it. When the young people come to marriageable age, the final negotiations have to be concluded. These are purposely prolonged until the bridegroom, growing angry, gathers his friends and makes an attack on the maiden's home. Arming themselves with cudgels, and covering their heads and shoulders with their felt cloaks, they approach secretly and then rush towards the

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house. Strenuous efforts are made by the occupants to prevent their entering, and weighty blows are exchanged. When the attacking party has succeeded in gaining an entrance, peace is proclaimed, and whisky with large chunks of flesh are provided for their entertainment. Occasionally during these fights the maiden's home is quite dismantled. The negotiations being concluded, preparations are made for escorting the bride to her new home. Being heavily veiled, she is supported on horseback by her brothers, while her near relatives, all fully armed, attend her. On arriving at the bridegroom's house there is a scuffle. The veil is snatched from the bride's face by her kinsmen, who do their utmost to throw it on the roof, to signify that she will rule over the occupants when she enters. The bridegroom's people, on the contrary, do all they can to trample it down on the doorstep as an indication of the rigour with which the newcomer will be subjected to the ruling of the head of the house. Much blood is sometimes shed, and people are often seriously injured in these skirmishes.

The bride remains for three days in a temporary shelter before she is admitted into the house. A girl, having left her parents' home to become a wife, waits many years before she pays a return

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585 visit. Anciently the shortest period was three years, but some allow ten or more years to elapse before the first visit home is paid. Two or three years are then often spent with the parents.

776 755 Like the Miao, and other races of China, the No-su live in great fear of demons. They understand hardly anything about medicine, and so exorcists are in constant demand. What we have said of the Miao and their superstitions in reference to demons might be repeated almost word for word about the No-su. When it is known that disease has visited a neighbour's house, a pole seven feet long is erected in a conspicuous place in a thicket some distance from the house of any one who wishes to be safe. On the pole an old ploughshare is fixed, and it is supposed that when the spirit who controls the disease sees the ploughshare he will retire to a distance from these homesteads.

[164] 757 There is a fever called *No-ma-tsï* which works great havoc among the No-su every year. No person will stay by the sick-bed to nurse the unfortunate patient. Food and water are placed by the bedside, the sick one is covered with a quilt and left at the mercy of the disease. Since the patient will perspire as the fever progresses, heavy stones are placed upon the quilt that it may not be thrown off and the patient take

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cold. Many an unfortunate sufferer has through 757
this strange practice died from suffocation. After a time the relatives return to see what course the disease has taken. This fever seems to yield to quinine, for several persons to whom quinine was given recovered. It is probably a malignant form of malarial fever, and what the Chinese in Kweichow call *men pai tsï.*

When a man dies, his kinsfolk, as soon as they 764
receive the news, hold in their several homes a feast of mourning which they call *za.* A pig or sheep is sacrificed in the doorway, and it is supposed that intercourse is thus maintained between living persons and the spirit of the departed. The nearer kindred, on hearing of the death of a relative, take a fowl and strangle it, as the blood of it ought not to be shed. This fowl is cleaned and skewered, and the mourner then proceeds to the house where the deceased is lying, and sticks the fowl near the head of the corpse as an offering. The more distant relatives do not perform this rite, but each leads a sheep to the house of mourning, and a son of the deceased strikes each animal three times with a white wand, while the exorcist stands by and announces the sacrifice by naming the person who offers it.

Formerly the No-su burned their dead.

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764 Some years ago a No-su youth said to Mr. Hicks, "The thought of our friends' bodies either turning to corruption or being eaten by wild beasts is distasteful to us, and therefore we burn our dead." The corpse is burned with wood, and during the cremation the mourners arrange themselves around the fire, chanting and dancing. The ashes are buried and the ground levelled. The custom is still observed by the No-su in the independent Lo-lo territory. The No-su in Weining and Chaotung districts have adopted burial as the mode of disposing of their dead, and to the Chinese burial customs have added some of their own.

On the day of the funeral the horse which the deceased used to ride is brought to the door and saddled by the exorcist. The command is then given to lead the horse to the grave. All the mourners follow, and, marching or dancing in intertwining circles, cross and recross the path of the horse until the poor creature, bewildered and frantic with fear, rushes and kicks in a wild endeavour to escape from the confusion. The whole company thereupon raise a great shout, and say: "The soul has come to ride the horse! The soul has come to ride the horse!" A contest then follows among the women of the deceased man's household for the possession of the horse,

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which is henceforth regarded as of extreme value. 764

The Black No-su are not all of them territorial magnates, but we believe all the poorer ones farm their own land, and even these, as a rule, own a few slaves who do all the work for them. Some of the White No-su are free at the present time. The Black class assert that all the White were originally slaves, and that in the case of those who are now free, either they themselves or their parents escaped at some previous time from their masters. 564 566

The masters of these unfortunate slaves have absolute control over them, and manage all their affairs. The girl slaves he marries to other men's male slaves. The lot of these unfortunate people is hard beyond description. Being looked upon as of little more value than the cattle they tend, the food given to them is often inferior to the corn with which the master's horse is fed. The cruel beatings and torturings they have endured have completely broken their spirit, and now they seem unable to exist apart from their masters. Very seldom do any of them try to escape, for no one will give them shelter, and the punishment awarded to a recaptured slave is so severe as to intimidate the most daring. These poor creatures are born in slavery, married 566

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566 in slavery, and die in slavery. It is not uncommon to meet Chinese slaves, boys and girls, 566 in No-su families. They have either been 563 kidnapped and sold, or their parents, unable to nourish them, have bartered them in exchange for food. Their purchasers marry them to White No-su, and their lot is cast among the slave class. The heart of the missionary is wrung with anguish sometimes as he thinks what cruelty and wretchedness exist among the hills and valleys of that benighted district. Even there, however, light is beginning to shine, for some adherents of the Christian religion have changed their slaves into tenants, thus showing the way to the solution of this difficult problem.

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000 APPENDICES

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

000 "It appeared to the writer that, before these tribes could be scientifically assigned by ethnologists, they must be reduced to order amongst themselves, and that something might be done in that direction by taking upon this journey a short vocabulary, and obtaining its equivalent in the dialect of every tribe met, when a comparison would reveal affinities and differences."—Consul F. S. A. BOURNE.

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APPENDIX I

M
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L
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Sh
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THE following lists of words will enable those who are interested in comparative philology to form some opinion of the languages spoken by the non-Chinese peoples of Kweichow Province.

System of orthography used in writing down the following vocabularies :—

a like *a* in *father*.
e like *e* in *led*.
eh like *u* in *murder*.
ö like *eh* or like the same letter in German.
i like *ea* in *tea*; when followed by a final consonant like *i* in *sit*.
o like *o* in *so*; when followed by a final consonant like *o* in *hot*.
u like *oo* in *too*; when followed by a final consonant like *u* in *sung*.
ï is hardly a vowel sound. Pronounce the English word *its* without the *i* and that is what *tsï* is like. Pronounce *its* without the *it* and that is what *sï* is like.
ai like *i* in *light*.
ao like *ou* in *loud*.
ei like *ai* in *laid*.
eo a blend of *e* and *o*.
aeo a blend of *a* and *eo*.
ua like *wa* in *waft*.
uei like the English *way*.
uo like *wa* in *war*.
b like *b* or *p* in English unaspirated.
d like *d* or *t* in English unaspirated.
f, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, sh, v, y, w, these are pronounced like the same letters in English.

Note.—' is the sign of an aspirate, thus f' is *f* aspirated.
c like a very hard sharp *k*; there is something like a click in it in Miao.
ch like *ch* in *chin* aspirated.
g soft like *g* in *gin* unaspirated.
ǵ hard like *g* in gate
nd nasal sound before *d*.
nt nasal sound before *t* aspirated.
mb sound of *m* before *b*.
mp sound of *m* before *p* aspirated.
ng like *ng* in *sing*. Also used as an initial sound.
ny like *n* before the *y* sound.
p like *p* in English aspirated.
t like *t* in English aspirated.
hk a strongly aspirated guttural.
ll like the Welsh *ll*.
bl, br, dr, gl, kl, pl, pr—these are pronounced the same as in English.
z a rough initial sound, not an aspirate; it is indescribable, and must be heard to be appreciated.
The final consonants *m, p, t, k* are pronounced the same as in English, but much more lightly.
The *r* in Chung-chia has a suggestion of *th* in it. It is never trilled.

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Note.—The Chinese given is the Chinese of Kweiyang, capital of Kweichow Province, and is written according to the system of orthography given above.

The Keh-lao are from Anshunfu.
The No-su or Lo-lo are from Anshunfu.
The Chung-chia are from Kweiyang.
The Heh Miao are from P'anghai Tsingpinghsien.
The Ya-chio Miao are from Tatang in Tingfanchow.
The Hua Miao are from Anshunfu.

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APPENDIX

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'lo Miao.	Hua Miao.
one	i	si	dai	ndiao, yit	et	ndiu, yit	i	i	i
two	er	so	nyi	suong, nyi	song	ruong	nu	o	ao
three	san	da	se	sam	sam	ram	ba, bie	bie	be
four	sï	bu	lli	si	si	rei, ri	llao	bleo	bleo
five	wu	mbu	ngwu	za	ha	ha	gia	bzl	bsl
six	lu	nang	chio	rok	hok	yok	dieo	dsŭ	dseo
seven	chi	shi	shi	dsat	chet	sat	shiung	sau	shiang
eight	ba	vleo	heh	bieh	bet	be, bet	ia	yi	yi
nine	gio	su	kö	ku	kao	giu	gio	gia	gia
ten	sï	beo	tsö	chip, ship	sib	ship	gieo	ku	ku
hundred	be	gin	hu	bak	...	bak	ba	ba	ba
thousand	chien	du	du	riang	...	shien	sie	chie	tsai
myriad	uan	vang	mi	van	...	uan	vie	ua	vang
is	sï	dso	ngeo	shi, dai	...	shi	diau	ieh	iao
have	yu	ngen	dso	li	...	mei	mai	nieo	ma
this	dse ko	...	...	kai ni	...	kai ni	lai nung	du na	lo na
that	na ko	...	...	kai ndi	...	kai dei	lai ai	du ü	lo i
which?	na ko	...	...	kai laeo kai ma	...	kai ma kai re	lai dou, dai shi	de shi	giao a dsl
here	dse li	...	...	gi ni	...	gi ni	hang nung	cau na	cao na
there	na li	...	...	gi ndi	...	...	hang ai	cau ü	cao i
where?	na li	...	...	gi laeo	...	...	hang don	...	...
want	iao	mai	le	ao	ao	ao	eo	ia	ia
come	lai	mo	li	mai	mai	mai	lou	lu	lao

M
192
L
192
Sh
192

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Shan-Tai AL3

M
192
L
192
Sh
192

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'io Miao.	Hua Miao.
go	k'ü	vu	yö	bai	bai	bai	mung	ñu	mu
make, do	dso	...	...	ko	...	ko	ai	a	a
look	k'an	...	...	yang	...	shiu	nge	r'a	mao
see	gien	...	...	ran, yö	...	yen	bang	bu	bao
word	hua	...	...	zao	...	ua	s'ei	lü	lo
speak	so	...	...	nao, kang	...	kang	gieo, cang	n lü	c'o lo
hear	tin	...	...	nyi	...	nyi	ntang	do gia	nao
laugh	shiao	...	...	riu	ro, rai	yu	dio	dsu	dsao
walk	dseo	bai	sö	bai	...	biai	he	mu	siü
weep	k'u	...	ngö	dai	...	dai	kang	ca	ca
strike	di	...	ndu	duai, di	...	da	duei	du	deo
fear	pa	...	gi	lao	...	lao	sh'i	r'i	ntsai
calico	bu	bö	mi	bang, ruok	...	bang	shi	ndo	ndeo
black	he	lang	nao	uan	...	nam	deo	klü	klo
white	be	ru	tu	zao	hkao	hao	llu	kli	klaeo
red	hung	llo	ne	nding	döng	nding	shiao	li	lai
blue	lan	le	wo	wung	...	muong	le	bra	so na
yellow	huang	nyi	sa	ien	...	hen	f'ie	cau	klang
hot	re	lieh	tsu	rao, riam	...	rik	sh'fo	tsü	ko
cold	len	ka yin	ia, wya	giang, dsa	...	yiam	sei	sie	dsai
high	kao	vieh	chium	sang	sung	rang	hi	r'e	suai
low	ngai	kua	chio ne	dam	dam	dam	ka, nga	lü	ngei
large	da	dso	zwo	ndum	dong	lao	ll'io	llu	lliao
small	shiao	nga	tseh	nai	noi	ning	nieo, yieo	iu	yieo
many	do	ai	nu	lai	lai	lai	nao	ndo	ndeo

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M
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few	sao	di	no	siu	...	riu	siu	shi	dsaeo
good	hao	a	nio	ndi	di	ndi	zeo	re	rung
bad	bu hao	a au	ma nio	mi ndi	mi di	mbo ndi	a zeo	meh re	dsĭ rung
heavy	dsung	k'en	li	nak	nak	nak	ntiung	ntiau	niang
light	chin	kao	lo	mbao	bao	mbao	f'a	chi	sĭ
no, not	bu, mu	...	ma	mi	mi	mi, mbo	a	meh	dsĭ, ma
eat	tsĭ	ka	ru	ken	kin	ken	nang	ndŏ	nao
rice, cooked	fan	me	ro	zao	hkao	...	ka	ntu	nao
drink	ho	ren	ndo	ken, söt	...	ken	heo	hu	fu
tea	tsa	mi	gi du	dsei	...	tsa	giang	g'i	mblung
water	suei	u	i	ram	nam	ram	eo	eh, eo	kle
whisky	giu	ba	ndsĭ	lao	lao	lao	giu	gi	giaeo
fire	ho	bai	mdo	vi	fai	fei	du	di	daeo
horse	ma	niao	mnei	ma	ma	ma	ma	mi	neu
ox	niu	nieh	nyi	dsö	...	dseo	liao	iu	nio
buffalo	niu	wu	hu nyi	vai	...	uai	niang	nguei	diu
goat	iang	mieh	tsai	iung	...	yung	li	iau	tsĭ
dog	keo	mu	chei	ma	ma	ma	lla	kle	kle
pig	dsu	ma	va	mu	mu	mu	ba	ba	ba
fowl	gi	cai	za	kai	kai	kai	cei	ci	cai
duck	ia	ber	mbŏ	pit	pet	bit	ka	u	ao
egg	dan	dang	ndo	kai	khai	giai	kei	ce	...
flesh	reo	a	hu	no	nua	no	ngi	ngi	ngai
house, home	gia	ko	heh	ran	...	ran	gie	bre	be
door	men	nge	hen ku	du	...	do	diu	dsö	dsung
head	teo	ka	a nku	kao	...	giao	c'o	ho	hu

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
L/6 AE 4
SHAN-TAI AL 3
M
192
L
192
Sh
192

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'lo Miao.	Hua Miao.
ear	er	rao	le bo tsu	re	...	reo	niei	bre	mbi
eye	yen	dao	na du	da	da	ngui	mai	mü	ma
hair	fa	ma sang	hu tseh	ben	...	bium	lliang	blo	bleo
hand	seo	mao	la	vung	...	föng	biei	di	de
foot	gio	cau	chi ba	din	din	din	lao	ce	daeo
tooth	ia	bang	dsa ma	van	fan	heo	mpi	nti	nai
heart	shin	lu	neh ma	dsö	chai	ram	lliu	bli	suai
silver	yin	nyin	tu	ngan	ngon	ngan	nyi	nyi	nyai
copper	tung	nge	gi ne	luong	...	luong	deo	deh	dung
iron	tie	ging	hö	va	...	fa	ll'eo	llu	ll'eo
salt	yen	nyö	tsu	ku	...	giu	shie	re	ndse
buy	mai	...	sö	dsö	su	dseo	mai	mi	ma
sell	mai	...	...	kai	khai	kai	mai	mi	ma
road	lu	ken	niö	ran	...	uan	kei	ke	ke
street	kai	kai	...	kai	...	kai	ca	ke	kai
marked	tsang	k'ö	gi kao	gei	...	heo	shiang	ki	k'ü
river	{ho giang}	ndei	yi	da	...	da	ntiang	...	nai
hill	{bo san}	dse	mbe	bo	...	bo	bao, biei	bie	dao
sun	'rh	kuei	me tso	uan	van	nguan	ntai	ntü	no
moon	yue	ma do	hu bo	ndin	...	ndin	ll'a	lli	lli
heaven	tien	vlei	me ko	mben	men	mben	vai	lü dü	ndo
earth	di	du	mi chi	da, ndan	...	ndan	da	bu de	la dei
year	nien	...	ko	bi	bi	bei	ntieo	sö	sung

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Lolo AE 4
Shaw-Tai AL 3
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APPENDIX

man (homo)	ren	...	uo tso	uen	...	uen	nai	ni	...
I	ngo	...	...	ku	kha	ku	vai	ku	ko
thou	ni	...	...	meng	mung	mung	mung	yi	ke
he	ta	...	...	di	...	dei	nih	ni	ni
mine	ngo di	...	...	kai, ku	...	kai ku	vai bie	ku bie	ko di
thine	ni di	...	...	kai mung	...	kai mung	meng bie	yi bie	ke di
his	ta di	...	...	kai di	...	kai dei	nih bie	ni bie	ni di
who?	na i ko	...	sa-io	vang laeo	...	bu re	dai shi	deh shi	giao a / dsi
wind	feng	...	mi hi	rum	lom	röm	giang	gia	gia
rain	ü	...	mu hu	uen	...	uen	nung	nö	nang
stone	si	...	lo mu	rin	hin	yin	zei	re	re
demon	kuei	...	vi	vang	...	fang	llie	klau	klang
snake	se	...	bu sa	ngö	ngu	dang	ne	na	nang
give	kei	...	...	zaeo	...	rong	bai, diao	ceh	bo
skin	pi	...	nyi ko	nang	nang	nang	li	di	daeo
die	si	...	shi	dai	dai	dai	da	da	da
long	tsang	...	seh	rai	...	rai	da	die	nde
short	duan	...	nde	din	...	din	ka, lai	lü	lo
near	gin	...	no de	kaeo	...	giaeo	zei	re	re
far	yuen	...	vö	kai	...	giai	dou	ce	kle
hard	ngen	...	k a	nduong	...	ndong	diu, ka	dau cu	daeo
soft	ruan	...	no	uen	...	uen	mai	mri	pa
tree	su, ma,	...	seh deh	vai	...	fai	deo	ha	dung
clothes	i	...	to uo	bu	...	bu	u	bü le	tsao
shoes	hai	...	sa shi	zai	...	hai	ha	k'o	k'u
weary	lei	...	ta	nai	...	me	kau zwo	c'e	kla

M 192
L 192
Sh 192

M
192
L
192
Sh
192

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'i-o Miao.	Hua Miao.
rope	so	...	dsa	dsak	...	dsak	ll'a	lla	lla
bowl	uan	...	lo di	dsa	...	uan	di kang	di	ndi
walnut	he tao	...	seh meh	dsao	...	he dao	he dao	chi, shi	klaeo
chestnut	ban li	...	meh dso	tsi, bak	...	ban li	cao	la	ming
peach	tao	...	seh gio	dao	...	lak ma	llang	kla	kla
persimmon	si hua	...	seh ba	ndai	...	...	mi	mi	nai
pear	li	...	seh ndu	li	...	...	ra	ra	ra
bridge	chiao	...	ngu	giu	...	gio	gieo	lla	lla
root	ken	...	seh tse	ra	rak	rak	giang	giau	giang
father	fu, tie	...	a ba	iei, diei	...	yei, dei	ba	...	...
mother	mu, ma	...	a ma	iai, miei	...	me	mi	a nyi	mai
know	dsi, shiao de	...	...	ro	ru	ro	bang	bö	bu
child	er	...	...	lek	luk	lak	dai	dö	do
little pig	dsu dsai	...	...	lek mu	luk mu	...	...	...	do ba
rat	hao, su	...	...	nu	nu	neo	ne	bra	a bia
sleep	suei	...	...	lap	lab	...	bie lhai	bö glö	klang lhai
field	tien	...	...	na	na	uai lap	li	lie	lhai
behind	heo	...	...	lang	lang	na	heo	...	eang
lunatic	feng dai	...	...	bak	ba	...	...	...	vü klang
divide	fen	...	...	ban	ban	...	fai	...	fai
we	ngo men	...	...	rao	rao	rao	bie	bie	be
ye, you	ni men	...	...	su	su	...	mie	mi	ne
they	ta men	...	...	sao di	...	...	nih dau	bo ki	...

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

APPENDIX II

M
192
L
192
Si
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The lists of words given below are from different Lo-lo or No-su peoples in Kweichow and Yunnan. As I did not take down these words myself, I am not sure about the value of all the consonants, vowels, and diphthongs used. However, for the purposes of comparative philology, the words will serve as well as most lists of words, as writers seldom explain the system of orthography they use in writing them.

The Weining and Chaotung No-su lists were sent me by Mr. Hicks. Weiningchow is in the north-west of Kweichow Province, and Chaotung is three or four days north of Weining, in the province of Yunnan.

The Li-su, La-ka, and Kang-i lists were sent me by Mr. Nicholls. These people, who belong to the No-su race, are to be found in Wutingchow, about five days north of Yunnanfu, and northward up to the Chinsha-chiang or River of Golden Sands, as the Yangtze River is called in that region.

The few Si-fan words were taken down by Mr. C. Baber at Tao-ta-ti, probably in Szechwan.

[TABLE

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

M
192
L
192
Si
192

English.	Weining No-su.	Chao-tung No-su.	Li-su.	La-ka.	Kang-i.	Si-fan.
one	t'a	ki	ch'i	t'a	ta	tu
two	ni	ni	ne	ne	ne	nu
three	sö	so	so	sa	sa	si
four	lli	bre	le	lle	lle	jro
five	ngu	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngei
six	ch'ö	ch'io	ch'o	ch'o	ch'u	ch'u
seven	shi	shi	she	she	she	shun
eight	hö	hö	hei	hei	he	jih
nine	chü	ku	ke	ku	ker	ngo
ten	ts'eo	ts'e	ts'e	tsei	ts'ai	ch'i ch'i
hundred	ho	ha	ho	ho	u	...
thousand	tu	tu	tu	sa	...	...
want / wish	lü	nge	le	nga	ngo	...
come	li	la	lao	lei	lei	...
go	leo	dev leo	ye	le	ye	...
make	tseo	tse	pei	pei	pei	...
see	ni	e	miao	na	ngo	...
word	hing	hi	ta pu	ta che	...	...
speak	nto hing	nde hi	...	che	nchi	...
hear	no	nya	ta no	ta no	...	...
laugh	rai	ri	ver	nguo ye	...	...
walk	seo	si, ia	ye	ta le	ye	...
weep	nü	e	nger	ngu	...	...
strike	ntu	ntu	te	tu	...	...
fear	chieh	ni ia	chiu	chiu	chu	...
calico	mi mi	mu mu	me	p'o	p'u ho	...
black	na	nie	nei	na	na	...
white	t'u	t'u	p'iu	t u	t'u	...
red	neo	ne	ne	nei	nei	...
blue	iö	o	p'e	vu wu	pa pa ya	...
yellow	shö	shi	she	sho	sha sha-yang	...
hot	tso	ts'a	ts'o	ts'o	ts'u	...
cold	ch'i	nyie	chei	chia ke	cha nke	...
high	ch'io mu	a mu	me	ch'a mu	...	...
low	ch'io nai	e mu	nge	ch'e ne	...	...
large	rö	a	ver	wo	...	...
small	mpa	i tsi	yere	neur	...	...
many	nu	na	miu	no	...	...
few	nö	nu	nga niu	ch'e ts'e	...	...
good	tsu	tsu	tse	to	tso	...
bad	ma tsu	ma tsu	te	he	...	...
heavy	li	a lu	le	le	...	...

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

APPENDIX

M 192
L 192
Si 192

English.	Weining No-su.	Chao-tung No-su.	Li-su.	La-ka.	Kang-i.	Si-fan.
light	lo	le	la	la	...	...
no, not	ma	ma	ma	ma	...	...
eat	tsu	tsa	chong	tso	...	...
rice, cooked	chia	kue	tso	a me	...	...
drink	to	te	ta	ye ta	...	...
tea	chi tu	chī tu	lo ve	lo chie	...	...
water	i	rī	a chie	ye	...	...
whisky	nyi	nyi	chī pe	chī	...	...
fire	mi tie	to	to	mo to	...	...
horse	mu	mu	mu	mu	...	...
ox	nü	nü	ne	ne	...	...
buffalo	o nü	o nü	o ne	o ne	...	...
goat	ch'i	ch'ie	a ch'ī	chī'ī	...	...
dog	ch'i	ch'ī	a nu	ch'e	...	...
pig	ba	bie	vare	va	...	...
fowl	a	ie	yere	ya	...	...
duck	pe	ö	a	e	...	...
egg	nto	o	fu	llo	...	...
flesh	fu	ha	ho	ho	...	...
house home	hi	ie	a k'e	a ke	...	...
door	ko keo	nga k'e	a tu	a ko	...	...
head	ko	u	o te	o ka	...	...
ear	lo po	na pu	no pa	no pa	...	...
eye	na tu	nie tu	mare tu	na tu	...	...
hair	mi	mu	u tse	o ts'e	...	...
hand	la	lie	lai	la pa	...	...
foot	t'u ch'ī	ta chī	ch'e	ch'e pa	...	...
tooth	djö	drī	seh	nie pu	...	...
heart	nei	nie	ne mo	ne mo	...	...
silver	t'u	t'u	piu	t'u	...	...
copper	...	dīī	che	che	...	...
iron	sie pie	hu	her	sie	...	...
salt	ts'u	ts'a	tso	tso	...	...
sun	nie dji	ni djī	a me ne	mu ch'e	...	...
moon	lo po	lo po	shiu pu	nao po	...	...
heaven	mü	mü	me ka	mu ka	...	...
earth	mi	nī	me nare	me ch'e	...	...
demon	ts'o pu	lie dji	nei	vare	...	...
hill	pie	pu	tare po	pare ta	...	...
tree	chie	chī	shī che	shī tse	...	...
rain	ho	ha	ho	ho	...	...

/For information pertaining to the feudal organization of the Lolo, see 7: Clarke AE5 Miao, category 116, pp. 120-126./

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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A Ch'uan Miao man clothed in embroidered garments. Formerly both men and women wore such embroideries on festive occasions. The men now do so only in a few isolated localities, and the women are rapidly discarding this unique and attractive dress for unembroidered cotton clothing.

From a sketch by Mr. Graham Peck

[facing p. 13]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO 川苗

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

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In the following article, THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO, and in the translations of Ch'uan Miao memorial ceremonies and the ceremonies of the exorcist, I have used the International Phonetic Script for Ch'uan Miao terms and the Wade system of romanization for the Chinese. For the convenience of the reader, a phonetic table is here given.*

CONSONANTS

b as in bit.

d as in dig.

d_3 as in judge but without aspiration.

d^z is d plus a slight z sound

f as in fat.

g as in go.

G an uvular g.

ŋ ng as in king.

h as in hat.

X rough h as in the Scotch word *loch* and the German word *nach*.

j as y in young.

ʒ is the French j, bordering toward the English fricative (for which r is used in this table of sounds.)

ʒ̇ is a strong palatalized French j.

k as in kind.

l as in law.

l̥ Welsh unvoiced ll plus voice l.

m as in man.

n as in new.

*NOTE—I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor J. E. Moncrieff of West China Union University and to Dr. Serge Elisseeff, Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute for assistance in distinguishing the Ch'uan Miao sounds and in making out these tables.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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p as in pin.

r which in strict phonetic script is J, the ordinary fricative. (untrilled) initial r of southern English and American speech.

s as in sit.

ʃ as in shut.

t as in tin.

T a dental t sometimes written t̠.

tʃ as ch in child, weakly aspirated.

v as in vow.

z as in zone.

w as in wit, well.

' is used to indicate an especially strong aspirate.

- underscording is used to indicate a weaker aspirate.

VOWELS

i as in pique.

i· as in imp.

as in end.

a as a in hat.

a: as a in shah.

ɔ as o in hot.

ɔ· as au in haul.

u as in put.

u· as oo in pool.

o· a pure close long o.

ʌ as u in nut.

y is umlaut u (ü) of the German language.

ɵ very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilation. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in French. It is sometimes written ĭ in the romanization of Chinese sounds.

ã is nasal a.

õ is nasal o.

ai as i in bite.

ao as o in how with a pure o ending.

au as o in how with an open u ending.

ei as in eight.

ou as o in go (with a u ending).

ʌu as the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo (China Inland Mission).

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

This article is the result of about fifteen years of study and contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 people. 121

I first learned of the Ch'uan Miao in 1921 through a Hua Miao 花苗 who came to Suifu 叙府 during a famine. Soon after that I visited the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao 洛表 and at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 and a Ch'uan Miao boy, Yang Fêng Chang 楊奉章, came with me to Suifu where, with my help, he studied in and graduated from the Baptist junior and senior primary schools. After that he was my almost constant companion and went with me on nearly all my expeditions on the China-Tibetan border. From him I learned something of the Ch'uan Miao language and customs.

On returning to Szechwan in 1932 as curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, I made a more determined effort to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. Yang Fêng Chang spent much time with me at Chengtu and after his tragic death, while hunting takin, I made three summer expeditions to the Ch'uan Miao region, and another in the spring of 1936 to Suifu when several Ch'uan Miao came out and assisted me in my study.

Since the summer of 1934 much help has been given me by Mr. Hsiung Ch'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, a Ch'uan Miao who formerly lived in northern Yunnan but now lives at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 near Lo Piao. The fact that he has travelled over much of the Ch'uan Miao territory has made him a valuable assistant. The information received has been repeatedly checked, verified and often corrected through other Ch'uan Miao from Wang Wu Chai, Chou Chia Kou, Yung Ning 永寧 and from different parts of northern Yunnan.

The Ch'uan Miao generally say very little about their customs. They have informed me that in the past they have never told many of these things to anybody outside their own group but have made evasive and misinforming statements. To this day some ceremonies are performed behind closed doors, such as the worship of the door and the killing of the sow when worshiping the sky demon. The main ceremonies of commemoration are purposely confined to the Ch'uan Miao dialect so that nobody who is not a Miao can understand them. In the two ceremonies mentioned above, if one word of Chinese is spoken, the whole ceremony must be repeated. 609

I have made a sincere and earnest effort to understand the Ch'uan Miao people among whom I am considered a very good friend and by whom I have been given the complimentary name 123

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

123 of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

133 South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an
487 altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

161 This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They
131 are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

142 These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

192 Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar
[197] sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

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COMPARISON OF VOCABULARIES OF SOME WEST CHINA ETHNIC GROUPS

English	*Chinese*	*No-su or Lolo*	*Heh Miao*	*Ya-ch'io Miao*	*Hua Miao*	*Ch'uan Miao*
one	i	dai	i	i	i	i
two	er	nyi	au	o	ao	ao
three	sān	se	ba, bie	bie	be	be
four	sī	lli	llao	bleo	bleo	bleo
five	wu	ngwu	gia	bzī	bsī	tsī, tsuei
six	lu	chio	dieo	dsū	dseo	deo
seven	ch'i	shi	shiung	sau	shiang	shiang
eight	ba	heh	la	yi	yi	yi
nine	gio (giu)	kō	gio	gia	gia	gia
ten	sī	tsō	gieo	ku	ku	keo (geo)
hundred	be	hu	ba	ba	ba	ba
thousand	chien	du	s'e	chie	tsai	ts'a
ten thousand	uan	mi	vie	ua	vang	vang
is	sī	ngeo	diau	ieh	iao	iao
have	yu	dso	mai	nieo	ma	ma
want	iao	le	eo	ia	ia	ia
come	lai	li	lou	lu	lao	lo
go	k'ü	yō	mung	mu	mu	mo
make, do	dso		ai	a	a	a
word	hua		s'ei	iū	lo	lo
speak	so		gieo, cang	a lū	c'o lo	a lo
walk	dseo	sō	he	mu	siū	mo
fear	p'a	gi	sh'i	rī	ntsai	nt'sai
large	da	zwo	ll'io	llu	lliao	lo
small	shiao	tseh	nieu, yieo	iu	yieo	iu
good	hao	nio	zeo	re	rung	rong
eat rice, cooked	ts'ī	ru	nang	ndō	nao	nao
ox, cow	niu	nyi	liao	iu	nio	nio
man, or human being	ren	uo tso	nai	ni		nun

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101 The word Ch'uan 川 means river but it is also an abbreviation for the word Szechwan 四川. Szechwan means four rivers. The Szechwan people are often called Ch'uan Jen 川人 and Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵 Apparently the Ch'uan Miao have been given this name because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao 苗 means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The word Miao sounds like the Chinese word cat. and it is very likely that the name Miao was given to these people by the Chinese because their speech sounded to the Chinese like the mewing of cats. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to aborigine groups in West China.

The Miao call themselves Hmoŋ and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves HmoŋBo or ancient Miao because they believe that they belong to a very ancient race. The Hua Miao are called HmoŋNdʷʌu or old Miao* and the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 are called HmoŋNtʂwa or dark Miao.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 There are frequent references to the Miao in the Chinese Classics. The accounts state that failing to pacify them by peaceful methods, the emperor exiled many of the Miao to the Province of Kansu on the extreme west of China, where they have apparently disappeared.† Other groups of the Miao who refused to be absorbed have been driven south and south-west into the highlands of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, southern Szechwan, the Island of Hainan and Tongkin. There are historic records of the forced migrations of Miao from Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. One such migration occurred in 1733 during the reign of the Emperor Yung Chêng. 雍正.

Historians[8] indicate that the Miao were living as far north as the Yellow River, nearly four thousand years ago

*Another name for the Hua Miao is HmoŋLʌu, which also means old Miao.

† Mr. Chuang Hsüeh Pên 莊學本, a representative of the Chinese government who has travelled extensively in the Si K'ang region, and was with the Panchan Lama at the time of his death, has studied and taken pictures of a Miao tribe in Kansu northeast of Kokonor, which is called the Pai Miao 北苗. It is very likely that the Pai Miao are the descendants of the Miao who were exiled into this region many centuries before Christ. There is a tribe or ethnic group of Miao west of Kwanhsien in the region of Mowchow 茂州.

8. Faber, E., Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, p. 4.
Li Ong Bing, Outlines of Chinese History, p. 2.
Müller, E. Max, Sacred Books of the East, Vol III, The Shu King, The Shih King, The Hsiao King, pp. 41, 54.

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and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came. 175

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago. 173 171 174

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoo Glg or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao 101

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101 are also called T∧u T∧u Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老鴉灘 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoɔ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game. fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包穀飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine. [278]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木坪. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

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available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten only on special occasions.[5] 262

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street. 241 [361]

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained. 231 [224]

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden 241 412

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

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341 412 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it [311] cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

762 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tzŭ* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer houses the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

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are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7] 712

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home. 788 765

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time. 224

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese. 463

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house. 462

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 綏阜府志

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804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel [412] called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and [373] strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

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A young Ch'uan Miao woman with her baby.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

Ch'uan Miao girls in festive dress.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 24]

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[292] [177] The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a 291 Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. 562 But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the woman of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

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294 saw was only about one fifth as large as that now in the Museum, and some of the finest specimens were not then in the collection.

177 Within twenty years probably there will be no such embroideries among the Ch'uan Miao. The making of such embroideries takes a great deal of time and often the girl or woman who wears them is ridiculed by less intelligent and unfriendly Chinese who live near them. For these reasons the Ch'uan Miao women are very rapidly adopting a simple Chinese style of embroidery or merely purchasing cheap and gaudy cloth and ribbons in the Chinese markets. The change is taking place so fast that the difference between the clothing worn now and even two years ago is quite noticeable.[8]

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

596 The family is the social unit. Descent is reckoned through males and the oldest living male is the head of the family. Before a girl marries she belongs to the family of her parents but after marriage she belongs to the family of her husband. While the parents live all the descendants, except females that are married but including the wives of the male descendants, live in the same house. After the death of the parents the children separate and form new families. There is evidence in the legends that formerly the husbands lived with the relatives of their wives so that the families may have been matrilinial.

Sons are more desired than daughters because they remain in the family. Women are considered to be inferior to men but women and girls are appreciated and desired.[9]

There is a larger sense in which the family includes all blood relatives of the same name—fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, gandsons, great-grandsons, uncles, cousins, and so on and their wives and umarried daughters, but it does not include the women who have married into other families. The importance of this enlarged family can be seen when the memorial and calendar festivals and the intricate list of the ancestors and descendants are noted.

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8. The Ch'uan Miao do not wear their best clothing and ornaments at funerals. They are worn at weddings, at feasts and at the memorial services and calendar festivals.

In Savina's book, *Histoire des Miao*, there are pictures of Miao wearing brass chain ornaments hanging from their necks. I have purchased chains like these from the Ch'uan Miao but they are now very rare.

9. In some localities men and women in the same family eat together but the daughter-in-law, because of a sense of shame, does not eat with the rest of the family. A daughter-in-law must not sit down on the same bench with the husband's father, brothers, or uncles but she may with her husband.

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There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor. 618

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔʒʌu Ma· and the guest-husbands are called ndᵊʌu la·. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb, 837

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials. 837 178

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along. 186 476

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769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

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[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [573] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men [276] and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

533 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of [178] the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

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are still being made. There are sometimes contests to see who can sing the largest number of them. When anything important happens, a song may be composed and it is sung and taught to others. If some good deed is done, the person that is benefitted may write a song and thus spread the knowledge of it abroad and to future generations. If an injustice is done, this is an efficient way of punishing the offender and of securing revenge. 533

There is nothing that could be called band music, although at funerals and other ceremonies the jointed bugles, called in Chinese *sa la tzŭ*, and brass gongs are used, and the ceremonial drum is accompanied in funeral and memorial ceremonies by the *liu shêng*. The mouth harp, made of brass or of bamboo, is played by lovers when they are sitting side by side and making love to each other. Tree leaves are used for making love when the lovers are far apart, for the noise is much louder and they are thought to be very efficient in winning the feminine heart, as the following proverb shows: 534

blo ŋ tgə gwa· bo· tgə Ta·
blo ŋ tgə ndᵊao bo· tgə hnao.

which means:

If the tree leaf does not resound, the wife will not come.

If the tree leaf does not sound forth, the wife will not hear.

With both the mouth harp and the tree leaf the music is accompanied by audible words.[10]

Of special interest is the *liu shêng* 六笙, called by the Ch'uan Miao gaign or gʌn. It consists of a piece of wood two feet or more in length, hollow inside, and larger at the bottom than near the top. The upper portion is about an inch in diameter and the base is from two to three inches in diameter. Into holes in the larger part of this wood are inserted six bamboo tubes of unequal lengths in which there are brass reeds. The six notes made by means of these tubes are all harmonious so that two or more can be sounded at one time. The result, in the hands of a skillful musician, is beautiful music. Only men and boys play the *liu shêng* and the player always accompanies the music with dancing, so that the result is not unlike that of a Scotchman playing his bagpipes.

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10. Warning of the approach of robbers is sometimes given by means of tree leaf music which can be heard ten *li* distant. The speaker does not actually pronounce words. He or she makes the same tones with the same emphasis as if speaking the words or sentences and it is easily understood by another Ch'uan Miao. 202

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A Ch'uan Miao woman wearing her embroidered garments, taken in 1936. The embroideries are not nearly so elaborate as those worn by Ch'uan Miao women twenty years ago. Ch'uan Miao embroideries are rapidly disappearing.

A Ch'uan Miao woman in festive dress. This picture was taken in 1925. Since then such embroideries have been rapidly disappearing, but there is a collection of over four hundred pieces in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 32]

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533 To an untrained occidental ear, the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao seem to be very much alike and to resemble those used in western countries by the liturgical churches in their religious chants.[11]

The Ch'uan Miao distinguish at least the following different kinds of songs with appropriate tunes:—

1. Songs sung by go-betweens when making engagements.
2. Songs sung when sending the bride away from her home on her wedding day.
3. Songs sung when welcoming a bride at her wedding and at other times during a wedding.
4. Love songs, of which there are two kinds, those sung more loudly when the lovers are apart and those sung in very low tones when lovers are sitting close together.
5. War songs.
6. Hunting songs.
7. Fishing songs.
8. Songs sung by *tuan kung* 端公, while exorcising demons.
9. Songs sung at deaths and at funerals.
10. Songs sung during memorial ceremonies.

The music of the *liu shêng* is distinguished as follows:—

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1. That used when sweeping the house preparatory to a memorial festival.
2. When welcoming back home the souls of the dead.
3. When presenting the sacrificial animal to the ancestor.
4. When making a sacrificial offering of food or wine to the ancestor.
5. To distinguish time limits in the memorial ceremonies.
6. Thanking the filial son after feasts in the memorial ceremonies.
7. When sending or escorting the soul of the dead to heaven.
8. Tunes played just for amusement.

The mouth harp is played only in low, soothing tones when making love and audible words are spoken.

Only love songs are played with tree leaves. The music is louder than that of the mouth harp and audible words are spoken.

With the flute can be played

1. Love-songs, but words cannot be spoken.
2. Music merely for pleasure.

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11. While the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao are definite and regular, there is probably greater freedom for changes and variations than is the case in occidental music.

1 [SEE p. 31]

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534 Jointed bugles and cymbals and brass gongs are more rarely used but they can be played at almost any time.

574 The Ch'uan Miao are very hospitable. A friend can stay in a home for a week or ten days and he will be given food and a bed and charged nothing for them. Chickens are considered especially good and appropriate for entertaining guests. Sometimes both a cock and a hen are killed and some of the meat may be left for the guest to take home with him. The greatest hospitality a Ch'uan Miao can show is to kill a young grown cow or bull and to give a feast to which other friends are invited. Next in importance to a cow is a sheep or goat, then a pig and then a chicken.

572 Friendship among the Ch'uan Miao is sincere and deep and they respond to friendship and kindly treatment. By the very tones of the voice it can be discerned whether the Ch'uan Miao is very friendly and familiar with the person to whom he is speaking, or only fairly so, or not at all, or is an enemy.

V. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

831 Friendship, fellowship, appreciation, sympathy, love and marriage between the sexes is as natural as eating, and they are craved by most people of both sexes. The sex appeal may be one of the most powerful influences for good or for evil. If satisfaction cannot be had in normal and approved ways it will often be sought in ways that are irregular and harmful.

The life of the average Ch'uan Miao, who lives in a simple hut on a high mountain, with no pictures or ornaments in the home, no schools or books, meager furniture, much hard work, few neighbors, simple food, no theatricals and little or no play, is humdrum. It is not unnatural that aside from eating sexual love and sexual intercourse are among the primary enjoyments of life.

The Ch'uan Miao customs in the past have apparently been such that affection between men and women resulted in sexual intercourse, generally illicit. Nearly all the love songs tell of love affairs between men and other men's wives or between women and men to whom they were not married but with whom they enjoyed sexual relations. Some of the legends express disapproval of parents who raised objections because young men were spending the nights in the bedrooms of their daughters and others mention with approval the fact that parents purposely had outside doors for the bedrooms of their daughters so that their lovers could easily enter and spend the night there.

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836 On the second or third days of the second moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men
837 and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But sometimes a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men other than her husband objects to her husband's doing likewise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love affairs.

837 At the *tso chai* [illegible] ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 趕 [illegible]
593 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests, old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that he will beat that person and if the person does not run away or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the house where the guests are being entertained, or in another house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife afterwards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has given them good complexions. Women who are popular with men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers or good at playing the *liu shêng* and dancing, or have money. Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great difference, and generally but not always ability to work is
533 esteemed. It is said that the most potent music of all in making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the musician.

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Sexual attraction naturally results in love affairs and love affairs naturally result in sexual intercourse. Sometimes this results in marriage but often it does not. 584

Children are often married at a very early age. It is not uncommon for a child to be married when only three or four years old and most children are married by the time they are twelve. Of course these are not love matches, and serious love affairs later in life with men and women to whom they are not married are quite likely to occur. 582

The normal way is for engagements to be made by the parents of the boy through go-betweens. The initiative is taken by the parents of the young man. When they have decided that they wish to make an engagement between their son and a certain girl, they call two go-betweens who are invited to a meal in the boy's home. A chicken is killed for the meal and its tongue, its bones and other parts of its body are examined to ascertain whether or not the circumstances are propitious. 584

If the signs are propitious, the middle men proceed to the home of the girl. There they endeavor to secure a favorable reply from the girl's parents who in turn call in go-betweens. If her parents are favorable, the go-betweens are feasted and they proceed to determine the details of the gift which must be given by the boy's parents to those of the girl. The gift may include pork, domestic animals, rice, beans, corn, money, or any other commodity. When the engagement presents have been given and accepted by the girl's parents, the engagement is complete and is seldom broken. There is a second feast for the go-betweens and other friends at the time when the engagement gifts are presented. The engagement is a contract between the parents of the young people. While the bride is not actually purchased, the value of the gift often goes a long way towards securing a favorable decision by the girl's parents.

When the go-betweens arrive at the home of the girl much of the work of making the engagement is often done by means of songs. By certain songs they announce their mission to the girl's parents. Other songs carry the work along, even to the matter of approximately arranging the gift. There are songs when the gifts are presented. Sometimes these songs take the form of contests when the two sets of go-betweens ridicule or try to outwit each other or see who can keep going the longest.

When the parents are unwilling to marry off a daughter, or nobody seeks her hand in marriage, or when the parents are unable or fail to make an engagement for a son, the marriageable person endeavors to win a mate. For this purpose he or she goes to the market place on the third day of the third moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽 on the fifth day of the

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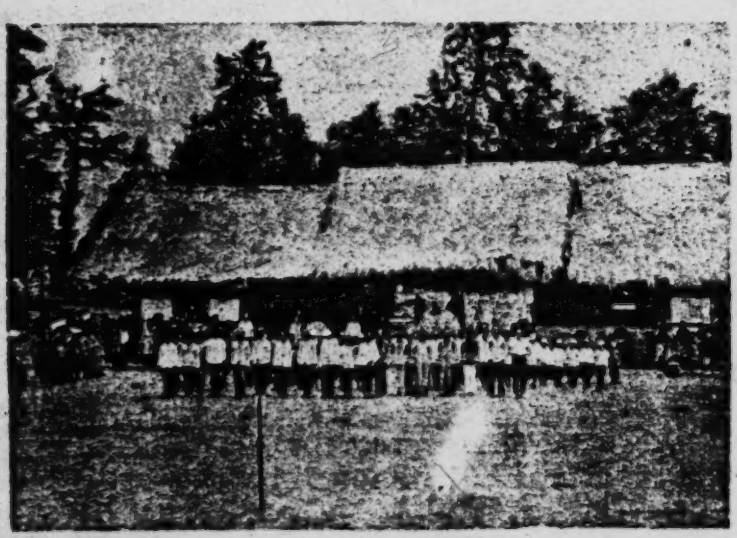

Picture of Ch'uan Miao pupils of four schools in parade in front of the Ch'uan Miao school house at Wang Wu Chiai.

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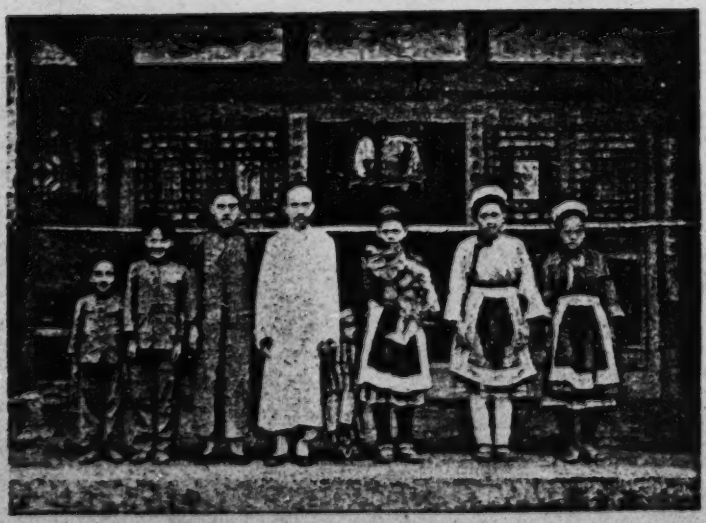

A Ch'uan Miao family on the Szechwan-Yunnan border. The two boys are students in a Ch'uan Miao school.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 36]

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584 fifth moon, or at some other convenient time, or attends one of the Miao feasts or festivals, or joins those playing on the mountain-sides at New Year time. Either the boy or the girl can make the first advances. The methods are to look lovingly
584 with the eyes, to squeeze hands and to speak loving words.
833 This is inconvenient if there are many people about. A boy may take a girl's handkerchief or a girl take a boy's. Then the person who gets the handkerchief goes away and the other says, "That person has taken my handkerchief. Stay here and I will go after him (or her)." Then in a quiet secluded place they make love. They say loving words, squeeze each other's hands, and embrace. A very great evidence of love is when one spits and the other swallows the spittal. Copulation often follows after which a handkerchief or a ring may be given by the boy to the girl or *vice versa* and they make a vow such as, "If you do not marry me and marry another, you must take this engagement present and eat it and then I will make no trouble." It is believed by the Ch'uan Miao men that copulation is one of the surest ways to a woman's affection.

584 Later the parents must be informed and they must secure go-betweens and arrange engagement presents and so on. If the parents do not agree, then the young people run away together or the man carries away the girl. Then all the neighbors and friends urge the parents to consent and if they still do not agree the neighbors and friends practically compel them to do so. The gifts to the girl's parents are generally less than they would have been if the young people had been engaged and married in the usual way.

Marriage by capture is not unknown among the Ch'uan Miao. Sometimes the girls are quite willing to get married in this way, and it is said that happy marriages often result. Sometimes a man uses this method because he is in love with the girl.

Parents generally desire to marry off their daughters, for it is the custom of marrying daughters into other homes that makes possible the securing of daughters-in-law to labor in the home and to give birth to descendants. Besides, the girl's parents receive engagement gifts and these are sometimes very valuable.

585 The bride generally weeps before leaving her parental home. Sometimes the sorrow is pretended but at other times she is sad and unwilling to go and the parents and friends and relatives have to use persuasion and even cocrcion. There is an old custom by which the parents actually push the girl out of the house. It is customary for the girl and her parents to weep, either as a matter of form or because of sincere sorrow.

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581 181 There is a strong sentiment against marrying daughters into families that live far away or in desolate places on high mountains. The common belief that the Miao love to live on the high and rugged mountains and are unwilling to live on the rich and level plains is as great a mistake as historians ever made. The Miao live on the high and rugged mountains because they are a defeated people and have been forced to do so. The Ch'uan Miao name for heaven is "Ntsə ni l ʌ u G ʌ u bi" or "the ancient level country of God." It is a land where there are no more steep mountains to climb.

585 Before the bride leaves her home, a meal is provided by her parents for her and for those who escort her. In the wedding procession there are generally one or more old women, relatives of the bride, a male relative or friend who manages the procession, the brothers of the bride and other friends who choose to go along. If it is a long distance to the groom's home, a meal is provided to be eaten by the way. In the bridal procession are generally carried such clothing, boxes, chests of drawers or other objects that have been given as bridal presents by her parents to the bride. The manager carries with him a bamboo tree with roots which symbolizes the large number of descendants of the couple. It is also supposed to have magic power to help the family thus to prosper. Sometimes a branch of a tea tree is also carried. Some plant the bamboo tree and others hang it up on the wall of the house. The *liu shêng* is not used at weddings for its notes are thought to be too sad for such occasions.

On arriving at the home of the groom, the brothers of the bride generally escort her into the house as a protection from demons. If she has no brothers, first cousins will do and lacking these, other male relatives may be invited to act as brothers. When entering the house the bride covers her face with a black and a white cloth. Her older brother goes in front and she holds onto his belt. Behind her an older or younger brother holds an umbrella over her as protection from demons.

Sometimes the bride and her companions enter the home and walk around in a circle three times. At other times, the Chinese custom of kowtowing three times to parents, relatives, and friends is followed. Tea is soon offered to the guests. According to an old custom that is no longer observed, the meat of a particular kind of bird and fish were provided at wedding feasts. There is always a wedding feast for the relatives and friends. One of the male relatives later counts before all the clothing, chests of drawers, and other things that have been sent along by the bride's parents. When her relatives and friends finally depart, the groom and his relatives go through a form of detaining her by force. This shows that

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585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

[847] [848] 791 844 When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

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At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a nearby road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.[12] 846

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placents of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house. 844

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons. 852

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kuan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult. 881 791

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony will not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

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12. I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practised by the Ch'uan Miao. 846

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A view in the Ch'uan Miao region on the Szechwan-Yunnan border.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

Ch'uan Miao girls in northern Yunnan wearing embroidered clothing.

Ch'uan Miao aborigine children.

Photo by David C. Graham, 1934.

[Facing p. 40]

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755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

753 All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and
755 some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among
165 the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

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13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

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764 After a parent dies, if he urinates it is unlucky and the children will suffer. If he has a bowel movement, the descendants will prosper and the feces must be carefully wrapped up and put away. Another custom is that the finger and toe nails must be carefully cut off and put away. Later, when the parent cannot be seen, the finger and toe nails can be looked at and this helps the descendants to remember the deceased. Still another custom is that the children must take a piece of white cloth and wash his face, then dry the cloth and burn it. When it is burning, if the shadows or shapes in the flames resemble a Chinese character, then the soul will be reborn as a male. If it is like a flower, the soul will be reborn as a female. The water that has been used to wash the face of the dead is divided among the children and drunk by them. Or the hands and the feet of the corpse may be washed and the water drunk by the children. Drinking this water is considered a very filial act and probably spreads many diseases.

Funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days in the summer time and sometimes for six or seven days if they occur in winter. The ceremonial drum, called in Chinese *kuei ku* 鬼鼓 or demon drum, is used much of the time, accompanied by the *liu shêng*. This is varied by the singing of appropriate songs by individuals and the playing of the jointed bugles, called *sa la tzŭ* accompanied by the beating of brass gongs.

When a person has just died, somebody plays the *liu shêng* and dances for a time. Then the officiating priest (generally there are in each family one or two who are efficient in conducting funeral or memorial ceremonies), who is called by the Ch'uan Miao *chi shih* 祭師 or priest in Chinese and mo in their own language, begins. The dead person has been carried in the coffin into the main room. The priest brings with him, or it is provided by others, a bow but no arrows. He cuts down a bamboo and makes of it another bow. Then he cuts down a peach branch and makes of it three or six arrows. He carries the bow he brought with him on his shoulder and a sword hangs from his belt. He takes the new bow and the arrows in his hands and a cock under his armpit. In his hands he also holds two pieces of bamboo which he uses in divination or conversation with the dead.

Three times the priest takes the dead person by the hand, saying each time, "I am helping you arise." Then, since the deceased does not arise, he takes the two pieces of bamboo and places them on the body of the corpse. Then he says, "I called you three times and I took hold of your hand three times and you would not get up. Now I will take the cock to lead you and will send a bow and an arrow to accompany you. If you hear another cock crow and yours replies, then that

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764 person is your ancestor. If your cock does not reply, that is not your ancestor and you must not go. When you meet your ancestors, report that you were born a certain place at a certain time, lived in such and such places and died at a certain place. Then the ancestors will take you to Ntsə's level country and you will meet your male and female ancestors for three generations." Then the priest,[14] chokes the cock to death and the soul of the cock leads the soul of the dead to heaven. The g'a gei then takes a sharp bamboo stick about two and a half feet long, thrusts it through the cock just below the wings and leans the stick and the cock against the coffin.

Some time after this there is a ceremonial procession. In front is a man whirling a stick or baton. Then follow two men blowing water-buffalo horns, then two carrying green bamboo twigs and finally two men carrying guns. During the entire ceremony the ceremonial drum is beaten inside the house, the two men play the *liu shêng* and dance, the two buffalo horns are blown and the man in front whirls his baton.

The procession comes out of a side door, then through the front door enters the living-room, where the participants march around in a circle for some time. Sometimes the procession marches around the house, then around a square table in the front yard to one corner of which has been tied a green bamboo twig about eight feet high. At other times, they merely march around in the yard, then march around the table. Then they sit down at the table and drink the sweet wine that has been poured out for them in small bowls. The bamboo twigs are symbolic of the fact that in ancient times the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao lived in forests. The horns were formerly used to frighten away the tigers and wolves which abounded and are now continued by way of commemoration. The *liu shêng* is used for the good music and good appearance and the guns are added to symbolize the frightening away of wild animals. The Ch'uan Miao say that in ancient times such horns were actually blown during funeral ceremonies to frighten away the wild beasts that lurked about and that out of this custom the ceremony has developed and become more and more symbolic.

764 782 After this an animal is sacrificed. It is generally a bull but is sometimes a male water-buffalo. It may be a pig, a

14. The priest is now called a g'a gei or one who opens the way. g'a means "open" and gei means "road" or "way". The priest is called a g'a gei only when he is performing this part of the funeral ceremony, opening the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades. It is feared that the saying of this word may cause people to die so that the priest will have to open the way of their souls to the level land of Ntsə.

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sheep or a chicken, but it may not be a duck. The animal is led outside the front door. The rope which is tied to the nose of the bull is passed through the door, over the drum which is hung up inside near the coffin, up to the coffin, and put into the hand of the deceased. Then the priest says, "Your descendants are giving you this cow. Take it to Ntse's level place. There visit your ancestors for three generations." Or he may say, "This is what your children have given to you. Take it to Ntse's level country where you will meet your ancestors, and use it." This is followed by weeping on the part of the mourners. Then the priest pours out a bowl of wine for the *liu shêng* player and requests him to play and he pours out another bowl for the one who is to kill the bull and requests him to kill the animal. After drinking the wine the person takes a large knife or a hatchet or an axe and strikes the bull with the back of it until the bull falls down stunned. Then the throat of the animal is cut and the blood caught in a large dipper from which it is dipped out into a large bucket. The skin of the animal is taken off and the animal is cut up according to a regular custom. The oldest custom was apparently to cut it up into thirty-six pieces but now it is sometimes cut up into nine pieces. A pig, a goat or a chicken is cut up into nine pieces. The head, the feet, the tail, the intestines, the stomach, the skin, the lungs and the heart are not counted. The four legs count as four parts, the liver as one part, and the remainder of the body is divided up into four parts, making a total of nine parts.

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The meat is boiled, but not cooked through, and is offered up to the ancestors. Sometimes only a small piece is cut off each of the nine parts, boiled for a short while and then offered to the ancestors in nine small bowls, while wine and rice are also offered and incense and candles burnt. Then all the meat is well boiled and the friends and relatives who are present enjoy a feast. But the sons and daughters of the deceased do not eat any of this meat at this time.

Generally the next night after the bull is killed, there is a ceremony of dancing and pushing. It is performed by the strongest young men. It takes place around the ceremonial drum and in front of the coffin, to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu shêng*. So much strength is used that sometimes furniture is smashed, one or more of the performers pushed down and the walls of the living-room broken. Legend says that this ceremony began in a family where the parent died during the summer time. He was not buried promptly and in a few days numerous maggots crawled out of the coffin and onto the floor. The mourners performed this pushing dance and while doing so trampled the maggots to death.

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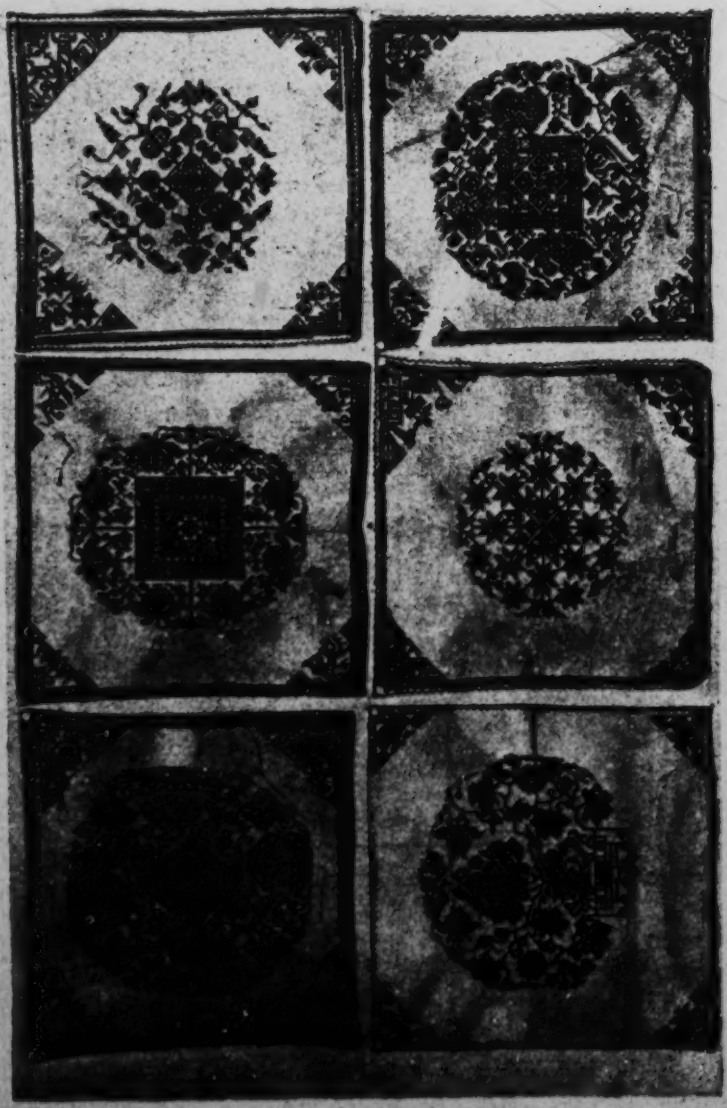

Ch'uan Miao embroidered handkerchiefs, now in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

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764 At midnight, on the last night before the burial, or after midnight, the man in charge of the ceremonies and the feast makes a report. He states the cause of the death, tells how much clothing (giving the number of each kind of garment) the descendants have prepared for the dead and how much meat, wine, rice, etc. has been consumed at the feast. He also reports, if the deceased is a male and the head of the family, how many fields, houses, beds, chairs, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, chicken, etc. and how much money the deceased has left for the children and what things are to be inherited by each child. Generally, but not always, the family divides at this time and each son becomes the head of a family.

[782] Some of the meat of the sacrificed animal is placed on the table at this time and the near blood relatives of the deceased who are not descendants eat it. The descendants have been kneeling while the things mentioned above have been anounced. They are now invited to rise. Wine is poured out for the relatives to drink. The descendants do not drink but continue weeping.

764 787 Next morning, very early, the priest throws the two pieces of bamboo used for divining unto the floor. If unfavorable, the dead is regarded as unsatisfied and then they enquire what the trouble is. The possessions may be divided wrongly, the place of burial may not be good, etc. Readjustments are made and the old relatives exhort the deceased to be contented. This is done until the cast is favorable. Then the coffin is carried out and the burial takes place.

764 Before the coffin is carried out, the priest puts a stool over the doorstill. Then three broken bowls are placed on the stool and burning wood or coal or charcoal is placed in the bowls. Sometimes a dry stick of wood is set on fire and used to light the way for the soul. Then the priest shoots three arrows into the house and three outside the house, standing across the doorsill as he shoots. While he is shooting the coffin is lifted up and carried out. The priest says, "I am shooting illness, pain, pestilence, quarrels, and evil things but I am not shooting living beings, domestic animals, or corn or beans. I am shooting quarrels and the places where the sun and the moon set." When he has finished speaking, he kicks over the stool. Some throw the arrows away outside the house and others carry them to the grave and stick them up on the grave to protect it.

While the corpse is being carried out the sons and daughters take the straw off the bed where the dead person slept and burn it behind the coffin to indicated that the illness has gone along to the grave with the dead. If the wind blows the smoke back into the house, people say that the illness has not yet departed and that others in the family may die.

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754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 764 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *féng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *féng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包, are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

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765 descendants in every way. Animals are killed with the idea that a life must be given but the life of the animal becomes a living creature that can be used in the other world by the ancestor. Such sacrifices are not atonements for sin.

These memorial festivals are taken very seriously by the Ch'uan Miao. They believe that people must not imitate these festivals in play, and certainly not ridicule them. The ancestors will surely take the life of a cow or water-buffalo that is offered in pretence.

Twelve days after the funeral there is a memorial festival called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao a'gi or *a'si*. The ceremonial drum is not used and the bull is not sacrificed. There is no music of the *liu shêng* or beating of drums or singing of songs.

At this time, the spirit is supposed to come back and visit his former home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. By the footprints it can be learned whether the person is now a grown human being, or a child, or has been transformed into a fowl, a horse, a dog, or some other creature. A cock is killed and offered in a raw state to the spirit. Then it is cooked, other food is added, and the relatives and friends have a feast. This festival is observed for parents, or for brothers or sisters over three years of age.

769 At a later date there is a memorial service called in Chinese *tso chai* 做斋 and in Ch'uan Miao a vang. It must take place not less than one year after the *sao ch'ieh*, and generally takes place two or three years later, but may be delayed ten or more years if this is made necessary by poverty. Friends and relatives march in procession to the grave (some families do not go to the grave but observe the entire ceremony in the home), beating gongs and drums and playing the *liu shêng*. In this way the soul of the dead is enticed back home. Generally a cow or a water-buffalo or rarely a pig is killed and offered to the ancestor, then it is cooked and eaten by relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers or sisters and for ancestors for three generations. The ceremonial drum and the *liu shêng* are used in this ceremony.

775 After death a woman carries on her back a grass mat and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 made of bamboo and about two and half feet in diameter. These are burdensome to the souls of the dead, since they make it impossible for them to enter the palace in the level country of Ntsə. The ancestors are released from these burdens during the *tso chai* ceremony and then go happily away to God's flat land where they can enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

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There is a legend that in former times a Miao group or tribe cal' d Hmoŋ Kw'a were accustomed to kill their parents when they had become old and eat them and that their parents were glad to have them do so. It is said that the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 still call themselves Hmoŋ Kw'a and are probably the descendants of that ancient group. It is asserted that during the *tso chai* ceremony the descendants take bread or rice cakes and with their hands mould the cakes into human form, then place them in a bamboo bowl. The *liu shêng* is played, a cow, pig, sheep or chicken is killed as an offering, and after the offering is made the image is cut up and eaten. This is thought to be a continuance of the old custom of eating the parent. It is done very secretly for a Chinese or some other person might ask for an explanation and it would be difficult to give an acceptable reply. 769

Later, after an indefinite period there is a ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* 超荐, and in Chuan Miao tsa moŋ. The custom is to dig up the corpse, throw away or burn up the old coffin, carefully wash the bones, place a new coffin in the old or in a new grave and new garments in the coffin, arrange the bones in their natural order on top of the clothing, carefully fold the edges of the clothing over the bones, put the lid on the coffin, and cover the coffin with dirt. This is still performed by many Ch'uan Miao. It is noteworthy that the same custom, which is rapidly disappearing, is found among the Chinese in Fukien Province. 765

It is thought that because the dead person cannot turn over, he or she becomes very tired and uncomfortable. After from three to ten years the corpse is dug up. The bones are washed with "fire wine" 火酒, then they are rubbed with mustard oil. If the bones are black, the burial place is not good and the corpse must be reburied in a new place else the descendants will not prosper. If the bones are yellow or white, the place is lucky and the reburial should be in the same spot, and the descendants will prosper. During this ceremony the demon drum is used, the *liu shêng* is played to the accompaniment of dancing and appropriate songs are sung. A cow or a pig is sacrificed and there are offerings to the ancestors and a feast. Sometimes the person presiding, called mo, places in a bamboo basket a chopstick for each deceased ancestor and during the ceremony hangs the basket on a beam of the house. The results of this ceremony are that the deceased ancestor who is reburied is comfortable and the descendants have less illness and prosper. [775]

I have been told by a Miao living at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 that in that locality they no longer dig up the coffin, wash the bones and provide a new coffin and clothing but that instead they make a tiny wooden coffin and garments only a few inches long and burn these with paper or spirit money in the

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Ch'uan Miao embroidered pendants worn by the women suspended from the belt. In the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

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belief that they are transformed by burning into a real coffin, clothes and money that can be used by the dead person. This local variation is evidently due to the influence of Chinese burial customs.

Another memorial ceremony is called *hua t'an* in Chinese and a gi bang or a gei bang in Ch'uan Miao. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by friends and relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years and lasts from one day and one night to three days and three nights.

A bull is killed and its hide may be used to cover the ceremonial drum. If the old drum has been broken, a new one is made and the skin of the bull used to cover it.[15] Friends with the same family name come, each man bringing with him a load of wood. The water is carried by the women. Each family contributes some rice, corn, wine, money, or some other thing that is needed. The meat of the bull and the rice, corn, wine, and other edibles are offered to the ancestors after which there is a feast.

The drum is hung up on a wooden beam on which a wooden gourd is also hung. People of the same surname beat the drum, play the *liu shêng* and sing songs. Several men put on women's clothes and impersonate women. Twelve men impersonate cows, six arranged on each side. One who acts as a cow goes into the cowpen and an old person drives him out into the main room. Girls bring bowls of sweet wine for

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15. The following is a brief account of the ceremony with a few notes. The drum must be made according to a certain pattern. The relatives come together and the ancestors are first commemorated. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 are washed as a means of washing the faces of the ancestors. While washing the ancestors' faces, the names of the deceased ancestors for three generations are called and they are invited to be present. The wine is offered. Then the cow is washed and offered to the ancestors. Then one person leads the cow and one carries a hatchet or axe. After this the cow is struck dead with the axe. The the cow's head is cut off, the animal is skinned and the drum is covered with the skin. The hair of the skin is outside and the hairless part of the skin is inside, next to the wood. The drum is hung up and wine is sprinkled on it from someone's mouth. Then the skin is allowed to dry, after which the hair is scraped off with knives. Then more wine is sprinkled out of the mouth onto the drum and the drum is left hanging on a beam to dry. Later one person beats the drum to the accompaniment of the *liu shêng* and the man playing the *liu shêng* dances. There is rejoicing in people's hearts because of the ancestors and because there is a new ceremonial drum. They beat the drum and play the *liu shêng* with dancing all night and in the morning, after having breakfast together, they disperse. Between the times when the drum is used it is left in the home of the local headman. After the drum is used it is returned to the local headman who is given some meat. This is the outstanding ceremonial instrument of the Ch'uan Miao and is believed to be very potent.

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765 him to drink and make horns of rice biscuits which they put on his head. Then two girls herd six cows to the left and six to the right. Then the *liu shêng* is played, and while it is being played the twelve cows fight. Some of the cows as supposed to be killed. The people pretend to offer the cows that are killed to the ancestors and then to eat them. Those who do not die are left to do farm work and to get married. Four dressed as girls pretend to get married to four of the cows. After the marriage the four men play the *liu shêng* and dance, two women play flutes, one woman makes music on a tree leaf and one woman carries an imitation baby, pretending to suckle it and to bestow affection upon it. The women rub soot upon the faces of the men until their faces are black. Then those who are playing the *liu shêng* beat the child. About daybreak, the dummy child is beaten to pieces and the ceremony soon ends. The drum is sometimes carried to a cliff and rolled down the cliff or simply laid down on the side of the mountain after which the people disperse.

[618] It is noteworthy that all Ch'uan Miao who have the same name can participate in this ceremony, not merely those who are known to be related. It indicates that the clan idea still survives and that all having the same surname are regarded as relatives.

796 There is a special ceremony to make offerings to the souls of the domestic animals. It occurs on the third day of the third lunar month or on a cow day (a day controlled by the cow or the water-buffalo) during the first few days of the eleventh moon. It is generally performed on tops of hills or mountains or on mountain passes. A level place is always sought for the ceremony which is continued for from three to eight days.

The ceremony occurs once in three years. One family gives it and provides most of the food and wine although others assist. The purpose is to secure sons and daughters, to cause crops to prosper and to protect the domestic animals from wild beasts and from pestilences and to cause them to multiply.

A tree is cut off about as high as a man's head and the ceremonial drum is hung up on the stump. The tree is called in Chinese a *hua shu* 花樹 or a flower tree. Near the tree a bull is killed while the drum is being beaten and the *liu shêng* is being played and it is offered with wine to the animal spirits. Then several men playing the *liu shêng* and dancing parade three times to the left around the tree, then three times to the right. All this time the ceremonial drum is being beaten.

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796 After the parade, playing the *liu shêng* and dancing continues and songs are sung. The singing sometimes becomes a contest to see who can remember and sing the most songs. After each song the singer ties a knot somewhere on the tree or on his person so that after the contest the knots can be counted and the winner determined. Of course during these ceremonies the animal that is sacrificed is cooked, wine, rice, corn and vegetables are added and there is a feast.

VI. THE CALENDAR AND THE CALENDAR FESTIVALS

[177] The Ch'uan Miao use the lunar calendar like the Chinese from whom they have probably learned it. There are normally twelve months in the year but sometimes thirteen. The month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Ch'uan Miao are becoming acquainted with the western calendar.

787 As among the Chinese, there are twelve creatures with reference to whom lucky and unlucky days are determined. These are the rat, the cow or water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep or goat, the monkey, the cock,[1] the dog and the pig. The hours, days, months and years are controlled by these creatures in succession. The lucky creatures are the cow or water-buffalo, the dragon, the dog, the pig, the sheep or goat, the horse, and the cock. The unlucky are the monkey, the rat, the snake, the hare and the tiger. The days, months and years controlled by the unlucky creatures are unlucky and those controlled by the lucky creatures are lucky. Important journeys should not be begun, sales made or projects started on unlucky days. But engagements should be made on dog and on dragon days, and burials on snake or on rabbit days. The souls of animals are sometimes commemorated in the eleventh moon on cow days.

The seasonal or calendar festivals are as follows:—

796 **The first day of the first moon,** or New Year's Day. New leaves of the tea tree are used to symbolize the fact that the new year has come and tea is made from these leaves. Biscuits or *pa pa* 粑粑 are made of rice, corn, or some other kind of grain and bean curd is cooked. After offering these things to the deceased ancestors, with sweetmeats, the descendants have a family meal at which they eat the same things. The ancestors must be invited to this meal.

The second day of the first moon. On this day the ancestors rest. There are no ceremonies of commemoration and no offerings, although the ancestors are regarded as present. The living play and enjoy themselves.

1 [sic --Analyst]

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The third day of the first moon. The same edibles are offered to the ancestors as on the first day after which there is a family meal at which the same things are eaten. Then the ancestors are ceremoniously sent away to the level land of Ntsə. That is, they are sent away with kind and respectful words and sometimes imitation paper money is burnt for the use of the ancestors in Hades.

The fifteenth day of the first moon. The wife may visit her parents on this day. Wine, cooked rice and pork or some other kind of meat are offered to the ancestors, after which the family has a meal at which the same things are eaten. At this festival the ancestors must be invited to come.

The third day of the third moon. Many visit the graves on this day and make offerings to the ancestors. It is fitting for young brides to visit their parents at this time. At this festival the deceased ancestors must be invited to come and enjoy the feast.

The fifth day of the fifth moon, the *tuan yang* 端陽 festival. Weddings are likely to occur on this day and the ancestors are commemorated as on New Year Day. Offerings are made, and the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake, after which there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten as have been offered to the ancestors.

The ceremony of tasting new grain. After the rice and corn have ripened and often before it is harvested, there is a ceremony called *shang hsin* 嘗新 or "taste new." Nobody will eat the new grain until this ceremony has been performed. Each home fixes the date as it pleases regardless of other families. Some of the new grain is picked and offered, with vegetables, meat and wine, to the ancestors, after which there is a family meal. Formerly a certain kind of green bird had to be killed and offered up at this festival but now it is no longer necessary. The idea seems to be that before the living can eat any of the new grain some of it must be offered to the ancestors.

The thirteenth day of the seventh moon. On this day the ancestors return without being invited. They are offered wine, rice, corn, pork, chicken and vegetables, after which there is the usual family meal. Paper or spirit money is burnt as an offering, which was not formerly done.

The fifteenth day of the eighth moon. The same offerings are made as on the thirteenth day of the seventh moon, including paper money, but the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake. This is the Chinese *chong ch'iu* 中秋 festival.

The ninth day of the ninth moon. The offerings are the same as on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon and the

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Ch'uan Miao women's embroidered hat bands and pendants worn suspended from the belt. *In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

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796 tirteenth day of the seventh moon and there is a similar family meal. The ancestors must be invited to come.

The first day of the tenth moon. The ancestors must be invited to come. Biscuits, called *pa pa* in Chinese, are made of rice or some other grain. They are first offered to the ancestors and then they are eaten by the family. No other food or drink is offered or eaten.

The thirtieth day of the twelfth moon. At this time the ancestors are welcomed back home. A stone is sometimes heated red hot, then placed outside the front door and water poured on it. Biscuits and tea are offered to the ancestors then wine and later rice and meat, but no vegetables. Beef, pork, and chicken can be used. After these have been offered to the ancestors, there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten.

It should be noted that these calendar festivals correspond very closely to those of the Chinese in West China and that the commemorating of and making of offerings to the deceased ancestors is the primary concern in all of them.

VII. THE LANGUAGE

[193] 194 The language of the Ch'uan Miao is monosyllabic and tonal. The verb follows the subject and the object the verb, but the adjective follows the noun. Instead of saying the black dog it is customary to say the dog black.

Among the sounds to be distinguished are the aspirate and the nonaspirate, the French *j*, the dental *t*, the nasal *n*, the Welsh *l* and an uvular *g*. An initial *n* or *m* before other consonants is more common than in most other languages. For instance, the word nts'ae means grass and mba means pig. One distinction of sound is nothing else than a stronger emphasis in pronouncing the word or sound. For instance, the word ma meaning have is pronounced with the ordinary stress but the words ma for buy and ma for sell must be pronounced with a greater stress of voice.

It is commonly believed that the language has five tones. The fact is that it has nine tones. The first tone is high, and the voice is kept level. The second tone is the lowest, and is also level. Their difference in tone is about one octave. The third tone begins at one and descends almost to two. The fourth begins at the second and ascends almost to one. The fifth is half-way between one and two and corresponds to the Chinese fifth tone. The sixth begins at five and descends to two. The seventh is about half-way between five and one and is pronounced with a slightly greater stress of voice than the others. The eighth begins at five and ascends to one. The ninth is about half-way between five and two, is level,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

194 and is the most common and difficult to distinguish.[16]

The Chinese language in West China has four tones with five in some localities but in some parts of Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi the language spoken has eight or nine tones. There are Ch'uan Miao legends which indicate that they came to Szechwan from Kwangtung or Kwangsi.

193 During recent centuries, the Ch'uan Miao language, like
177 their customs, has been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Take, for instance, the comparative and the superlative of
192 adjectives and adverbs. To make the comparative the word xau is spoken before the positive. To make the superlative the word xʌn is spoken after the comparative.

Thus:

positive		*comparative*			*superlative.*	
ʒoɔ	good	xao	ʒoɔ	better	ʒoɔ xʌn	best
ʂʌu	poor	xao	ʂʌu	poorer	ʂʌu xʌn	poorest
ju·	small	xao	ju·	smaller	ju· xʌn	smallest
lo·	large	xao	lo·	larger	lo· xʌn	largest

The word xao is evidently the Chinese word xao 好, *hao* for food which may be used in Chinese in the sense of very and the word xʌn is the Chinese word xʌn 很, *hên* for both the pronunciation and the tones are exactly the same in the Ch'uan Miao and in the Chinese languages. It is significant that the Ch'uan Miao cannot express the comparative and the superlative without the use of Chinese words.

192 There is a goodly nucleus of Ch'uan Miao words that
177 are non-Chinese and which are to be found in various Miao dialects in Kweichow, Yunnan and even in Tongkin. There are also many words that are evidently of Chinese origin. The Chinese word for chair is i^3 *tzu*^{3} 椅子. The Ch'uan Miao word is i^2 tzŭ^3 ʒ̄i tsə or i· tsə. The Chinese word for man in Szechwan is zʌn 人 and the Ch'uan Miao word is nʌn. A very common Ch'uan Miao word for love is nia and the Chinese is *ngai* 愛 (*ai*). Occasionally a Chinese word that has been adopted is given a slightly different pronunciation and a different tone.

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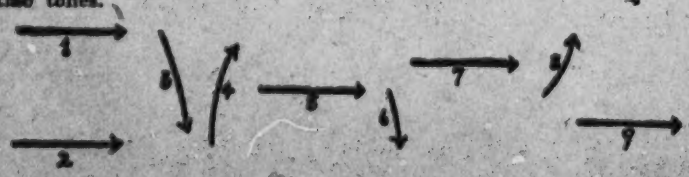
194 16. The following diagram may help to distinguish Ch'uan Miao tones.



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VIII. LEGENDS

538 It has already been stated that much of the history and folklore of the Ch'uan Miao has been put into verse from and is sung or chanted by the men and women on various occasions so that they are handed down as songs from generation to generation. There are of course some legends that are not in verse form and are not sung and much of the past history of the group has been lost, but there seems to be no poetry among these people that is not sung or chanted.

It is a well-known fact that the stories spread from group to group and that some stories have spread over most of the world. No doubt some of the Ch'uan Miao legends and stories have been learned from other cultural groups, but many have originated among the Ch'uan Miao themselves. There are old men and women who know hundreds of these legends and songs and gladly teach them to younger people. It is said, however, that many of the young folk are not learning them so that in a few generations they may be forgotten. This will be a real loss for they reflect the history, experiences, customs, ideals, and presuppositions of the people.

538 123 Among the great variety of songs and legends one is historical. There are occasionally to be found in these stories bits of history that have not been recorded in any book. One story tells of the final defeat of the Miao in Kiangsi Province. According to this legend, the Chinese then had guns and cannon. I myself heard the old Ch'uan Miao sing this legend and took it down sentence by sentence as it was translated into Chinese for me by a Ch'uan Miao friend. Those who sang and translated the song knew very little about Kwangtung and Kiangsi Provinces. Another legend tells of a forced migration to Szechwan with their hands tied behind their backs. Still another tells of the settlement of the first Ch'uan Miao at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨. Going farther back into history, there are legends that indicate that their ancestors lived in a land where there were Chinese and also camels; this land surely must have been in North China. There are legends that say, "My ancestors lived in a hot southern climate," and describe conditions that point to a land in the south beyond the frontiers of China. There are stories that reflect conditions in a late neolithic age, or at least an age before metal was in common use, as for instance the story of the man who killed a bear by striking it with a stone axe. One very interesting story tells how monkeys lost their tails by sitting on them and so gradually became men.

The legend about the defeat of the Miao by the Chinese in Kwangtung is as follows:—

"The heavens are empty, the earth is small. The Chinese arose and fought us Miao. When we heard this evil news, when the Chinese reached Kwangtung, they brought cannon

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and guns and we were much afraid. When they had conquered Kiangsi, the Miao T'ien Ho 天火 (fire from heaven) blew his bugle, and Earth Fire 地火 took up his sword and curved bows and mustered soldiers as far as the horizon. The Chinese in attacking the Miao towns fought rapidly, attacking quickly, and even chickens and dogs were frightened. The Miao soldiers went and fought them but the Chinese broke open the Miao cities. The Chinese soldiers, when they saw the Miao soldiers covering the surrounding hills, were unable to hold back the Miao soldiers and fled and took refuge on the cliffs. The Chinese used a trick, making boats and chariots, filling them with soldiers, and came again to fight the Miao. The Miao were then defeated. The Chinese took possession of the Miao land and ordered the Miao to make them three thousand bows and arrows. The Miao could not oppose them and took refuge in caves."

It is not impossible that the migration of the Ch'uan Miao to Szechwan occurred under Yung Chêng 雍正 about the year 1733.

There is a legend that seems to imply a blood relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. It states that originally the Chinese and the Miao were one family. They were two brothers. The Miao was the older, the more powerful and the more respected brother and the Chinese was the younger. The parents died and were buried. The brothers separated and lost all trace of each other. They both commemorated their ancestors at the same grave but at different times so that they did not meet. The younger brother, the Chinese, worshipped later in the year, so that the older brother noticed that somebody was worshipping at the grave of his parents. "Who is doing this and for what reason?" he asked. Then he began to watch and caught the younger brother. A disagreement ensued. They did not recognize each other so each blamed the other for worshipping at his ancestral grave. Instead of fighting, they went to law about it. The official asked the Miao, "What evidence have you that this is your ancestral grave?" He replied, "I have buried a millstone a certain distance to the right of the grave." He asked the younger brother the same question. He answered, "I have buried a brass gong a certain distance to the left of the grave." The official sent men to dig and found both the millstone and the gong. Then it became known that the two men were brothers. But in the centuries that followed the descendants of the two brothers grew apart and forgot their common ancestry so that the Chinese have forgotten it altogether. Moreover, the Chinese descendants have become more and more powerful and numerous so that the Miao are now the younger and weaker brothers and the Chinese are the older and stronger brothers.

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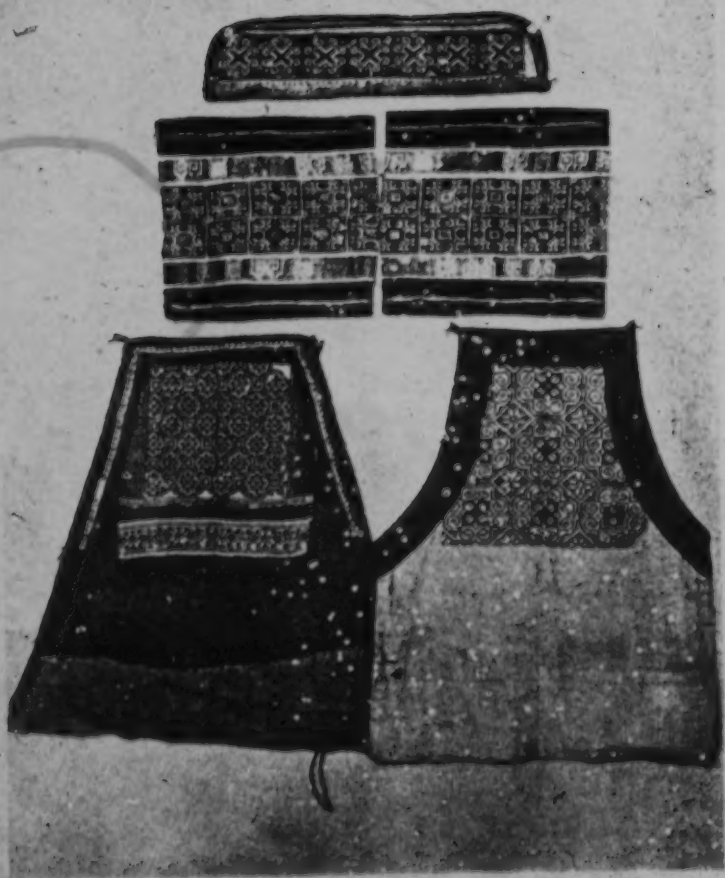

Ch'uan Miao embroidered neckband, sleeves, and breast covers, *in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology*

[facing p. 56]

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There is a variation of this legend which states that when the two brothers first separated they took a brass gong and broke it in two, each brother burying his piece near the grave. Later, at the official investigation, the two parts fitted together, proving their common ancestry.

The Ch'uan Miao trace their ancestry to a female ancestor called Na Bo Hmo Ntsə or the Miao mother named Ntsə.

One legend is that of P'an Ku 盤古, a great superman who with his hammer and chisel carved out the sky and the earth. The Chinese also have this legend and it is a question whether the Miao learned it from the Chinese or the Chinese from the Miao. An interesting fact is that this was not a creation of original materials but a shaping of the sky and the earth out of substances that already existed.

Savina found among the Miao of Tongkin the Biblical story of the flood, the tower of Babylon, the confusion of tongues, and a migration across northern Asia, finally reaching Tongkin. I have always suspected that the Miao of Tongkin learned these stories in recent times from Christian sources. I have not found the slightest trace of them among the Ch'uan Miao.

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The story of the flood as I have learned it from Ch'uan Miao friends is as follows. Two brothers were hoeing a piece of land in order to plant a crop. Every morning when they returned to the field they found the soil turned back as it had been before they began work. One night, they kept watch to see who was doing this and saw an old man come onto the field and begin turning the soil back. When they asked for an explanation, the old man said, "It is useless for you to plant a crop. The world will be flooded and all the crops will be ruined and all the people will be drowned." Then they went and asked ʒ̇e sʌu what to do about it. He advised each of them to make a large tub or barrel and to get into it when the flood arose. So the younger brother made a wooden tub and the older brother made one of iron. When the rains descended and the floods came, each brother got into his tub. The iron tub sank and the older brother was drowned but the wooden tub floated and so the younger brother was saved.

There is a variation of this story by which a brother and a sister were saved from the flood. There were no other people on earth, but they were brother and sister and had the same name, so it was not right for them to marry. They made three tests which finally proved to their satisfaction that it was the will of Ntsə that they should marry. One of these tests was the rolling of two round stones from opposite sides of a gulch or canyon. Their stopping together was a proof of the will of Ntsə that they should marry. Savina says that in the legend as he received it, it was not

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

538 clear whether the two stones were two round pieces of a stonegrinder or not. The Ch'uan Miao assured me that they
773 were not two round pieces of a stone grinder but merely two round stones and that they rolled down from opposite hill-or mountain-sides, the opposite sides of a canyon.

Another kind of legend is that which gives an explanation for Ch'uan Miao customs. There are many of them and not a few of the customs here described were first learned about in a legend. As an illustration I will tell the story of the origin of raising chickens.

A man was walking through the woods. A pheasant flew out cackling and the man found some pheasant chicks. These he took home and fed and gradually they became very tame and grew up as pets. The family liked them so much that they did not kill them and eat them. When these chicks grew up they laid eggs and hatched out more chicks which in turn grew up. This family gave some of the fowl to other families and gradually people learned to raise chickens.

538 There are many love songs or songs that relate the experiences of lovers, for the Ch'uan Miao have had their
837 share of Romeos and Juliets. Some of these songs tell of love between men and their wives or between men and women whom they love and wish to marry, but probably ninety percent of the love songs tell of love affairs between married men and women who are not their wives or between married women and men who are not their husbands, or between unmarried people who do not expect to get married, and in nearly all of these cases it is stated or implied that there was sexual intercourse between them. It seems to be assumed that love between the sexes will result in sexual intercourse and the pure love song that plays such a large part in the literature of the world is hard to find.

IX. RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

In my opinion the Ch'uan Miao are a very religious people,
771 but they have no religious organization, no images of gods, and no temples. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and through their religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a satisfying life in which the basal needs of food, sex, protection or security, and play and amusement are satisfied. Two of the fundamentals in the Ch'uan Miao religion are belief in demons which cause disease and other calamities and for whose exorcism ceremonies are required, and the ancestral cult with its ceremonial offerings and commemoration.

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823 I can hardly affirm that the Ch'uan Miao believe that the world is flat. The untutored Miao does not know that the world is round, but he sees and climbs and farms so many hills and cliffs and mountains that he regards the world as only comparatively flat. The world has an end somewhere, but he has no conception of its size.

772 Above the sky, or rather on it, is a level land where the souls remain after death with the souls of their ancestors. This paradise is Ntsə ni lʌu GʌU bi or the level land of Ntsə. There are no hills to climb and there is neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day. Although there are no rainstorms there is no lack of moisture. Those who live there do not farm but find in the forests such things to eat as berries and fruit, as people are supposed to have done on earth in very ancient times. They are given food, clothing and money by their descendants through the memorial and calendar festivals. It is a good place to live in but not as good as this world. There is a ladder to the sky, but ordinarily mortals cannot go up. Some have swooned away and returned and related to their friends what they saw in the level land of Ntsə.

Under this earth there is another world inhabited by dwarfs. These are called in Chinese *sao pa jén* 掃把人 or broom people, because they are as tall as small Chinese brooms or about two feet high. They farm and have their own king, soldiers and government. They live very much as people on this earth, but they have much smaller houses, farms, etc. One Miao fell into dwarfland through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace, and later came back to the earth through a crack in the ground caused by a drought. When rain finally came, the ground swelled and closed up the crack.

In a special region dragons live or at least the king of dragons lives there. Other stories are told of fishermen who hooked the king of dragons or other dragons with fishhooks in rivers and creeks. To reach the palace of the dragon king it is always necessary to go down through pools of water. When the palace is reached, everything is normal and dry.

There is a special region where demons live where it is always dark. People rarely go there although certain legends describe it.

177 775 The Chinese idea of three principal souls or *hun* 魂 and seven lesser souls or *p'o* 魄 is accepted by these people. The *hun* are called in Ch'uan Miao pl'ei and the *p'o* are called *mpl'o*. Of the three principal souls, one remains in the tomb, one goes to Ntsə's level country. One stays among the beams under the roof of the house. On the other hand, one is supposed to be reincarnated. The ideas of reincarnation and of the three *hun* and seven *p'o* were learned evidently from the Chinese; my impression is that they have not been well assimilated.

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The soul, if we may speak of it in the singular, is about the size of a person. It is not flesh, but shadowy. It is generally invisible but not invariably so. Some say that if a person is good his soul is larger and that if he is evil his soul is smaller. The soul does not sleep when a person sleeps. It may wander away and if it does not return the person dies. All birds, animals, and many inanimate things have souls. These include trees, rocks, rivers, and mountains. 774

The shadow is a vital part of a human being. If a mad dog bites a man's shadow, it will kill him. It is worse for a man's shadow to be bitten or cut with a knife than for his body to be bitten or cut. Many of the Ch'uan Miao identify one's shadow with his soul. Therefore at night they place the lamps on low tables or stools so that the souls or shadows will be large and frighten away the demons. Some think the souls are small after death so that they must climb up into bowls in order to eat or drink.

The Ch'uan Miao sometimes find it difficult to say that rocks, trees, mountains, and such things have souls, and find it more natural to say that they have lives, are intelligent, have eyes, and can see. But some assert that the life and the soul are the same. In offering the sacrificial animal, a life must be given and the life becomes a living animal in the world of spirits. It seems to me that the life idea was probably held by the Ch'uan Miao before the Chinese idea of three major and seven lesser souls was absorbed.

The doctrine of transmigration, and its attendant theory of cause and effect as influencing rebirth into this world, seem to be assumed and believed. But I have been unable to find much evidence that they have any considerable influence on the thinking and living of these people. Ch'uan Miao friends have told me that cause and effect, or *yin kuo* 因果, are among the things that they regard as living and that it is generally assumed that the dead person will be reborn into this world as a human being. 775

Demons are the souls of people, of birds and animals, of mountains, and of other kinds of inanimate things. If a person has no descendants to care for him, or if his descendants are unfilial and do not pay proper respect to him and do not offer him the necessary food, clothing, money, etc., then he may become a demon. Demons inhabiting rivers and creeks are the souls of people who have been drowned and who try to drown others. The demons of people who have hanged themselves try to cause others to do likewise. Some demons living in caves harm people; these develop from the vapor within the caves. (Probably this idea was caused by the presence of poisonous gases in caves). 776

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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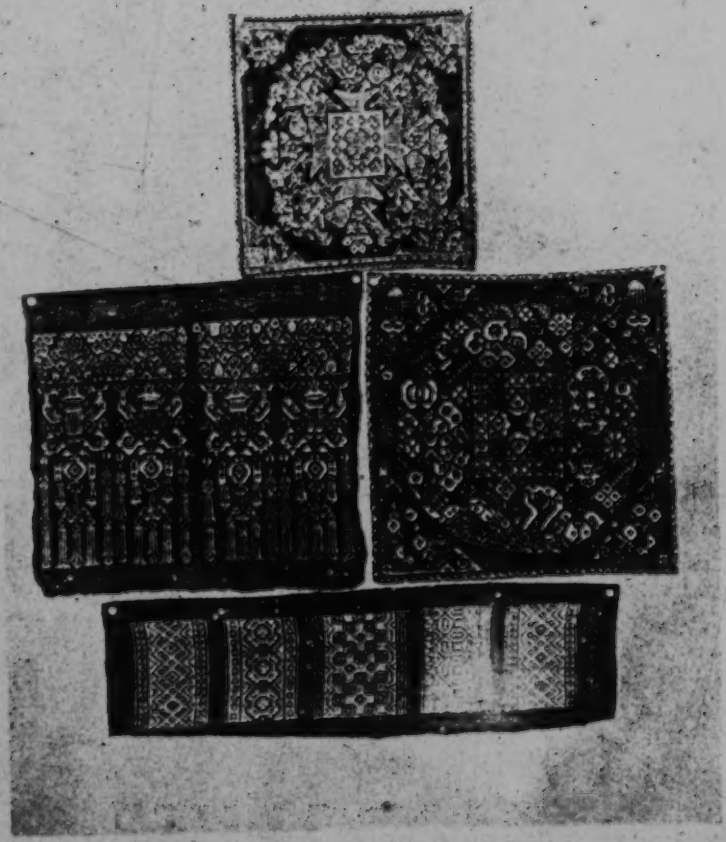

Ch'uan Miao embroidery—a halbard, two handkerchiefs, and an apron cloth—In the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology*

[facing p. 60]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chin ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[525] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

776 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change
551 easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo
[754] ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less fearless.

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776 A tiger often changes into a good person. A woman who has changed into a tiger is called in Chinese a *lao pien p'o* 老变婆 or an old woman who changes. She looks like a dead person or is formless and invisible. Or she may look like a visible woman but when she thinks of being transformed into a demon she smiles and when she thinks of being transformed into a human being she weeps. She goes in front of a tiger to make a way for him and if a trap or a trap-gun is set to injure the tiger she removes it so the tiger will not be hurt. The first son of a family named T'ao, Wang or Chang can change easily into a tiger and the first daughter can
776 change easily into a *lao pien p'o*. A fox can assume the form of a man and entice a woman to sexual intercourse. After-
753 wards the woman has pains and develops spots where the skin dries up. If she is not cured, she gradually dies and changes
755 into a fox. A very large snake called in Chinese a *mang she* 蟒蛇 may transform itself into a man or a woman and entice a person to have sexual relations with him or her. The result is that the person pines away and dies unless a *tuan kung* 端公 can overcome the snake and save the person. The supposed snake may be killed and its liver given the patient to eat; this cures him. Imagination and suggestion probably have a great deal to do with such sicknesses and cures. Banana-trees, vines, rats, frogs, and eels may also change into human form and entice a human being to sexual intercourse with the result that the person becomes ill and dies unless saved by the help of the *tuan kung*.

776 There are god-like beings that are believed in by the Ch'uan Miao but who are not formally worshipped. The greatest god is Ntsə. He controls the heaven and the earth but lives in the sky. The paradise to which the souls of the dead go, as we have seen, is the level land of Ntsə. A Miao told me that Ntsə is the very highest, the ultimate, and that he is everywhere, can be in the lowest place and is compassionate and most powerful.

Ntsə sometimes sends his daughter to succor poor and unfortunate men. This has been noted by Savina in his book on the Miao of Tongkin. Sometimes she becomes, at least temporarily, the man's wife.

Another name, Ntsə Njonŋ LΛn, means god, foundation, old. One can imagine easily that it means Ntsə the foundation of the universe. Some Ch'uan Miao identify Ntsə Njong LΛu with Ntsə but in the minds of others it is not very clear.

Another deity-like being is Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu. He is very intelligent, never dies, is very kindly and merciful, is just, induces people to do good deeds and helps people who are in trouble, especially the poor. He is sometimes seen among the clouds and can easily make himself invisible.

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Part of a Ch'uan Miao funeral ceremony. The bamboo twig is symbolic of ancient times when their ancestors lived in dense forests in which there were many wild animals.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

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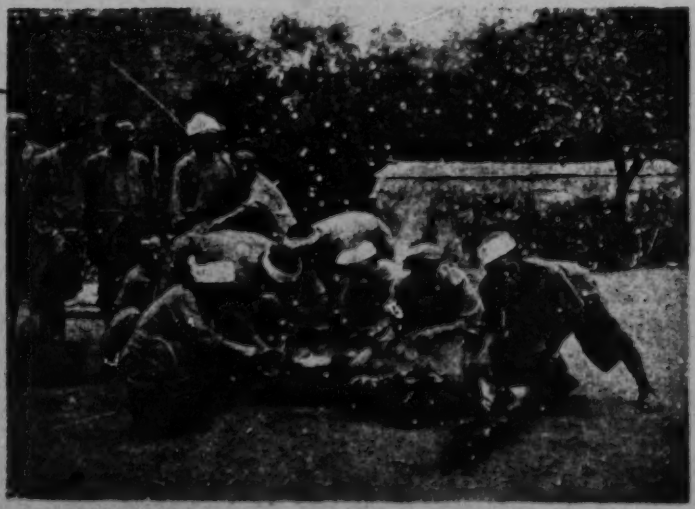

Ch'uan Miao men skinning the sacrificial animal to be offered to the deceased and then eaten as a part of a funeral ceremony.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 62]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Among the Ch'iang 羌 there is a mediator between A-ba-ch'i or the Father in Heaven and the priest, called Njei Dsu or Njei Su, which is much like the Nestorian word for Jesus. Rev. J. Huston Edgar told me that among the Tibetans there is a similar name for a similar being. The Ch'uan Miao name Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu is not a great deal different from the Chinese name for Jesus, Yeh Su 耶穌. It is not impossible that the Njei Dsu or the Njei Su of the Ch'iang and the Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu of the Ch'uan Miao may both be a dim and not too distinct tradition of Jesus that has come down from the distant past from the Nestorians, the Manichaeans, the Buddhists, or even the early Catholics. But the Ch'uan Miao had no idea of connecting the tradition of Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu with Jesus until I suggested it to them. A slightly different pronunciation sometimes met among the Ch'uan Miao is ʒ̊ε SΛu in which ʒ̊ε means an old man and SΛu means an immortal.

It is asserted that formerly the dragon was fierce and ate people, but that now he is regarded as harmless and benevolent. This change is probably due to Chinese influence. The dragon king is often mentioned in the legends. He lives in a palace and is reached by going down through a pool of water. He causes it to rain. He often sends a daughter to help and save an unfortunate man, especially an orphan or a person who is very poor and she generally becomes his wife, at least temporarily.

There is a young woman who lives in the sky, who is called in Ch'uan Miao, Ts'ī Ma Niang Tsai. She is very compassionate and especially shows mercy to and helps unfortunate children.

The witch, Bo Ntsong, who has already been mentioned, changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself.

There is a warty toad, called in Chinese *lai ke pao* 癩格包, who causes hailstorms. People shoot off guns during hailstorms to scare the toad and cause it to cease, and this of course stops the hailstorms.

In some homes a family god symbolizes the ancestors. He is represented by some spirit money which the *tuan kung* 團公 pastes up in center of the rear of the main room, sprinkling some chicken blood on it. It is an imitation of the Chinese god or *chia shén* 家神 on which are inscribed the words *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih wei,* 天地君親師位.

The high respect in which the deceased ancestors are held has already been noted and the memorial services briefly described. The Ch'uan Miao assert that their departed ancestors are not gods but honored and loved human beings who are revered and to whom offerings are made.

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778 Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or moun-
782 tain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals
[755] will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and
264 offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with
262 a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

[585] During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to
776 the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly
782 three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means original demon.

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A Ch'uan Miao embroidery pattern, a duplicate of which Dr. Carl Schuster has found among the Rumanians.

[facing p. 64]

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Glaŋ ta lo, the demon who can step to the sky, is so large that he can step across from one mountain top to another. He can reach heaven at one step. He is very strong and if he strikes a person on his chest with the palm of his hand the person soon dies and the marks of the demon's palm can be seen on the person's chest. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb.

There is a sky demon, nTo glaŋ. The Chinese are sometimes told that this is the god *t'ai shan shih kan tang* 泰山石敢當 but the Ch'uan Miao do not really believe that the demon and the Chinese god are the same. A ceremony in which he is worshipped with offerings is as follows:—

The priest, called mo, takes a bamboo food bowl with corn and beans in it, then stands up in the house and sings a memorial chant, and at the same time shaking the bowl and walking about. This brings the demon, after which the sacrifice is offered.

An old sow which has had litters and has been fattened is sacrificed. She is first tied upon two carrying poles. Torches are lighted and carried in the hands. Small boys make bamboo whistles and blow them. The family takes a bowl of water and turns a dipper upside down on the bowl and the dipper is beaten as a drum.

The sow must be carried in a procession around the house two or three times with the torches lighted and the whistles blowing. After this is finished, all call out, "Oh! Oh! Oh!" twelve times. Each time the arms are lifted up toward the sky. This is a ceremonial fighting with a Chinese who wanted the wife of a Miao but it is also to exorcise and drive away the sky demon.

The pig is first wet with cold water, then placed over a big fire, which makes the hair easy to scrape off. After it has been scraped off, the meat is cut up and boiled. After the pork is thoroughly cooked, it is dipped out and offered to the demon, after which it is eaten with biscuits made as follows.

The blood of the pig is mixed with flour and biscuits made of them. These are first offered to the demon and then eaten.

Instead of a table the pork and the biscuits are placed on a wooden bedstead. Seven wooden knives must be made with which to cut the biscuits. The knives are placed on this bed. After the offerings have been made to the demon, he is escorted away with polite words and is supposed to depart.

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776 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried
782 away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nʌn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron plough-
789 share, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

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A Ch'uan Miao magician performing a ceremony to exorcise demons.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

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Ch'uan Miao men playing the wind instrument called the gaign or *lin shêng* and beating the ceremonial drum. While they do this they perform a folk dance.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

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If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it. Then the patient recovers.

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In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time, he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth.

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggled at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called gla 𑖌 lo or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinese characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different stage of the ceremony were explained as follows.

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1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

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6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shêng* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

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791 the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon,
but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored.
177 Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose
that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao. But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

791 There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a
prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused
787 with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the
future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called *yin yang kua*. This fortune-teller is called a so bʌu. So means first or previously and bʌu means to know or understand. Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods. They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person q os ʍ ʞɐǝʍ ʌnɐ present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits, money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao believe in the so bʌu and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

828 Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In
addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain
787 things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying
wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey, a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill; if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horse, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a parent will probably die.

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There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs. 787

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm. 751

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *fêng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the mana and the wakanda conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Ntsø, Tsei SÂu, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntsoŋ, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc. 776 778

To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu shêng* 六聲, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves. 774

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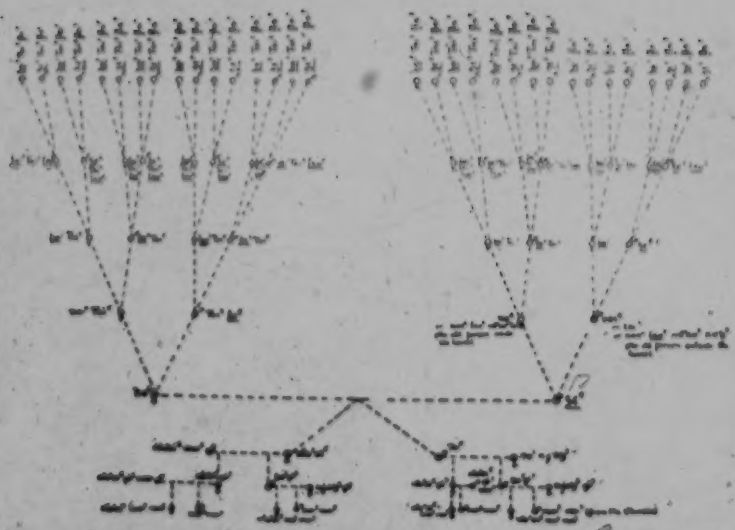

The above diagram gives the names of eight generations of the Ch'uan Miao. The names are those that would be used by the husband, who is called ʒɛ^{9}, when speaking directly to them. When speaking about them he precedes the terms by ko^{3}, meaning "my". He adds the word na^{4}, "great", before each term when speaking about the relatives of another person. On the right are the names of the husband for his own ancestors, on the left his names for his wife's ancestors. The wife uses the same terms for the husband's ancestors that the husband does. If the husband wishes he may call the ancestors of his wife by the same names as he would his own. Both the husband and the wife call the descendants by the same terms or names. The wife calls her own ancestors by the same names or terms that the husband does his ancestors.

The word lla is pronounced ga in some localities.

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774 A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like
778 that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries. A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is a living being that can speak. He has a definite character and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It is small but very powerful. His call or cry is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is lighting. It is this knife that causes the damage when lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

. . . . . .

177 The greatest changes in all their history are now taking
797 place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil
563 among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years. Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and one graduate of the West China Union University gave the money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager for modern education and higher culture. With the continued help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese people, they can become an enlighteed race that will be an asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to the British Empire.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

000 Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

114 The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To^{3} nʌn^{6} or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo^{5} or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝崇, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO *TUAN KUNG* 端公 TO^{3} NʌN^{6}. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

755 789 First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used. The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

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A. The *tuan kung* stands up and sings, "The yellow wax burns, and the smoke arises. When the wax burns I will call. I will call Ntsoŋ jin* (his helper) here to lead. I will call Ntsoŋ jin to come and go ahead. I will call jin tɕa to come and go ahead. I will call jin tɕa to come and lead. ŋa· jin held an iron fan. jin tɕa held a brass fan in his hand. He fanned himself with the brass fan and thus scattered the demons by the sea. He fanned with an iron fan and thus drove the demon illnesses and groans away."

When he has repeated thus far, he beats the gong loudly.

B. "When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, the *tuan kung* goes and calls. He calls na· bo· sʌn jin to come to the front. He calls sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə to come to the front. na· bo· sʌn jin carries an iron club in his hand. sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə carries a brass club in his hand. The iron club will beat the demons of illness as the water of the sea scatters. The brass club beats the demons of illness and the demons of groans so that they go to the place where people sleep and scatter."

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong awhile.)

C. "When the beeswax burns, the incense smokes. When it smokes, I again call. I call nine thousand soldiers to come to the front. He calls upon the soldiers of 900 fortified places to come forward and bring the big guns and shoot them everywhere, and bring the spears and stand them up black (and sharp) and to shoot the big guns with their black smoke. When it looks black, I will call for the soldiers to charge. They will charge against the demons in the forest and the grass of these old people's family, to charge them down to the river on the lower bend, casting them onto the roads, the cliffs and the crossroads."

The *tuan kung* now beats the gongs awhile.

D. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, we will again come and call. We will call the scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven comes and looks. He looks to see if the souls (living) of this family are few or not; to see if the boys of this family are crooked or not; to see if these old people's pool is full or not; to see if the lake of these old people is clean or not. Ntsə's group of controllers of heaven came and looked at the earth; to see if the souls of the living of this family are here or not; to see if the souls of the

*Note.—Unfortunately the deaths of Hsiung Cheng Ts'ai and Hsiung Ts'ao Sung have made it impossible to check up the tones of the Miao names in this translation, so some of them have been omitted.

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bodies of this family have returned to their right bodies or not; to see if the souls of these bodies are with their bodies or not. (The *tuan kung* at this time beats the gong awhile.)

E. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will also come (the *tuan kung* will=we). He will call na^{8} bo^{9} so^{5} to come to the front. He will call the thunder god to come to the front. He will call tga^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front (the lightning). We will call ʒ̇e^{5} so^{5} and tga^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front. Bo^{9} so^{5} came with a stir. ʒ̇ε^{5} so^{5} came with a roar. bo^{9} so^{5} made a stir and came and beat the demons that cause sickness and those that cause groans. ʒ̇ε^{5} so^{5} came roaring and shouting and chased away the demons of the forest and the grassy places. Bo^{9} so^{5} then used tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut the demons of sickness and those of groans into halves. She cut the demon of quarrels until it perished. ʒ̇ε^{5} so^{5} also brought tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut. She cut the demons of sickness, of the forest and of the grassy places. Bo^{9} so^{5} separted men and the demons. ʒ̇ε^{5} so^{5} separated the demons so that they could not see people.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

The demons must not come near people. Bo^{9} so^{5} took an iron hatchet. ʒ̇ε^{5} so^{5} took a big stone axe in his hand. Na^{8} bo^{9} so^{5} then struck the stone cliff with her axe. ʒ̇ε^{5} so^{5} will cut the stone terrace and the colored cliff. They will come and cut (with their stone axes) the dragon pool of these old people so that it will not spoil. They will cut the big rock and the stone cliff and will cut the old people's lake so that it is safe.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

F. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, I will call (the *tuan kung* calls and the smoke helps him). We will call the ʒ̇wang tsai (the colored dragon) to bring tsaŋ xAu (a leader in the dragon land). We called ninety-nine colored dragons. When the ninety-nine colored dragons came, they went into the dragon pool of this family. There are also eighty-eight colored dragons who came to control the lake of these old people so that it will not dry up.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

G. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call again. We call tgo tsai (the striped tiger) to come to the front. We also call tsai^{5} gi^{7} tgo^{7} nd^{3}Au^{5} (a big lion) to come to the front. T o n u bit with his teeth. Tsai i t o n u bit and gnashed with his teeth. tgo^{7} nd^{3}Au then stood up firmly and ate the demons of sickness and those of groans. tsai^{5} gi^{7} tgo^{7} nd^{3}Au came moving

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and ate the demons of sickness and the gasping demons. Then tʂo^{7} ndᶻʌu^{5} ate the demon of chills (cold diseases) and demons of blood diseases. Tsai shi tso ntsau also bit his teeth together firmly and ate the demon of coughs. When he has eaten it, he wants you old folks of this family clear about it (and without ills, etc.). They ate the demon of sickness and the demon of groans so that they could not harm people. They cannot harm the family of you old people. When the demon of the forest and those of the grasslands come they cannot injure your young people and cannot injure your garden.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

H. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When the smoke arises, we again call. We call the lady sun to come forward. We call to the moon young man to come to the front. When the lady sun has come out, it has shone; it has shone on the souls of you old people's farming and on the five grains. She will also shine on the souls of the domestic animals including cattle and horses. She also shone on the souls of your descendants. She has shone on enough to fill the house. She shone on enough to fill the central floor of the house. The souls in the center pushed out. Those on the two sides went out on each side, and some surged out through the middle door. The front and the rear were full and they went out slowly.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong a while).

I. When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises. When the smoke rises, then we again call. We call the Nts'ai hwa (girl cloud) to come from the sky above. We call ndᶻʌu^{5} dʐa^{7} (male wind) to come from the land above the sky. Nts'ai hwa came and smoked the eyes of the demons of sickness and the demons of death so they could not see. She also smoked the demons of the forest and those of the grasslands. ndᶻʌu^{5} dʐa^{7} came and blew. When he blew, the roads of sickness of this family were cut off. When he blew the sounds of the groaning and the sounds of sickness were ended. He blew the sound of the sickness into the water. They blew the demons until they were unable to grow (or live). He blew the demons of the grasslands and those of the forests and vanquished them below the white cliffs. The demons of the forests and those of the grasslands cannot come back.

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong a while).

J. When the beeswax is burning, the smoke arises. When the smoke rises, we will call again. We will call a pair of Chinese from Wu Lang Yo. (Here he beats the gong).

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When the white wax is burning, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will again come and call. We will call a Chinese *Ho Lan Tsi* to come to the front. The Chinese from Wu Lang Yo lighted the lantern and lighted things. They will lighten the soul of this family as it comes and enters the room. The two Chinese from Honan brought the lantern and lighted (the room) together. They will lighten that family's living soul as it returns to the guest room. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) half way along the road and lighten its souls as they return home. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) to half way along the road. They will lighten the souls of the family as they come back and return to their garden squares, (where the gardens are divided into squares for planting different things). 755 789

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong as usual).

II. USING THE CHINESE LANGUAGE TO SUMMON CHINESE GODS

At this time, the paper horns must be taken off the *tuan kung's* 端公 head and he does not beat the gong but merely stands up and calls or sings.

"I call the six stars of the southern dipper (cross), the seven stars of the northern dipper. In the name of *Li Lao Güin* I speak to the Great Pearly (jade) Emperor above and below to *Kuan Shih Yin* (*Kuan-Yin*) of Nan Hai."

Now he must speak the Miao language to exorcise demons.

When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call ntsoŋ jin (a person who was once a prophet of Ntsə, a revered patron of the *tuan kung*) who lives at the foot of Ntsə's great stone called the stone bamboo sprout. Call also na· bo· sʌn jin to come from Ntsə's old colored cliff. Call the ninety-nine layered cliff to come to the front. Call the mountain with eighty-eight layers to come to the front. Also call the cliff with ninety-nine layers to come and separate. Separate people into their homes and demons to the land of demons. Separate people so that they will not go near demons and demons so that they will not go near men.

III. MAKING A CONTAINER

A large bamboo container shallow and with a flat bottom is used. In it are placed bean-curd, biscuits, wine, meat, paper (spirit) money, incense and candles. (Some put water and a little rice in a rice bowl also). 789

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A. If I am not to make this vessel (container made of bamboo), then I will not. If you make such a vessel, it is harder and harder. If I make the vessel, it is not very hard. From this time, if you make the vessel, it has a beginning. A piece of bamboo is braided back and forth. The two ends are cut off and you use the middle. A slanting weave (road) is made and a slanting edge. On the two sides are made slanting edges and in the middle is made a square. There is a slanting weave and a slanting edge. We request the Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 to sit in the center. The slanting weave comes, beginning with the man character (i.e., the weave, slanting in two directions resembles the character 人 "man"). We request the Emperor Jên Tsung to come and sit on a high seat.

(As he speaks these words, the demon is supposed to be driven away).

B. First I call the wood characters 甲乙 *chia i* from the east. Secondly, I invite the fire characters 丙丁. In the third place call the water character *jên kuei* 壬癸 from the west. Fourthly call the metal characters from the north *kêng hsin* 庚辛. Fifth, call from the middle the earth character *wu chi* 戊己. (These are on the round object used by Chinese geomancers and are here regarded as demons).

(The *tuan kung* 端公 hear shouts "t'ai" and stamps his foot to frighten the demons).

First, call Mao Ta Lang (the oldest son of the Mao family). Second, invite the second son of the Mao family. Third, call the third son of the Mao family. Fourth, invite the fourth son of the Mao family. Fifth, invite the fifth son of the Mao family. Six, invite the sixth son of the Mao family. Seventh, invite the seventh son of the Mao family. Also invite the flowery mountain sister. Then the pitcher of wine and the sliced meat will emit light (because the gods have come). If one's head aches and one's whole body aches, it is you (i.e., the demons mentioned above). If your stomach aches and the flesh flinches, it is you. If the heat and cold are not in harmony, and coolness and warmness are not peaceful, it is you. If one's body is feverish, it is you. To be hot and then cold, it is you. If the whole body aches, it is you emitting light. If the whole body aches as though bound, it is you emitting great light. If the whole body is bound, it is you emitting great light. Please come up on this container (flowery vessel) and go forward. There are some people killing a pig and pouring out wine on the stone-paved road who have invited you. Come, come, we will go together. This is not a place where you will stay a long time. It is not a place where you can tie up your horse. In this place there is the foul odor of urine and human ordure. Go, go, go, get on the container. Let us go together.

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When he has repeated the ceremonial to this point, he puts the container on the ground. He regards the demons as having been led (invited) into the vessel and he will open a light for these demons.

IV. OPENING UP THE LIGHTS, PLACING IMAGES

A pair of candles made of beeswax shine brightly. People in the future will have no use for the candles. I (the student) will in the future open up the gods' (source of) light. When I have opened the light of the head, the head is well. When I have opened up the light of the eyes, then the two eyes are bright. When I have opened up the ear-light, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When the nose-light has been opened up, then the bridge of the nose will give good light. When the light of the mouth has been opened up, the mouth-light will hold sixteen pairs. When the hand-light has been opened up, then the hands can be doctors and go in all directions. When the stomach-light, there will be inside the abdomen several tens of intestines. When the foot-light has been opened up, the feet can be doctors and go in all four directions. (When they have opened up the light, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use incense and candles and burn them for the demons mentioned above. When the light is being opened up in the different places mentioned above, blood from a rooster's comb is used and smeared on that part of the paper figures that have been cut out and placed in the bamboo container).

V. MAKING A GRASS MAN

Grass must be taken off the roof of a straw-roofed house.

If I am not to make this straw man. I will not make it. When people make straw men, it is very hard. But when I make straw men, it is not hard. The Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 made a vow (to God?) to present twenty-four human heads. I will make a straw man as a substitute for the sick person's body.

(At this point the ceremony of opening the light is repeated as recorded in Section IV. In both places, exactly the same words are used).

He again says, "If I am not to make a straw man, I will not make it. If I myself make a straw man it will not be hard. I will pull off (from the roof) a bunch of straw with which to make him. (The straw man is made by placing part of the straw with heads in one direction, part in the other). I will make a man of it to substitute for your body" (as a gift to the demon of sickness who will then desist from trying to capture the patient through his death).

(At this point the ceremony for opening light is again repeated as noted above).

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VI. ESCORTING OUT THE STRAW MAN

On the tree is hung out long paper (spirit) money that is white like silver. In the future, people will have no use for it (the spirit money). I will use (the spirit money to display my glory and skill by driving out demons). I will not sweep away this family's wealth or silks (and satins). I will sweep away the demons and quarrels. I will not sweep this family's wealth and happiness. I will sweep away this family's demons and quarrels. I will sweep away the sky pestilences, the earth pestilences. When I have swept them away your whole bodies will be free from sorrow and sickness. With one (uttered) sound, I will sweep away the (demons of) prize fighters and doctors who have no pupils (to worship them after death and therefore become demons), and castrators of animals who are without pupils, and men who put coal or wood on fires who are without pupils. I will sweep them upon the hua- p'an (the container described in III), malarial fevers, and masons who make the foundations for the pillarstones and idols and are without pupils (to make offerings to their teachers after they have died), roaming demons of carvers, roaming demons of painters, roaming demons of actors, and I will sweep them upon the container (hua- p'an) and cause them to straddle the mountains and cross the passes. (I will sweep away) the demon of a second son who calls dogs, the demons that whistle for winds, and those who whistle on their fingers (to call dogs) with their lips, and the two who assist the *tuan kung* 端公 (by leaping, called the *ma chiao* 馬腳, demons of those who were skillful in bending bows and shooting arrows, the king of demons who controls burial by cremation; I will sweep them onto the container.

VII. SENDING AWAY GODS (DEMONS)

After you have called the gods to you, you must send them away. The gongs and drums are beating loudly. If the common people beat them they will be useless. If I beat them, he can escort away those of glory and skill, to send the gods away. To send the gods to the crossings of the great roads, to send the gods back, to send the gods to the crossing of the big roads. The gong resounds, the drum resounds. A wife and a concubine had three (sons) brothers. Lo alone (among them) was taken away to be a soldier. He met (the demons) and fought a battle. The upper part of his body could fight but the lower part of his body was weak. He fought until the demon's whole body was dripping blood. It was like the hairy caterpillar meeting the stinging worm, the offended person (i.e., who has been harmed and is strong because angry) meeting his enemy. If (the demon) meets us, we will fight a battle. That side will lose and I will win.

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(When he has reached this point—all has been spoken—then the knife in the *tuan kung's* 端公 hand is circled once around the container and his foot is circled around it once. Then he carries it outside the house and the hua p'an, the straw man, the paper money, the paper net, the paper rope, and so on and the demons enticed there, are burned on the cross-roads).

VIII. PREPARING WATER

(Put a bowl of water on the table. The *tuan kung* 端公 rolls a sheet of paper into a round tube, lights it and puts it in the water. He must repeat the following incantations).

We are preparing a bowl of water which is not ordinary water. It is water from the great ocean of the dragon king. It is snow water, water of commands (command water). Common people after this will have no use for it. I will use it in the future to conceal my body and Hua T'o 華陀 water (the name of a great Chinese physician of the Three Kingdoms), water to protect the body, water of the six stars of the southern cross, of the seven stars of the northern dipper, and of Li Lao Chün 李老君 (Lao Tzu 老子), water of Kuanyin of the south sea, water of the roaring god of thunder and the drizzling rain, water to protect ones home, water to cut off the heads of the demons and the spooks and such strange creatures, water of the commanding bugle, water of the commanding Erh Lang 二郎 a Szechwan god; (he represents the originator of the Chengtu plain irrigation system), water of the commands of seven sons of the lotus flower, and water of the commands of five sons who became great officials.

IX. STRIKING WITH THE LIN P'AI

On the table is a *lin p'ai* 令牌. Will the general with sharp hairs please arise and sit in the large hall for gods? Let the lesser gods arrange themselves in rows on the two sides. Let (the general with sharp hairs) be seated in the center of the hall and (the lesser gods) arrange themselves in rows on each side. Will the general of sharp hairs please arise? Will the roaring god of thunder and the deity of drizzling rain behead unclean demons and behead spooks? Stamp once with your feet and roar once and then the unclean demons and spooks will at once start off.

(When he has spoken to this point, he must take the *lin p'ai* and circle it about on his body. When this is done the *tuan kung* 端公 must stamp his seal on the body of the sick person).

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X. DISPLAYING THE SEAL

The *tuan kung* 端公 takes a seal in his hands and displays it toward the person who is ill in order to chase away the demons and repeats the following.

One seal is displayed toward heaven. ~~One seal is~~ displayed toward the earth. One seal falls on the person's head. Ten demons see it and nine demons are sad.

Two seals fall on the person's body. The ten demons see it and nine demons fall. Three seals fall on the person's hand (he brings it down three times on the person's hand. The seal prints a charm probably). When the ten demons see it nine of them depart. Four seals fall on a person's breast. Ten demons see it and nine go quickly. Five seals on the (sick) person's foot, and the unclean demons and spooks fall off (the sick person). They fall off his body and off his feet and he is peaceful.

XI. DRAWING WITH A SWORD

The *tuan kung* 端公 holds his hand and circles it about to the left and to the right and he repeats the following.

I take the sword in my hand and cut off the heads of unclean demons and spooks. I will not behead wealth and silks and satins but cut off the demons of quarrels. I will not behead wealth and happiness but I will behead unclean demons and demons (of quarrels) with the mouth and the teeth. I will cut off the heads of demons of sky pestilences and demons of smallpox and measles and of the demons of stiff (paralyzed) legs diseases. I have cut off the heads of five demons and of the demons of this year's pestilences. The five demons have five heads. If ten people see it, there will be heads of nine people. The five demons have five bags. If the saints in the sky see it, they will bow themselves (from the waist). The five demons in the parlor are sitting. If there is no calamity, there must be woes. The blood of the five demons shines. If you do not become ill, you will have boils. The bird is the spirit of a white tiger. He that creeps in the forest (a snake) is a white tiger. A mourner is a white tiger. One with four feet is a white tiger. Each road has five pestilences. I will escort them onto the container hua p'an.

(When he has repeated to this point, the *tuan kung* takes the knife, moves it and encircles it once).

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XII. GOING INTO HADES

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Hades is not below but it is a dark place. The *tuan kung* 端公 wears the paper horns on his head and covers up his face with grass paper (coarse bamboo paper). In his hand he takes his ceremonial knife. On his finger he hangs his small ring bell. He sits on a stool as he would on a horse. He sets some grass paper on fire and puts the flame all over the stool to open the light so that the stool can see. Then he sits down and calls his gods and he is like a dead person (if you speak to him or punch him, he will not notice it). He merely repeats his incantations. His body bends to the right and to the left. He does this for four hours. He calls his gods using the words below.

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. It arises up to Ntsə's land. It goes down as far as the earth prefecture (of the demon king). Ah. go quickly, go quickly, TAv, TAv, TAv" (he makes thus the noise of a horse running; his lips resound at the end of each syllable). He says:—

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises up to the sky. Let ninety-nine lanterns come and go to the front. Call nine thousand (soldier) horsemen to come and go to the front. Quickly bring the saddles and saddle the horses. Bring the bridles and put them in the horses' mouths. Leap on the mules' backs. Leap onto the backs of the donkeys. Leap onto the backs of the big horses. TAv, TAv, TAv (horses running).

"The horses run quickly and well. Go up to Ntsə's land. Go down to the prefecture of Hades. Hurry and bring the lanterns and lamps and lighten (up the way). The flags and the bugles go round and round. The long-handled knives (*ko* 戈) and spears with their handles shine blackly. I am going to go down to the prefecture of Hades. I am going to ascend to Ntsə's land. The red flags go around and around and go up into the heavenly palace. There are numerous men and horses as rising water (of rivers and streams). I go down to the prefecture of the earth and also arrive at Ntsə's land. I arrive at the great palace of the five emperors. Quickly open up widely your main door. I am going to enter the city. I have business or I would not enter the door of your precious palace. Quickly open very wide your main gate. I am going to enter and investigate people. TAv, TAv, TAv. The horses are running fast. I have entered the first gate of the palace. I have entered the second gate of the palace. I have entered the third gate of the palace. I have entered the fourth gate of the palace. I have entered the fifth gate of the palace.

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"On the left is a person (general) who keeps the gate. On the right side is a demon gatekeeper. Thank you, thank you. I will ride the horses back to earth."

(At this point he certainly must speak the Miao language. He might use Chinese sometimes before).

XIII. GOING INTO HADES

XAN, XAN, XAN, whip the mules. Let the big horses go very quickly. Raise the lanterns and the torches higher. TAV, TAV, TAV. We are going up to Ntsə's sky above. We will go and dance at the flower altar. The *hua t'an* 花壇 is in Ntsə's heaven above. We will see if his flowery altar has

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come out or not. We will see if the time for using the flowery altar and the flowery drum has come. We are going to climb Ntsə's heavenly ladder. One section, two sections, three sections, (four sections), five sections, six sections, seven sections, eight sections, nine sections, ten sections, eleven sections, twelve sections. When we have climbed the twelve sections, then you have reached the house in heaven. We will see if Ntsə's li tsə flowers are blooming or not. We will see if the pears are bearing fruit. I, see, see, the pear blossoms have dried up. The insects are eating the pear trees. They do not bloom nor bear fruit. XAn, XAn, quickly take the brass fan and fan it. (The tree is the souls of my parents. Pear blossoms are daughters, pears are sons. If the tree dries up, the parents will suffer and there will be no descendants). Bring the iron fan and fan it (then the tree will prosper). Quickly release the falcons (sparrow hawks) to eat the insects. ja³, the tree is clean and leaves are growing, and it is blossoming. The blossoms are blooming all over the tree. The fruit is growing all over the tree.

We will also see if the rice field is full of water and if the lake is dry or not. Ah, we will call Ntsə's mbao To t'ao to come and repair it. We will also call Ntsə's mbao To t'oŋ to come and help dig the ditch deeper and repair the lake and dragon pool. I will also see if the other family's flower tree has fallen or not. We also must see if that family's young fruit tree is crooked or not. We will call Ntsə's mbao To tsai to come to help lift it straight, to lift that family's young flower tree until it stands firm. We will go quickly and we will see if the flowery altar has many people or not and the flowery drum has many people about it or not. We will call Ntsə's mbao To jai to come and help uncover it. We will also call Ntsə's mbao To jai to come and help unbind it, to allow (the souls in) the flowery altar to go away (in several directions), to uncover the flowery altar so that the souls can fly off. Let us light the lanterns and lamps to see if that family's souls are complete or not and to see where the *hun* 魂 and *p'o* of that family have gone. A·, a·, the souls of the family of those people went early. The *hun* and the *p'o* have all gone. XAn, XAn, lift the lanterns and the torches higher. Drive the horses and pursue quickly. We will call Ntsə's mbao To-ts'ai to follow you (god's sons who are excellent pursuers). We must look after the souls of the old people as they return home. You must look after the *hun* and the *p'o* of the old people as they return to the world. Call this family's souls to come quickly. *Hun* and *p'o* come quickly. This is not your sleeping place. This is not your dwelling. This place is rotten like chicken manure and rotten like duck manure. Come quickly, let us go. Ah, ah, they have been caught (the souls), they have been caught.

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789 We have caught the souls of these old people (of this family). Ai, I have caught them. I have caught the *hun* and *p'o* and they are in my hands. Bring them and put them in my hands. Catch them and put them in my hands. Bring the souls and put them on the backs of the mules and bring the lanterns and lamps to make light. They must show if the souls are cleared or not (all present or not) and the *hun* and *p'o* are all here or not. Give the souls to the leaders of the troops to bring. Let the several generals catch the souls. Catch them carefully, bring them home and let them control their families. If one is missing, I will call you to account. Let us bring the lanterns and lamps and light them. We are going home. TAv, TAv, TAv, the horses come rapidly. We are going down the ladder of heaven. We go down the first section, second section, third section, fourth section, fifth section, sixth section, seventh section, eighth section, ninth section, tenth section, eleventh section, twelfth section.

"I come to thank you, Ntsə, to give thanks to you, Ntsə. Above I will inform Ntsə's heavenly palace. Below, we will inform the old people, Tɛ^{5} bo^{9} and Tɛ^{5} ʐɛ^{9}. I have come to thank you, to express thankfulness to you. I am going to drive the horses and return home. Leap off the horses, leap off the backs of the colts, steady the horses, for we are going to go back. TAv, TAv, TAv, TAv, we have come back and are getting off the horses."

At this time the *tuan kung* 端公 must again cast the bamboo divining instrument and say: See if the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* are complete or not, if they have come or not. (Here he again casts the divining instruments. If not correct, the souls are not all present). He must once get a *yang kua* 陽卦 throw. He must also get three *yin kua* 陰卦 in order to protect the body of the sick person. When this is done, he has finished this part of the ceremonies.

XIV. SENDING BACK THE GODS AND MENTIONING THE DEMONS

(A lump of meat must be used with wine and arranged properly and the *tuan kung* 端公 repeats the following).

In the midst of sending back the gods, you must send away the demons. If I am not to mention demons, I will (nevertheless) mention demons. When mentioning demons, the demons' hair is untied and worn on the back of the head with the tongue hanging out and I call it a *tiao ching kuei* 吊頸鬼 (a demon that died by hanging). If I am not to mention demons, I will not. This demon is beneath the bed. A person sleeps on the bed. If I am to mention demons, I

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will mention them. Speaking of demons, they sit on the rafters. Tonight, I know you. Ntsoo jin (an ancient *tuan kung*); bo san (a woman who talks in a tone pleasant to hear) will come and catch you. If we do not speak of demons, we will yet speak of them. Speaking of demons, they are upstairs. Tonight, in the night, I know about you. Yang Shih Güin Tzŭ will make things clear of you (demons). If we do not mention demons, we will then mention them. To mention the demons, they live in the cow pen. Tonight I know you. The *t'u ti* of the south gate will clear things of you. If we do not mention demons we will then mention them. To mention demons, they are in the pig pen. Tonight, I know you. The gods of the pen door will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we then mention them. The demons live on the stove. Tonight I know you. The kitchen goddess will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sleeping in the bedroom. Tonight I know you. The king of the bedcurtain will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are in the firepit. Tonight I know you. The fire-gods heir to the throne will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sitting in the guest room. Tonight I know you. The family gods and family demons (the souls of the ancestors) will exorcise you. To mention the demons, they are sitting below the door (the cross-piece at the bottom of the door). Tonight I know you. The god of wealth and the door spirits will exorcise you. A grain of rice is sharp on both ends. Tonight I will injure you. I will not harm the family's wealth or silks or satins. I will injure the demonic mouths and tongues (of demons). I will injure the sky pestilences and the earth pestilences, annual pestilences, monthly pestilences, daily pestilences and hourly pestilences. Tonight I will take you away. I will take you away so that men will not associate with demons, and demons will not associate with men.

XV. CALLING BACK SOULS

Pl'ei^{5} lo^{2}, pl'ei^{5} lo^{2}* (souls come, souls come), come quickly. Ah, souls, come quickly. Ah souls, all come. The soul was reborn (as a babe) and came back. (It can leave the babe temporarily, or permanently and cause death). It was reborn in another person and still came back. He went into a family's flowergarden and came back. He went into the deep creek, stopped and came back. Come quickly, come quickly.

(When the *tuan kung* 巫公 has repeated to this point, he uses an axe and strikes the crossbeam at the bottom of the main door).

*Pl'ei is generally pronounced blei.

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789 The bird frightened you and you came. The rat frightened you and you came. A domestic animal frightened you and you came. You stopped on the level spot on the mountain and came back. You dropped on the big flat and came back also. You dropped on the cliff and also came. You dropped on the crossroads and also came back. If you do not come, my big knife that calls souls and fights demons will be your companion. Today is a good day and tonight is a good night. Come more quickly. Come rapidly. Come, come, come back to your bed and come back to your father and your mother. Come and follow your brothers. Live (here) 1000 years, live here 100 years. Poles cannot pierce into you and nets cannot catch you. You may live here until your hair becomes white. You may live here until you are an old man (with hair) that is gray. You can sit with your hands on your knees (as old people do) and your knees bent. Come more quickly, come, come. If I call you and you do not come, my axe will be your companion. Come quickly. You have come, you have come.

(When calling the soul, the *tuan kung* grasps an axe. He uses a person who has an egg in his hand or the *tuan kung* may hold a rooster in his arms. When the soul arrives, then the egg will fall over. Then he will take the egg and burn it in the fire-pit. When the egg is cooked, then the *tuan kung* cuts it open and looks and says whether it has a soul or not. The egg must be cooked on an even day of the month not on an odd day. One, three or five eggs may be burned).

XVI. SETTING UP THE FAMILY GODS

A pair of candles must be lighted or a sheet of grass paper, rolled up into a long thin roll. The *tuan kung* 端公 carries these in his hand and walks around and around toward the center of the house. Then he says:

If the people of a family are not free from demons (if they are ill), the family gods are not at peace. When the *hua t'an* 花壇 ceremony is completed, I will open the light and I will sprinkle some chicken's blood.

When a pair of beeswax candles burn, then the smoke arises and it shines brightly in the home of you old people. If an ordinary person brings them (the candles), it is useless. I will use them to open the light of the family gods (ancestors). When I have opened up the light of the head, the head will lean in all directions. When I have opened the light of the eyes, the two eyes will be very bright. When I have opened up the light of the ears, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When I have opened up the light of the nose,

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the two nostrils will emit good light. When I have opened up the light of the mouth, the mouth will contain sixteen pairs of teeth. When I have opened up the light to the hands, the hands will protect all four directions. When I open up the light to the feet, the feet will stand firmly like a rock pillar. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled chicken-blood on the image of paper, the chunk of meat and clean wine will be placed on the table and I will come and set up the gods in their places. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled blood on the paper image, we will call wealth here and if there are calamities we will exorcise them. I will protect the master of this home so that he will go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth. One seed will fall into the ground and 10,000 will return to the granary. You will raise cows as big as mountains and pigs as big as cows. After we have opened up the light for the house-gods, you will be protected and peaceful forever.

XVII. OPENING UP THE LIGHT FOR THE FRONT DOOR

The front door has been opened three feet, three inches high. Open it during the day, close it at night. After it is opened tonight if you have wealth, I will bring wealth. If you have calamities, I will remove them and I will protect and give peace to the large and the small of the house and drive away all diseases. The cows you raise will be as big as the top (head) of a mountain and the pigs you raise will be as big as steers. I will protect the old members of this family so that they can go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth and silks and satins in their arms. One grain will fall to the ground and 10,000 be reaped and brought home. When people come, the door-gods will open up. If demons come, the door-gods will beat them. If wealth comes, the door-gods will entice it to enter. If demons come, the door-gods will drive them away. If calamities come, the door-gods will exorcise them. If wealth and happiness come, the door-gods will welcome them either by day or by night; they will receive them every day and not cease at night. They will not cease a quarter of an hour. They look away as far as 1000 *li*. Near by, they will look in all four directions. With their eyes they will see clearly and with their mouths they will beat demons and spooks in two. They will open the door to people of this world and close the door to demons. They will only permit people of this world to come and not permit the people of Hades (demons) to go.

(After the above has been repeated, the door is opened for a time, then closed for a time and the ceremony is ended).

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XVIII. REQUESTING THE DOOR GODS TO CAREFULLY REMEMBER THE NAMES OF THE DEMONS

The very thin demons without flesh are named dry, lean demons (glaŋ ntʂʌu). The very tall, very large demons that are able to climb mountains are called climb-mountains-cross-passes, (glaŋ^{6} Ta^{5} nTo^{2}). The demon that nets for wild animals is called ʂʌn^{3} ŋga^{2} (grows-flesh). The demons of women who died in childbirth are called glaŋ^{6} so^{6} (demon that sheds red blood). The demons that cause people to vomit and their hearts to be disturbed are called glaŋ^{6} Ta^{5} (vomiting demons). Demons that cause people to have malarial fever are called glaŋ^{6} nao^{5} (cold demons). Demons that cause people to die from hunger and thirst are called glaŋ^{6} tʂ'ai^{6} (hunger demons) or glaŋ^{6} nk'ai^{5} (thirst demons). Demons that cause people to drown are called glaŋ^{6} glei^{5} (water demons). Demons that cause people to die by hanging are called glaŋ^{6} sʌu^{5} (hanging demons). The demons in caves are called glaŋ^{6} tsao (demons that rush out of caves). Demons that cause children to cry at night are called glaŋ^{6} dza^{5} la^{5} (naked demons). Demons that cause abortion are called glaŋ^{6} ts'ʌu^{5} (demons that throw away on the hill). Demons that cause young men and women to be sad and to make long sighs are called glaŋ^{6} ntʂoŋ (enticing demons).

If such demons as these come, let the door-gods use brass clubs and beat them and they will not come.

XIX. OPENING LOCKS

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The master of the house must find several sheets of yellow paper. The *tuan kung* 端公 uses a pair of scissors and cuts the paper into a net (sky-net, earth-net) and an imitation iron chain and brass lock, which he ties on the body of the sick person. (This is done when they believe that the illness is caused by a demon having locked a lock and chain around the neck of the sick person). The *tuan kung* beats a gong, carries an iron cooking-pot, heats the iron point of a plow and puts his foot on it, and he unlocks the door for the sick person. Then he says, "Water comes from the sky to grind knives with. On earth are people to cut off intercourse (contacts between men and demons), unloose the brass nets, unloose the iron nets, unloose the sky nets, unloose the earth nets, open up cages and release birds, unloose nets and release fish, unloose brass armor, unloose iron armor, unloose brass nets and iron nets, unloose brass chains and iron chains, unlock brass locks and iron locks, unloose brass threads and iron threads (that have bound people). If the head aches, release the body, if the body aches, release the feet, and when the body and the feet have been released, and

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when the head aches remove the heat (of the body) and when the body aches, it becomes cool. Drink tea, peace-giving tea. Drink the peace-giving water. Do not wait until daylight. When I say it, immediately depart. If we say it at midnight, depart at midnight. If any do not depart, I will call Rong sji'n's fire from heaven to burn you away. 789

(When the *tuan kung* has spoken this far, he takes the paper chain and the paper net and the paper lock and puts them all into the winnowing basket, carries them outside the door, and burns them at the crossroads).

XX. REVIVING ONE WHO HAS FAINTED

(Reviving sha—The Miao believe, like the Chinese, that there is a poisonous air called *sha ch'i* 殺氣 that kills people. When a person swoons, he has been injured by *sha ch'i* and a *tuan kung* 端公 can revive him by chasing away the demons.) 789 755

The *tuan kung* opens and holds above him an umbrella of oiled paper. He throws a handful of mustard seed. If he has no mustard seed, he throws a handful of corn. When he throws he shouts, "t'ai, t'ai," and stamps his feet. He says, "Beat the sky demon, beat the earth demon, beat the human demon. Beat the sky demon and send back (what the sky demon has brought) the sky *sha ch'i*. Beat the earth demon and send back the earth *sha* (ch'i). Beat the dead person's demons and send away the *sha* (*ch'i*) of the dead people. Beat the demon of the living people and send back living people's *sha ch'i*. Beat the year demon and send away the year *sha ch'i*. Beat the month demon and send away the month *sha*. Beat the day demon and send away the day *sha*. Beat the time demon sī hou and send away the time *sha*; beat the fierce god who wickedly kills people and turn back the great *sha ch'i* of everything. t'ai t'ai, (and he stamps with his foot), "quickly strike, quickly recede. Recede, recede. recede."

XXI. HOLDING DOWN THE FIRE STAR (MARS)

I have held (pressed) down the fire of Heaven. I have held down the fire of earth. I have pressed down the fire of the year. I have pressed down the fire of the month. I have pressed down the fire of the day. I have pressed down the fire of the moment (time). I have pressed down the fire of the central room. I have pressed down the center of the fire. I have pressed down the fire of the *yin* 陰 (the female principle). I have pressed down the fire of the *yang* 陽 (male principle). I have pressed down the fire of the sun. I have pressed down the fire that likes to kill people (without affection). I have pressed down the demon fire. I have pressed down the fire of living people. I have pressed down the drive-away-*yin* fire. I have pressed down the detain-*yang* 789

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789 fire (demon's fire). Leave the *yang* fire to control the home. Drive the *yin* fire to hades (where demons live). Secure *yang* fire to control the family and make it peaceful (without demons). Drive the *yin* fire to the *yin* spirit (or soul). Leave the *yang* fire to control the family so it will be peaceful. If the fire is a foot high, let water be ten feet high. If fire is ten feet high, water will flood up to heaven and hold down the fire.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 uses a bowl of water and as walks along in the house, repeating his words, he sprinkles water with his hands. When he has finished speaking, he pours out the water from the bowl and the bowl on the table upside down).

XXII. INCANTATION TO DIVINE BY MEANS OF UNCOOKED RICE

787 There is a sky pestilence and an earth pestilence so I come to report to the god. (The uncooked rice is treated and addressed as a god). If there is any unsatisfactory matter I shall come and report to the god. If the head aches and the whole body is hot, we shall come and report to the god. If there is any unworshipped demon of the *t'an shen* or ruined temples, I shall come and report to the gods. If there is any fierce god that kills people, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any grass demon, wood demon, or demon of the forest, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any fierce (murderer) I shall report the fierce matter. If there is anything hard, we shall report it. Without something important, we shall not wantonly report. Without something fierce, we shall not wantonly report.

(When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family).

XXIII. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMON THAT PUNISHES SIN BY PAIN IN THE EYES

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758 If you bump (sin) against wood, the wood demon will enter you and harm your eyes. If you bump (sin) against wood, wood will harm you. If you bump (sin) against stone, stone will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a grave, the grave will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the stone of the cow pen, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a stone of a stove, it will harm you. If you bump

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(sin) against the dya of the stove, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against grass, wood or stone, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against all the things in a home, they will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the eastern direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the western direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the north direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the west direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against water it will harm you and it will immediately fade away. If you bump (sin) against wood, it will fade away. From the time we have repeated this to-day, you will be well.

(While the above is being repeated, the *tuan kung* uses grass paper to sweep. When he has finished sweeping, he takes a bowl of water and cooked rice and pours it out on the ground).

XXIV. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMONS THAT CAUSE WOMEN TO LOSE THEIR CHILDREN OR TO HAVE MISCARRIAGES

After the *tuan kung* 端公 has called the gods, then he must repeat the following and it will enable her to normally give birth to babies and to bring them up. He must actually hold or press down the demons. After he has done this, he worships the gods and the men and women of the family must worship. He says:

"The sky sinned against the sky monkey and neither the moon nor the sun shone any more. The earth sinned against the earth monkey and the grass and trees would not grow. If a person sins against the monkey that climbs the cliffs, he will dry up. To-day I will free you from this and you will immediately get well."

XXV. PREPARING SIX HORSES AND BRIDGE BEAMS FOR THE SICK

As the method of arranging the bridges, you must use 12 feet of cloth and arrange it well, and four stools, one above the other. The *tuan kung* uses a brass gong and alternately beats it and speaks. He says:

"The difficult bridge and the six horses are spoilt. I will protect the sick person. When the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *p'o* 魄 come upon the bridge, I will wear an iron hat on my head."

(He will put the brass gong on his head and pretend that he is wearing a hat. On his feet he is supposed to wear iron-topped boots. He brings the brass gong and pretends to put on shoes. He should wear brass armor also, and he uses the brass gong to imitate this).

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789 "Come and lead a thousand soldiers and horses and 19,000 fortresses."

755 "Soldiers and horses come upon the bridge. The rest may be repeated like the first one in this book."

XXVI. CALLING WATER TO BECOME DIVINE FOR THE GODS TO DRINK

789 Use a bowl or a pot and put water inside. Cover it with three sheets of paper and a piece of cloth. The *tuan kung* 端公 repeats:

"Ntsə's water in heaven is called the water from the river in heaven brought by the prince of heaven. The old man of the earth brought water of the earth below and from the creek he brings water of the rivers and seas. From the home he takes incense fire and beeswax fragrant water. From the rice field he brings water of the rice-plants. Ntso G jin brought water to destroy demons."

XXVII. CALLING WATER TO EXORCISE DEMONS

(Spoken in Chinese).

"Water is the source of the heaven and the earth, the foundation of all living things, widely cultivating people's happiness, used by people in heaven and on earth, inside and outside. For tao 道 learning,* you are reverenced and your body has marvellous light to protect our bodies so that seeing we do not see, hearing we do not hear, and you can protect us in heaven and on earth and nourish all our lives, and propagate it a thousand times. You are bright. Heaven and earth will come and wait upon and protect you. In ancient times *Wu Ti* 武帝 would welcome you. All gods of virtue will come and worship you. It uses the thunder and lightning. Demons and spooks will lose their courage. Your learning *tao* will last forever. I have also called you. Without affairs you stabilize space and control people."

(When this is finished the *tuan kung* 端公 takes water and sprinkles it in all directions and says the following in Chinese."

"When I sprinkle this once, above it pacifies fire calamities. (Lest fire break out). When I sprinkle this a second time, below it will pacify cave demons. When I sprinkle the third time, in the center it will avoid calamities. When I sprinkle the fourth time, there will be peace among men."

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*This is the Chinese word *tao* 道 and of course the meaning is far more inclusive than the English term "learning". To the Ch'uan Miao interpreter it seemed that the word "learning" came very near to what *tao* means to the Ch'uan Miao.

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XXVIII. TO PREVENT BLOOD FROM FLOWING CUT WITH A KNIFE AND REPEAT THIS INCANTATION

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When I go to the east, it is black. In my hand, I hold a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I will cut in two the mouths of two creeks that flow together. I will stop the bubbles under the skin so that the blood will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop up (like a stopper) the sky river. Below is the head of a rapid. We shall stop up the yellow river. A well with two mouths, we will stop the blood of the skin so the blood will not flow. We will stab in two the water of the western river so it will not flow. The blood prince (a male deity) is named *ch'iu* 秋 (autumn). The blood woman is named *liu* 流 (flow). One road (of the blood) changes to ten roads (in veins and arteries). Ten roads change to a hundred roads. A hundred roads change to a thousand roads. All the roads have definiteness. All the roads have spirits (intelligence). First, do not deceive me. Secondly, do not deceive other people who have come. If you still bleed, I will add a golden lion cat and stop it.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use his two hands and twist them like a lion. Then he says:)

"At the order of ʒ̇ei ʒ̇ai na ʒ̇ei, like an order according to the law," (and again he repeats) "I go to the east and it is black. My hand grasps a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I stop up the mouth of the blood stream and will stop the blood bubbles so they will not flow. In a large way, I will stop the great Yangtse. In a small way I will stop a small river. I will cut off the Yellow River's *chiu hsi chiang* 九西江 nine west rivers. The wind enters the emptiness. Emptiness enters the wind. One wind, two winds, and the iron wire sews it together, (i.e., the bleeding skin). The left foot moves and the mountain comes and cuts off the sea. (The *tuan kung's* eyes are closed a while and he moves his left foot around as secretly as possible.) He says, "When the right foot moves, it cuts off the gateway of the sea. (He moves his right foot as though crossing a mountain). He says: The left hand crosses over the mountain to cut (block) off the sea. The right hand crosses the m untains to block off the gateway of the sea. (When he is saying the above, he closes his eyes and moves his hands as though they were crossing a mountain.) One, two, three, four, five, metal, wood, water, fire, earth. Metal does not leave wood and wood also does not leave metal. The blood man is named *chou* the blood mother is named *hsiu*. Stop, stop, do not flow, do not flow, do not flow. When I use these words, I will stab away the power of the wind and the water will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop the sky river. Below is the

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789 head of a rapid. Stop the Yellow River. Above, stop the Yellow River's *shuang ho ching* 双河井 (double river well). Below, stop the two gates (mouths) of the Yellow River. He blows his breath three times and pinches the (open sore) together. The *tuan kung* opens his eyes and lifts up his head to see the clear sky. The one who has taught me (this) by word of mouth, come before my eyes. Mr. Huang, who have taught me, if I call you a thousand times, let it be efficacious (bring an answer) a thousand times and if I call you ten thousand times, answer ten thousand times.

XXIX. TO REMOVE BONES OR METAL OBJECTS THAT HAVE BEEN SWALLOWED

789 755 I lift up my eyes and lift up my eyes to see the clear sky. The instructor who taught me with his own mouth is before my eyes. I ask my teacher for a bowl of water. The teacher has nine dragons in the bowl. The water of the throat of the nine dragons (is in the bowl). When gold, silver, copper, iron, or pewter touches this water, it is turned into dirt. I obey the command of tsai ʒin ʒai lAu, order you to swallow a bone and transform the bone, and to swallow brass and transform the brass, and to swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills like (as easy as) the nine dragons entering the deep rapid. My breath of virtue endures long. If there is copper, transform copper. If there is no copper, do not transform the flesh. If there is bone, iron, pewter, or nails, you must transform them. If there are none of these, do not transform the (person's) flesh. I obey this command; immediately transform.

(When the incantation has been completed, the patient must drink the water the *tuan kung* has secured.)

XXX. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES PAIN IN THE NIPPLES

He repeats the incantation saying, "The baby drinks the milk laughing. Why have you come to me? I reply, The nipple is helpless. It is pitiful. I request you not to let people rub your nipples to cure you. If the pain is in the left, heal the left nipple. If the pain is in the right, cure the right. Rub the left and the pain of the left will depart. If we rub the right, (the pain in) the right will depart. If it still does not depart, I will take (the pain) away.

(The *tuan kung* uses the second and third fingers and he traces on the nipple, then she is well.* When he has taken away (the demon), he again asks the milk to come out).

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*This tracing resembles the one below:

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The milk must not accumulate (at one spot). The milk must not delay. When he calls you, you must come out at once.

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XXXI. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES BOILS

I invite the thunder god, I invite the thunder goddess, I invite the Chinese medicine god, and also invite the Patriarch of the Lamas, and the teacher who removes water (out of ones body) and grows broken bones together, the upright teacher, the teacher who removes fever, the teacher who removes swellings, the teacher who stops the flow of blood and stops pains: the Patriarch among the snow mountains, the young lady among the snow mountains, the Crown Prince among the snow mountains.* At the first watch much snow falls. At the second watch a heavy frost falls. At the third watch it becomes very cold. At the fourth watch, frost is again added on top of the snow. At the fifth watch the bantam (golden) rooster will report (that) daylight (has come). This place has been transformed into a snow mountain plot. The dragons come. The dragons display their claws. The tigers come. The tigers display their bodies. When the tiger comes, the skin of the tiger will recede. When the dragon comes, the bones of the dragon will recede. The water of snow stops blood and stops pains and causes fevers to disappear and removes swellings and grows broken bones together. It sets dislocated bones (joints) so they can grow flesh, and grows together holes in the flesh. I, ʒ̇in Ntsoɔ ʒ̇ɛdgi, come and bear witness. If you call me a hundred times, then it is efficient a hundred times. When you have taken (the demon) away, then (the boil) will be well.

XXXII. INCANTATION TO HEAL BOILS

Black, black and bright, bright. (On one hand black, on the other bright). The sun is coming out in the east. Ntso² ɔgAu² go⁵ with Ntso² nts'ai⁵ ʒwɛi⁶† came to cure boils (by taking away the demons). First, healing them so they will not swell. Secondly, healing them so they will not be painful. Thirdly, healing them so they will not discharge pus. Fourthly, healing them so they will not bleed. If there is something fierce, remove the fierce (thing). If there is swelling, remove the swelling. Do not let this time pass. (When he has spoken thus, he uses his second and fourth

*The meaning here is evidently that one snow mountain is the patriarch, another is a young lady, and a third is a Crown Prince among the other snow mountains, all of which are living beings.

†Ntso² ɔgAu² go⁵ is a golden boy or girl.

Ntso² nts'ai⁵ ʒwei⁶ is a stone girl.

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789 fingers and traces a circle (spiral) on the boil.† When he has drawn this he repeats the incantation again.)

755 First, we have turned around the sky and the earth. Secondly, we have turned around the sun and the moon. The third turn and pus will not come out. The fourth turn and blood will not come out. If there is something fierce, then we will remove the fierce. If there is swelling we will remove it. I will add the bugle of the gods and the bronze bells, an iron axe, a brass finger ring, and an iron finger ring to remove (the boil). (When he has finished saying this, he again traces the spiral.)

XXXIII. INCANTATION TO PURIFY THE HOUSE AFTER A DEATH DURING THE MONTH

789 The heaven and the earth are as a matter of course and the poisonous air. The cave is empty. Huang Lang T'ai Hsüan* the majestic god of the eight directions cause me to be (as a matter of course) unmolested, spiritual precious and charm commands to broadly report to the nine heavens. Let Kan Lo Tang Lo and Tong Kang T'ai Hsüan behead spooks and tie up the demoniacal and kill 10,000 demons. The incantations of the gods in the mountains of the Primary Literary God. I repeat one section and I will capture demons and protect one's years, and arrange the five hells and know the eight seas. The demon king's hands are tied and 1000 soldiers come and help me. The fierce and unclean will disappear and the breath of *tao* 道氣 will last long.

(While he is repeating the above the *tuan kung* 端公 holds a broom in his hand and he holds a piece of cloth in his hand which must be white and twelve feet long, and he sweeps it around. He lights a torch and goes around the house to lighten and smoke it up to make it impossible (by the light) to see the demon and chase out the demon forms.)

XXXIV. THE WATER OF THE NINE DRAGONS (THIS WATER CAN HEAL COLDS IN THE HEAD)

789 755 Use a bowl of water and draw charms above it. Put it on a table. Use a live rooster. You must have a piece of white cloth or black or dark blue; do not use red cloth. And a knife is needed and clean wine. Get them ready, then repeat this incantation. With the finger a dragon should be traced above the water while the person is repeating the incantation. With the two hands three knots must be twisted. The incantation follows:

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†The spiral is like this

*These are Chinese names, so they are romanized according to Chinese sounds. The Chinese characters could not be secured.

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I lift up my eyes and lift up my head to see the clear sky. The teacher who taught me with his mouth is before my eyes. I want a bowl of water from Ntsə's sky. In the water are nine dragons. This water is from the throat of the nine dragons which can transform gold, silver, brass and iron. When they touch the water they will be changed to dirt. Obey the command of Nts'ə in heaven, swallow and transform brass, swallow iron and transform it. (If there is a cold, I will transform the cold.) I also swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills, as the nine dragons going down steep rapids. I have *tao* 道 and my life will endure long.

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When he has repeated thus far with his left hand he lifts up the bowl of water and with his right hand he draws a large dragon on the water. Then he gives the water to the sick person to drink.

XXXV. THE NINE DRAGONS TRANSFORM BONES AND WATER THAT DRIVE AWAY COLDS OR HELP IN CHILD-BIRTH

"I lift up my eyes and look at the clear, blue sky. Before my eyes is my instructor. I call the instructor Tsang the *tuan kung* and I also invite Ntsə^{2}'s Taη^{2} ʒ^{5} glo^{6} in heaven. He has a bone which is a pill to cure colds. To-day will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. There is another bone that is a pill to transform colds. I myself will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. Brass, iron, colds and fevers will be transformed into water. Pewter things and bamboo things will be changed into dust. All illnesses will be transformed into water. Indigestion and malaria will be transformed into dust. In front it is empty. Behind it is empty. It will be transformed until it is without appearance. You ferry me teacher so that I can creep into Ntsə's heaven."

The *tuan kung* 段公 twists his hands into a nine-dragon turn over their bodies' knot. He also says,

"This water is not common water. This water is water to make peaceful births and transform demons. This water is not ordinary water. This water is water to exorcise spooks and transform strange demons. When I have finished I draw pictures (with the hands) over the water and everything will be prosperous and well.

C. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG TZŬ NIANG 熊子良 A CH'UAN MIAO FARMER FAMOUS AS A PRIEST OF MO WHO LIVES AT CHAO CHIA LING 趙家林 NEAR WANG WU CHAI 王武寨 AND IS OVER FIFTY YEARS OLD.

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I. REPETITIONS WHILE MAKING OFFERING AT THE NEW YEAR'S TIME

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The year is ended. The night of the twelfth moon and the thirtieth day has come. The dead ancestors are invited to come and eat rice biscuits. I give the rice biscuits to the ancestors with my own hands.

When the rice biscuits have been eaten, you must go and remove diseases and remove calamities and remove pains and remove quarrels and remove sins. You must leave them on the roads of the Lolo and the Chinese. You must add to the strength of your descendants so we can go and sow. You must add to their power so they can make clearings in the wilderness, so that your descendants will have food and clothing. Then you will have meat to eat and wine to drink and your descendants will sacrifice to three generations of female and male ancestors.

You come first (and eat). Now I will make the offerings with my (own) hands. Come and eat. Now I will invite my own ancestors of three generations with all the dead relatives of three generations, all to come together and eat.

(When he has spoken to this place, he must invite them to come and eat, beginning with the oldest, calling each of them by name, until he has reached his own parents (if they are dead). He must certainly mention them by name one by one and give food to each one. When he is through making the offerings, then he may eat himself. The husband is always invited first, then the wife, then another male).

II. WORDS REPEATED AT NEW YEAR'S TIME, ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR WHILE MAKING OFFERINGS

First a pot of new rice must be cooked. Fresh water and new tea leaves must be used to make tea. First tea must be offered to the ancestors. When the tea has been offered then they offer rice and meat. He repeats the following while making the offerings.

The first day of the new year has come. Your descendants have cooked new rice. The new year will become ten thousand years (for the descendants). We offer to you a wooden spoon (in which food is given) so you can eat the new year meal. XAU lo xai (come and eat and drink). Let the female and male ancestors of three generations come together to eat the New Year feast. XAU lo xai. When you have eaten, you must come and increase the strength of your descendants so that they can plow and sow the fields and the mountain wildernesses so that they can have food. If they have food and clothes then we will first make offerings to

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the three generations of female and male ancestors. xau lo-xai. When you have eaten, you must come and add many domestic animals and cause the crops to grow and cause the old forests and the uncultivated hills to grow (trees and grass), and cause many sons to be born and many grandsons. When the descendants have planted their crops, and made clearings in the wilderness, you must cause your descendants to get things to eat and drink and they will first make offerings to the three generations of female and male ancestors. xau lo-xai.

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(When he has repeated to this point, he calls the names of the ancestors, one by one, beginning with the oldest, inviting them to come and eat and offering them food to eat. Sometimes the offerings are thrown on the ground, sometimes they are placed in a bowl on a table. Always the male is called on first, then his wife, then another male of a nearer generation.)

III. OFFERING WINE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY TO ANCESTORS

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the first day of the New Year. My three generations of female and male ancestors have come to drink New Year's wine. When you have drunk wine, you must lead your descendants forth to be scholars and civil officials and lead them to be military officials. After that you must look after your descendants so that they can raise many domestic animals. When you have drunk, you must make their descendants very numerous. You must cause the sons and grandsons to have food and drink. You must cause the descendants to accomplish so that they have meat to eat and wine to drink. Then they will first come and make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors so that you will all come and get (wine) to drink. When you have drunk and gone you must not nourish diseases (lest they come and injure us). You must not nourish groans, you must not nourish quarrels, you must not nourish crimes, but let the descendants farm and get food and drink. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so that they may come together and drink.

(When he has spoken up to this point, then he must mention the three generations of female and male ancestors and invite them to come and make offerings to them, from the oldest even including his own sons and daughters who are dead. When he has finished these offerings the living descendants may eat breakfast.)

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IV. OFFERINGS ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE NEW YEAR

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My grandmother and my grandfather, the third day of the New Year has arrived. The three generations of female and male ancestors have already been here three days. The big hill is trampled down (i.e., the grass, from the people enjoying themselves on the hills). Now we invite you to come and eat the biscuits you have left over. I am going to report to you so that you may depart. You will return to your places and stand among the reeds and sit among the flowers. You go and dig up grass roots to nourish your lips (to eat). You must go still more and dig up grass roots and roots of reeds to nourish your bodies. Now you have eaten. You must go and carry away illnesses (for the descendants). You must go and carry away pains, you must go and carry away quarrels, and you must go and fill up the pits of illness and fill up the pits of groans and fill up the pits of quarrels and you must also go and collect all kinds of pain and illness. When you have collected them you must increase the strength of your descendants to farm, open clearings in the wilderness and cut down deep forests. You must cause your descendants to have food to eat, then they will make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors. You have eaten. You must wait the year and month when you should come and then we will invite you to come and eat meat and eat rice. You have eaten, so go. If you become hungry you can in a dream at night imitate rain and wind as a sign (and we will know that you are hungry). (This is regarded as such an omen by the Chinese.) You must not come as a sickness or a pain and injure us lest your descendants have to eat wild berries behind the house (because of hunger) and become unable to make offerings to you. Please come and drink (wine) and when you are through drinking return to your place and come back at *tuan yang* 端陽.

V. TEA MUST BE OFFERED ON THE SAME DAY (THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST MOON)

It is the morning of the third day of the New Year. People are through playing on both the large and the small mountains. When the remaining biscuits are all eaten up you must drink tea. When you are through drinking tea, I will inform you that you must go to your country and dig reed roots to nourish your mouths and dig up grass roots with which to nourish your bodies. When you have drunk tea, you must go and remove calamities, sickness, quarrels, and bad things. You must increase the strength of your descendants so that they can farm, so that they will have strength to climb mountains like wild pheasants running, and

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go down hill like black snakes. When you have drunk it you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can go and farm. When they do their farming, do not let the grasshoppers eat it or white insects cut it off. Let your descendants have clothes and food. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations.

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Now we want to invite the deceased ancestors all to come together and eat. When you are through eating, I will determine for you that you must wait until the fifth moon at *tuan yang* before we will again make offerings to you.

VI. OFFERINGS AT TUAN YANG 端陽 IN THE FIFTH MOON

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the fifth moon feast, *tuan yang*. We invite you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat the *tuan yang* meal. xai, xai, xai.

When you have eaten it, cause your descendants to be students and civil officials. When you have drunk, go and cause them to be soldiers. When you have eaten, cause the domestic animals of your descendants to be very numerous. When you have eaten, cause your descendants to multiply and cause your descendants to have clothing and food and drink. They will then first make offerings to their female and male ancestors for three generations so they can come and drink. When you have eaten, you go. If you are thirsty, you change to wind and rain and come first and come and reveal it to us. Do not become severe illnesses and come to injure us. You must protect your descendants so they will have food and drink before they can make offerings to you. Xai, xai, xai. (We are making offerings for you to eat).

(When this has been repeated to this place, the officiator must call by name, as before described, the departed ancestors for three generations).

VII. THE OFFERINGS AT THE CEREMONY OF EATING NEW GRAIN

Xai, xai, xai. We are making offerings to our female and male ancestors of three generations. Your descendants have harvested their crops and have not yet tasted them and to-day is a propitious day. We will first come and make offerings for you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat. When you have eaten them, you all come together and eat (the) new (grain). When you have eaten, you go and remove quarrels, add to the power of your descendants to do farming, and make clearings in the deep forests. Let your descendants have

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796 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings
to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they
769 will come forward again and make offerings to the female
and male descendants for three generations before you can
have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The
girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared
585 much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and
the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared
782 and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float
about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xAu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xAu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

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You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsə's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

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765 nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I found a bed and covers for you to sleep on. We will cook meat and wine and rice for you to eat and drink. If you can't eat it all you must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. xau lo xai.

When he has repeated the above, he must make offerings to all relatives who have previously died, within three generations, including his own children, and call them all by name in succession, as described elsewhere.

XII. THE OFFERING IN THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY. (THE ROOSTER IS OFFERED ALIVE, THEN KILLED, FEATHERS REMOVED, THE MEAT COOKED, THEN CUT UP AND BROUGHT BACK AND OFFERED AGAIN)

You have deceived the demons, coming the 13th. day (counting the day of burial as one day) instead of the 12th. (so the demons could not come along). You have come back to find a bed to sleep in. I have prepared nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I will also give you meat (of a rooster) to eat, and rice. If you can not eat it all up, do not give it to a demon of sickness to eat, or to a demon that causes death. You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and get near to their clothing (the demons of the grandparents of the groom). If the Lolo are numerous there, the grandfather (of the groom) will look after them for you. If the Chinese are numerous, he will also look after them for you.

When this point is reached, the ancestors for three generations are called by name and invited to eat as previously.

XIII. OFFERING RICE AND WINE AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY

You have deceived the demons by saying this festival is on the 12th. day when it is on the 13th. You came back to find a bed. I am going to prepare nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. Now your meat is cooked. You are going to eat meat and rice. If you cannot eat it all do not give it to the demons that cause sickness or to the demons that cause death. You should give it to your female and male ancestors of three generations and offer it to all, old and young. When you have finished eating, you must go and stay near to your (husband's, if the deceased is the wife, his own if it is the husband) grandmother's clothing and near your (same as above) grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo get, your grandmother and your grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get, your grandparents will look after you.

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After this, the offerings are made. All the dead ancestors for three generations will be called by name and invited to eat as described before. 765

XIV. AFTER THE OFFERINGS HAVE BEEN MADE, THE SOUL OF THE DEAD IS SENT BACK TO HIS ABODE

You deceived the demons by pretending that the day for returning was the 12th. when it was the 13th. We gave you nine cups of wine to drink nine times and you have drunk it all up. Now you are dead. Human beings think of their homes and dead people think of their graves. We are sending (releasing) you back to the place you have gotten, to the grave which you have gotten, to go back to the place where your grave is.

When the leader of the ceremony has reached this place, he throws the bamboo divining sticks down on the ground. If right, the ceremony is finished. If wrong, the ceremony is repeated until things are right.

XV. THE OFFERINGS AT THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY

At the side of the house we welcome the soul of the dead. We make a bed and prepare nine cups of wine nine times for the dead person to drink, before we entice him to enter. When we repeat this once, it may count as three times. If it is repeated three times, it reckons as nine times. The uncle comes and carries the soul in a flat round bamboo basket. When he carries it to the parlor, those who play the *liu sheng* go in front and the filial children come in the rear with the soul. He carries it here and goes to the flowery shrine. He also will give you nine cups of wine for you to drink. When you have drunk, we will give you a bed. We will also boil meat and rice for you to eat and drink. When you have eaten and drunk, your children and grandchildren will change to birds and return to the forest. They will change to fish near water. We will change your *bo gi* (a sifter or container). Your body will be light. You ʒɛ mʌn, I poured out nine times, nine cups of wine for you to drink. If you cannot drink it all, then you must not give it to demons of illness, or the demons of death. You must give it to the three generations of grandmothers and grandfathers. If the Lolo get near you the grandmother and grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get you, they will look after you.

When this point has been reached, then the offerings are made and the three generations of ancestors are called as described elsewhere.

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XVI. A PART OF THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY FOLLOWING SECTION XV

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Oh deceased person, the loft falls down and crushes the (lower part of the) house. The house falls down and crushes the loft. This year your soul comes back and unravels the mat. The three souls and seven *p'o* unravel the sewing basket (round and shallow, made of bamboo). Your soul has been dead one year. Your aged soul has fallen for a year. This year your aged soul has come back to loosen (take apart) the sewing basket. The souls have come back to remove money (because of sins). We are performing your memorial *tso chai* ceremony, to cause your body to be light. When you go back, then you will be near the female and male ancestors for three generations.

XVII. SENDING THE SOUL OF THE DEAD ANCESTOR AWAY AT THE END OF THE TSO CHAI MEMORIAL CEREMONY

Vaŋ killed his sheep. Vaŋ (the master of the ceremonies) is worshipping his demon (the souls of his dead ancestors). Vaŋ killed his pig. Vaŋ is worshipping his ancestors. Vaŋ killed his cow. Vaŋ entertains his guests. (The same word is used for entertain and worship). We can worship our ancestors but we cannot perform the ceremony of sending them away (at this time because a priest or mo must do it). To-day Vaŋ is to perform the ceremonies. He will escort the dead soul to the bank of the river. Vaŋ picked up a big stone. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the bend before Vaŋ picked up a big *su ma* biscuit. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the lower pass. Vaŋ picked up a big bamboo key. Vaŋ escorted him to another lower pass. Vaŋ picked up a brass key. Vaŋ escorted him as far as the big flat below. Vaŋ picked up a big silver bracelet. Vaŋ escorted the soul below. Vaŋ picked up a big golden bracelet. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the place where the sun rises. Vaŋ escorted the soul of the dead person to the place where he could live together with the soul of his grandparents. Vaŋ escorted him up to the sister sun. Vaŋ then saw the soul of the dead with his ancestors sitting in one place. Then Vaŋ returned home. He came to the home of those where the ceremony is being performed. He saw that their front door was closed. Vaŋ has escorted the dead ancestor's soul away and when he came back he brought the silver bracelet. The silver bracelet is as thick as your finger. He brought a golden bracelet as big around as your hand. He came to the door of the family and saw that the front door is closed. Vaŋ took the bamboo key and opened it. Will you open it? If you will open your front door the gold and

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765 silver will come. It will come inside the house and fill it up. It has filled the big parlor. It has filled the middle hall and also the two sides.

(He opens the front door and enters and the ceremony is ended).

XVIII. CHANGING THE GRAVE. (REPEATED BY THE MO, WHO ALONE MAY DO IT)

(In your grave) you find it hard to live and cannot sleep so you have come and want your descendants to rescue you and furnish another dwelling (grave). They have prepared clothing and a coffin and they will again pray you peacefully (so you will enjoy peace). Your descendants will also prepare for you a new house with a loft and a tile roof. You will sleep at the end of heaven. The descendants will prepare a grave for you to rescue you from the unpleasant grave into a pleasant one (by cleaning the bones, giving a new coffin, etc.). To-day you have received a very good house (coffin). You are the right size and height (for clothes and coffin). You must live nicely in there and not again want the descendants to have sickness or pain.

(The mo[5] repeats the above and actually cleans the bones, redresses the corpse, puts it in the coffin, etc. Wine is used to wash the bones. The bones are properly placed in the clothing in the same order as when living.)

XIX. THE CEREMONY OF MAKING THE TSO CHAI OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD

The head of the family has a manager and prepares a pipeful of tabacco for the manager who has come from the outside. The manager from the outside invited by the guests says,

"Yi" he says (the dead person), "I have released field insects (men) to control the long roads. I have released house insects (men from homes) to control the straight roads. I have released a year demon to roll into your house (a living man of one year). I have released a home insect to roll into your house. Your family has set out a big table for the large insect (manager) to sit in and have given him a pipeful of tobacco to smoke. You have arranged a stool for the manager to sit on and prepared a meal for him to eat," (The manager invited by the family itself.)

The manager called by the family says, "You have invited the big insect to come (the manager secured by the guests) to go by the long road. You have released the great insect (manager) to go on the straight road. You have released the big insect to roll into this house. The

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765 in your home (people of the house) have rolled (come quickly) to our room here. We haven't a big table for the great insect to sit by. We haven't a pipeful of tobacco for the big insect to smoke or a stool for him to sit on or a meal for him to eat."

The manager secured by the guests says, "I do not know whether the great insect (the manager secured by the family) has arrived or not. We run here and look. With hands empty we come (humble). When I have arrived, he lets his hands hang down. When we come, you take a *liu-shêng* and place it in your home. What affair is it?"

Then the manager for the family says, "You come and look. We will place the *liu shêng* in your house. The demon (ceremonial) drum resounds in the house. The dead ancestor has come back to take off the straw mat. (It is believed that at death a man ties one on himself to sleep in. Now it is removed so he can be more comfortable). It is the dead ancestor who has come back to take off the winnowing basket (*bo chi*). When this has been done and the old person's body is made lighter, then he (the dead ancestor) goes to see his ancestors as though the weather were very good."

Then the manager for the guests says, "I-, his parent's soul has come back to remove the straw mat. His old parent's soul has come back to remove the winnowing basket, then we have run here to look. In our hands there is nothing to bring. If a person had, he would bring it and fill up a big room. Whether it is nine jars full of wine or ten jars of wine, they would bring it and fill up a big part of a room. Well, we have come empty-handed. I have said that I have to worship the demons and it is to worship the demon. People can speak. People can walk around the mountain and encircle the water and speak. I am not efficient in speaking. I point with my finger and speak. Others are efficient in speaking. They speak rapidly like the rolling of peaches and pears. I am not an able speaker. I will point with my finger at the basket for carrying things on my back and speak. Now, there is a peck of wheat, a roll of spirit money, a peck of corn, a peck of beans, ten buckets full of fiery wine, a bunch of incense and a pair of candles (given by guests to the family)."

The manager of the family says, "I-, We are unwilling to accept them but probably will do so. If we do not accept them we fear you will say that we are not efficient in accepting and will say that when others come, we will accept but when you come, we will not accept. I-, Probably we will accept and place them in the cesspool of the pig-pen and there will be a noise, then they cannot be seen. I am afraid that I will secretly take them away and cannot return them."

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ERRATA

Page 109 last line should read:—ancestors for three generations. $x\Lambda u^{5}$ lo^{-2} $x\Lambda u^{-5}$ (Drink some).

[facing p. 109]

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The manager chosen by the guests says, "When we come we will tread on the green grass. When we go back we will tread on tall reeds. We have come to be good friends. We are not saying that our gifts are sufficient to secure good will. It is finished. Please sit down. A, please the able ones of the family who can play the *liu shêng* and beat the drum for the dead ancestor to use when he goes and stays near his female and male ancestors for three generations and in Ntso's flat ground." 765

D. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHÊNG TS'AI 熊正才, NOW DECEASED, OF WANG WU CHAI, WHO WAS OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD. HE WAS A SIMPLE FARMER WHO WAS SATURATED WITH THE CUSTOMS AND IDEALS OF HIS PEOPLE AND WAS SAID TO KNOW OVER A THOUSAND FOLK-SONGS.

I. THE G'A GEI OPENS THE WAY FOR THE DEPARTED SOUL TO ITS FUTURE ABODE 764

In the g'a gei's hands he carries a rooster. On his back he carries a bow. At his side he wears a beheading knife.

He stands beside the dead person's coffin on the west. In his hand he holds a pair of divining sticks (made of two halves of a bamboo sprout). He then repeats the following formulae.

Three times he calls out the name of the dead person saying, "Arise, arise, arise." As he calls he takes hold of the dead person's hand and pulls as though to lift the dead person up. Then he says:—

A. "I have called you three times and you are unable to reply. I pulled three times but you are unable to rise. You cannot live as a man and so you must live as a demon. Your head is bent down toward ʒ̄aŋ nTo·² na·⁶ Ti·⁵ (soul demon sky big hand earth). You wear the sky like a hat above your head and your head leads towards glaŋ To· na·ntgaŋ (the land of dead souls or demons). I will give you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. If you cannot drink it all do not give it to demons that cause sickness for them to drink. If you cannot drink it give it to the dead demons (demons of dead persons to drink. You give it to your ancestors for three generations. xAu⁶ lo·² xA ·ₚn (Drink some)."

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B. "When the demons have drunk, I will lead on the road to heaven. I will offer some meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all you must not give it to the demons of sickness or to demons that cause death. You must give it to your ancestors for three generations.

xʌu^5 lo·^{2} xʌu^5. When you have finished eating you must go and stick to the corner of your grandmother's clothes. When you have finished eating, you go and stick to the bottom of grandfather's felt rug."

Then he repeats the following words:—

So·, so·. If I roam over all the world it stirs my mind. I will go unto the road of ŋgʌu^2 go^6. Speaking of the earth, I have gone all over the sky. I went to ga· ʒ̄ɛ^2 k'o^{6}s residence. When ŋgʌu ga· came at first, she got a flat ground. When ga· ʒ̄ɛ k'o· first came she got a flat in the sky.

I will lead you to ŋgʌu ga's dwelling. I will also lead you to ga· ʒ̄ɛ k'o's dwelling (medicine old man heal). At that time your grandmother and grandfather will also go to ŋgʌu ga·'s dwelling. Then they will also go before you to ga· ʒ̄ɛ k'o's dwelling. When you go, the rooster will go before you. The bamboo divining roots will interpret your words. When your rooster crows and the roosters of your grandmother and your grandfather reply, those are your grandmother and grandfather. If your rooster crows and no rooster answers, those are not your grandparents.

C. I will lead you to your grandparents' dwelling. Your grandparents have a well. When you arrive there, the water is fragrant, you must drink three handfuls, for at that time (when they died) your grandmother and your grandfather also drank this water.

D. Now I will lead you to Ntɛə's land in heaven to the dancing altar. You must go past in front of ʒwaŋ ʒwei'ɛ face. By the side of the road he opens his mouth wide. There is also tso· ʒwei (tiger stone) who is lying beside the road. These two want to block the road. At that time you can take a handful of firehemp (not nettles) and tear it to pieces and cover the dragon's lips. You also take some large hemp and cover up the tiger's mouth and after that you can go by (unharmed).

E. Now I will escort you up to the sky (heaven). When you have gone up the ladder to the sky, ascend to the first palace, the second palace, the third palace, the fourth palace, the fifth palace, the sixth palace, the seventh palace, the eighth palace, the ninth palace, the tenth palace, the eleventh palace and the twelfth palace. When you have reached the twelfth pavilion, you will have reached the house in the sky (heaven).

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F. Now I will lead you to see the flower-altar. This flower-altar has many people (worshippers). There is a drum altar which is also wonderful. Ah, look. On this road there are very many straw sandal insects, ji-. These straw sandal insects are very numerous on this road. Therefore you quickly make bamboo into sandals and wear them.

You also take shoes made of big hemp and put them on, then you go along stepping on the insects, and step on them as you go until you have trod them to death.

G. I will lead you up onto Ntsɔ's heaven. You can look at the flowery altar and you can turn around and listen to the cuckoo calling. You also turn around and listen to the cicada singing. When you hear the cuckoo, that is the sound of your descendants below playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 and beating the drums. There is also the cicada singing and that is the weeping of your descendants.

H. Now I am going to lead you to finish dancing at the flowery altar and I will also lead you so you can be born again (as a man) on earth. We will go down the sky ladder. We will descend one pavilion, two pavilions, three pavilions, four pavilions, five pavilions, six pavilions, seven pavilions, eight pavilions, nine pavilions, ten pavilions, eleven pavilions, twelve pavilions. When we have gone past the twelfth pavilion. then we will have arrived on earth. Then you will escape from the womb and turn around on the wheel of life. (This disposes with one soul).

I. Now I will lead you to the grave (one soul). You will have a place with your father and father-in-law. That is the grave hill. You can live with them. (This disposes of a soul in the grave.)

J. Your parents-in-law will ask, "Who brought you here." You must not say that I brought you here. You may say that you came alone.

K. I will take you to the grave to be buried peacefully. You wear bamboo or hemp shoes. I will wear shoes made of vines. I will escort you to your grave and you must stay there forever, (all your life). You must send me back to life (as though his soul escorted the dead and should be sent back and not detained by the dead person's soul.) You wear shoes made of great hemp. I will wear shoes made of the bark of the dogwood tree. I will escort you into the tomb. You must escort me back to my home.

(At this time the rooster is choked to death and then a sharpened bamboo is stuck through the rooster, then it is stuck up in the ground with rooster on it or leaned against the coffin. Divining is done by means of two halves of a joint of bamboo on which there have been leaves.)

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764 After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the g'a gei) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the g'a gei says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntsə's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the g'a gei pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntsə's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He 776 takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats 782 it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says,

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"ʒ̇ε nts'ai ʒ̇ε lAu, (the name of the sky demon) come and take an animal from the family. You are in Ntsə's heaven. You have a horse so you ride a horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit." Then the priest takes the bamboo divining sticks and throws them into his bamboo basket. He asks, "Has it come or not." His companion then replies, "He has come." Then he says, "Since you have come, I will lead you to return to your home." At this time yellow candles made of beeswax are lighted. All are seated in the guest room. At this time it is not permitted to speak Chinese and women are not permitted to come and look. He continues to speak;

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"ʒ̇ε nts'ai ʒ̇ε lAu, you are in heaven. Come and take this pig from the old people of this family. This family will give it to you. You have a horse to ride on here. I have come but I have no horse. I will ride a wind-spirit. Are you coming."

The companion replies, "Coming", Then the bamboo divining sticks are again thrown into the basket.

IV. SPEAKING ABOUT FEEDING A PIG AND REPORTING TO THE SKY DEMON

When feeding the pig, feed one handful and then you leave for one year. We feed two handfuls and then you leave for two years. We feed three handfuls and then you leave for three years. We feed five handfuls and you leave for five years. We feed six handfuls and you leave for six years. We feed seven handfuls and you leave for seven years. We feed eight handfuls and you leave for eight years. We feed nine handfuls and you leave for nine years. When we feed him ten handfuls, you stay away a thousand hundreds of years." (Each time as he speaks of feeding a pig, he takes a handful of pigs' food and throws it upon the pig's body.) "ʒ̇ε nts'ai ʒ̇ε lAu you are in Ntsə's heaven. You come and take a pig from this family. This family will give it to you. You must make the family's illness light. You must make the family's pains light. Make their mouths and tongues light (lest they anger people), make their wrongs light and make their calamities light. Now we will end this (animal's) life and give it to you. You take it with you. Don't come back for a thousand hundreds of years (a hundred thousand years). Since you have a horse, you ride the horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit."

"Has he come?" Then the companion of the priest answers, "He has come." At this time the pig is killed. The pig's blood is mixed with corn-meal and is rolled into biscuits. Hot water must not be poured on the pig. The hair must be

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burnt off and then the skin is scraped off clean with a hoe. When this is finished the pig is cut up into small pieces so that each person gets one piece. (The size varies according to the number present.) What is left over is boiled. Tea is made of the leaves of a bush having thorns and everybody drinks some of the tea.

An offering of pork and this tea is made once. Then evedybody plays on bamboo flutes. When they have finished playing, everybody eats some of the biscuits made of corn and blood (which have been cooked). When they are through eating, the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu, have you come?"

Then everybody replies, "He has come."

When they are about to worship the sky demon, they split the skull of the pig open and take the pig's brain and offer it to the demon. They do not tell the demon that it is pig brains but say to the demon, "This is salt." Then they offer some salt and say, "This is ashes we are using to worship you." Then the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu. Have you come?" Then all reply, "Come", (that is, he has come). (1) Have you come to eat pig brains, will you come?" (2) They reply, "He has come." He then offers the pig's liver and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the pig's kidneys and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the intestines and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." Then in the same way the stomach, some of the bloody biscuits, then rice are offered, each time with the same question and the same answer.

When the above has been finished, they take the ropes used to tie the pig, the bamboo flutes, and the seven wooden knives used to cut the blood biscuits, and they bring them and say, "Now we are going to escort baŋ ts'ə out of doors." Then the priest sings the following song;

"The flowers will slowly fade away."

"jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn (Mr. Yang who is excellent at shooting arrows) came for a long time to-day. He will return to Ntsə's plain. Because the Chinese were not efficient in worshipping the sky demon, they wanted me, jaŋ lʌu, to go and help the Chinese worship him. At that time the pig's heart of these Chinese stuck to the cooking-vessel.

And the Chinese said that I, jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn ate it.

They said that I swallowed it. So the Chinese brought soldiers and surrounded my house and attacked. Ntʒʌu, the Chinese, with an arrow shot me dead.

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He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.
Now, ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ ɮAu, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

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To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *k'ai chang* 開場 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no ʒ̄in (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xAu lo xai. (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ʒ̄ɛ gi (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

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585 When we were escorting the bride here, we rode mules. When we came, our daughter came also to the home of you old people here. Let the bride and the groom eat food from one bowl (to denote harmony) and drink water and wine from one cup. When our daughter comes to you here, we will commemorate the lives (souls) of her parents. xAu lo· xai.

We will make offerings to the life of the house, the life (or soul) in the field, the soul (life) of our lives, the life of the earth, the lives of the bride's ancestors, the life of the ridge, the life of the bend, the life of the seed, the life of the rear of the house, and these lives will come together to eat meat, and together will drink wine.

We will make offerings to the life of the garden, of the front door, of the smaller (side) doors, of the looms, and they will all come together. XAu lo· xai. We came halfway and we made offerings to the life of the half-way road. We came through nine bends and made offerings to the lives of the nine bends. We came past the ten bends and there were ten dragons' lives. We made offerings to the ten dragons' lives so they could eat meat. We made offerings to the life of the fogstreaks along the mountain-side so it would come and drink wine and drink it through its lips onto its tongue. When you have drunk, give some to the crazy people along the road (so they will not come). When you have eaten and drunk, you must go and watch the house for the bride's relatives. Come you all, xAu lo· xai.

We have come to your home and have escorted the bride to see her father and mother-in-law. After three mornings we will take her back to see her father and mother. We have escorted the girl to the home of you old folks. If your meat is good, bring a bowlful. If your wine is good, bring a capful.

The meat has come but we have not yet eaten it. Wine has come but we have not drunk it. We will turn the spoon over and offer (some wine). We will make offerings to you people here (your lives). We will make offerings to the life of your house, or the rear of the house, the rice-field, the earth, the bed, your ancestors, the front door, the side door, the yard gate, the looms, so they will all come together and eat meat and drink wine. When we have made the offering you come and live with us. Tomorrow, be companions with us, xAu lo· xai.

We have come to escort the girl here. When we return, you husband and wife, drink wine out of one cup and eat rice out of the same bowl. When you two go together to farm, let the son work on the farm outside and the girl at home. When the son has worked on the farm and returns, his body will be dirty from clay and the bride will come out and speak jokingly and laugh. xAu lo· xai.

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May you (bride and groom) in the future have plenty to eat and when you speak have results, and when others see you, may they praise you.

Once a man and his wife made a clearing. When they did it stirred the mind of lo· ʒwʌn (a very distant family). They began to cut down the deep forest and it disturbed lo· ʒwʌn's liver. They cut down a narrow piece of land and came to climb that mountain.

In the spring the weather was hot and the place was also hot. The sky was very dry. The earth was also very dry. The man took fire and burnt the mountain. The woman also lighted a fire and went with him to burn the mountain. They burnt on both sides as far as the bottom of the mountain. Then the man and the woman came back to sleep. They slept until next morning and the man took the seed and put it into the seam of his garment. The woman also took pumpkin seeds and rice seeds and put them inside a cloth. Then the man scattered three handfuls on the edge of the field and when it grew up it was like brambles. The woman sowed three handfuls in the ground. When it grew up, it was as deep as bitter bamboo. The man also scattered three handfuls on the pass. It grew up like bamboo. The woman sowed three handfuls on the ridge. When it grew up it was like bamboo limbs. The heads of grain were like *kao liang*. Its stalks were like bamboo. A big wind blew which was not good. It blew down the grain as though a person had pushed it over in a pile. The stalks fell down near an artificial terrace. The man could carry only three sheaves. The woman could carry only three stalks. The man carried it to his home. The woman carried it only half-day. Because the woman could not carry, when she had gone half-way she began scolding. The man carried enough to fill up nine rooms. The woman carried enough to fill up nine small lofts. The husband and his wife now had enough to eat. tao ʒʌn praised them. The two now had enough to eat and to wear. The Miao ʒʌn praised them.

The wife was standing in the door of her bedroom. The man stood in his golden door. (Probably this is poetical). The mother had nine daughters. The husband had ten sons. The older brother was without a name and they named him ʒɛ fu· (old person happiness). The second oldest was named ʒɛ gy. When the oldest brother grew up, he walked through the door of the heavenly well very happily. When the younger brother went through that door he carried a plow beam on his shoulders.

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585 There was a third son who was named ʒ̄ε i lʌu (old one left side). The next younger was named ʒ̄ε i lʌn.

When the oldest brother went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to sing. When the next older went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to play the *liu shêng*. The oldest brother sang songs like the singing of orioles. The next younger brother played the *liu shêng* like the singing of the red bird.

The mother had nine daughters and could not find enough names for them. She named the second one Ma ntso (sister able at weaving). She named the oldest sister ma mba (sister of silk). The second oldest sister went out of the heavenly well door and remembered to work at the loom. The oldest sister went through the door of the heavenly well and remembered to work the wheel to wind thread. When she trod the wheel it resounded. When the loom (turned) it sounded as though laughing.

The mother had nine daughters. The father had ten sons. Another daughter was named ma·⁵ mao·² (cat). An older sister was named ma·⁵ mbai² (cousin). When the younger sister went out of the door (in the morning when they went out of the sleeping-rooms) of the heavenly well, she remembered and made embroidery. When the older sister went out of the door of the heavenly well, she remembered to dye flowery skirts.

The mother had nine daughters, the father ten sons. An older brother had no name. He was named ʒ̄ε gʌu. The younger brother was named ʒ̄ε gʌu gʌn. The older brother, when he went out, did not discuss people's daughters. When the younger brother went out, he did not discuss people's wives. When the older brother went out, he wanted to find money to use in engaging a wife. When the younger brother went also, he also wanted to find money with which to engage a wife.

There was another older brother who was named ʒ̄ε la· (happy). There was another younger brother whom they named ʒ̄ε lo· (big). When the older brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell pigs. When the younger brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell cattle. The older brother drove the younger brother's cows to the city Wu Chiu. The younger brother drove some pigs to Chengtu. The older brother gained enough silver to fill up a big bag. The younger brother sold the pigs and made enough gold to fill a big bag. The older brother could not

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carry all his silver. The younger had silver and helped his older brother carry some silver. The older brother used his silver to buy an old rice-field. The field that the older brother bought had its boundaries on the pass. That boundary, if a Chinese came, even he could not take away.

The field that the younger brother (bought) had a boundary on the ridge. If the Lolos came, even they could not take it away. Let the sons of the Lolos come to contest the boundary and we will spank them with a board, (disrespectful joking).

A Chinese came and struggled for the field that the younger brother bought. The younger brother used bamboo slats and spanked the Chinese.

The older brother erected a house with his silver. He would not talk much. He hid his silver under the tiles of his house.

The younger erected a house with his gold. He hid his gold under some tile and covered it up.

The older brother's house (which he built) he ornamented with images on the roof, and they pointed towards Suifu.

The house the younger brother lived in had four wings (like birds) and they pointed towards Shang Ling.

When the older brother went out of his heavenly well, he was like a good official in the city. When the younger brother came out of his house (heavenly well) he was like an older son of an emperor.

The older brother had a big mother cat. Her kittens were all males.

The younger raised pigs as numerous as the sands. All the young pigs were males.

The water buffaloes came up to the pass. Their calves were all bulls. He raised dogs. The pups were all males.

If you raise chickens, you need fine sand. The chicks hatched were all males. The ducks were in the bamboo grove. The rats in the house were a big band in front of the firegrate.

xau lo xai.

If I make offerings to the ancestors, I have no foundation. I have delayed you old people who sat and waited for things to eat to come and they (edibles) did not come. I have no foundation for offering domestic animals. I have delayed you, a band of old people, for you have seen things but you could not get them to eat. You couldn't even taste the wine. xau lo xai.'

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SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
VOLUME 123, NUMBER 1

SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

(With 24 Plates)

BY
DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

(Publication 4139)

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PREFACE

123 I first came into contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 in 1921. During the previous year there had been a severe famine in Kweichow 貴州, and many of the tribespeople of that province, to save themselves from starvation, ate grass and the leaves and bark and roots of trees. One Hua Miao 花苗, called Chang Sa Kai or Zaccaeus Chang because of his short stature, left his home in Kopu 葛布, Kweichow Province, and came to Suifu 敍府, now called I-pin, where I was stationed. From him I learned of the Ch'uan Miao, and by his help I was able to make friendly contacts with them. I visited the Ch'uan Miao at Chou Chia Keo 周家溝, Wang Wu Chai 王武寨, and other places, and a Ch'uan Miao boy named Yang Fong Tsang went with me to Suifu, where he attended the junior and senior primary schools. For years he was an almost constant companion on my journeys, and he assisted me in my attempts to learn the language and customs of these people.

114 During the following years I visited the Ch'uan Miao in their homes as often as possible, listening to their songs, hunting with them, talking about their customs, taking anthropometrical measurements, and watching them play their wind instruments and dance, or perform their ceremonies.

In 1932 I was transferred to Chengtu 成都, the capital of the province, and was made curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology. From this time on I made more determined efforts to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. I spent several summers with them, and on one of these expeditions I was accompanied by W. R. Morse, M.D., and Gordon Agnew, D.D.S. Dr. Morse made anthropometrical measurements and observations, and Dr. Agnew studied their diet and their oral conditions. At one time when it was impossible, because of brigands, to go to their homes, several Ch'uan Miao came to Suifu and for weeks aided me in my study. At other times one or more Ch'uan Miao men came all the way to Chengtu. Believing that their music was very interesting and of high quality, I brought three of their best musicians to Chengtu where for several weeks Dr. Agnew and other musicians studied and transcribed their music, and published an interesting article on the music of the Ch'uan Miao in volume 11 of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society.

126 At first my method was to listen to a song or story as it was sung by a Ch'uan Miao man or woman, then write it down sentence by sentence as it was explained by the singer. Later I obtained the help of a Ch'uan Miao who could read and write Chinese and sent him to different parts of the Ch'uan Miao region to collect songs and stories. He would write them in Chinese in little booklets, which he would send to me at Chengtu. Later, with his help, I would translate them into English. The final stage was reached when my knowledge of the Ch'uan Miao language and the international script had improved enough to enable me to write down the Ch'uan Miao words in the international script, then transliterate them, and finally render a translation. I would always go over my final translations several times

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126 with the singer or with the person who collected the songs to make sure that they were as nearly correct as possible. Finally, often with the help of my wife, I worked over the translations in order to improve the English without changing the meaning.

In all, I collected 752 songs, legends, historical and etiological traditions, and short stories, but not all these could be included in this volume. In the romanization of Chinese words the Wade system has been used, while the Miao words and phrases are generally in the international script.

579 One difficulty in pursuing my researches was the robbers, who might appear at any place at any time. The Ch'uan Miao region is very mountainous and abounds in forests, natural caves, and rock shelters. These make it easy for brigands and thieves to conceal themselves along the roads and to escape after a robbery. Many times I was prevented by the officials from taking a proposed trip because of the presence of bands of robbers. I have had numerous narrow escapes.

123 At first the Ch'uan Miao were very reluctant to give information about their beliefs and customs. They often told me that previously they had rarely given such information to Chinese or Westerners and that when they were asked they gave evasive answers. But during the years of contact with these people, a very warm friendship grew up between us, and they became very cooperative and helpful. Without their assistance it would have been impossible to carry on the study of their language and customs. They gave me the name of Na K'wa Dai Lo, or great and kindly teacher, and they always welcomed me to their homes. Several times they met me with bugles and banners, later giving banquets to show their friendly welcome. They permitted me to take pictures freely, gave me the information I wanted, and helped me collect stories and songs and learn their language. Some of them sold to me, for the West China Union University Museum, beautiful embroidered garments that were heirlooms. I am sincerely and deeply grateful to my Ch'uan Miao friends for their assistance.

In 1934 I obtained the help of Hsiung Ch'ao Sung, who could read and write Chinese and who had traveled widely in the Ch'uan Miao region. He gave me much valuable assistance in studying the language and customs, and it was through him that I collected most of the stories and songs. Yang Ch'ing Ming came to Chengtu to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School, and during his stay in Chengtu he rendered valuable help in my studies.

000 Lin Min Chun, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology, helped me translate Ch'uan Miao words and phrases into English and into Chinese, and further assisted by searching Chinese histories for references to the Ch'uan Miao. Similar aid was rendered by Dr. Cheng Teh K'un, my successor as curator of the museum. Dr. Serge Elisseeff, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Prof. Jesse Moncrieff, who was president of the Union Language School at Chengtu, aided me in clarifying the Ch'uan Miao sounds and taking them down in the international script. My wife, Alicia Morey Graham, spent a great deal of time correcting the notes and typing the stories and songs.

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My interest in folktales was first aroused by Prof. Archer Taylor. Dr. Wolfram Eberhard, of the University of California, author of books and articles on Asiatic folk stories, has given needed and valuable suggestions as to the classification of the Ch'uan Miao songs, stories, and folktales. The Library of Congress has been generous and kind in permitting me to use its books and rooms. The American Museum of Natural History presented me with pictures of its Ch'uan Miao embroideries, which were collected by me, with permission to use them. Last but not least, the Wenner-Gren Foundation (Viking Fund) granted me a post-doctoral fellowship, which enabled me to take time to prepare this material for publication, and also contributed substantially toward the cost of publishing this volume. To all these and other friends who have kindly assisted, I gladly express my deep and sincere thanks and appreciation. 000

Dr. Wolfram Eberhard has classified the folktales according to motifs in his "Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen," and Dr. Stith Thompson has classified them according to the motifs in his "Motif-index of Folk Literature." Their classifications are included in the Appendix. The assistance and cooperation of these two scholars are much appreciated.

About 60 songs, stories, folktales, legends, and ceremonies are reprinted from two short articles by the writer published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society: The Ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, vol. 9, 1937, and The Legends of the Ch'uan Miao, vol. 10, 1938.

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SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

By David Crockett Graham

(With 24 Plates)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

101 The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deep holes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are [491] generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[161] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 珙縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung Ning 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow, south in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü [361] Kiang 瀘江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[145] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.[1]

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

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[1] Clarke, S. R., Among the tribes of Southwest China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

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101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the
463 soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan
353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

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beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron ko or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig, dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

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846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

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engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

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765 drum and the coffin to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu sheng*. They exert so much strength that often some of the dancers are pushed over, furniture is smashed, and the walls of the room or house are broken. One story says that in this dance the house was pushed down and everything inside was smashed.

When the coffin is about to be carried out of the house for burial, the priest stands across the doorsill and shoots three arrows inside and three outside the house. This is to drive away demons that might cause any sort of a disaster.

765 Twelve days after the funeral there is performed a ceremony called in Chinese
775 *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao *a si* or *a shi*. The ceremonial drum is not beaten, the bull is not killed, and there is no music of the *liu sheng*. At this time the spirit of the deceased person is believed to return to his old home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door, and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. It is believed that the footprints will reveal whether the ancestor is now a person, an animal, a reptile, or a fowl.

Not less than one year later there is held a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *tso chai* and in Ch'uan Miao *a vang*. Friends and relatives observe the ceremony in the house or march to the grave beating the ceremonial drum and gongs and playing the *liu sheng* to entice the soul of the dead back home. A cow, a water buffalo, or a pig is killed and offered to the deceased ancestors; it is then cooked and eaten by the relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers and sisters and for ancestors for three generations.

It is believed that after death a woman carries a grass mat on her back, and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket such as is commonly used in West China. These prevent the souls from entering the palace of the level land of Ntzī. In the *tso chai* or *a vang* ceremony the ancestors are released from these burdens and go happily to God's flat land where they are able to enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

Later, generally after several years, there is a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* and in Ch'uan Miao *tsa mong*. The grave is opened, the coffin is burned or thrown away, and the bones are washed with wine and then rubbed with oil. A new coffin and new clothing are provided, and the corpse is reburied in the same or another grave. During this ceremony the drum and the *liu sheng* are used, a cow, water buffalo, or pig is killed, and there is a feast. It is believed that the deceased person becomes very uncomfortable lying in the same position for a long time; also, if the ceremony is not performed, the descendants will not prosper. After the ceremony the ancestor is comfortable and happy, and the descendants will prosper.

765 There is another memorial ceremony called in Chinese *hua t'an*, or flowery altar, and in Ch'uan Miao *a gi bang* or *a gei bang*. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by all the relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years. A bull is killed, and his hide may be used to cover a ceremonial drum. The meat of the bull and rice, corn, wine, and vegetables are offered to the ancestors, after which there is a feast. The drum is beaten, the *liu sheng* and the flute are played, and there is dancing and singing. Twelve men

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impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzɔ̄² Ti·³ lau² gau¹ bi³). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

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775 and transmigration, is known and accepted by the Ch'uan Miao but does not
776 seem to be absorbed and does not greatly affect the lives of the people. The soul is real but shadowy, and the soul of a good man is larger than that of a bad man.

Demons are the souls of human beings or of birds, animals, reptiles, or inanimate things. If a deceased person has no descendants or if his descendants are unfilial and do not meet his needs by making the customary offerings, he becomes a demon and harms people. Demons of human beings are called *glang*, and demons of other living creatures are called *ts'ao*. When a person goes crazy and speaks in a meaningless or silly way, it is thought that he is possessed by a demon who is speaking through him. His speech is then called *glang lo* or demon talk.

The idols in the Chinese temples are regarded as demons and are called *glang miao*. There is one devil called *glang da lo* who is so big that he can step from one mountaintop to another and from the earth to the sky. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb, and if he strikes a person on the chest with the palm of his hand the person dies, and the marks of his palm can be seen on the dead person's chest. There is another sky demon or devil called *ndo glang* who is worshiped by an elaborate ceremony in which a sow is killed.

The gods of the Ch'uan Miao are invisible unless they choose to reveal themselves to human beings. Chief among these is Ntzī, who lives in the sky and controls heaven and earth. He is regarded as good, just, kindly, and very powerful. He is the supreme but not the only god. Some stories tell of his sending his daughter to help poor and unfortunate men, and she generally marries them. A name that is sometimes used is Ntzī (or Ndgū) Nyong Leo, which means god, foundation, old. It apparently designates the same deity.

Another very interesting deity is called Ye Seo, Yei Seo, or ʒɛ Seo. He never dies, is very wise, kindly, merciful, and just, induces people to do good deeds, and helps people, especially the poor, who are in trouble. He is often seen in the clouds and can easily make himself visible or invisible. In the province of Canton the name Jesus is often pronounced Ye Seo, but it is uncertain whether the name and character of this deity have any relation to Jesus Christ.

There is a female deity who lives in the sky called Ts'ī Ma Niang Tsai. She is very merciful and especially shows kindness to unfortunate children.

821 There is a warty toad called in Chinese *lai ke pao*, which is believed to have
776 marvelous powers and to cause hailstorms. During these storms men shoot off guns to frighten the toad and cause it to cease sending down hail.

There is a dragon king who causes rain and who lives in a palace beneath a pool or lake. There are stories that tell of his daughter's marrying a very poor man in order to help him.

776 Certain kinds of trees are sometimes worshiped as deities. They are generally trees on hills or mountains that are old and do not shed their leaves in winter—evergreens such as the *nan muh*, but never a fir or pine tree.

778 A strange custom is the worship of the door. The thick doorsill together with the door itself, which often has two wings, is regarded as a deity and is worshiped in an elaborate ceremony in which a pig is killed and offered.

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As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a superhuman, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntzong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

A year is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194 [193]

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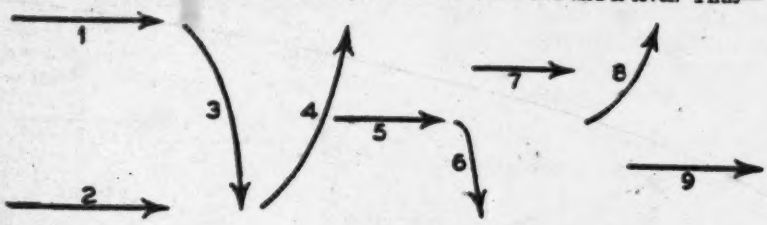
194 corresponds to the Chinese aspirate and is indicated by the mark '. In the little aspirate the entire word is pronounced with a strong emphasis as with italicized words in English and is indicated here by underscoring and in Pollard's Miao script by the sign '.

The tones are very important, for the same sound in a different tone is an entirely different word with a different meaning. While the Chinese in I-Pin have five tones, the Ch'uan Miao have nine tones. The range of the tones is about an octave, and the first five tones correspond to those found in I-Pin. The sixth tone begins at five and goes downward. The seventh tone is halfway between one and five and, like one, five, and two, is "level." The eighth begins at five and goes upward, and the ninth tone is halfway between five and two and is level. Thus—



PHONETIC TABLE

Consonants

b as in bite.
d as in dig.
dʒ as in judge, but without aspiration.
d" is d plus a slight z sound.
f as in fat.
g as in go.
G is an uvular g.
ŋ is ng as in king.
h as in hat.
X is rough h as in the Scotch word *loch* and the German word *nach*.
j is y as in young.
k as in kind.
l as in law.
ll is Welch voiced ll plus voiced l.
m as in man.
n as in new.
ɲ as ni in onion, uttered as one word.
p as in pin.
r which in strict phonetic script is ɹ, the ordinary fricative (untrilled), the initial r of southern English and American speech.
s as in sit.
ʃ as in shut, but nearer the ordinary s except before i and j.
t as in tin.
T is a dental t sometimes written t̲.
tʃ as ch in child, weakly aspirated.
tʃ' as ch in child, strong aspirated.
v as in vow.
ʒ is the French j bordering on the English fricative r (for which r is used in this table of sounds). Sometimes there is a slight uvular r sound following this ʒ.
ʒ̊ is a strong palatalized French j.
w as in wit.
' is used to indicate a strong aspirate.
—— indicates the weak aspirate, which in the Pollard script is indicated by '.

Vowels

i as in pique.
i· as in imp.
e as in end.
æ as in hat.
a· as in shah
ɔ as in hot.
ɔ· as in haul.
u as in put.
u· as in pool.
o· as pure close long o.
ʌ as in nut.
y is umlaut u (u) as in the German language.
ə inverted e, very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilation. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in the French. It is sometimes written ĭ in the romanization of Chinese sounds.
ĩ is nasal a.
ɔ̃ is nasal o.
ai as i in bite.
ao as ow in how with a pure o ending.
au as ow in how with an open u ending.
ei as in eight.
ou as o in go with a u ending.
Au as the Chinese ou (Wade) or au (China Inland Mission).

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FIG. 1. SIX CH'WAN MIAO WOMEN IN FRONT OF THE CHIEFTAIN'S HOUSE.

FIG. 2. ADULT FEMALE.

FIGS. 3, 4. ADULT MALES. NOTE THE RELATIVE ABSENCE OF THE EYEFOLD.

FIG. 2.

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FIG. 3. FIG. 4.

ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Blood Groups : China With Plate E. Yang : Beh : Morse

BLOOD GROUPS OF THE ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA.

By Stephen C. H. Yang, Y. T. Beh, M.D., and Professor W. R. Morse, M.D., West China University College of Medicine and Dentistry, Chengtu. *With Plate E.*

121 66 This paper presents data on the blood groups of an aboriginal ethnic group called the Ch'wan Miao. There is included in this report some previously unpublished data on the blood groups of the Chinese of the province of Szechwan, practically all of whom were inhabitants of the Chengtu Plain.

Introduction.—In pursuance of a plan to make physical anthropological measurements and observations[1] on the Chinese and aboriginal tribes of Szechwan Province, one of the authors (M), with some help from Chinese medical doctors and students who were trained by him for anthropological work, have examined some 1,746 Chinese and 1,304 aboriginal tribesmen.

The aboriginal ethnic groups examined were mainly Tibetans, Chiang, Gia or Chia Rong, Hsi or Shi Fan, Bo Lo Tsi, Noso (Lolo) Black Bones and White Bones, Ta Hwa Miao, Ch'wan Miao and Chung Chia. The Chinese came from quite widely separated areas of the Chengtu Plain and the aborigines from the highlands and mountains to the north, west and south of that Plain.

The statistical analysis of these measurements is now being worked out.

There were over 70 physical anthropological measurements and observations taken on individuals of nearly all of these groups. Most of those examined were adult males, although several hundred adolescent male and female Chinese were included. Sixty of the Chinese were dissecting-room subjects, and their bones, except the skull, were preserved. Photographs were taken of many individuals.

These data have been gathered over a period of some fifteen years, during which time W. R. Morse has organized and made eleven expeditions into different sections of the province wholly or partially occupied by the aborigines. Roughly speaking, this territory is included within Lat. 27° 30′ N. to 32° 30′ N.; Long. 102° E. to 104° E., or from Songpan (Szechwan) in the north; Chao Tung (Yunnan) in the south; Yachow or Yaan (Szechwan) in the east; and Tatsienlu or Kangting (Shikang) in the west. The Ch'wan Miao occupy an area near Lat. 27° 30′ N.; Long. 140° E.

The data accumulated include blood-pressure observations on the Noso (Lolo), Ta Hwa Miao and Ch'wan Miao[2]. Blood-pressure and blood-grouping, colour-blindness, etc., are to be observed on the Tibetans, Chiang, Gia Rong and Shi Fan, by an expedition, almost entirely for that purpose, during the months of July and August, 1937.

121 114 In correspondence with Professor R. Ruggles Gates of King's College, University of London, during 1935–36, Dr. Gates raised the question of blood grouping of the Tibetans and requested Dr. Morse to obtain those data. Owing to the acute activity of the Communists in and about

[1] A schedule of these measurements and observations is now in press, published by W. R. Morse, as a supplement to Jour. W. China Border Research Society, VIII.

[2] 'Blood Pressure Amongst Aboriginal Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province, West China,' W. R. Morse, Y. T. Beh, *The Lancet*, Vol. 232, p. 988, 1937.

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121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impractic able to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
161 Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

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563 Szechwan was occupied by the Pre-Chinese
175 aborigines called the Shu and Pa.[3] These were highly civilized by 1200 B.C. and had temples, schools, irrigation, etc. The Chinese entered the territory in small numbers about 200 B.C. From 250 A.D. they came in increasing numbers, but were not the main leading and controlling body until the sixteenth century. In 1449 a Chinese tyrant of exceeding cruelty massacred the majority of the population. The province, being such a rich prize, was soon re-populated by the Chinese from the other provinces.

125 *Method Employed in Blood-Grouping.*—Drops of blood were secured by pricking the lobe of the ear or the finger. This blood was placed in 5 c.c. of normal saline, and well shaken. A drop of standard serum from Group II and Group III was placed on separate marked cover slips. Using a small pipette, one drop of blood-suspension was added to each of the standard sera. The entire preparation was then well mixed and mounted on hollow ground slides and ringed with vaseline. After standing at room temperature for half an hour the preparation was examined by the low power objective, and the presence or absence of clumping was observed.

The sera employed were obtained from the Department of Pathology of West China Union University. All the sera were used up in the field during the examinations. The results are shown in the Table below:—

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	O	A	B	AB	Total
Chwan Miao -	74	23	80	28	205
per cent.	36·1	11·2	39·0	13·7	
Szechwanese -	487	375	289	141	1,292[4]
per cent.	37·7	29·0	22·4	10·9	

808 Sincere gratitude and deep appreciation is extended to Professor R. Ruggles Gates for the inspiration given us in anthropological study. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and help—re sera and apparatus—given us by Drs. Lenox, Williams and Cheo, of the Department of Pathology. Our thanks are due to Dr. Agnew for taking the photographs: his dietetic and dental studies are to be published shortly. The blood grouping was done chiefly by Mr. S. C. H. Yang, who was assisted in part by Dr. Beh. The anthropological measurements, which have now been analyzed statistically, were done by Drs. Morse and Beh, assisted by Mr. Liao as recorder.

[4] Of these 1,292 Chinese, 1,000 were collected and/or observed by Dr. R. G. Lo and 292 by S. C. H. Yang.

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Some Ch'wan Miao Characteristics.—The Ch'wan Miao are a very isolated, segregated, financially poor group of people almost certainly with no European contacts. They live in the mountains at an elevation of about 3,000 feet. They are mainly an agricultural people, although they are also pastoral and some are hunters. They travel entirely on foot. Their crops are mainly maize and rice. They eat very little meat (mostly mutton) and few vegetables; their chief diet is maize and/or rice. 105

The Ch'wan Miao have been permeated very considerably by the culture of the Chinese and the grade of that culture is not low. Given equal advantages the Miao are as intellectual as the Chinese. Some students, under great handicaps, have persevered and graduated from our University. 177

They have a distinct unwritten language, which differs markedly from the Chinese. Many of the males are bilingual. Their folklore, songs and music are distinct from those of the Chinese. They have a peculiar bamboo wind-instrument; it consists of a body of a bamboo tube 6–8 inches long by 3 inches in diameter. To the centre of 197 534

[P. 67a]

this goes a hollow bamboo tube 2–3 feet long 534
through which they blow; through the body go, at right angles to this blowing tube, 6 bamboo tubes ½-inch in diameter perforated by several holes. When played it sounds very much like Scot bagpipes. When they play it they dance. [533]
Their singing is not as falsetto as the Chinese. The clothes and hats of the women are often beautifully embroidered. Some men also wear embroidered clothes, but most of their (men's) clothing is like the Chinese. Neolithic stone 172
implements were found in considerable numbers.

Conclusions.—The report of the blood-groups 143
of 205 Ch'wan Miao (157 males and 48 females), an aboriginal type of Szechwan province, West China, is submitted. There is also a report made of 1,292 Chinese of that province. The Ch'wan Miao examined were adults, their blood-pressure was recorded,[3] photographs were taken and a complete physical anthropological examination was made.

The blood-groups of the Ch'wan are very low in A and high in B, as compared with the Szechwanese.

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000 Studies of Miao-I Societies in Kweichow

(Kweichow Miao-I shê-hui yen-chiu)

By Wu Chê-lin, Ch'en Kuo-chün and Others

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[Title Page]

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General Conditions of the Miao-I in Kweichow

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Introduction

The year before last I was commissioned by certain organizations to investigate the conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow. After having received the order, I left for the Miao-I areas of the various hsien districts to start work on the spot. Unfortunately, the references I had previously gathered were of little use. After I had reached the Miao-I district, all that I had seen and heard through personal contacts in the wild mountains and lonely hamlets I recorded faithfully on the spot in the midst of fatigue and traveling. In three years I covered the whole province, and the amount of material I collected was immense. Before it had been organized and put into shape, inquiries came from many quarters concerned with the welfare of the Miao-I people, but these could not be replied to one by one. Furthermore, conditions in the Miao-I areas are quite different from those in the interior, and people who have never been there are prone to picture the Miao-I as a mysterious people and to distort the facts about them. The present article "General Conditions of the Miao-I Societies in Kweichow" serves as an introduction to a knowledge of the Miao-I areas. It is hoped that the readers will be pleased with this survey.

2. Racial Groups

1) Origin and History. Among the 450,000,000 Chinese nationals, there are a large number of ethnic groups. According to ancient history, there were the Hua-hsia, the Tung-i, the Ching, the Wu, the Pa-yueh, the Tung-hu, the Su-shen, the Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh [Turks], the Ch'iang, the Hsi-ts'ang [Tibetans], the Miao, the Yao, and many others. After a thousand years [2] of assimilation and amalgamation, those who

[2 cont.]

175 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the
563 Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic groups with different habits and customs.

We are here concerned with the origin and history of the
101 Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early
175 Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man"
[563] [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u [a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with
[133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys, and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

[2 cont.]

101 175 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time. [648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest. 000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed 131 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of 161 several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of 161 whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the 000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

[3 cont.] With such a large population in
101 Kweichow, there are apt to be many ethnic varieties of the
184 Miao-I, whose names are generally given by the Chinese and tacitly acknowledged by the Miao-I themselves. Most of these tribes live in high mountains and deep valleys and are isolated one from the other with the result that there are notable differences in locations, languages and customs. Thus they are often classified according to the colors of their costumes and other characteristics.

For instance, there are, according to the colors of the clothes the Ch'ing [blue or green] Miao, the Hê [black] Miao, the Pê [white] Miao and the Hung [red] Miao. Those who are differentiated according to the areas they live in are known as the Kao-p'o [high slope] Miao, the P'ing-ti [level ground] Miao, the Yueh-pien [boundary] Miao, the Shan [mountain] Miao, the Pa [embankment] Miao, the Tung [east] Miao, the Hsi [west] Miao, and the Ch'ien [bamboo grove] Miao. Those distinguished by the names of places in which they live are the Shui-hsi Miao, the Chia-ch'ê Miao, the Kun-tang Miao, the Ch'ê-chai Miao, the Hung-chou Miao, the P'ing-fa Miao, the Ch'ing-chiang-he Miao, the Kê-meng-ku-yang Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Tzu-chiang Miao and the Hsi-chi Miao. Those distinguished by the flower designs of their clothes are the Hua [flower] Miao, the Ta-hua [big flower] Miao, the Hsiao-hua [small flower] Miao, and the Hua-i [flowery dress] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their skirts are the Chang-ch'ün [long skirt] Miao, the Ai-ch'ün [short skirt] Miao, and the T'uan-ch'ün [circular skirt] Miao. Those distinguished by their trades are the Ta-t'ieh [blacksmith] Miao and the Tz'u-ku [water-plant?] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their ornaments are the Ku-hsün Miao, the Chen-tou Miao, the Tieh-tung Miao, the Chien-ting Miao, the Hê-chüeh Miao, and so on, the list being [4] inexhaustible.

According to the Pai-Miao-t'u [One Hundred Miao Pictures], sold in the secondhand bookstores in Kweiyang, there are 124 different Miao groups in all strange and quaint manners. The first 82 groups belong to Kweichow and the rest to Yunnan. Among those 82 groups, nine are Ch'i-lao, six are Chung-chia, five are Lung-chia, and two are Lolo. The others being all different, I

4 [i.e., about 4,000,000 in the author's estimation.—Analyst]

[4 cont.]

101 184 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classification the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very 181 [147] sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in [276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

[5 cont.]

181 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by
609 the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of
262 rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more
[243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice."
[482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat
264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are
262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

[5 cont.] One difference is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the
[439] Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

[from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the Hê Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their [294] time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver orna- [301] ments in all styles and colors to attract attention.

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in 361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of [231] one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

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844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[9 cont.]

517 purpose of these festivities is to celebrate in advance a rich harvest, and therefore the participants are numerous, especially the young men and women, who go there in new and pretty clothes with the object of finding a mate. As to moon dance, sitting in the moon, singing or chasing the moon, these are occasions specially designed for love-making by the young.

[533] Both men and women are good singers, and they sing to drown out the sorrows in their chest, as well as to effect a lover's union. Anyone who fails to sing at marriage and funeral ceremonies will surely be disgraced. Singing, in short, is a necessary accomplishment. Within a short distance from the village there

[443] is a level ground for the market fair held once in every six days; this is the center of trade for the Miao-I. On such occasions people gather together at the fair, bustling, loitering and looking around, their heart full of joy and fun. It gives them a respite from their routine toil. Aside from this they are fond of music.

[534] Their musical instruments include the liu-sheng, wu-sheng [five tube bamboo wind instrument, flutes, harmonicas, so-na [a clarinet type wind instrument], brass drums, and p'i-pa [lute]. The liu-sheng is the most common instrument; it is made of bamboo with a gradation of notes resembling that of a military band. Its tune is like the plaintive call of a bird but with a variation of notes. The music accompanies simple dance steps, out of which they derive much pleasure and satisfaction.

4. Ceremonies and Customs

1) Marriage. The various Miao-I ethnic groups in Kweichow

584 are rather complicated, but their marriage customs, though varying to a certain extent, are generally the same among different tribes. Marriages are either arranged by parents or the parties themselves, but mostly follow the will of the former and take the advice of the go-between. To negotiate marriage [10] they first discuss gifts and dowries. After marriage the bride goes back to her parents

591 until she is about to give birth to a son. She is then confined to her husband's house. In ancient times, this custom was first

[10 cont.]

591 practiced by one tribe and then followed by others for so long a time that at last it was firmly established. There are only a few
587 couples who are separated. In such cases, they would participate in moon dance, chasing the moon, yao-ma-lang or kan-piao, and other such agencies of free love to seek their mate for a second marriage.

584 When a boy reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen the
[582] parents usually negotiate marriage for him. First, a friend or a relative is asked to approach a girl's family to propose marriage. When the latter family approves, the go-between would bring the boy and his parents over for an interview. If both sides are satisfied, they then start negotiations of gifts and dowry and make arrangements for the engagement. If one side is not satisfied the matter is dropped. This refers to total strangers: between those who are acquainted with each other such arrange-
583 ments are unnecessary. In the old days the gift and dowry were given in terms of the number of cows instead of money. Recently, they have been changed to silver pieces, and the larger the amount, the more magnificent it is for the girl's family. If the amount is small then the girl's status is considered low and it becomes a disgrace to the family. When the question of the bride price is settled (with the Hua Miao the highest gift comes to $100 or more) the go-between appoints a date to convey it to the girl's family. Accepting the gift, the family gives a feast, in which friends and relatives are invited to keep the go-between company and to regale him with meat and wine. This is the engagement. Before the wedding day, the gift donation must be fully paid up through the go-between; but if the girl's family is fond of the future son-in-law, half or all the bride price may be
585 waived. On the wedding day the bridegroom's family sends along a man and a woman to welcome the bride, and sometimes the groom goes there himself. (But the groom must provide meat and wine as a welcome home feast.) The bride's parents would ask a few young girls to keep the bride company the night before, and before daybreak the party would commence the wedding march, the bride shaded under a bridal parasol. On arrival at the groom's house, the members of the party have to leap across

[10 cont.]

585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight,
591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first
852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would
431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a
[804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I
764 groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their
[755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[11 cont.]

764 home, his body lying across the hall. When a Ch'ing Miao dies his body is wrapped up in a straw mat and hung up with a rope on a beam in the hall. For funerals performed outside the house, they build a straw hut and place the body inside. The kinsmen [292] wear hemp cloth or white cloth on the head in mourning and cry aloud around the body. This is known as "hao-sang" [wailing funeral]. Meanwhile the bereaved family would send messengers to announce the sad news to friends and relatives in distant parts. 764 At night they put up a spirit tablet and invite a wizard priest [kuei-
787 shih] to "open the way" by means of a cock and a bamboo stick slit into a magic diagram. The priest settles down in front of the spirit tablet and calls the deceased by the name, informing him of the story of genesis and urging him to start on his journey. He too advises the dead how to overcome dangers and obstacles, how to deal with difficulties, how to recognize cross roads and to ferry across rivers and oceans, and so on until the spirit world is reached. After the ritual of opening the road is 764 over, they slaughter a chicken and a piglet to spur the spirit on 782 his way. On the following day at the time of "k'ai-ch'ang" [commencing the ceremony] (the Chinese call it "k'ai-tiao"), a bull is bludgeoned as a gift to the dead. (Among the He Miao, a bull is bludgeoned as a sacrifice to a man, and a horse as a sacrifice to a woman.) At the time of bludgeoning the crowd wails and cries to the tune of the liu-sheng. The bull is first led around the straw pavilion three times and then handed over to the priest, who calls out the name of the deceased and makes the presentation before the spirit tablet. The animal is then led out to be slaughtered. Relatives and friends who have come to make sacrifices all have with them a sheng of rice, a pot of wine and a basketful of cooked rice, pork and eggs. These are given to the priest one by one, who in turn calls out to the deceased for a formal offering. The bereaved family then cooks the beef and after first offering it to the deceased, passes it around to the guests. That night all keep the funeral vigil, and sing to each other songs of piety in sad words and melancholic tunes to arouse in those who hear them a feeling of sadness.

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they

796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of K'wang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[13 cont.]

871 corrupt and did untold harm. Since the coming of the mission-
797 aries to the Miao area, churches and schools were established,
871 and those who were converted to the Christian religion were given an education. Today there are quite a few Miao who have received a higher education with the help of the church. However, it is regrettable that under the influence of the church, the religious element is too strong. In the 14th year
871 of the Republic [sic. It should probably be the 24th year of
648 the Republic, or 1935.] when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as head of the government came to Kweichow, he saw with his own eyes the low cultural level of the Miao-I and planned to assimilate them through education. The next year the government issued an order to encourage Miao-I education and appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose. In the same year the Provincial Rural Normal School was established at Ch'ing-yen, but its students were not all children of the Miao-I, sixty or seventy percent being Chinese who pretended to be Miao-I. Again, in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] when General Yang Sen was stationed at An-shun he promoted Miao education through his army by establishing three elementary schools with some good results. But not long afterwards his troops were transferred to the front and his education program was abandoned. Aside from these attempts, the provincial
872 government established an elementary school in each of the
648 twelve hsien at Kweiyang, Huang-p'ing, Li-po, T'ai-kung, Wei-ning, An-nan, Kuan-ling, Tan-chiang, Shui-ch'eng, Ting-fan, Lo-tien and Pa-chai, where the Miao-I congregate. In other hsien areas there are short-term elementary schools that also admit Miao-I children. The educational system for the Miao-I in Kweichow is rudimentary at best and with the extensive distribution of the Miao-I over a wide area the work is like extinguishing a wagonful of burning fuel with a cup of water -- not at all effective or enough.

3) Occupations. The Miao-I people, being retarded in
241 cultural development, have just entered the stage of agricultural community, and so their chief occupation is farming. [14] Those Miao-I living in the northwest of the province have high

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[14 cont.]

000 to consolidate them, to advance their civilization, to improve their living conditions, to plan for their welfare and to alleviate their sufferings. The eighth article in the Declaration of the Fifth National Convention [15] says: "All political policies should be made for the welfare and in the interest of the local inhabitants." It is also hoped that our Miao-I compatriots will realize our mutual racial interest in the face of enemy aggression. Only by rising and resisting the enemy will we be able to ensure our ultimate freedom.

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[16]

General Conditions of the Short-Skirt Hê Miao in Kweichow

Wu Che-Lin

1. Introduction

101 131 The Miao-I people in Kweichow occupy at least forty percent of the total population of the province. Except in the area north of the Wu River, where the population is entirely Chinese, the Miao-I are in a great majority in all rural communities farther away from the cities and larger villages, in which the Chinese mostly congregate. But these 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 [161] Miao-I people are different in languages, customs, and costumes as well as in cultural background. Therefore, their names (given them by the Chinese) total more than a hundred, such as the Ch'ing Miao, the Hê Miao, the Pê Miao, the Hung Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Ta-tieh Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Hua-ch'un Miao, the Chung-chia, the Sui-chia, the Tung-chia, the Ts'ai-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chi-tou, the Mu-lao, and so on. The Tuan-ch'ün

[16 cont.]
131 Miao [short-skirt Miao] is a branch of the Hê Miao, distributed
101 over a very extensive area in southeast Kweichow at Hsia-chiang, Yung-chiang, Chien-ho T'ai-kung, Tan-chiang, Pa-chai, Lu-shan and Ma-chiang. They total about 40,000 to
[161] 50,000 people. Although they have among them more or less the same costumes, customs and language, their cultural levels vary to a large extent. The present article deals only with those Short-Skirt Hê Miao who are located in the region contiguous to Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Pa-chai and Tan-chiang, and may not be representative of the entire group.

2. Costumes

[17] A common method to distinguish the various tribal
101 groups among the Miao in Kweichow is by the style of their
291 women's dresses, because the men's are generally similar to those of the Chinese farmers. The women's costumes, however, still retain their original native style. The so-called Ch'ing Miao [blue Miao], Hê Miao [black Miao], and Pê Miao [white Miao] are distinguished by the colors of their womenfolks' clothes, which are either predominantly blue, black, or white. The
291 Short-skirt Miao is one group of the Hê Miao, their women's clothes being uniformly black. They are called the Short-skirts because their skirts are shorter than those worn by the other groups. In fact, aside from the length of the skirt, the other parts of their costumes are quite different too. To describe,
302 we start from the head. First of all, they never use make-up, but their hair is always well-trimmed and shiny. They often
[515] wash their hair by the river bank and afterwards apply tea-seed oil to give it a glossy finish. They comb their hair backwards first and leave a bang of about two to three inches falling down on the forehead in the shape of a small black umbrella. On the crown the hair is coiled up in a chignon and fastened by a small wooden comb three inches long, rather like the headgear of a Japanese woman.

[17 cont.]

The upper garment of a Short-skirt Hê Miao woman is also
291 different from that of the other Miao. It resembles the mandarin jacket of the Chinese, reaching only to the hips, round-collared and buttoned in the middle, with large sleeves. Although there are five to seven pairs of bean-size lead buttons, actually only the first pair can be buttoned, the other pairs being loose, with only buttons but no loops. So during work a belt is tied around the waist. They do not wear panties. The skirt measures only one foot and two inches in length and is not fastened to the waist but below the waistline. It has inumerable pleats, from over five hundred to as many as a thousand. Therefore a skirt requires at least twenty feet of material. Both the front and rear parts of the skirt are covered with a piece of black cloth about six or seven inches in width and one or two inches longer than the skirt. The rear piece has an embroidered band of four inches at the hem. They never wear stockings. While working at home, in the field or on the river bank they are always barefoot. On formal occasions they wind strips of black cloth around their legs, from the ankles [18] up to the thighs. Each strip of leg band measures about twenty-four feet, and as it winds up layer on layer, it gives a swollen appearance. The straw sandals for men and women are made differently. The women's footwear resembles the Japanese wooden clogs, with a forklike rope attachment that enters in between the big toe and the rest of the toes, so that the rear and the back of the foot require no other attachments.

The costumes described above are for everyday wear. The
[511] Miao in this area are comparatively well-to-do. An average family is able to add a suit or two of new clothes for each member every year, and so even their ordinary clothes are clean and in good repair. Dirty and disorderly dresses are rarely seen. On festive occasions the men wear new clothes and the women, specially made embroidered clothes in brilliant designs. The
[294] work on the embroideries begins during a girl's teen-age and continues for several years before it is completed. Ordinarily
301 the women do not use much jewelry. They do not wear earrings, neither do they have holes in the ears. They do wear one or

[18 cont.]

301 two silver bracelets and two or three finger rings. But when they put on their best embroidered clothes, then they would wear a kind of silver headgear with different kinds of silver pins in the chignon, and at least two or three solid silver necklaces, sometimes as many as a dozen; the number of bracelets and finger rings they wear is also doubled. They would have still more silver jewelry on the dress or attached to the waist. The [556] quantity of silver worn is an index to the wealth of the family, and so during festivals the women become exhibits in every family.

3. Marriage

584 Marriage among the Miao is mostly the result of love, but the mediation of the match-maker and the engagement ceremony are necessary before fixing the date of marriage. Young men and women [19] at the "liu sheng [reed-wind instrument] dance" in the first lunar month may openly fall in love with each other without the intervention of parents or brothers of the family. In ordinary times, especially during the holidays, they may also court each other at will. So on the mountain slope or in the field we often observe scenes of "yao-ma-lang" (i.e., love-making), when they sing songs to each other in questions [533] and answers. One party would ask a question in a song, and if the other party is willing she sings back the answer. These songs are extemporized, full of freedom and naturalness. Such serenades last till sunset when they begin to return home. After a suitable period of time, if their feelings persist then the parents would find a go-between to arrange the engagement. 836 This system of love and marriage seem very free, yet there is no promiscuity. Their conduct is regulated by unwritten laws and they all have a high sense of decency. For instance, yao-ma-lang is carried on out of sight of old people, and yet it has to be within sight of passers-by. Furthermore, men and women must remain at least five feet apart, and necking and embracing are taboo. (The Long-skirt Miao not far away from them permit

[19 cont.]

836 embracing.) So, pre-marital relations between men and women are rare if not altogether absent. The following are some of the love songs they sing to each other in free translation:

539

I

You seem not to care for me,
But with you I'm in love.
It is as keen as a dagger,
For you are too beautiful.

When I scale the mountain peak,
Day and night my thoughts wander,
Your image they continue to seek.
What magic have you yonder?

II

Ye maids who marriage have not known,
How many are there in your village?
One of you I wish to call my own
To share my route and tillage.
In the village we shall sit, you and I,
For shortly we shall be two genii.

III

In that village there are pretty flowers,
In that village there are pretty maids;
Their faces are like snow flakes on the bowers,
Their brows, a crescent moon that never fades.
Please, send me one to adore,
And I shall never ask for more.

[20]

IV

539 Now we sing together a mountain song,
Next year should our paths cross again,
You two as a married couple shall come along,
While I'll be alone in my loneliness.

V

Formerly, my lover you were,
Like water and jug, always there.
Only a little separation,
And another man is here!
Pray, where do I stand now?

VI

I wish to have a woman like you,
Snow-white, bright eyed too,
Healthy, precious like gold.
And, frankly, it may be told -

I want to take you home to my village,
And if you couldn't come within five days,
Surely, before you shall gladly die.

VII

I love you,
I love your clothes so clean,
I love your teeth, silver rimmed,
And your voices, mild and pleasing.

VIII

The wind sweeps through the rice field,
Calmly, leisurely, one washes sand in the waves,

[20 cont.]

539 Little sister thinking of her boy -
In pain;
Big brother thinking of his girl -
Nonchalantly.

IX

After breakfast a cliff we climb,
We throw leaves down the sand-bank,
Fishes are dead, big and small --
Without lover, 'tis never all.

X

The ants climbing a tree do not fear its height,
When you woo a maiden, you fear not another's might.
In love you should not be afraid of death,
Distant Yunnan is so near if you must measure your sword.

584 The engagement procedure is rather simple, and no exchange of "eight characters" [indicating the year, month, day and hour of the birth of betrothed persons] or selection of a lucky date is required. After the approval of the parents, the go-
583 between may formally make arrangements, first bringing over
584 the dowry in the form of a "chao-tai" [visiting belt?] to the boy's home. The return gift from the boy's family, which must now be agreed upon, averages from ten to forty dollars in cash. The boy's family further sends through the go-between a flower patterned cloth parasol for deposit in the girl's family and for use by the future bride when she goes to the husband's house at the time of the wedding. On the day of the engagement the boy's family may not provide a feast, but has to despatch three or four young men carrying to the girl's family wine, glutinous rice, chickens and ducks as well as $3.60, known as "niece's cash." (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a

[20 cont.] (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a
583 cousin on the mother's side, and if she is to marry somebody
584 else, she has to give money to her maternal uncle. This money
[582] is called "niece's cash.") The girl's family would then give a feast in honor of the go-between and invite other guests to keep him company.

585 [21] Marriages generally take place during the winter harvest in the second lunar month or the autumn harvest in the tenth lunar month. At that time the groom's family will again despatch three or four young men to the bride's family, carrying nine catties of pork, a package of glutinous rice weighing about two or three catties together with the cash gift negotiated at the time of the engagement. Announcement will also be made of the date for receiving the bride (about twenty days away on a horse day or a cow day). The return gift from the girl's family at the time consists only of a package of glutinous rice and a duck. But on the wedding day the bride's family has to despatch two men early in the morning to send over to the groom's family a slaughtered pig of about fifty to sixty catties and two big baskets, approximately four pecks, of glutinous rice to herald the arrival of the bride. At the wedding march the bride is arrayed in a flowered dress, holding in her hand the flowered parasol, sent previously by the groom's family, and accompanied by eleven male and female relatives. But halfway six of them must retract their steps because grown-up girls may not visit the groom. Among the other five, one young woman acts as the bride's maid and always keeps her company. The groom's family also despatches men to carry wine and rice to meet the bridal party halfway. When the two groups meet they picnic in the field. After this the bride and her kinsmen are conducted to the groom's family.

The bridal chamber is not so well decorated as that of the Chinese, and the furniture in the room is simple and plain.
[352] Except for one or two chests of drawers for the bride's clothes which come as a part of the dowry, the rest is provided by the groom and consists of a bed, a few stools, a wooden face-basin and a foot-basin. Quilts, pillows and mat are also provided by the groom's family. That day the celebration consists of singing

[21 cont.]

585 and drinking, which lasts throughout the night, neither hosts nor guests retiring. That night, the bride and groom do not share the room together. When tired the bride may lie down with the groom's younger sister. The next day the bride and her kinsmen return to her home. After three more days the bride is re-escorted to her husband's family by her brothers and male cousins. After a few days' stay she returns once more to her parents. Thus the wedding ceremony officially terminates. Later, every 591 time the husband wants his wife back he has to send over two or three sheng of glutinous rice to her family, and she will then come back with an escort of her kinsmen. Each year from the second to the eighth lunar month when farm work in her husband's family requires the help of the wife, she often goes over [22] but only for a few days as a guest without participating in housecleaning and cooking. Not until she becomes pregnant does the wife begin normal living with her husband to assume the responsibilities of the mistress of the household. This custom probably is a vestige of the transition from a maternal to a paternal society. In a maternal society the married woman does not leave her parents after marriage. The fact that the Miao woman does not stay with her husband before his child is born is probably due to this tradition. The paternal society lays much emphasis upon offsprings: only those women capable of procreation are considered good wives. The marriage before 589 conception, from the point of view of having heirs, is only 591 experimental. Therefore the wife cannot enjoy all her rights and privileges, and at the same time she may not assume the responsibilities associated with them. The result is a sort of quasi-marriage, that is, marriage in fact but not in form.

586 [584] There are a small number of pre-arranged marriages among the Short-skirt Hê Miao, negotiated by parents when the parties concerned are mere children. In such a marriage the bride often refuses to go back to her husband's family soon after returning to her own. This kind of girl is allowed to marry again on the condition that her second husband pays indemnity to the first one for expenses which the latter may incur in another

[22 cont.]

586 marriage. The amount of indemnity varies from under one hundred to several hundred dollars, fixed and guaranteed by relatives of both families at the time of negotiation to avoid future complications. Of course, this kind of divorce is not only limited to pre-arranged marriages by parents, the fact is that even in marriages of love, separations often occur due to incompatibility and difference of opinions. But whenever children are born within the wedlock, divorces never occur.

768 587 [589] There are very few cases of young widowhood among the Miao-I. According to customs a young widow may return to her own family six months after the death of her husband. Among the neighboring Long-skirt Miao the wife may go out through the back door to "yao-ma lang" with another man hardly before her husband breathes his last on the deathbed. The children of the deceased father generally remain in his family to be looked after by the grandparents, but the widow may bring them along to her own family if her deceased husband's family is poor and unable to support them. [23] At the same time the widow's parents may proceed to find another husband for their daughter. After marriage the second husband has to pay $4.20 to the wife's family, from which $1.20 is given to the deceased husband's family as "incense money" for sacrifices to his spirit. At the wedding the bride is escorted on foot by two old women to her husband's house, where feasts may be given and the occasion celebrated if his family is well-to-do.

582 Of course, the Miao also have certain taboos in their marriage system. Between sisters and brothers, between cousins and, like the Chinese, between parties of the same surname, no marriage takes place. Sometimes certain families are not matched with others although their surnames are different. For instance, the Yang family at P'ing-chai in the Chou-ch'i district in Lu-shan never have marital relations with the Pan family across the river at Hsin-chai. Between the Chinese and the Miao there are also very few instances of intermarriage. In the country the Miao, who consist of the majority of the population, maintain the most friendly relations in utter social equality

[23 cont.]

582 with the Chinese who live among them. Many of the Chinese speak the Miao language and are even influenced by the Miao in certain habits and customs, but intermarriages are extremely rare. Actually this is not only true of the Miao and the Chinese, but also of the different Miao groups. For instance at Chou-ch'i in the Lu-shan area there are 4,000 Short-skirt Hê Miao, about 200 to 300 Chinese, and less than 100 Mu-lao Miao. For marriage, these few Mu-lao Miao have to seek contacts in other Mu-lao villages very far away and never for a moment would they think of intermarrying the Short-skirt Hê Miao on the spot.

4. Funeral

When a Short-skirt Hê Miao dies his family decides on a 764 lucky day to invite three or four relatives to specially wail [777] aloud for him. The corpse is placed on a temporary scaffold about five feet from the ground on the left side of the hall and covered with sheets of coarse native cloth of about six feet long and two feet wide. The married daughters as a rule each present a sheet. [24] The unmarried daughters at home also collectively present one, though in some rich families everyone gives a sheet. These different colored sheets are used to line the coffin at the time of interment. When the corpse is being moved out of the house, the family members all wear hemp cloth on their heads and weep aloud around the body. At the [202] same time they despatch messengers to announce the bereavement to relatives living far away. In case the deceased is a man, they fire hunting rifles at the gate, or in the case of a woman, firecrackers so that those relatives within earshot may be apprised. The little table in front of the corpse is complete with spirit tablet, incense and candles, four bowls of glutinous rice, twelve cups of wine, a pig's heart and stomach, and other offerings. A priest is engaged to "open the way." He wields a dagger and a bunch of straw, uttering magic words and brandishing, at the same time, the dagger and straw, in an effort to drive away evil spirits that may obstruct the way.

[24 cont.]

764 All night they beat drums and play liu-sheng (6-reed wind instrument). The following day is the day of mourning when friends and relatives bring along different kinds of gifts as expressions of condolence. Some would bring a basketful of glutinous rice; some, a jug of wine; others, firecrackers, candles, incense and paper money. The host would slaughter a buffalo or a horse to feed the mourners. At the same time he has to kill a male dog [775] so that in the nether world the dog can watch the buffalo or the horse. The four legs of the animal are divided among the married children of the family and close relatives, distant relations being given only other parts of the meat. When there are not many relatives, each can bring home a piece of meat weighing about three or four catties. On the third day the corpse is lowered into the coffin after being clothed in four, six or eight black garments as well as shoes and socks. The number of sheets on which the corpse lies depends upon the number of children of the deceased. In case the deceased is childless, he is wrapped only in one sheet. There are three kinds of coffins: the rich use two coffins, the inner and the outer. Ordinary families use the outer coffin; the poor use the inner coffin, also known as the "fire box." The inner and the outer coffins are finished with black paint, but the "fire box" is made of plain wood. All coffins have their fixed dimensions. The inner coffin is one inch thick, five feet two inches long [sic], one foot and two inches wide at the feet and one foot three inches wide at the head. The outer coffin is one foot eight inches thick at the head, nine inches thick at the feet for the upper board, and eight inches thick for the bottom board, the total length being five feet eight inches, the width at the feet being one foot five inches, and the width at the head, two feet. The Miao have the strongest ob- [823] jection to the presence of iron or [25] copper in the coffin. At the time of burial the family members have to make a last minute inspection for fear some one might slip into the coffin some metal pieces. They believe that "to bury the dead with iron and copper will cause annihilation to the whole family."

As soon as a corpse is laid in a coffin, the burial takes place. This is called "fu-shan" [supporting the mountain]. The larger

[25 cont.]

784 coffins are borne by sixteen persons and the smaller ones, by eight. The son-in-law of the deceased leads the funeral procession with a lighted bark of fir tree, followed by the daughter-in-law, carrying on her back three sheng of grains in a basket. There are drummers, liu sheng players, and men who fire rifles and firecrackers. On such a solemn occasion, of course, the priest is not missing. Wielding a dagger in his left hand and holding an empty water bucket in his right, he walks along, abandoning the bucket as soon as he passes the village gate. As he moves along he swings the dagger and mumbles magic phrases. The coffin is followed by family members and friends and relatives, the latter each sending a package of glutinous rice to be taken along it is said, by the deceased to the nether world for distribution among those kinsmen already gone before. After burial the bereaved family mixes all the rice together and distributes it among the guests, the family itself being forbidden to eat this rice. When the burial ceremony is completed they return to the bereaved family, where they set up the spirit tablet for the deceased. The priest lays his dagger on the left of the tablet. At that time, the bereaved family has to provide wine and meat to feed the guests and after the meal they take their leave. For his three days of performance the priest re-
[465] ceives as reward a basketful of glutinous rice, a pig's heart, a pig's stomach and a jug of wine.

Three days after burial, the family of the deceased returns
765 to the tomb to offer sacrifices known as "fu-shan" [going back to the mountain]. The spirit tablet in the house has to be guarded by the elder son for about a month in the case of either deceased parent. During this month he is not supposed to cross the threshold or a bridge, nor to step into a puddle of water, nor to sing songs, nor to eat bamboo or bracken. After the period of spirit-guarding is over, the family has to send a package of glutinous rice of about two or three sheng and a cock to the house of the maternal uncle. Within three years after the burial regular sacrifices must be made at the tomb at every spring festival (twenty-five days after the beginning of spring) [in early March], after which "kua ch'ing" [hanging the green] [26] at Ch'ing-ming time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

[26 cont.]

000 time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

766 Hê Miao who die of leprosy are cremated. The dead body
164 is carried to a vacant lot to be placed on a pile of firewood and
757 burned before the public. It is probably for the same purpose of avoiding contagion that the Hê Miao at Yung-chiang who die of small pox are cremated -- a sanitary idea derived from experiences.

5. Religious Beliefs

774 The Short-skirt Hê Miao apparently believe in animism.
776 In their view every object in nature is invested with a spirit. The sky, earth, sun and moon are all nature spirits, but even rocks, rivers, bridges, trees and wells are also endowed with spiritual powers. The duties and responsibilities of these spirits, however, are not quite divided, and therefore in case of sickness, engagement and the acquisition of sons they would go to one of these objects to offer prayers, and if their prayers are fulfilled they would have to offer sacrifices. There are two kinds of spirits: the good spirits, efficacious and powerful, who guard over the welfare of the mortals, but in case of offences against them, can also inflict severe punishments; the bad spirits or ghosts, who are bent on doing harm and whom one has to suppress if one cannot put up with them. The first category of spirits includes the Jade Emperor, the Guarding Buddha, one's ancestors, the King of Hades, the Earth God, the God of Wealth, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Yo Fei [warrior hero of the 12th century], Shen-nung [Divine Husbandman, a mythical emperor of pre-historical times], Kwan-ti [warrior hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the God of War], tree spirits, cliff spirits, bridge spirits, the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the winnowing-fan spirits, and the Lady Buddhas. The second category includes the spirits of thunder and lightning, the tiger ghost, the well ghost, the drowning ghost, the mouth odor ghost, the sly ghost who hurts people surreptitiously, the pu-nung (Miao dialect) ghost, the nai-huang (Miao dialect) ghost, the leg-pulling ghost, the breath-obstructing ghost, the soul-bewitching

[26 cont.]

774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost, the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost, the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primitive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
777 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

756 In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium, who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and socially it does not command any special respect and authority. Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated as follows:

755 756 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,

[27 cont.]

756 all diseases are caused by evil spirits, and to expel them is to
755 rid oneself of the diseases. In case of slight indisposition one's family members would burn incense and paper to drive away the wild ghost. But in case of serious sickness [28] the evil workings of an important ghost are presumed and it is necessary to get hold of a priest to slaughter an animal and to employ magic in order to achieve the desired end.

756 2) To pray for a son. If man is without a child at the age
842 of forty-three or forty-four he can ask a priest to appeal to the Jade Emperor for a son (the Miao do not believe in the Son-awarding Bodhisattva), or to enter the mountain to pray to a huge rock, the spirit of which is said to be able to award a child. So, in the second and the tenth month, incense is burned continuously to the rock spirit. At the time of worship two bowls of glutinous rice, five or six sticks of red incense, eight to sixteen fish as well as candles and paper money are used.

756 3) To arrest the soul. If a person is pale, thin and
774 dispirited or overtaken by serious sickness without being able to
[787] get up, the conclusion is that it is an omen of the impending departure of the soul. A priest is engaged to appear before Yen-wang (the king of Hades) to arrest the soul and bring it back. In so doing, it is necessary to slaughter a pig for sacrifice before Yen-wang. After the soul is arrested all the relatives contribute from ten or twenty cents to a dollar or two toward a fund for the making of a necklace or a bracelet, called respectively the life-preserving chain or the hundred-family lock, for wear by the stricken person. At the same time a string of bamboo rings is hung crosswise at the gate together with a piece of charm to indicate that the soul is locked in and prevented from escaping again. Sometimes, a bad harvest is also attributed to the disappearance of the soul, and the priest is asked to slaughter a duck to summon it back.

756 4) To arrest the ghost. In cooking rice, when the pan
[787] shrieks, or when the bucket in which the rice is steamed issues a shrilling sound, it indicates the presence of a ghost. The priest is asked to slaughter a cow for sacrifice, because this ghost is the thunder demon, the greatest of all ghosts, and to

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

8) To protect children. Many families whose children
756 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their
751

[29 cont.]

751 "guardian" for the purpose of getting protection. This is be-
756 cause the body of the priest is supposed to be endowed with a spiritual quality that can put the ghosts in their places. Therefore, children receiving his guardianship can avoid illness. Often a priest may have several hundred people under his protection. To apply for it the protégé has to present a pair of shoes, a handkerchief, a cock and some glutinous rice to the
[553] guiding spirit of the priest, after which offering the protégé is given a new name.

Priesthood among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not a profes-
756 sion, the shaman being a full-time farmer, carpenter or blacksmith. It is only a side-line. Each time the priest performs some service, his remuneration consists of a few insignificant "lucky" items. It is said that priesthood is not a willing choice. Every priest has at least twenty to thirty different spirits seeking his mediumship, and if he refuses the spirits would derange his mind. So once seized by the spirits a man cannot help being a priest. He then cuts a piece of red paper into a row of human forms [30] and pastes them before his ancestral altar. A board is nailed horizontally against the wall, on which two or three tea cups are placed. After each magic performance, the head of
[762] the cow, pig, or dog used in the ritual must be brought home to be sacrificed before the altar. But chickens and ducks used for the same purpose need not be brought home.

The capability of the shamans varies. Some can only catch small or wild ghosts but are unable to subdue big and fierce ghosts, who only surrender to priests with greater supernatural powers. Therefore, priests are divided into several classes. While performing magic, the priest may be assisted by a t'ung-shih [instructor] who is a less spiritually gifted person. The latter can only assist the priest but cannot engage the ghosts alone, and so his remuneration is still less. He may be fed for the services rendered without extra rewards.

[30 cont.]

6. General Living Conditions

511 Due to limited space we cannot discuss all the phases of their living conditions. In sum, the Short-skirt Hê Miao are still passing through a phase of village economy. The necessities of life, except salt which is obtained from the Chinese, are all produced in the village. The area they occupy is quite fertile. Not long ago they produced a great deal of opium though they themselves are rarely addicted to it. They are, however, surrounded on four sides by the Chinese, and an extension of their cultivated acreage is therefore practically impossible. But their population has greatly increased in the course of centuries and in proportion the per family acreage under cultivation has greatly decreased. Although some few of them may be large landowners, the majority of the Hê Miao can maintain only the barest economic subsistence. Their continuous toil all year round yields merely a pittance, barely enough to ward off starvation. This kind of rigid economy [31] [161] together with the prevalence of smallpox increases the rate of mortality in recent years to such an extent that it follows closely the maximum birthrate, and thus manages to bring their population rate to a standstill: more people are being born, but more also are dying.

[212] They have no written language, their knowledge is limited, and their living standard is far below the standard of modern life. 648 Because of the backwardness of their civilization they are held in contempt by the Chinese. Due to repeated conflicts in the past between the Chinese and the Miao-I, a great deal of misunderstanding, suspicion and prejudice still exists between the two groups. Fortunately, there are no unified spoken language customs and habits among the various Miao-I groups, and so among their many millions of people there is yet no apparent consolidation of a minority group movement to oppose the 000 Chinese. If our government authorities can undertake the development of their educational standards on the one hand and the elimination of misunderstanding and racial prejudices on the

12: Wu and Ch'en--38 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5
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[31 cont.]

000 other, then the many millions of Miao-I people can be made into a powerful new force to assume special responsibilities in the war of defense and national reconstruction.

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[77]

The Life of Women among the Sui-chia

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

M S 101 184

There is no doubt that Kweichow is the center of the Miao-I people. As to the exact number of these people estimates vary from 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 to as high as 5,000,000 or 6,000,000. The final figure probably has to await the outcome of a more accurate census in the future. Among these many million people the spoken languages, customs, styles of clothing, and cultures in general are markedly different. They themselves recognize these differences although they all belong to the same Miao ethnic group. Because of the differences in their costumes and locations the Chinese call them by different names. Currently, there are more than a hundred groups of them, such as the Hê Miao, the Ch'ing Miao the Pê Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Sheng Miao, the Kao-pu Miao, the Chung-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chen-chia, the Sui-chia, the Ch'i-tou and the Mu-lao. There is a central area in the distribution of each Miao group. From the point of view of anthropology and linguistics they may be classified in the same ethnic group, but judged by their living conditions they have marked differences. The following is a brief account of the life of women among the Sui-chia.

[77 cont.]

181 The center of the Sui-chia people is in southeastern
161 Kweichow, especially at Li-po, Tu-chiang, San-ho and Tu-shan, where they are the most numerous and total 40,000 to 50,000. According to their story the area where they are lo-
173 cated once belonged to the Miao and the Man. Later, there was a contest of strength between two kings, the pointed-head king and the level-head king. The latter won and took with him the ancestors of the Sui-chia to Li-po. After the pointed-head king lost the contest, he scattered nettle [78] seeds around the Sui-chia area, and as the nettles grew tall, they blocked all the egresses from this area. Without a route of retreat, the Sui-chia had to stay on and gradually drove away or otherwise exterminated the Miao and Man. At the same time they reclaimed the land, and occupied the territory they have today.

2. The Everyday Life of the Women

184 The average daily life of the women is generally the same among ethnic groups of similar cultural development. A few special characteristics, however, stand out in each group, and this is also true of the Sui-chia. In costumes the male
291 Sui-chia are not greatly different from the Chinese in rural communities, but those of the women are altogether dissimilar.
302 As far as the hair is concerned, a girl under ten years old looks exactly like a boy, i.e., with the head shaved; but after ten years old a girl begins to wear a braid. After marriage her long hair is combed forward first, then from left to right until it rolls on the top and is fastened with a wooden comb to prevent it from falling. Like women of other ethnic groups they look upon their hair-do as an important part of their appearance. Once every
[515] month or a fortnight they wash their hair in a basin of warm water, to which is added a spoonful of lard to make the hair glossy after washing. At the time of her wedding (as well as at the races every year in the ninth month) the bride combs her
[301] hair into a chignon resting on the crown with different kinds of

[78 cont.]

301 silver flowers stuck on the sides and a silver-gilded comb at the
302 rear. The size of the earrings varies, the largest being an inch and a half in diameter. Recently, the custom of wearing earrings is not so widespread as formerly. The Sui-chia women, like the Short-skirt Hê Miao, do not have make-up but retain their natural charm.

The clothes of the Sui-chia are either blue or black.
291 There is no collar on the upper garment. On the right lapel, as well as along the borders and on the sleeves, are stitched two strips of hems [79] and one strip of embroidery. The two hems are black; the outer hem is about two inches in width and the inner hem about three-tenths of an inch, the two being two-tenths or three-tenths of an inch apart. The embroidered strip is made of green threads about one or one and one half
[439] inches in width; it is manufactured by the Chinese and on sale at every market fair. The upper garment extends to the knee and the sleeves to the wrists. The cuff measures 8 inches. Ordinarily, the Sui-chia women wear trousers but no skirts. The trousers, which are entirely black, reach down to the ankles, and measure 8 inches at the cuffs. The hems on the trousers are the same as those on the upper garment. The waist is secured by an apron of plain, untrimmed black cloth, about 2 feet in width and 6 inches below the knees. As a rule the women are barefooted, but sometimes they wear straw sandals. In the winter or on occasions when they appear as guests they wear white stockings and black shoes, which point upward at the front like eagles' beaks. The shoes are finely embroidered with silk threads. This requires a great deal of time, and an
[294] average girl makes one pair of such shoes a year.

Their economic life, as reflected in their food and drinks,
262 is on a very low level. The staple food of the Sui-chia is rice,
252 then corn, buckwheat and millet. Rice accounts for only one-third of the food of a poor family, the balance being made up in mixed grains. Their vegetables consist of the following varieties: 1) sour-soup vegetable. Every year in the sixth and seventh lunar months, when the tomatoes are ripe, they are washed with water and dipped into some weak wine and kept in

[79 cont.]
262 an earthen jar. After a certain period the wine becomes sour and
252 is called "sour soup." Everyday vegetables, such as cabbage, radish or spinach, are cooked with this sour soup. This vegetable dish is never absent from the tables of either poor or rich families.
[251] 2) Pickled vegetable. Stalks and leaves of cabbages are first washed and dried, then cut into shreds, mixed with salt and wine, and sealed in an earthen jar. After a month or two it becomes sour, and when seasoned with some spice, it is very palatable. 3) Buckwheat-ash vegetable. Buckwheat stalks are first burnt into ashes, then wrapped in a piece of cloth, and distilled with water. This is called buckwheat-ash water. After being mixed with rice and beans, and well cooked, it is cooled off and stored in a sealed jar. Two days later it may be eaten. It is sour and appetizing and is said to help digestion. But it has to be eaten cold as it doesn't taste good when hot. 4) Taro. After being washed, the taro is ground with water into a paste [80] to which is added some buckwheat-ash water. When cooked it congeals into lumps, and because it resembles beancurd, it is called taro beancurd. It may be eaten by adding sour water to it, and has a fine taste when sautéd with meat shreds.

The Sui-chia, of course, have more vegetables than those
262 described above, but they are the most common ones found in every household. From this it may be seen that their year-round
[146] diet lacks nutrition and their taste is rather simple. Except on festive occasions such as Ch'ing-ming [about Easter time], Tuan-yang [the 5th of the 5th lunar month] and the New Year, or at special gatherings, meat is seldom served. Men are often
264 invited out as guests, and meat is served at parties together with
574 wine. Women, however, have fewer occasions to be guests,
562 and even when they are invited they are considered unimportant guests and poorly received. They are often offered sour soup with noodles as a special dish. If there are male guests in the house, only male members of the family sit at the table, the women taking no part at all. If the male guests are polite and considerate they would pick up some meat from the table and put it in a separate dish to be sent to the rear of the house for the hostess. But this is rather rare.

[80 cont.]

462 Among people of a comparatively low culture, women
512 are usually the hard workers. A Sui-chia woman starts the day's work by groping around to do house chores even before dawn. In the early morning calm, her first job is to hull rice, after which, before daylight climbs up the eastern sky, she has to carry water in buckets from the river or well. She does this chore year round, regardless of rain or storm. After water-carrying, her next job is to start a fire for cooking as well as for housecleaning. After breakfast she goes down the field like any man to help in farming or herding animals. During the slack agricultural season or on rainy days, the man may take a rest but the woman has other household duties awaiting her. Sewing and weaving for her mother-in-law, her husband, her children as well as for herself requires a great deal of time. In the evening she has to prepare supper, after which there are evening duties [81] that will keep her occupied till midnight when she retires. Her living, which is miserable enough, is further made worse by malnutrition and insufficient sleep. But in the midst of this suffering she takes things for granted and becomes insensible to pains.

4. Marriage

584 It is generally presumed that the Miao-I people have considerable freedom in marriage. While it is true that a large number of the Hê Miao, Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao are united through love, marriages among the Sui-chia are all contracted by parents, the party themselves having absolutely no opportunity of choosing his or her life mate. Although they do not observe the etiquette that "men and women, in giving and taking things, should not touch hands," nevertheless, all boy-girl relations are under the close surveillance of father and elder brother. Unmarried women going out as guests and going to a fair are always accompanied by elders of the family. Therefore, it is practically impossible for the Sui-chia to "yao-ma-lang" (to make love) as the other Miao-I people. If a woman is found
[684] truly in love with another man, she would be whipped by her

[81 cont.]

584 father or elder brother, and frowned upon by the public. If she
[684] is already engaged, then the groom's family is entitled to annul the marital contract.

To a Sui-chia woman marriage marks a dividing line in
883 her life. Before her marriage there is complete reliance on her parents, and her share in household chores is limited to light duties whenever it pleases her to do them, there being no strict supervision by the elders. The idea is that a girl is not permanently attached to her parents' home, and sooner or later she will have to be married out when she will begin to work strenuously in her new home. This is one reason why as a girl she assumes no responsibility for household affairs. Another reason is that
883 after the engagement the ability of the would-be bride is judged
584 alone by her embroidery work. [82] In order to maintain
294 respect, the girl's family has to direct her to such female employments as spinning, weaving and embroidery. Young girls for the most part find themselves absorbed in these pre-marital preparations. Shoes for men, embroidered shoes for women, pillow cases, quilt cases and socks and stockings have to be all made in her own home; otherwise after her marriage she would not have enough to go around. Thus, before marriage she has no time to participate actively in heavy household duties.

The groom's family takes an active part in marriages
584 among the Sui-chia. When the boy's parents are pleased with a girl of a certain family, they will immediately present gifts such as cakes, brown suger, and ham, as well as necklaces and other jewelry through a go-between. The girl's parents may not say "yes" the first time the go-between comes with the gifts even though they may be willing to have the match, but they will contrive to refuse under all plausible excuses, such as "the girl is too young yet: after a few years we may consider this proposition," or "the girl is too stupid: it is feared that she may handicap the career of the boy." The go-between is entertained at a meal, but the gifts she leaves behind will be returned to the boy's family after a few days. A few days or sometimes a month later the boy's family may still renew the offer by asking the go-between to send over the presents to beg once more the favor of a marriage contract. Regardless of their real intentions, the

[82 cont.]

584 girl's parents will keep the presents for a few days and then send them back again as before. This kind of gesture may be exchanged four or five times, and finally if the girl's parents agree to a match they will finally keep the presents to indicate the acceptance of the marriage relationship. The boy's family would then ask a few friends and relatives to accompany the go-between to make a formal call upon the girl's parents, who would entertain the visitors with a feast. After this occasion, although there is no formal marriage contract, society recognizes their relationship as a fait accompli.

For the formal engagement the boy's parents must select a lucky day and together with five or six male or female relatives pay a visit to the girl's parents with gifts such as sugar, meat and silver necklace. The girl's parents must slaughter a piglet [825] or a chicken but never a goose or duck (because its flat beak and cackling noise may cause a breakup of the engagement), and prepare a feast for the visitors as well as the neighbors and friends of their own invited for the occasion. [83] This is the formal engagement, and those neighbors and friends partaking the food at the table are witnesses to this alliance for both parties. In the future in case of breach of the marriage contract, those at the table may come forth to give their testimony. During the next few days the neighbors rotate to entertain the visitors, who will return to their homes only after this round of receptions is over.

A considerable time is allowed to elapse between engagement and marriage. Before the wedding ceremony the boy's parents select another lucky day to make a formal call upon the girl's family in company with five to eight relatives to deliver cash and other gifts. This is called "sung p'ing-chin" [sending betrothal money] or "tsou k'e [going as guests]. The cash present varies from $30 or $50 up to $400 or $500, depending upon the financial ability of the boy's family. The dowry of the girl is also proportional to the amount of cash. Other gifts include glutinous rice, (rich families giving as many as [804] one or two piculs [a picul is 100 catties or 133.3 lbs]), puffed

[83 cont.]

584 rice [candies], cakes, brown sugar, a silver necklace, and one or two fat pigs. The gifts are placed on table scaffoldings, each carried by two men. The presents of rich families can be quite lavish and sometimes amount to as many as a dozen tables. Upon the arrival of the betrothal gifts the bride's family immediately slaughters the pig that has been sent along and prepares a feast to entertain the guests. Before settling down at the table, however, the head of the slaughtered pig and rice and wine must first be offered in sacrifice before the ancestral tablet in the central hall. On the table before the tablet are displayed a sheng of white rice and four bowls of wine while two representatives from each family are invited to sit opposite each other at the table. The head of the groom's family then picks up the cash and the silver necklace both wrapped in a piece of red paper and places them on the rice. Next he burns incense and lights candles to worship the ancestors. After a few minutes the four representatives at the table each pick up a bowl of wine and empties it in one gulp. These then become the witnesses who are required to testify in the event of marital complications or divorce. At that time, if the bride's family considers the cash gift as not large enough to match the dowry, they may ask their representatives to refrain from drinking the wine to indicate dissatisfaction. Thereupon the head of the groom's family immediately makes amends by increasing the cash gift to the amount satisfactory to the bride's family, at which point the representatives from both families would pick up the bowls of wine to drink. After this drinking ceremony the bride's family puts away the cash and the necklace and all return to their tables to continue the feast. Every family in the village sends one representative to the feast, which is by no means sumptuous. [84] Besides large quantities of rice wine there are also quantities of pork. In the meantime the left-over pork, pop corn, and mi-pa [flat rice balls] are distributed among the other families in the village. The following day, as in the case of the engagement, the neighbors in the village begin to entertain the guests by turn. This

[84 cont.]

584 round of festivities lasts about one week, after which the bride's family kills another piglet and gathers together the elders of the village for another feast. This last gay reunion terminates the whole affair. From these customs it may be seen that marriage with the Sui-chia is a big clan affair that not only keeps the families concerned busy but also requires participation by all the kinsfolk in the village. Furthermore, in this custom may be noticed evidences of matriarchy, when the groom's family in presenting the betrothal gifts has to provide one or two extra piglets, puffed rice candies and mi-pa on one or two tables for the maternal uncles of the bride. Otherwise, if the displeasure of these kinsmen is incurred the marriage could be adversely affected.

One or two days after the presentation of gifts, the girl's family must send one pig's leg, a few pieces of black or blue cloth, and cooked glutinous rice for presentation to the boy's family by messengers as a "return gift" in the last act before the wedding.

The wedding day is selected by the groom's family. On
585 that auspicious day a man and a woman are despatched to the bride's family to welcome her to her new home, the man carrying with him a basket, in which are a large piece of cooked pork, glutinous rice and other food. When they arrive at the home of the bride's family the food is offered first before the ancestral tablet in the central hall. At that time the bride stays in her room to put on her best clothes, as well as fineries and silver ornaments, such as bracelets, necklace and earrings. Thus arrayed in her finery she is led out of her chamber by a woman from the groom's family. Passing by the ancestral tablets, she tastes a little of the meat and wine and then departs. Once out of the gate she is not supposed to turn around to look back for fear of bringing bad luck to her old home. Her dowries go along at the same time in the following order: In the first portion are quilts and matresses; in the next portion are leather suitcases, a wardrobe, and the bride's clothes and shoes; last, there are also some ears of grains called "chia-nü ku" [bride's grains]

[84 cont.]

585 to symbolize the power of procreation. [85] Aside from these the dowries include cattle and domestic animals, their number depending upon the financial conditions of the families.

On entering the groom's house the bride receives a bunch of green leaves thrown on her clothes by a male member of the family to indicate the severance of all lingering fancies she may still have for her old home. At the time she enters, the old and young, the male and female members of the groom's family all go into hiding outside the house. Only after the bride has gained possession of her bridal chamber will they emerge to welcome her, but no ceremony is held. The bride stays on
591 as a guest without household responsibilities, and merely waits for an auspicious day to return to her parents' home. The period of her stay at her old home depends upon the length of time she has to wait for the lucky day. On her return journey she is once more arrayed in her wedding finery. Only after going back to her husband the second time will she begin to assume duties as mistress of her new house. After this she may return to her parents again for a short duration each time. Ordinarily after three to five days she has to return to her husband. Among the other Miao tribes the bride after her first return visit, stays on with her parents until the time of her pregnancy, after which she goes back to her husband for a prolonged stay. But the Sui-chia do not have this custom.

5. Religious Beliefs

The objects of worship by the Miao-I are the spirits to
776 whom are attributed all the fortunes and blessings of life, as well as all the disasters that befall human beings. Among the spirits worshiped by the Sui-chia are the Bodhisattva of Mercy [Kuan Yin], the Earth God, the Household God and the Lady Spirit. The Earth God looks after a family, a village or a whole region. The Household God protects the finances, properties, and crops of the family. The Lady Spirit watches over the

[85 cont.]

776 infants, especially their nutrition and safety. In case of bad crops, a disturbed household, or sicknesses in the family the spirits are considered to be at work. For this reason people move very cautiously in their daily activities for fear of offending the gods.

[86] The spirits are so mysterious that they cannot be fathomed; their wishes and powers are beyond human com-
791 prehension. They cannot be reached by ordinary mortals, and for this reason spiritual media are employed in the person of the "nü-wu" [shaman priestess] and "kuei-shih" [shaman priest]. The priestess is an agent of the nether world and the priest that of this world. Illnesses come within the province of the priest, but disasters have to be handled by the priestess. Only through these agents can mortals communicate with spirits. The priestess is also known as "wu-wu" [woman wizard]. The
773 origin of her profession is said to have started from a certain
791 woman who once in early youth was seriously ill. In her coma she met some young people already deceased, whose spirits took possession of her body, entreating her: "We are now ghosts in the nether world; and since it is your destiny to be a bridge between the "yin" [the nether world] and "yang" [this world], we are willing to be your followers, and from now on you may heal sickness, decide issues, divine the future, invoke auspicious omens and avert disasters for the mortals." Having recovered from her illness, the woman betrayed signs of derangement and was able to sing the songs of the spirit world. People soon regarded her as a priestess, and in case of illness and doubt they would come to her for intercession with the spirits for cure and enlightenment. If the woman's family refuses to
791 let her become a priestess she would perform magical acts to coerce its members. Once approved by her family she may officially perform "kuo-yin" [communicating with the spirits] for the others, and the signs of derangement would simultaneously disappear.

[86 cont.]

There are two ways of "kuo-yin," one ordinary and the other special. The ordinary way does not specify which particular spirit or ghost is to be summoned by the priestess, the choice being left to her discretion. This procedure is mostly applied to the cure of sickness and rarely to the divination of any particular event. The special "kuo-yin" requires a much more elaborate ceremony. The inquirer (the sick person or the family in distress) wishing to get in touch with a particular spirit or ghost must provide a pot of wine, two or three bowls of glutinous rice, a small piece of cooked pork, incense and paper, and a piece of white cloth of about a foot square (in which is wrapped a bowl of white rice) and come with these to the house of the priestess to ask for her help. The priestess would then put a big table in the center hall. On the table stands an open flat bamboo basket, on one side of which is placed a sheng of rice, and on the other the food brought over by the inquirer. This having been done, the priestess settles down at one side of the table facing the gate. She lights the incense sticks and burns some spirit paper. Then she covers her face with a kerchief and inhales the smoke of the burning yellow wax in a bowl. [87] The rising vapor soon makes her unconscious, and shaking her head she begins to sing songs of the nether world. The inquirer listens on. The good or the bad outcome of the event which is the subject of the inquiry is expressed in the tunes and words of the songs.

After singing, the priestess hits the rice in the basket a few times with the package of rice the inquirer has brought over. If the rice in the basket sticks to the center of the cloth, then it is an auspicious sign; but if the rice sticks to the edges of the cloth, it is a bad omen. In case of a bad omen certain spirits must be at work, and in order to avert disaster methods must be devised to offer to the good spirits and to exterminate the evil ones.

After the inquiry the priestess has to return to this world. This is brought about by burning once more a piece of yellow wax in a bowl. When the rising vapor penetrates her nostrils, she awakens suddenly and becomes coherent as before.

[87 cont.]

787 It is said that the priestess not only can relate present facts but also the past events, both good and bad, that had happened to the inquirer, and in eight or nine cases out of ten she is right. For this reason she is believed and highly regarded. In the worship of any spirit or the extermination of any ghost the priestess alone has her say, the involvement of heavy expenditures being of little concern.

782 796 A less important religious activity is the sacrifice to the spirits. There are two kinds of sacrifices, periodic and occasional. Sacrifices to the Bodhisattva of Mercy and the Earth God are set respectively on the fifteenth day of the first month and the fourteenth day of the seventh month in the lunar calendar. The sacrifice to the Lady Spirit takes place in the twelfth month on certain tzu (aries) and ch'ou (taurus) days according to the twelve terrestrial branches. The sacrifice to the Household God takes place in the middle of the first month on an auspicious hai (pisces) day when rituals are performed at [777] night. If the hai date in this month is unlucky, then it may be postponed to the second month, or it may take place a month earlier. The rituals at the sacrifices are as follows:

782 1) For sacrifices to the Bodhisattva of Mercy and the Earth God, a chicken, goose or duck is used together with tea, incense paper, candles, wine, firecrackers, scrolls, red cloth, written pledges, cooked pork and glutinous rice, all of which are carried as offerings to the temple of the god or goddess. After the ceremony they begin to partake of the food in the presence of the spirit. Because the spirit in question [88] guards a family, a village or an area, words on the scrolls are often as follows:

[539] Guarding the luck of the family (or village or area);
Assuring peace in the four seasons.

or

[539] With god's protection in peace I live;
Chicken (or pig or goose) and wine to him I give.

[88 cont.]

782 2) The Lady Spirit protects children in the family, and every household has a set place for her tablet. Every morning and evening a bowl of rice and a bowl of vegetables are placed as offerings before her tablet. In the twelfth month every year, some auspicious tzu and ch'ou days are chosen to make elaborate sacrifices. Previously, dumplings of glutinous rice were wrapped in bamboo leaves and boiled and on the morning of the ritual the table before the Lady Spirit's tablet is washed and cleaned, and on it are placed in a row three or five cups of wine. Away from the table on the ground is a flat bamboo basket, in which is placed a stalk of glutinous rice grains with a woman's blouse and skirt as well as a pair of bracelets and a necklace attached to it. Beside the basket is a bowl of fire, into which is thrown candied rice, which burns in the place of incense, sending curls of smoke upward. This is called "warming the table of the Lady Spirit." In the worship of the Goddess of Mercy and the Household God men and women both take part, but the ritual for the Lady Spirit is performed only by women, children being allowed but men very rarely.

The tablet of the goddess may not be indicated by words. Every year after the sacrificial ceremony a strip of paper a foot long and an inch wide is attached to the end of a bamboo stick and flown on the spirit table along the wall. This strip of paper is preserved permanently and increased every year.

782 842 If a woman in a certain family is incapable of bearing children, in addition to observing the fixed rituals every year, she may perform the "nuan chiao" [warming the bridge] ceremony to beg a son by selecting a lucky hai day during the first lunar month. At the ceremony a priestess is asked to "kuo yin" or to communicate with the spirits of the deceased persons. During this performance the priestess generally says: "The officers of the nether world (so the ghosts are addressed) are not reluctant to send along sons to your house but because the road to your house is obstructed by a certain river or ditch (or is too far) where there is no bridge (or stone bench to cross (or to sit on)) they cannot reach you. If your family would build a bridge(or stone bench)over the river or ditch (or on the roadside), your sons and

[88 cont.]

782 842 daughters will come to you one by one." This family, being eager to have children, would obey the spirits' order and select a lucky day to supervise the construction of a bridge and stone benches at a designated place. After the bridge is constructed [89] they would spread straw on the steps in the place of mats and stick bamboo slips along the sides of the bridge, and with the meat and wine they have brought with them they picnic on the bridge with their friends and relatives. The garbage, such as eggshells and the leaf-wrappings of the glutinous rice dumplings, is left beside the bridge to indicate that the spirit of the bridge has accepted the offerings. The straw on the bridge is gathered together and burned beside it, the process being known as "nuan chiao." When the cleaning is done and before the party returns, the host or his immediate family would pick up a few bamboo slips and colored paper on them (blue and red indicating a son and white a daughter) and carry them home. While doing so, they would cry aloud: "Child, come home!" believing that the soul of the expectant child is being borne across the river on the colored paper on the bamboo slips.

(6) Social Customs

431 764 The social etiquette of the Sui-chia is shown principally in funerals and weddings. When a family has a funeral, friends and relatives send gifts. Besides the scrolls of condolence and sacrificial curtains with large characters written on the cloth in Chinese style, the family's intimate friends and relatives may send wine, glutinous rice and live fish. The quality and quantity of the gift depend upon the financial condition of the sender and the degree of his relation with the recipient. If the bereaved party is the family of a married sister, then her brother, besides the gifts mentioned above, has to send one or two piculs of glutinous rice to show his regard for her. Sometimes, the relatives of the bereaved would gather together to make a collective presentation. The quantity of gifts being large, they are presented together on the eve of the funeral procession by all the

[89 cont.]

431 relatives in a solemn setting. When they arrive at the gate, the
764 firecrackers make a resounding din, and the filial son prostrates himself at the threshold of the house. In the meantime the bereaved family gives a feast to entertain the visitors and distributes funeral scarves, their size depending upon the value of the gifts. After burial the filial son has to slaughter the cattle, horses and pigs which were sent to him as presents, and having made sacrifices to the deceased, has to cut them up in different sizes to be distributed among the gift-givers according to the value of their gifts as an expression of gratitude. This is known as "hsieh ju" [thank-you meat]. If a gift-giver fails to receive a piece of "thank-you meat" or if the size of the meat is not compatible with the gift, he will consider it an affront and demand an explanation. This often [90] causes family complications to such an extent that the parties concerned have to appeal to the village elders for settlement. If the bereaved family is poor and cannot sacrifice horses and cattle to the dead, then generally such gifts are refused so as to avoid giving out the "thank-you meat."

764 Whenever the bereaved family decides to put up an elaborate mourning and burial ceremony to commemorate the deceased, its intimate friends and relatives have to spend several hundred dollars to make multi-colored mourning banners and
[532] parasols of paper and bamboo as well as effigies of fish, shrimp, turtles, crabs, dragons, phoenixes, the eight fairies, the twenty-four filial persons, horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs, etc. All the friends and relatives would be invited to carry the effigies and gather in groups to march to the place of mourning. En route they would blow trumpets and horns, beat cymbals and drums, and set off firecrackers to make it a festive occasion.

With the Chinese, to attend a funeral is to extend condolence to the bereaved family, and all relatives, regardless of sex, should participate in the ceremony. Sometimes a funeral provides an opportunity for the family's female relatives to get together. With the Sui-chia, women generally do not participate unless it is the funeral of a near relative or a member of the woman's own family. To reach the place of mourning the

[90 cont.]

764 women participating go separately instead of going in groups like the men. The bereaved family sets aside an area for the singing of funeral songs, and asks one man and one woman to render solos in dialogues, recounting the life and extolling the virtues of the deceased. The women mourners all gather around the singing area to listen. The affair lasts for a day and night and becomes a social function for people to visit with each other.

431 585 In regard to the wedding ceremony, men's gifts are principally money in envelopes, ranging from 10 to 20 cents to $4 or $5. Recently they also began to present scrolls of calligraphy, but these are limited to rich and literate people. Women's presents are limited to jewelry such as necklaces and bracelets for the bride. The period of presentation starts with the wedding day, after which gifts are received as they come; the whole event lasts from four to five months. The receipt of wedding presents is limited to the groom's family, while the bride's family never receives any gifts, nor has the obligation to entertain friends and relatives. After the wedding women guests may each bring back a "return package," consisting of cooked rice, meat and tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls] for distribution [91] among members of her family. Male guests receive no such courtesy.

431 574 Besides weddings and funerals, friends and relatives may exchange presents on New Year festivals or other happy occasions. Ordinarily when friends and relatives visit a family, the host, no matter whether he is rich or poor, must serve wine and food, if he did not the guests would view it as a sign of contempt. Intimate friends and relatives making the first call are not treated with goose or duck for fear that there might be quarrels between them later to hurt each other's feelings, as the beaks of the goose and duck are flat and large and therefore portend querulousness. If a chicken is used it must be cooked whole [787] to see if the two eyes are completely closed. If one or two eyes are half open, then it is an evil portent.

533 [535] Daily recreations include dancing, singing and music. Dancing and singing takes place mostly during the funeral and mourning period. Aside from this the custom of singing is observed often

[91 cont.]

533 at women's dinner parties. At the engagement and wedding receptions, attended by many female relatives and friends, if the guests fail to drink, the host at the table sings songs to urge them to do so. The words of the songs vary according to the status of the singers. Usually the host sings songs expressing modesty or self-humiliation, while on the other hand, the guests sing songs extolling the virtues and the prosperity of the host, as well as making comments on the hospitable reception given them. The other guests sing for both sides.

896 Although social intercourse between young men and women among the Sui-chia is closely watched by the father and elder brother, unconventional meetings still cannot be helped. Ordinarily, at normal social functions two persons who find themselves compatible and in love may then and there ask someone to be their go-between. After being formally introduced the man buys some silk or satin material to present to the girl as a souvenir. After this they become lovers. The two then appoint a day to "play in the mountains," generally in the woods at night. When the time and place are decided, the man may go alone or with friends to the appointed place to wait, whistling and making signals. When midnight comes and her family is asleep the girl goes stealthily to her assignation. After meeting the two go farther away from the village to exchange confidences and to sing to each other. Early next morning they separate and go back to their respective homes. After this they dutifully keep their appointments. After a few more times as their sentiments for each other increase they would go secretly to another village [92] to reside in a family for a few days, killing chickens, ducks and piglets to enjoy themselves. But as family restrictions are very strict, they still dare not marry even though they are deeply
684 in love. If unfortunately their affair is known to the families, especially the girl's family, she would be terribly beaten because free-love is considered a disgrace to the ancestors. (The boy comes out with only a mild reprimand from his family.) If after repeated warning the girl does not reform, she could be expelled from the family. If she is a married woman or already engaged,

S [92 cont.]
684 then the life of the lover will be threatened when the affair comes to the knowledge of her husband or fiancé. If both lovers are killed, society takes no notice of the case; but if only one party is killed, the other could still prosecute the matter.

S There are other restrictions between men and women. If
562 male guests arrive, only the host of the family sits at the table,
574 and the mistress takes no part in the reception. Likewise, if female guests arrive, the hostess will act her part but the master of the house will ignore the visit, at most exchanging a few polite remarks. Male and female guests are rarely seen sharing the same table. On the other hand, when men and women are found wining and singing together the women would be considered as crazy and shameless, and public opinion would be to their detriment.

From this it may be seen that the relationship between men and women among the Sui-chia, although not reaching the extent of "not handing things to each other" is subject to the closest scrutiny from all sides.

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[113] The Story of the Miao Ancestors

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

M There are many different Miao-I tribes in Kweichow, but
174 in the opinion of modern anthropologists they fall into three
563 large groups. According to their geographical distribution those in the east are mostly the Miao, those in the south and the southwest are mostly the Chung-chia, and those in the northwest along the Wei-ning area are mostly the Lolo. The Miao probably came from Hunan. (Originally they were distributed in Central

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[113 cont.]

174 China, and later due to pressure from the Chinese they migrated
563 to the south.) The Chung-chia probably came from Yunnan and Kwangsi and together with the Siamese [Thai] belong to the Pai-Shan linguistic group. The Lolo came from the borders of Szechwan and Yunnan, and their language is of the same branch as that of the Burmese. To confirm or to disprove this
121 theory we have to be guided by two criteria in our study: first, the criterion of physical anthropology, and second, the criterion of cultural anthropology. Within the confines of physical anthropology, besides the measurement of head and nose indices and cheek-bone protrusion, the study of blood types has become a reliable standard of racial classification in modern anthropology. Within the confines of cultural anthropology the comparison of languages is an important method of study, while a comparative study of customs, folklore and myths is also exceedingly valuable.

The comparative study of myths and folklore is highly regarded by American anthropologists because the similarities in these tales can establish evidences of kinship and mutual influences between various ethnic groups. This method of study is generally known as the historical method of anthropology. It is not concerned with the historical value of mythology for the group, nor with its effect upon the tribal people, nor with its literary value. This [114] method is concerned only with an objective comparison of all the stories to determine the particular group to which the tribes belong and the route of their migration.

Mythology and folklore represent the background of a certain period and reflect the degree of civilization of a tribal group at the time the myths originated. Franz Boas, the leading anthropologist today, has collected over a hundred mythological tales among the Tsimshian Indians and the following is his conclusion:

> "It is obvious that in the tales of a people those incidents of the everyday life that are of importance to them will appear either incidentally or as the basis of a plot. Most of the references to the mode of life of the people will be an accurate reflection of their

[114 cont.]

121 habits. The development of the plot of the story, furthermore, will, on the whole, exhibit clearly what is considered right and what wrong. .... Material of this kind does not represent a systematic description of the ethnology of the people, but it has the merit of bringing out those points which are of interest to the people themselves. They present in a way an autobiography of the tribe." (1)

[1. Franz Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909-1910 (Washington, D.C., 1916), p. 393.]

As to the origin of man, stories vary according to different
121 racial groups. Among these, however, there are points of
171 similarity such as the story of the flood, the rescue of a small
773 number of people favored by the spirits and ghosts, marriages between brothers and sisters, and so on. There are many such stories among the Miao in Kweichow, and in several respects their central theme is rather analogous to that of similar tales among other racial groups elsewhere in the world. The following is an account of some mythological tales among the Hua Miao and the Hê Miao for the reference of ethnologists.

2. The Folklore of the Hua Miao

[115] One day two brothers finished ploughing a field.
539 The next morning they found, to their surprise, that their previous day's work was undone by some people for the field was levelled down as if it had never been ploughed. In their distress and uncertainty they had to plough the field all over again. But the second morning they found that the field was once more levelled. This was repeated four times and they were greatly

[115 cont.]

539 astonished. At last they decided to plough once more, but they concealed themselves that night by the side of the field and kept a secret watch. When midnight came they found an old woman descending from the sky with a wooden plank. She first removed the earth lumps and then with the wooden plank levelled the earth. The elder brother immediately informed the younger one of his wish to kill the old woman, but the younger brother did not consent as he felt she was entitled to a hearing before any action was taken. In the course of cross-examination it was discovered from the old woman that their effort would be futile for soon they would be visited by a flood. She instructed the elder brother that when the flood came he should hide himself in an iron drum, and she also told the younger brother to chop down a tree trunk and to make a hollow inside in the shape of a drum so that he could hide himself there in the event of a flood. Afterwards the flood did come, and the elder brother inside the iron drum was drowned shortly, but the younger brother, who had asked his younger sister to hide with him in the drum-like tree trunk survived the disaster together. The flood, however, was furious and rose as high as the horizons so that the tree trunk was tossed about by the waves, floating here and there. One day it was seen by a fairy who was greatly astonished. This fairy thought that he himself had twelve horns on his head, but the tree trunk had even many more (all the little branches on the trunk were regarded by the fairy as horns), and fearing that the multi-horned monster would do him harm, he ordered the dragon eels, lizards and tadpoles to dig holes in the earth. The holes conducted the water underground and in twenty days the flood completely subsided. The tree trunk floated down with the retreating flood, but unfortunately it landed on a high precipitous cliff and was unable to touch the ground. Soon a mother eagle came to nest on the tree trunk and laid two eggs, which produced two young eagles. Taking advantage of their presence, the brother made plans for escape. He pulled out a lot of his hair and made it into a thread, which he tied on the feathers of the young eagles to prevent them from

[115 cont.]

539 flying. After a considerable time the mother eagle, seeing that her children could not fly, began to get worried [116] and consulted a fairy. The latter asked the eagle to seek the help of the tree trunk, but in recompense the tree trunk had to be lowered to the ground. Thereupon the eagle begged of the tree trunk, and of course the brother inside the trunk could easily grant the request, and he made the disposition of the trunk a condition. When this was agreed upon, he released the wings of the little eagles by removing the hair thread. The little eagles were free to fly out and at the same time the mother eagle removed the trunk to the ground. When the brother and sister stepped out on the level ground, they raised their eyes and found no kinsmen anywhere. There was no fire to keep warm, or rice to satisfy their hunger. Suddenly the brother saw a red robin resting hard by. He picked up a piece of scrap iron and threw it over. The missile missed the bird but hit a rock, scattering sparks all around. Thus they learned the method of making fire. They gathered a heap of dried straw and lit it to keep warm.

There being no other human beings in the world, the brother begged his sister to marry him. The latter refused, whereupon the brother proposed that they both should go up the mountain and from its top each toss a piece of round, smooth millstone down the valley, and if the two stones should roll together they should get married. Thus they undertook the test, and the two stones actually rolled together, but the sister was still unwilling and proposed a second test. The sister took a needle and the brother a piece of thread, both of which were to be thrown into the valley, and if the thread should pierce through the needle hole then the sister would be willing to be married. The result being that the needle was threaded, they became husband and wife. Afterwards they had a son, but it was a monster without arms and legs. They went to consult a fairy, who told them to cut up the monster into a hundred pieces and to scatter them everywhere. The next morning all these pieces of flesh became men and women. They adopted as their names the objects they hit upon, such as Shui (water), Mu (wood) and

[116 cont.]
539 Shih (stone), and from these came the beginning of the hundred names.

Among the Ta Hua Miao [Big Flowery Miao] in Wei-ning there is a somewhat similar kind of myth about the origin of man. According to this story, the day after the recession of the flood two persons, who were brother and sister, went out to examine the situation. They saw a piece of rotton wood in a distant forest. Picking it up, the brother hit it and unexpectedly it yielded fire. The smoke curled skyward and was [117] seen by the God of Thunder, who dispatched a messenger to inquire who was responsible for the fire. The brother and sister told their story. When the messenger went back to make his report, the Thunder God said: "Mankind has already been exterminated, but that these two are not dead must be the will of Heaven." So he ordered them to be married. The brother was reluctant because he felt that marriage between kinsmen was against the law of human relationships, but the Thunder God asked them to consult the Lord of Felicity, who decided that marriage should take place. The brother and sister also went through the same tests of tossing millstones and threading the needle as in the previous story. Among the Ta Hua Miao there is a song of the flood, which may be translated as follows:

The Song of the Flood

In the beginning of things - how exuberant
In an era, peaceful and distant,
Heaven and earth knew no strife
And carefree and abundant was life.
Things were created when cosmos dawned,
Together with a man and his mate.
To them two sons and a girl were born,
The eldest named Yü Huang.
[118]
Chih Lai was the second son,
And a daughter named Yi Ming.

[118 cont.]

539

Spirits and men had love and peace,
Sharing the sun, which gave life to all.
So said the first man and his wife
To Yü Huang and Chih Lai:
"You two must go to the field,
To till the land with diligence."
And so the two sons went afield,
And soon the waste land was made to yield.
But in the dead of night
The Lord of Felicity sent along
A messenger named Hsien Ming
With a written order and a spirit wand
To Yü Huang and Chih Lai, announcing
"The end of the world in a flood.
[119]
"So why should your toil be continued?"
But Yü Huang and Chih Lai heeded not,
And field work still the two pursued -
The words of God were soon forgot.
The Lord of Felicity waxed furious,
And dispatched Hsien Ming once again
With magic wand on mission curious
At night as the moon began to wane.
The field was hardened as if unploughed,
And weeds and rushes grew lush.
At night the brothers quietly waited
At yonder fields the prowler to catch.
They found Hsien Ming, the messenger.
"Let's condemn the man to death," said Yü Huang.
[120]
"No, let us ask him why," was Chih Lai's reply.
And Hsien Ming, nodding, said: "Aye, aye,
"When thirteen strikes, the cycle ends,
The darkened sky will be overcast,
In angry waves the flood descends
To wipe away the earth at last."
But Yü Huang and Chih Lai gave no credence,

[120 cont.]

539

As day followed night, and night followed day
In uninterrupted sequence, and time it was
For the thirteen hour here to stay.
And lo! soon came the raging flood
To bear out the words of the Lord of Felicity.
Yü Huang, who had a heart cruel and wicked,
Was given an iron boat by the god.
To Chih Lai with a merciful heart
[121]
The Lord gave a pinewood boat:
The iron boat sank with the load,
But the pine boat was found afloat.
Chih Lai and his sister were the only survivors;
Even birds and beasts were all drowned,
Except some white eggs in the pine boat,
Which in the armpit they hatched.
In the boat were hatched out some little chicks.
There was no life on the boundless sea:
No fowls or dogs, birds or beasts.
All sounds were hushed except the voice
Of Chih Lai and Yi Ming talking to each other,
And the chicks making a slight noise,
For in the world all life had perished.
So Chih Lai had no other way but to ask
[122]
Hsien Ming, Messenger of the Lord of Felicity:
"Now that mankind is destroyed,
Except the two of us, brother and sister,
What shall we do to live?"
"As mankind has been wiped out from the world,
So you too, brother and sister, should unite
In wedlock, to be the progenitors of mankind."
"But how can there be marriage between us brother
and sister?
The words of the Lord of Felicity we dare not follow."
"If hesitant you still are,
Why not divine your Destiny by rolling down

[122 cont.]

539 Two halves of a millstone from east and west of the river?"
And, so brother and sister hurried back
To the boat and there rolled down the bank the millstone.
And who would imagine that the two halves were united
[123]
Not only once but as many as four times!
Then brother and sister no longer hesitated,
But husband and wife they became.
Looking back at the shore, Chih Lai saw
A pheasant stand there on yonder rock,
And picking up a piece of iron, he aimed at it.
Who would imagine that the iron hit the rock
And there from the crevice sparks came forth.
The sparks burnt the grass on the rock
As flames and smoke curled up to the skies.
Now brother and sister had fire to cook their food.
All on earth was once again in a peaceful mood,
And the universe returned to its primeval calm and ease.
The myriad things thrived; men and spirits lived in peace.
The flood was gone and the world in harmony.
Brother and sister loved each other tenderly;
From their wedlock sons and daughters sprang.
The eldest son was Chao Yung,
The second son Chao Yang;
And the third son Chao Yao.
For myriads of generations the people in the world
Were their descendants all.

[114] (This song was translated [into Chinese] by Mr. Yang Han-hsien and published in Kweichow jih-pao [Kweichow Times], "The Social Studies Supplement," No. 9, edited by the Social Science Research Institute of the Ta-hsia University.)

[123 cont.]

539

3. The Folklore of the Hê Miao at Pa-chai

It was said that at the very beginning there were nine eggs in a certain mountain cave. (It was not known whence the eggs came.) After having been hatched by "Mother Sun," eight sons were born, the eldest was Thunder, the other seven being Dragon, Snake, Tiger, Nine-headed Monster, Python, Wolf and Monkey. The last one who came out said that the ninth refused to follow him. The mother thought it was a spoiled egg and she was about to crush it when she heard a voice inside saying: "Mother, do not crush me. I am coming out in three days. My name is Lao Yen. When I come out I should be the eldest brother." The mother complied and hugged the egg for three more days when at last a boy was born. This son was the cleverest of all and immediately was able to talk. It was said that he was closely related to mankind.

[125] After the birth of the ninth son there was no harmony among the brothers. Lao Yen, who acted most strangely, always made fun of his brothers. The mother had already decided to send the eldest son Thunder to heaven to administer the skies. The youngest son, Lao Yen, was displeased and at the same time harbored evil intentions to harm the other seven brothers. One day he invited them to an outing on the mountain, but had previously laid down a plan to trap them. When all the others had climbed up the mountain he set fire to the foot of the mountain on all sides. But the brothers discovered the plot in time and fled home. When the mother knew that the youngest son was full of intrigues, she summoned all the eight brothers together and said to them: "Since you are close together like the four limbs, you should not plot against each other. Lao Yen is the youngest, but also the cleverest. So all the affairs on earth should be administered by him, and the rest of you should obey him. ...." Thus Lao Yen, being commissioned by the mother, began to administer all earthly affairs, but he was by nature lazy and did not attend to agriculture. When

[125 cont.]

539 Thunder looked down from heaven he saw the land was overgrown with weeds, and he reprimanded Lao Yen, saying: "Being head of the earth, why don't you begin cultivation?" Lao Yen replied: "I have no cow." Thereupon Thunder sent down a cow. Lao Yen slaughtered the cow and ate it. He stuck the tail outside a stone cave. When Thunder came down to earth to investigate, he found the field still barren. Furious, Thunder asked: "Where is the cow?" Lao Yen had evil intentions to harm Thunder and a thought suddenly flashed across his mind.

He said to Thunder: "The cow has been locked up in the cave. I go inside to push and you stay outside to pull the tail. What do you say?"

Thunder did not doubt his intention. Actually Lao Yen also tugged at the tail from inside the cave, and when he saw Thunder was pulling with all his might, he let go of the tail and Thunder went rolling down the hill. Lao Yen thought he had killed his brother, but actually Thunder hit a pile of straw and was unhurt. When Thunder went back to heaven he planned for vengeance. Later Lao Yen also knew that Thunder was still at large and became more cautious, but he still made evil plans.

One day Thunder arrived, gathering storm and rain, and flung an axe in the direction of Lao Yen. It missed its target, but in the movement Thunder lost his equilibrium and fell down to earth and was caught by Lao Yen, who put the captive in an iron cage. Lao Yen planned to select a lucky day to kill Thunder. Each time Lao Yen left the house he took care to warn the neighbors not to give water to Thunder, because with water [126] Thunder would become mighty again. One day after Lao Yen had left, a neighbor's two children (brother and sister) came around the house. Thunder begged them to give him some water. The two, fearing Lao Yen, did not dare to accede to the request, but were finally persuaded by Thunder to bring over some water.

With water in his possession Thunder said to the children: "Lao Yen is a wicked person. I want to drown him in a big flood. You two go quickly to plant some gourds, which will soon flower and bear fruit. Be sure to choose the biggest and

[126 cont.]

539 the most solid one and dig out the seeds. When flood comes you can sit in the gourd to save your lives."

After so saying, Thunder jumped out of the iron cage and went away. The brother and sister did what they were told. Shortly, the flood actually came, drowning everything on earth, except the brother and sister who were saved in the gourd. Afterwards the two married, producing offspring who are the people of the world today.

4. The Folklore of the Short-skirt Hé Miao

Among the Short-skirt Hé Miao at Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Tan-chiang and Pa-chai there is also a story of the flood and the marriage between brother and sister. In some respects, its content is rather different from that of the previous story. According to their folklore when heaven and earth were first created there were a couple, the man named Kao-chia-liang (Miao pronunciation) and the woman, Hu-chia-hsiu. They had a son and a daughter, the son named Pan-yang and the daughter, Ch'é-yang. When Ch'é-yang grew up she became a beautiful woman, whom Kao-chia-liang secretly married. When Hu-chia-hsiu knew of the affair she gave her husband no peace all day long, with the result that they divided the property and the woman drove her husband away from home. Three years elapsed, but Hu-chia-hsiu could not live like a widow and went away in search of Kao-chia-liang. At this time Hu-chia-hsiu became pregnant and laid by the roadside twelve stone eggs, eleven of which broke open on touching the ground. Each broken egg produced [127] a male adult. But the last stone egg did not break on touching the ground, and instead a human voice inside said that after three days he was to come out to join the rest. Three days later an adult male actually emerged. The twelve persons called each other brothers, but the youngest was the cleverest of all and envied by the rest. To acquire the property

[127 cont.]

539 of the parents they were engaged in constant fights. One day the twelve brothers drank together, but the youngest brother filled his gourd with cold water and poured real wine into his brothers' cups. When they were drunk and fast asleep, he lit a pile of straw and pushed his brothers into the fire to be burned alive. After death one brother became Thunder and ascended into the sky; one became a dragon and descended into the water; one became a snake and crept into a hole; one became a tiger and hid himself deep in the woods; one became a weasel and climbed up a hill; the other six all became animals and went away in search of food. When Thunder reached heaven he thought of revenge by sending down a disastrous flood to drown his wicked brother. But the youngest brother managed to reach heaven in time and did not return to earth until after the flood had subsided. One day he met a beautiful young woman, who was his younger sister born afterwards by his mother. They married each other and soon gave birth to an eyeless and noseless monster shaped like a melon. They killed the monster, cut it into twelve pieces and abandoned them on the ground. Unexpectedly each piece of flesh became the ancestor of a Miao tribe, and the last piece was the forefather of the Short-skirt Hê Miao today.

5. Conclusion

773 171 The myths regarding the origin of man are generally alike in substance among the Hê Miao at Pa-chai, the Hua Miao and the Short-skirt Hê Miao. [128] A few points worthy of note are: first, the stories are not related to man's first ancestors after the creation, but to the resuscitation of mankind after the flood. They are not the stories of Adam and Eve but those of Noah. The story of the flood is found in the myths of all these primitive peoples. The Miao are supposed to have originally migrated from Hunan and Kiangsi, and the flood referred to in their myths was probably the legendary flood during the time

[128 cont.]

171 773 of the great Yü [who finally quelled the flood and was made an emperor]. Although their ancestors might not have lived in the flood devastated valleys, at least through contacts with the Chinese or from Chinese legends they might have gotten the stories. These referred to the use of iron knives, iron pieces, needles, and other metals. So if iron was only first used during the Ch'un Ch'iu period [spring and autumn, an historical period from 722 to 484 B.C.], this body of folklore must have originated after that period. In all these stories the surviving brother and sister eventually got married.* Anthropologists have informed us that marriage between brother and sister was early tabooed among all ethnic groups, and that violations were considered serious perversions of nature and human relationship. Among the royal families in ancient Egypt, Peru, Japan and India such marriages were permitted at first to preserve the purity of the royal blood, but soon this custom was abolished. The incestuous marriages in the Miao myths have shown that the sisters were the unwilling parties, who yielded only after much persuasion and reluctance. It is apparent that at the time these mythological tales became current, unions between brothers and sisters were no longer in vogue or already under ban. Otherwise, there is no reason why these marriages should be consummated only after the fulfillment of some impossible conditions. According to eugenic reports marriages within the family are detrimental to the offspring. The children born of a marriage between brother and sister may have the beautiful looks of Cleopatra of ancient Egypt, but statistically considered they are in the majority weak of mind and body. In the mythologies of the Hê Miao and Hua Miao, the children of such marriages were all crippled monsters. Among the Ya-ch'ieh Miao there is a similar story, in which the offspring was not only without four limbs but also dumb. This genetical fact had already been noticed by these primitive peoples. We do not know whether there was ever a custom among the Chinese of marriage between brother and sister, but in any case at the Ch'un Ch'iu period incestuous marriage [129] was banned because of its "non-productivity" and "disease-giving

[129 cont.]

171 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did
773 not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many changes later.

174 From these myths we can gather some material regarding the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive people originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from the American Indians to show that the method of friction pre-
174 ceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of
372 the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire, and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with localities, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of our attention.

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12: Wu and Ch'en--71 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[130]

The Ancestral Myth of the Sheng Miao

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Who are the Sheng Miao?

101 184 The Sheng (wild) Miao and the Shu (assimilated) Miao are two antithetical terms, with which the early scholars distinguished the various Miao tribes. These two names are self-explanatory. The Sheng Miao are those Miao who live in the wild and distant mountains without any intercourse with the Chinese. Their nature is wild and cannot be disciplined; their foods are hard and uncooked. The Shu Miao, on the other hand, reside in the [177] nearby mountains, where they learn to speak the Chinese language and trade with the Chinese. They plant and cultivate the land in almost the same way as the Chinese. Originally, before the Miao were civilized they were all vaguely called the Sheng Miao. But after the lapse of a great deal of time, the Chinese population in the Miao areas increased and their relations with the Miao became closer so that a part of the Miao who were assimilated by the Chinese became known as the Shu Miao. The other part of the Miao who were backward and unassimilated continued to be called Sheng Miao. The "Man-chuan" [Record of the Savages] in the Kweichow T'ung-chih [Kweichow Gazetteer] says: "Those Miao who have t'u-ssu [headmen] are the Shu Miao, and those without them are the Sheng Miao." This division is based upon the fact whether they are ruled by native chieftains or not. Again, according to Hu Ting's "Miao-Man pu-lo k'ao" [Studies in the Miao and Man Tribes] in Li-p'ing-fu chih [Gazetteer of Li-p'ing Prefecture]: "As to the Miao ..... those who live near the fu [prefecture] and hsien [county] areas are the Shu Miao; they pay taxes and contribute labor more or less like the Chinese. Those not living in these places are the Sheng Miao, who however greatly outnumber the Shu Miao." Later, as the Miao society progressed, the 101 Shu Miao gradually outnumbered the Sheng Miao, who were confined to certain remote areas. Regarding the various Miao

[130 cont.] Regarding the various Miao

101 and Man tribes, the Ch'ien-shu [History of Kweichow] has this to
131 say: "Who are the Sheng Miao? The Ku-lin at Ting-fan, the Ch'iu-ku at Hsing-lung, Ch'ing-p'ing and P'ien-ch'iao, the Tzu-chiang at Tu-yün, the Ch'iu-hsing and Ch'iu-ming at T'ien-pa, the Hê Miao at Cheng-yüan, the Hung Miao at T'ung-jen, the Yang-tung and the Lu-han at Li-p'ing are all Miao." As the nature of these Miao people was ferocious, the Manchu government was very much [131] worried and put them all in the same category as the Sheng Miao. Today, the original settlements of the Sheng Miao cannot be traced with certainty even after extensive investigations in the Miao area by the writer of this article. The Miao in the above stated areas have all been assimilated and are no longer called Sheng Miao. Actually, there is only one remnant Sheng Miao group left. When the writer went to Hsia-chiang hsien in the southeastern corner of Kweichow, he discovered a group of genuine Sheng Miao. The ch'ien-nan
[113] chih-fang chi-lüeh [An Official Report on South Kweichow] compiled by Lo Jao-tien, Provincial Treasurer of Kweichow during the Ch'ing Dynasty, has the following to say regarding the Sheng Miao in the Hsia-chiang area.

"At Hsia-chiang there is a group of Sheng Miao, generally considered good-natured, weak and easily cheated, who are always taken advantage of by the Hung Miao at Ch'u-nan and Yung-feng. The Sheng Miao cultivate the highlands, and are more ignorant and primitive than those at T'ai-kung and Ch'ing-chiang. When they sell their fields they use carved wood [as a sort of contract].

The name Sheng Miao, of course, is given by the Chinese, but without their sensibility being hurt they call themselves "ta-meng-niu," the Miao word for "Sheng Miao." The name, however, conveys more or less an idea of contempt. Sometimes they also call themselves "ta-meng-feng-pai," meaning the "High-slope Miao." This indicates their residence on the high ground. According to the writer's findings, Kao-p'o Miao [High-slope Miao] is another name of the Hê Miao. The Sheng Miao at

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a
few differences in language, costumes and customs between them,
[184] but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The
area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive,
and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province
all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of
Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according
to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the
Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i
Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and
the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most
backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being
the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded
by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the
other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu,"
meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng
Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and
have always been an independent community, so the Chinese
call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long
and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang,
surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves,
forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two en-
trances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like
sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due
to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot
be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated
account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200
[sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the high-
est peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the
total population about 10,000. The writer has visited altogether
361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu,
Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-
wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

[132 cont.]

443 Even today they do not have a single market fair within the area and this shows how circumscribed is the sphere of their economic activity. Their only means of livelihood is agriculture. Almost 243 all the fields are terraced according to natural topography, rising from the bottom of the slope to the top in several hundred layers. The shape of the field is long and narrow, producing rice, wheat, corn and barley. These terraced fields are not fertile [242] and the Sheng Miao do not know how to apply fertilizer. Further- [132] more, the temperature in the whole area is very low, and a plentiful harvest is not possible. The proverb says that "when the soil is barren, the people must be poor." Although the 511 Sheng Miao toil all year round in the hard struggle for survival, they can only eke out a bare existence. Being in direct contact with them, the writer could watch at close quarters their extremely miserable conditions, which are pitiable indeed. Because of their ignorance they do not know how to save or to improve the method of production. In case of famine they cannot escape starvation, [133] which is the most important reason for the decrease in their population.

1 105 In our study of the Miao culture we find it varies with different ethnic units and localities, each having its peculiar traits. The distinguishing features of the Sheng Miao, who differ a great deal from the other tribes, are as follows:

1. Ignorant and straightforward, they are easily duped. They are ready to proclaim themselves "kings" and to create disturbances.

2. The men are black in complexion, red-eyed, dishevelled, and tall and big in stature.

3. Up to this day not a single one of them can talk fluent Chinese.

4. There are peculiar styles of costumes for men and women.

5. Their staple food is glutinous rice, supplemented by raw meat, raw blood, bees, locusts, centipedes, earthworms, tree worms, sand worms, water worms, mountain rats and lizards.

6. The women are fond of smoking leaf tobacco.

[133 cont.]

105 7. In marriage cattle are used as betrothal gifts. Men may have two or three wives.

8. According to their customs marriage between cousins is a matter of course.

9. Their men and women are used to premarital affairs.

10. When a woman dies after marriage her parents are entitled to "bone money" from her husband.

11. The aged are weary of life and willing to be buried alive. This is in line with the ancient story of taking one's life on completing the cycle of sixty years.

[134]

12. They still have a "black-ear" slave system.

13. Every village has a village head, and in case of urgent events announcements are made by sending out wooden tablets.

14. Huan-ku-chang [lit., to settle an old account] is an important festival occasion, celebrated with beef or pork.

15. There is current a story of "the changed woman."

2. Three Versions of Their Ancestral Myth

121 What was the origin of the ancestors of man? Every
773 ethnic group has its own hereditary myth, which in modern mythology is known as the ancestral myth. The ancestral myth of whatever group is always an account of inconceivable miraculous events, from which, however, we can have a glimpse into the infantile psychology and the living condition of the primitive people as well as their conceptions of the universe, creation, and ancestors. Therefore, when an ethnologist is lucky enough to acquire the ancestral myth of an ethnic group he has a very valuable material in his possession. W[illegible]
773 the present writer went to the Sheng Miao area at Hsia-chia[illegible] to make a systematic investigation he gathered a great deal of material worthy of study especially the original regarding their ancestors. The Sheng Miao are the most primitive amo[illegible]

[134 cont.]

773 the Miao, and this mythology is therefore the oldest and the most important.

As far as the present writer is aware, the ancestral myths of the different Miao tribes vary slightly, but that of the Sheng Miao is especially interesting. Disregarding the irrationality of these strange events, we have to recognize the fact that with the simple, ignorant people mythology is their living history. This kind of myth came from an unknown period in ancient times, that is, the mythical period. If we ask the Sheng Miao about their myth, they would say that they "do not understand" or that "it was handed down from generation to generation by their ancestors since the remotest times." They have long since forgotten [135] its origin. Some of the Sheng Miao are specially 773 entrusted with the duty of preserving and passing on such tales, 888 and they are generally well-known leaders or aged people with good memories. Young men and women know a little about these stories, but cannot tell them entirely. These mythical tales are not told for recreation, as ordinary stories and as a rule they are not commonly heard. We know that with the primitive people experience is very important. The young people usually listen to the words and warnings of the aged, who become automatically their guardians and leaders. With the Sheng Miao it is the same. The old people are the custodians of all their knowledge and wisdom. The fact that they can recount their ancestral myths entitles them to special respect. The telling of myths is a special occasion, from which outsiders are not often excluded. If we compel them to tell the stories, they would find excuses or else would not do a thorough job for fear that they may be ridiculed.

In every Sheng Miao village there is a set of rules and 627 regulations which are voluntarily observed. In case of violation 773 the offense is quickly adjudged by the public and an elder is invited to execute the punishment. Before it is carried out, however, he would tell the accused in a solemn manner the myths of their ancestors. Also in the case of a serious dispute the elder would summon both parties together, and first tell them the story of their ancestors before settling the dispute.

[135 cont.]

627 After a decision is rendered in this fashion both parties would
773 show compliance and would not carry the case to the law courts. Although the mythology handed down from mouth to mouth does not have religious contents, it becomes a kind of prophecy to those people who hold everything pertaining to their ancestors in the highest respect. It is entirely due to this inherent respect for their ancestors that the ancestral myth is recounted before carrying out the punishment or at the time of settling a dispute. The idea is to employ the will of the ancestors to restrain the actions of their descendants. It is interesting to note that the mythology of the Sheng Miao, meant originally to inform posterity of the stories of their ancestors' life, has also assumed the corrective and preventive functions of law.

773 [136] The ancestral myth recorded by this writer consists
538 of three versions, which are scattered over every corner of the Sheng Miao area. Although these versions show some variance, they have the same origin. The original mythology of all ethnic groups is told in verses or songs so that they can be remembered easily by posterity. The first two versions of the ancestral myth are told by the Sheng Miao as prose stories due to the disappearance of the poetical versions in the course of time. The third version is a song sung by the Sheng Miao, and few indeed are those elders in the whole area who can sing the song in its entirety. It therefore still retains all its simple primitive character. The whole song has 488 lines and represents the pure myth of the Sheng Miao regarding the origin of man. The three versions are given as follows.

The First Version

There was an old woman who descended from heaven to
539 the earth with a melon seed. She planted this seed on the top of a mountain range. After three days the seed sprouted and the vine extended to more than two feet. After seven days the melon plant covered the whole mountain, yielding many large melons. Among the melons there was the melon king so large that it could accommodate several dozen persons inside. It

[136 cont.]

539 happened that at the time a torrential rain inundated the whole world and drowned all mankind except a brother and sister - their names are not known - who hid themselves in the great melon. The melon floated hither and thither until - we do not know how - it reached heaven. The people in heaven asked the brother and sister to come down to earth and permitted them to become husband and wife. They came down and married but could not find any food to eat. Thereupon they began to eat the melon. At that time they met the old woman, who was the planter of the melon seed. She said to them: "Eating the melon will give you children." Indeed after a while a son was born. But the parents were unhappy with the melon child, and cutting him with a knife into a number of pieces, they scattered them at the foot of a nearby mountain. Afterwards the bones of the melon child became the Miao, the liver became the Sui-chia, and the neck became the T'ung-chia. In addition there were two other pieces, one of which became the [137] Miao king and the other the Han [Chinese] king. The Miao king was named Lao Tung, and the Han king, Lao Li. Lao Tung lived on the highland which included the present Li-p'ing, Yung-ts'ung and Hsia-chiang. Lao Li went down along the river as far as Kwangtung where he settled. His influence extended over a very large area and he became exceedingly prosperous. He asked Lao Tung to join him in Kwangtung, but because the two struggled for the possession of a salt well Lao Li killed Lao Tung. When Lao Tung went to Kwangtung he brought with him two sons, one called Lao Ting and the other Lao Ch'un. After the death of their father they went back to the highlands and settled along the Tzu-wen River (about 10 li from Hsia-chiang) to cultivate the land, and became more and more prosperous. They decided to avenge their father's death and always went down to molest and rob Lao Fu, Lao Li's son. Lao Fu could not stand it any longer and together with Lao Li he went to discuss with them a permanent settlement of their territory. The method for demarcation was to invoke the will of heaven through divination. They agreed to settle down in any place where luck would have them. Being cunning and shrewd, Lao Li and his son Lao Fu had

[137 cont.]

539 previously laid down a plan, according to which one was to hide underneath a big bridge and the other to hold a banner in a mountain cave. They then agreed that they should yell to heaven and see to whom heaven would respond. The favored party would have the first choice. Lao Ting yelled first but there was no response. Then Lao Li yelled. When he yelled at heaven, heaven responded; when he yelled at the earth, the earth echoed. Thus Lao Ting and his brother were again robbed of the fruits of their labor by the father and his son. Being unable to remain at the Tzu-wen River they had to withdraw to the deep mountains (the area occupied by the Sheng Miao today). The Miao along the river then came into contact with Lao Li and his son. Lao Fu further cultivated good relations with the Yao, but became enemies of the T'ung-chia and Sui-chia. Later, on account of repeated disputes they opened a mass meeting at Tu-shan and Li-po, where they decided to have bull fights, liu-sheng playing, song-singing, and huan-ku-chang [lit., the settlement of old debts] as recreations of the Miao and Yao, and opera singing and the New Year festivities as recreations of the Han [Chinese]. After the meeting the pen used was given to the Chinese and the left-over chicken feet were given to the Miao. Thus the descendants of the Chinese learned to read and write and became officials because their ancestors received the pen. The descendants of the Miao became farmers because their ancestors got the chicken feet. The sons of Lao Ting and Lao Fu were Lao Lüeh and Lao Kao. The events after this are not clear.

[138] The Second Version

In ancient times there were a couple who had six children. The eldest son was called En [blessing]; the second, Liu [thunder]; the third, Hu [tiger]; the fourth, Lung [dragon]; the fifth, Shê [snake]; and the sixth, Mei [fascination]. Soon the father died. The children lived apart according to their responsibilities. En looked after the earth; Lui, the heaven; Hu, the mountain; Lung, the forest; Shê, the cave; sister Mei

[138 cont.]

539 and the old mother lived together with En. Wishing to cultivate the field, En went to heaven to borrow a cow from Lui and promised to return the animal the following year. But after the field was cultivated there was nothing to eat. Therefore, En slaughtered the cow and fed the family. He stuck the tail and the head of the cow in the crevices of a rock outside his house. When Lui asked En for the cow the latter replied, "The rock outside has eaten up the cow." Lui scolded the rock for having eaten the cow, but the rock replied, "En has eaten it, and if you do not believe me, go to his house and search in the wooden tub -- there is still some beef left." Lui became angry and threw down a javelin from the sky to hit En. En was aware of this and had on his back the bark of an old tree. While throwing the javelin Lui was careless and slipped. He fell down to earth and was caught by En, who purposely asked, "Do you prefer to be locked up in a big drum or in an iron store room?" Lui knew that En had a wicked heart and used to beat the drum with a wooden club, and therefore he asked to be locked up in the store room. So Lui was locked up in an iron store room. At the same time En asked Lui to make a red rope, saying that when the whole room was filled with the rope he would be set free. En dug a hole into the store room and drew out the rope from time to time. Lui did not know this trick. After six years of work he still could not fill the room with rope. He could only heave sighs. One day an old man who was looking for manure, passed by. Lui yelled to the man and asked him whether he had seen his javelin. The old man told him that the javelin was tossed by En to the manure pit. Lui begged the old man to retrieve it and clean it for him. When Lui got the javelin he was so happy that he kept on playing with it, yielding flashes of light. The old man outside was stunned. Lui thanked him for his trouble and wished him to be the richest man on earth. With the javelin Lui was able to break open the iron store house and ascended to heaven. At that time En was drawing out the rope to T'ai-nan (ancient Miao locality). When he came back [139] he did not find Lui and became greatly alarmed for he knew Lui would not

[139 cont.]

539 stop there. Lui's hatred for En was very deep and he planned to kill him. He therefore gathered all his magic power and brought about a great flood. Soon the whole world was inundated. En escorted his mother and sister to a stone cave for refuge. He cut for himself a big tree and collected a cluster of bees in a gourd. The flood reached the sky, and En's boat floated down the gateway of Lui's house, just as the latter was rejoicing over the drowning of his enemy. When he heard the sound outside his gate he opened it and was greatly astonished to find En in his boat. En said that the flood could not drown him, but the gourd when heated over the fire would be able to kill him. Lui foolishly believed in his words, and taking the gourd he put it over the fire. The bees in the gourd could not stand the heat and all came out to sting. Lui and all his family were stung, suffering great pains. En said, "For medicine you have to go down to earth." Lui therefore called back the flood and followed En to the earth. En picked up a few frog leaves [?].

"These leaves are neither rare nor strange. In heaven we have them in great abundance," Lui said.

"If I do not lead you down to earth, you would not call back the water," replied En.

Lui recognized En's ability, and the two brothers made peace with each other, promising never to be enemies again. They divided the heaven and earth as their respective spheres of control. At that time the earth, being washed over by the flood, could provide nothing that could be eaten as food, except a grain of rice offered to En by a rat hiding in a hole. En planted the seed and obtained food. Then he thought of a wife and went to ask a little insect.

"Is there any woman left in the world to become my wife?"

The insect replied, "There are only you and your sister, but you two can marry. Let one of you go up the hill and the other go down the hill, each under a parasol. When you meet midway on the hill you two will be like distant cousins coming from two distant places."

The brother and sister actually became husband and wife. After two years they suddenly gave birth to a child without four

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[139 cont.]

539 limbs in the shape of a melon. En was furious and cut up his monster child with a big knife into a number of pieces and threw them around on the top of a mountain. The second day when En climbed up the mountain he found that the pieces of flesh had become a number of men and women. Then En set fire to the bamboo, which crackled and exploded. [140] This fire provoked laughter from the men and women on the mountain, who soon uttered sounds and talked in three different languages, the Chinese, the Tung and the Miao.

The Third Version

[128]

[Editor's note: The following is a free translation of the original song. In the latter part, a number of verses, mostly repetitious, have been omitted.]

In very ancient times,
Our story must begin,
When men had to build houses
And burn the field for cultivation.

Cutting the trees required
Two days going up the slope,
And one day going downward, -
Spared only was a big tree.

A tumor grew from the tree;
On its branches the birds nested.
No one dared to chop it:
A goat was asked to divine.

The goat said: "Go ahead."
With a hatchet hacking both ways.
And two knives at the same time,
They chopped for two days.

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[140 cont.]

539

They hacked a long while
When a wind suddenly came.
Down the tree went crashed,
But the trunk was saved.

The top of the tree fell,
By the ditch side;
The top went rotting out,
But below, the tree continued to grow.

A rat was underneath;
Two birds were atop;
Two insects crawled by,
Making a feeble flop.

When the insects flew down
They were larger than the birds;
The two were same in size,
But two different insects.

They flew to the nest
And five eggs they laid:
White and round and large.
Who was there to hatch?

A little bird came
To ask the right to hatch:
Which egg to hatch first?
For twelve months she brooded.

The little bird chirped,
And looked closely around:
How tiny was her little self,
And food had yet be found.

Hungry and starving,
The bird flew away

[140 cont.]

539

In search of fruits and flowers,
When an eagle she met.

The eagle, wishing to hatch
The eggs, came to inquire.
After eleven months
She cried a few times.

The eagle also felt
She was a bit too small;
Sitting without food,
No longer would she hatch.

And so she flew away
In search of chicks.
Who else next would stay
These little eggs to brood?

Who was the father of the eggs?
Let him come to hatch
These five eggs large and white,
An inscrutable batch.

One egg bore a Dragon in the river
And the Dragon produced a fish;
One egg became Thunder in the sky,
And one En and Mei, who on earth remained.

One egg produced a Tiger,
Another, a Snake,
And they all came to share
The father's wealth on the mountain top.

The land was equally divided
Save a big hilly farm
With seven waterfalls from the cave
Coveted by En and Thunder.

[140 cont.]

539

En and Thunder disagreed
For their share of this land:
In spite of kinship blood
Thunder sent down flood.

En's father was very old,
High- nosed and quite frail;
He sat on a wooden bench,
Eating with chopsticks.

The land was re-apportioned:
Nine thousand ch'ia [a measurement for land?]
Thunder took;
The remaining seventy thousand ch'ia
Were still on the book.

Dragon received the land
Along the river banks:
[141] En had nothing left to take,
And so with a sword he went to cultivate.

To Li-t'ang he soon went
Cucumbers to grow:
The second moon quickly faded,
And fifth moon came in a row.

The cucumbers growing ripe
Were seen by the monkeys wild,
Who removed the bridge
To an alien land.

En's mother had a fall,
And down a deep precipice she rolled:
In the throes of life or death
She had hardly a breath.

For her who was still alive
They each kept watch overnight:

[141 cont.]

539

Who was the lucky fellow
A new field to possess?

One hundred ninety thousand
Mow was the size of the land:
The bin was full of harvest grains
For the sons to put up claims.

Thunder was the eldest son
And came to burn the fuel:
After a whole night's vigil,
Mother was still alive.

She still could take rice;
She still could spin yarn;
Charcoal she still could burn:
But who was the second son?

Dragon was the second son:
So he was called from the river edge
To carry home more fuel;
And firewood was cut on the ledge.

Firewood was taken from the river bank,
And Dragon came to spend the night
When Mother was still up,
Eating rice and doing fine.

Mother could still spin
And weave, and charcoal make:
En was called to come back
With firewood, which he cut on the slope.

A night's vigil En did keep,
But Mother did not die:
He watched until early morn
When the cock began to crow.

[141 cont.]

539

The spacious field En aspired,
The spacious field to till:
With both hands on her neck,
He contrived his aged mother to strangle,
To send her to death
With all his strength.

The spacious field En aspired,
The spacious field to till:
A persimmon was found
To smear Mother's body,
The stench was all around
And she had to be buried.

The coffin was made of iron
And steel too was used;
In heaven her burial should take place
When the coffin lid was sealed.

Dragon too wanted
To have her entombed
In a stone coffin
By the river bank.

But there was sister Mei,
Who made Mother's clothes.
On earth she wished Mother to be,
Where she could be within reach.

Oh, our poor Mother!
Don't believe in Thunder,
Dragon was unkind,
Mei only was to be trusted.

Trees had to be felled
And rice seedlings planted;
The foliage cast its shade
And the trees had to be cut.

[141 cont.]

539

Four planks of pinewood
Were all that the coffin had,
To be carried to the village
And there safely buried.

Once more the field became
A subject of contention:
Who was to lay claim on the field
That yielded nine bins of grain.

Who was the eldest brother?
Who was the first to decide?
If worse should come to the worst,
All the brothers should abide.

And so Thunder made his claim,
But the brothers railed:
When Thunder went up to heaven,
It rained, it thundered, it hailed.

En came forth to say:
"This field brings ill luck;
Second brother, Dragon, may
In turn make his claim."

Dragon could not make up his mind,
And so to the river he rushed,
[142] Breaking the embankment --
And all about was laid waste.

En came forth to say:
"This field brings ill luck."
He wished sister Mei
Would at last save the day.

And so the sister said:
"Two months have passed,
All the grass is dead --
Let the cat go down the ditch to have a look."

[142 cont.]

539

For this a light was lit
To show the cat around:
En was at last asked
To take a final look.

En with another fire
Was ready to proceed;
But the cat turned around
To report to Thunder.

Snake too was asked,
But En knew it all;
Lighting a straw torch,
He set fire in his wake.

The fire soon spread everywhere,
And the country was a waste.
The cat ran for dear life,
And snake as well made haste,

While Dragon plunged deep into the water,
But Thunder alone was not afraid;
He sat down, waiting
For the fire him to overtake.

The fire was fast approaching,
Destroying, devastating;
When the heat grew too strong,
Thunder skyward dashed along.

High up in the sky
Rain water was kept,
While to earth it was denied;
So the field was parched.

The earth was all cracked
And walking was a pain;

[142 cont.]

539

And water Thunder held,
Up in the sky.

Without water the field
Refused to yield:
En decided to ascend to heaven
To Thunder to plead.

It was in the ninth month
When rain was released,
The field was eased;
And the fish swam about.

But En was so selfish;
He ate all the fish:
When Thunder came down,
All the fish were gone.

Thunder was really angry now:
When to heaven he went back
He took with him the only cow
That tilled the field.

Without the cow En was forlorn:
And he took a dog to help him;
The dog kept barking all the day
Without doing work in the field.

Thunder, looking down from heaven,
Could not resist laughter:
En once more was high and dry --
A good lesson for hereafter.

And so once more En implored
Forgiveness and his cow.
Thunder gave him the cow
To work on the earth.

[142 cont.]

539

After the field was ploughed,
En killed the cow for food
Just as Thunder was coming down to earth
To drive the cow to its heavenly home.

That cow deserved death,
So En told Thunder;
It went grazing on a cliff,
Fell down, and was devoured by the cliff.

Now En thought of Thunder's wife,
And up to heaven he went.
But she loved En not,
For Thunder only she desired.

When Thunder returned home,
In anger he roared:
Wicked was En to have robbed my field,
Seized my cow and coveted my wife.

Thunder vowed vengeance: for these wrongs
En had to pay with his life.
Thunder was to let loose a terrific flood,
Overflowing heaven and earth.

En had built a small house,
But Thunder had kicked it to pieces.
Another hut En had built
And again it had been destroyed.

So En went to ask Mother Goose;
She urged En to build a bamboo hut
To be thatched with palm leaves
And covered with green moss.

[142 cont.]

539 Next time when Thunder kicked,
He slipped in an awful fall.
Once more Thunder was entrapped,
And in an iron bin he was laid.

En went out to a far land
To seek as much silver
As he could get to buy salt
With which to pickle Thunder.

Alone in the house was Mei,
Making soup to wash her hair.
She left the soup by the bin,
And when Thunder had it,
His strength he soon regained;
Once more the earth he shook.

Ascending his heavenly domain,
He gave Mei a little seed.
The seed sprouted and grew
Into a melon as big as a bin.

To punish En, Thunder struck
With rain and storm and hail:
Men sought shelter, trying to duck
The rage of Thunder without avail.

The hailstones were like water pails;
Some as big as wooden tables.
Down they fell in endless streams,
Playing havoc on men and houses.

Old men were killed in their beds;
Eighty thousand people were drowned.
The water reached heaven,
Flooding everyone except En.

[143 cont.]

539

En gathered three pumpkins:
Inside one he hid himself;
The other two were for his dog and the bees.
With these he sailed up to heaven.

When En arrived at Thunder's gate,
A challenge he sent:
"If these melons you can break,
A conqueror you would be."

When the melons were opened,
A host of bees hidden there
Came swarming helter-skelter,
And Thunder's wife was stung.

A small insect triedto make peace,
And told Thunder that the flood had to cease:
[144] When En returned to the earth,
Thunder and lightning were all around.

When the earth was by lightning struck,
Mountain ridges all grew up:
But all the world was a barren waste,
Save an eagle flying in haste.

En stopped the eagle and asked:
"Is there somewhere a woman left?"
"The feud of you brothers has made a mess,
And woman there's none, I confess."

And so En inquired of an old dame,
Who said Mei and En should married be:
With the world bereft of human beings,
Brother and sister were to be united.

[144 cont.]

539

From this wedlock came a son,
Without eyes and without ears, --
No more, no less, like a melon he looked --
And the parents were all in tears.

En cut the monster into lumps,
And tossed them around high and low,
They became the Sui-chia and the Chuang,
And the Nine Tribes.

All the people in the world
Were originally unable to speak;
They knew not how to eat rice
Or to enjoy the joys of sex.

En boiled some beans to eat as rice,
And soon he broke wind.
The Han [Chinese] cried "ch'ih-fan";
The Tung, "chi-kou";

The Miao, "no-nüeh";
All meaning "eating rice."
After this the Han, Miao, and Tung,
They all had speech.

3. Conclusions

773 Based on these three versions of the Miao myth, the following points deserve attention.

1. It is without doubt that though superficially the three versions seem different, they actually originate from the same story, altered here and there by later story-tellers. The common theme of these versions is: "Once in ancient times there was a flood, which destroyed all mankind except a brother and sister, who escaped from the disaster. After the flood had subsided, brother and sister were forced to marry each other. They bore a son who looked like a melon. In anger the father cut it into

[144 cont.]

773 pieces and tossed them around, which became the different racial groups today." This kind of myth is not a special story of the Sheng Miao as the other Miao groups investigated by the writer have similar versions. That it is a common ancestral myth of the Miao is worthy of our notice.

2. The earliest people, according to the three versions, were a brother and sister. The first version does not give their names. The second and the third versions give En as the name of the brother and Mei as that of the sister. Probably in ancient stories only these two names were given. After their marriage they procreated different groups of the human race. En and Mei were the original ancestors of mankind. The ethnic groups in China today, the Chinese, the Miao, the Tung, the Sui-chia, the Chuang, and the Yao all came from a common ancestry. That the Sheng Miao mythology contains this unexpected scientific view of the "common origin of man" is also worth noticing.

3. We understand that totemism is a necessary stage in the development of all races. The myth of a common ancestral birth must be associated somehow with totemism, such as the Chinese myth relating to the birth of Shang [founder of Shang or Yin, the first historical Chinese dynasty] from a black bird. The story in the third version regarding two big insects that laid five eggs, which became Dragon, Tiger, Snake, Thunder, En and Mei, shows that the Sheng Miao had already come into contact with totemism. The second version also states that a certain couple had six children, Dragon, Tiger, Snake, Thunder, En and Mei. The Sheng Miao have no inhibition at all in identifying their ancestry with animals. Truly according to modern biological [146] studies, men and animals were originally related, and the Sheng Miao have shown this conception in their mythology. Again, in the above myth, not only 773 778 was En a supernatural being who could ascend to heaven and descend to earth with ease, but natural objects such as thunder and rocks, and animals such as dragon, snake, tiger, rat, insects, birds, eagle, monkey, cat and goose were all personified. The ancient belief that they are endowed with human will and intelligence, capable of speaking and taking

[146 cont.]
773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

[147 cont.]

773 5. In the above three stories, there are intimations of the enmity between the various tribal groups and the origin of the ill-feeling between them. For instance in the first version the sons of the Miao king and the Han king struggled for the possession of land; the former who were clumsy and ignorant were taken advantage of by the latter, who were shrewd and cunning. In the second and third versions, the story of the brothers Thunder and En fighting repeatedly for the field, the former violent and belligerent, and the latter wicked and deceitful, possess the same significance. The most interesting
773 part of the first version has to do with the acquisition of a large
829 area of land by the Han king and the subsequent convention at Tu-shan, in which the Chinese acquired a pen and was able to read, write and become officials, whereas the Miao king lost ground and retired to the mountains with the chicken feet left over from the meeting, and could only work hard by ploughing the field in the mountains. This is given as the reason why at present the Chinese are successful and the Miao are retarded.

773 6. The amusing section in the second and the third versions as to how the different tribes began to talk should interest the linguists. When En tossed the pieces of flesh around, the human beings coming out of them were at first unable to speak. In the second version En happened to burn the bamboo. In the third version he broke wind after a bean meal; both the noises of breaking wind and cracking bamboo stirred the human beings into talking. They spoke three different languages which became those of the Tung, the Miao and the Chinese. I wonder whether this would explain that at the time of human origin the differences between the races were due to the differences in languages. Furthermore, the earliest vocabulary of all races was related to food matters. In the third version, [148] the first words they uttered such as "ch'ih-fan" by the Chinese, "chi-kou" by the Tung, and "no-nüeh" by the Miao all have the same meaning of "eating rice" in different pronunciations. This is just like our teething infants who upon learning to speak, first learn the words "ch'ih-fan." How thought-provoking all this is!

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[114] (First published in Shê-hui yen-chiu [Sociological Studies], No. 20, March 25, 1941.)

[180]

The Festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun

Ch'en Kuo-chün

805 796 The calendar used by the various Miao-I tribes at An-shun is the lunar calendar, but as a rule nobody remembers dates or knows the exact time of the New Year's day, those having almanacs at home being very few. To count the days they generally use the symbolic animals of the twelve cyclical branches, -- rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar -- because the markets are held on days named after these animals. But those who can calculate the days according to them are very few. Indeed the majority of the people do not even know the day and month in which they were born. The occurrence of an event on a particular day cannot be recalled with accuracy a month hence, and after a year it is relegated to limbo with at most perhaps a vague notion that it took place at the time of peach blossom, or in the planting season, or during harvest time.

796 Although the calendar used by the Miao-I is identical to that of the Chinese and likewise the year is divided into twelve months, the festivals observed are somewhat different in importance. The Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia, for instance, regard the sixth day of the sixth month as the greatest festival. The following is a month by month account of the festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun during the year.

The First Month. The first day of the first month is the beginning of the year. The Miao-I in this district would stick up paper money on the door of the house, which is also decorated with red peppers strung together with scented rice straw. Some of the Chung-chia people imitate the Chinese by asking calligraphers to pen symmetrical New Year verses for the door,

[180 cont.]

796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] [593] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

[181 cont.]

796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and fire-crackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

[182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
241 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after
796 breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the
796 Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

796 535 The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating [769] oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

[183]

796 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must at-
[461] tend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after
769 the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar
796 calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I
[262] eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "hanging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for
796 sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-
231 huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before 769 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that [231] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their [773] tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.—Analyst]

[185 cont.]

796 The Eighth Month. The fifteenth day of this month is the
789 mid-autumn festival. The local Chinese have the custom of making offerings to the moon, which the Miao-I do not have. Before this date, however, some frolicsome fellows among them might steal a pumpkin from somebody's yard and on the eve of the fifteenth day would dress it up into the likeness of an infant, complete with garment and shoes, and wrap it inside a dress. While one man carries the pumpkin, another would walk behind, simulating baby talk or baby cry. They also carry with them different eatables and visit neighbors and relatives who do not have children. On arriving, they would set off firecrackers and then knock at the door to ask for entrance. The childless family, knowing the visit in advance, would prepare a feast to entertain the visitors in the hall. After entering the house, the visitors would take the pumpkin to an inner chamber and place it on a bed, imitating at the same time a child's crying. One visitor would then spit into the bed and exclaim: "The baby is wet!" On hearing this noise the owner of the house dashes into the room and invites the visitors to the feast. This performance is commonly known as "presenting the old pumpkin," and is regarded by childless couples as a good omen for childbearing. If in the future the recipient should actually give birth to a son, the pumpkin bearers would be treated to another feast.

The Ninth Month. The ninth day of the ninth month is
273 the Ch'ung-yang festival. On this day the Miao-I families within
796 the district all eat tz'u-pa and make wine, known as Ch'ung-yang wine. It is said that the wine made on this day is especially delicious in taste and can last for a whole year without becoming weak.

796 The Tenth Month. No festivals.

The Eleventh Month. No festivals.

[186] The Twelfth Month. The eighth day of this month is known as "La-pa," on which the Miao-I have the custom of competing for the first bucket of water. The bearers are all
[312] women, who rise early in the morning to go to the nearest well to draw the first bucketful of water to carry home. It is used to
[279] cook rice for the animals, to wash the women's hair, and to brew

M [186 cont.]
796 tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
M bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day
[177] all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

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[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S
161 The southern border region of Kweichow province has a subtropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

[190 cont.]

161 rapidly among the Hê Miao, Tung-chia, Sui-chia, Chung-chia and Chuang-chia, of whom the Hê Miao represent the greatest majority, and next the Tung-chia. According to our estimate there are about 150,000 Tung-chia people at Yung-chiang, Hsia-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ien-chu, Chin-p'ing and San-sui; and if the Tung-chia in Kwangsi and Hunan are included the number would be above 200,000.

101 The Tung-chia is a branch of the I tribe. Their language resembles that of the Chung-chia and Sui-chia while their customs are taken largely from the Hê Miao. Generally speaking, their cultural level is between the Sui-chia and the Hê Miao. They call themselves "Nin Kam," the word "Nin" meaning man and similar to the Chinese word "人" in sound [i.e., according to the southern pronunciation] and meaning, but we do not know the meaning of the word "Kam." They claim, however, that their ancestors originated from a certain place in Kiangsi province, but after long years the family genealogies are lost. The name for Kiangsi is known for short as "Kan" [贛], but in the ancient book Kuang-yün [Comprehensive Rhyming Dictionary], the T'ang [7th to 10th century] pronunciation for the word is given as "Kam." Today the people at Lin-ch'uan, Nan-feng, Ning-tu, Chin-hsien and Tung-hsiang in Kiangsi province still read the word "贛" as "Kam," and this agrees quite well with what the Tung-chia call themselves. It raises an interesting question of whether the Tung-chia are actually natives of Kiangsi, which calls for discussion elsewhere. The present
344 article is limited to a description of the drum towers in the Tung-chia villages, which are giant structures that attract people's attention. In many aspects of Tung-chia life, these towers are [191] centers of activities.

Every Tung-chia village has a drum tower, built on a vacant lot within the village limits, the larger villages having two or three. Known in the Tung-chia language as "da-ler," the tower either assumes the shape of a square pavilion or the form of a pagoda. They are square at the bottom, which measures about 200 square feet. It has from two to twenty stories, measuring from 30 to above 100 feet in height. On the four sides there are more than a dozen wooden pillars, encircling it on each

[191 cont.]

344 side like balustrades, with an entrance to the interior, which has corridors for passage. In the center a huge and tall pillar reaches to the roof, which hangs up like an umbrella. From the top of the [534] roof is hung a large drum, hollowed out from some big tree trunk, its two ends covered with new hides. To reach the top from the ground one climbs up the pillar for there are no staircases. But this is not a difficult feat for the Tung-chia men, who are all light-footed. The roof of every story is covered with tiles, and on the planked walls are carved latticed windows in various designs and slightly decorated with colors. The construction of these drum towers is undertaken by the artisans among the Tung-chia themselves, and the cost of construction is born by the whole village in equal proportions. The amount of money involved is quite large. For this reason the drum towers in the Tung-chia villages were all built long ago. They do not tear down old towers to build new ones unless they are destroyed by fire. Every year only some repair work is done.

It is said that the drum towers in the Tung-chia villages are as old as the villages themselves and hence full of historical interest. The towers were built for several purposes: as a public meeting place and as a center for gossip, for people warming themselves at the fire in case of cold weather, for keeping the night vigil and for singing and recreation.

Whenever there is an emergency that requires a public 202 meeting, the drum tower keeper, also known as messenger (or 623 footman, who receives as remuneration from the village 1,000 catties of grain a year), would climb up the wooden pillar to beat the drum at the top, crying loudly at the same time. The tempo and the number of the beats vary according to a fixed set of rules. The "tum, tum" beats can be heard within a radius of many li. The first drum beat signifies a call for a meeting for some important affair, and upon hearing it, the villagers would abandon their work to listen attentively. [192] The second drum beat is an urgent call to gather together at the drum tower, and the third drum beat is a signal for the meeting to start. Ordinarily, after 623 the third beat each family would have without fail a representative at the drum tower. At the meeting the old people would have the

[192 cont.]

623 floor first to state the facts and express their opinions. Then they huddle up to discuss the matter and reach a decision, after which they turn around to ask the young people whether or not they agree. In general, though policy decision is made by the elders, its execution is undertaken by the young, and therefore the approval of the latter is necessary. At the meeting they squat around helter-skelter, seemingly confused and without any procedure, but the spirit animating the meeting has a special merit. They have complete freedom of speech, anyone being able to express his opinion to his heart's content. The young as a [888] rule have high respects for the old, and recognizing the latter's extensive knowledge, they are willing to leave all the decisions to the elders without offering any opinion of their own. They believe that they are only good for carrying out the decisions. So on all important affairs the old people express their ideas, and when approved by the young, the work is distributed and assigned for action without delay.

646 If a certain village has a most serious affair, such as banditry, the meeting would then be different from that stated above. The Tung-chia call this meeting "Ch'uan-k'uan [summoning for conditions], which means to summon all elders from various villages to discuss conditions. The meeting place is still at the drum tower. The procedure of "Ch'uan-k'uan" [202] consists of the dispatch of a piece of wood (known in the Tung-chia language as ch'a) about one foot long and as large as a staff, on which is written the name of the elder to be summoned and the nature of the business. Those qualified for summoning are all village leaders who can direct the villagers. Ordinarily, such contacts have been established before and so on receipt of the wooden tablet the leaders would come immediately at the specified time. The purpose of such summons is for collective [579] defense against brigandage. Therefore at the time of the summons, each village would send over all its young men. But there are also evil elements who use the summon for ulterior purposes. The decisions reached by the participants at the meeting are final, and no one can oppose them. The wronged

[192 cont.]

646 party has to swallow the bitter pill: he may become angry but he may not protest. He who violates the decision of the sum-
[689] moned assembly not only subjects his life to danger but also his property to confiscation. [193] Mob psychology is blindfold, and often at such a meeting some cunning and wicked person would accuse a victim, declaring that he should be killed or his house searched and his property confiscated. If the mob should cry out assent, the matter is not further inquired into and the decision is carried out. The original intention of the summoned assembly is good, but it can be easily abused by the cunning and the wicked. Therefore the system is fraught with grave dangers, and has created many conflicts and crimes. It is hoped that the government would step in to outlaw the system.

Besides being an assembly ground, the drum tower is also
521 a recreation center. In between work the adult men, tired of the monotonous life at home, would go to the drum tower in groups of threes and fives among relatives and neighbors to talk about anything on their mind from the high heaven down to earth, smoking tobacco all the while. Time flies quickly. This is just like the Chinese sitting in tea houses or wine shops to pass the time. In cold weather the center fire pit in the drum tower has always a wood fire burning to keep the villagers warm. In summer or winter they can make use of the drum tower to while away the long and endless night. When tired of talking they prostrate themselves on the bench and fall asleep till daybreak.

The drum tower is also the post for the night watch. Every
625 night three or four able-bodied men, bearing arms, hunting rifles, ammunition, etc., would keep vigil at the drum tower, crying every hour [lit., several tens of minutes]: "Bandits are coming -- do not fall asleep." All through the night one hears these intermittent strange calls, the idea being to prevent the guards themselves from falling asleep, and the bandits, from coming if they should hear such calls and know that the whole village is on the alert. This is like beating the grass with a stick to scare the snakes away. But if the bandits actually come, the watchmen would then climb up the tower to beat the drum, awaking all the able-bodied men in the village to give the bandits a good fight.

[193 cont.]

S 517 533 The men and women among the Tung-chia have a fondness for singing and sitting in the moonlight. Ordinarily such enjoyment is indulged in at home. But during the leisure time between farm work they would gather at the drum tower every night, often inviting the young folks from other villages. When the number is large they would divide into groups and sing alternately. In the middle of the tower a big fire keeps burning, lending lustre to the scene. Rows of long and low benches encircle the fire and the listeners fill all empty spaces. Men and women sing separately in two groups, each consisting of nine persons or more. All the songs are sung alternately by each group, first the women, then the men, and then again the women. They sing till the middle of the night, and sometimes when excited, [194] they sing until daybreak.

S 344 621 To sum up, the drum tower is the center of activities in a Tung-chia village, and therefore a factor of great importance in their life. The drum tower is also the only dignified structure in the village, adding much grandeur and beauty to the surrounding scene. Structures similar to the drum tower may be found among all ethnic groups, such as those in India, the South Seas, Indochina, Burma, Thailand, Yunnan and Tibet, but the latter are all dedicated to Buddha or in commemoration of the spirits.

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[195]

The Recreation Activities of the Miao-I at An-shun

M 517 Ch'en Kuo-chün

The living conditions of the Miao-I at An-shun are much worse than those of the local Chinese. Their work is heavy without respite. But fortunately they have various kinds of recreational activities to help them to relax from the drudgery of their life.

[195 cont.]

517 According to our investigations the Miao-I at An-shun have many
535 kinds of recreation, of which the most important are the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance, the "kan-piao," singing and playing musical instruments. These are discussed separately as follows.

535 (I) The Flower Dance. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao
527 in the An-shun area hold flower dances every year. This is an important collective recreation of the Miao during the farming holidays. We have asked the Miao people about the purpose of the flower dance. Their answer is that when Lord Hsüan of the Wei state in the Chou Dynasty built a new terrace to flirt with the woman of Ch'i, he inaugurated the flower dance for the Miao. The method of the flower dance is said to have been created by Yang-lu (considered the original ancestor of the Hua Miao). A local proverb has it that "if the Miao do not flower-dance, the grains will not sprout." The superstition that the flower dance can bring about a prosperous harvest is the result of a low-cultured tradition. All the Miao people believe in it wholeheartedly today as they did of old.

Among the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao, the time of the flower dance is generally in the first month of the lunar year, the dates varying slightly with different flower slopes (that is, the places where they dance), and depending upon the time when such places were first established. But once fixed, they cannot be changed later. According to our investigation, the locations for the dance are usually the most populated areas. There are altogether seven dancing slopes within the An-shun area, five for the Hua Miao and two for the Ch'ing Miao. The locations and the dates are listed below in the following table:

[196]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
East Gate Hamlet outside East Gate	First month: 7th, 8th, 9th	Hua Miao
Upper Village outside South Gate	First month: 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th	Ch'ing Miao

[196 cont.]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
527 Flower Dance Hill 535 Outside North Gate	First month, 4th, 5th, 6th	Hua Miao
[?] -chou in the Third District	First month: 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th	Ch'ing Miao
Chiang-chia-Ma-lung in the Fourth District	First month: 6th	Hua Miao
Ping-chai in the Fourth District	First month: 8th	Hua Miao
Chung-yü-shan in the Fourth District	First month: 10th	Hua Miao

Among the above locations the dancing areas at the Flower Dance Hill belonging to the Hua Miao and the Upper Village belonging to the Ch'ing Miao are the largest. The dates set for such occasions are not subject to change, wind or rain notwithstanding. On the day of the dance all the community, without regard to wealth, age or sex, go to the appointed place in groups. The festivity of the occasion can well be imagined. The following is a detailed description of the flower dance.

A. The Method of the Flower Dance. 1) The Flower Slope
527 and the Flower Tree. When the Miao perform the flower dance
535 they use the flower slope and the flower tree. The flower slope
842 is the place where they dance, also called the "Hua-ch'ang" [flower yard], located on a hill in the neighborhood of a village, or half-way up a hill, or on level ground. The owner of the land where the dance takes place is known as the "flower host," generally a very influential person of the area. The land chosen for the flower slope has a quality of permanency. Before the flower dance is held, the slope is decorated with a tree of about a dozen feet in height, known as the "flower tree." One day before the event the flower host, blowing a trumpet, would welcome the tree to the flower slope, preferably a tree with green branches and leaves on the top. It is best when the tree is stolen from

[196 cont.]
535 somebody else's land and duly cursed by him. The flower trees in
527 the various flower slopes are changed either once a year or [197]
842 once every few years, depending upon whether some family would receive the tree after the dance. If a childless couple in the Miao village near the flower slope should give a feast for the guests to receive the tree into their home, the host would be happy to have the tree removed. The following year a new flower tree would be found for the slope. At the same time the family receiving the tree would make its timber into a bed. When the childless couple sleep in this bed they would become fertile and produce a son.

535 2) Participants. When a certain area holds a flower dance,
527 men and women, old and young, from all the villages nearby would come in bands. Young men and women would carry bundles on their backs, and on approaching the flower slope the men would open them and change into new clothes and nailed boots, with short flutes dangling around the waist, and leather or wooden bags hanging behind. As headgear they use pheasant
[301] feathers adorned with strips of colored cloth streaming in the air. They carry in their hands five-pipe or six-pipe bamboo-wind instruments [lu-sheng]. The women also change into new clothes,
[292] new skirts and jackets of bright patterns. The Chinese merchants of the area would establish stalls to sell candies, fruits and toys. Arriving at the flower slope the men would surround the flower tree in a circle, dancing as they move along and playing the bamboo-wind instruments. Listening to the music, the dancers would make noise by stamping their nailed shoes on the ground as they dance along in a rhythmic din. After circling a few times, the paired dancers fall into line, making the steps now left, now right, and now making a break as they follow the cadence of the music. First the men play bamboo wind instruments and later the women play mouth organs. The crowd dances around the tree a few times or as many as a dozen times. Outside the slope still others would play clarinets [so-na, a type of clarinet], bamboo wind instruments, and flutes, forming bands by themselves. The women often form groups of their own. Some

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
[648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

[198 cont.]

535 527 584 go-between to arrange the match. Therefore, young men and women everywhere try to make as many new clothes as possible to be worn on this occasion. The dancers sometimes change their clothes a few times a day. In short, the custom of the flower dance has prevailed for a long time. Some dance with the hope of acquiring children while others, among the illusive shadows and to the tune of scintillating music, look secretly but intently for his or her future mate. For the unmarried men and women the purpose of the flower dance is to seek a partner in life.

535 527 443 (II) The Market Dance. The market dance is also an important annual event with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in this area. The dance is similar to the flower dance, except that it does not require a flower tree and that it has no fixed date and place. It is held generally after the transplantation of young rice-plants in the fourth or fifth month, or after the ripening of the crop in the seventh or eighth month. It is held [202] at the market fair, but the announcement is made at a previous fair by the host (or promoter, who is generally a Chinese) with two men, one beating a gong, and the other balancing a bamboo pole on his shoulder, on which is tied a belt with flower designs. This belt is presented as a souvenir by the girl to the boy when they talk love at the dance. When the two men circle around the fair once the crowd would know that the next one would be a market dance. On that occasion bands of men and women from all parts would come with new clothes as for the flower dance, men playing so-na and lu-sheng, and talking all the way. Arriving at the fair they would perch on the high mounds or stay in the low open ground outside the market place, playing musical instruments and singing songs. Young men and women take this opportunity to meet new friends or [199] renew old acquaintances. [243] The old people believe that the market dance in the fourth month, when the buckwheat and other grains flower, can encourage the yielding of more crops, and the market dance in the seventh month can bring about firmer and larger seeds. The market dance is known proverbially as the "grain dance," a name which clearly reveals its superstitious origin.

[199 cont.]

(III) The Moon Dance. The moon dance in the fourth month
535 is the nocturnal meeting of the Miao-I in the An-shun area. Ac-
832 cording to Miao-I customs, whenever the moon and the stars are bright, young men and women may go out at this period of the year in groups of a few persons or a dozen or more each to some quiet, lonely spots in the vicinity of the village to play music and dance. The steps for the dance are the same as those for the flower dance. Young girls who are attracted by the music are not prevented by parents from running out to watch the dance. A man's glory is to extract a smile from a girl, and when her parents are not taking notice he may take her to the woods to whisper to her honeyed words of love. Therefore, the moon dance is an occasion for love-making by the Miao-I youths.

(IV) The "Kan-piao." The moon dance described above
517 provides night recreations and scenes of love serenades for the
832 Miao-I. The "kan-piao" is another form of recreation that gives men and women a chance to fall in love, but it may be pursued during night or day. The "kan-piao" is also known by various names such as "ta-ma-lan," "yao-ma-lang," "ta-piao," and "ling-piao." To perform it, the man would first whistle
[534] by means of some leaves in the mouth or play the flute as a signal to entice the lover to some shaded nook to exchange lovers' vows. An ideal place for "kan-piao" is a deep forest out of reach of human footsteps. In former times, in isolated places outside the village, there were erected little sheds called "flower chambers" for the rendezvous of young men and women. These flower chambers, however, are now nine out of ten destroyed. Ordinarily, when they carry on "kan-piao," the man would take the girl home, otherwise he would be accused of kidnapping. If a girl takes a man home, her parents would
[574] not only leave them alone, but are also obliged to kill a chicken and provide wine in order to show the graciousness of their daughter in receiving guests. The custom of "kan-piao" is most popular with the Chung-chia in the An-shun district. They have comparatively fewer forms of recreation than the Hua Miao, and the young people among them often indulge in "kan-piao" as a
[579] happy pastime. Often in "kan-piao" a man gets into a fight

[199 cont.]

517 832 579 with weapons over a girl. Such brawls, known as "seeking enemies," are not infrequent.

[200] (V) Musical Instruments. The Miao-I within the 534 district are fond of playing musical instruments. These include the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument], wu-sheng [five-pipe bamboo wind instrument], k'ou-ch'in [mouth organ or harmonica], hsiao-ti [flutes and fifes] and so-na [clarinet-type wood-wind instrument], of which the liu-sheng is the most common among the Miao-I. Each family, no matter how rich or poor, owns one. The instruments are described as follows:

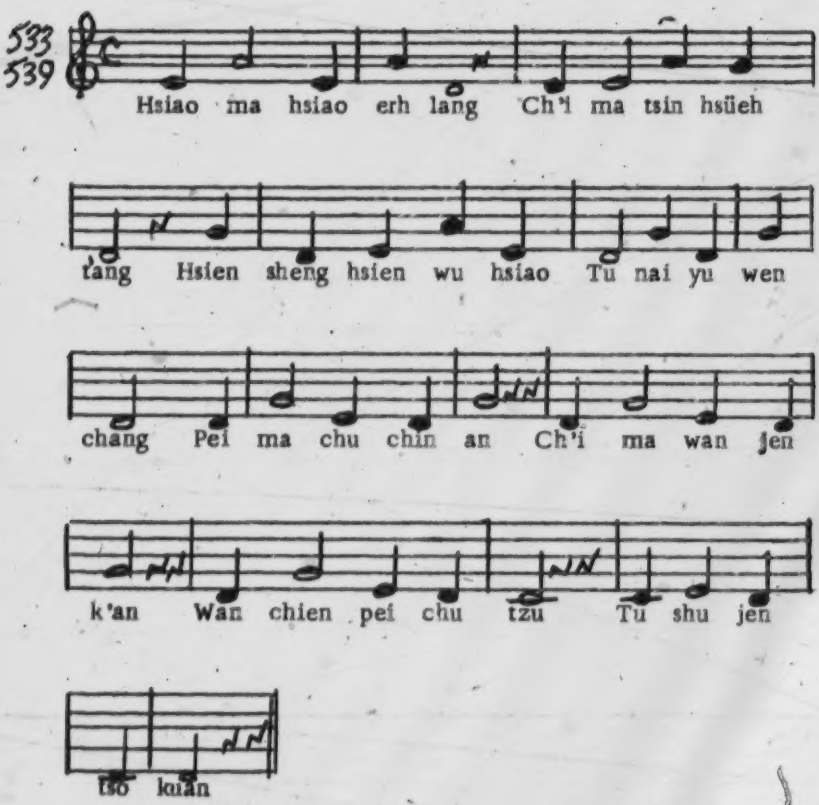
(a) The liu-sheng. This instrument is called liu-sheng 六笙 because its bamboo tubes can give six [liu 六] tones. It is also called lu-sheng 芦笙 from the word "lu" 芦, meaning "bamboo-reed." It is made of six bamboo tubes of varying lengths, one end of which is inlaid with a brass plate as a metallic tongue. The bamboo tubes are inserted into either a round or square wooden case, at one end of which is a wooden handle. Each tube has a hole, through which the player blows and sucks, and which he stops at will with his fingers, thus issuing different sounds. The varying lengths of the bamboo tubes make it possible to have both high and low pitches.

The use of the liu-sheng is very extensive. At the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance and other gatherings this is the most important musical instrument. During the funeral ceremony the liu-sheng renders the most solemn music. Young men who wish to excel others have no regard for the time con- [832] sumed in mastering the art of playing this instrument, for it is the best recommendation to the fair sex. The following are two com- 533 mon tunes for the six-tube bamboo wind-instrument. Its music, simple and clear, is used to accompany songs that are widely sung in the Miao-I area.

12: Wu and Ch'en--119 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[200 cont.]

No. 1



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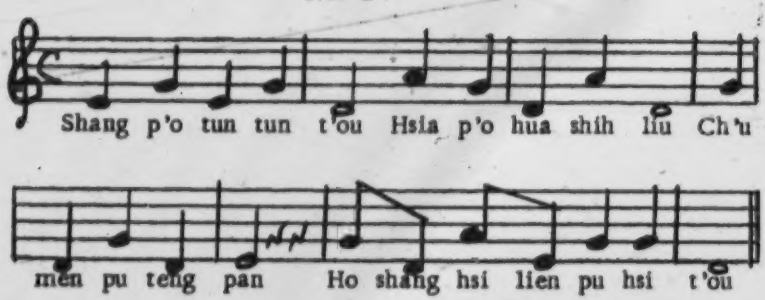

[201 cont.]

No. 1

539

On a little pony a little boy
Has gone riding to school:
The teacher thinks that I'm too small,
But my stomach flows with learning.

On a white horse with a golden saddle,
I ride as I watch people.
I see the white pillars
Where a student has become official.

No. 2

Up the slope the rider nods his head;
Down the slope there are slippery pebbles,
Going outdoors without a mate,
The monk washes his face but not his head.

534 (b) The wu-sheng. The five-tube bamboo wind instrument is almost constructed similarly to the six-tube instrument, except it has five holes instead of six and that its shape is slightly flatter. This instrument is played by young men with licentious tunes to seduce young women, and generally accompanied by dancing.

(c) The k'ou-ch'in. The mouth organ is a woman's musical instrument among the Hua Miao. It is made of two pieces of brass plates each three inches long, with a crevice hollowed out in the center in the form of a tongue-shaped awl. It is played against the lips by blowing out and sucking in air, the thumb plucking lightly at the end of the brass plate with each breath. The pitch and quantity of the notes are regulated by the mouth. The little tunes from this instrument are very pleasant to hear.

(d) The hsiao-ti. The flutes and fifes are made by the Miao themselves from bamboo tubes of varying lengths and

[201 cont.]

534 sizes. All the young men are fond of playing these instruments. It is a first step toward playing the so-na. On the other hand, a trumpeter must first learn how to play the flute or fife. The latter can also produce music with a seducive lilt, not any less licentious than the five-tube bamboo wind instrument.

[202] (e) The so-na. The Miao-I are very fond of playing the so-na, a clarinet type of instrument. One sees young men and cowboys practicing it. This popular instrument resembles the trumpet [la-pa] used in funeral ceremonies. Originally the use of the so-na was limited to funeral and sacrificial functions in the same way that the local Chinese use cymbals, gongs and drums. When the Miao-I have a funeral, people do [764] not sleep at night and the so-na is used to revive the spirit. Furthermore, as the lamentations at a Miao-I funeral are most sad and heart-rending, the so-na is used to drown out the pitiful wails so that they will not be heard outside. But, today, on all festive occasions such as weddings, both the Chinese and the Miao-I play this clarinet type of instrument to lend gaiety to the affairs.

Besides the above instruments there are also brass drums, lutes [p'i-pa], moon harps, two-string violins, wooden leaves and horns, but they are not as popular.

533 (VI) Singing. Singing is very popular among the various Miao-I tribes in An-shun. It is regarded as a necessary requirement in social gatherings, and good singers are admired and applauded by the public. Singing provides a good medium for young men and women to get together. Those who cannot sing will have trouble in solving their marital problems. Therefore, the Miao-I men and women all know the words of the songs by heart since childhood. The structure of the songs is quite different from those sung by the local Chinese, and they sound exotic and peculiar to us. The following are some specimens of the songs sung by the Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Chung-chia; the words are freely translated, but the tunes cannot be reproduced here.

[202 cont.]

No. 1

539 The field is large and the earth is raw;
To plough it fills me with fright and awe:
I dig, I rake, I shovel and I pound –
Useless, save a maiden wife is found.

[203] No. 2

The weeds by the roadside yield white flowers;
Homeless, I seek other people's bowers:
When fuel is gathered, rice is cold –
My tears and woes are manifold.

No. 3

On the mu-i I sadly mourn, [mu-i - music instrument]
And play the music until dawn:
When girls hear the woeful strain,
From copious tears they can't refrain.

No. 4

Here and there the father cries,
All at home the mother sighs:
Whither have all the children gone?
In the woods they sing a song.

No. 5

Thinly the rain falls dripping,
Ruefully comes an orphaned stripling:
How much cold rice has he eaten?
How many a time is he beaten?

No. 6

Tobacco crop is bad this year;
My star and luck are sad I fear:
Every tiny flow't I pluck
Bears no leaf and has no luck.

[203 cont.]

No. 7

539 The seventh day of seventh moon
Is pheasant hunting season soon:
The pheasant flies across the pass,
My girl and I are alone at last.

No. 8

The gold tipped chopstick falls
Where the pretty maiden calls:
I purposely toss it around
So that my maiden can be found.

No. 9

This road to Kweichow, winding and long;
Vehicles run all night till dawn:
Reaching homestead with a pang
Of joy, for soon it is Kweiyang.

No. 10

Birds in heaven fly in pairs;
The man in clouds assumes stupid airs —
Hey, you fool!
There's none prettier than she who's there.

(b) The songs of the Ching-miao. (Free translation from
[114] the Miao language into Chinese, but faithful translation from
the Chinese into English.)

Ordinary Love Songs (Serenades for Kan-piao)

No. 1

The moon rises in the gloaming,
With our lovers we go roaming;

[203 cont.]

539

But when the moon suspends on high,
We settle down for a lovers' sigh.

No. 2

Many buttons adorn my gown;
I have brother, you have wife:
If you agree, my brother you own,
But give her to me for all my life.

No. 3

Peaches half red are in June;
I love maidens with a blush,
Lilting, bending to my tune,
Rosy faces all a-flush.

No. 4

Outside your door grows an ash,
Bending, swinging with the wind:
Fair maid, do not feel abash;
Without your beck'ning, I'm not the kind.

[204] No. 5

The girls carry water a long while,
But the tank is empty yet;
They traversed many a tedious mile
Only their lovers to beget.

No. 6 (Male voice)

Fell a bamboo in the grove,
And a fishing line I throw;
But not a single catch I prove,
Save a Chengtu maid in tow.

[204 cont.]

(Female voice)

539

The stars emerge upon the stars;
Two stars entwine in one part;
Gold hook upon the silver hook;
Your heart clinging on my heart.

No. 7 (Male voice)

Do not worry, do not weep;
Wrinkles show on your forehead:
If my words you loyally keep,
Many good days are far ahead.

(Female voice)

Do not worry, do not weep;
At my hip a banjo slings
To drown our songs and voices deep,
But pluck not my heartstrings.

No. 8 (Male voice)

The grass is leveled and rain descends;
The field is ready for planting:
Come and tell me what transcends
My love for you to land in.

(Female voice)

The rain falls on a simple rogue,
Leveling the grass, readying the field;
What confidences I him owe
To his droll flirtations yield?

[204 cont.]

Planting Songs (sung in the field)

539

No. 1

The planting maids are busy planting:
Who has the time to come ranting,
Chasing after the maiden fair?
No, not till the harvest is there.

[205] No. 2

The unplanted seeds must be kept:
No one has any free time left
To bother with man or sister —
Not even to attend to a blister.

No. 3

The rice is planted in serried ranks,
And water flows in from buried tanks:
Who is singing two rows down?
Where's your sister? You only frown.

No. 4

The plants must be placed with care,
Ridding the stalk and leaving it bare:
Our legs are soaked in watery mud;
Hardly we hear any sounding thud.

No. 5

Down the terrace are other fields:
The painted face a servant shields;
The eel in mud is still an eel,
Which salt makes tasteful a great deal.

[205 cont.]

No. 6

539

The high mountain is so near yonder;
To the deep water there we wander;
On the bridge the maid eats meal,
But in the cow shed our love will seal.

Wine Song (Sung at feast)

Here's some gift to relation sent;
To receive it a fair cousin smiles:
For us a table and benches set,
And the host runs home many miles.

A crowded table is not our worry;
Your wine is what we fear:
For to eat and drink and all a-flurry,
To be intoxicated here.

[114] (c) The Songs of the Chung-chia.(Free translation from the Miao language, but faithful translation from the Chinese.)

No. 1

The pouch is chiselled on two sides;
We share the road from different homes:
To talk to you - my yearning urge,
But fear some one's vengeance surge.

No. 2

Three scarves hidden by a screen;
A maid has her good husband seen:
Others move on silently,
Bending, tearful, mournfully.

[205 cont.]

No. 3

539

A large lot of land without border —
Grass grows amuck, good for fodder:
This is what we mortals are
In this world without a lucky star.

No. 4

A long time I've not this roadway passed;
Moss and lichens cover it fast.
'Neath the lichens a trickle flows;
Here we drink to end our woes.

No. 5

Yonger maid, astride the fence,
In her hand a basket carries:
Why she stops, there and thence,
Why she stops and waits and tarries?

No. 6

In life and death she follows me
To the court of the magistrate:
Thirty thrashings tenderly;
Leave me alone — that is straight.

[206] No. 7

When sun descends the slope is dark;
When a cloth is dipped in dye;
When a maid forsakes me in the park —
All linger on, the cloth and I.

[206 cont.]

No. 8

539

The groom is seventeen and the bride,
A maid of eighteen summers fair:
The duck is killed and the chicken fried
To honor the everlasting pair.

No. 9

But if for reasons they must sever,
Tear drops flow down in pain lest
The Judge refuse to let as ever
Him go east and her go west.

No. 10

At the market yester morn
Many items were displayed:
I searched for you here and yon;
At last returned, quite dismayed.

[For information on South Chinese tribal groups generally, including an occasional reference to Shan-Thai groups, see 12 Wu and Ch'en, Chapters 1, 6, and 8, AE5 Miao, category 116.]

1: Wang--1 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

Preface

114 In the spring of 1937 a joint commission for the investigation of the Li and Miao of Hainan Island was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University of Canton, and the Institute for the Study of the Societies of Southwest China at the privately operated Lingnan University. Dr. Yang Ch'eng-chih, a professor at the National Sun Yat-sen University led this commission, of which I was one of the members. It was indeed a happy circumstance in my life that just after an expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area in Kwangtung province, I had another opportunity for a firsthand investigation of these peoples of the Southwest. (In the winter of 1936 I had participated in the expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area of Kwangtung, which was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University.) As I am a native of Hainan and understand the local dialects, I was instructed to stay in the Li and Miao region for a longer period with Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung of Lingnan University. I was especially gratified to have this opportunity to make more detailed observations.

Not long after our return from the expedition, the Marco Polo Bridge incident occurred on July 7. The program of editing and printing the commission's report was to a great extent affected by wartime uncertainties in South China. Now over a year has passed, and it has not yet been carried out. The original purpose of our investigation
121 was, on the one hand, to open up a new field for academic studies in China with some new material; and, on the other hand, to provide our government and the public with more information concerning our frontier peoples in the hope that it would help them to understand the frontier situation and to carry out administrative operations there.
114 Since both objectives are extremely important, the Chinese intellectual community as well as the public must be anxiously waiting for the results of our studies. It is very regrettable that our report cannot yet be published. Because I had stayed there and conducted my investigation

/iii cont'd/

114 [128] book, Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao. If the reader is not bored by details, it would be better for him to refer to these two books at the same time. This is my humble hope.

If this book has made any academic or social contribution, the credit should not go to the author alone; it belongs to all the members of our commission (a list of the members of our commission is printed in the Appendix, "Journal of the Investigation"). I, myself, must express my gratification and, even more, my thanks to those others who have allowed me to write out what was the collective work of all of us. /iv/ The one to whom I am especially obliged, how-
[164] ever, is Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung. In that uncivilized region infested with malaria, where other people usually fear to go, we lived close together for a long time. We "comforted each other for the same kind of sickness" (actual physical sickness) and were of assistance to each other. To assuage our loneliness, we sometimes talked far into the night with our beds set next to each other. This experience will leave an indelible impression upon me for the rest of my life.

121 I have always been of the opinion that ethnology is not only a branch of pure science but also a practical study. We ethnologists should present the results of our studies not only to the academic world but also to our people and our country. In other words, we hope to offer some contributions toward the solution of our frontier problems. The last chapter of this was written for this purpose. Everything discussed therein concerns the most practical problems which are very important for the future development of Hainan Island. I should feel greatly honored if my writing could draw the attention of our government and the public to working out a proper solution.

Wang Hsing-jui
Graduate School
National Sun Yat-sen University

July 22, 1938

/22/

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

101
121
361

1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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[131
361]
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/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[171] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/110 cont'd/

M 831 539

Then they bought a long plank of wood,
For Meng-wo to be put upon.
/111/ When the Taoist priests had finished the funeral ceremony,
Husband and wife were sent up the hillside.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
On the left there was the Green Dragon, on the right the White Tiger.
From behind the Jade Goddess protects their grave site.
In front the scarlet bird* comes to pay its respects.

/* A position in geomancy./

At the back were fierce tigers facing spotted leopards.
Sing to the end the ancient tale of Meng-wo.
So that it will be spread over the five lakes and the four seas.

M 538

In addition to the above, there are the Song of San Pe Ying T'ai /"the three heroic elders"/, the Song of Chiu Niang /"the three girls"/, the Song of T'ang Hsien Chang Shih Niang /"the ten women of T'ang Hsien Chang"/, the Song of Mai Ch'en, etc. All of them are well engraved in the heart of every Miao. Because they are all lengthy pieces, space does not permit us to include them in the present report.

/112/ Chapter IX. Intergroup Relations between the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao.

(1)

M H 648 121

The Chinese constitute the majority of the inhabitants of Hainan Island. Next are the Li and the Miao. The intergroup relationship of the three ethnic groups—the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao, particularly the first two—has constituted an /important/ part of the history of Hainan, and naturally it still will be at the core of problems

H /112 cont'd/
M of Hainan Island in the future. Therefore, in order to understand the
648 history of Hainan or to solve problems of that region in the future, it
121 is very important to understand the intergroup relations among these three peoples. Let us now begin our discussion on relations between the Chinese and the Li.

H In the second chapter of my book Report on an Investigation of
175 the Li of Hainan Island, where the "racial and geographic origins of
101 the native Li people," is discussed, I have assumed that the Li migrated from Nanhai /of present Kwangtung province/ to Hainan during the Stone Age. I do not yet have concrete proof whether this assumption is close to the fact or not. However, it is beyond doubt that the Li have lived here since the prehistoric period. According to the most reliable historical research, the Chinese moved to Hainan during the Ch'in dynasty /221-207 B.C./. In 110 B.C., Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty established two provinces there, Chu-yai and Tan-erh. This is recognized as the official date when Hainan Island was brought under China's sovereignty as a part of her territory. It also dates the beginning of intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li. It has been more than two thousand years since then! During these two thousand years, Chinese immigrants to Hainan increased from year to year. The Chinese immigration was carried out more intensively after the Sung period /960-1278 A.D./. (For further /113/ reference see the author's History of the Development of Hainan Island.) The expansion of the areas occupied by the two groups
H naturally caused complicated conflicts. Moreover, Hainan Island
648 traditionally has been considered an "area beyond /Chinese/ civili-
175 zation" by the governments of various dynasties. They established no suitable policy for governing the Li. Outside the negative actions of "suppression" and "appeasement," they did very little actual constructive work. (For further reference see in the author's book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, the chapter concerning policies adopted by governments to govern the Li.) Hence they could not win the good will of the Li and only increased the troubles between the two groups. This traditional deficiency has come down to modern times, and still causes trouble between the

1: Wang--126 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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Appendix

Journal of the Investigation

● 121 A complete journal of the investigation of the Li and Miao has already been included in the author's Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. The following excerpt, covering the period from the 18th day of the second month to the 15th day of the third month (1937), is given here because this particular section is related to the investigation of the Miao, and the reader may use it as a reference for the main article.

Second month, eighteenth day. (Thursday)

133 At eleven o'clock in the morning, with Wang Chao-i's younger brother, Chao-ch'in, as guide, the investigation party set out from Pao-t'ing for Ta-ch'i, with 22 hired bearers to carry the baggage and a horse borrowed from Wang Hsün so that we could take turns riding. As we left the city gates, an uneven ridge of mountains rose and fell before our eyes, but Mount Ch'i Chih /"Seven Fingers"/ stood out as especially imposing, with its peaks visible from afar, sticking up like seven fingers, from which it has received its name. As we proceeded along the way, there was nothing but mountain paths, which were steep, rugged, and difficult to negotiate. By three o'clock in the afternoon we had passed the Chiu Ch'ü mountains, which were precipitous and dangerous, and we puffed from our exertions in climbing them, and when we reached the summit, all the mountains lay spread out at our feet, and we could see for a distance of hundreds of miles.

On either side of a narrow defile lay luxuriant growths of primeval forests, which could truly become an inexhaustible source of wealth if scientific methods and management were used. Passing over from the front to the rear of the mountains, the road was short and actually wound back and forth nine times.

/1 cont./ The subject of
* 101 study in the present book is the Miao in the narrow sense and
● [121] not in the broad sense.

* 101 Recently, students of the history of the tribal peoples of
* 175 China refer to the present-day Miao tribe as the descendants of the San Miao of ancient times. This assertion is probably based on the passage in the "Wei Ts'e /History of Wei/" section of Chan Kuo Ts'e /History of the Warring States/, which states: "The San Miao lived to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of P'eng-li Lake." From the geographical point of view, this would seem to be credible, as the San Miao of ancient times and the Miao tribe of today are both south of the Yangtze River; and furthermore the character for Miao is identical. But after the Ch'in and Han dynasties the succession records make no reference to the Miao until the Sung and Yüan dynasties. Therefore, the question of whether the Miao of ancient times and the Miao of today are the same tribe cannot be settled by a simple passage from the Chan Kuo Ts'e or by the use of the same character for the names. Thus, it is necessary to study and clarify at the outset what the name Miao means, /2/ so that we can know the distinction between the ancient Miao and the Miao of today, and the relation between the Miao in the narrow sense and the Miao in the broad sense.

(I) The Ancient San Miao Were Not the Present-day Miao

The name Miao was referred to in the "I Chi" section of the /Shang/ Shu /Book of History/: "The Miao are obstinate and refuse to work"; again in "Lü Hsing": "The widower and the widow took leave of the Miao ..... put blame on the Miao." Also, such terms as "San Miao," "Yu Miao," and "Miao Min" were frequently used in ancient historical records before the Ch'in and Han periods.

"San Miao" appeared in the "Shun Tien" section of Shang Shu: "To expel the San Miao to San Wei ..... to distinguish the northern San Miao"; in "Yü Kung": Having settled in San Wei, the San Miao were prosperous; in the Tso Chuan it was

/126 cont./

000 obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system
C of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao
563 area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un
669 fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders
[425] often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt
[651] in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances.
M In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao re-
648 bellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system.
[429] It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un
[701] officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

/127/ CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

M
121 The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There
771 are no people however primitive without religion and magic. Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic
000 and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in Science, Religon and Reality by

/127 cont./

121 771

Joseph Needham, translated into Chinese by Li An-che, Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao yü Shen-hua, page 1, The Commercial Press.

According to the report

114 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of
771 today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation Bureau's Chinese translation, page 259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept
771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been
177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

776 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese,
771 "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/.
[177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have
[192] supernatural power; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits, or gods, they are all called "kuei," [kueŋ˨˩] in the Miao language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

[p. 40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 162 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, principally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered-head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

• 121 114 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baëh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

563 go through one of their villages while the women were away in the fields without knowing that he had seen non-Chinese people, for their faces look no different, and the costumes of the men are the same, while the houses, though perhaps poorer, do not deviate from ordinary rural Chinese architectural standards except for the layout of the village. Unless he were a very persistent and hardy traveler, however, the chances that he would reach such a village are remote, for these people inhabit refuge areas, and their homes are tucked away in the higher valleys and on the less fertile mountain slopes. Along the larger rivers, the main highroads of China, the traveler would see only Chinese.

The one province of China which is least fertile, least productive, and least influenced by the far-reaching arm of Western culture is Kweichow. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kweichow contains a larger proportion of non-Chinese "aborigines" than the other provinces of southern China. With more aborigines and fewer Chinese, and with less immediate Chinese influence than elsewhere, Kweichow is the ideal place in which to study the non-Chinese — in this case the Miao. That is why, in 1940, Miss Portia Mickey went there.

114 121 Before she undertook to study the daily life of a Miao village, Miss Mickey had had some ten years of experience in China, during which time she acquired a knowledge of Chinese. Aside from her linguistic qualification, she is a natural field ethnographer. Quiet and unobtrusive, she masks with her mild personality keen powers of observation, discrimination, and persistence. To go alone into the most backward part of the most backward province of China in war time, to live there under local conditions of nutrition and sanitation, and at the same time to keep detailed records of everything that went on, was a feat of no little courage and endurance for a small woman no longer young, on her first anthropological expedition.

roughly comparable to our county.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

175 desirable regions of the west and south-west.
177 This process of absorption has been going on since the days of Yao and Shuen, 2356 B.C., and may be observed at the present time in the province of Kweichow. In that province many of the Chinese have Miao wives or concubines, and the children of such marriages always claim to be and are looked upon as Chinese.

121 The writer has neither the intention nor the ability to recall the history of the Miao tribes from the earliest times. His purpose, so far as he is able, is to describe briefly the different peoples now inhabiting the province of Kweichow, more especially the non-Chinese peoples. West China, Tibet, Burma, Tongking, Annam, and Siam are inhabited by many tribes, and it is impossible not to ask such interesting questions as: Who are they? Whence came they? and When? After a residence of more than twenty years in the province of Kweichow, where we have learned something about these tribes, it is our purpose to set down what we know.

103 The two characters *Kwei-chow* as they are now written, and have been written for about six hundred years, mean "Precious or Honourable Region." But eighteen hundred years ago, during the Han dynasty, the name was written

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

This article is the result of about fifteen years of study and contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 people. 121

I first learned of the Ch'uan Miao in 1921 through a Hua Miao 花苗 who came to Suifu 叙府 during a famine. Soon after that I visited the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao 洛表 and at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 and a Ch'uan Miao boy, Yang Fêng Chang 楊奉璋, came with me to Suifu where, with my help, he studied in and graduated from the Baptist junior and senior primary schools. After that he was my almost constant companion and went with me on nearly all my expeditions on the China-Tibetan border. From him I learned something of the Ch'uan Miao language and customs.

On returning to Szechwan in 1932 as curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, I made a more determined effort to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. Yang Fêng Chang spent much time with me at Chengtu and after his tragic death, while hunting takin, I made three summer expeditions to the Ch'uan Miao region, and another in the spring of 1936 to Suifu when several Ch'uan Miao came out and assisted me in my study.

Since the summer of 1934 much help has been given me by Mr. Hsiung Ch'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, a Ch'uan Miao who formerly lived in northern Yunnan but now lives at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 near Lo Piao. The fact that he has travelled over much of the Ch'uan Miao territory has made him a valuable assistant. The information received has been repeatedly checked, verified and often corrected through other Ch'uan Miao from Wang Wu Chai, Chou Chia Kou, Yung Ning 永寧 and from different parts of northern Yunnan.

The Ch'uan Miao generally say very little about their customs. They have informed me that in the past they have never told many of these things to anybody outside their own group but have made evasive and misinforming statements. To this day some ceremonies are performed behind closed doors, such as the worship of the door and the killing of the sow when worshiping the sky demon. The main ceremonies of commemoration are purposely confined to the Ch'uan Miao dialect so that nobody who is not a Miao can understand them. In the two ceremonies mentioned above, if one word of Chinese is spoken, the whole ceremony must be repeated. 609

I have made a sincere and earnest effort to understand the Ch'uan Miao people among whom I am considered a very good friend and by whom I have been given the complimentary name 123

1k Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Blood Groups : China With Plate E. Yang : Beh : Morse

BLOOD GROUPS OF THE ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA. *By Stephen C. H. Yang, Y. T. Beh, M.D., and Professor W. R. Morse, M.D., West China University College of Medicine and Dentistry, Chengtu. With Plate E.*

121 66 This paper presents data on the blood groups of an aboriginal ethnic group called the Ch'wan Miao. There is included in this report some previously unpublished data on the blood groups of the Chinese of the province of Szechwan, practically all of whom were inhabitants of the Chengtu Plain.

Introduction.—In pursuance of a plan to make physical anthropological measurements and observations[1] on the Chinese and aboriginal tribes of Szechwan Province, one of the authors (M), with some help from Chinese medical doctors and students who were trained by him for anthropological work, have examined some 1,746 Chinese and 1,304 aboriginal tribesmen.

The aboriginal ethnic groups examined were mainly Tibetans, Chiang, Gia or Chia Rong, Hsi or Shi Fan, Bo Lo Tsi, Noso (Lolo) Black Bones and White Bones, Ta Hwa Miao, Ch'wan Miao and Chung Chia. The Chinese came from quite widely separated areas of the Chengtu Plain and the aborigines from the highlands and mountains to the north, west and south of that Plain.

The statistical analysis of these measurements is now being worked out.

There were over 70 physical anthropological measurements and observations taken on individuals of nearly all of these groups. Most of those examined were adult males, although several hundred adolescent male and female Chinese were included. Sixty of the Chinese were dissecting-room subjects, and their bones, except the skull, were preserved. Photographs were taken of many individuals.

These data have been gathered over a period of some fifteen years, during which time W. R. Morse has organized and made eleven expeditions into different sections of the province wholly or partially occupied by the aborigines. Roughly speaking, this territory is included within Lat. 27° 30′ N. to 32° 30′ N.; Long. 102° E. to 104° E., or from Songpan (Szechwan) in the north; Chao Tung (Yunnan) in the south; Yachow or Yaan (Szechwan) in the east; and Tatsienlu or Kangting (Shikang) in the west. The Ch'wan Miao occupy an area near Lat. 27° 30′ N.; Long. 140° E.

The data accumulated include blood-pressure observations on the Noso (Lolo), Ta Hwa Miao and Ch'wan Miao[2]. Blood-pressure and blood-grouping, colour-blindness, etc., are to be observed on the Tibetans, Chiang, Gia Rong and Shi Fan, by an expedition, almost entirely for that purpose, during the months of July and August, 1937.

121 114 In correspondence with Professor R. Ruggles Gates of King's College, University of London, during 1935–36, Dr. Gates raised the question of blood grouping of the Tibetans and requested Dr. Morse to obtain those data. Owing to the acute activity of the Communists in and about

[1] A schedule of these measurements and observations is now in press, published by W. R. Morse, as a supplement to Jour. W. China Border Research Society, VIII.

[2] 'Blood Pressure Amongst Aboriginal Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province, West China,' W. R. Morse, Y. T. Beh, *The Lancet*, Vol. 232, p. 966, 1937.

[P. 65]

lk Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
Miao probably number about 100,000, and their
161 place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient
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[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[p. 66a]

12: Wu and Ch'en--1 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

General Conditions of the Miao-I in Kweichow

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Introduction

The year before last I was commissioned by certain organizations to investigate the conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow. After having received the order, I left for the Miao-I areas of the various hsien districts to start work on the spot. Unfortunately, the references I had previously gathered were of little use. After I had reached the Miao-I district, all that I had seen and heard through personal contacts in the wild mountains and lonely hamlets I recorded faithfully on the spot in the midst of fatigue and traveling. In three years I covered the whole province, and the amount of material I collected was immense. Before it had been organized and put into shape, inquiries came from many quarters concerned with the welfare of the Miao-I people, but these could not be replied to one by one. Furthermore, conditions in the Miao-I areas are quite different from those in the interior, and people who have never been there are prone to picture the Miao-I as a mysterious people and to distort the facts about them. The present article "General Conditions of the Miao-I Societies in Kweichow" serves as an introduction to a knowledge of the Miao-I areas. It is hoped that the readers will be pleased with this survey.

2. Racial Groups

1) Origin and History. Among the 450,000,000 Chinese nationals, there are a large number of ethnic groups. According to ancient history, there were the Hua-hsia, the Tung-i, the Ching, the Wu, the Pa-yueh, the Tung-hu, the Su-shen, the Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh [Turks], the Ch'iang, the Hsi-ts'ang [Tibetans], the Miao, the Yao, and many others. After a thousand years [2] of assimilation and amalgamation, those who

[113 cont.]
174 China, and later due to pressure from the Chinese they migrated
563 to the south.) The Chung-chia probably came from Yunnan and Kwangsi and together with the Siamese [Thai] belong to the Pai-Shan linguistic group. The Lolo came from the borders of Szechwan and Yunnan, and their language is of the same branch as that of the Burmese. To confirm or to disprove this
●121 theory we have to be guided by two criteria in our study: first, the criterion of physical anthropology, and second, the criterion of cultural anthropology. Within the confines of physical anthropology, besides the measurement of head and nose indices and cheek-bone protrusion, the study of blood types has become a reliable standard of racial classification in modern anthropology. Within the confines of cultural anthropology the comparison of languages is an important method of study, while a comparative study of customs, folklore and myths is also exceedingly valuable.

The comparative study of myths and folklore is highly regarded by American anthropologists because the similarities in these tales can establish evidences of kinship and mutual influences between various ethnic groups. This method of study is generally known as the historical method of anthropology. It is not concerned with the historical value of mythology for the group, nor with its effect upon the tribal people, nor with its literary value. This [114] method is concerned only with an objective comparison of all the stories to determine the particular group to which the tribes belong and the route of their migration.

Mythology and folklore represent the background of a certain period and reflect the degree of civilization of a tribal group at the time the myths originated. Franz Boas, the leading anthropologist today, has collected over a hundred mythological tales among the Tsimshian Indians and the following is his conclusion:

> "It is obvious that in the tales of a people those incidents of the everyday life that are of importance to them will appear either incidentally or as the basis of a plot. Most of the references to the mode of life of the people will be an accurate reflection of their

[114 cont.]

121

habits. The development of the plot of the story, furthermore, will, on the whole, exhibit clearly what is considered right and what wrong. .... Material of this kind does not represent a systematic description of the ethnology of the people, but it has the merit of bringing out those points which are of interest to the people themselves. They present in a way an autobiography of the tribe." (1)

[1. Franz Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909-1910 (Washington, D.C., 1916), p. 393.]

121 171 773 As to the origin of man, stories vary according to different racial groups. Among these, however, there are points of similarity such as the story of the flood, the rescue of a small number of people favored by the spirits and ghosts, marriages between brothers and sisters, and so on. There are many such stories among the Miao in Kweichow, and in several respects their central theme is rather analogous to that of similar tales among other racial groups elsewhere in the world. The following is an account of some mythological tales among the Hua Miao and the Hê Miao for the reference of ethnologists.

2. The Folklore of the Hua Miao

539 [115] One day two brothers finished ploughing a field. The next morning they found, to their surprise, that their previous day's work was undone by some people for the field was levelled down as if it had never been ploughed. In their distress and uncertainty they had to plough the field all over again. But the second morning they found that the field was once more levelled. This was repeated four times and they were greatly

[133 cont.]

105 7. In marriage cattle are used as betrothal gifts. Men may have two or three wives.

8. According to their customs marriage between cousins is a matter of course.

9. Their men and women are used to premarital affairs.

10. When a woman dies after marriage her parents are entitled to "bone money" from her husband.

11. The aged are weary of life and willing to be buried alive. This is in line with the ancient story of taking one's life on completing the cycle of sixty years.

[134]

12. They still have a "black-ear" slave system.

13. Every village has a village head, and in case of urgent events announcements are made by sending out wooden tablets.

14. Huan-ku-chang [lit., to settle an old account] is an important festival occasion, celebrated with beef or pork.

15. There is current a story of "the changed woman."

2. Three Versions of Their Ancestral Myth

121 773 What was the origin of the ancestors of man? Every ethnic group has its own hereditary myth, which in modern mythology is known as the ancestral myth. The ancestral myth of whatever group is always an account of inconceivable miraculous events, from which, however, we can have a glimpse into the infantile psychology and the living condition of the primitive people as well as their conceptions of the universe, creation, and ancestors. Therefore, when an ethnologist is lucky enough to acquire the ancestral myth of an ethnic group he has a very valuable material in his possession. When 773 the present writer went to the Sheng Miao area at Hsia-chiang to make a systematic investigation he gathered a great deal of material worthy of study especially the original regarding their ancestors. The Sheng Miao are the most primitive among

39: Bernatzik--1 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand A01
AKha A04
Miao AE5

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Preface

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This book is the result of an ethnographic expedition into Farther India which I undertook with my wife in the years 1936-1937. In my book, Die Geister der gelben Blätter /The Spirits of the Yellow Leaves/, I have already reported on the Yumbri (Phi Tong Luang), a primitive people that was directly studied ethnographically for the first time by me on this expedition. The general course of the expedition was also described there. I discussed the problem of the original population, which in Farther India still gives rise to many open questions, in my book, Die grosse Völkerkunde /General Ethnography/, Vol. II, pp. 207 ff.

The present study contains the scientific results of my investigations of the Akha and the Meau /Miao/, two vigorous and economically important mountain peoples who, moreover, are prominent representatives of the migratory movement of the mountain peoples of Farther India in general. The Akha and Meau who immigrated into Thailand will be discussed primarily. At the same time a number of colonial-ethnographic problems which pertain to all the mountain peoples of this region will be mentioned.

These problems connected with the mountain peoples of Farther India are of special importance ethnographically as well as in colonial-ethnological respects. This is a matter of peoples faithful to their tribal traditions, whose culture we were able to investigate before it was corrupted by foreign cultural influences. Moreover, it is possible to trace cultural changes, especially among the Meau, which enable us to determine which of their indigenous cultural elements could be preserved during the course of their migrations into a completely different environment, and which of these elements /2/ had to be modified in the course of the migrations. From a colonial-ethnological point of view the Akha as well as the Meau are important because the influx into Thailand of these genetically very healthy, extraordinarily prolific peoples has provided a wealth of vital colonial-ethnological data, not only for them, but above all for the Thailanders /Thai/, the political masters of the country, which may serve as basic illustrations for this kind of tribal migration.

M /ii cont'd/
114 for a comparatively longer period and had collected more material, I obtained special permission from the chief of our commission to use the materials in my private possession in writing up two books: Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island/ and this small volume entitled Hainan Tao
M Chih Miao-jen /The Miao of Hainan Island/.
H
122 /iii/ We spent four months on this expedition—leaving Canton
114 on February 4, 1937, and returning to the University on June 4 of the same year. Excluding the time spent in traveling and a short delay caused by illness, we were actually in direct contact with the aborigines for more than two months. During these two months or so, we spent about three-fourths of the time in the study of the Li
H and only one fourth in the study of the Miao. The reason for this
[101] was very simple: the Li were the chief aboriginal people of Hainan, and also Hainan was the only native locale of the Li people. It can truly be said of the Li people: "This is the only establishment; there are no other branches!" It was hence wholly fitting that we made them the chief subject of our studies. The study of the Miao was only incidental. Since our working time was so short, our investigation of the Miao was limited to a group of Miao villages in the vicinity of the Ta-ch'i area of Pao-t'ing hsien /district/. This book is the result of a study of this small area within a short period. The contents of this volume, of course, are far from satisfactory. Fortunately, however, we have touched upon every phase of the Miao's life. By reading this book, the reader will have no difficulty
H in comprehending the general way of life of an individual Miao.
M
101 The Li and Miao have lived intermingled for several centuries. With this uninterrupted contact with each other, it was inescapable that they mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, the lives of both have progressed along a common road of sinicization. Therefore, it can be observed everywhere that the present ways of
M life and cultural patterns of the Li and Miao are identical in many
114 ways. To avoid repetition, I have only summarized in this book
[28] those points which I have already discussed in detail in my previous

/131 cont'd/

000 This allayed their suspicion. We then took out our phonograph and
126 turned it on, which attracted swarms of Miao to gather around us.
Upon our request to look at the Miao scripts, which Headman Lu kept,
122 he let us peruse a number of them, among which were some very
treasured ones, depicting the origin and history of the Miao people.
511 Headman Lu talked to us at length about the hardships of the Miao;
their indescribable and hard-to-imagine low living conditions brought
forth our deepest sympathy. There were 12 families in this village,
under the family names of Lu, Teng, and P'an. Their main occupa-
tion was farming on lands rented from the Li people.

000 Limited by our schedule, we decided to cancel our trip to Pao-
ch'a village. We left Ang-chi at five-thirty to return to Ta-ch'i.
They gave us a warm farewell, asking us to return to their village
again. Upon our return, we found that Mr. Wang Chao-i had come
back from Pao-t'ing, and we had supper together, during which he
talked at length about his experiences in the Li area. His stories
fascinated us and sounded like fabulous legends.

Second month, twenty-third day. (Tuesday)

226 After breakfast we went to Wen-hua River to watch the Li carry
on their collective fishing. The two banks of the river were crowded
with men and women, about 60 or 70, each carrying fishing gear.
The stream was rather narrow, and the depth of the water was hardly
up to the knee. First, a section of the stream was selected, and then
large stones and rocks were put in the water to block the flow from
upstream, and small ditches were dug on the lower part of the stream
in order to half empty out the water. Then the poison was poured in.
When the fish touched this poison, they were immediately knocked
out and floated on the surface of the water. The Miao then rushed to
catch them with their nets. Today, the job was rather poorly done
because the water from upstream had not been dammed completely
enough to prevent the flow downward, thus preventing the emptying
out of the fishing area. Since the poison could not have its full effect
in the water, /132/ only a small amount of fish was killed and caught.

/132 cont'd/
622 217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 .It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we 122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

1: Wang--149 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/146 cont'd/

114 the time. It was only very recently when the movement for the development of Hainan was revived that, with the encouragement of two of my close friends, Mr. Ch'en Chia-wu and Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, I decided to send this book for publication again. Thus a part of the humble desire which I have long cherished has materialized.

●122 For the publication of this book, I am indebted to the aid of Chu-hai University. My teacher, Mr. Chou H'ai-pin, gave me the title; Mr. Chiang Ying-liang kindly lent me his precious photographs, and Mr. Lo Pao-t'ien drew the map. Their kindness is hereby respectfully acknowledged.

The Author

June 3, 1948, at the Western Village of Canton

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

122 **Periods of Residence.** In the fall of 1940, Dr. Wu Tzu-lin, then head of the Sociology Department and the Sociological Research Bureau of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, arranged for one of his research assistants, Miss Li Chih-jen, and me to spend a few months among the Cowrie Shell Miao in Lung-li Hsien. On the second of December we went by sedan chair from the *hsien* city of Lung-li to the valley of Ting-shui-pa, six miles to the southeast, a little less than half by motor road and the rest by stone mountain road. From a pass where there was a wooden gateway and a wayside shrine we could look down into the valley, a lovely one, almost like a park. All along the way I had marveled at the many flowers and red berries. Here there were bamboo thickets and a grove of oak with a few palms and conifers. The stone road ran between hedgerows of blossoming shrubs and fruit trees, through which flashed gay, singing birds. Beyond the hedges on the left we could see a large pond, with a little, white shrine and the village of Yang-chia-sai beyond it. My bearers would have taken me through the wood to the village, but Miss Li had gone on ahead to the office of the *lien pao* official, and I had perforce to follow her.

Dr. Wu had received permission from the head of the wealthiest family in the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai for us to live in his house. But the *hsien* magistrate sent with us a letter to the *lien pao* official, who had his office in a Chinese family temple four-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

tenths of a mile from the village. When the teacher of the school, also housed in the temple, a nephew of this village man, saw the letter he protested that his home was not suitable. As a result, we lived in the *lien pao* office until just before the Chinese lunar New Year, which was on January 27, but spent much time in the Miao village. We then returned to Kweiyang. I returned alone after a few days. This time I lived for two months in the "new house" (fig. 13, *e*) of this well-to-do family.

At Dr. Wu's suggestion, I came to the village again on February 1, 1942, and lived in the same rooms as before until December 3 of that year, when I moved into the city of Lung-li in order to be more free to work up the material I had gathered in this more than a year of observation. I had seen the calendar of activities; although there were many gaps in information, particularly as to vocabulary, songs, tunes, and ritual, there was enough for an initial study; I needed the change in order to get away from demands for gifts of such things as personal clothing and bedding and help in lawsuits involving even remote relations of the family, as well as of neighboring Chung-chia and Chinese that I do as much for them as I had for the people of the village. Finally, I felt that I had presumed upon their hospitality long enough. They were appreciative of the help I had been able to give them, however, and repeatedly invited me to return.

/47 cont'd/

585 Before the wedding someone is invited by both families to select an auspicious day for the wedding in accordance with the hour, day, month, and year of birth of both the girl and boy. Once the date is selected, both families then begin to prepare for the wedding. If the wedding is of the ch'ü-hsi type, the bridegroom's family comes to the bride's family to go to meet the bride. Otherwise, the bridegroom is received at the home of his wife.

123 At one time, the author attended a Miao wedding ceremony of the chao-chui type. The following account was written in accordance with what I saw that day. It may help the reader to understand the usual manner in which a Miao wedding is celebrated.

585 On the wedding day, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were very busy. All their relatives and friends gathered at their homes to offer congratulations. Cows and pigs were slaughtered. All day long, the bride's family particularly, was in a turmoil. Not until evening, however, did the principal part of the wedding ceremony begin. The bridegroom wore a long gown, a riding [292] jacket, socks, and shoes. His head was covered with a large pointed kerchief, which also covered most of his face, as if the bridegroom was very shy. He was carried out from his home on the back of a male go-between. Close behind them another man holding a wide open cloth umbrella to cover him followed step by step. They were preceded by another male go-between followed by a man who carried the wedding gifts. The wedding gifts consisted of wine and [437] tobacco leaves. The two go-betweens and the men who carried the umbrella and the wedding gifts were formally dressed in long gowns, riding jackets, socks, shoes, etc. After the bridegroom had come a few steps from out the door, the go-between at the front of the procession fired a few firecrackers and the procession paused. Not until they heard the explosion of the firecrackers set off by the bride's family did they continue to go ahead. (In this wedding, the two families happened to be close neighbors. The sound of the firecrackers could be heard from either side.) After they had walked halfway they stopped once more. In a moment two young girls sent ahead from the bride's family (called pan-niang, "bridesmaids")

/120 cont'd/

181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

/129 cont'd/

755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

● 123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

/132 cont'd/

622 217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

●123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we 122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

/77 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
292 at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
[531] and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[764] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
•123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[439] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ʔiɣ] in the Miao language, and a ku woman is called [mpʿaɪ ʂʿiɣ]. Most of the ku-women are loved by their husbands, /200/ which is called /tʿioʌ ʂʿiɣ/, meaning seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family 123
with whom I lived would accept no money
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all 421
the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often 152
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either 194
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 193

[96] [14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

4:Michey E-5 (1969-7)1967 AES Misc AES

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
596 vited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight.
[515] In this family I saw the evening foot-washing,
[574] at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
353 leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordinarily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

621 648

Legal Difficulties. When I went back to the village for the second period of residence, the first of February, 1942, I found that the old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

276 689 648 123

This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

661 648 123

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

661 they did. But before anything could be done
648 he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his
123 captors took him to Hunan. He was well
treated and not forced to become a soldier, but served the commanding officer as a secretary. He was later released. I like to think that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the provincial government had something to do with his release before the soldiers were due to return to Kweichow. It was not until after the rice harvest that his family sent him traveling expenses so that he might come home. He arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

648 On the eighteenth of November I was asked
123 to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again.
685 This time a relative by the name of T'ang
661 was being detained on complaint of some Chinese. This man owned a wooded slope. The Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this man to make his wood into charcoal for them. No agreement was made, but they had him arrested to be held until he could produce fifty thousand *chin*,[2] more than sixty-six thousand pounds. What they wanted me to do was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate the matter quickly so that the man could be released. This I did. But when the *hsien* magistrate said he could be released if two would go surety for him, and they asked me to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had never seen the man and could not find out what it meant to be a guarantor under such circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live they continued to ask me to help them. Upon one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien* magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of stealing logs from his house while only his wife and children were at home. The Chinese said that he had sold them the logs before felling the trees on a hillside he owned and that they were only taking what already belonged to them. I was asked to urge the magistrate to investigate the matter before the Chinese should have time to convert the

[2] One and one-third pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case 123
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit- 685
nesses had not told the truth at other points.

Another case was that of a Miao who had 661
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
leased so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and
could not be found to ask him to change his
mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next
hsien, and after his condition that some mer-
chant in the city go surety for her was met,
she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed
money from his brother. This brother later
brought suit for the return of some of the
loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the
day set, but the brother did not appear to re-
ceive it. Later the family who had received
the loan sued the brother for the expense to
which they had been put because of his failure
to come and receive the payment on the day
set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most 671
small matters were settled among themselves.
Much of the old man's time was taken up with
such cases. Sometimes others of the village
elders were called in for consultation. This
was according to the Chinese Government
system, though in effect this formed the vil-
lage government, or council. If matters could
not be settled by them, they were taken before
the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the
hsien magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific
economic institutions. Families formed eco-
nomic units, and as such carried on trade with
Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie
Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting
country kinfolk to gather before they re-
turned to their villages from market. The
shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as
well, and much of their trade was really a
form of family visits. In their shops, as well

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 **Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.** The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily. 757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757 I took with me the specifics for the troubles 123 mentioned and these, which a doctor at the Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 123 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
252 pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
[124] then other things in turn. I sat until noon
with the old man and his second wife and
527 found them very ready to answer questions
about family history. The conversation led
into that channel in an interesting way. The
old man had been reading about Roosevelt in
the newspaper and asked me questions, being
most desirous of knowing whether there were
many people named Lo in the United States.
(The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and
he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo
his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual
527 place, but they had no visitors as yet. During
the day children went around from house to
house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
fires in the houses, the women about several
533 fires at certain points in the village and just
inside the wood. The same women usually
527 composed each group, but now and then one
would visit a group not her own. The girls
now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered
overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'
• 123

[2] See p. 8.

[74a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

527 796 292 123 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 574 527 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 796 527 **San Yüeh San.**[3] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[3] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

This article is the result of about fifteen years of study and contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 people. 121

I first learned of the Ch'uan Miao in 1921 through a Hua Miao 花苗 who came to Suifu 叙府 during a famine. Soon after that I visited the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao 洛表 and at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 and a Ch'uan Miao boy, Yang Fêng Chang 楊奉章, came with me to Suifu where, with my help, he studied in and graduated from the Baptist junior and senior primary schools. After that he was my almost constant companion and went with me on nearly all my expeditions on the China-Tibetan border. From him I learned something of the Ch'uan Miao language and customs.

On returning to Szechwan in 1932 as curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, I made a more determined effort to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. Yang Fêng Chang spent much time with me at Chengtu and after his tragic death, while hunting takin, I made three summer expeditions to the Ch'uan Miao region, and another in the spring of 1936 to Suifu when several Ch'uan Miao came out and assisted me in my study.

Since the summer of 1934 much help has been given me by Mr. Hsiung Ch'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, a Ch'uan Miao who formerly lived in northern Yunnan but now lives at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 near Lo Piao. The fact that he has travelled over much of the Ch'uan Miao territory has made him a valuable assistant. The information received has been repeatedly checked, verified and often corrected through other Ch'uan Miao from Wang Wu Chai, Chou Chia Kou, Yung Ning 永寧 and from different parts of northern Yunnan.

The Ch'uan Miao generally say very little about their 609 customs. They have informed me that in the past they have never told many of these things to anybody outside their own group but have made evasive and misinforming statements. To this day some ceremonies are performed behind closed doors, such as the worship of the door and the killing of the sow when worshiping the sky demon. The main ceremonies of commemoration are purposely confined to the Ch'uan Miao dialect so that nobody who is not a Miao can understand them. In the two ceremonies mentioned above, if one word of Chinese is spoken, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

I have made a sincere and earnest effort to understand the Ch'uan Miao people among whom I am considered a very good 123 friend and by whom I have been given the complimentary name

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/1954 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

123 I first came into contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 in 1921. During the previous year there had been a severe famine in Kweichow 貴州, and many of the tribespeople of that province, to save themselves from starvation, ate grass and the leaves and bark and roots of trees. One Hua Miao 花苗, called Chang Sa Kai or Zaccaeus Chang because of his short stature, left his home in Kopu 格布, Kweichow Province, and came to Suifu 綏府, now called I-pin, where I was stationed. From him I learned of the Ch'uan Miao, and by his help I was able to make friendly contacts with them. I visited the Ch'uan Miao at Chou Chia Keo 周家溝, Wang Wu Chai 王武寨, and other places, and a Ch'uan Miao boy named Yang Fong Tsang went with me to Suifu, where he attended the junior and senior primary schools. For years he was an almost constant companion on my journeys, and he assisted me in my attempts to learn the language and customs of these people.

114 During the following years I visited the Ch'uan Miao in their homes as often as possible, listening to their songs, hunting with them, talking about their customs, taking anthropometrical measurements, and watching them play their wind instruments and dance, or perform their ceremonies.

In 1932 I was transferred to Chengtu 成都, the capital of the province, and was made curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology. From this time on I made more determined efforts to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. I spent several summers with them, and on one of these expeditions I was accompanied by W. R. Morse, M.D., and Gordon Agnew, D.D.S. Dr. Morse made anthropometrical measurements and observations, and Dr. Agnew studied their diet and their oral conditions. At one time when it was impossible, because of brigands, to go to their homes, several Ch'uan Miao came to Suifu and for weeks aided me in my study. At other times one or more Ch'uan Miao men came all the way to Chengtu. Believing that their music was very interesting and of high quality, I brought three of their best musicians to Chengtu where for several weeks Dr. Agnew and other musicians studied and transcribed their music, and published an interesting article on the music of the Ch'uan Miao in volume 11 of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society.

126 At first my method was to listen to a song or story as it was sung by a Ch'uan Miao man or woman, then write it down sentence by sentence as it was explained by the singer. Later I obtained the help of a Ch'uan Miao who could read and write Chinese and sent him to different parts of the Ch'uan Miao region to collect songs and stories. He would write them in Chinese in little booklets, which he would send to me at Chengtu. Later, with his help, I would translate them into English. The final stage was reached when my knowledge of the Ch'uan Miao language and the international script had improved enough to enable me to write down the Ch'uan Miao words in the international script, then transliterate them, and finally render a translation. I would always go over my final translations several times

[P. ii IS BLANK]

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1934 AE5 Miao AE5

126 with the singer or with the person who collected the songs to make sure that they were as nearly correct as possible. Finally, often with the help of my wife, I worked over the translations in order to improve the English without changing the meaning.

In all, I collected 752 songs, legends, historical and etiological traditions, and short stories, but not all these could be included in this volume. In the romanization of Chinese words the Wade system has been used, while the Miao words and phrases are generally in the international script.

579 One difficulty in pursuing my researches was the robbers, who might appear at any place at any time. The Ch'uan Miao region is very mountainous and abounds in forests, natural caves, and rock shelters. These make it easy for brigands and thieves to conceal themselves along the roads and to escape after a robbery. Many times I was prevented by the officials from taking a proposed trip because of the presence of bands of robbers. I have had numerous narrow escapes.

123 At first the Ch'uan Miao were very reluctant to give information about their beliefs and customs. They often told me that previously they had rarely given such information to Chinese or Westerners and that when they were asked they gave evasive answers. But during the years of contact with these people, a very warm friendship grew up between us, and they became very cooperative and helpful. Without their assistance it would have been impossible to carry on the study of their language and customs. They gave me the name of Na K'wa Dai Lo, or great and kindly teacher, and they always welcomed me to their homes. Several times they met me with bugles and banners, later giving banquets to show their friendly welcome. They permitted me to take pictures freely, gave me the information I wanted, and helped me collect stories and songs and learn their language. Some of them sold to me, for the West China Union University Museum, beautiful embroidered garments that were heirlooms. I am sincerely and deeply grateful to my Ch'uan Miao friends for their assistance.

In 1934 I obtained the help of Hsiung Ch'ao Sung, who could read and write Chinese and who had traveled widely in the Ch'uan Miao region. He gave me much valuable assistance in studying the language and customs, and it was through him that I collected most of the stories and songs. Yang Ch'ing Ming came to Chengtu to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School, and during his stay in Chengtu he rendered valuable help in my studies.

000 Lin Min Chun, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology, helped me translate Ch'uan Miao words and phrases into English and into Chinese, and further assisted by searching Chinese histories for references to the Ch'uan Miao. Similar aid was rendered by Dr. Cheng Teh K'un, my successor as curator of the museum. Dr. Serge Elisseeff, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Prof. Jesse Moncrieff, who was president of the Union Language School at Chengtu, aided me in clarifying the Ch'uan Miao sounds and taking them down in the international script. My wife, Alicia Morey Graham, spent a great deal of time correcting the notes and typing the stories and songs.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/51 cont./

A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. A M 858 Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, M [164] [123] for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

/54 cont./

851 608 •123 [787]

During my visit to the Meau village of Nam Fa in northern Thailand I was asked by the Meau Tua Sen Kun to assume sponsorship for his newborn son (1). I was told that it

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 188 ff.

was regarded as an auspicious omen that I, a powerful foreigner, was present in the village at the time of the birth.

551 As names for boys those of famous ancestors are preferred on the ground that boys continue the family. The child may also be given the name of the sponsor. For girls one chooses at will a name which, like all names, has a special meaning. A sharp distinction is made between names for boys and those for girls.

	Names	Meaning
Boys:	lū	pure
	pǎu	surety, guarantor (2)

2. Cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law."

	tšü	has everything
	fö	to have many children to care for him
	tšǎn	to grow
	pǎn	to flourish
	tsuń	bud
Girls:	tšǎy	slender
	yí	round
	ltšay	fearful
	tšá	plain
	mǎy	good
	ltšóa	green leaf

Miao AE5
Akha AO4

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

A M 857 ● 123 [126]

/58 cont./

watched us everywhere, while we had difficulty persuading them to continue their activities or their games in our presence. Finally, we had no other choice but to make our observations, as well as my Contax snapshots, with Zeiss-Tessar and Tele-Tessar lenses from carefully prepared concealments, such as house walls with holes in them and the like, for as soon as we had disappeared from sight, the children went back to their usual activities or romped about.

1. Children at Play and Work

A M 857

As soon as the children have outgrown babyhood, their activities during their free time are usually separated from those of the adults. No one stimulates the children at play; at most they are watched with amusement, but never interfered with, and the play of children is by no means regarded as a useless activity. They are made to work, but during their free time they are allowed to do as they please.

The children of the Meau, as well as those of the Akha, are very fond of play and very active. They never loiter about; as a rule one can say that an inactive child is sick. Otherwise they are altogether enterprising and [redacted] and in this respect there is no change in the various stages of childhood. There are, to be sure, groups of boys and of girls, which I shall come back to later on, but there is no strict separation among the Meau; boys and girls often play together. This is the natural result of the fact that children, regardless of sex, must take care of their younger siblings. /59/ A seven-year-old boy, for example, takes care of his three-year-old sister, whom he carries about with him in the child-carrier, just as readily as a little girl takes care of her younger brother.

M 834 857

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My

M 832 883 123 wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/88 cont./

M seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao
832 interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together.
883 Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the
morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They
123 tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because,
they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love,
and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels
himself very much the center of attention and declares that
if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends
M with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the
[515] girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to
cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces
and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma
M sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love
[533] songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief
joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the
same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where
do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

A That purely materialistic considerations play only a
M minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that
836 prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never
[548] yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is
[431] customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver
necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him
a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the
chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-
25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a
matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love
have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a
young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes
him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her
partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes
114
548
836

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported,
without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/106 cont./

A 585 583 [301] daughter is provided with new clothing, a beautiful cotton blanket, and a chopping knife for the celebration by her parents; the parents, however, withhold the rich silver ornaments that she wore as a girl, for it is up to the husband to provide ornaments for his wife. If the bride's parents are wealthy, however, and want to do something more for their daughter, they slaughter a pig, pack the head and the two hind legs in a carrying basket, and give all this to the daughter to take along on the way while the rest of the meat remains in the house of the girl's parents and is eaten there.

A 585 The bride is called for by the emissaries of the bridegroom and is solemnly led to the dwelling of her father-in-law. The union of the young couple does not take place immediately after the wedding, but only after thirteen days. A religious A [784] [776] taboo is involved here, and the Akha believe that if it is violated the spirits would take revenge. After this period the [343] young couple meet at night in a small house built for this purpose in the vicinity of the large dwelling house. During the day, [591] however, the young people stay in the house of the father of the young husband, in whose community they live.

A [837] After the wedding no other man but the husband has any rights whatever to the wife with regard to sex.

A 595 /107/ Among the Akha, too, poor people are usually monogamous; only chiefs or very wealthy men keep several [554] wives, five or six at the most. Polygamy therefore likewise [583] prevails among the Akha. Other forms of marriage, such as [837] trial or temporary marriage, polyandry or group marriage, as well as promiscuity in marriage, are unknown.

M 593 Among the Akha as well as among the Meau the wife is the property of the husband. No marriage contract is concluded, [585] and no other rights are guaranteed to her. The husband can A even beat his wife, but my informant cautiously added to this [593] information: "If she will stand for it." I learned among the Meau that this is by no means an empty phrase. One day a M young, strong woman about twenty-two years old, with whom [123] we had become friends, came weeping into our camp. She

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/107 cont./

M 593 123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

M [622] [627] With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M 593 595 [177] [606] The position of young Meau-wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

M [606]

A 595 [606] [422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/157 cont./

771 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially im-
114 portant to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau. The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incantations and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning religion, before persons who do not belong to the community. Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

123 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, became sick.
[753] His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of
[774] his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wandering and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to
[164] determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sickness for the Meau. I told the chief that many little evil spirits had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood. Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the ceremony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction. Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/179 cont./

756 787 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97). 1 [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for [614] cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the [465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 755 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

1 [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
787 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura-
[787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear
756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the
764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the
[782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/191 cont./

787 If a Meau dreams that his house is on fire or that he is fleeing, it bodes ill fortune for the inhabitants of the house in which the sleeper is resting. It is likewise unfavorable to dream of tigers or an inundation. Misfortune is likewise imminent if in a dream a tree, a horse, or a cow falls.

If in a dream one sees people engaged in pounding rice, /192/ then all depends on the color of the rice. If it is white, it is regarded as a good omen, whereas black rice is regarded as a bad omen.

Special good luck is indicated by dreams in which one sees a hen with many chicks or people in new clothes, or shallow water, or if one dreams that a new year has begun.

787 Besides the attention given to the omens described and others, and to dreams and soothsaying, an oracle /Ordal, literally
851 "ordeal," but used here in the sense of "oracle"/ is also consulted among the Meau, as was described above in connection with the conjurations by the shaman in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community."

[123] It will be recalled that in every case my presence in the village, as that of an influential stranger, was regarded as a good omen, and, after the oracle had been consulted, I was asked to be the sponsor of the newborn little boy. At that time, the chicken oracle was used, whose procedure I have already described. If the skin on the head of one or both animals of the sacrificed pair of chickens had been black or spotted black, if the hyoid bones of one of the animals had not been parallel or if the chickens' toes had not run together toward the front, but instead had stood out sideways, especially the first or third toe, everybody would have been convinced that the ancestors would not be able to protect the child against the evil spirits that were present and that these would have to be exorcised before the child could be received into the family community. On the other hand, if two of the omens had been good and one bad, this would have been regarded as a warning sign, indicating that great caution was needed. In
[609] such case any stranger would have been denied entry into the
787 house of the newborn baby. Thus, as this witnessed example indicates, among the Meau there is a direct connection between

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

439 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages 787 in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

●123 Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could 224 not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, [787] whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [320] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

/193 cont./

123 224 [326] [411] go hunting together, and immediately Tsin Tsai was again favorably disposed toward me. We would set out to hunt elephants, gaur, and other big game which, with his primitive guns, he was able to kill only at the risk of his life. His passion for hunting was so great that, even at the time of the harvest, he would drop everything in order to accept my invitation. Needless to say, Tsin Tsai also knew how to handle the crossbow, the [411] most important and favorite weapon of the Meau, or poisoned arrows, with which any game can be brought down. My high-power rifle, /194/ however, aroused general admiration, and Tsin Tsai in particular could not get his fill of looking at it; he repeatedly picked it up and stroked it lovingly.

The Meau are familiar with the habits of game to a remarkable degree, naturally far more so than we Europeans. Just as I always deferred to the natives while hunting in the tropics, here, too I followed the instructions of the bold Meau hunters. They know the weather and the wind directions in relation to the haunts of the game; they are familiar with the scarce sources of salt in the primeval forest, which are regularly visited by all the wild animals; they know whether and at what time of the day or night the various species of animals seek out the waterholes or the salt licks; they deduce from the tracks of a wounded animal when it will take cover; in a word, they know the answers to all the questions that are involved in success for a hunter in the primeval forest.

123 224 787 Chief Tsin Tsai in particular was able to answer the most incredible questions. After a short time I myself relied completely upon what he said. In order to be able to judge the extent of the knowledge possessed by this excellent hunter, I constantly posed new and more difficult questions, which nevertheless were always answered. When I tried, as far as possible, to verify his statements, I soon, to my surprise, found contradictions and inaccuracies. Finally, however, this inexplicable situation was clarified for me, when I discovered Tsin Tsai engaged in having my questions answered by the spirits by means of oracles! Apparently the spirits were less well informed about the living habits of the animals than the living Meau were!

/194 cont./

123 224 787 As far as I was concerned, the situation was difficult if not actually perilous if I wanted to remain on good terms with the Meau. I could not contradict the spirits and had to follow their orders, which were transmitted to me through the mouth of the chief. Hence it was of utmost importance for me to become thoroughly familiar with the pertinent customs of the Meau. One day Tsin Tsai asked me to accompany him on a gaur hunt. A Meau had wounded a splendid old gaur, but was afraid, and very justifiably so, as I soon discovered, to track down this solitary beast in the difficult terrain. Therefore, /195/ he stopped the pursuit, returned to the village, and reported the facts to the chief. A few hours later, we, the chief, my interpreter, and I, were standing at the spot of the shooting. We had no difficulty in finding the path of flight of the heavy animal. We followed it until it led into an impenetrable thicket, which, as dense secondary growth, covered a rice field abandoned some six years earlier.

With our chopping knives we laboriously started cutting our way through the thicket and could not see two meters ahead. Added to that, the wind changed direction every few minutes. Under these circumstances tracking down an old, as well as wounded, solitary animal was tantamount to suicide. To judge by the trail which led up a steep hillside, it was highly improbable that the animal had died, but, on the other hand, reasonably certain that sooner or later we would be attacked by the wounded buffalo, without being able to parry such an attack by the wounded animal even halfway successfully at this short distance without having the shot pass out of the animal's body.

From the viewpoint of the hunter, Tsin Tsai had evidently committed an error, which surprised me. I drew his attention to the dangers that surrounded us. Tsin Tsai calmly confirmed my observations, but nevertheless held the opinion that, in spite of everything, no danger could threaten us, and, indeed, we were certain to be successful, for he had consulted the spirits by means [782] of the oracle and had even sacrificed a pig to them before we set out, and all the omens had been favorable! Naturally, I ıld not call the spirits liars, much less question their power. On the

/195 cont./

123 224 787 other hand, I had no desire to pursue such a hopeless affair for which I was not responsible. Only strategy could help. Amiably I turned to Tsin Tsai: "Your spirits were right. I, too, however, questioned my hunting spirit. He told me that he would have to go up into the clouds and therefore could not assist me. He advises me therefore to stop the pursuit." The chief understood this immediately. The hunt was immediately called off, and without protest we were able to start back, for Tsin Tsai had no intention of exposing me to danger.

/196/ Another time -- but by no means always -- I was successful in using my influence to overcome bothersome hindrances which the oracle made for us. One day, I could not do any ethnographic fieldwork because my informants were not available. I therefore wanted to go hunting with a Meau, who for his part was very much in favor of my proposal. Beforehand, however, he wanted to consult the oracle as to whether the undertaking planned should be done at this time. Naturally, I feared difficulties again, but I quickly found a way out. I reminded the Meau that he had just laid out the oracle a few days before and that the spirits had told him that we would kill the gaur which I now wished to hunt. The spirits would certainly be annoyed by his asking again. Fortunately that satisfied my Meau; he gave up the oracle and set out with me.

I myself, however, tried to obtain answers through the oracle of the Meau, in order to familiarize myself in every way with their ideas. In one case I wanted to know whether I would have a chance to shoot a certain old bull elephant whose haunt was known to me and to the chief. The chief lighted a fire, burned three pieces of the spirit-money which he carried with him, whittled three small bamboo sticks, and held them between the thumb and index finger of his right hand. Then he drew them through the fire several times, held them up toward the sky, and, while these preparations were going on, began conjuring the great Father-Mother spirit. He informed him that [782] he had sacrificed spirit-money and asked for answers to the following questions: Whether the bull elephant was occupying its usual haunt at the present time, whether I would be able to shoot it,

/196 cont./

123 224 787 and whether, after the shot, we would be able to get the booty. With each question, Tsin Tsai pointed to one of the sticks in order to communicate to the spirit in this way the significance of each stick. He then bent each stick with his thumb nail at intervals of about three centimeters, until he finally held all of them in his hand in the manner shown in Ill. 98[1] as triangles and scrutinized them carefully. The position of the upper side of the first stick which stood for the haunt of the bull elephant, was horizontal, which indicated the unchanged position, that is, the unchanged /197/ haunt of the bull. If the point of this side had been turned away from the sacrificer, it would have meant that the bull had moved away. The point of the second stick, which was supposed to answer the question regarding the shot, was turned toward the sacrificer, which meant an affirmative answer. The reverse position would have indicated that I would not have a chance to shoot. The upper side of the third stick was likewise turned toward the sacrificer, thus this question, too, was answered affirmatively, and we could therefore count on seizing the game.

We eagerly set out on the hunt. We actually found the bull in its haunt, and we stalked it until we were about 20 paces from it. Through the bush I repeatedly saw the outlines of the enormous gray mass. Only once, however, for a fraction of a second would I have been able to fire a fatal shot. Under these circumstances I could not make up my mind to follow the advice of the chief, who actually trembling with buck fever, demanded, with reference to the predicted outcome, that I shoot at the bull through the tangle of vegetation. The giant animal escaped unharmed when the wind turned for a moment and carried our scent to him. Thus at the last moment I failed to put the oracle to a definite test, but it seemed wiser to me to trust my hunter's instinct.

On another occasion we discovered a salt spring in the primeval forest, which, of course, was the meeting place for much game. After I had shot a fine gaur, however, the rest of the game seemed to have been blown away. Tsin Tsai decided to consult the high Father-Mother spirit about our further hunting prospects and set up his stick oracle, conducting his ceremonial performance in the same way as previously described. This

1 [See cat 116, p 663 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/197 cont./

123 224 787

time he used seven sticks since he directed the following seven questions to the great Father-Mother spirit: whether we had a chance 1. to shoot tigers, 2. elephants, 3. buffalo, 4. deer; 5. whether the old bull elephant that we had pursued in vain into the thicket several days ago still remained at the same location, 6. whether a splendid old gaur that traveled alone and stayed in the thickets of abandoned rice fields in the vicinity of our Meau village could be slain by us; 7. my interpreter asked whether his wife and his newborn baby /198/ were doing well. As may be seen, the questions were posed in such a way that the answer had to be either yes or no.

Tsin Tsai now took the sticks one by one, bent them with his thumbnail ten or eleven times at intervals of about three centimeters, and left one side of each stick about ten centimeters long without bending. Then he took all the sticks into his left hand and folded them into triangles. Once again the answers given us by the great Father-Mother spirit were shown by the position of the upper side of the triangle and the tips. A horizontal position meant "situation unchanged"; if the tip of the triangle was directed toward the conjurer, it was taken as affirmative; if it was turned away from him, it was taken as negative.

Again we examined the oracle sticks and learned from them the following answers: Tigers, elephants, and buffalo have moved far away. Deer have remained and can be hunted since the other omens are not unfavorable. The old bull elephant: likewise "situation unchanged." He has therefore returned and is again occupying his station from which we pursued it in vain some days previously. The interpreter's question was also answered: his wife and child were doing well. The chief added that the wife was sleeping badly because she was worried about her husband. His son was thinking of him -- my informants put it in a rather charming way: "His soul is hopping to the father."

The answers to all six of the questions posed by me coincided fully with my own assumptions. Hence I had no objections to complying with them. This time, too, however, I could not test their correctness, for, although we did shoot deer, we did not have time to wait for the return of other big game, and I

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/198 cont./

M could not take the time to check whether or not they were
123 actually to be found in their haunts. Moreover, such an attempt
224 would very obviously have shown distrust of the oracle. Much
787 later we learned that the interpreter's wife had actually been worried about her husband. We had stayed in the primeval forest area much longer than was originally intended and had all been given up for lost.

A The Akha, too, believe that there are human beings who
756 are born with supernatural faculties, but, in contrast to the /199/ Meau, know far fewer people of this kind. Accordingly, the latter are regarded as much more powerful than they are
A among the Meau. These people are the chief shamans, called
[634] tŭmō. Every tŭmō stands over many villages, and if one remem-
[621] bers that the villages of the Akha embrace several hundred houses, the importance of the tŭmō becomes obvious.

A The ordinary shaman is called bŭbā among the Akha. This
[622] office often coincides with that of the chief. Aside from this, however, the bŭbā plays a comparatively larger role than the tŭmō, because in every village there lives a bŭbā, who is far more intimately connected with his village community than the tŭmō is with the villages under him.

A Both the tŭmō and the bŭbā are mediators between the
756 spirits and human beings. The bŭbā has to offer the regular
778 sacrifices to the spirits, and furthermore, above all, he has to
[776] take care of the spirit of the swing and the guardian spirit. Accordingly, he is in charge of the management and upkeep of the sacral gates. Also, the wooden idols beside the sacral gates (Ill. 48)[1] are carved at his command by men of the village chosen by him, who also decorate the gates newly erected every year, while the old gates gradually disintegrate. This
A custom made it easy for us to ascertain how many years previously
[174] a village had been founded. One need only count the number of gates at the entrance to the village.

1 [See cat 116, p333 - ANALYST]

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
[776] this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their chil-
dren, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[846] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[164] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
[626] punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.
[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
765 as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [434] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable [434] if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [435] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great im- [595] portance. My informant had this to thank for being able to buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/463 cont./

152 Emotions are readily apparent among the Meau. When a woman told us that three years ago her three sons had died of cholera within a few days, tears came into her eyes and she sobbed violently, though she was trying to master her emotions.

152 734 We were often able to observe how tenderly the Meau care for their sick. For example, a shaman had a completely paralyzed son about 22 years of age, who, however, was very active mentally. During the very first days of our stay, the old man carried his son on his back into our camp to ask me for help and healing. When I explained to him the hopelessness of the situation -- it was a case of progressive paralysis -- tears ran down his cheeks. Indeed, he had already so often beseeched his ancestors for help and offered them many sacrifices in vain. Nevertheless from then on the Meau always carried his son into our camp whenever I had some business with him, and tenderly laid him down near us so that he could participate in our conversations and thus be diverted.

156 123 The Meau are good-natured and companionable. In this connection I recall with what matter-of-fact hunting comradeship one Meau relieved me of my gun and rucksack and loaded them on his own back when he saw that, under the burden, I could scarcely keep up with his rapid pace in the steep thicket.

123 577 /464/ The Meau are almost excessively polite, without any influence on this behavior by materialistic mental reservations. Their innate politeness sometimes leads the Meau to little "white lies," which, however, according to their conception, are not regarded as lies. I had with me a white goat which was supposed to serve as tiger bait and had given it to the Meau to pasture in the maize fields. One day a Meau came to me and said: "Your goat seems to be sick. It has a wound in the stomach and has no appetite. I think that it will soon die." I, of course, had the goat brought to me immediately. It only had the skin on its stomach scratched a bit, and otherwise the animal was completely healthy. Later on it turned out that it had been in the way of the Meau during their harvesting.

/484 cont./

152 556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

439 435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yarn, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

574 [123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /465/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.

/465 cont./

123 574 We experienced this hospitality of the Meau on several occasions. For example, when I visited one Meau village, the chief was absent. Nevertheless, his son provided me generously with all kinds of foodstuffs, though the harvest had not yet begun and the Meau themselves were therefore very short of food supplies, and my wife and I, as well as my porters and accompanying persons, represented a crowd of people who needed a great deal. When the chief returned from hunting after about eight days, I wanted to pay for everything, but he declined: "You are the first Whites to visit my village. I am glad that my people were in a position to give you hospitality, and I would never accept any compensation for something that is taken for granted." He was not to be dissuaded from this viewpoint.

574 648 The attitude of the Meau toward the Yumbri (Phi Tong Luang) is likewise typical. These shy nomads of the primeval forest, who lead their primitive existence in the forests colonized by the Meau, who are regarded by the Lao, Tin, Kamuk, and the other neighboring peoples as evil spirits, are murdered or are cheated and exploited in the most brutal ways, and whose fear of other people therefore knows no bounds, have confidence only in the Meau. The latter do not take advantage of their superiority over the primitives and grant them protection, help, and even shelter at the warming fireplace, when they knock at their doors, hungry and drenched by the rain, and offer their scanty forest products in exchange for rice or meat. The special hospitality of the Meau is mentioned by many authors, /466/ for example, [152] by Savina (1) and Abadie (2). At any rate, it shows how little

1. II, pp. 189 and 232.

2. Page 151.

greedy the Meau are.

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
[264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[832] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[521] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
[602] public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[562] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[609] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
[123] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant. Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires about the wife and children of the host. As has already been pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section, [562] "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no case the women before the men, since that is regarded as improper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
[832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man, if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it. This also applies to married women who therefore may pour brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/467 cont./

426 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in
576 collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 As "please," the Meau use the word tau̇ or tau̇ men yē,
576 which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tŏ tsę, but one usually says tŏ tsę hŏ iŏ, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kŭ tsĭ ŏa. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lau̇ sĭ yŭn; veneration = lau̇ sĭ lŭ lē; contempt = hŭ yŭ; fear, horror = hŭí; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ŏŭ.

156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the
115 Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some
156 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is
622 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced
123 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

/468 cont./

115 156 622 123 "Chief Tsin Tsai is a wonderful fellow. When he sits cross-legged on the ground, his long back hair knotted, the long tobacco pipe in his hand, his high forehead furrowed in thought, tensing the muscles of his lean jaws, /469/ stroking his sparse beard which hangs down from his strongly projecting zygomatic arches, he is so remarkably the typical representative of his industrious people, and yet he towers above their average. Not for a moment is he idle or unoccupied. Now he plaits a basket; scarcely finished, he cuts up a piece of game and distributes the meat, and now he sharpens his knife on a stone and goes into the bush for a few minutes. There he digs up some edible roots and brings them to us as a welcome supplement to our monotonous diet in the camp and visits my husband at his work in order to propose a hunting trip together. As soon [224] [787] as my husband has consented, he goes into his house to lay out a stick oracle and ask the spirits in which direction he must turn in order to have success, what kind of booty he can expect, and more of the same. During this time his people have come back from the fields. They quietly wait for the oracle and then turn to the chief with a series of questions. Quietly and decisively the latter now gives his orders and then is off on the hunt."

A few pages further in her journal my wife returns to the chief: "It is a pleasure to watch Tsin Tsai at work. He is friendly and helpful, offers us every service, carries the hand luggage, and regards no work as 'beneath his dignity.' Moreover, he is clever, circumspect, and prudent; he sizes up the situation immediately and is able to differentiate between the essential and the nonessential. He answers questions with brief, logical, and sensible replies. If one asks him for advice, he always supplements his information with detailed reasoning. To be sure, in matters dealing with hunting, he always judges for us on the basis of his own experiences, so that sometimes differences result. He maintains, for instance, that, after a shot, tigers come along to search for wounded game, whereas our experience was that they immediately disappeared, never to be seen again. Moreover, wild animals were generally much more timid than he expected, probably because there were more of us than he was accustomed to.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

/528 cont./

000 medicine that have to be overcome, it should be relatively easy to fight epidemics successfully, especially since almost all the diseases concerned offer no difficult problems for modern European medicine. The readiness to submit to European doctors
M is also stressed in the literature. Abadie, for instance, states(1):
758
648

1. Page 159.

"The Meau prize the free, expert medical treatment which the French doctors give them, with the assistance of native medical helpers, on their circuits among them."

M With the help of well-chosen doctors, it will be possible
756 to influence the beliefs and also to exert a decisive influence
776 upon the shamans, for, in the eyes of the mountain peoples, the ability to cure diseases is equivalent to visible mastery over the evil spirits that call forth these diseases. Most of the shamans by far want only the best for the people for whom they feel responsible. It will therefore not be difficult to persuade them to intercede against moving the villages, if they are convinced that this would be to the advantage of their community.

M The following event proved to me that in this respect
[123] natives whose trust has been won are easily influenced: One day, a Meau chief, in whose village I had stayed for some time, came to me in order to tell me that he and his fellows had become convinced by my many successful cures that my spirits were more powerful than their own. He therefore requested me to ask my spirits whether and when he should move the village. If my spirits approved, he would prefer not to change his residence during his lifetime.

000 The Thailand doctors and their medical helpers would have to gain the confidence of the mountain peoples. Since the Thailand national character is distinguished by tact and sympathy, the right path will soon be taken automatically. Nevertheless it is important to point out that in the medical treatment of the natives, the /529/ shamans and chiefs of the mountain peoples must always be enlisted. Usually these village authorities will let themselves be properly taught and

/127 cont'd/

133 The configuration of the terrain was so steep and dangerous that one could truly say that "a single man defending it could withstand 10,000 of the enemy." I learned that Mr. Wang's father, Wang I, had been ambushed and murdered here. When we had crossed the [492] mountains, I was exhausted and tried to ride the horse instead of walking. /128/ I had never ridden a horse before and sitting on its back, I swayed back and forth and was in constant danger of falling off. As the road was so steep and rugged, I finally felt that it was too dangerous to ride, so I had to dismount and go on foot. At five o'clock we arrived at Ta-ch'i and went to Wang Chao-i's house to spend the night.

In Ta-ch'i Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and Miao all live together, and it was really an ideal place for investigation. Wang Chao-i's house was situated on top of a small hill, and in front of it was a fish pond and a vegetable garden. On all four sides were cultivated fields and beyond the fields lay the hamlets of the various groups; still farther on were countless rows of mountains. Looking down from this height, there were boundless vistas of scenery, the beauty of which could hardly be equaled. The house was made of rows of bricks and was unusually sturdy, and beside it was a stone house; its interior arrangements were lovely, almost comparable to that of an upper-class Chinese home. As I looked at it while leaning against the balustrade, a floating vision of the feudal castles of medieval Europe came before my eyes.

Second month, nineteenth day. (Friday)

124 Today a funeral service in a Ch'i-Li family was being held in the neighboring village of Yen-sheng, and at eleven o'clock in the morning, after an early meal, we went there to watch. We also visited Huang Kung-ch'ing, the t'uan trustee of the Yen-sheng t'uan, whose two sons had once studied at the Chiang-ts'un Normal School in Canton. At Huang's house, we also met Li Hsi-ch'ing, a merchant from Lo-hui district, who told us that his father had come here to trade. Later on he inherited his father's business, and with his good

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
561 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
252 before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
[124] then other things in turn. I sat until noon
with the old man and his second wife and
527 found them very ready to answer questions
about family history. The conversation led
into that channel in an interesting way. The
old man had been reading about Roosevelt in
the newspaper and asked me questions, being
most desirous of knowing whether there were
many people named Lo in the United States.
(The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and
he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo
his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual
527 place, but they had no visitors as yet. During
the day children went around from house to
house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
fires in the houses, the women about several
533 fires at certain points in the village and just
inside the wood. The same women usually
527 composed each group, but now and then one
would visit a group not her own. The girls
now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the
song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered
overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'
123

*See p. 8.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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M
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/2 cont./

My journey and the working-up of its results enabled me to correct a great many contradictions and obvious errors which appear in the available literature on the Meau. Moreover, I was able to fill in gaps in the ethnography of this tribe as it was known to us. As far as the Akha are concerned, the hitherto available literature contains such scanty information about them that until now this tribe could be regarded as virtually unknown, except for a partial study of the religion by Telford and the little information by Scott.

Unless a source is expressly mentioned, the present work contains my own findings throughout. As a basis for the conclusions on colonial ethnology, I used my article, "Aufgaben der Kolonialethnologie /Problems of Colonial Ethnology/," in Vol. I of the Grosse Völkerkunde. This applies also for the terminology. On every ethnographic expedition the problem of coming to an understanding with the natives creates special difficulty, and this often becomes the source of errors unless linguists trained in the language of the people to be studied take part in such an expedition. In our case this difficulty was overcome relatively well. Bun Ma, a Lao from Pre in northern Thailand, who, as a former teacher in a mission school, had mastered spoken and written English besides his mother tongue, proved to be an excellent interpreter and otherwise distinguished himself. In addition, I had hired a Chinese from Canton, named Ju Tschang, who for many years has resided in the Lao village of Nam Pun in northern Thailand. He spoke Haw, Meau, Lao, English, and some Phi Tong Luang and was at my disposal from time to time. Moreover, most of my Meau informants, especially the extremely intelligent chief, Tsin Tsai, from Nam Fa on the Thailand-Indochina border in northern Thailand, had mastered the language of the Haw as well as Lao. Thus, for my surveys among the Meau, good opportunities for reaching an understanding were provided by the Lao, Haw, /3/ and English languages. In practice this meant that I could have each sentence translated either by a Meau into Lao or by a Chinese or Lao interpreter into English.

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/3 cont./

A 124 In the beginning it was relatively difficult among the Akha. There I first had at my disposal a Lahu whom the Thailand district officer in Tschiengrai /Chiangrai/ had procured for me. Unfortunately, however, it turned out that this man's alleged linguistic knowledge was inadequate. It was therefore especially fortunate that in the Akha village of Kajäka on the Doy Tung Mountain in Northern Thailand I was able to obtain two men, both of whom spoke Lao relatively well. They were the older brother of the chief's wife, named lŭdyä, and his younger brother, named bĕdyę̄.

A M 124 For an understanding, therefore, in all cases it was not a matter of professional interpreters, but of intelligent men well versed in the languages, who had to be trained for our special purposes. The effort this involved was more than offset by eliminating the positively proverbial unreliability of many professional native interpreters.

As a matter of principle I tried to make my own immediate observations the point of departure for my questioning. For instance, my presence at a burial gave me the opportunity to penetrate into the conceptual world of the natives with respect to their beliefs regarding the soul and the realm of the dead. Since I directed the same questions on similar occasions in different places to informants who could not have consulted with one another, and since I also made sure that in each case the interpreters used belonged to different tribes, it was probably possible for me in most instances to recognize incorrect or mistaken statements promptly as such. In checking on contradictions that appeared, I succeeded in clarifying details that otherwise could hardly have been ascertained. Thanks to the unusually keen perceptive sense of my Sinoid interpreters, the ethnographic investigations made relatively quick progress. My wife's zealous co-operation was responsible for valuable findings.

I tried to direct my questions to those natives who in each instance were especially familiar with the subject, for only they could be expected to have a thorough knowledge of details in their fields. Thus, my informant for the political organization was either the chief of a village or I consulted a member of the council of elders, where such was present. On questions /4/ pertaining to the religious life I obtained information from the

/4 cont./

A M 124

shamans or from men who were reputed to have magic faculties. I believe that I thereby succeeded in reducing to a minimum the errors and misunderstandings that are unavoidable in ethnographic studies.

A M 128

As a result of present conditions, the number of illustrations originally planned was reduced by the publisher. Hence I was unable to show through reproductions of original photographs (Ill. 1 to Ill. 108) supplementing the text all the cultural elements which would be pictorially comprehensible. I have tried to bridge this gap by inserting line drawings in the text (Fig. 1 to Fig. 431), most of which are based on original drawings by my wife. The chapters "Settlement and House Construction," "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," and "Clothing and Ornaments" were written independently by my wife.

A M [114]

T A M 104

Since this book is not a linguistic study and the language samples are merely necessary supplements to the ethnographic data, the spelling of native words has been simplified to correspond phonetically with German pronunciation. Where additional sounds were needed, English and French pronunciations were used. This gives the following pronunciations:

ṅ	like ng in the /German/ word "Menge"
h	like ch in the /German/ word "nicht"
x	like ch in the /German/ word "Nacht"
s	like sch in the /German/ word "Schule"
v	like the English "v"
w	as in the English word "water"
th	as in the English word "thousand"
y	as in the English word "yes"
ã	nasal, like the French "an"
ẽ	nasal, like the French "vin"
õ	nasal, like the French "on"
ũ	nasal, like the French "un"
.	under a closed vowel, for example:
ẹ	as in /the German word/ "See"
-	under an open vowel, for example:
ẹ	as in the French "mère."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/458 cont./

A M 161 Thus, in recapitulation, it can be said that the number of the Akha and Meau living today, as well as the actual demographic movement, lie completely in obscurity. The Akha, too, may represent a considerable contingent of population, but it can hardly be assumed that it is a matter of anywhere near as mighty a bulk of population as the Meau. From my own observations I can say that in the case of both tribes it is a matter of thoroughly healthy people. As a consequence A M [163] [165] of the average number of children, from eight to twelve among the Akha and seven among the Meau, a strong increase of the population is to be presumed, in spite of high infant mortality, wherever there are no limiting factors, such as sickness (see the chapter, "Medicine"), crop failure, warlike events, or special laws of the political rulers of the country, which, of course, decisively influence the natural increase. /Ills. 86-91 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/459/ Chapter 31

Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners

M 181 461 The Meau are a typical mountain people. They are by nature healthy, honest, sincere, not at all treacherous, and, a above all, industrious. This is necessary in order to master the hard daily work that is to be done year in and year out. One seldom sees adults sit around idly. Among the Meau, when- M [124] ever I summoned my informants for linguistic studies, they provided themselves beforehand with the necessary material for at least making string or rope during our conversations. They then worked mechanically while I conversed with them. These M 181 157 conversations and my observations of their daily life gave me a good opportunity to discover that the burden of everyday life had not made them morose. On the contrary, they are cheerful, merry, and, at the same time, very conscientious.

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Szechwan was occupied by the Pre-Chinese aborigines called the Shu and Pa.[9] These were highly civilized by 1200 B.C. and had temples, schools, irrigation, etc. The Chinese entered the territory in small numbers about 200 B.C. From 250 A.D. they came in increasing numbers, but were not the main leading and controlling body until the sixteenth century. In 1449 a Chinese tyrant of exceeding cruelty massacred the majority of the population. The province, being such a rich prize, was soon re-populated by the Chinese from the other provinces.

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Method Employed in Blood-Grouping.—Drops of blood were secured by pricking the lobe of the ear or the finger. This blood was placed in 5 c.c. of normal saline, and well shaken. A drop of standard serum from Group II and Group III was placed on separate marked cover slips. Using a small pipette, one drop of blood-suspension was added to each of the standard sera. The entire preparation was then well mixed and mounted on hollow ground slides and ringed with vaseline. After standing at room temperature for half an hour the preparation was examined by the low power objective, and the presence or absence of clumping was observed.

The sera employed were obtained from the Department of Pathology of West China Union University. All the sera were used up in the field during the examinations. The results are shown in the Table below :—

143

	O	A	B	A B	Total
Chwan Miao	74	23	80	28	205
per cent.	36·1	11·2	39·0	13·7	
Szechwanese	467	375	289	141	1,292[4]
per cent.	37·7	29·0	22·4	10·9	

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Sincere gratitude and deep appreciation is extended to Professor R. Ruggles Gates for the inspiration given us in anthropological study. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and help—re sera and apparatus—given us by Drs. Lenox, Williams and Cheo, of the Department of Pathology. Our thanks are due to Dr. Agnew for taking the photographs: his dietetic and dental studies are to be published shortly. The blood grouping was done chiefly by Mr. S. C. H. Yang, who was assisted in part by Dr. Beh. The anthropological measurements, which have now been analyzed statistically, were done by Drs. Morse and Beh, assisted by Mr. Liao as recorder.

[4] Of these 1,292 Chinese, 1,000 were collected and/or observed by Dr. R. G. Lo and 292 by S. C. H. Yang.

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7. Mental Development

A M 114 125 145 Unfortunately I was unable to test adequately either the children of the Akha or those of the Meau. A number of difficulties blocked this, especially the shortage of porters, which did not permit moving our test material. Moreover my test forms were designed for the mental world of primitives and could not be applied without further ado to a mountain people of Farther India with the mental capacity of the Akha, much less that of the Meau. It would have been necessary to revise my test forms, but we did not have the time to do this, especially since our funds were limited.

A M 157 856 According to our observations, however, the children of the Meau are more highly developed and surpass those of all the mountain tribes of Further India, including the Akha. Particularly striking among the Meau is a marked individualism, or rather a strong differentiation in comparison with the other tribes mentioned, which is already apparent even in small children. At the age of four or five distinct differences of character and talent are already evident. The Meau children begin to talk when they are one year old, those of the Akha somewhat later; at this age they are already able to say "father" and "mother" and a few other words. There are, however, some gifted children who speak even earlier and some without talent who are hardly this far at the age of two. One can say, however that at an average age of three and a half years the language of the children is almost equal to that of the adults.

A M 153 861 157 At the age of two the children are not yet able to eat by themselves; they learn this during their third year. The Meau children begin asking questions at the age of five, those of the Akha at the age of six. The children of the Meau do not bother to think up explanations of their own for things that are unknown to them, but rather in each and every case ask their parents or other adults of their community, and in this respect they are decidedly vivacious and active. The children of the Akha are less persistent in this questioning than those of

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/84 cont./

A M 125 532 145

Pictorial representations are also foreign to both peoples. Though the children had never before seen pictorial representations, at the age of three or four they recognized drawings and photographs that I showed them, provided, of course, the representation was within their range of conception. Archers with crossbows or pictures of work in the fields or of the slaughtering of pigs immediately aroused their attention, and they tried to imitate the scene portrayed or the position, for instance, of the crossbow-archer. /85/ When I showed them pictures of European settlements and houses, however, I was immediately assailed with questions: "What is this? Why do you live in such houses? What do you eat? Are there as many children among you? Are they as white as you?" If I showed a child a photograph in which he himself was represented amidst his comrades, he recognized his companions immediately, but only in exceptional cases himself. On the other hand pubescent girls or boys sometimes did find themselves in the pictures. At any rate, the old idea that such children do not recognize pictures or drawings was refuted time and again.

In order to test their drawing ability, I had children of both sexes and of all age levels make drawings. I gave the one to be tested paper and pencil and left him alone for an hour (Ill. 67).[1] The choice of subject was completely free. I prevented any influence from a third party and gained an insight into the mind of the child being tested. I have discussed the results of these experiments in detail in a special study (1) dealing

A M [114]

1. Bernatzik, VII.

with the drawings collected by me among various primitive peoples. In this present work it can merely be said that the boys of the Meau, as well as of the Akha, began to outgrow the scribbling stage at the age of ten, while at the age of fifteen or sixteen almost all the subjects tested were able to draw true to life. In each case I immediately afterwards wrote down the explanations given by the person tested. Sometimes I confronted a child days later with the drawing and asked him

[1] [See cat 116, p511 - ANALYST]

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/85 cont. /

A M 125 532 145

once more what he had represented. In all cases it turned out that the children remembered and repeated their first explanations, in other words, that they recognized what they had drawn.

The boys of both peoples do not draw designs, but figures exclusively; animals, plants, and hunting scenes, besides human representations, are predominant. While the Akha boys reach only a low level of development, it is significantly higher among the Meau. Moreover, there was a surprising similarity in the execution as well as in the choice of subject matter between the drawings of the Meau children and the drawings collected by me from Lapp children of the same age. In the case of the Akha drawings, /86/ however, this similarity was generally absent. In contrast to the Akha, there is furthermore among the Meau a strong factor of individual talent, which differs in the two sexes. The Meau girls are much more gifted than the boys, whereas among the Akha the achievements of the two sexes are fairly equal.

A M 125 531 532 145

As far as the girls are concerned, among the Meau they begin at the age of ten to draw ornamental designs; slightly older children contributed figure drawings and when somewhat older still, drew true to life. Thus, besides the ornamental designs, they also had a very good mastery of figures. Beginning at the age of seventeen figure drawing decreases among almost all the female persons tested among the Meau, and pattern drawing predominates. This is because the girls have a great deal to do with batik, and this work dominates their thinking. Even later, however, they have a technical mastery of figure-representation at a higher level of development, as was proved to me by the example of a woman who had seen drawings of the Lao and was immediately able to reproduce similar drawings from memory. The girls of the Akha showed considerably less talent. Most of them never went beyond the scribbling stage, and individual talent is little developed.

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/86 cont./

A M 145 125 532 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the M [825] children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

439 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages 787 in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

123 Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could 224 not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, [787] whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [32] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

39: Bernatzik--511 /(1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 378/

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Ill. 67. Nine-year-old Meau girl at the drawing test.

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Ill. 68. Meau children make chains out of fragrant blossoms.

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

● 125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In 857 the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.

/129 cont'd/

755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

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Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

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000 This allayed their suspicion. We then took out our phonograph and
126 turned it on, which attracted swarms of Miao to gather around us.
Upon our request to look at the Miao scripts, which Headman Lu kept,
122 he let us peruse a number of them, among which were some very
treasured ones, depicting the origin and history of the Miao people.
511 Headman Lu talked to us at length about the hardships of the Miao;
their indescribable and hard-to-imagine low living conditions brought
forth our deepest sympathy. There were 12 families in this village,
under the family names of Lu, Teng, and P'an. Their main occupa-
tion was farming on lands rented from the Li people.

000 Limited by our schedule, we decided to cancel our trip to Pao-
ch'a village. We left Ang-chi at five-thirty to return to Ta-ch'i.
They gave us a warm farewell, asking us to return to their village
again. Upon our return, we found that Mr. Wang Chao-i had come
back from Pao-t'ing, and we had supper together, during which he
talked at length about his experiences in the Li area. His stories
fascinated us and sounded like fabulous legends.

Second month, twenty-third day. (Tuesday)

226 After breakfast we went to Wen-hua River to watch the Li carry
on their collective fishing. The two banks of the river were crowded
with men and women, about 60 or 70, each carrying fishing gear.
The stream was rather narrow, and the depth of the water was hardly
up to the knee. First, a section of the stream was selected, and then
large stones and rocks were put in the water to block the flow from
upstream, and small ditches were dug on the lower part of the stream
in order to half empty out the water. Then the poison was poured in.
When the fish touched this poison, they were immediately knocked
out and floated on the surface of the water. The Miao then rushed to
catch them with their nets. Today, the job was rather poorly done
because the water from upstream had not been dammed completely
enough to prevent the flow downward, thus preventing the emptying
out of the fishing area. Since the poison could not have its full effect
in the water, /132/ only a small amount of fish was killed and caught.

2:Ling & Ruey--iii E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

114 In the last one hundred years many European missionaries and scholars have come to China and have done considerable work in ethnological and philological research. Their published writings can be used, in great measure, as source material for academic studies. However, little has been done on the Miao tribe in western Hunan. In 1902 Torii Ryūzō of Japan traveled extensively in the southwestern provinces of China, investigating the life of the Miao. Although he traveled through western Hunan he was unable to enter the Miao area to work. Therefore, the Miao area of western Hunan can still be described as a virgin area for ethnological study.

In the spring and summer of 1933 the writers visited western Hunan for an investigation of the Miao. We left Nanking on May 1, following the Yangtze westward and passing through Wuchang, Hankow, and Changsha, to arrive at Changteh and Taoyüan; and again going westward along the Yüan River to P'u-shih in Lu-ch'i hsien, and thence abandoning the boat we traveled overland to Feng-huang. In the border area of the three hsien Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui, we made on-the-spot investigations and inquiries concerning all phases of Miao life. We returned to Nanking on August 1, after a period of three full months.

Three months is naturally too short a time for a thorough investigation of Miao life. However, we were greatly aided in our mission by the authorities of western Hunan, as well as by the Miao themselves, whose enthusiastic cooperation facilitated our work in every way. Through the division of labor among the three of us, day and night, we were able to shorten the time required for our work. The distribution of our work was as follows: The geography of the Miao territory, and the life, customs, and drum dances, etc. of the Miao people were undertaken by Ling Shun-shêng; the language, folk songs, and folklore, [126] etc. by Ruey Yih-fu; and photography, films, drawing, and

/1 cont./

114 cartography, etc. were the responsibilities of Mr. Yung T'u-
[116] heng, who accompanied us. The Miao gentlemen who helped
[115] us were Messrs. Wu Wen-hsiang, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Tsung-hsüan of Feng-huang; Mr. Shih Ch'i-kuei of Kan-ch'eng; and Messrs. Lung Lin-chang, Lung Ting-kuo, and Lung Sheng-fa of Yung-sui, who were with us day and night ready to answer our questions. After we left western Hunan Messrs. Shih Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang undertook /2/ supplementary investigative work that we designated, for a long time. Thus, although our trip was short, the work accomplished would have taken a year or at least more than half a year had it been conducted by one person alone.

128 After our return to Nanking, as we were organizing the material collected during our trip, we were called upon to investigate the Yü tribe, and so we went to southern Chekiang in the spring and summer of the following year. That autumn Ling Shun-shêng was invited to Yunnan by the Yunnan Board of Education; Ruey Yih-fu was engaged in fingerprinting and body-measurement work. In the autumn of 1935 both of us participated in the Anglo-Chinese Border Commission for the demarcation of the southern section of the Chinese-Burmese frontier, and had to travel to the Yunnan border. Not until the summer of 1936, after our return to Nanking from Yunnan, were we able to utilize part of our time to reorganize and study our material from western Hunan. A year later half of the draft of the present report was completed, when the Lu-kou-ch'iao //Marco Polo Bridge/ incident took place, which disturbed our minds terribly. The writers first followed the Institute's move to Hunan, then to Kwangsi, and finally in 1938 to Yunnan, before we were able to resume writing. At the end of the year the first draft was completed. Last spring and summer the books of the Institute arrived in Yunan, and with the references thus made available we were able to check and revise the first draft, and then to make final copies of the manuscript. By winter the entire work was ready, but Ruey Yih-fu was asked to go to Kweichow to investigate the folk art

292 /88 cont./
[764] festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).
291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan, regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua [184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts. When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western [126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought ~~a~~ skirt, made of red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of [292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/1954 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

123 I first came into contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 in 1921. During the previous year there had been a severe famine in Kweichow 貴州, and many of the tribespeople of that province, to save themselves from starvation, ate grass and the leaves and bark and roots of trees. One Hua Miao 花苗, called Chang Sa Kai or Zaccaeus Chang because of his short stature, left his home in Kopu 葛布, Kweichow Province, and came to Suifu 敍府, now called I-pin, where I was stationed. From him I learned of the Ch'uan Miao, and by his help I was able to make friendly contacts with them. I visited the Ch'uan Miao at Chou Chia Keo 周家溝, Wang Wu Chai 王武寨, and other places, and a Ch'uan Miao boy named Yang Fong Tsang went with me to Suifu, where he attended the junior and senior primary schools. For years he was an almost constant companion on my journeys, and he assisted me in my attempts to learn the language and customs of these people.

114 During the following years I visited the Ch'uan Miao in their homes as often as possible, listening to their songs, hunting with them, talking about their customs, taking anthropometrical measurements, and watching them play their wind instruments and dance, or perform their ceremonies.

In 1932 I was transferred to Chengtu 成都, the capital of the province, and was made curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology. From this time on I made more determined efforts to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. I spent several summers with them, and on one of these expeditions I was accompanied by W. R. Morse, M.D., and Gordon Agnew, D.D.S. Dr. Morse made anthropometrical measurements and observations, and Dr. Agnew studied their diet and their oral conditions. At one time when it was impossible, because of brigands, to go to their homes, several Ch'uan Miao came to Suifu and for weeks aided me in my study. At other times one or more Ch'uan Miao men came all the way to Chengtu. Believing that their music was very interesting and of high quality, I brought three of their best musicians to Chengtu where for several weeks Dr. Agnew and other musicians studied and transcribed their music, and published an interesting article on the music of the Ch'uan Miao in volume 11 of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society.

126 At first my method was to listen to a song or story as it was sung by a Ch'uan Miao man or woman, then write it down sentence by sentence as it was explained by the singer. Later I obtained the help of a Ch'uan Miao who could read and write Chinese and sent him to different parts of the Ch'uan Miao region to collect songs and stories. He would write them in Chinese in little booklets, which he would send to me at Chengtu. Later, with his help, I would translate them into English. The final stage was reached when my knowledge of the Ch'uan Miao language and the international script had improved enough to enable me to write down the Ch'uan Miao words in the international script, then transliterate them, and finally render a translation. I would always go over my final translations several times

[P. ii IS BLANK]

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1934 AE5 Miao AE5

126 with the singer or with the person who collected the songs to make sure that they were as nearly correct as possible. Finally, often with the help of my wife, I worked over the translations in order to improve the English without changing the meaning.

In all, I collected 752 songs, legends, historical and etiological traditions, and short stories, but not all these could be included in this volume. In the romanization of Chinese words the Wade system has been used, while the Miao words and phrases are generally in the international script.

579 One difficulty in pursuing my researches was the robbers, who might appear at any place at any time. The Ch'uan Miao region is very mountainous and abounds in forests, natural caves, and rock shelters. These make it easy for brigands and thieves to conceal themselves along the roads and to escape after a robbery. Many times I was prevented by the officials from taking a proposed trip because of the presence of bands of robbers. I have had numerous narrow escapes.

123 At first the Ch'uan Miao were very reluctant to give information about their beliefs and customs. They often told me that previously they had rarely given such information to Chinese or Westerners and that when they were asked they gave evasive answers. But during the years of contact with these people, a very warm friendship grew up between us, and they became very cooperative and helpful. Without their assistance it would have been impossible to carry on the study of their language and customs. They gave me the name of Na K'wa Dai Lo, or great and kindly teacher, and they always welcomed me to their homes. Several times they met me with bugles and banners, later giving banquets to show their friendly welcome. They permitted me to take pictures freely, gave me the information I wanted, and helped me collect stories and songs and learn their language. Some of them sold to me, for the West China Union University Museum, beautiful embroidered garments that were heirlooms. I am sincerely and deeply grateful to my Ch'uan Miao friends for their assistance.

In 1934 I obtained the help of Hsiung Ch'ao Sung, who could read and write Chinese and who had traveled widely in the Ch'uan Miao region. He gave me much valuable assistance in studying the language and customs, and it was through him that I collected most of the stories and songs. Yang Ch'ing Ming came to Chengtu to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School, and during his stay in Chengtu he rendered valuable help in my studies.

000 Lin Min Chun, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology, helped me translate Ch'uan Miao words and phrases into English and into Chinese, and further assisted by searching Chinese histories for references to the Ch'uan Miao. Similar aid was rendered by Dr. Cheng Teh K'un, my successor as curator of the museum. Dr. Serge Elisseeff, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Prof. Jesse Moncrieff, who was president of the Union Language School at Chengtu, aided me in clarifying the Ch'uan Miao sounds and taking them down in the international script. My wife, Alicia Morey Graham, spent a great deal of time correcting the notes and typing the stories and songs.

A /58 cont./
M watched us everywhere, while we had difficulty persuading
857 them to continue their activities or their games in our presence.
123 Finally, we had no other choice but to make our observations,
[126] as well as my Contax snapshots, with Zeiss-Tessar and Tele-Tessar lenses from carefully prepared concealments, such as house walls with holes in them and the like, for as soon as we had disappeared from sight, the children went back to their usual activities or romped about.

1. Children at Play and Work

A
M
857 As soon as the children have outgrown babyhood, their activities during their free time are usually separated from those of the adults. No one stimulates the children at play; at most they are watched with amusement, but never interfered with, and the play of children is by no means regarded as a useless activity. They are made to work, but during their free time they are allowed to do as they please.

The children of the Meau, as well as those of the Akha, are very fond of play and very active. They never loiter about; as a rule one can say that an inactive child is sick. Otherwise they are altogether enterprising and [illegible] and in this respect there is no change in the various stages of childhood.
M
834 There are, to be sure, groups of boys and of girls, which I shall
857 come back to later on, but there is no strict separation among the Meau; boys and girls often play together. This is the natural result of the fact that children, regardless of sex, must take care of their younger siblings. /59/ A seven-year-old boy, for example, takes care of his three-year-old sister, whom he carries about with him in the child-carrier, just as readily as a little girl takes care of her younger brother.

/179 cont./

756 787 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97). 1/1 [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for [614] cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the [465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 755 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

1/1 [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50). Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
755 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which
787 all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/2 cont'd/

101 also repeatedly sent out numerous troops to suppress them. Miao
175 troops must have been sent there at various times during this period. Hence, it has been only about 500 years since the Miao migrated to Hainan. There are some additional primary sources which show that the Miao migrated from Kwangsi province. /3/ During my last field trip to the Miao area, I acquired the family register of a certain Lin family, in which there is the following statement:

●127 "This is a certified copy of the register of the family and its
101 branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-an Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien /sic/ province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Min-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They lived on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. X-X had only one son, Lin Lao-chang, who was born at noon time; on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng. Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

At the same time I obtained another important document from the family of a Miao headman, which concerns the origin of the Miao. It is copied as follows:

"With the approval of the Heavenly Emperor,
While the world is in peace.

101 Our ancestors for generations have been the descendants of P'an.
175 The Prince and his followers of Peking entered Ch'i-hsien T'ung in the K'uai-chi Mountains after falling into adversity. They proliferated down to the time when our imperial ancestor P'an's descendants went out and settled down in every district. Emperor Ch'u-p'ing issued them a grant certificate to the law-abiding mountain people, permitting them to go at will to the deep recesses of the mountains where only birds had been living, from where they could look out over the clear mountains and make their living. Moreover, they were neither subject to Imperial taxation, nor forced labor, nor harassment by troops. They could cut wood in the forests and could use ferries without paying. The Chinese people were not allowed to

/10 cont'd/

Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. [27] First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

/11 cont'd/

175 "If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise
161 Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-enforcements." If these "Han-ta troops," "Lang-t'u soldiers," and the "Lang-mu," the "Ta-shou," etc., all were Miao troops, or if Miao troops constituted a part of them, we may conclude that the Miao troops who were repeatedly moved there could not have numbered less /12/ than 10,000. Another important question is whether these Miao troops brought their women along with them, or whether it was only in a later period that they began to increase prolifically through marrying the women of other groups in the Hainan
175 area? This is a very interesting question worthy of study. It is, of
162 course, closely related to the physical type of the present Miao people, and it is also directly related to the question of the number of original Miao immigrants. As far as I know, even at the present
[582] time, marriage among the Miao is still limited to their own group. To marry members of other groups (such as the Chinese, Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and others) is forbidden. Thus it is very probable that the Miao troops brought their women with them when they first came. There might have been an equal number of women accompanying
161 the original 10,000 Miao troops. Hence, the number of earliest Miao
175 immigrants would have been over 10,000 at the very least.

[27] Secondly, we shall examine the numbers recorded in the local annals. In the annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, it is stated that the Miao in Tan-chou consisted of "about 90 families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than a thousand." Since they numbered "less than a thousand," we may suppose that there were 500. An average village might consist of ten families of five members each. According to the same source, there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district. To use the same method of statistical averages for measurement, the five villages might have consisted of 50 families with 250 individuals. According to the annals of Kan-en district, there were "several hundred Miao families" in this particular district. Let us suppose that there were 500 families. Using the same method of calculation, there might have been 50 villages with a total population of 2,500, not counting those who

/12 cont'd/

161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/2 cont./

128 on behalf of the Preparatory Office of the National Central Museum, while Ling Shun-shêng was ill for three months. Only this spring were we able to give the revised manuscript the last reading, thus putting an end to the work.

The present report is long on description and short on comparative study, hence it is truthfully entitled "A Report on an Investigation." The first eight chapters were drafted by Ling Shun-shêng, and the three chapters on folklore, folk songs, and language as well as part of the chapter, "Magic and Religion," such as "Huan No Yüan," are the work of Ruey Yih-fu. After the first draft had been completed, we checked each other's sections, making additions. Therefore, we are mutually responsible for the quality of the writing.

[127] As to the contents of the book, the first two chapters dealing with history and geography and the sixth and seventh chapters on Miao officials and the t'un system of defense are largely based on historical records and documents. All other chapters are written entirely on the basis of material from investigations, carefully analyzed and discussed, for a faithful presentation. But, unfortunately, the specimens from the field have not as yet arrived in Yunnan; therefore the description of their crafts which must rely upon specimens had to be omitted. Also there are many places in the book where photographs of specimens and explanatory illustrations should have been added, but they were unavailable. It is hoped that these will be added in the second edition, and we again beg the readers' indulgence.

000 Research work in ethnology, according to the Englishman, Malinowski, more than in any other science depends upon the assistance of others. /3/ Our investigative work depended most upon the then divisional commander, Ch'en Yü-ch'iao (Chü-chen) of the army's newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division in western Hunan, who not only facilitated our work but received us royally, and to him we extend our gratitude. We are also grateful to Brigade Commander Tai Chi-t'ao, the head of the western Hunan Department of Village

M /ii cont'd/
114 for a comparatively longer period and had collected more material, I obtained special permission from the chief of our commission to use the materials in my private possession in writing up two books: Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island/ and this small volume entitled Hainan Tao
M Chih Miao-jen /The Miao of Hainan Island/.
H
122 /iii/ We spent four months on this expedition—leaving Canton
114 on February 4, 1937, and returning to the University on June 4 of the same year. Excluding the time spent in traveling and a short delay caused by illness, we were actually in direct contact with the aborigines for more than two months. During these two months or so, we spent about three-fourths of the time in the study of the Li
H and only one fourth in the study of the Miao. The reason for this
[101] was very simple: the Li were the chief aboriginal people of Hainan, and also Hainan was the only native locale of the Li people. It can truly be said of the Li people: "This is the only establishment; there are no other branches!" It was hence wholly fitting that we made them the chief subject of our studies. The study of the Miao was only incidental. Since our working time was so short, our investigation of the Miao was limited to a group of Miao villages in the vicinity of the Ta-ch'i area of Pao-t'ing hsien /district/. This book is the result of a study of this small area within a short period. The contents of this volume, of course, are far from satisfactory. Fortunately, however, we have touched upon every phase of the Miao's life. By reading this book, the reader will have no difficulty
H in comprehending the general way of life of an individual Miao.
M
101 The Li and Miao have lived intermingled for several centuries. With this uninterrupted contact with each other, it was inescapable that they mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, the lives of both have progressed along a common road of sinicization. Therefore, it can be observed everywhere that the present ways of
M life and cultural patterns of the Li and Miao are identical in many
114 ways. To avoid repetition, I have only summarized in this book
[28] those points which I have already discussed in detail in my previous

/iii cont'd/

114 book, Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao. If the reader is not
[128] bored by details, it would be better for him to refer to these two books at the same time. This is my humble hope.

If this book has made any academic or social contribution, the credit should not go to the author alone; it belongs to all the members of our commission (a list of the members of our commission is printed in the Appendix, "Journal of the Investigation"). I, myself, must express my gratification and, even more, my thanks to those others who have allowed me to write out what was the collective work of all of us. /iv/ The one to whom I am especially obliged, how-
[164] ever, is Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung. In that uncivilized region infested with malaria, where other people usually fear to go, we lived close together for a long time. We "comforted each other for the same kind of sickness" (actual physical sickness) and were of assistance to each other. To assuage our loneliness, we sometimes talked far into the night with our beds set next to each other. This experience will leave an indelible impression upon me for the rest of my life.

121 I have always been of the opinion that ethnology is not only a branch of pure science but also a practical study. We ethnologists should present the results of our studies not only to the academic world but also to our people and our country. In other words, we hope to offer some contributions toward the solution of our frontier problems. The last chapter of this was written for this purpose. Everything discussed therein concerns the most practical problems which are very important for the future development of Hainan Island. I should feel greatly honored if my writing could draw the attention of our government and the public to working out a proper solution.

Wang Hsing-jui
Graduate School
National Sun Yat-sen University

July 22, 1938

2:Ling & Ruey--ii E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

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128

The present book went to press in 1940. After one year of typesetting and proofreading, the Pacific War began and Shanghai was occupied. The printing of the book was suspended. Fortunately, the hand-set type was intact when the war was over. However, as the book was written in 1939 many revisions were necessary, but the type already set could not be changed. Moreover, first-grade art paper was intended for use in the printing of the book, but due to the shortage of supplies newsprint is used instead, resulting in the defective reproduction of the plates for the illustrations, for which we beg the readers' indulgence.

/1 cont./

114 cartography, etc. were the responsibilities of Mr. Yung T'u-
126 heng, who accompanied us. The Miao gentlemen who helped
115 us were Messrs. Wu Wen-hsiang, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Tsung-hsüan of Feng-huang; Mr. Shih Ch'i-kuei of Kan-ch'eng; and Messrs. Lung Lin-chang, Lung Ting-kuo, and Lung Sheng-fa of Yung-sui, who were with us day and night ready to answer our questions. After we left western Hunan Messrs. Shih Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang undertook /2/ supplementary investigative work that we designated, for a long time. Thus, although our trip was short, the work accomplished would have taken a year or at least more than half a year had it been conducted by one person alone.

128 After our return to Nanking, as we were organizing the material collected during our trip, we were called upon to investigate the Yü tribe, and so we went to southern Chekiang in the spring and summer of the following year. That autumn Ling Shun-shêng was invited to Yunnan by the Yunnan Board of Education; Ruey Yih-fu was engaged in fingerprinting and body-measurement work. In the autumn of 1935 both of us participated in the Anglo-Chinese Border Commission for the demarcation of the southern section of the Chinese-Burmese frontier, and had to travel to the Yunnan border. Not until the summer of 1936, after our return to Nanking from Yunnan, were we able to utilize part of our time to reorganize and study our material from western Hunan. A year later half of the draft of the present report was completed, when the Lu-kou-ch'iao//Marco Polo Bridge/ incident took place, which disturbed our minds terribly. The writers first followed the Institute's move to Hunan, then to Kwangsi, and finally in 1938 to Yunnan, before we were able to resume writing. At the end of the year the first draft was completed. Last spring and summer the books of the Institute arrived in Yunan, and with the references thus made available we were able to check and revise the first draft, and then to make final copies of the manuscript. By winter the entire work was ready, but Ruey Yih-fu was asked to go to Kweichow to investigate the folk art

/2 cont./

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[139 cont.]

539 limbs in the shape of a melon. En was furious and cut up his monster child with a big knife into a number of pieces and threw them around on the top of a mountain. The second day when En climbed up the mountain he found that the pieces of flesh had become a number of men and women. Then En set fire to the bamboo, which crackled and exploded. [140] This fire provoked laughter from the men and women on the mountain, who soon uttered sounds and talked in three different languages, the Chinese, the Tung and the Miao.

The Third Version

•[128]

[Editor's note: The following is a free translation of the original song. In the latter part, a number of verses, mostly repetitious, have been omitted.]

In very ancient times,
Our story must begin,
When men had to build houses
And burn the field for cultivation.

Cutting the trees required
Two days going up the slope,
And one day going downward, -
Spared only was a big tree.

A tumor grew from the tree;
On its branches the birds nested.
No one dared to chop it:
A goat was asked to divine.

The goat said: "Go ahead."
With a hatchet hacking both ways.
And two knives at the same time,
They chopped for two days.

39: Bernatzik--4 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5

A M 124

shamans or from men who were reputed to have magic faculties. I believe that I thereby succeeded in reducing to a minimum the errors and misunderstandings that are unavoidable in ethnographic studies.

A M 128

As a result of present conditions, the number of illustrations originally planned was reduced by the publisher. Hence I was unable to show through reproductions of original photographs (Ill. 1 to Ill. 108) supplementing the text all the cultural elements which would be pictorially comprehensible. I have tried to bridge this gap by inserting line drawings in the text (Fig. 1 to Fig. 431), most of which are based on original drawings by my wife. The chapters "Settlement and House Construction," "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," and "Clothing and Ornaments" were written independently by my wife.

A M [114]

T A M 104

Since this book is not a linguistic study and the language samples are merely necessary supplements to the ethnographic data, the spelling of native words has been simplified to correspond phonetically with German pronunciation. Where additional sounds were needed, English and French pronunciations were used. This gives the following pronunciations:

ń	like ng in the /German/ word "Menge"
h	like ch in the /German/ word "nicht"
x	like ch in the /German/ word "Nacht"
s	like sch in the /German/ word "Schule"
v	like the English "v"
w	as in the English word "water"
th	as in the English word "thousand"
y	as in the English word "yes"
ã	nasal, like the French "an"
ẽ	nasal, like the French "vin"
õ	nasal, like the French "on"
ũ	nasal, like the French "un"
.	under a closed vowel, for example:
ẹ	as in /the German word/ "See"
-	under an open vowel, for example:
e	as in the French "mère."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/297 cont./

5. The Smithies.

A 348 171 The smithies will not be described separately here, since they are very similar to the smithies of the Meau (see Figs. 85 and 86). It is true that a smith sometimes prefers to set up his workshop under the sharply projecting roof of his dwelling (Ill. 34).[1] A 325 171 The forging tools (see the ~~chapter, "Handicrafts,"~~ Figs. 412-417) show a great similarity in many ways to those of the Meau.

6. The Rice-field Huts.

A 243 342 The Akha, too, erect small huts in their fields, which usually, however, serve them for only one or two days for spending the night and never for a longer stay. Accordingly, they are flimsily built of bamboo and have only one or two side walls, sometimes none at all. A small fireplace is all that serves for comfort. Like the rice-field huts of the Meau, they, too, are A [836] happily sought out by pairs of lovers.

/298/ Chapter 14

House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils

M ●128 352 [438] [439] More care than is given to the building of the houses is devoted by the Meau to the manufacture of the household equipment, which is extremely varied and which is made almost entirely by them. Where this is not the case, as, for example, in the case of various iron and earthenware goods which they buy from itinerant Haw traders (see the chapter, "Trade"), this is specifically mentioned. Although the equipment enumerated here cannot include everything, nevertheless all that we saw has been recorded and sketched with extreme accuracy. The photographs will perhaps add to our account of the material culture.

1 [see cat 116, p252- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--424 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/312/

M 285 482 415 Especially numerous are the household inplements of plaited material; above all, the many shapes of the baskets are to be stressed. There are carrying baskets in all sizes, double-walled for heavy loads, loosely plaited for light loads (Ill. 93),[1] large supply-baskets for the storing of /Figs. 178-180 appear here/ food, clothing, and cloth, chicken baskets, small carrying baskets and carrying bags for traveling; moreover, mats for sleeping, for threshing of grain, for covering food, the wide fish-nets, basket weirs, flat rice-baskets and strainers; and also knotted bags and fish nets. All these articles are described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

M 128 276 412 /313/ The description of the various opium implements (Ill. 74),[2] which are numerous in every household, all the agricultural and smithy implements, and the work tools and cult objects, musical instruments, weapons, and so forth is contained in the appropriate chapters.

A 342 The division of the Akha house into cooking, living, and sleeping rooms is shown in the ground plan, /Fig. 91 (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). /Figs. 181-183 appear here./

A 354 [252] [562] The fireplaces of the Akha (Fig. 181) are square boxes which are filled with earth. They are sunk into the floor of the living room (chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Fig. 105, R). An iron tripod (Fig. 182) for the cooking pots stands on the ground surface, which is level with the floor. These fireplaces, one of which /314/ is for the men and the other for the women of the house, are used for heating the house as well as for cooking. Moreover, as has been mentioned, in each house there is a hearth for cooking the pig fodder (Fig. 183). This hearth consists of mound of stones which is enclosed on the outside with plaited bamboo. On this stone ring stands the iron basin under which the wood fire burns.

A [231]

A 372 Fire is made, as among the Meau, with flint and iron (Figs. 119-122, chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils"). Dry wood dust is used as tinder.

1 [sec cat 116, p643 - ANALYST]
2 [" " , p573 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/443 cont./

A M 142

The beard growth, as Seidenfaden (1), too, confirms,

1. II, p. 153.

is generally slight. The whiskers are usually completely absent, and only a thin mustache and chin beard reminds one of the "Chinese beard." The beard growth of the Akha is even more faintly pronounced than among the Meau; the chin beard is completely absent among them.

A M 144 [128]

Recapitulating, the following anthropological characteristics can be given for both the Akha and the Meau on the basis of the above, and to avoid any misunderstanding I shall use the generally well-known terminology of Von Eickstedt:

I was unable to discover among the Meau the Europoid racial traits advanced by other authors, especially those concerning the head hair. In any case, among the Meau of northern Thailand whom I investigated, it was a matter of pronounced Sinoid to Tungoid /Tungusic/ racial elements (Ill. 52-57).[1]

In contrast to this, however, a Europoid race, somewhat Orientaloid and sometimes almost reaching the Dinaroid /Dinaric/ type, prevails among the Akha, whereas the Delicate Sinoid /feinsinide/ type also occurs, to be sure, but is encountered more rarely than among the Meau (Ills. 1-6).[2] I could not find the pronounced Tungoid, Kachinoid, and Coarse Sinoid /grobsiniden/ types, which also occur among the Meau, among the Akha at all.

For the more northerly and easterly Meau groups, on the other hand, Von Eickstedt's (2) observations prove correct:

2. II, pp. 57, 58.

"The Europiform element is really remarkable among the Miao. It is superfluous to emphasize that mixtures, today or at all recent, are not involved. The type occurs much too frequently for that. Also of interest are the Tungoid traits, which, from the north, remind one of the true Mongols of the Gobi. In addition, there is the light skin which occasionally even conjures

1 [See cat. 116, pp 365-368 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " pp 11-14 - "]

113, 592, 131, 563, 105 Miao AE5

[For information pertaining to the household size, distribution, and tribal subdivisions of the Miao, see 2: Wiens AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 282-284, 286-287. For a cultural summary of the Miao, see ibid., category 116, Pp. 51, 318. --Analyst]

/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243 "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this
186 kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/9 cont'd/

131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-fung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

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Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/22/

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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Chart of position of Maps
of Illustration 1.

p. 48a	p. 48c
p. 48b	p. 48d

/13 cont/ /

*175 no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in
776 Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the
[346] Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in
/14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without basis.

*101 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and
*175 meaning of [ko] [qion] /7/, a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/ CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

•131 Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density
[161] of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the
173 center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas
167 all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the
*[101] Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

2:Ling & Ruey--29 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
SW. China AF16

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/16 cont./

We may divide the present distribution of the Miao tribe into seven areas, namely, Kweichow, Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, Yunnan, Indochina /Yüeh/, and Burma, as follows:

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Kweichow. — There are 82 subgroups of the Miao in Kweichow, according to Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo. (2) But among

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2. Ch'ien Miao T'u-Shuo /Pictures of the Miao in Kweichow with Explanatory Text/ compiled by Chen Hao, a sub-prefect in charge of Miao affairs at Pa Fan, according to Ch'ing Chi /Kweichow Record/ by Li Tsung-fang of the Ch'ing period. The woodcut edition is rare, but there are many hand-copied, hand-drawn editions under various names. There are 82 subgroups according to what is recorded by the Japanese, Torii Ryūzō, in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (see Chapter II); and given in the Englishman E.C. Bridgman's Translation of Sketches of the Miao-tsze, Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. III, pp. 1-26; and George W. Clarke's Translation of a Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chow Miao-tzu, Appendix of Archibald R. Colquhoun's Across Chryse, Vol. II, pp. 363-94. There are two sets in the archives of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, one

/17 cont./

M *101 C 563 from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution M *101 ●131 C 563 of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiéns.

M 167 648 C 563 167 Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

SW China AF16
Central China AF14

/18 cont./

M 167 [648] C 563 167 directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M *101 C 563

M *101 [131] [167] CC 563 Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao, having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

M [162]

/19 cont./

M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
M 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
[556] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[527] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M /24 cont./
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1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

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Burma. — Having stopped at the Tonkin plains, the migratory trend of the Miao turned westward through Lao-chua /Laos/ (2) to such places as Meng-hsin and Ching-tung in the territory

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2. G. Ayme: Monographie du Ve Territoire Militaire /Monograph on the Ve Military Territory/, pp. 59-60.

under the Nan-shan headmen in Burma, but also stopped on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. (3) But their number is not

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3. J. Jeorge Scott: Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Part I, Vol. 1, pp. 296-299.

large, and only a few villages are inhabited largely by Pe Miao. (4)

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4. C.C. Lowis: The Tribes of Burma, p. 40.

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The foregoing is a general survey of the present geographical distribution of the Miao. It reveals two obvious characteristics: 1) the regional distribution is very widespread, and 2) the vertical distribution is very high.

Regional distribution. — What is called regional may also be called plane distribution that is to say, a people's area and directions of distribution, and an explanation of the reasons for this. (5) The present extent of Miao distribution on four

*101 /24 cont./
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5. Ling Shun-sheng:
Yunnan Min Tsu te Ti Li Fen Pu /The Geographical Distribution of the Peoples of Yunnan/, pp. 11-14.

sides is as follows: in the east it reaches west of Kwei-chiang River; in the west it stops on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River; in the north it ends at the north bank of the Ya-lung-chiang River at the territory under the Mu-li headman; in the south it reaches the hilly country above the confluence of the Hung-ho and Li-sien-chiang rivers. This area is the most extensive occupied by any one of the peoples of the southwest.
*101 The migration of the Miao in recent times, due to the repeated
131 disturbances in Kweichow, has reached eastward only to the
167 west of the Yüan-chiang River, and northward to the south bank of the Yangtze River. Since further on in their two directions the terrain becomes less hilly and is more densely populated, there is no land for the Miao to move into. Even if there were land available, the damp, hot climate would be unsuitable for them to live in. The spread of the Miao southeastward was along the Nan Ling mountains /25/ and stopped west of the Kwei-chiang River. Their movement westward met no obstacles because Yunnan, Tonkin, and Laos are all spacious and thinly populated, and now they have reached the east bank of the Nu-chiang. The emigration of the Miao is the latest among the movements of the peoples of the southwest. Yunnan and Indochina, although spacious and thinly populated as stated, have their arable areas in the mountains already occupied by the Lolo and other hill people. When the Miao arrived last they could not find extensive hilly country for living together as a tribe, and were forced to scatter, each to find his own way. Furthermore, being refugees from political turmoil, they lacked organization and definite destinations. In general, depending on hilly areas where they could settle down, they moved farther and farther, and thus their area became increasingly extensive.

/25 cont./

*101 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution
131 refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China,
133 for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep
167 valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various
361 directions are greatly limited by their past geographical environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, ac-
133 cording to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d. - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p48e - "]

2:Ling & Ruey--48a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5.

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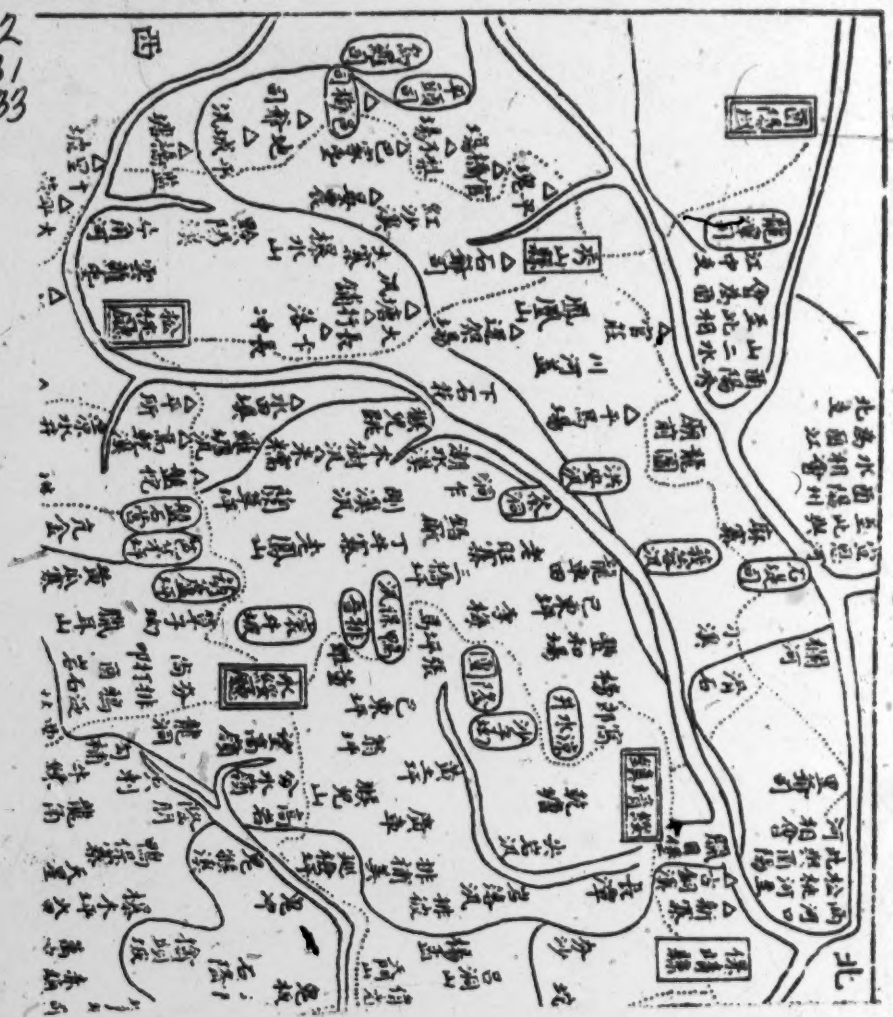

Illus. 1. Full Map of the Miao Frontier (according to Miao Fang-pei Lan by Yen Ju-yü)

Lower left

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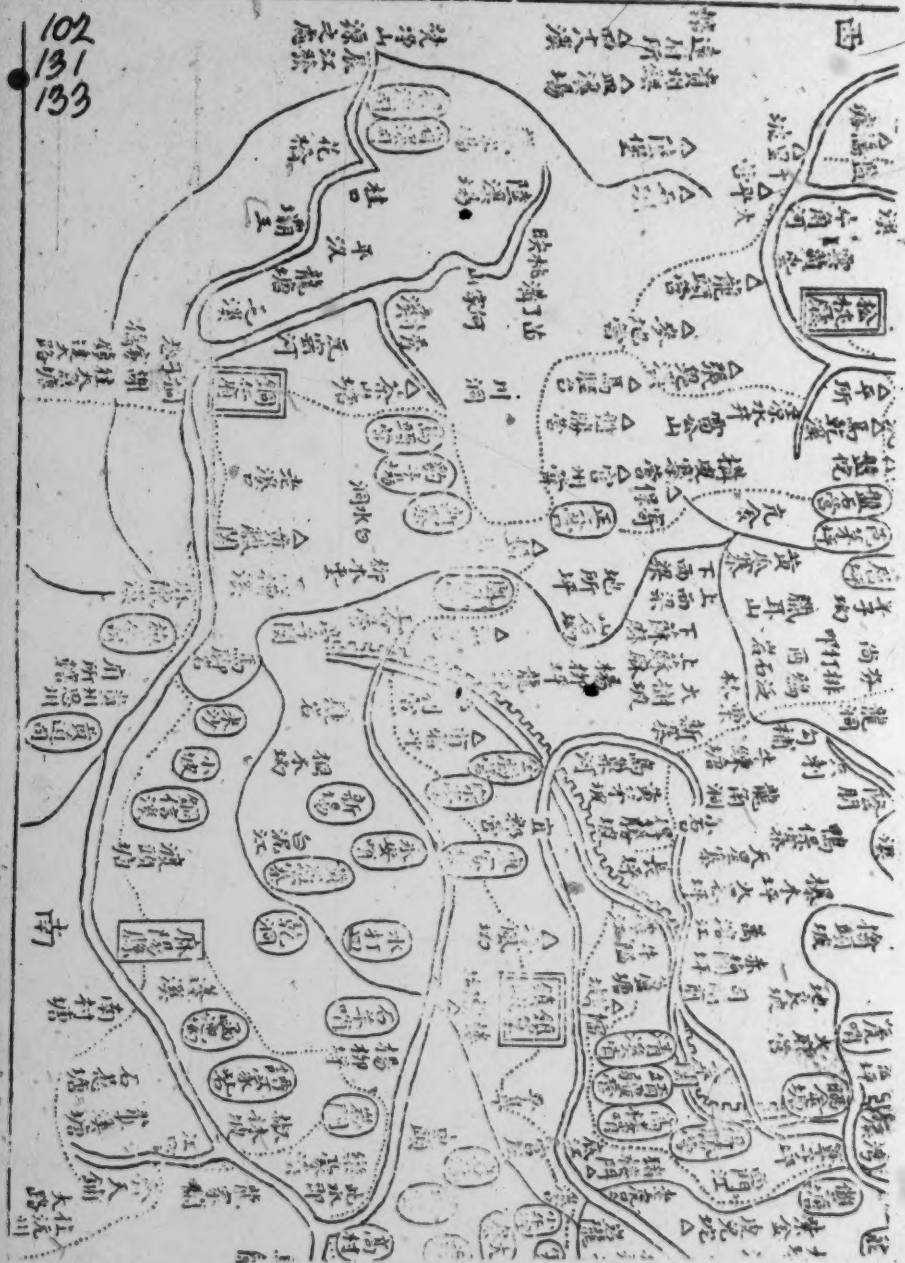

2:Ling & Ruey--48c E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Upper right

苗疆全圖
鎮府廳州城
用回縣城用
口營汛堡壘
用○塘卡用
△
北
東
保靖縣
乾州廳
鳳凰廳
長州府
瀘溪縣
永綏廳
長陽駅
船溪駅
沅州府
王村司
馬路口
龍津坪
羅依溪
會溪
茅坪
高望寨
鳳凰
蓮花池
小面山
高竹溪
清水坪
張家寨
吉位坪
新寨
龍鼻嘴
上雲溪
御不坪
上百戶
下百戶
把布
把金
凍米坳
社家寨
居住山
司馬溪
六保
歐溪
天橋山
湾溪
能溪
沅溪
上保
潭溪
大塘汛
柚旗
丑坨
河溪
大塘
黃金
大寨
湖
川岡
獅子坪
獅子
獅子汛
獅子營
獅子營
獅子營

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Lower right

2:Ling & Ruey--48d • E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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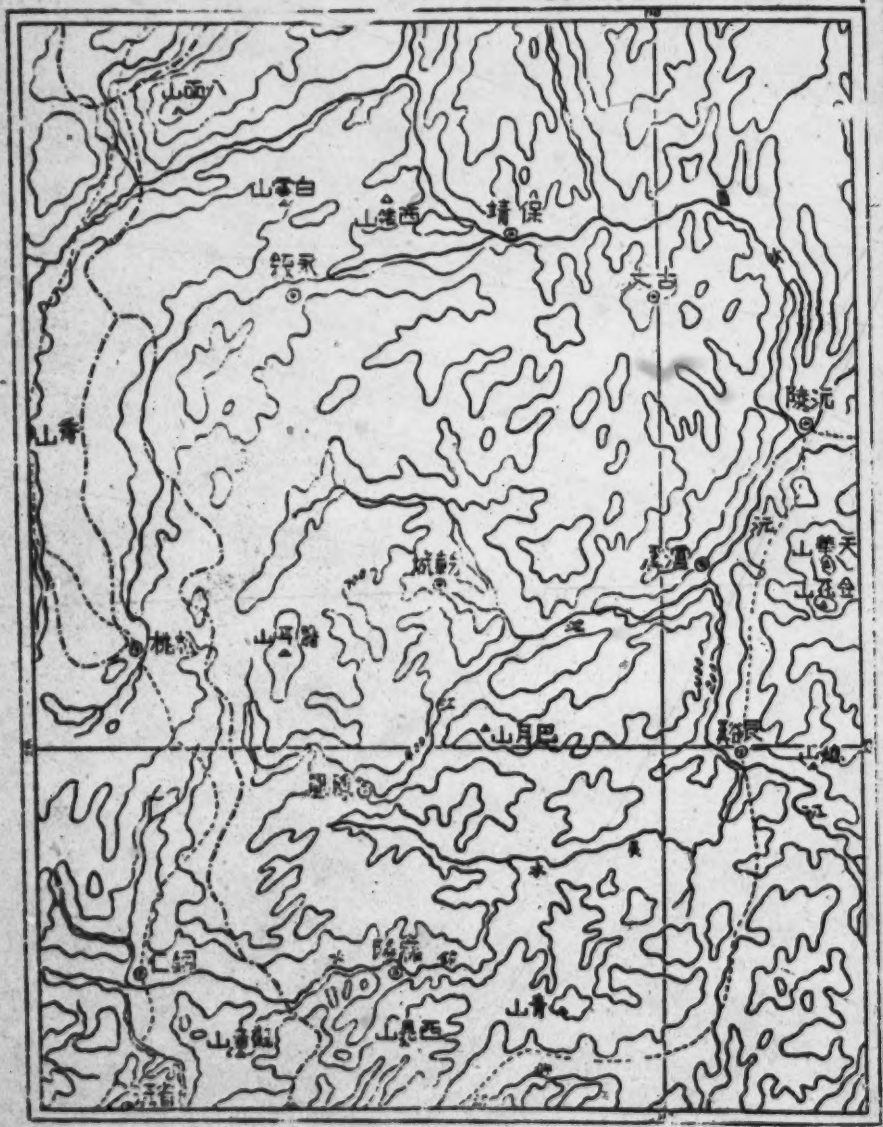
2:Ling & Ruey--48e E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14



Illus. 2. Sketch Map of the Topography of the Miao Frontier

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2:Ling & Ruey--48f E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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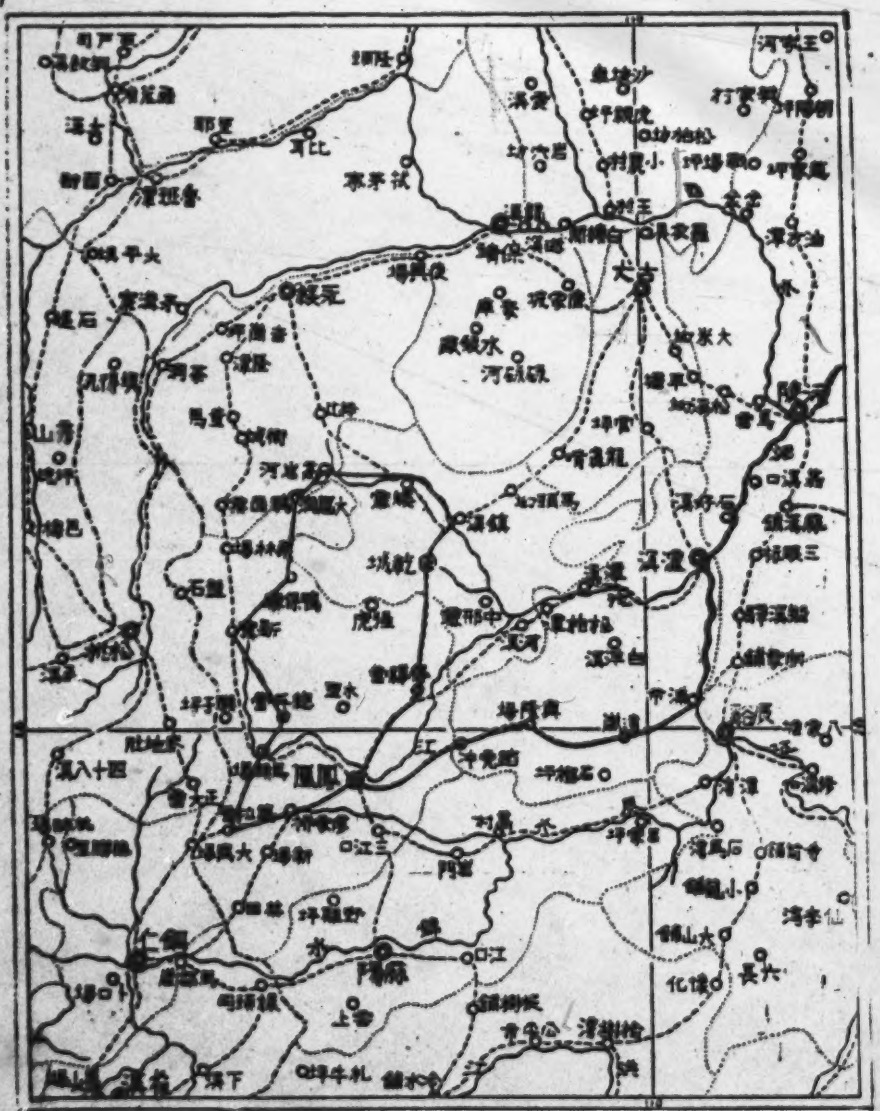

— · — · — Provincial Boundary ····· Hsien Boundary ---- Highways
_____ Lines of the Investigation

Scale 1: 500,000

Illus. 3. Map of the Lines of the Investigation in the Miao Frontier

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai (Illus. 7), [433] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 98 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

M /30 cont./
133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft, thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese have migrated here.

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131, The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty.
648 Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administrative Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some 40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi (1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the northwest regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided
M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8)[1] some 300 years ago. The
131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line
648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

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[1] [see cat. 116, pp48e and 56a - ANALYST]

/30 cont./

●131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely with-
out reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. - Due to the lack of meteorological records the
climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
[114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not repre-
sent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-
chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparent-
ly on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals can-
not see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

2:Ling & Ruey--56a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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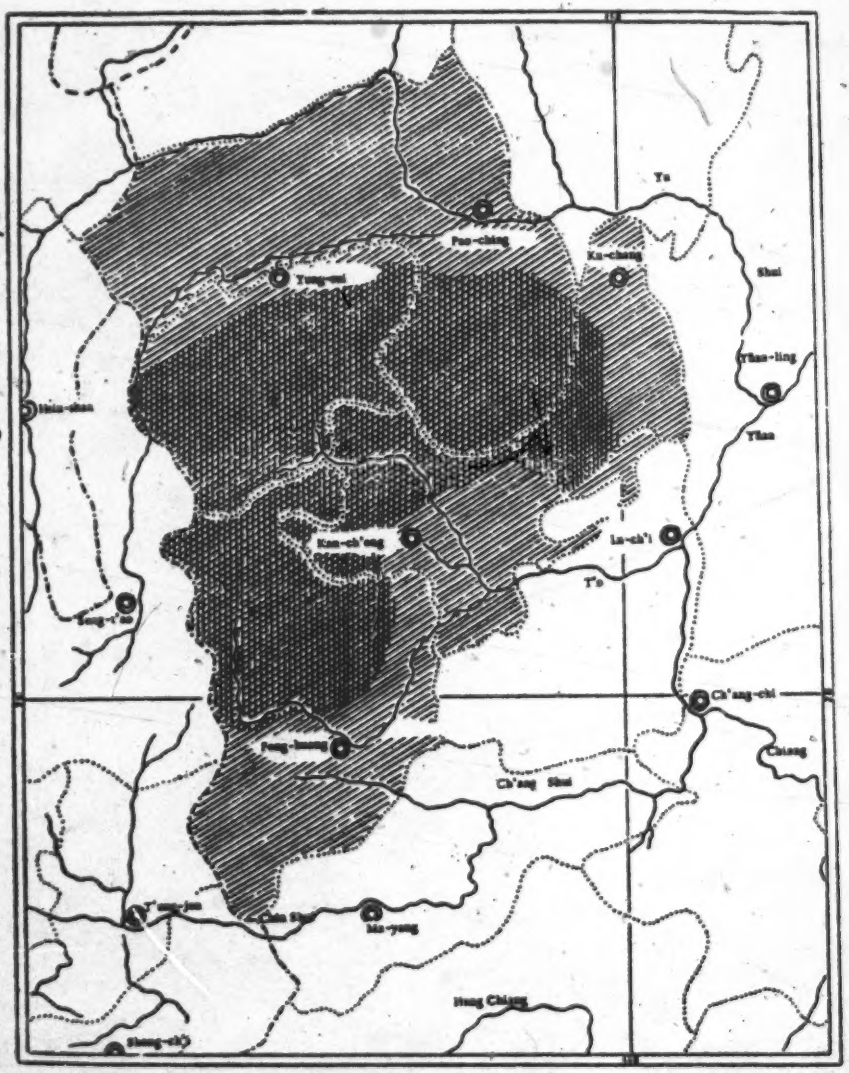

Illustration 8. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, Pao-ching, and Ku-chang.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

173 **Tradition of Origin.** According to Miss Li,[11] with whom I made my first visit to a Cowrie Shell Miao village, two places were mentioned as the original home of the Cowrie Shell Miao, Kiangsi and the Pearl River, where, one man said, they were known as Hai (Sea) Miao. The head of the family in which I lived insisted that their ancestor was a Chinese (Han-jen) by the name of Lei who migrated voluntarily from Chu-shih-hang in Kiangsi with his wife and settled in Ting-fan Hsien. As the descendants of their sons increased in number they adopted other Chinese surnames and his own family, my informant suggested, might be called Yang Lei Chia (the Yang branch of the Lei family).

●131 **Present Distribution.** They are now to be found chiefly in the three *hsien* of Lung-li,

[11] T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939. [11] T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939.

[8c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

131 Kuei-ting, and Ting-fan, a region of many mountain valleys at an average elevation of [491] three to four thousand feet. A motor highway crosses the first two of these *hsien* from Kweiyang east; a second runs from Kweiyang south to the *hsien* city of Ting-fan. There are some Cowrie Shell Miao in the cities, but most of them live in mountain villages, reached by stone roads or mountain paths suitable for travel on foot, on horseback, or by sedan chair only, and are engaged in agriculture. The center of their distribution is approximately where the three *hsien* come together. There has been no accurate census of this ethnic group. Small settlements of Chinese and villages of Chung-chia and Cowrie Shell Miao are often found in the same valley. In Kuei-ting Hsien I visited

[20] Lin Yüeh-hwa, 1941. [21] See p. 10.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (揚 and 楊). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

[9a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

General Description. Ting-shui-pa (see fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles long and half as wide, with mountains and hills surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told her they called the mountains to the north Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman, 131 133 103

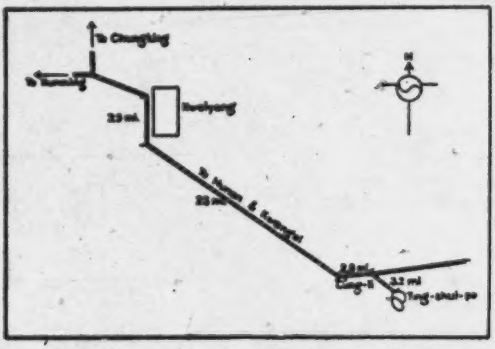

FIG. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

and those to the east the Mountain of the Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley was from the wayside shrine at the top of a pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent from the motor road. About a mile from the pass the road led between high hedges which screened the village vegetable gardens and the large pond from the road. Beyond the pond lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone road went on. At the further edge of a wood it divided, one fork going straight on into the other part of the valley separated from this one by low hills and beyond to the south. The other ran between the other side of the wood on its left and a group of grave mounds on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo thickets separated the road from a meadow where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little way beyond the village another turn, to the 131 133 361

4:Mickey E-6 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

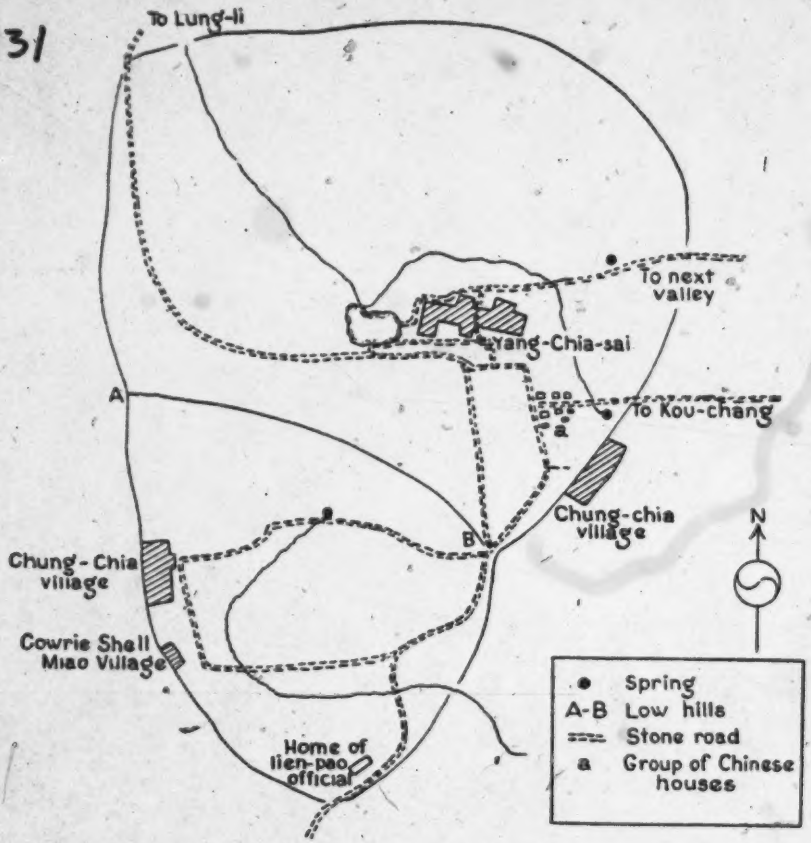

FIG. 4. Sketch map of the valley of Ting-shui-pa.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

566 it was said, the departed spirit of the victim of this atrocity.

Such, then, are some of the conditions under which the Miao lived. Round their necks were the millstones of ignorance and oppression, and humanly speaking, they could never climb higher. They were chained in the Slough of Despond.

• 131 489 [423] And now let us travel to Miao-land, where these men and women dwell, a people who are amongst the most needy in the world. "Miao-land" is not a stretch of country where you will find Flowery Miao exclusively, because the Miao do not possess land. Miao-land is a section of China inhabited by a preponderance of Chinese, patches of Nosu and, in less accessible regions, large communities of Miao.

Embarking on either a French or a British steamer in that most beautiful harbour of Hongkong, we will slip down the China coast and after two, three or four days glide gently up the delta of the Red River into Haiphong. Here we will board a train which, after chugging for three days (at times the gradient is so steep that one feels that by leaning forward one could help the puffing engine), the train will deposit you in Yunnanfu, the capital of the province of Yunnan. The Tonkin-Yunnan railway, with its ascending slopes, its dauntless bridges, its viaducts and tortuous tunnels, is one of the engineering feats of the world of which the French nation may justly be proud. Kunming (Yunnanfu) is the terminus, but our

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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destination still lies from ten to twelve days farther north. The first day's journey may be made by recently introduced motor buses, but the last nine days must be travelled either in a sedan chair or on the back of a Yunnan pony. Yunnan ponies are wonderful beasts, being as sure-footed as goats. If you are particularly energetic you might walk. It is a charming, picturesque journey running over wild wooded hills, down beautiful valleys, past smiling landscapes. At one point the mountains rise to more than ten thousand feet above sea-level, and along this route you see China as she has been for centuries—there have been but few changes. Each day you travel twenty-five or thirty miles and then rest at some little wayside inn, where you meet with a great deal of kindness. Naturally, these inns are neither so comfortable nor so sanitary as modern European hotels, and in summer they are always, in one sense, overcrowded. One hears a good deal these days of China's teeming population; you come into close personal contact with it in those inns and a tin of Keating's Insect Powder comes as a boon and a blessing to men. The historian Gibbon was amused by the Emperor Julian's boast that "his beard was populous". In some of these remote Chinese inns within an hour of retiring for the night the whole body can be populous. On such a journey one meets with amusing experiences. One night in such an inn a Chinese servant was arranging the missionary's blankets on one of the Chinese roughly made wooden bedsteads which was provided. A coolie

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

[2 cont.]

101 175 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time. [648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest. 000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed 131 161 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of 161 whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the 000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

[14 cont.]

000 to consolidate them, to advance their civilization, to improve their living conditions, to plan for their welfare and to alleviate their sufferings. The eighth article in the Declaration of the Fifth National Convention [15] says: "All political policies should be made for the welfare and in the interest of the local inhabitants." It is also hoped that our Miao-I compatriots will realize our mutual racial interest in the face of enemy aggression. Only by rising and resisting the enemy will we be able to ensure our ultimate freedom.

(First published in the Tung-fang tsa-chih [Far Eastern Miscellany], Vol. 27, No. 16, August 15, 1940.)

[16]

General Conditions of the Short-Skirt Hê Miao in Kweichow

Wu Che-Lin

1. Introduction

101 The Miao-I people in Kweichow occupy at least forty per-
●131 cent of the total population of the province. Except in the area north of the Wu River, where the population is entirely Chinese, the Miao-I are in a great majority in all rural communities farther away from the cities and larger villages, in which the
[161] Chinese mostly congregate. But these 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 Miao-I people are different in languages, customs, and costumes as well as in cultural background. Therefore, their names (given them by the Chinese) total more than a hundred, such as the Ch'ing Miao, the Hê Miao, the Pê Miao, the Hung Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Ta-tieh Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Hua-ch'un Miao, the Chung-chia, the Sui-chia, the Tung-chia, the Ts'ai-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chi-tou, the Mu-lao, and so on. The Tuan-ch'ün

[16 cont.]
131 Miao [short-skirt Miao] is a branch of the Hê Miao, distributed
101 over a very extensive area in southeast Kweichow at Hsia-chiang, Yung-chiang, Chien-ho T'ai-kung, Tan-chiang, Pa-chai, Lu-shan and Ma-chiang. They total about 40,000 to
[161] 50,000 people. Although they have among them more or less the same costumes, customs and language, their cultural levels vary to a large extent. The present article deals only with those Short-Skirt Hê Miao who are located in the region contiguous to Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Pa-chai and Tan-chiang, and may not be representative of the entire group.

2. Costumes

[17] A common method to distinguish the various tribal
101 groups among the Miao in Kweichow is by the style of their
291 women's dresses, because the men's are generally similar to those of the Chinese farmers. The women's costumes, however, still retain their original native style. The so-called Ch'ing Miao [blue Miao], Hê Miao [black Miao], and Pê Miao [white Miao] are distinguished by the colors of their womenfolks' clothes, which are either predominantly blue, black, or white. The
291 Short-skirt Miao is one group of the Hê Miao, their women's clothes being uniformly black. They are called the Short-skirts because their skirts are shorter than those worn by the other groups. In fact, aside from the length of the skirt, the other parts of their costumes are quite different too. To describe,
302 we start from the head. First of all, they never use make-up, but their hair is always well-trimmed and shiny. They often
[515] wash their hair by the river bank and afterwards apply tea-seed oil to give it a glossy finish. They comb their hair backwards first and leave a bang of about two to three inches falling down on the forehead in the shape of a small black umbrella. On the crown the hair is coiled up in a chignon and fastened by a small wooden comb three inches long, rather like the headgear of a Japanese woman.

[130 cont.] Regarding the various Miao

101 and Man tribes, the Ch'ien-shu [History of Kweichow] has this to
131 say: "Who are the Sheng Miao? The Ku-lin at Ting-fan, the Ch'iu-ku at Hsing-lung, Ch'ing-p'ing and P'ien-ch'iao, the Tzu-chiang at Tu-yün, the Ch'iu-hsing and Ch'iu-ming at T'ien-pa, the Hê Miao at Cheng-yüan, the Hung Miao at T'ung-jen, the Yang-tung and the Lu-han at Li-p'ing are all Miao." As the nature of these Miao people was ferocious, the Manchu government was very much [131] worried and put them all in the same category as the Sheng Miao. Today, the original settlements of the Sheng Miao cannot be traced with certainty even after extensive investigations in the Miao area by the writer of this article. The Miao in the above stated areas have all been assimilated and are no longer called Sheng Miao. Actually, there is only one remnant Sheng Miao group left. When the writer went to Hsia-chiang hsien in the southeastern corner of Kweichow, he discovered a group of genuine Sheng Miao. The ch'ien-nan
[113] chih-fang chi-lüeh [An Official Report on South Kweichow] compiled by Lo Jao-tien, Provincial Treasurer of Kweichow during the Ch'ing Dynasty, has the following to say regarding the Sheng Miao in the Hsia-chiang area.

"At Hsia-chiang there is a group of Sheng Miao, generally considered good-natured, weak and easily cheated, who are always taken advantage of by the Hung Miao at Ch'u-nan and Yung-feng. The Sheng Miao cultivate the highlands, and are more ignorant and primitive than those at T'ai-kung and Ch'ing-chiang. When they sell their fields they use carved wood [as a sort of contract].

The name Sheng Miao, of course, is given by the Chinese; but without their sensibility being hurt they call themselves "ta-meng-niu," the Miao word for "Sheng Miao." The name, however, conveys more or less an idea of contempt. Sometimes they also call themselves "ta-meng-feng-pai," meaning the "High-slope Miao." This indicates their residence on the high ground. According to the writer's findings, Kao-p'o Miao [High-slope Miao] is another name of the Hê Miao. The Sheng Miao at

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a
few differences in language, costumes and customs between them,
[184] but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The
area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive,
and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province
all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of
Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according
to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the
Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i
Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and
the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most
backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being
the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded
by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the
other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu,"
meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng
Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and
have always been an independent community, so the Chinese
call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long
and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang,
surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves,
forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two en-
trances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like
sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due
to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot
be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated
account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200
[sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the high-
est peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the
total population about 10,000. The writer has visited altogether
361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu,
Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-
wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

CHAPTER XIX

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

101 131 In the sense that least is known about them, the Meos are the most mysterious of the twelve principal races of Indo-China. This Mongolian people is to be found at altitudes higher than 3000 feet over the whole of Indo-China north of the 21st parallel of latitude. They are utterly incapable of bearing, even for the shortest time, other than cool and temperate climates. Being self-supporting, they rarely come down to visit the markets of the plains and valleys, and when obliged to cultivate fields below the 3000 feet line, they always return to their villages to sleep.

175 The Meos' territorial aspirations are purely vertical. By their disastrous method of cultivation, which completely exhausts the soil in a few years, they have been forced steadily southwards from China. In migration, as in the year 1860, when they crossed the frontier of Indo-China, they will fight their way savagely and effectively across low-lying country, only to split up and disperse immediately the mountains are reached. An ethnographical map of northern Indo-China is pock-marked with groups of Meos. Since 1860 they have travelled about 400 miles and are now filtering slowly southwards down the Annamite Chain, where from time to time a new group is reported on a mountain top. They are said to have been attacked in recent years by government forces in northern Siam, but it is unlikely that anything short of extermination can stop their slow, silent movement through the mountains. Europeans who have studied them superficially believe them to be of Esquimaux origin; a theory which is offered to explain their horror of warm climates. These authorities report that they possess legends of eternal snows and of arctic days and nights. But the short description published in 1906 by Commandant Lunet de Lajonquière says nothing of this, and no other scientific account of the Meos has appeared.

155: Abadie--159 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[147] [Blank page in original text.]

[148]

CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

[149]

CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

The name "Méo" is applied to the peoples of a very character-
101 istic type which inhabit the highest regions of Upper Tonkin.
13

The Chinese call the "Meo" "Miao-tseu," while often including them in the general designation of "Man" (rude barbarians).

In their dialects the "Méo" designate themselves by the name of "Mung."

In Tonkin, the various "Méo" tribes form a total of about
[161] 40,000 individuals, of whom the densest groupings are located in the regions of Dongvan, of Pakha, and of Muongkhuong where they constitute the majority of the population.

Other relatively important settlements of "Méo" are also found towards Upper Laos.

Like the other groups previously studied, the "Méo" have their
167 origin in the mountainous regions of the south of China, from which
[175] they have been pushed back little by little towards the south by the Chinese pressure and expansion. There still exist in Yunnan and in Kweichow very important groupings of "Méo" whose numbers it has been impossible to estimate, even approximately. These groupings appear to have conserved a certain independence in the high valleys and mountains which form their habitat but continue to undergo the migratory movement which is pushing them towards the south.

The groupings which have settled in Tonkin, while following
131 the various mountainous ridges, have little by little spread them-
67 selves the length of the north and northwest frontiers as far as the
175 great Annamite chain of mountains. This movement of [150] migration has most often taken a peaceful form, but several cases of violent invasion are reported, notably in the region of Dong-van at the beginning of the nineteenth century and towards 1860.

Y40 AE6
M140 AE5

773 They know the legend of the flood which they end in a special manner: "The young sister married to her brother was sterile, and a spirit gave her eight beans so that by eating one bean each year she might have eight children. Overcome with happiness, she swallowed them all at once and was soon the mother of eight twins who were the founders of the eight Pa Teng families."

000 /128/ /A photograph entitled "Meo flutist" appears here. --Translator/

/129/

CHAPTER VII

THE MEO ETHNIC GROUP

Section 1

The Meo--Their Name--Their Origin and Immigrations. --Their Favorite Habitat

M
101 The Meo are called by the Annamese by the name Man Meo (wild cat). The first of these words is the one under which they mingle all the mountaineers, and the second is applied especially to those who dwell on the highest peaks and have the reputation of climbing like cats. It seems preferable to designate this ethnic group simply by the second word and exclude the first. It will be better to reserve the latter for the Yao in order to avoid confusion between these very different groups. The Chinese call them Miao tse and they call themselves Mong.

M
161 Their number may be estimated at 7 percent of the total population of the high region of Tonkin. The most important settlements
131 where they live are located: 1) on the Chinese frontier between Dongvan and Quanba, between Pakha and Muongkhuong; 2) on the right bank of the Red River, between Nghialo, Van Bu and Tu Le;
M and finally, 3) on the Black River, to the north of Vau Yen.

175 They immigrated into Tonkin relatively recently. At first they
167 migrated in two masses which invaded the Tonkinese mountains, throw-
131 ing everything into disorder during their passage, one mass at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the other about 1845, at the time of the Tai Ping rebellion. Tribes coming down towards the south, family by family, following the crests of the mountains, have

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later.

175 167 131 175 609 643

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow.

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The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing.

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/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their

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131 /131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their MIAD AE5
living at high altitudes and their difficulty in acclimating in the lower valleys. In fact they seek to compensate for a lower altitude by a higher altitude. They require a severe climate, which they enjoyed on the high plateau of Yunnan and Szechwan and which they were forced to evacuate. They live especially on limestone peaks, and when some families live at the bottoms of cirques, the altitude of these goes up at least to a thousand meters. They prefer steep slopes where their little house appears to be suspended like a cage on the side of a wall.

Section 2

Physical and Moral Natures

142 147 143 The Meo is short and thick-set, his average height must be about 1.58 meters. He is right to be proud of the name Meo which was given to him by the Annamese as a contemptuous title. As a matter of fact, he climbs like a cat. Along trails where we must use hands and knees, he may be seen going ahead slowly but with supple ease, even though he often is carrying a loaded pack-basket on his back. His resistance to fatigue is very great while he remains above 800 meters altitude, below this he thinks he is in danger of being taken ill in the hot season.

142 157 The Meo has a nearly white complexion, hard and prominent features, brown eyes and hair like all the inhabitants of Indochina, aside from a few unusual specimens with reddish hair and blue eyes. [461] He is as hard-working as the Thai is indolent. More courageous than most of the natives, he would be as dangerous to have as an enemy as he has been useful to us as an ally on certain occasions, such as the conquest of Dongquan in 1893. The Meo woman is not pretty. 562 142 She is a crude country-woman and a hard worker whose sturdiness is incompatible with all grace and style. However, the young women attract one's eye by the freshness of their pink and white faces, the air of health and vigor which they give forth, and their well-developed figures, which are emphasized by their very picturesque costumes. /132/ The high pitch and the weakness of their voice makes it resemble a small girl's. In short, youth and freshness endow the crude woman of the mountain with the same allure as all women. Unfortunately, like her neighbors of the valleys, she is subjected to hard toil in the fields at an early age. Moreover, she marries young and the cares of maternity added to those of house-keeping cause her to lose her shape and to take away her fresh appearance very quickly.

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165 Moreover, the birthrate among the Meo is one of the highest of the high region and it is not rare to see six or seven children about each of their little houses. On the other hand, very high infant mortality operates to slow down the population's rate of increase. It is owing to the winter cold against which the Meo do not protect themselves by closing up their houses better and covering themselves more warmly. Be that as it may, we can foresee that in a more or less distant future, their tribes, no longer able to find nourishment in the mountains where they are settled, and driven along by new immigrations, will gradually come to overflow into the high valleys at less elevated altitudes, and will take the place of the Thai whose birthrate is very much lower.

Section 3

Dwellings

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132 Sometimes Meo dwellings are found at the bottom of a cirque situated on an elevated plateau, as at Dongvan, which is at a thousand meters of altitude, but this is rather exceptional. In fact the Meo prefers to build his cabin on slopes with difficult approaches and near the summit of the mountains. The house usually is built on a small natural spur or platform cut into the side of the mountain, not far from a small ravine which provides him with water with the aid of a bamboo conduit. The roof is of straw or planks laid like tiles, the walls of pise or planks roughly joined, or yet of round logs placed one on the other, the doors wooden and fashioned with an axe. They almost never have windows. For light and air they rely on the interstices between the /133/planks or logs and on one of the gables whose upper triangle is open to every wind. In constucting his dwelling the Meo, who is still so industrious and thoughtful in his other tasks, shows himself to be most shortsighted. By building it with a little more care, and especially by stopping up both of its gables, he would keep away from his little family much of the bronchitis which comes each winter to threaten the lives of his loved ones. We have seen at 2,000 meters altitude and in zero temperature /centigrade/ little youngsters hugging the fire in a miserable wooden cabin with no other clothing than short cloth jackets. They stretched out their bare body and little hands to the flames, while shivering and coughing in a pitiful fashion, and the parents, accustomed to this spectacle, had no

●131 idea of covering them or closing up the gable where glacial air poured
342 in.
132 In the rear of the cabin is found a little corridor which separates
342 it from the earthen wall hewn into the mountain. The front is provided with a narrow veranda where horses are stabled in stalls enclosed by round logs.

342 The interior of the house, which rests directly on packed
356 earth, is usually divided into three compartments. In the first is the
352 kitchen where the women habitually work. The cooking-ranges are of clay and are very large. They serve not only for cooking food for the family, but also to prepare the vegetable pastes which make up food for the farmyard animals. The household implements and the various agricultural tools are likewise kept in this room.

The one in the middle is the reception room, where the men gather after work around a great fire lighted in the middle of the room in a square bed of clay. Above this hearth is suspended a bamboo framework on which crops are placed to dry.

The third room contains sleeping compartments, simply small booths, separated from one another by partitions of bamboo or planks. Their sole furniture is a cot. The interior appearance of these dark holes is not at all tempting. In the greatest disorder one may see padded quilts losing their cotton through numerous rips and other belongings of questionable cleanliness.

343 /134/ In front of the house, the pig sty, very well cared for, is suspended above the slope by oaken beams and planks. Next to it, also hung above the void, is located a little shed which serves as a storage place for rice and maize.

352 The house is not without furniture like the Tho cabins. There
241 are tables, benches, cots of wood, all kinds of household utensils or tools, and even musical instruments. All around the Meo plant fruit trees and cultivate beds of vegetables here and there.

342 The type of dwelling which we have just described has nothing
352 which cannot be changed. Poor people and newly weds who are still getting settled simply build a thatched cottage whose sidewalls are made of corn stalks not too tightly joined together, whose spaces freely permit passage of the winter's cold north wind. When evening comes they simply throw a few armfuls of corn stalks into a corner and pass the night on this thinly padded couch.

/20 cont./

175 the view often held by the Chinese that the Meau were located
648 only in present-day Kweichow and therefore remote from the ancient China of Hsia and Shang. He points out that the assertion of the Schui-djing-dschu (sixth century B.C.) that San-Wei was located on the upper course of the Wei-Ho is very plausible. The Meau of the Hsia are submerged under the term "western barbarians" or under the names of widely dispersed groups of Tibetan affinity, such as the Tjang. After this it is not until the Tang and Sung Periods (816 to 907 and 960 to 1279, respectively) that the foreign peoples who live in western Szechwan and eastern Tibet, but also far into Kweichow, again emerge. Thus they already appear in the nuclear area of the present-day Meau, but still retain those regions through which the ancient San-Meau must have passed during their southward infiltration. The author continues: "Actually, with San-Miau, Tjiang, Fan, and Miao, this brings about, step by step and with extensive overlapping, a southward shift of tribal /21/ names whose ethnic substratum is most closely related. Since the Sung
[101] Period, however, the name Miau has been applied to a definite tribal group which is now found chiefly in Kweichow."

131 Today, these Meau in Kweichow are split into two large
175 surviving blocks. The Chinese administration there can best
648 be described as a kind of protectorate. Even today, however, the Meau exist as an independent nationality, and this after four thousand years of historically confirmed struggles and continual repulsion (1). Retaining Kweichow as their settlement area,

1. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 16.

they gradually spread into the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the south and into the provinces of Szechwan in the north and Yunnan in the west, as well as into Indochina (Tonkin), Thailand, and Burma. Savina comes to the conclusion that the present-day Meau in Tonkin came from Yunnan, but those in Laos from Tonkin. He says that the latter steadily pursued their way to the south and today have reached the twentieth degree of northern latitude in the Annamese Corderilla.

Miao AE5

/21 cont./

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We learn from Maspero (2) concerning both groups, the

2. Page 244.

Meau in Tonkin and those in French Laos: "The Meau form very scattered groups in Tonkin and Laos. The most important group, that of Mung-trang, north of Lao-cay, belongs to the territory of a chief (tou-sseu) on Chinese territory. The other groups live completely separated from their relatives in smaller villages."

[148]

In Tonkin the limits of expansion which they have reached thus far by following the various mountain ridges are given by Von Eickstedt as the northern and northwestern boundary up to the Annamese Cordillera. At any rate -- as has already been mentioned -- all the Meau are rapidly advancing toward the south.

J. McCarthy (3) reported in 1902 that in 1886 the Meau

3. Pages 83 ff.

had not yet crossed the left bank of the Mekong, but in 1894 they had already settled on the heights of the right bank. Credner (4)

4. IV, p. 167.

writes: "Only in very recent times, during the last half-century, have they also moved into the high regions of northern Siam." In 1929 the explorer (5) found them south of the Mulmein-

5. IV, p. 139.

Raheng /Tak/ route at 16° 35' north latitude and stated that within about forty years, they had thus shifted their area of distribution almost 380 kilometers to the south, and /22/ continues: "In the mountain ranges between Menam Tschao Praya /Chao Phraya River/ and Menam Pasak /Pa Sak River/, A. Kerr in 1927 found a large Meau village at 17° north latitude on the heights of the Pu Lomlo on the Uttaradit-Lamsak route, so that

/22 cont./

131 [175] there, too, east of the Menam /Mae Nam/, a similar broad expansion of the Meau to the south is confirmed." A chart supplementing his discussion shows the area of Meau settlement as the mountains of northern Thailand at altitudes above 1,000 meters, where they occur sporadically, as well as the central cordillera at 16° 35' north latitude as the southernmost occurrence (1).

1. Credner, IV, p. 137.

Today we therefore find settlements of the Meau at a distance of only 300 kilometers as the crow flies from Bangkok. Since they are now approaching the spurs of the mountain ranges which follow the Menam, the question arises as to whether they can finally be made sedentary or whether there will be further movement southward. Such a movement, however, in view of the conditions and the geographic situation forcing the Meau to maintain a southward direction, would lead into the peninsula of Thailand and the Malay Peninsula, which would mean a descent into the tropical forest climate. This would presumably bring about a biological catastrophe for the mountain peoples. At any rate, their future development will also be of colonial-ethnological interest.

173 The Meau whom I investigated in Thailand, according to their own statements, came from Yunnan. Luang Boriphand Dhuraratsadorn (2), too, gives the "Haw country (Yunnan)"

2. Page 157.

/cited in English/ as the homeland of the White Meau. Undoubtedly his statement is also based upon information from the Meau, who, if we refer back to Savina's (3) findings summarized

3. II, p. vii.

above, regard Tonkin merely as a way station on their route from Yunnan and have remained historically aware of their migration route.

/22 cont./

173 This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom
[115] I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tšu tên, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/
[648] In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands in China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nyǎ lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

174 The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been re-
[131] ported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan actually are Meau and not perhaps Yau. It is significant, at
[197] any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

M /23 cont./
174 to Stübel, on the other hand, their clothing is identical with
[197] that of the Meau of Kwangsi.

M Summarizing, it may be said with Von Eickstedt that the
174 Meau come from the high-mountain steppes where Tibet,
● 131 Mongolia, and Old China converge, perhaps even from Siberia.
[101] The majority of the Meau today live in two large, compact groups, separated from one another, in Kweichow; vast numbers of them are also settled in the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Szechwan, and especially in Yunnan. Considerable groups have also occupied Tonkin as far as the Annamese Cordillera, and others entered Thailand, where they reached the central cordillera at 16° 15' north latitude. /24/ During the past decades advance units of these people have also entered Burma. On the other hand, it has not been unequivocally determined whether Meau are actually found among the mountain peoples of the island of Hainan; if this should be the case, however, they would not have reached the island in the course of a natural migration, but would have been settled there forcibly by the Chinese. In accordance with geographical and population-political possibilities, the migratory movement necessarily always proceeded from the north to the south and has not yet ceased even today.

M A great number of Meau, perhaps even the larger half,
174 were forced by the most severe political pressure to give up their allegiance to tribal customs and, with the loss of their cultural and ethnic identity, have been absorbed by the neighboring tribes. Undoubtedly the Chinese especially have absorbed much Meau blood. The culture of the ancient Meau was presumably an element which, among others, formed the foundation for the building of the Chinese high culture.

A As for the original homeland of the Akha, Davies (1) and
174

1. Page 395.

the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (2), as well as Heine-Geldern (3),

2. Part I, p. 590.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/25 cont./

A 131 vicinity of the Mekong mountain gorge, and that large groups are settled in the eastern parts of Thailand and Indochina, especially east and north of the Mekong in upper Laos. The same author further asserts that many Akha entered Kengtung from the east by way of the Mekong Valley.

A 131 174 In addition to the ethnic groups in the eastern part of Thailand, I have found some in the north. According to my information, based on their traditions, these Akha of northern Thailand migrated south from the mountains north of Kengtung and, by way of Söma, Kengtung, Buta, Batya, and Bako, finally reached the Doy Tung, which, as a primitive mountain massif, projects out into the river valleys, and the Kaye, a mountain west of the Doy Tung. These regions, in addition to the calcareous mountains east of Nan, may be regarded as the southernmost habitation area of the Akha at present.

Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are in the midst of a migration whose main direction, aside from local deviations, is from north to south.

/26/

Chapter 4

Description of the Country

M ● 131 133 Today the Meau occupy parts of South and West China, of North China, Indochina, northern Thailand, and, here and there, northeast Burma. One would be inclined to assume that under these circumstances the character of the land would be very diverse. Actually, however, it is not, since these mountain tribes do not settle below a certain altitude. In almost M 133 137 all cases, therefore, we find extensive hilly areas, generally covered with tropical monsoon forests, which, like the European deciduous forests, lose most of their leaves at a given season (the dry season). Two strongly marked seasons of the M 132 year are distinguished: the cold rainy season lasts from April to November; the dry season prevails during the remaining months. During the rainy season there are quite low temperatures and snowstorms, especially at higher altitudes and in the north.

39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
AKha A04
Miao AE5

Detail Map
of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

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M
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/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be in-
[163] comparably stronger than the limiting factors.
[842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today
131 still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the
[167] province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and
[648] Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

/451 cont./

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3. Pages 130 ff.

4. V, pp. 81 ff.

statements. Witek (5), too, asserts that the Meau undoubtedly

5. Pages 54 and 57.

constitute the largest and most unitary contingent of the population of Kweichow and speaks of nine million. Schotter (6)

6. Vol. III, pp. 198 and 402.

estimates their number in this region from five to 18 million and mentions that there they have been pushed back into the mountains and probably are the oldest population of the province. Seidenfaden (7) makes the following calculation: on the basis

7. II, p. 194.

of the statements by Clarke, who speaks of seven to ten million, he estimates the population of Kweichow as eight million inhabitants. Half are said to be Chinese, the rest divided up among the Meau, Chung-chia (Thai), and I-Chia. Since the Chung-chia are said to be as numerous as the Meau and I-Chia combined, and the Meau in turn more numerous than the I-Chia, he estimates the Meau at one and a half million. In addition to these Meau living in Kweichow, there are the Meau of Yunnan, Honan, and Kwangsi. In the last-named province they are said, with about four million, to constitute half of the total population. Thus, Seidenfaden finally arrives at a total number of eight million Meau.

Only an insignificant splinter group of the Meau pushed on to Burma.

/451 cont/

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The Burma Census of 1931 (8) gives the following figures:

8. Page 200.

1931, 830 Meau; 1921, 394 Meau; 1911, 646 Meau.

/452/ We have here a typical example of an apparent population increase! Actually, it is, of course, a matter, not of biological increase, but presumably of newcomers from the northern and eastern border areas, possibly even only faulty identification, with merely more Meau being included in the last census than in the previous ones.

There is no census for the Meau settled in Thailand. Credner (1), on the basis of his tables, comes to the conclusion

1. II, p. 137.

that their number can hardly exceed one to two thousand. Now I found many villages, all of them small, to be sure, in regions which he had not visited, from which I conclude that even for his time his statements must have been far surpassed. Nevertheless it is not possible for me either to give exact figures, since in the meantime the decree concerning the mountain peoples has been issued in Thailand (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand"), which practically makes it impossible for these [167] people to live. This leads to emigration by the Meau, which, however, will take place, of course, only in those areas where they can be seized by the government. Also to be considered is the fact that the Meau in Thailand principally inhabit areas in which they are actually uncontrollable and are difficult to get hold of statistically. Accordingly, there are no satisfactory demographic data concerning the Meau in Thailand.

In Indochina, as Von Eickstedt (2) states, most of the

2. II, p. 53.

/452 cont./

162 Meau now live on the Tran-Ninh Plateau, which forms the
131 bridge from Tonkin to Laos (Vientiane). He estimates them, with 20,000 persons in round figures, as about a third of the population of the district.

According to Lajonquière (3), the Meau in "Tonkin

3. II, pp. 296 and 297.

septentrional" always constitute significant population groups. In the region of Dongvan, Yen-Minh, Quan-Ba, on the one hand, and the region of Pakha, Muong-Khuong, they are the most numerous population, and to be sure 9,920 Meau as against 7,240 members of other ethnic groups live in the first region, and 5,984 Meau live among 5,540 persons of other tribes in the second.

According to Abadie (4), the various Meau tribes in

4. Page 149.

Tonkin add up to about 40,000 individuals, with the strongest groups found in the region of Dongvan, Pakha, and Muong-Khuong, areas in which they form the majority of the population. Other relatively /453/ important Meau groups are encountered in Upper Laos. Savina (1), on the other hand, speaks of 200,000

1. II, p. 193.

Meau for the Tonkin and Laos region.

101 The statements in the literature vary greatly concerning
162 the number of the different Meau tribes. Jaeger (2) mentions

2. Page 272.

61 tribes in one album. There is a great number of such albums whose year of origin as well as author are for the most part unknown. In them, too, the number of Meau tribes given varies considerably.

/129 cont'd/
755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
157 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[71] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely with-
out reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. - Due to the lack of meteorological records the
[114] climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not repre-
sent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-
chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparent-
ly on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals can-
not see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

M /32 cont./
132 a ts'un. Excessive rain continues throughout the spring and summer for weeks and months, rendering the place muddy and difficult for travel. As soon as the rains let up, the steaming M atmosphere penetrates the bones. The spring water flowing from [312] rocky mountain hollows is very cool and upsets the stomach when drunk. The climate is so bad that outsiders living there are liable to become sick. This is what Ma Fu-po said: "Alas, Wu Ch'i is full of poison." In autumn and winter the frost and snow fall early, the distant hollows and lonely peaks being piled with accumulated snows for many months without melting. Often hailstorms pelt the land and icicles hang from the eaves to the ground as big as pillars. To go in and out of a house the Miao have to break open the ice with sticks. If one goes up six li it is especially extreme. Even the birds run away from the cold weather. Since the area has been developed and the Miao civilized, there have been less rainy weather, fewer freezes, and birds have come back to nestle in the trees." This quotation gives some general ideas about the climate of the Miao area. But today, the Miao area, having been developed for a long time, has no more jungle, and although the climate remains the same, the geographical environment has been greatly changed. The former malaria-ridden wilderness has become thickly populated areas.

C Settlements. — The distribution and types of Miao settle-
712 ments vary according to the topography and ethnic group. The
[421] Chinese generally live in a ch'eng /city/, a pao /fort/, a t'un
[361] or in the neighborhood of a stone guard house. The city is /Illus. 8 faces p. 33/ /33/ larger than the pao and the t'un smaller than the pao. So the important Chinese settlements are the paos and t'uns. Paos and t'uns are more numerous in the Miao area than in any other region. The origin of their construction is referred to in Miao Fang-pei Lan in the Ch'eng Pao P'ien /Section on Cities and Forts/ as follows: "According to the Feng-huang subprefecture's negotiations for improvements and memorial to the throne to repair the paos, Te-sheng-ying /Victory Barracks/ (Illus. 9) and Liao-chia-ch'iao /Liao-chia Bridge/, the defense commissioner

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

49 tween strategic points in "free China" led to the construction of motor roads through Kweiyang from Kunming in Yünnan to Chungking in Szechuan and from Kweiyang east to cities in Hunan and Kwangsi, following the old imperial highway from Peking. Others lead from Kweiyang south to Ting-fan and from the Kweiyang-Chungking road into the northwestern part of the province. A railway in process of construction from Kiangsi to Kweiyang had been brought as far as Tu-yün, but the Japanese in their "farthest west" tore

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[132]

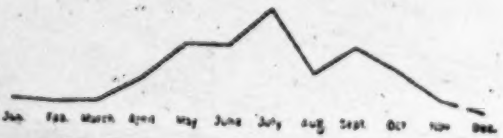

FIG. 2. Average monthly precipitations over a four-year period at Kweiyang.

49 up the tracks. Still most of the travel over the province must be by stone roads or mountain paths, suitable only for pack animals and coolies. In the northwest these paths are so steep that the traveler ascends by following his pony and holding onto its tail. Throughout much of Kweichow the motor road is an exhilarating roller coaster, made the more exciting by the habit drivers have of coasting down the hills to save fuel. Brakes must be good.

132 Kweichow has a monsoon climate, in which the wind blows from the south and southeast in the summer and from the north and northeast in the winter. The parts of the province bordering on Hunan and Kwangsi are considered humid and unhealthy because of the prevalence of malarial fever. The temperatures are related to altitude rather than latitude, ranging from 86 to 14 degrees Fahrenheit. In general the climate is of the Yünnan plateau type, "ameliorated tropical," almost temperate. The annual rainfall is estimated at something over 39.5 inches. Observations (fig. 2) at Kweiyang[2] on rainfall over a four-year period give the following monthly precipitations in mm.: January, 29.5; February, 22.5; March, 27.5; April, 85.1; May, 165.7; [4a]

[2] Lat. 26° 18′ N., long. 106° 40′.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

June, 164.5; July, 247.9; August, 97.6; September, 164.5; October, 113.4; November, 45.1; December, 15.4, a total of 1169 mm., or 46.02 inches. The number of rainy days during the year averaged 168.5. There may be rapid changes of temperature. From October to February a peculiar fog fills the valleys; in some years there may be only twenty-five sunny days during that period. In Kweiyang I have known the sun to show itself through the thinner clouds only twice during January.

Although I had with me no means of keeping a record of variations in temperature and rainfall, references in my notes to the weather throughout the year would indicate that conditions in Ting-shui-pa paralleled quite closely those recorded in Kweiyang over a four-year period. This is to be expected since Ting-shui-pa is approximately thirty miles from Kweiyang as the crow flies, and at almost the same altitude. In Kweiyang the rainiest month of the year was July, with moderate to heavy rainfall April through June, and August through October and the remainder of the year comparatively dry. My notes indicate that July was indeed a very rainy month with "drenching rain" and "a solid week of rain, followed by sun and showers mixed, then more downpours." In March, April, and May there were periods of warm, sunny days broken by thunder showers or a few days of rain, but toward the end of May and during the first part of June there were hard rains, not always during the day, followed by a period when it was cloudy but there was no rain. August and September seem to have been generally fine and hot, but toward the end of September bad weather began, with mist and wind from the northeast. October and November were very wet, rainy or gray, misty days outnumbering the even partly sunny ones, but in November and December there were also some fine, sunny days. January and February continued to be cold and there was often a heavy mist. There was freezing weather early in December. In February there was ice and frost all over the mountains for two days and ice thick enough on the rice fields so that the children cut pieces of it out and carried them about. [4 b]

[132 cont.]

443 Even today they do not have a single market fair within the area and this shows how circumscribed is the sphere of their economic activity. Their only means of livelihood is agriculture. Almost 243 all the fields are terraced according to natural topography, rising from the bottom of the slope to the top in several hundred layers. The shape of the field is long and narrow, producing rice, wheat, corn and barley. These terraced fields are not fertile [242] and the Sheng Miao do not know how to apply fertilizer. Further- [132] more, the temperature in the whole area is very low, and a plentiful harvest is not possible. The proverb says that "when the soil is barren, the people must be poor." Although the 511 Sheng Miao toil all year round in the hard struggle for survival, they can only eke out a bare existence. Being in direct contact with them, the writer could watch at close quarters their extremely miserable conditions, which are pitiable indeed. Because of their ignorance they do not know how to save or to improve the method of production. In case of famine they cannot escape starvation, [133] which is the most important reason for the decrease in their population.

105 In our study of the Miao culture we find it varies with different ethnic units and localities, each having its peculiar traits. The distinguishing features of the Sheng Miao, who differ a great deal from the other tribes, are as follows:

1. Ignorant and straightforward, they are easily duped. They are ready to proclaim themselves "kings" and to create disturbances.

2. The men are black in complexion, red-eyed, dishevelled, and tall and big in stature.

3. Up to this day not a single one of them can talk fluent Chinese.

4. There are peculiar styles of costumes for men and women.

5. Their staple food is glutinous rice, supplemented by raw meat, raw blood, bees, locusts, centipedes, earthworms, tree worms, sand worms, water worms, mountain rats and lizards.

6. The women are fond of smoking leaf tobacco.

163 Moreover, the birthrate among the Meo is one of the highest
165 of the high region and it is not rare to see six or seven children about each of their little houses. On the other hand, very high infant mortality operates to slow down the population's rate of increase. It is owing to the winter cold against which the Meo do not protect themselves by closing up their houses better and covering themselves more warmly. Be that as it may, we can foresee that in a more or less distant future, their tribes, no longer able to find nourishment in the mountains where they are settled, and driven along by new immigrations, will gradually come to overflow into the high valleys at less elevated altitudes, and will take the place of the Thai whose birthrate is very much lower.

Section 3

Dwellings

131 Sometimes Meo dwellings are found at the bottom of a cirque
342 situated on an elevated plateau, as at Dongvan, which is at a thousand
132 meters of altitude, but this is rather exceptional. In fact the Meo prefers to build his cabin on slopes with difficult approaches and near the summit of the mountains. The house usually is built on a small natural spur or platform cut into the side of the mountain, not far from a small ravine which provides him with water with the aid of a bamboo conduit. The roof is of straw or planks laid like tiles, the walls of pise or planks roughly joined, or yet of round logs placed one on the other, the doors wooden and fashioned with an axe. They almost never have windows. For light and air they rely on the interstices between the /133/planks or logs and on one of the gables whose upper triangle is open to every wind. In constucting his dwelling the Meo, who is still so industrious and thoughtful in his other tasks, shows himself to be most shortsighted. By building it with a little more care, and especially by stopping up both of its gables, he would keep away from his little family much of the bronchitis which comes each winter to threaten the lives of his loved ones. We have seen at 2,000 meters altitude and in zero temperature /centigrade/, little youngsters hugging the fire in a miserable wooden cabin with no other clothing than short cloth jackets. They stretched out their bare body and little hands to the flames, while shivering and coughing in a pitiful fashion, and the parents, accustomed to this spectacle, had no

131 idea of covering them or closing up the gable where glacial air poured
342 in.

132 In the rear of the cabin is found a little corridor which separates
342 it from the earthen wall hewn into the mountain. The front is provided with a narrow veranda where horses are stabled in stalls enclosed by round logs.

342 The interior of the house, which rests directly on packed
356 earth, is usually divided into three compartments. In the first is the
352 kitchen where the women habitually work. The cooking-ranges are of clay and are very large. They serve not only for cooking food for the family, but also to prepare the vegetable pastes which make up food for the farmyard animals. The household implements and the various agricultural tools are likewise kept in this room.

The one in the middle is the reception room, where the men gather after work around a great fire lighted in the middle of the room in a square bed of clay. Above this hearth is suspended a bamboo framework on which crops are placed to dry.

The third room contains sleeping compartments, simply small booths, separated from one another by partitions of bamboo or planks. Their sole furniture is a cot. The interior appearance of these dark holes is not at all tempting. In the greatest disorder one may see padded quilts losing their cotton through numerous rips and other belongings of questionable cleanliness.

343 /134/ In front of the house, the pig sty, very well cared for, is suspended above the slope by oaken beams and planks. Next to it, also hung above the void, is located a little shed which serves as a storage place for rice and maize.

352 The house is not without furniture like the Tho cabins. There
241 are tables, benches, cots of wood, all kinds of household utensils or tools, and even musical instruments. All around the Meo plant fruit trees and cultivate beds of vegetables here and there.

342 The type of dwelling which we have just described has nothing
352 which cannot be changed. Poor people and newly weds who are still getting settled simply build a thatched cottage whose sidewalls are made of corn stalks not too tightly joined together, whose spaces freely permit passage of the winter's cold north wind. When evening comes they simply throw a few armfuls of corn stalks into a corner and pass the night on this thinly padded couch.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/25 cont./

A 131 vicinity of the Mekong mountain gorge, and that large groups are settled in the eastern parts of Thailand and Indochina, especially east and north of the Mekong in upper Laos. The same author further asserts that many Akha entered Kengtung from the east by way of the Mekong Valley.

A 131 174 In addition to the ethnic groups in the eastern part of Thailand, I have found some in the north. According to my information, based on their traditions, these Akha of northern Thailand migrated south from the mountains north of Kengtung and, by way of Söma, Kengtung, Buta, Batya, and Bako, finally reached the Doy Tung, which, as a primitive mountain massif, projects out into the river valleys, and the Kaye, a mountain west of the Doy Tung. These regions, in addition to the calcareous mountains east of Nan, may be regarded as the southernmost habitation area of the Akha at present.

Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are in the midst of a migration whose main direction, aside from local deviations, is from north to south.

/26/

Chapter 4

Description of the Country.

M 131 133 Today the Meau occupy parts of South and West China, of North China, Indochina, northern Thailand, and, here and there, northeast Burma. One would be inclined to assume that under these circumstances the character of the land would be very diverse. Actually, however, it is not, since these mountain tribes do not settle below a certain altitude. In almost M 133 137 all cases, therefore, we find extensive hilly areas, generally covered with tropical monsoon forests, which, like the European deciduous forests, lose most of their leaves at a given season (the dry season). Two strongly marked seasons of the M 132 year are distinguished: the cold rainy season lasts from April to November; the dry season prevails during the remaining months. During the rainy season there are quite low temperatures and snowstorms, especially at higher altitudes and in the north.

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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/23 cont'd/
133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

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Appendix

Journal of the Investigation

121 A complete journal of the investigation of the Li and Miao has already been included in the author's Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. The following excerpt, covering the period from the 18th day of the second month to the 15th day of the third month (1937), is given here because this particular section is related to the investigation of the Miao, and the reader may use it as a reference for the main article.

Second month, eighteenth day. (Thursday)

133 At eleven o'clock in the morning, with Wang Chao-i's younger brother, Chao-ch'in, as guide, the investigation party set out from Pao-t'ing for Ta-ch'i, with 22 hired bearers to carry the baggage and a horse borrowed from Wang Hsün so that we could take turns riding. As we left the city gates, an uneven ridge of mountains rose and fell before our eyes, but Mount Ch'i Chih /"Seven Fingers"/ stood out as especially imposing, with its peaks visible from afar, sticking up like seven fingers, from which it has received its name. As we proceeded along the way, there was nothing but mountain paths, which were steep, rugged, and difficult to negotiate. By three o'clock in the afternoon we had passed the Chiu Ch'ü mountains, which were precipitous and dangerous, and we puffed from our exertions in climbing them, and when we reached the summit, all the mountains lay spread out at our feet, and we could see for a distance of hundreds of miles.

On either side of a narrow defile lay luxuriant growths of primeval forests, which could truly become an inexhaustible source of wealth if scientific methods and management were used. Passing over from the front to the rear of the mountains, the road was short and actually wound back and forth nine times.

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●133 The configuration of the terrain was so steep and dangerous that one could truly say that "a single man defending it could withstand 10,000 of the enemy." I learned that Mr. Wang's father, Wang I, had been ambushed and murdered here. When we had crossed the [492] mountains, I was exhausted and tried to ride the horse instead of walking. /128/ I had never ridden a horse before and sitting on its back, I swayed back and forth and was in constant danger of falling off. As the road was so steep and rugged, I finally felt that it was too dangerous to ride, so I had to dismount and go on foot. At five o'clock we arrived at Ta-ch'i and went to Wang Chao-i's house to spend the night.

In Ta-ch'i Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and Miao all live together, and it was really an ideal place for investigation. Wang Chao-i's house was situated on top of a small hill, and in front of it was a fish pond and a vegetable garden. On all four sides were cultivated fields and beyond the fields lay the hamlets of the various groups; still farther on were countless rows of mountains. Looking down from this height, there were boundless vistas of scenery, the beauty of which could hardly be equaled. The house was made of rows of bricks and was unusually sturdy, and beside it was a stone house; its interior arrangements were lovely, almost comparable to that of an upper-class Chinese home. As I looked at it while leaning against the balustrade, a floating vision of the feudal castles of medieval Europe came before my eyes.

Second month, nineteenth day. (Friday)

124 Today a funeral service in a Ch'i-Li family was being held in the neighboring village of Yen-sheng, and at eleven o'clock in the morning, after an early meal, we went there to watch. We also visited Huang Kung-ch'ing, the t'uan trustee of the Yen-sheng t'uan, whose two sons had once studied at the Chiang-ts'un Normal School in Canton. At Huang's house, we also met Li Hsi-ch'ing, a merchant from Lo-hui district, who told us that his father had come here to trade. Later on he inherited his father's business, and with his good

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Chart of position of Maps
of Illustration 1.

p. 48a	p. 48c
p. 48b	p. 48d

/25 cont./

*101 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution
131 refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China,
133 for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep
167 valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various
361 directions are greatly limited by their past geographical environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, ac-
133 cording to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d. — ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p48e - "]

/26 cont./

133 Mountain ranges. — The most important mountain is the La-erh Shan. The section "Hsien Yao K'ao /Strategic Posts/" in Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "The Great La-erh Shan is situated 70 li to the west of the city (Feng-huang) and is more than ten li high. The mountain appears enormous, astride the two provinces of Hupeh and Kweichow. In the east Ya-yu, Hiang-shang /pronounced K'ang-shang in the north/, in the south Li-lin and Yu-ni, in the west K'ang-chin and Hsiu-nao, and in the north Hu-lu and Kan-tzu-yao, are all branches of this [361] mountain, spreading over an area of more than a hundred li, where there are many Miao villages. Hence, old chronicles ofter refer to the defeat of the Miao in Hupeh and Kweichow as being in the La-erh Shan." The La-erh Shan begins at Cheng-ta-ying, Kweichow, from where it extends irregularly to the middle of the Miao area, where a fault occurred, form-ing a plateau. This plateau is dotted with Miao villages, [361] whose inhabitants defend themselves by taking advantage of the [101] favorable terrain. It has always been known as the den of the Sheng Miao /"the uncivilized Miao," i.e. those who have not been brought under Chinese administration/.

Rivers. — The main courses of the Yüan, the Yu, and the Ch'en rivers flow only along the borders of the Miao frontier region. The most important rivers within this area are all tributaries of these three rivers, the largest of which is the Wu Ch'i, a tributary of the Yüan Chiang, and also known as the T'ung Ho. This branch extends deep into the Miao area and has three sources: the Wu-ch'ao Ho (Illus. 4)1 in the west, the Wan-yung Chiang in the middle, and the Kao-yen Ho (Illus. 5)2 in the north. The Wu-ch'ao Ho rises at Hsiao-t'ien-hsing-chai /village/ in Feng-huang, and flows westward to where the Niang-shui-t'o, and the Lung-chüeh-t'ung tributaries joint it. Further westward it passes Ta-hsin-chai and flows around Shang-hsia-yüan-hou-chai, veering southward to where the Ma-chung and the Hsiao-feng-huang-ying tributaries joint it from the east. It then flows southeastward, passing through Ma-ching-t'an and around Sheng-hua-shao to where the T'i

1, 2 [See cat. 116, p49 - ANALYST]

/26 cont./

133 Ch'i and the Pe-yen Chiang tributaries flow from the northwest to join it. Further east it flows around Feng-huang-hsien city, becoming known as the T'o Chiang. (Illus. 18)[1] Again, it flows east to the east side of the city where the Hsin-ti Ch'i tributary flows from the west and joins it. Then it flows northeastward to Lui-kungt'ung where the Wan-ken Ch'i tributary flows from the north to join it. Further, it flows northeastward to Ch'i-k'ou where it receives the Hsiao-ch'i Shui. Further northeastward it flows to Mao-chou, entering Lu Ch'i, to Hsia-Lao-Hu-K'ou, where it is joined by the Tz'u and Chung tributaries at Chiang-chün-yen. Further northeast it empties into the Wan-yung Chiang at Ho-ch'i. Rising at Ta-t'ien-hsing-chai, the Wan-yung Chiang flows south around Yen-k'ou-hsin to /Illus. 1-5 are between pp. 26 and 28/ /28/ Mu-li-hsin, then veers east to receive the Hsi-men Chiang tributary at Lao-p'o-t'an. It flows northeastward again around San-hio-yen, passing through Lung-kun-ying to Kan-tzu-shao, where the streams from the Ch'üeh-ju-chai area flow from the southeast to join it. Then it flows northeast to Kan-ch'eng, where the Wu Ch'i tributary flows from the east to join it. From then on it is called the Wu Ch'i. Further east it receives the Ya Ch'i tributary at Ya Ch'i. Still further east at Chang-p'ai it merges with the Kao-yen Ho. The Kao-yen Ho rises from Ta-hsiao-lung-t'ung (Illus. 6) at Yung-sui, merging with the Ch'ao Shui, the Lao-chai, and the Huang-t'u, and flowing to Kao-yen, where it becomes navigable by small craft. It flows eastward to Hsiao-ch'ung where it is joined by the Hsiao-ch'ung Ch'i. Then eastward it passes through Wei-che where it is joined by the P'ing-lang Ch'i from the south. Still flowing east /Illus. 6 appears here/ /29/ it is joined by the Lü T'ung and other rivers from the south at Ch'i-t'ou-hsin. Further east it receives the Chen Ch'i and the Hsin-chai Ch'i rivers at Chen-ch'i-so. Southeastward it merges with the Wu Ch'i tributary at Chang-p'ai-chai, and over ten li further to the southeast it joins the T'o Chiang at Ch'i-k'ou, becoming known there as the T'ung Ho. It flows eastward to Nan-mu-ch'iao, where it receives the Nan Mu Ch'i from the north. Continuing east it receives the

[1] [See cat. 116, p 72 - ANALYST] [text continues on p 50]
[2] [" " ", p 50 - "]

2:Ling & Ruey--48a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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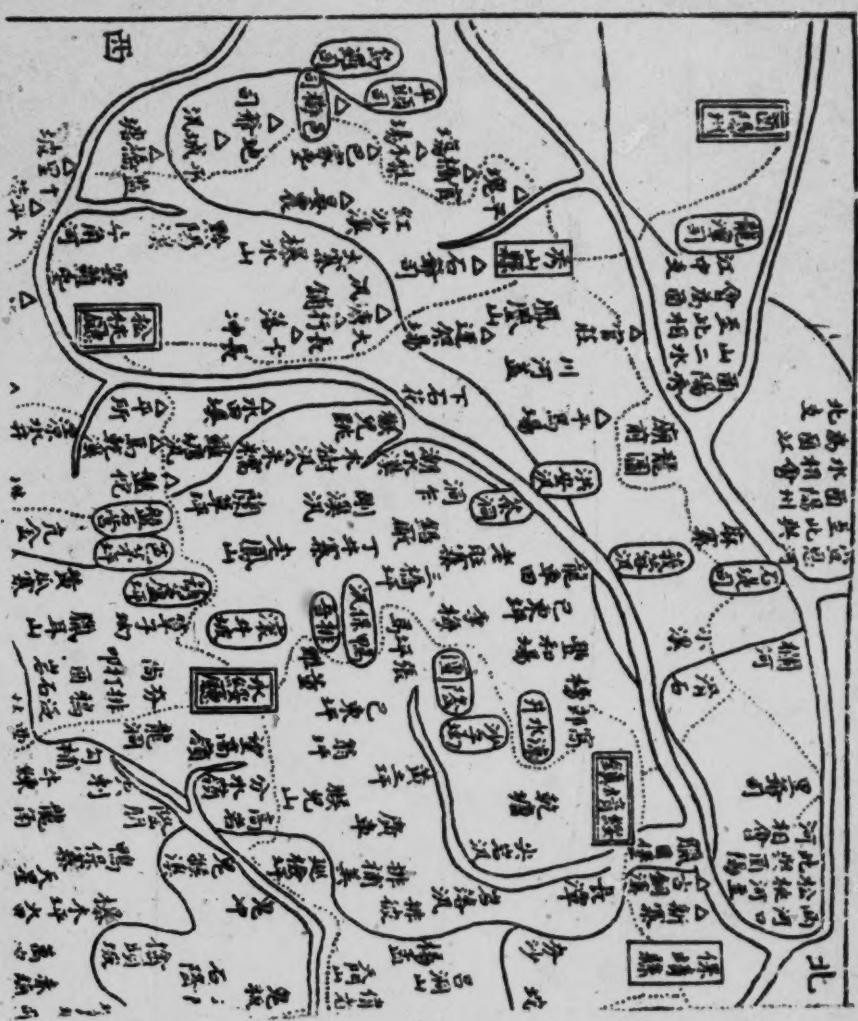

Illus. 1. Full Map of the Miao Frontier (according to Miao Fang-pei Lan by Yen Ju-yü)

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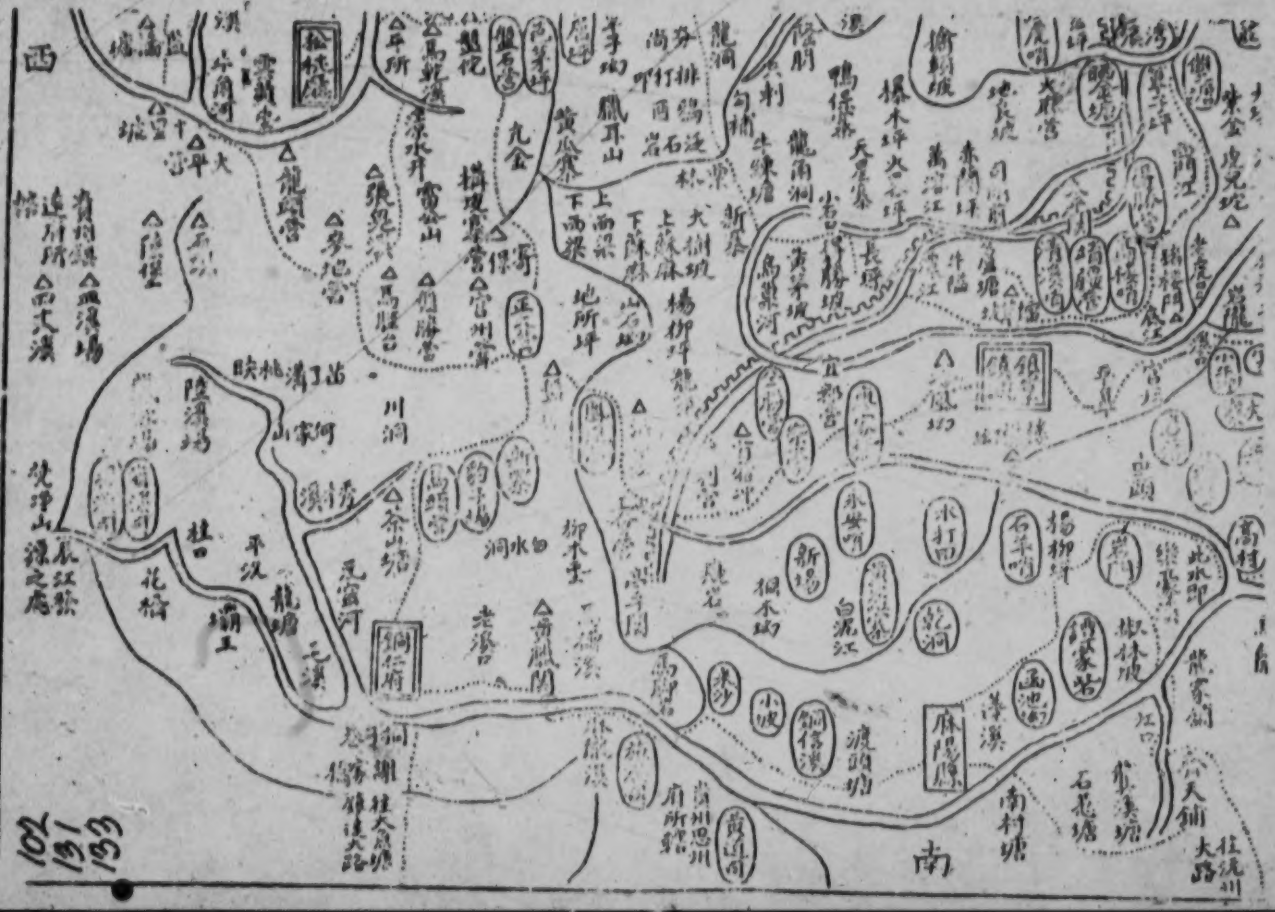
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Upper right

苗疆全圖
鎮府廳州城
用回縣城用
口營汛堡垂
用○塘卡用
△
北
東
銅柱
保靖縣
長沅府
瀘溪縣
乾州廳
鳳凰
長陽
船溪
長沅
靖
長潭
乾塘
尖岩汛
廣平
高峰
鬼沖
鬼城溪
陰朋
鴨保寨
龍南
楊木坪
天星
馬路口
羅依溪
會溪
鳳凰
高坡寨
茅坪
龍潭坪
新寨
吉伏坪
龍鼻寨
上雙溪
床機坡
山來溪
蓮花池
小面山
烏巢汛
清水坪
上張坡
杜家寨
居住山
司馬溪
天橋山
歐溪
六保
上保
能溪
湖
天橋汛
潭溪
川岡
五坨
杜旗
大壩
河溪
張輝
大壩
小莊
樂金
皮坡
獅子坪
馬門
晚金坡
火麻營
地良坡
張虎哨
三寶坪
石陽
平陽
鬼城
桑陽
寨陽
木林隘
平郎
傳君
天門山
呂洞山
楊孟
新建營
排柳
排坡
縱橫
縱橫坪
岩縫汛
排坡
然物
坨
分沙
胡麻汛
私君溪
苗家尚
王家尚
排沙
流溪汛
馬路口
龍潭坪
新寨
吉伏坪
武營
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Lower right

2:Ling & Ruey--48d E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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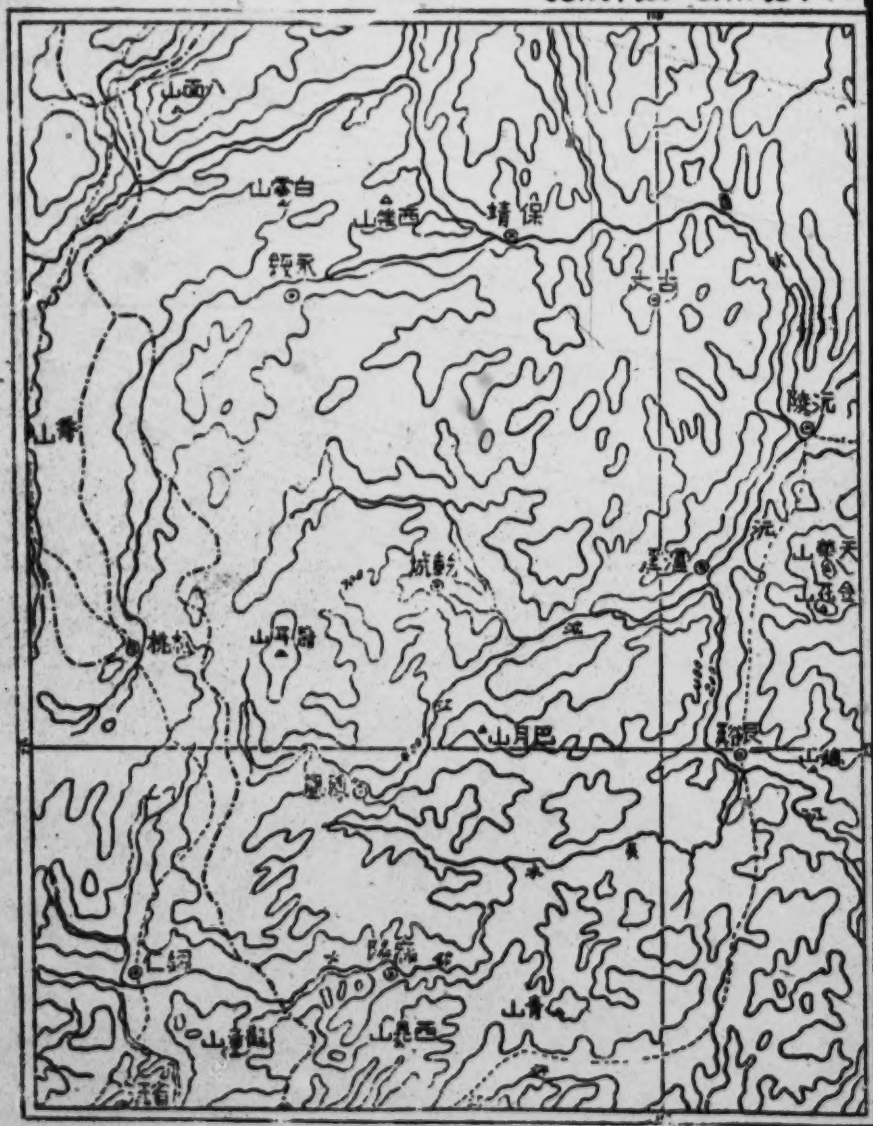

Illus. 2. Sketch Map of the Topography of the Miao Frontier

Illus. 4. Wu-ch'ao Ho River at Ta-shu-p'o, Feng-huang. (The steep bank on the left shore is the La-erh tableland.)

Illus. 5. Kao-yen Ho, a source of the T'ung Ho River.

/29 cont./

133 Szu-ma Ch'i from the south at Szu-ma-ch'i-k'ou. Further east it receives the T'an Ch'i from the north at T'an-ch'i-k'ou. Continuing east it reaches Nung-t'an, where it is joined by the Wan Shui, which rises in the Pa-tou Shan mountains and flows around Szu-tu and Wu-tu, reaching Mao P'ing to join with the Ma-wang Ch'i

Illus. 6. Ta-lung-t'ung waterfall, a source of the T'ung Ho River. (180 kung ch'ih.)

/29 cont./

•133 and the Sang Ch'i from the southeast. Again flowing eastward it receives the Hsi Ch'i from the north at Hsi-ch'i-pao. Flowing still further east it receives the Su-mu Ch'i tributary at Su-mu-ch'i-k'ou. Further east it empties into the Yüan Chiang at Lu-ch'i-ch'eng.

Next in importance is the tributary of Yu Chiang, the Sung-t'ao Ho, which encircles the northwest of the Miao area. This waterway has two sources: one rises to the southwest of P'ing-t'ou-szu in Kweichow, flowing north of T'ai-p'ing-Ying, where it turns northeastward; the other rises in the northwest of P'ing-t'ou-szu, flowing eastward from the west and merging with the southern branch and continuing east. After receiving the waters of the San-pu-kuan, it passes through Yün-lo-t'un and is joined by the Chang-kuei Ch'i and the Ma-kan Ch'i tributaries at Sung-t'ao-ch'eng. Crossing Kao-p'ing /plain?/ it enters the Yung-sui region and receives the Mi-no C'hi tributary at Mi-no. Flowing north it is joined by the waters of the Mu-shu Ho at Mu-shu-hsin. Further north it receives the Ch'ao-shui Ch'i at Ch'ao-shui ch'i-t'ang Continuing north it reaches La-erh Pao, where it is joined by the Ta-mao Ch'i, which combines the waters of the Kang Ch'i, the Lao-mu Ch'i, the Lung-t'uan Ch'i, the I-ch'i Ch'i, and the Kai Ch'i flowing from the northeast. Flowing northeast it enters the Yung Ching region, reaching Ku-t'ung-hsin, where the Ku-t'ung Ch'i tributary joins it. Further northeast it reaches Hsi-ho-k'ou and empties into the Yu Chiang.

A very important river in the southern part of the Miao area is the Hao-lo Ch'i, a tributary of the Ch'en Chiang. This river rises among the Miao villages /chai/ at Yen-yao, Kweichow, and flowing south then east it reaches the Shuang-p'en Ch'i, which joins it. Further east it flows to Liao-chia-ch'iao and Lao T'ien-p'ing, where several streams of Lao-t'ien-p'ing join it. Still eastward it flows to Mi-yen-ts'un /village/, where the Mi-yen Ch'i flows from the west to join it. Turning northeast it flows to Shuang Chiang K'ou, where the Shui-t'ien Ch'i joins it from the north. Further east it

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai [433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

M /30 cont./

● 133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used M for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft, [487] thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese have migrated here.

M 131 The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by 648 the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from C the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li 712 reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administra- 648 tive Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, 563 Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some 40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi (1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the north-west regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8) 1 some 300 years ago. The 131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line 648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

1 [see cat. 116, pp48e and 56a - ANALYST]

/31/

Illus. 7. Ya-pao-chai in a small basin on the La-erh-shan plateau (855 kung ch'ih above sea level).

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2:Ling & Ruey--56a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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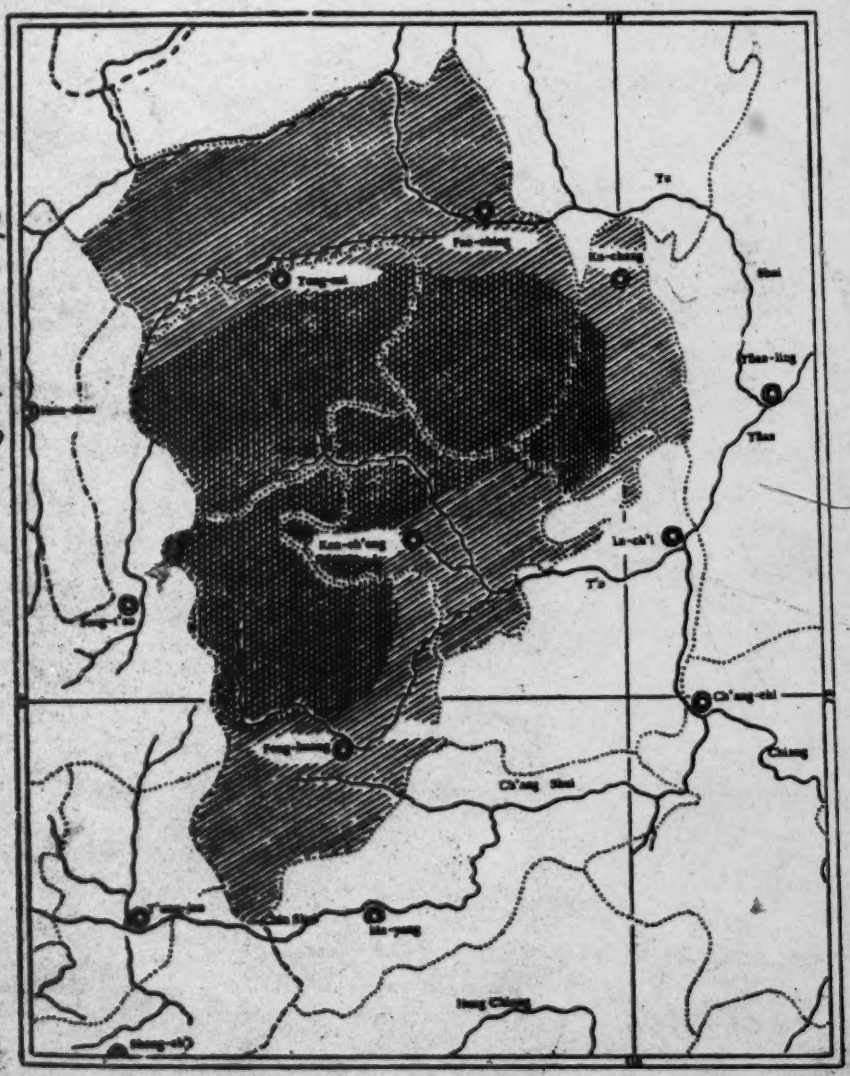

Illustration 5. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Feng-hsiang, Kan-ch'ang, Tung-ch'i, Pao-ching, and Sui-ning.

2:Ling & Ruey--67 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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li to Ta-pi-liu, another ten li to Ch'e-ch'i, and 30 more li to Ho Ch'i. From the mouth of the river to Ho Ch'i, some 130 li, the waterway is known as the Wu Ch'i River. Above Ho Ch'i it divides into two branches, south and north: the northern branch, known as the Wan-yung Chiang, runs ten li to Chang-p'ai-chai, where it again divides into two more branches, one flowing westward as the Wan-yung Chiang proper, passing through Ta-chuang and Hsiao-chuang for 50 li to Kan-ch'eng. The other branch, which flows northwestward, is known as Kao-yen Ho, and goes 15 li to Chen-ch'i-so, 15 li to Hsien-chen-ying, ten li to Chen-ning-ying, 20 li to P'ing-lang, five li to Wei-che, eight li to Hsün-chien-p'ing, 20 li to Kao-yen-hsin. The branch flowing south of Ho Ch'i, known as the T'o Chiang, flows through Ch'i-k'ou, Chiang-chün-yen, and Mao Chou to Lao-hu-k'ou for about 60 li, and then passing Lao-hu-k'ou it flows from Mu-lung-ti Chiang to Feng-huang for another 70 li.

The parts of the T'ung Ho navigable by small craft are: the Wu Ch'i, 113 li; the Wan-yung Chiang, 60 li; /Illus. 16, 17 on pp. 42, 43/ /44/ the Kao-yen Ho, 93 li; and the T'o Chiang, 130 li; totaling 296 li in all. These river courses are difficult to navigate and are not passable all year round. Miao Fang-pei Lan in the section on roads and waterways says: "This river (the T'ung Ho) has precipitous cliffs standing up like daggers, strange rocks clustering like a forest of spears, and rioting cataracts. Through slight negligence a boat can be crashed into pieces. It dries up in autumn and winter, causing difficulty in transportation. It is only in summer when mountain streams rush down from the Miao villages, that small craft may ply here and there. However, the cliffs and rocks become more dangerous as the water rises. Once a sandbank is reached, a day is often spent in lifting the boat across to deep water. The difficulty of crossing such banks is twice as much as in other rivers."

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The Ch'en Chiang waterway starts from the city of Ch'en-ch'i-hsien and joins the Lo-hao Ch'i /tributary/ at Kao-ts'un

[text continues on p.70]

/54 cont./

241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
[243] various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buck-wheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the harvesting in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
[221] fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are found in small number only in the small basins in the mountains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30) are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

2:Ling & Ruey--84 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 27. Wet rice fields in Ya-pao-chai, Feng-huang.

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF KWEICHOW[1]

133 KWEICHOW is a part of the Southwestern Tableland which, as a spur of the great Tibetan plateau, slopes to the south and east away from Tibet (fig. 1, frontispiece). It is bounded on the north by Szechuan, on the east by Hunan, on the south by Kwangsi, and on the west by Yünnan. The structural trend in Kweichow is east and west, with drainage to the south into the West River and to the north and east into the Yangtze River. The province slopes from a height of over 6000 feet in the west to less than 2000 feet in the east. Some valleys lie as high as 4000 feet, and mountain summits reach 9000. S. R. Clarke estimated that most of Kweichow is at least 3000 feet above sea level, the altitude constantly decreasing as one goes east. Wei-ning Lake, in the western part of the province is, he says, 7000 feet above sea level. The altitude of Kweiyang, the capital, is given by G. B. Cressey as 3468.56 feet. There are certainly high mountains in the western part of the province. The traveler going by motor road from Kunming to Kweiyang repeatedly has the feeling of being "on top of the world."

Three mountain ranges cross the province in a general east to west direction, the highest being the Wuling Mountains which form a watershed between the Wu and Yuan rivers. There is an old Chinese saying to the effect that seven-tenths of the province is mountains. It has been characterized as a labyrinth of hills and valleys, an ocean of little hills as seen from many a high hill. These little hills are of every conceivable shape, pyramid and sugar loaf types being very common. Some of the larger valleys are dotted with them; they range the length of others. In parts of the province these hills are bare and barren; in other parts they furnish timber for one of the main industries of the

[3a] [p. 2 blank]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

133 province. The valleys are usually narrow and the "plains" seldom large. There are high plains scattered through the mountains, separated from one another by gaps in the hills, or by passes over them. Some of the slopes are terraced, thus increasing the area of cultivable land. The only level valley of any size is that of the Nanning River, in which the capital, Kweiyang, is situated.

There are several rivers in the province, but they become navigable only as they are about to leave the province. The Wu River, which flows through the center of the province, a tributary of the Yangtze, is navigable from Sze-nan; at this point rafts of logs are launched. The Chang-ki, a branch of the Yuan, which flows into Tung-t'ing Lake, Hunan, is navigable at Sze-chow. It joins the main stream at Chen-yuan in the eastern part of the province. San-kioh is at the head of navigation on the Liu. Thus only in the extreme east and southeast of the province is there any river traffic. The fall of rivers is usually steep and there are many stretches of rapids. Springs and streams water the mountain valleys and cascade to lower levels by many a lovely waterfall. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the earth and come out again a considerable distance away.

491 When S. R. Clarke wrote of the province there were no roads over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven. Everything had to be carried by coolies or on the backs of ponies and mules. Four narrow old roads leading to the several provinces by which Kweichow is bounded all met at the capital, Kweiyang. The typical highways were narrow trails, paved with cobble stones or slabs of rock (fig. 14, *a*, *b*, *d*). Gradually roads were built following these main routes. The position of the province as a link be-

"China Provincial Atlas and Geography," 1935; Clarke, 1911.

[3b]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

General Description. Ting-shui-pa (see fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles long and half as wide, with mountains and hills surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told her they called the mountains to the north Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman, 131 133 103

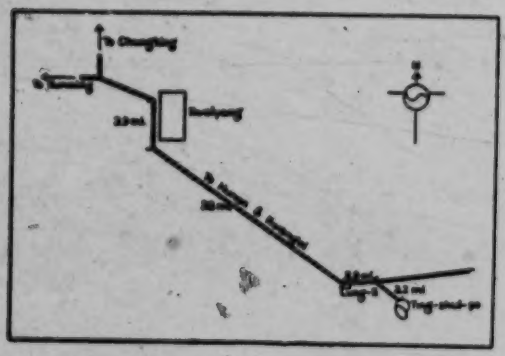

FIG. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

and those to the east the Mountain of the Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley was from the wayside shrine at the top of a pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent from the motor road. About a mile from the pass the road led between high hedges which screened the village vegetable gardens and the large pond from the road. Beyond the pond lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone road went on. At the further edge of a wood it divided, one fork going straight on into the other part of the valley separated from this one by low hills and beyond to the south. The other ran between the other side of the wood on its left and a group of grave mounds on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo thickets separated the road from a meadow where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little way beyond the village another turn, to the 131 133 361

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member. 361

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate. 133 241 312 311 137

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

175 as *Sen Miao.* The various tribes within the Empire, and those on the border, are divided into *Sen* and *Su* tribes. *Sen* means "raw," and *Su* means "ripe" or "cooked." The independent tribes are "raw," and those who acknowledge Chinese sovereignty are "cooked." There are no Miao, or any other tribe in Kweichow now, who claim to be independent. The last vestiges of independence passed away forty years ago when the latest Miao rebellion of any importance was put down after years of mutual slaughter. Talking recently with a Miao who remembered that time, he said, "Our people were worse than the Chinese and killed more women and children than they did."

133 Most of Kweichow is at least three thousand feet above sea-level, the altitude constantly increasing as the traveller goes west. Weining Lake, in the north-west, a large sheet of water fifty miles long and in some places nearly twenty miles broad, is 7000 feet above sea-level. We saw no boats and there appears to be no traffic on the lake. The hills are not exceedingly high, but they are everywhere. The province is a labyrinth of hills and valleys, and probably not one-fifth of the surface of it is cultivated or cultivable.

When the traveller reaches the top of a high

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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ASCENDING A RAPID ON THE PANGHAI RIVER.

[facing p. 7]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

hill and looks about him, he frequently sees all /133 around, as far as the eye can reach, an ocean of little hills, sometimes hundreds of them. They are of every conceivable shape, among which the pyramid and sugar-loaf shape are very common. Most of these hills are bare and barren, and there is little timber to be seen. The valleys between are for the most part narrow, and what might be called the plains are seldom very long or very broad. There are innumerable caves and caverns among these hills, some of which are very large. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the bowels of the earth, and come out again a considerable distance away. There are many waterfalls to be seen, some of which after a heavy fall of rain are magnificent.

There are very few waterways in Kweichow, /133 as most of the streams only become navigable 487 as they are leaving the province. The longest navigable river, the Chang-ki, is a branch of the Yüan River, and joins what is called the main stream from Chenyüan at the city of Kienyang Hun in Hunan. This stream, which flows through a region occupied for the most part by Heh Miao, is navigable when in flood almost to Tuyün, and all the year round as far as Kai-li in the Tsingpinghsien district. The boat-

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

House Boat approaching a Rapid on the River below Yuanchowfu, Hunan.

To face page 8.

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[FACING P. 8]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

133 men on this river are nearly all Heh Miao, who
487 convey goods to and from Hungkiang in Hunan. This stream, however, in consequence of long and difficult rapids, is only navigable for small boats, whereas the Chenyüan branch is navigable for river boats of the largest size. This lack of waterways, and the fact that there is no road, as far as we know, in the province over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven, makes the conveyance of produce a costly under-
482 taking. Everything has to be carried by coolies, or on the backs of ponies and mules, and consequently it doubles the cost of rice to carry it one hundred and twenty miles.

162 The population of Kweichow is probably between seven and ten millions. In speaking of numbers, in the absence of trustworthy census returns, it must be understood that we are giving opinions formed from our own observation, influenced by the estimates of others who are as well qualified to judge as ourselves. In this way, then, we put the population of the province at between seven and ten millions, and reckon that one-half of these are Chinese and the rest mostly Miao and Chung-chia.

To a traveller passing through Kweichow, the Chinese would appear to greatly outnumber the non-Chinese. This is because the Chinese

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 长宁, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永宁, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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Ch'uan Miao aborigine children.

Photo by David C. Graham, 1934.

Ch'uan Miao girls in northern Yunnan wearing embroidered clothing.

A view in the Ch'uan Miao region on the Szechwan-Yunnan border.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 40]

[2 cont.]

175 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the
563 Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic groups with different habits and customs.

We are here concerned with the origin and history of the
101 Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early
175 Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man"
[563] [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u [a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with
[133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys, and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a
[184] few differences in language, costumes and customs between them, but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive, and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu," meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and have always been an independent community, so the Chinese call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang, surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves, forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two entrances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200 [sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the highest peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the total population about 10,000. The writer has visited altogether
361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu, Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Miao AES

the middle-ancient sources of the 3rd century B.C. recognized unquestionably descendants of these early (San) Miao still in the Nan Shan (Ch'i-lien Mts.) in Kan-su, a northern region of mountain steppes. Truly the entire economy, clothes, way of living, and social organization is derived from this type of landscape, - mountains, mountain-steppes, or steppe. The Miao of the plain are not really Miao any longer; for on cultural and economic grounds they must become T'ai or Chinese. 174

Without denying the validity of his statement that the early ancestors of the Miao may have been steppe or mountain-steppe dwellers, it ought to be pointed out that philologically, the grass radical over a field in the character Miao does not necessarily refer to steppe or grassland, and, in fact, may not refer to such vegetation or landscape at all. The Tz'u-Hai Encyclopedia[35] gives one definition of Miao as rice-plant shoots before the rice matures. Before maturity, rice plants are called Miao; after maturity they are called Ho. Miao also is given as an ancient place-name north of the Yellow River in Honan. While the vegetation here may be steppe where the land is not planted, it is hardly mountainous or even hilly. The K'ang-hsi Dictionary refers to a classical line of poetry during the Chou or Han period which freely translated reads "Large rats, do not eat up my tender plant shoots (Miao)". Thus, this character appears to picture cultivated fields rather than wild grass-lands. The danger inherent in this sort of evidence is perceivable.

Eickstedt said that many Miao in talking to him raised their hands in horror at the very thought of settling on the plains, and, no doubt, as he points out, if we take their general cultural situations, the Miao, Fan and Ch'iang belong on the cold mountain heights, in contrast to the Wu-man and Liao on the warm slopes, with the T'ai people in the hot, steaming valleys. But he appears to be going too far in saying that from the foregoing, i.e., his preceding description, it follows that around the 2nd Millennium B.C., the San Miao were found neither in the rice plains of the Yang-tzu as inhabitants of Ch'u nor as solely inhabiting the mountains of distant Kuei-chou but that they were partly or solely to be found in the cool steppes or steppe mountains of the north.[36] The Miao preferences may merely reflect the historical conditioning of a habitat forced upon them. 114 133

Having viewed one side of the argument, let us examine the other side. In the first place, according to Chiang Ying-

155: Abadie--239 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

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204. Group of "Méo" Notables. "Siao-phay" (Village Chiefs of Region of Pha-Long).

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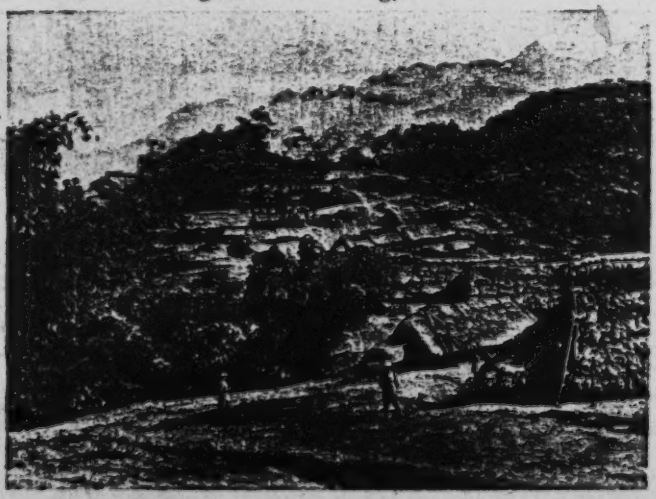

445. "Méo" Village (Region of Pha-Long).

155: Abadie--242 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[166]

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90. Frontier Post of Pha-Long ("Méo" Country).

347. Ho-to-tchay ("Méo" Village).

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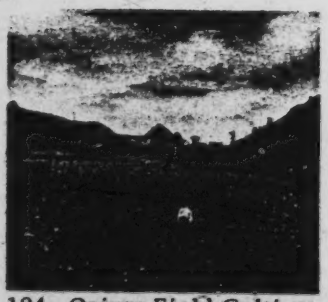

184. Opium Field Cultivated by the "Méo" on the Soil of Irrigated Rice Fields.

467. Dongvan and the "Sacred Wood."

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/25 cont./

A 131 vicinity of the Mekong mountain gorge, and that large groups are settled in the eastern parts of Thailand and Indochina, especially east and north of the Mekong in upper Laos. The same author further asserts that many Akha entered Kengtung from the east by way of the Mekong Valley.

A 131 174 In addition to the ethnic groups in the eastern part of Thailand, I have found some in the north. According to my information, based on their traditions, these Akha of northern Thailand migrated south from the mountains north of Kengtung and, by way of Söma, Kengtung, Buta, Batya, and Bako, finally reached the Doy Tung, which, as a primitive mountain massif, projects out into the river valleys, and the Kaye, a mountain west of the Doy Tung. These regions, in addition to the calcareous mountains east of Nan, may be regarded as the southernmost habitation area of the Akha at present.

Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are in the midst of a migration whose main direction, aside from local deviations, is from north to south.

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Chapter 4

Description of the Country

M 131 133 Today the Meau occupy parts of South and West China, of North China, Indochina, northern Thailand, and, here and there, northeast Burma. One would be inclined to assume that under these circumstances the character of the land would be very diverse. Actually, however, it is not, since these mountain tribes do not settle below a certain altitude. In almost M 133 all cases, therefore, we find extensive hilly areas, generally 137 covered with tropical monsoon forests, which, like the European deciduous forests, lose most of their leaves at a given season (the dry season). Two strongly marked seasons of the M 132 year are distinguished: the cold rainy season lasts from April to November; the dry season prevails during the remaining months. During the rainy season there are quite low temperatures and snowstorms, especially at higher altitudes and in the north.

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe [241] culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets: Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5

Detail Map
of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

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487
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0 10 20 30 km.

Route — Highways — Footpaths
Railroad — Roads — State boundaries
Contour lines from 500 to 500 meters

39: Bernatzik--565 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/420/

Chapter 22

Communication

133 487 [137] The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only [491] bridge. Other facilities are unknown; there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: 'Never yet

1. II, p. 181.

has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, how- [461] ever, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity. [361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game, for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which
[824] leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wantonness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/ without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude, and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface, a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
[417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hundred meters long."

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas
245 may be seen occasionally.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Kweichow is considered the poorest agri- 311
cultural province in all China. Much of the
soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give [134]
but little space for farms, which are therefore
usually small and cultivated by simple methods. Cultivation is confined chiefly to upland plains, the few open valleys and terraced hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of soil, slope, and water. The total area of cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at five per cent. At one time the chief crop was opium, but the Chinese Government has tried to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One geographer lists in order of second importance maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo, wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cotton, hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans, wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may be said that rice is grown wherever possible and there forms the staple food. In the poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot be grown, the people depend upon maize, barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one crop of rice grown and the harvest is in September or October. Winter crops commonly include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape. There is a variety of excellent vegetables grown through the year. Fruits of the prov- 245
ince include peaches, pears, apricots, persimmons, oranges, and lemons. There are also large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, including a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, 137
pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves are thought to remain in Kweichow. The bambo trees are of several species, some suitable for construction and the making of articles of common household use and huge rain hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in 288
the northern part of the province has industries for the making of a kind of cheap silk cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native umbrellas, and cotton goods. The villages of

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

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133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe [241] culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets; Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing [103] (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] [574] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore represents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] [351] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 712 We did not come across any fortified villages among the Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

1 [See cat 116, P707- ANALYST]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The villages of
Sze-nan and San-kioh both are important lumber centers. 313

Tigers are reported in the northeastern 136
part of the province. There are also said to be wolves, wild boars, white pheasants, and giant salamanders. I have seen wild cats in the hills and rabbits for sale in the market at Kweiyang. There are many domestic ani- 231
mals, including "yellow cows," water buffalo, pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and chickens. The first two are used as draft animals, for plowing. There are no full-sized horses, but ponies and small mules are used as pack animals.

In mineral wealth Kweichow is considered 135
to have greater possibilities than any other province of China. Coal is common and may be had for merely scratching the surface. The richest mercury mines in the world are in Kweichow. It is the only mineral exported, although from the iron in Wei-ning cooking vessels are manufactured which are sold all over Yünnan, as well as Kweichow. In addition, there are gold, silver, copper, and nitrate of potash in sufficient quantities to warrant mining them.

The province should also be of great in- 137
terest to botanists. I met in Kweiyang an Austrian who had collected over three hundred species of plants. As I went to market from the mountain village in which I was living to Lung-li I would count the flowering plants I saw. There were never fewer than thirty in blossom, many times more than fifty. At times the hills would be rosy with azaleas, at other times blue with bluebells of several kinds, while during their season more than a hundred white lilies would be in view at certain points. Hedges of wild roses border some of the paths. There are wild fruit trees, berries, and flowering vines. Nearly every flowering plant we grow with much care in our gardens is found wild on the Kweichow mountains.

/341 cont./

224 accompanying me had sought refuge weeks and months ago when they were attacked by wounded gaur. The hunters had succeeded in escaping behind the tree trunk, but the horns of the raging wild oxen had penetrated into the trunks to a depth of ten centimeters.

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262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water,
are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos,
[245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or
fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole
series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as
spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
[135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders
(see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
252 which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the
[262] sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in
the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans
until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks
[251] where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsŭă) are made, three kinds of which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/138 cont'd/

Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[193] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[134] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

/139 cont'd/

Third month, seventh day. (Sunday)

There was a dense fog this morning, and as we could not go out, I wrote several letters. As one of Mr. Wang's workmen intended to leave Oao-t'ing today, I gave him the letter to mail. Yüan-chiung's sickness was completely over by this time, and he had recovered his spirits. We roamed all day long in the neighboring Ch'i and Hsiao villages. In a number of places we saw Hsiao girls at work hulling rice, /140/ but, seeing the approach of strangers, they hid away immediately, so that we had no chance to take pictures of them.

136 444 [438] In the afternoon a Chinese peddler came from Pao-t'ing with a load of black fish for sale. We bought two and a half catties for two hundred copper coins, and they made a rare dish in this deep mountain valley.

Third month, eighth day. (Monday)

361 This morning the fog was again dense till eight o'clock when the sun broke through. We walked leisurely to the lower Hsiao village on the other side. The village was occupied entirely by Hsiao, ten families in all, with three names, Li, Liu, and Huang. Headman /pao chang/ Li welcomed us warmly to his house, and we had a long, pleasant conversation together. When we were leaving, he sent his workmen to carry several catties of potatoes to be brought back with us. In return we gave him gifts of salt, kerosene, candles, etc.

387 In the afternoon we went to the upper Hsiao village to attend a Hsiao wedding. The bride was already thirty years old and had been married before to a Hsiao of Ta-pen village. When her husband died, she had brought her son and daughter back to live with her mother. Now she was to be married for the second time to a Hsiao of the same village. The bridegroom was of about the same age. At the ceremony the couple did not appear in any special apparel; they wore just plain clothes, a little cleaner than usual.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The villages of
Sze-nan and San-kioh both are important lumber centers. 313

Tigers are reported in the northeastern 136
part of the province. There are also said to be wolves, wild boars, white pheasants, and giant salamanders. I have seen wild cats in the hills and rabbits for sale in the market at Kweiyang. There are many domestic animals, including "yellow cows," water buffalo, 231
pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and chickens. The first two are used as draft animals, for plowing. There are no full-sized horses, but ponies and small mules are used as pack animals.

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to have greater possibilities than any other province of China. Coal is common and may be had for merely scratching the surface. The richest mercury mines in the world are in Kweichow. It is the only mineral exported, although from the iron in Wei-ning cooking vessels are manufactured which are sold all over Yünnan, as well as Kweichow. In addition, there are gold, silver, copper, and nitrate of potash in sufficient quantities to warrant mining them.

The province should also be of great in- 137
terest to botanists. I met in Kweiyang an Austrian who had collected over three hundred species of plants. As I went to market from the mountain village in which I was living to Lung-li I would count the flowering plants I saw. There were never fewer than thirty in blossom, many times more than fifty. At times the hills would be rosy with azaleas, at other times blue with bluebells of several kinds, while during their season more than a hundred white lilies would be in view at certain points. Hedges of wild roses border some of the paths. There are wild fruit trees, berries, and flowering vines. Nearly every flowering plant we grow with much care in our gardens is found wild on the Kweichow mountains.

[158 cont.]

231 logs with the floor slightly raised by means of logs laid horizontally
343 on the ground. (Photo 116, Plate 27.) Naturally, this pen for the animals is no more frequently cleaned than is the inside of the house, with the result that the liquid manure and the excrement soon form nauseous seas which it is necessary to cross painfully in order to reach the house.

The "Méo" have excellent little horses (average height – about
231 1.20 meters, like the Chinese or Tonkinese horses) sturdy, sensible, very handy, and very sure-footed. These horses are never groomed, are fed with a little grass (a special grass called "ma-tsao" or horse's grass), with bamboo leaves and a few handfuls of maize. They gen-
[343] erally are tied under a little lean-to resting against the house.

The "Méo-" have a special breed of white dogs, with silky and very thick hair of medium length.

The fowls (hens, guinea hens, ducks, and so on) roam at
[343] liberty around the house during the day and roost at night in a coop usually located above or near to the stable. The wildcats, which
[136] are numerous in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, frequently do frightful slaughter among the "Méo" poultry.

In view of their spirit of independence, the "Méo" most often
361 live off by themselves, in groups of five or six cabins, and only very seldom form sizeable settlements. However, in the region of Pha-Long – Pakha, where the "Méo" group forms the majority of the population, several "Méo" villages exist which number from twenty to thirty cabins. Be that as it may, the "Méo" village is always perched very near to the summits of the mountains, at the foot of the crags; difficult mule-trails with very abrupt slopes permit access to these villages; still the climb on foot is infinitely preferable to the trip on horseback.

("Méo" houses appear in the following photographs: 346, Plate 36; 347, Plate 41; 445, Plate 38; 135, Plate 43. The last three show villages.)

In the hamlets and villages of the "Méo," the houses are built
361 according to the inclination of the occupants, without thought of
364 alignment or of streets, the enclosures for the animals close to the dwelling houses. Despite the open air and the sun which bathe the

/341 cont./

224 accompanying me had sought refuge weeks and months ago when they were attacked by wounded gaur. The hunters had succeeded in escaping behind the tree trunk, but the horns of the raging wild oxen had penetrated into the trunk to a depth of ten centimeters.

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/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools.
[278] It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60
[285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the
[857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At
[165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to
[136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets,
[227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

/367 cont./

231 The dogs kept in northern Thailand to guard the houses differ completely from the breed of dog that Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ described in his enumeration of the domestic animals of the Meau and from the animals described by Abadie (3) as having white, silky, longish, and very thick

3. Page 158.

fur. Innumerable barking dogs, red, black, and more rarely white in color, which resemble the Chinese chow, but are slenderer in body build and somewhat weaker, are found here. They feed on scraps and all kinds of refuse and, as has been mentioned, regard human feces as precious delicacies. For the Meau dogs are also animals to be killed in order to create a guardian spirit, as has /368/ been described in detail in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). The meat of dogs is not [262] eaten any more than is that of the numerous cats that watch for mice in the houses, granaries, and stables.

Chickens are also very important. They are present in every household and are identical with the small wild fowl, the original form of our domestic chicken. They, too, are put in special coops during the night by the Meau (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Figs. 80-82) and are regularly fed twice a day. At harvest time they are taken in special carrying baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 338 and 339) to the harvested fields, in which abundant feed is still to be found. Abadie (1) gives a similar description about Indo-

1. Page 158.

china: "The poultry (chickens, turkeys, ducks, etc.) roam about freely during the day and sleep in a chicken coop which is usually above or next to the stable. Tiger cats, which are [136] common in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, often kill hecatombs of the poultry of the Meau."

/129 cont'd/

755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
157 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais

M [487] are not located along lines of communication but in the deep mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in

M [137] the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four-frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-

M 353 778 177 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

See [text continues on p 63]

1 [cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
2 [" " p65- "]

2:Ling & Ruey--322 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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142
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Illus. 84. Woman's solo dance at Kan-ch'eng.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Kweichow is considered the poorest agri- 311
cultural province in all China. Much of the
soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give [134]
but little space for farms, which are therefore
usually small and cultivated by simple meth-
ods. Cultivation is confined chiefly to up-
land plains, the few open valleys and terraced
hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of
soil, slope, and water. The total area of
cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at
five per cent. At one time the chief crop was
opium, but the Chinese Government has tried
to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One
geographer lists in order of second importance
maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo,
wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cot-
ton, hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another
gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans,
wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may
be said that rice is grown wherever possible
and there forms the staple food. In the
poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot
be grown, the people depend upon maize,
barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one
crop of rice grown and the harvest is in Sep-
tember or October. Winter crops commonly
include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape.
There is a variety of excellent vegetables
grown through the year. Fruits of the prov- 245
ince include peaches, pears, apricots, persim-
mons, oranges, and lemons. There are also
large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, includ-
ing a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, 137
pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the
west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves
are thought to remain in Kweichow. The
bambo trees are of several species, some suita-
ble for construction and the making of ar-
ticles of common household use and huge rain
hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in 288
the northern part of the province has indus-
tries for the making of a kind of cheap silk
cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native um-
brellas, and cotton goods. The villages of

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4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member. 361

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate. 133 241 312 311 137

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/25 cont./

A 131 vicinity of the Mekong mountain gorge, and that large groups are settled in the eastern parts of Thailand and Indochina, especially east and north of the Mekong in upper Laos. The same author further asserts that many Akha entered Kengtung from the east by way of the Mekong Valley.

A 131 174 In addition to the ethnic groups in the eastern part of Thailand, I have found some in the north. According to my information, based on their traditions, these Akha of northern Thailand migrated south from the mountains north of Kengtung and, by way of Sōma, Kengtung, Buta, Batya, and Bako, finally reached the Doy Tung, which, as a primitive mountain massif, projects out into the river valleys, and the Kaye, a mountain west of the Doy Tung. These regions, in addition to the calcareous mountains east of Nan, may be regarded as the southernmost habitation area of the Akha at present.

Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are in the midst of a migration whose main direction, aside from local deviations, is from north to south.

/26/

Chapter 4

Description of the Country

M 131 133 Today the Meau occupy parts of South and West China, of North China, Indochina, northern Thailand, and, here and there, northeast Burma. One would be inclined to assume that under these circumstances the character of the land would be very diverse. Actually, however, it is not, since these mountain tribes do not settle below a certain altitude. In almost M 133 all cases, therefore, we find extensive hilly areas, generally ● 137 covered with tropical monsoon forests, which, like the European deciduous forests, lose most of their leaves at a given season (the dry season). Two strongly marked seasons of the M 132 year are distinguished: the cold rainy season lasts from April to November; the dry season prevails during the remaining months. During the rainy season there are quite low temperatures and snowstorms, especially at higher altitudes and in the north.

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes
[241] for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets; Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

/420/

Chapter 22

Communication

133 487 [137] The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only [491] bridge. Other facilities are unknown; there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: 'Never yet

1. II, p. 181.

has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, how- [461] ever, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity. [361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

39: Bernatzik--707 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 523/

361
137

Ill. 108. Partial view of the Meau settlement of Nam Fa in the source area of the Nam Wa.

39: Bernatzik--730 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

Miao AE5

/X cont./

361 [351] [137]

Ill. 108. Partial view of the Meau settlement of Nam Fa at the end of the rainy season. In the vicinity of the houses there are gardens with fruit trees, behind them secondary forest on deserted fields, and in the background, the typical monsoon forest of Farther India.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

from four to six being let into a piece of hollowed wood, the handle of this forming the mouthpiece. The sound, which is something like that of bagpipes, is produced by brass reeds fixed into the tubes which are of different lengths. Tunes played on these instruments seem weird and monotonous to the Westerner but they play a dangerous part in the life of the young people. When, on moonlight nights, pipers come to the outskirts of a village the music is irresistible to the girls, who go out to the players, and after posture-like dancing and antiphonal singing spend the night in their company. It is not unheard of for a mother to encourage her own fourteen-year-old daughter to go out to these youths. Human nature can sink very low.

The Miao are yellow-skinned and broad-nosed; they are of short stature and have straight black hair. Occasionally one meets with a boy or girl whose hair is reddish and such children are unpopular. Like the Chinese the Miao language is tonal and mono-syllabic; in every other respect it is entirely different. Happily their language is more easily learnt than Chinese, though the tones are quite as confusing. As an illustration, take a word which we would spell with the letters D and A. Pronounced with what scholars would term an upper even tone "*da*" means "to drag", "to seize"; pronounced with an ascending tone "*da*" means "to kill", with a departing tone "to come", with a lower even tone "to die" or "to kick". It will be readily understood how bewildering such a language can be.

/438 cont./

A 462 [342] [313] [252] The division of men's and women's work is quite similar among the Akha, who are not inferior to the Meau in industriousness. Among them, however, housebuilding is exclusively a task for the men, whereas the preparation of firewood, for which large trunks must often be chopped up, is one of the tasks reserved for the women. Cooking and the hulling of rice in the mortar are, to be sure, tasks of the Akha women, but the men very commonly help them.

A 461 857 No differently than among the Meau, there are scarcely any tasks for the Akha children that are to be performed exclusively by them; the situation in this respect is the same as among the Meau.

/439/ Chapter 27

Anthropology

M 165 When one considers the poor hygienic conditions in association with the hardest physical labor (see the chapter, "Medicine"), it is truly astonishing that one comes across relatively many old people among the Meau. Also, I cannot agree with Marabail (1) who in his work advocates the view that the

M 145 [114]

1. Page 463.

Meau grow old prematurely. On the contrary, I often marveled that the women, in spite of their work load, which was too hard for them physically, and even though no notice was taken with regard to the menstruation periods, actually do not lose their bloom any earlier than among our own people and in any case much less rapidly than among the southern Europeans.

M [841]

A M 141 The Akha as well as the Meau are definitely small in stature. From the 20 women and men measured, the average heights amounted to:

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/439 cont./

A
M
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	Meau:		Akha:
Men	1580 mm.	Men	1574 mm.
Women	1478 mm.	Women	1492 mm.

The tallest individual measured:

Man	1642 mm.	Man	1683 mm.
Woman	1562 mm.	Woman	1511 mm.

The shortest individual measured:

Man	1532 mm.	Man	1430 mm.
Woman	1431 mm.	Woman	1420 mm.

M
114
141

If one considers that the stature of the Meau makes them one of the smallest of all the mountain peoples, he cannot agree with Scott (2), who maintains that with regard to the Meau it is

2. Page 589.

a matter of a "tall-statured race in relation to their neighbors." Savina's statements, too, as well as Abadie's (3), which maintain,

3. Page 151.

"Medium /440/ height for the men, short for the women," or those by Witek (1), based on figures taken from the literature,

1. Page 88.

of 1540 mm. to 1580 mm. for men and 1520 mm. to 1570 mm. for women among the Meau, seem too large to me, at least for the Thailand Meau. Lajonquière (2) comes closest,

2. II, p. 301.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 114 /440 cont./

describing the Meau as short of stature and with short legs.

● 141 The men of both peoples are slender and gracile; the women, especially those among the Meau, are plumper. I

M 142 could not find any confirmation for Seidenfaden's (3) statement

114 3. II, p. 153.

that the Meau are powerfully and solidly built and have a tendency toward obesity.

M [141] According to Marabail (4), the Meau is not tall and is

4. Page 453.

almost as white as the European; his forehead high, the eyes brown, his countenance alert and congenial. Marabail (4)

A [114] [142] /see footnote 4 above/ and Scott (5), and along with them

5. Page 589.

several other authors, make the assertion that, in general, the skin color of the female sex among the Meau and Akha is lighter than that of the males. I myself found the skin of the Meau light-yellowish. The skin of the Akha is always brownish,

A lacking the yellow tone. In the sun a dark brown with a reddish

142 cast develops. Scott's (5) /see footnote 5 above/ expressed

114 opinion that the darker skin color of the Akha comes about because of their aversion to bath water is not justified. Lowis, however, also speaks of a "dark-colored tribe of people."

A The Mongolian spot is the rule among the Meau, as well

M as among the Akha, Yau /Yao/, Lahu, and Lisu; it disappears

143 about five years after birth.

M The skull of the Meau (Ills. 52 to 56)[1] is brachy- to

141 mesocephalic, an observation that is confirmed by Schotter (6),

6. VI, p. 318.

A too. Among the Akha (Ills. 1 to 5)[2] it is as a rule mesocephalic,

141 but dolichocephalic types also occur sporadically among these people. [1] [see cat. 116 pp 365-367- ANALYST]
[2] [" " " pp 11- 13 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/440 cont./

A M ●141 Both sexes are characterized by a high, relatively vertical forehead, slightly sloping off toward the back in isolated cases. The frontal angle does not exceed or fall below the range of variation for Europoid races and as a rule is somewhat larger among the male sex than among the females. I did not find any skull formations such as are described by Seidenfaden (7). I therefore

A M [114]

7. II, p. 154.

assume that this was a matter of pathological abnormalities.

/441/ The face is characterized among both peoples by extraordinary individual variation. Otherwise, among the Meau, it is flat (Ill. 54), and among the Akha projecting toward the nose (Ill. 1). Neither among the Akha nor among the Meau did I find any prognathism of the lower part of the face, in contrast to Lowis, who speaks of the jaw of the Akha as unnaturally developed for the region. The zygomatic arches usually stand out sharply among the Meau, sometimes very sharply, less among the Akha and sometimes not at all.

A M [114]

The chin among the Meau is generally round, often tapering below to a point, as among the Lapps. Among the Akha it extends more ovally, but it likewise often tapers to a point below.

The lower jaw among both peoples is gracile and slightly receding.

A M 142 The mouth among both peoples is wide, but it does not exceed the range of variation for Europoid peoples. Among the Meau it is often very small with extremely narrow lips, among the Akha not as small and often with considerably broader lips, and usually well-shaped among both peoples. Even among the Akha, however, protruding lips never occur, although the women in particular often have markedly broad lips. In general, the lips of the Akha are broader than those of the average European, but narrower than those of the Thai.

A /442 cont./

M The legs of the Meau are short, especially those of the
141 women. Short and very rapid steps are therefore the rule. The
M feet are narrow and strikingly small and gracile. In contrast
[481] to this, the legs of the Akha are longer, but above all the feet are large and rather clumsy.

Among both peoples the arms seem long in relation to the legs; the hands are well-shaped and, like the feet, narrow and small. The hands of the Akha are likewise narrow, but large.

A The body hair among both tribes is black. But whereas
M it is almost absent among the Meau, particularly the arms and
142 legs of the Akha are very hairy. Both peoples have only a slight development of pubic hair.

Among both the Akha and the Meau, the head hair is black, bristly, and has a bluish shimmer. The hair of the Meau
M is somewhat thicker than that of the Akha, the growth of hair
[143] very abundant, and baldness rare, not observed by me at all.

The hair of the men reaches down over the shoulders among both peoples, among the women often to the hips.

M Witek (1) mentions, besides the black hair-color of the
142
114

1. Page 92.

Meau, also brown hair among the men and among the Meau women, besides black, also finds brown and even blond hair. Abadie (2), too, confirms /Ills. 80-85 appear here on unnum-

2. Page 151.

M bered pages/ /443/ the not infrequent occurrence of blond and,
[1] in the case of albinos, white hair. In contrast to this I myself was unable to find a single case of any hair color other than black or bluish black.

1: Wang--iv S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/v/

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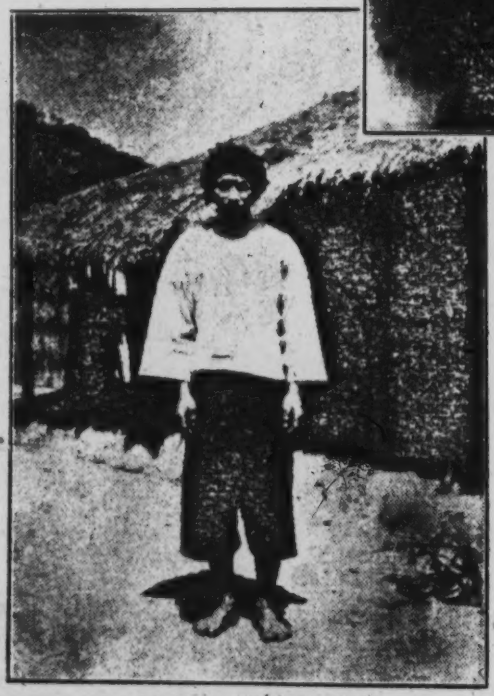
142
293
301

A Miao Woman



A Miao Man

/147 cont. /

*782

and /Illus. 65 appears here/ /148/ rain clothes. The bamboo tube is in front of me, and the bell is wound with red and green strips of cloth. My patron saint is standing beside the smoke from the wax. My teacher stands beside the knife. I ascend on the smoke of the wax. Now I have reached the land of the spirits /shen/. I am already with the four kan lo kuei. If you have

[142]
[351]
[291]
[516]

Illus. 65. Ta Kan Lo, B.

2:Ling & Ruey--322 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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535*

Illus. 84. Woman's solo dance at Kan-ch'eng.

E:Ling & Ruey--115 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AEt

Illus. 45. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (1)

Illus. 46. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (2)

2: Ling & Ruey--198 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/134/

Illus. 60, Eating Pigs, B.

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782*
352
415

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (揚 and 楊). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

[9a]

[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 长寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/1954 AE5 Miao AE5

SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

By David Crockett Graham

(With 24 Plates)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

101 The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deep holes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are [491] generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[161] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 供縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung Ning 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow, south in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü [361] Kiang 綏江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[145] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.[1]

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

[1] Clarke, S. R., Among the tribes of Southwest China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

11: Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938 AE5 Miao AE5

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FIG. 1. SIX CH'WAN MIAO WOMEN IN FRONT OF THE CHIEFTAIN'S HOUSE.

FIG. 2. ADULT FEMALE.

FIGS. 3, 4. ADULT MALES. NOTE THE RELATIVE ABSENCE OF THE EYEFOLD.

142

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA.

[facing p. 65]

49: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

142

Meo woman

[facing p. 273]

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, ●142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts 273 [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he 147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 157 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

155: Abadie--236 G-5 (no date) 1924

AM1 Indochina
M100 AE5

[150]

142
292
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531

46. Young "Peu-méo" Engaged Couple in Dress Costume.

155: Abadie--237 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

142
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[415]
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37. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman.

346. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman Carrying Water in two Bamboo Tubes Fastened Together.

155: Abadie--238 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[156]

142
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165. Group of "Peu-Méo" Unmarried Girls

[293]

424. Old "Peu-Méo" Man and Six of his Grand-daughters.

[160]

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204. Group of "Méo" Notables. "Siao-phay" (Village Chiefs of Region of Pha-Long).

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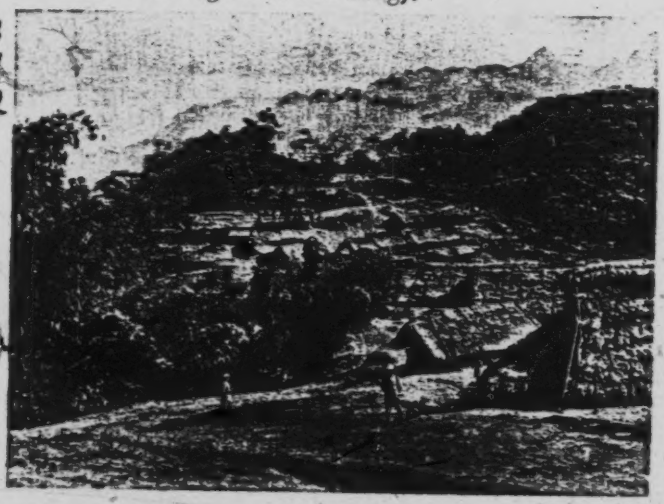

445. "Méo" Village (Region of Pha-Long).

131 /131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their Miao AE5
living at high altitudes and their difficulty in acclimating in the lower valleys. In fact they seek to compensate for a lower altitude by a higher altitude. They require a severe climate, which they enjoyed on the high plateau of Yunnan and Szechwan and which they were forced to evacuate. They live especially on limestone peaks, and when some families live at the bottoms of cirques, the altitude of these goes up at least to a thousand meters. They prefer steep slopes where their little house appears to be suspended like a cage on the side of a wall.

Section 2

Physical and Moral Natures

142 147 143 The Meo is short and thick-set, his average height must be about 1.58 meters. He is right to be proud of the name Meo which was given to him by the Annamese as a contemptuous title. As a matter of fact, he climbs like a cat. Along trails where we must use hands and knees, he may be seen going ahead slowly but with supple ease, even though he often is carrying a loaded pack-basket on his back. His resistance to fatigue is very great while he remains above 800 meters altitude, below this he thinks he is in danger of being taken ill in the hot season.

142 157 [461] The Meo has a nearly white complexion, hard and prominent features, brown eyes and hair like all the inhabitants of Indochina, aside from a few unusual specimens with reddish hair and blue eyes. He is as hard-working as the Thai is indolent. More courageous than most of the natives, he would be as dangerous to have as an enemy as he has been useful to us as an ally on certain occasions, such as the conquest of Dongquan in 1893. The Meo woman is not pretty. 562 142 She is a crude country-woman and a hard worker whose sturdiness is incompatible with all grace and style. However, the young women attract one's eye by the freshness of their pink and white faces, the air of health and vigor which they give forth, and their well-developed figures, which are emphasized by their very picturesque costumes. /132/ The high pitch and the weakness of their voice makes it resemble a small girl's. In short, youth and freshness endow the crude woman of the mountain with the same allure as all women. Unfortunately, like her neighbors of the valleys, she is subjected to hard toil in the fields at an early age. Moreover, she marries young and the cares of maternity added to those of house-keeping cause her to lose her shape and to take away her fresh appearance very quickly.

Mr Graham G-S (ca.1900-1909)1924 A01 Thailand
Miao AES
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MEAO MEN AND WOMEN. . PAYAP CIRCLE.

(Hanu I, p. 127)

39: Bernatzik--365 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 266/

142
301
302

Ill. 52. Meau man, 24 years old, with Mongolian fold, shiny blue-black hair, and lacking ear lobs.

39: Bernatzik--366 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

MiaoAE5

/Between pp. 266 and 267/

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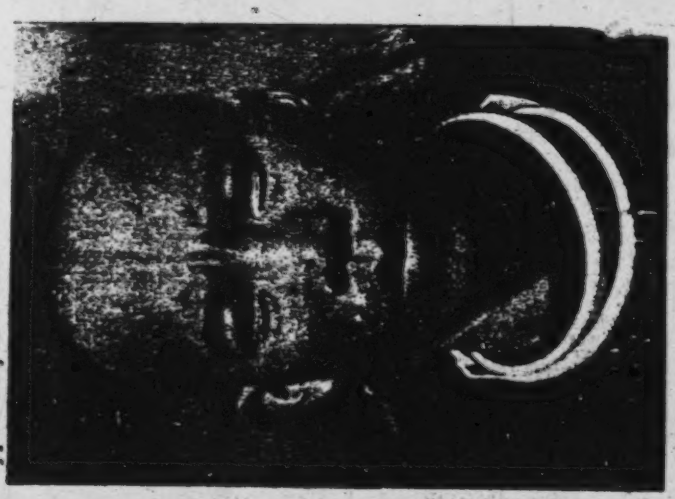
302

Ill. 54. Side view of the man in Ill. 53.

[144]



Ill. 53. Meau man of Coarse Sinoid type, 26 years old.

39: Bernatzik--367 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

/Between pp. 266 and 267./

Miao AE5

Ill. 55: Meau shaman of Delicate Sinoid type about 52 years old.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55.

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291
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[144]

39: Bernatzik--368 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Opposite p. 267./ Miao AE5

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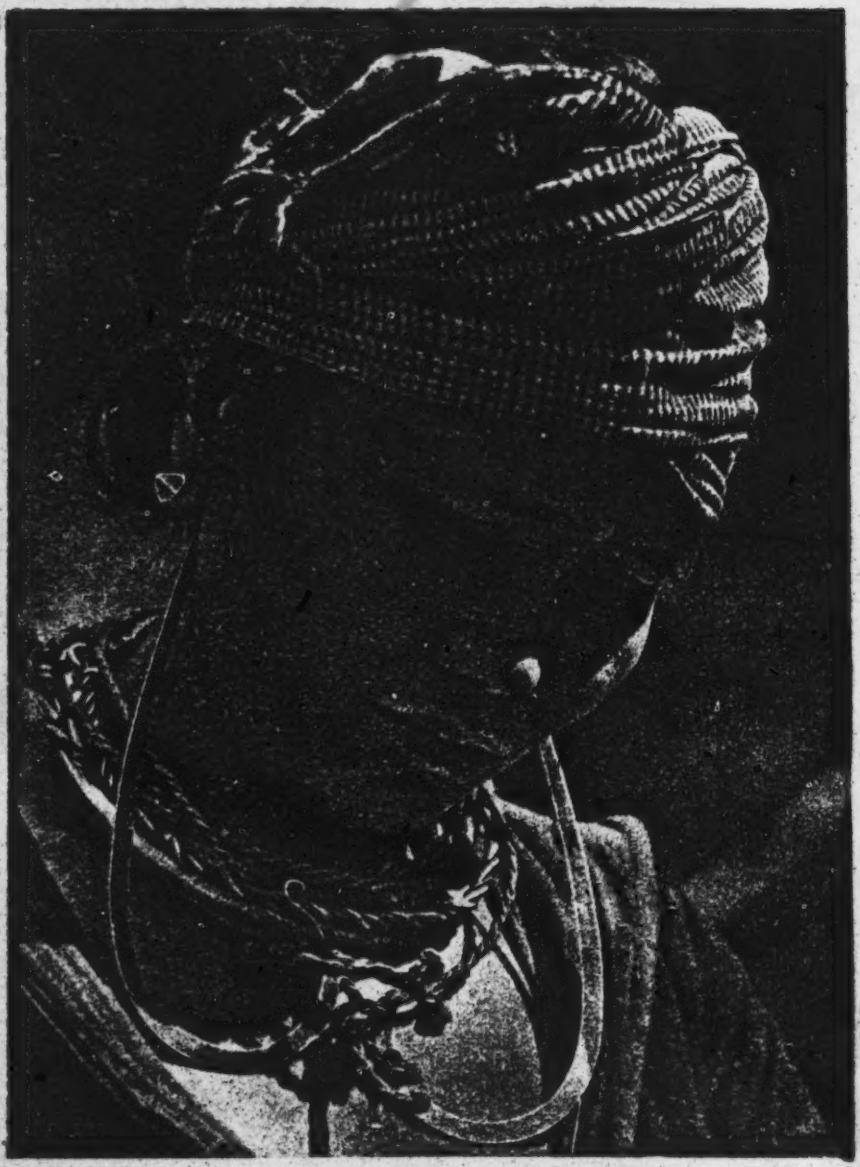

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old, with heavy, solid ear-pendants of silver.

39: Bernatzik--448 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between 330 and 331./

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Ill. 59. The heavy hair of the Meau women is twisted and tied into a knot above the forehead. Often strands of false hair are added.

Ill. 60. The enormous turban of the Meau women consists of two to six cloths. Ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver.

39: Bernatzik--450 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 331./

142
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593

Ill. 62. Family idyl of the Meau. Delousing as a pursuit while affectionately being together.

39: Bernatzik--470 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 346 and 347/

142
283
868
576

Ill. 64. Meau boys learn how to make a rope.

39: Bernatzik--471 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 346 and 347/
Miao AES
142
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576
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Ill. 65. A favorite game of Meau boys is modeling animal and human figures in clay.

39: Bernatzik--472 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 347/

142
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482
854

Ill. 66. Child-carrier of the Meau. The children are tied to their parents' backs by means of special cloths and are not put down even during work.

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526

E-5
39: Bernatzik--512/(1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5
/Between pp. 378 and 379/

Ill. 69. Meau girls toss the cloth ball to boys from the neighboring village.

Ill. 70. A person who does not catch the ball must give up an article of clothing as a forfeit.

39: Bernatzik--514 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 379/

142
526

Ill. 72. Game with shuttlecock and wooden bat among the Meau.

39: Bernatzik--574 E-5 (1936-1937)/1947 A01 Thailand
/Between pp. 426 and 427/
Miao AES
142
302
291
534

Ill. 75. Mouth organ of the Meau, made with a silver-mounted wooden body and six bamboo pipes.

39: Bernatzik--575 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 426 and 427/
Miao AE5
142
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534

Ill. 76. Rod flute of the Meau, made of bamboo. With a blowhole and six finger-holes.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp of the Meau, made out of a brass or bronze plate with a vibrating tongue.

39: Bernatzik--576 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 427/

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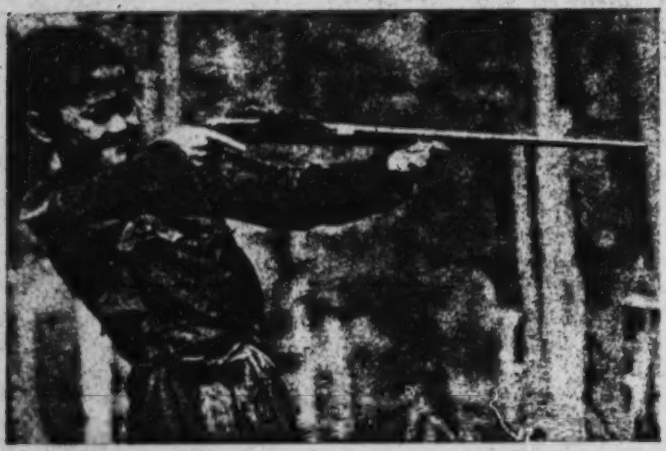

Ill. 78. Flintlock gun of the Meau, with pistol stock.

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411
516

Ill. 79. Meau boy with crossbow, which all mountain peoples know how to use expertly.

M /440 cont./
114 describing the Meau as short of stature and with short legs.
141 The men of both peoples are slender and gracile; the women, especially those among the Meau, are plumper. I
M could not find any confirmation for Seidenfaden's (3) statement
● 142
114

3. II, p. 153.

that the Meau are powerfully and solidly built and have a tendency toward obesity.

M According to Marabail (4), the Meau is not tall and is
[141]

4. Page 453.

almost as white as the European; his forehead high, the eyes brown, his countenance alert and congenial. Marabail (4)
A /see footnote 4 above/ and Scott (5), and along with them
[114]
[142]

5. Page 589.

several other authors, make the assertion that, in general, the skin color of the female sex among the Meau and Akha is lighter than that of the males. I myself found the skin of the Meau light-yellowish. The skin of the Akha is always brownish,
A lacking the yellow tone. In the sun a dark brown with a reddish
142 cast develops. Scott's (5) /see footnote 5 above/ expressed
114 opinion that the darker skin color of the Akha comes about because of their aversion to bath water is not justified. Lowis, however, also speaks of a "dark-colored tribe of people."

A The Mongolian spot is the rule among the Meau, as well
M as among the Akha, Yau /Yao/, Lahu, and Lisu; it disappears
143 about five years after birth.

M The skull of the Meau (Ills. 52 to 56)[1] is brachy- to
141 mesocephalic, an observation that is confirmed by Schotter (6),

6. VI, p. 318.

A too. Among the Akha (Ills. 1 to 5)[2] it is as a rule mesocephalic,
141 but dolichocephalic types also occur sporadically among these people.

[1] [see cat. 116 pp 365-367 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " pp 11-13 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/440 cont./

A M 141 Both sexes are characterized by a high, relatively vertical forehead, slightly sloping off toward the back in isolated cases. The frontal angle does not exceed or fall below the range of variation for Europoid races and as a rule is somewhat larger among the male sex than among the females. I did not find any skull formations such as are described by Seidenfaden (7). I therefore

A M [114]

7. II, p. 154.

assume that this was a matter of pathological abnormalities.

/441/ The face is characterized among both peoples by extraordinary individual variation. Otherwise, among the Meau, it is flat (Ill. 54), and among the Akha projecting toward the nose (Ill. 1). Neither among the Akha nor among the Meau did I find any prognathism of the lower part of the face, in contrast to Lowis, who speaks of the jaw of the Akha as unnaturally developed for the region. The zygomatic arches usually stand out sharply among the Meau, sometimes very sharply, less among the Akha and sometimes not at all.

A M [114]

The chin among the Meau is generally round, often tapering below to a point, as among the Lapps. Among the Akha it extends more ovally, but it likewise often tapers to a point below.

The lower jaw among both peoples is gracile and slightly receding.

A M 142 The mouth among both peoples is wide, but it does not exceed the range of variation for Europoid peoples. Among the Meau it is often very small with extremely narrow lips, among the Akha not as small and often with considerably broader lips, and usually well-shaped among both peoples. Even among the Akha, however, protruding lips never occur, although the women in particular often have markedly broad lips. In general, the lips of the Akha are broader than those of the average European, but narrower than those of the Thai.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/441 cont./

A M 145 164 The teeth among both peoples are strong and well developed and well preserved into old age, if caries and pyorrhea (see the chapter, "Medicine"), especially common among the Meau, do not cause them to fall out prematurely.

A M 142 Both tribes also have well-developed ears; the shell shows no signs of degeneration or atavism, although attached lobes and their absence can be found more commonly among the Meau, rarely among the Akha.

M 142 The eye of the Meau is small with a narrow eyelid slit, which is often placed obliquely. Apart from the Mongoloid fold (Ills. 53)[2] which is very common among these people, the lateral corner of the eye often lies higher than the medial one. Therefore little of the cornea is to be seen among the Meau. The eye color is dark brown.

A 142 The eye of the Akha is essentially different. It is large and /442/ almond-shaped (Ill. 6),[2] and the Mongoloid fold occurs only as an exception. The cornea is white and always quite visible; a higher placement of the lateral corner of the eye in comparison with the medial one is not rare. The color of the eyes is usually dark brown, sometimes even black.

M 142 As a rule (except for the Europoid types), the nose of the Meau is small, blunt, and quite deeply saddled; the bridge of the nose, protruding slightly only in exceptionsl cases, is otherwise broad and flat (Ill. 53). It becomes much wider at the bottom and at the sides toward the alae.

A 142 In contrast to this, the Akha usually have large noses with high bridges; even aquiline noses occur occasionally (Ill. 1). The bridge is narrow and slightly arched, usually very narrow at the root, but wider noses, especially toward the lower part, also occur (Ill. 6). They are never as flat, however, as those of the Meau. In isolated cases the bottom of the nose slopes upward somewhat toward the tip so that from the front one can see into the nostrils.

[1] [see cat, 116, p366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p14 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A /442 cont./

M The legs of the Meau are short, especially those of the
141 women. Short and very rapid steps are therefore the rule. The
M feet are narrow and strikingly small and gracile. In contrast
[481] to this, the legs of the Akha are longer, but above all the feet
are large and rather clumsy.

Among both peoples the arms seem long in relation to the legs; the hands are well-shaped and, like the feet, narrow and small. The hands of the Akha are likewise narrow, but large.

A The body hair among both tribes is black. But whereas
M it is almost absent among the Meau, particularly the arms and
142 legs of the Akha are very hairy. Both peoples have only a slight development of pubic hair.

Among both the Akha and the Meau, the head hair is black, bristly, and has a bluish shimmer. The hair of the Meau
M is somewhat thicker than that of the Akha, the growth of hair
[143] very abundant, and baldness rare, not observed by me at all.

The hair of the men reaches down over the shoulders among both peoples, among the women often to the hips.

M Witek (1) mentions, besides the black hair-color of the
142
114

1. Page 92.

Meau, also brown hair among the men and among the Meau women, besides black, also finds brown and even blond hair. Abadie (2), too, confirms /Ills. 80-85 appear here on unnum-

2. Page 151.

M bered pages/ /443/ the not infrequent occurrence of blond and,
[143] in the case of albinos, white hair. In contrast to this I myself was unable to find a single case of any hair color other than black or bluish black.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/443 cont./

A M 142 The beard growth, as Seidenfaden (1), too, confirms,

1. II, p. 153.

is generally slight. The whiskers are usually completely absent, and only a thin mustache and chin beard reminds one of the "Chinese beard." The beard growth of the Akha is even more faintly pronounced than among the Meau; the chin beard is completely absent among them.

A M 144 [128] Recapitulating, the following anthropological characteristics can be given for both the Akha and the Meau on the basis of the above, and to avoid any misunderstanding I shall use the generally well-known terminology of Von Eickstedt:

I was unable to discover among the Meau the Europoid racial traits advanced by other authors, especially those concerning the head hair. In any case, among the Meau of northern Thailand whom I investigated, it was a matter of pronounced Sinoid to Tungoid /Tungusic/ racial elements (Ill. 52-57).[1]

In contrast to this, however, a Europoid race, somewhat Orientaloid and sometimes almost reaching the Dinaroid /Dinaric/ type, prevails among the Akha, whereas the Delicate Sinoid /feinsinide/ type also occurs, to be sure, but is encountered more rarely than among the Meau (Ills. 1-6).[2] I could not find the pronounced Tungoid, Kachinoid, and Coarse Sinoid /grobsiniden/ types, which also occur among the Meau, among the Akha at all.

For the more northerly and easterly Meau groups, on the other hand, Von Eickstedt's (2) observations prove correct:

2. II, pp. 57, 58.

"The Europiform element is really remarkable among the Miao. It is superfluous to emphasize that mixtures, today or at all recent, are not involved. The type occurs much too frequently for that. Also of interest are the Tungoid traits, which, from the north, remind one of the true Mongols of the Gobi. In addition, there is the light skin which occasionally even conjures

1 [See cat. 116, pp 365-368 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " pp 11-14 - "]

39: Bernatzik--623 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 459/

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Ill. 91. The tart meat of ripe squash tastes very good to the Meau boy.

39: Bernatzik--721 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/V/ Appendix II

Explanatory Notes on the Illustrations

144 Ills. 52-108. Photographs of the Flowery and the White Meau, both from northern Thailand.

Ills. 52-57. Racial types of the Meau. In contrast to the Akha, as well as to the statements in the literature concerning the Meau in Tonkin and French Laos, the Europoid racial element is absent among the Meau of northern Thailand. The Mongoloid is clearly recognizable in all cases. Coarse to Delicate Sinoid elements stand out clearly.

142 Ill. 52. Twenty-four-year-old man of the White Meau. The Mongolian fold, the blue-black, shiny, straight hair, and the lack of ear lobes are characteristic. To be noted also are the solid silver neck-rings, the principal adornment of the men of this tribe. Between Nos. 2 and 3 on the skin-color table.

[301]

[144] Ill. 53. Twenty-six-year-old man of Coarse Sinoid type from the Meau village of Nam Fa in the source area of the Nam Wa, east of Ampah Bunyun. Besides the well-developed Mongolian fold, the nose, which is broad and flat, even at the root, and the broad, beardless lower jaw with strong musculature are characteristic. The zygomatic arches project only moderately.

Ill. 54. Side view of the man in Ill. 53. The pockmarked skin is light yellow (about No. 2 on the skin-color table), the ear lobe attached. The few beard hairs have been plucked. The hair style of the men is the same as among the Akha (cf. Ills. 3 and 35), though the hair is twisted into a loose knot and not, as usually among the latter, braided (cf. Ill. 13).

[302]

[144] Ill. 55. Shaman from Nam Fa, about 52 years old, of Delicate Sinoid type. Strikingly intelligent features. The nasal projection is narrow with a slightly convex curve.

/V cont./

142 [144] Though the Mongolian fold is not pronounced, the Mongoloid affiliation is incontestable. The scantily developed beard hair is clearly visible here where no artificial interference has decreased it.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55. The veins stand out clearly under the thin yellow skin (No. 2 on the skin-color table). The ear lobe is better developed than among the other types. Moreover, the blue-black hair is finer and less shiny (cf. Ill. 54).

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old. The faces of the women are generally wider and the zygomatic arches project more than among the men. The skin of the face is still lighter. The lower part of the auricle is pierced, and the heavy silver ear-pendant has enlarged it into a large lobe. [304] [301]

291 Ills. 58-61. Clothing and ornaments.

Ills. 58. The women's costume consists of a turban, a dark-blue jacket with a sailor collar, a wide, batiked, pleated skirt, a long, narrow, dark-blue apron with wide bands, and white, wound leggings which, in the working costume, are replaced by plain dark-blue rags of cloth. Silver ornaments adorn ears, neck, wrists, and fingers. [301]

/VI/

291 302 Ill. 59. The thick, blue-black, shiny hair is twisted and tied in a knot above the forehead (cf. Ill. 87). It serves as a support for the huge turban (cf. Ill. 60). If the fullness of the natural hair is insufficient for achieving the desired bulk of the hair knot, false strands of hair are put in.

291 Ill. 60. The huge turban of the women, depending on the wealth of the owner and the occasion on which it is worn, consists of two to six cloths. The ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver and are made by the Meau smiths themselves. (Cf. Ill. 82.) 301

lk Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

563 Szechwan was occupied by the Pre-Chinese
175 aborigines called the Shu and Pa.[3] These were highly civilized by 1200 B.C. and had temples, schools, irrigation, etc. The Chinese entered the territory in small numbers about 200 B.C. From 250 A.D. they came in increasing numbers, but were not the main leading and controlling body until the sixteenth century. In 1449 a Chinese tyrant of exceeding cruelty massacred the majority of the population. The province, being such a rich prize, was soon re-populated by the Chinese from the other provinces.

125 *Method Employed in Blood-Grouping.*—Drops of blood were secured by pricking the lobe of the ear or the finger. This blood was placed in 5 c.c. of normal saline, and well shaken. A drop of standard serum from Group II and Group III was placed on separate marked cover slips. Using a small pipette, one drop of blood-suspension was added to each of the standard sera. The entire preparation was then well mixed and mounted on hollow ground slides and ringed with vaseline. After standing at room temperature for half an hour the preparation was examined by the low power objective, and the presence or absence of clumping was observed.

The sera employed were obtained from the Department of Pathology of West China Union University. All the sera were used up in the field during the examinations. The results are
143 shown in the Table below:—

	O	*A*	*B*	*A B*	*Total*
Chwan Miao -	74	23	80	28	205
per cent.	36·1	11·2	39·0	13·7	
Szechwanese -	487	375	289	141	1,292[4]
per cent.	37·7	29·0	22·4	10·9	

808 Sincere gratitude and deep appreciation is extended to Professor R. Ruggles Gates for the inspiration given us in anthropological study. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and help—re sera and apparatus—given us by Drs. Lenox, Williams and Cheo, of the Department of Pathology. Our thanks are due to Dr. Agnew for taking the photographs: his dietetic and dental studies are to be published shortly. The blood grouping was done chiefly by Mr. S. C. H. Yang, who was assisted in part by Dr. Beh. The anthropological measurements, which have now been analyzed statistically, were done by Drs. Morse and Beh, assisted by Mr. Liao as recorder.

[4] Of these 1,292 Chinese, 1,000 were collected and/or observed by Dr. R. G. Lo and 292 by S. C. H. Yang.

lk Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

this goes a hollow bamboo tube 2–3 feet long through which they blow; through the body go, at right angles to this blowing tube, 6 bamboo tubes ½-inch in diameter perforated by several holes. When played it sounds very much like Scot bagpipes. When they play it they dance. Their singing is not as falsetto as the Chinese. The clothes and hats of the women are often beautifully embroidered. Some men also wear embroidered clothes, but most of their (men's) clothing is like the Chinese. Neolithic stone implements were found in considerable numbers.

Conclusions.—The report of the blood-groups of 205 Ch'wan Miao (157 males and 48 females), an aboriginal type of Szechwan province, West China, is submitted. There is also a report made of 1,292 Chinese of that province. The Ch'wan Miao examined were adults, their blood-pressure was recorded,[2] photographs were taken and a complete physical anthropological examination was made.

The blood-groups of the Ch'wan are very low in A and high in B, as compared with the Szechwanese.

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[533]
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[P. 676]

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little
[184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature,
142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the
[147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well
[163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate
[165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare
[143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts
273 [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he
147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have
24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not
36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage-
157 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

131 /131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their MIAD AE5
living at high altitudes and their difficulty in acclimating in the lower valleys. In fact they seek to compensate for a lower altitude by a higher altitude. They require a severe climate, which they enjoyed on the high plateau of Yunnan and Szechwan and which they were forced to evacuate. They live especially on limestone peaks, and when some families live at the bottoms of cirques, the altitude of these goes up at least to a thousand meters. They prefer steep slopes where their little house appears to be suspended like a cage on the side of a wall.

Section 2

Physical and Moral Natures

142 147 143 The Meo is short and thick-set, his average height must be about 1.58 meters. He is right to be proud of the name Meo which was given to him by the Annamese as a contemptuous title. As a matter of fact, he climbs like a cat. Along trails where we must use hands and knees, he may be seen going ahead slowly but with supple ease, even though he often is carrying a loaded pack-basket on his back. His resistance to fatigue is very great while he remains above 800 meters altitude, below this he thinks he is in danger of being taken ill in the hot season.

142 157 [461] The Meo has a nearly white complexion, hard and prominent features, brown eyes and hair like all the inhabitants of Indochina, aside from a few unusual specimens with reddish hair and blue eyes. He is as hard-working as the Thai is indolent. More courageous than most of the natives, he would be as dangerous to have as an enemy as he has been useful to us as an ally on certain occasions, such as the conquest of Dongquan in 1893. The Meo woman is not pretty. 562 142 She is a crude country-woman and a hard worker whose sturdiness is incompatible with all grace and style. However, the young women attract one's eye by the freshness of their pink and white faces, the air of health and vigor which they give forth, and their well-developed figures, which are emphasized by their very picturesque costumes. /132/ The high pitch and the weakness of their voice makes it resemble a small girl's. In short, youth and freshness endow the crude woman of the mountain with the same allure as all women. Unfortunately, like her neighbors of the valleys, she is subjected to hard toil in the fields at an early age. Moreover, she marries young and the cares of maternity added to those of house-keeping cause her to lose her shape and to take away her fresh appearance very quickly.

/90 cont./

577 836 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs [143] rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with [614] their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 833 513 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 114 141 /440 cont./

describing the Meau as short of stature and with short legs.

The men of both peoples are slender and gracile; the women, especially those among the Meau, are plumper. I could not find any confirmation for Seidenfaden's (3) statement

M 142 114

3. II, p. 153.

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4. Page 453.

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A 142 114

A M 143

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6. VI, p. 318.

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[1] [see cat. 116, pp 365-367- ANALYST]
[2] [" " " pp 11- 13 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A /442 cont./

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1. Page 92.

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2. Page 151.

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[143] in the case of albinos, white hair. In contrast to this I myself was unable to find a single case of any hair color other than black or bluish black.

/13 cont'd/

241 311 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation 161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li." This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 175 144 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing [597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other 162 175 144 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the family register of the Lin family:

178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

162 144 178 Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname, who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung

/14 cont'd/
162 144 178
district. This tendency for the Miao to become Chinese or Li is indeed unfavorable for an increase in the Miao population.

/15/ Chapter II. Language

192 862

English	Miao	English	Miao
Cardinal Numbers		Cardinal Numbers	
one	ǎ	twenty-one	nī sip jā
two	í	twenty-two	nī sip ngǐ
three	bo	twenty-three	ni sip tum
four	bā	thirty	tum sip
five	bǎ	forty	tā sip
six	kŭr	fifty	ngon sip
seven	njē	sixty	ngŭ sip
eight	z	seventy	kat sip
nine	dŏ	eighty	bid sip
ten	sip	ninety	shŭ sip
eleven	sip jā	one hundred	ǎ bā
twelve	sip ngǐ	two hundred	í bā
thirteen	sip tum	three hundred	tum bā
fourteen	sip tā	one thousand	á coon
fifteen	sip ngon	/16/ ten thousand	à tin
sixteen	sip ngŭ	one hundred thousand	à dū
seventeen	sip kat	a million	à bē
eighteen	sip bid		
nineteen	sip shŭ		
twenty	nī sip		

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monogamous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the

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23: Graham G-3 (ca. 1900-1920)1924 AO1 Thailand AO1
Miao AE 5

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and as the long-prevailing southward and westward movement of the various clans of this people still continues, more communities are continually being established within the present Siamese border.

M
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The Meao live in strongly-built houses with timber or mud walls and stone floors, generally perched on or near the crest of the highest available mountains. They use a rough bedstead, stools and tables, all of which are conspicuously absent from the houses of the Kaché. Their agriculture is carried on in forest clearings on the sides of the mountains on which they have their settlements, and they grow rice, maize, tobacco, hemp, vegetables of sorts and opium. They keep cattle, goats and a few ponies. The women are much occupied with weaving and embroidery, the results of their labour being often of artistic value. The Meao are monogamists and their marriages, which are usually preceded by a period of irregular co-habitation, are accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. Their religion is the usual spirit-worship, observed by means of sacrifice, by heavy eating and by the copious drinking of rough, strong spirit distilled from rice. They practise burial of the dead, and their custom of placing a white cock beside the corpse to do battle with the great lizard supposed to bar the passage of the soul to paradise may possibly denote some remote connection with the Chinbok tribes far away to the west, on the other side of Burma. The Meao say they once had a written character but have lost it. They now use the Chinese, in which a small proportion of their men are proficient. They also use the Chinese calendar. There appears no reason to warrant affiliation of the Maeo with the races of Môn-Annam stock, while language, customs and, to some extent, appearance, seem to hint at connection with the Tibeto-Burman races. They are therefore now included among the latter, though subsequent investigation may possibly prove such classification quite wrong.

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[144]

39: Bernatzik--366 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
MiaoAE5

/Between pp. 266 and 267/

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Ill. 54. Side view of the man in Ill. 53.

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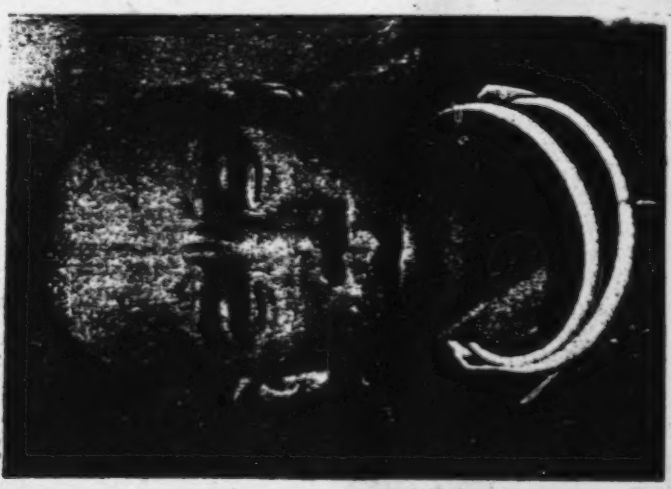

Ill. 53. Meau man of Coarse Sinoid type, 26 years old.

38: Bernatzik--367 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5
/Between pp. 266 and 267./

Ill. 55. Meau shaman of Delicate Sinoid type about 52 years old.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55.

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AKha A04
Miao AE5

/443 cont./

A M 142

The beard growth, as Seidenfaden (1), too, confirms,

1. II, p. 153,

is generally slight. The whiskers are usually completely absent, and only a thin mustache and chin beard reminds one of the "Chinese beard." The beard growth of the Akha is even more faintly pronounced than among the Meau; the chin beard is completely absent among them.

A M 144 [128]

Recapitulating, the following anthropological characteristics can be given for both the Akha and the Meau on the basis of the above, and to avoid any misunderstanding I shall use the generally well-known terminology of Von Eickstedt:

I was unable to discover among the Meau the Europoid racial traits advanced by other authors, especially those concerning the head hair. In any case, among the Meau of northern Thailand whom I investigated, it was a matter of pronounced Sinoid to Tungoid /Tungusic/ racial elements (Ill. 52-57).[2]

In contrast to this, however, a Europoid race, somewhat Orientaloid and sometimes almost reaching the Dinaroid /Dinaric/ type, prevails among the Akha, whereas the Delicate Sinoid /feinsinide/ type also occurs, to be sure, but is encountered more rarely than among the Meau (Ills. 1-6).[2] I could not find the pronounced Tungoid, Kachinoid, and Coarse Sinoid /grobsiniden/ types, which also occur among the Meau, among the Akha at all.

For the more northerly and easterly Meau groups, on the other hand, Von Eickstedt's (2) observations prove correct:

2. II, pp. 57, 58.

"The Europiform element is really remarkable among the Miao. It is superfluous to emphasize that mixtures, today or at all recent, are not involved. The type occurs much too frequently for that. Also of interest are the Tungoid traits, which, from the north, remind one of the true Mongols of the Gobi. In addition, there is the light skin which occasionally even conjures

[1 [See cat. 116, pp 365-368 - ANALYST]
[2 [" " " pp 11-14 - "]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/443 cont./

A M 144 up a light red under the crust on the cheeks of young girls. Such Europoid or Europiform elements also appear among the Lolo in Yunnan.

"The skin coloring of the people is often actually Europoid light. Under the /444/ armpit tones of 3, 7 and 10 (according to v. L. /von Luschan/) are very common, but the faces show 14-17, with a strong yellow tone that the table does not cover. The features of the Miao, however, are Sinoid, not at all Paleo-Mongoloid, and not even especially frequently Southern Sinoid. From the Central Sinoid type the range of variation goes to Tungoid flatness on the one hand and on the other hand to decidedly Europiform, narrow-faced, aquiline-nosed types."

This Europoid element is also reported for the closest relatives, according to Von Eickstedt -- direct ancestors would be better -- of the Meau, the Tjiang, still hardly investigated even today. Torrance, too, writes that the latter are definitely of a western and not Mongolian type."

M 144 174 It is noteworthy that Von Eickstedt (1) confirms from the

1. II, p. 59.

anthropological aspects the assertions of the Meau concerning the absence of any close relationship with the Man (Yau /Yao/): "A glance at the broad, more delicate, light-yellow faces of the Man again shows, as in Nieng Pu, that racially they represent a quite different mixture. They are far more Southern Sinoid than the Miao." With this Von Eickstedt unequivocally refutes M [114] Marabail's (2) assertion that the Meau, with all the differences

2. Page 131.

of the customs, are identical with the Yau /Yao/ (Man) in anthropological respects. Von Eickstedt (3) finally comes to

3. II, p. 53.

/444 cont./

144 the following general conclusion: "From an anthropological
174 standpoint, the homeland and the linguistic relationships lead to the assumption that here it is a matter of another, second part of the Central Sinoids -- a second part besides the Thai -- which, in the eastern mountains of Central China, poured over or pushed out the older Mon-Khmer Paleo-Mongolians similar to the way that this happened in the western part through the Central Sinoid Thai."

/445/ Chapter 28

Language

193 The language of the Meau is a monosyllabic tone language with five different tones. The best expert on it, P. P. Savina (1),

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1. II, p. 168.

writes concerning the language of the Meau that it is spoken with the nose as well as with the mouth and that it differs from all other languages. Marabail (2), too, stresses the independence

2. Page 131.

of the "dialect" of the Meau. Savina emphasizes its dissimilarity in relation to the languages of the Lolo, Chinese, Annamese, Tho, and Yau /Yao/. Seidenfaden (3), on the other hand, doubts

3. II. p. 198.

the dissimilarity of the languages of the Meau and Yau, just as the Census of Burma (4), in direct opposition to Savina,

4. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 200.

classifies the Meau language with the "Man Group," which

39: Bernatzik--721 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/V/ Appendix II

Explanatory Notes on the Illustrations

144 Ills. 52-108. Photographs of the Flowery and the White Meau, both from northern Thailand.

Ills. 52-57. Racial types of the Meau. In contrast to the Akha, as well as to the statements in the literature concerning the Meau in Tonkin and French Laos, the Europoid racial element is absent among the Meau of northern Thailand. The Mongoloid is clearly recognizable in all cases. Coarse to Delicate Sinoid elements stand out clearly.

142 Ill. 52. Twenty-four-year-old man of the White Meau. The Mongolian fold, the blue-black, shiny, straight hair, and the lack of ear lobes are characteristic. To be noted also are the solid silver neck-rings, the principal adornment of the men of this tribe. Between Nos. 2 and 3 on the skin-color table.

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[144] Ill. 53. Twenty-six-year-old man of Coarse Sinoid type from the Meau village of Nam Fa in the source area of the Nam Wa, east of Ampah Bunyun. Besides the well-developed Mongolian fold, the nose, which is broad and flat, even at the root, and the broad, beardless lower jaw with strong musculature are characteristic. The zygomatic arches project only moderately.

Ill. 54. Side view of the man in Ill. 53. The pockmarked skin is light yellow (about No. 2 on the skin-color table), the ear lobe attached. The few beard hairs have been plucked. The hair style of the men is the same as among the Akha (cf. Ills. 3 and 35), though the hair is twisted into a loose knot and not, as usually among the latter, braided (cf. Ill. 13).

[302]

[144] Ill. 55. Shaman from Nam Fa, about 52 years old, of Delicate Sinoid type. Strikingly intelligent features. The nasal projection is narrow with a slightly convex curve.

/V cont./

142 [144] Though the Mongolian fold is not pronounced, the Mongoloid affiliation is incontestable. The scantily developed beard hair is clearly visible here where no artificial interference has decreased it.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55. The veins stand out clearly under the thin yellow skin (No. 2 on the skin-color table). The ear lobe is better developed than among the other types. Moreover, the blue-black hair is finer and less shiny (cf. Ill. 54).

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old. The faces of the women are generally wider and the zygomatic arches project more than among the men. The skin of the face is still lighter. The lower part of the auricle is pierced, and the heavy silver ear-pendant has enlarged it into a large lobe. [304] [301]

291 Ills. 58-61. Clothing and ornaments.

Ills. 58. The women's costume consists of a turban, a dark-blue jacket with a sailor collar, a wide, batiked, pleated skirt, a long, narrow, dark-blue apron with wide bands, and white, wound leggings which, in the working costume, are replaced by plain dark-blue rags of cloth. Silver ornaments adorn ears, neck, wrists, and fingers. [301]

/VI/

291 302 Ill. 59. The thick, blue-black, shiny hair is twisted and tied in a knot above the forehead (cf. Ill. 87). It serves as a support for the huge turban (cf. Ill. 60). If the fullness of the natural hair is insufficient for achieving the desired bulk of the hair knot, false strands of hair are put in.

291 Ill. 60. The huge turban of the women, depending on the wealth of the owner and the occasion on which it is worn, consists of two to six cloths. The ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver and are made by the Meau smiths themselves. (Cf. Ill. 82.) 301

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/71 cont./

3. The Refractory Age

A M 865 157

The refractory age of the children among both the Akha and the Meau is very pronounced in both sexes at the age of from three to five. The defiant child, screaming, will strike out at adults and try to beat them or throw himself down on the ground, howling and kicking. The adults of both peoples do not pay much attention to these tantrums. Sometimes they speak to the children, but kindly, and try to divert them by giving them something to eat or the like. Such an attitude presumes, however, that the child's behavior is not a reaction to orders he has been given. If such is the case, the children are punished and, I was told, also beaten and forced to carry out the order in spite of their resistance. The parents, however, never complain about such outbursts of defiance on the part of the children and accept them as something to be taken for granted. In answer to my question as to whether the behavior of the child did not seem serious to them, the Meau told me: "This happens only with small children."

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4. Puberty

A M 881 [884]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha does the beginning of puberty mean the slightest outward change in the normal life. Neither people has any ceremonial initiation in connection with it or an accompanying celebration of adulthood, since the latter, among them, does not coincide with the beginning of puberty (cf. the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family"). Similarly, tattooing, masking, or circumcision in any form does not occur. Only the attainment of the age when one is capable of bearing arms plays a role (see the chapter, "Army and War").

A M [304]

A M [145]

Depending on the nutritional level of the family, boys reach puberty at the age of fourteen to sixteen, girls somewhat earlier; in general this time point for both is considerably later than, for instance, for European Mediterranoid children. The behavior of the young people of the two tribes differs, however, as soon as they reach puberty.

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Miao AE5

/82/

7. Mental Development

A M 114 125 145 Unfortunately I was unable to test adequately either the children of the Akha or those of the Meau. A number of difficulties blocked this, especially the shortage of porters, which did not permit moving our test material. Moreover my test forms were designed for the mental world of primitives and could not be applied without further ado to a mountain people of Farther India with the mental capacity of the Akha, much less that of the Meau. It would have been necessary to revise my test forms, but we did not have the time to do this, especially since our funds were limited.

A M 157 856 According to our observations, however, the children of the Meau are more highly developed and surpass those of all the mountain tribes of Further India, including the Akha. Particularly striking among the Meau is a marked individualism, or rather a strong differentiation in comparison with the other tribes mentioned, which is already apparent even in small children. At the age of four or five distinct differences of character and talent are already evident. The Meau children begin to talk when they are one year old, those of the Akha somewhat later; at this age they are already able to say "father" and "mother" and a few other words. There are, however, some gifted children who speak even earlier and some without talent who are hardly this far at the age of two. One can say, however that at an average age of three and a half years the language of the children is almost equal to that of the adults.

A M 153 856 157 At the age of two the children are not yet able to eat by themselves; they learn this during their third year. The Meau children begin asking questions at the age of five, those of the Akha at the age of six. The children of the Meau do not bother to think up explanations of their own for things that are unknown to them, but rather in each and every case ask their parents or other adults of their community, and in this respect they are decidedly vivacious and active. The children of the Akha are less persistent in this questioning than those of

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but there are also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Lao at the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are precious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/84 cont./

A M 125 532 145

Pictorial representations are also foreign to both peoples. Though the children had never before seen pictorial representations, at the age of three or four they recognized drawings and photographs that I showed them, provided, of course, the representation was within their range of conception. Archers with crossbows or pictures of work in the fields or of the slaughtering of pigs immediately aroused their attention, and they tried to imitate the scene portrayed or the position, for instance, of the crossbow-archer. /85/ When I showed them pictures of European settlements and houses, however, I was immediately assailed with questions: "What is this? Why do you live in such houses? What do you eat? Are there as many children among you? Are they as white as you?" If I showed a child a photograph in which he himself was represented amidst his comrades, he recognized his companions immediately, but only in exceptional cases himself. On the other hand pubescent girls or boys sometimes did find themselves in the pictures. At any rate, the old idea that such children do not recognize pictures or drawings was refuted time and again.

In order to test their drawing ability, I had children of both sexes and of all age levels make drawings. I gave the one to be tested paper and pencil and left him alone for an hour (Ill. 67).[1] The choice of subject was completely free. I prevented any influence from a third party and gained an insight into the mind of the child being tested. I have discussed the results of these experiments in detail in a special study (1) dealing

A M [114]

1. Bernatzik, VII.

with the drawings collected by me among various primitive peoples. In this present work it can merely be said that the boys of the Meau, as well as of the Akha, began to outgrow the scribbling stage at the age of ten, while at the age of fifteen or sixteen almost all the subjects tested were able to draw true to life. In each case I immediately afterwards wrote down the explanations given by the person tested. Sometimes I confronted a child days later with the drawing and asked him

1 [See cat 116, p511 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/85 cont. /

A M 125 532 145

once more what he had represented. In all cases it turned out that the children remembered and repeated their first explanations, in other words, that they recognized what they had drawn.

The boys of both peoples do not draw designs, but figures exclusively; animals, plants, and hunting scenes, besides human representations, are predominant. While the Akha boys reach only a low level of development, it is significantly higher among the Meau. Moreover, there was a surprising similarity in the execution as well as in the choice of subject matter between the drawings of the Meau children and the drawings collected by me from Lapp children of the same age. In the case of the Akha drawings, /86/ however, this similarity was generally absent. In contrast to the Akha, there is furthermore among the Meau a strong factor of individual talent, which differs in the two sexes. The Meau girls are much more gifted than the boys, whereas among the Akha the achievements of the two sexes are fairly equal.

A M 125 531 532 145

As far as the girls are concerned, among the Meau they begin at the age of ten to draw ornamental designs; slightly older children contributed figure drawings and when somewhat older still, drew true to life. Thus, besides the ornamental designs, they also had a very good mastery of figures. Beginning at the age of seventeen figure drawing decreases among almost all the female persons tested among the Meau, and pattern drawing predominates. This is because the girls have a great deal to do with batik, and this work dominates their thinking. Even later, however, they have a technical mastery of figure-representation at a higher level of development, as was proved to me by the example of a woman who had seen drawings of the Lao and was immediately able to reproduce similar drawings from memory. The girls of the Akha showed considerably less talent. Most of them never went beyond the scribbling stage, and individual talent is little developed.

/86 cont./

A M 145 125 532 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the M [825] children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

/438 cont./

A 462 [342] [313] [252] The division of men's and women's work is quite similar among the Akha, who are not inferior to the Meau in industriousness. Among them, however, housebuilding is exclusively a task for the men, whereas the preparation of firewood, for which large trunks must often be chopped up, is one of the tasks reserved for the women. Cooking and the hulling of rice in the mortar are, to be sure, tasks of the Akha women, but the men very commonly help them.

A 461 857 No differently than among the Meau, there are scarcely any tasks for the Akha children that are to be performed exclusively by them; the situation in this respect is the same as among the Meau.

/439/

Chapter 27

Anthropology

M 165 When one considers the poor hygienic conditions in association with the hardest physical labor (see the chapter, "Medicine"), it is truly astonishing that one comes across relatively many old people among the Meau. Also, I cannot agree M 145 [114] with Marabail (1) who in his work advocates the view that the

1. Page 463.

Meau grow old prematurely. On the contrary, I often marveled that the women, in spite of their work load, which was too hard M [841] for them physically, and even though no notice was taken with regard to the menstruation periods, actually do not lose their bloom any earlier than among our own people and in any case much less rapidly than among the southern Europeans.

A M 141 The Akha as well as the Meau are definitely small in stature. From the 20 women and men measured, the average heights amounted to:

/441 cont./

A M 145 164 The teeth among both peoples are strong and well developed and well preserved into old age, if caries and pyorrhea (see the chapter, "Medicine"), especially common among the Meau, do not cause them to fall out prematurely.

A M 142 Both tribes also have well-developed ears; the shell shows no signs of degeneration or atavism, although attached lobes and their absence can be found more commonly among the Meau, rarely among the Akha.

M 142 The eye of the Meau is small with a narrow eyelid slit, which is often placed obliquely. Apart from the Mongoloid fold (Ills. 53)[2] which is very common among these people, the lateral corner of the eye often lies higher than the medial one. Therefore little of the cornea is to be seen among the Meau. The eye color is dark brown.

A 142 The eye of the Akha is essentially different. It is large and /442/ almond-shaped (Ill. 6),[2] and the Mongoloid fold occurs only as an exception. The cornea is white and always quite visible; a higher placement of the lateral corner of the eye in comparison with the medial one is not rare. The color of the eyes is usually dark brown, sometimes even black.

M 142 As a rule (except for the Europoid types), the nose of the Meau is small, blunt, and quite deeply saddled; the bridge of the nose, protruding slightly only in exceptionsl cases, is otherwise broad and flat (Ill. 53). It becomes much wider at the bottom and at the sides toward the alae.

A 142 In contrast to this, the Akha usually have large noses with high bridges; even aquiline noses occur occasionally (Ill. 1). The bridge is narrow and slightly arched, usually very narrow at the root, but wider noses, especially toward the lower part, also occur (Ill. 6). They are never as flat, however, as those of the Meau. In isolated cases the bottom of the nose slopes upward somewhat toward the tip so that from the front one can see into the nostrils.

[1] [see cat, 116, p366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p14 - "]

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or
hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron ko
or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed
that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 334
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when
there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently
explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong
or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem
yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth
bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like
that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which
is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese
people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The
best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat
the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments,
and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries.
This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

[4 cont.]

101 184 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classification the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

181 [147] 3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in [276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

[150 cont.]

At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of
167 "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their
175 passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw
[361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after
175 the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would
147 perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper
361 Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low alti-
175 tudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the
101 region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little
[184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature,
142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the
[147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well
[163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate
[165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare
[143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every oppor-
273 tunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts
[164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he
147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have
24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not
36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage-
157 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
262 or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form
[252] of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes,
[252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

[163 cont.]

631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and
[428] personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

131 /131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their MIAO AE5
living at high altitudes and their difficulty in acclimating in the lower valleys. In fact they seek to compensate for a lower altitude by a higher altitude. They require a severe climate, which they enjoyed on the high plateau of Yunnan and Szechwan and which they were forced to evacuate. They live especially on limestone peaks, and when some families live at the bottoms of cirques, the altitude of these goes up at least to a thousand meters. They prefer steep slopes where their little house appears to be suspended like a cage on the side of a wall.

Section 2

Physical and Moral Natures

142 The Meo is short and thick-set, his average height must be
●147 about 1.58 meters. He is right to be proud of the name Meo which
143 was given to him by the Annamese as a contemptuous title. As a matter of fact, he climbs like a cat. Along trails where we must use hands and knees, he may be seen going ahead slowly but with supple ease, even though he often is carrying a loaded pack-basket on his back. His resistance to fatigue is very great while he remains above 800 meters altitude, below this he thinks he is in danger of being taken ill in the hot season.

142 The Meo has a nearly white complexion, hard and prominent
157 features, brown eyes and hair like all the inhabitants of Indochina, aside from a few unusual specimens with reddish hair and blue eyes.
[461] He is as hard-working as the Thai is indolent. More courageous than most of the natives, he would be as dangerous to have as an enemy as he has been useful to us as an ally on certain occasions, such as
562 the conquest of Dongquan in 1893. The Meo woman is not pretty.
142 She is a crude country-woman and a hard worker whose sturdiness is incompatible with all grace and style. However, the young women attract one's eye by the freshness of their pink and white faces, the air of health and vigor which they give forth, and their well-developed figures, which are emphasized by their very picturesque costumes. /132/ The high pitch and the weakness of their voice makes it resemble a small girl's. In short, youth and freshness endow the crude woman of the mountain with the same allure as all women. Unfortunately, like her neighbors of the valleys, she is subjected to hard toil in the fields at an early age. Moreover, she marries young and the cares of maternity added to those of house-keeping cause her to lose her shape and to take away her fresh appearance very quickly.

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /460 cont./
181 to observe this talent for languages. The Meau usually speaks
[191] at least one and usually two or more foreign languages in addition to his mother tongue. To possess knowledge is regarded among the Meau as wise: a person without knowledge is stupid, as they say. It was often expressed: one who masters life, M [46] knows how to do the work in the house and in the fields properly, [555] is wise. The desire for the best performance is already shown by this attitude, and likewise by the competitive games of the children (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, M "Children at Play and Work").

181 Almost all the authors mention the indomitable desire
648 for freedom of the Meau, which is already apparent from their historical traditions and the organization of their army, as well as their aversion to being ruled by members of other peoples. Abadie (3) asserts: "It is necessary to mention the repugnance

3. Page 163.

with which the Meau suffer their subordination under a Thai chief. Even if this is limited merely to trifling matters which only rarely affect the life of the Meau..." Savina (4) also

4. II, p. 232.

emphasizes this desire for independence, and Lajonquière (5)

5. II, p. 302.

gives a brief outline characterization: "The 'Meau' is regarded as an intelligent and skillful worker. The characteristic trait of his moral attitude is his deep love of freedom. At the slightest punishment or limitation, he sets out with all his belongings to seek a corner where he will find freedom. He is courageous and daring, keeps his word, and is open in his speech."

A Moreover, I found the Meau physically strong, hardened,
M and capable of great resistance against hunger, thirst, and all
147 physical exertion. The women, however, sometimes appear

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A M /460 cont./

147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as M 147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable 482 porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for [609] strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M 147 The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the 181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical people of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having 171 Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M 576 The Meau treat women and children, as well as the subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are M 157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M 571 Among one another the Meau are very friendly and have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign [648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses [152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels M 577 are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their

T /501 cont./
147 the humid tropics and in which thousands of Whites had settled.
563 The bearers of such European names, however, are today no longer distinguishable in any way from their black neighbors.

Even today, the mountain peoples of Farther India in Thailand live exclusively at altitudes between 1,000 and 2,000 meters, where the climate is essentially different from that in
T the tropical valleys. Just as in the case of the Whites who were
147 still unfamiliar with controlling tropical diseases, the tropics
166 are the ruin of the mountain peoples when they try to settle
563 in the valleys. I myself was able to confirm this repeatedly. For example, the Lahu allowed themselves /502/ to be pushed into lower regions in places in northwest Thailand and in a period of a few years suffered crushing losses from tropical epidemics. Again, among the Meau, I observed that even a temporary sojourn in the valley lowlands of the Lao produced severe malaria epidemics among them. In Kengtung, where the mountain peoples, especially the Akha and Lisu, who visit the markets of the Schan /Shan/ need only a stay of one single night in the region of the market to be infected.

This inability of the mountain tribes to become acclimated has also drawn the attention of other authors. In the literature there are noteworthy comments on this subject, which stand in marked contrast to the opinion of Heine-Geldem (1),

1. II, Vol. II, p. 746.

who, to be sure, did not have the opportunity to study conditions on the spot. He writes: "However much individual tribes cling to the mountains, the important step down into the plains is taken at a favorable opportunity." Now as far as the Meau
M and Lahu are concerned, there can be no doubt that this step
[147] was repeatedly attempted, but it is likewise certain that it was
[166] always unsuccessful and the mountain people each time had to
[648] pay for the attempt with heavy biological losses. Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 311.

/502 cont./

T 147 166 563 M 147 166 648

gives a typical example in describing the struggles of the Meau with a Thai people, the Tho, who had been defeated by the Meau: "Be that as it may, the surviving 'Tho' would have had to emigrate if the Meau had been able to become acclimatized in the low-lying valleys where the greatest number of wet-rice fields are. Happily for the Tho, the conquerors were unable to hold out in the heavy and humid atmosphere of the lowlands and had to return as quickly as possible to higher altitudes, leaving behind for the former owners all the rice fields lying below an altitude of 800 meters."

Maspero, too, made interesting observations. He speaks of the dispersed Meau groups in Tonkin who live as enclaves between foreign peoples and are completely separated from the main tribe. He proceeds literally: "They would have completely lost their individuality if they had not been incapable of acclimatizing themselves below an altitude of 800 to 1,000 meters; that has saved them."

It is interesting that Von Eickstedt (3) touches upon the same

3. III, p. 5.

subject, but from the /503/ economic aspect. He writes, for instance: "Miao in the plains are actually no longer Miao; it simply cannot be -- they would then have to become Chinese or Thai if only for economic reasons."

T 563 177

How strongly the manner of settlement of the mountain peoples is tied to climatic prerequisites is also shown by the fact that while among the tribes settled in southwest China plow-cultivation and livestock-raising form the economic bases, in Thailand only hoe-cultivation is practiced. The breeding of cattle and horses was likewise abandoned in places in Thailand if the new living area demanded it. Here we clearly see that the cultural change, in these cases an impoverishment, is conditioned by the racially determined inability of the peoples in question to adapt to the tropics, in other words, by their genetic make-up.

[p 459 is blank]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/339/

Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

/70/

Chapter VIII. Songs and Legends

(1)

533 Singing is an important aspect of Miao life. Regardless of sex and age, almost all of them are talented singers. When we were traveling in the Miao mountains, the clear voices of Miao singers always struck our ears. In the deep woods of the high mountains with no one in sight, it usually gave us the poetic feeling that,

"The singing has ended; no one is in sight;
Only some mountain peaks remain green above the river."

831 Singing is the most natural medium of communication between
152 human hearts. The Miao have made full use of it. When a man
533 and woman fall in love, they sing to each other in order to express their mutual admiration. Inexpressibly happy at a reunion after a long separation, they sing to each other to express their happiness. Bidding farewell at a crossroad, they sing to express their sorrow at parting. Worn out during the busy seasons of agricultural work, they sing for physical relaxation. On festive occasions, they sing to add to the gaiety. In short, all their emotions—misery and happiness, grief and joy—are frankly expressed by singing.

533 Usually they sing their songs in dialogue style—such as between a man and a woman or between a host and a guest, etc. Due to long use, many of the songs have become formalized, so that the words of the replies are fixed. The ability to sing is very important in Miao social relations. For instance, their marriage is usually
584 based upon love. And singing is the principal means of courting.
533 /71/ On the fine spring days, Miao boys and girls usually go out in groups to sing to one another on the neighboring slopes. As the singers gradually draw closer, at this point, if you are a talented singer capable of answering your counterpart in the proper way,
533 victory will be yours. Otherwise, if the singing beauties move
[571] away because of poor answers, how depressed you would feel! At a fine banquet, when the hosts and guests sing alternately to each other, the good singers are always admired by the audience while

/88 cont'd/

533 We have copied a great many of the Miao songs above. These songs, because they have been made rigid through writing, have lost their original freshness and spontaneity. Moreover, the errors the Miao made in /89/ writing them out have rendered the songs sometimes almost unreadable. It is a great pity that the real charm and wit displayed in Miao songs cannot be appreciated from the pages here!

(3)

538 The moods conveyed to us by Miao songs, when they were sung,
●152 were not those of loftiness and tragedy, but rather those of tenderness and delicate pathos. There are many breaks in the singing, but the tune during these breaks merely lengthens and weakens, the lingering sounds of the music not breaking off. Thus, it takes a
533 fairly long time to finish the singing of each song. Those songs which are sung as counterparts are started first by one in a group of persons. He stops at the end of the fourth line, and the opposite party will continue the singing with an answering part for another four lines. Then the first singer will pick up the singing again. In this manner, the singing is kept on with every four lines sung alternately by the two opposing parties. The form of Miao songs, as can be seen from the examples given above, is of two kinds: One kind has seven characters to a line. Most of the Miao songs are of this kind. The other kind has three-character lines alternating regularly with seven-character lines. Because of the difference in form, these two groups of songs are sung in different ways, which will be illustrated here. For example, in the singing of a song of
533 the first kind, take the following words:
534 "Jen hua tu ch'uan pu k'an shui, yin chiu t'an to yeh shih hsien."

/People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water, drinking as much as one wants is a waste./ (Excerpt from a Miao song). They are sung in the following manner:

(The dash between the words indicates the lengthened, carried-over tones from the preceding words).

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family
with whom I lived would accept no money 123
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all 421
the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated 152
arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either 194
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 193

[96]

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [425] [758] [276] [185] [614] [736] The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

M 185 eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

/93 cont./

M 114 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said.

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

[163] In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [513] [833] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bridegroom into the house of his parents. This often makes the [152] bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, [782] [769] informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are

M
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

/462 cont./

181 [153] Their reaction to new impressions is remarkably quick, according to my observations, and stands in marked contrast to that of primitive peoples, as well as to that of the neighboring high-culture peoples, such as the Schan /Shan/ or Lao. In any case, it is established that in the case of the Meau there is no question at all of "primitives." Von Eickstedt (3), too, confirms

3. II, p. 57.

this: "These are no 'primitives.' On the contrary, they are a [177] dislodged tribe with a unique culture definitely from China, but not typically Chinese, driven out by the true Chinese and most strongly influenced by them. These people have their own language and their own tradition."

152 148 It was interesting to observe the behavior of the Meau who accompanied us into the cities of northern Thailand. Toward the Lao and Thai, they were by no means servile, but only modest, and yet proud /463/ and reserved. Impressed, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 184.

describes this pride of the Meau, which, interwoven with an episode, he depicts: "Once when we were traveling with some Meau and rested for a moment in a village of the Thai, whose inhabitants had a dispute with the Meau, great thirst tormented us. The Meau, however, preferred to walk another four kilometers rather than ask the Thai for a glass of water." How very 152 much the Meau, as true mountain people, suffer from homesickness when circumstances force them to leave their mountains was obvious even during the few days that they spent with me in the valleys. It is again Savina (2) who has also recorded this trait.

2. II, p. 177.

He tells of several Meau in a prison who would not eat and grew visibly emaciated. When asked the reason, they all answered: "We are thinking too much of our homes." A few days later, they were released and regained new strength immediately.

/463 cont./

152 Emotions are readily apparent among the Meau. When a woman told us that three years ago her three sons had died of cholera within a few days, tears came into her eyes and she sobbed violently, though she was trying to master her emotions.

152 734 We were often able to observe how tenderly the Meau care for their sick. For example, a shaman had a completely paralyzed son about 22 years of age, who, however, was very active mentally. During the very first days of our stay, the old man carried his son on his back into our camp to ask me for help and healing. When I explained to him the hopelessness of the situation -- it was a case of progressive paralysis -- tears ran down his cheeks. Indeed, he had already so often beseeched his ancestors for help and offered them many sacrifices in vain. Nevertheless from then on the Meau always carried his son into our camp whenever I had some business with him, and tenderly laid him down near us so that he could participate in our conversations and thus be diverted.

156 123 The Meau are good-natured and companionable. In this connection I recall with what matter-of-fact hunting comradeship one Meau relieved me of my gun and rucksack and loaded them on his own back when he saw that, under the burden, I could scarcely keep up with his rapid pace in the steep thicket.

123 577 /464/ The Meau are almost excessively polite, without any influence on this behavior by materialistic mental reservations. Their innate politeness sometimes leads the Meau to little "white lies," which, however, according to their conception, are not regarded as lies. I had with me a white goat which was supposed to serve as tiger bait and had given it to the Meau to pasture in the maize fields. One day a Meau came to me and said: "Your goat seems to be sick. It has a wound in the stomach and has no appetite. I think that it will soon die." I, of course, had the goat brought to me immediately. It only had the skin on its stomach scratched a bit, and otherwise the animal was completely healthy. Later on it turned out that it had been in the way of the Meau during their harvesting.

/464 cont./

152 556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

439 435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yarn, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

574 [123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /465/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.

/465 cont./

123 574 We experienced this hospitality of the Meau on several occasions. For example, when I visited one Meau village, the chief was absent. Nevertheless, his son provided me generously with all kinds of foodstuffs, though the harvest had not yet begun and the Meau themselves were therefore very short of food supplies, and my wife and I, as well as my porters and accompanying persons, represented a crowd of people who needed a great deal. When the chief returned from hunting after about eight days, I wanted to pay for everything, but he declined: "You are the first Whites to visit my village. I am glad that my people were in a position to give you hospitality, and I would never accept any compensation for something that is taken for granted." He was not to be dissuaded from this viewpoint.

574 648 The attitude of the Meau toward the Yumbri (Phi Tong Luang) is likewise typical. These shy nomads of the primeval forest, who lead their primitive existence in the forests colonized by the Meau, who are regarded by the Lao, Tin, Kamuk, and the other neighboring peoples as evil spirits, are murdered or are cheated and exploited in the most brutal ways, and whose fear of other people therefore knows no bounds, have confidence only in the Meau. The latter do not take advantage of their superiority over the primitives and grant them protection, help, and even shelter at the warming fireplace, when they knock at their doors, hungry and drenched by the rain, and offer their scanty forest products in exchange for rice or meat. The special hospitality of the Meau is mentioned by many authors, /466/ for example, [152] by Savina (1) and Abadie (2). At any rate, it shows how little

1. II, pp. 189 and 232.

2. Page 151.

greedy the Meau are.

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

/82/

7. Mental Development

A M 114 125 145 Unfortunately I was unable to test adequately either the children of the Akha or those of the Meau. A number of difficulties blocked this, especially the shortage of porters, which did not permit moving our test material. Moreover my test forms were designed for the mental world of primitives and could not be applied without further ado to a mountain people of Farther India with the mental capacity of the Akha, much less that of the Meau. It would have been necessary to revise my test forms, but we did not have the time to do this, especially since our funds were limited.

A M 157 856 According to our observations, however, the children of the Meau are more highly developed and surpass those of all the mountain tribes of Further India, including the Akha. Particularly striking among the Meau is a marked individualism, or rather a strong differentiation in comparison with the other tribes mentioned, which is already apparent even in small children. At the age of four or five distinct differences of character and talent are already evident. The Meau children begin to talk when they are one year old, those of the Akha somewhat later; at this age they are already able to say "father" and "mother" and a few other words. There are, however, some gifted children who speak even earlier and some without talent who are hardly this far at the age of two. One can say, however that at an average age of three and a half years the language of the children is almost equal to that of the adults.

A M 153 856

At the age of two the children are not yet able to eat by themselves; they learn this during their third year. The Meau children begin asking questions at the age of five, those of the Akha at the age of six. The children of the Meau do not bother to think up explanations of their own for things that are unknown to them, but rather in each and every case ask their parents or other adults of their community, and in this respect they are decidedly vivacious and active. The children of the Akha are less persistent in this questioning than those of

A M 153 861 157

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but there are also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Lao at the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are precious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/86 cont./

A M 145 125 592 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

M [825]

/461 cont./

577 aforementioned honesty which condemns lying to such an extent that it is not resorted to even if, in giving testimony, a father could thereby save his son, as I have already discussed in detail in the chapter, "Law and /462/ the Administration of Justice."
181 Considering their urge for freedom, the Meau can otherwise be
153 designated as thoroughly disciplined.

Moreover, they have both presence of mind and the
648 ability to make decisions, and are also very enterprising. While I was staying in northern Thailand in 1937, a group of about 100 Meau including men, women, and children quite unexpectedly
[166] appeared in the Thailand city of Lampang. They indicated that they wanted to seek out new residence sites farther to the south. They were allowed to camp at the railway station, and after a week railway coaches were put at their disposal, and they were actually transported to the southwest where they were allotted new dwelling space in the mountains there. If one considers what it means for the Meau to descend into the hated valleys and, in addition, to venture into the city of a Thai people, one will be convinced that such enterprise and determination are not readily found among any of the other mountain peoples of Farther India.

181 The Meau face the tasks of life quite methodically, and
153 accordingly Savina (1) characterizes them: "Accustomed to

1. II, p. 185.

disentangling everything alone, a Meau never falls into difficulties." Marabail (2) comes to the following conclusion: "Whereas

2. Page 463.

the Man (Yau) is full of imagination and religion, the Meau is a materialist..."

/462 cont./

181 Their reaction to new impressions is remarkably quick, according to my observations, and stands in marked contrast to [153] that of primitive peoples, as well as to that of the neighboring high-culture peoples, such as the Schan /Shan/ or Lao. In any case, it is established that in the case of the Meau there is no question at all of "primitives." Von Eickstedt (3), too, confirms

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/470 cont./

177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies [824] (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of [724] war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

● 153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re- [675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.

/69 cont./

A is first of all adjusted to their physical strength; in short, the
M playful imitation of adult activity is automatically replaced by
857 actual work as soon as the necessary strength is there. Secondly,
561 the work depends upon the seasons since, in general, the work
461 of the Meau is conditioned by them.

Otherwise, there is no regulation of activity, either within the work group or with respect to the time that is to be spent at work and at play. Everything is arranged according to the work of the adults, into which all the children are always drawn. At the time when the fields are cultivated or when new villages are to be laid out, everyone must work uninterruptedly according to his strength from dawn to dusk, but during the period after the harvest there are long stretches of leisure, and the days are then filled with laughter and games. In any case, there is no more importance attached to a child's reaching the working age than to his completion of the sixth year, which is so significant for our children.

/70/ In general, it can be said that both sexes at about the age of sixteen are fully able to perform the work of the adults.

2. The Children's Group

A As soon as the children of the Meau and Akha are three
M or four years old, they are admitted into the children's group
857 (Ill. 14). Even earlier, however, they are taken along by
[156] their older siblings, on whose backs they participate in the games. There seems to be hardly any eccentrics among the children; at any rate, I never saw a child going about by himself.

M The composition of the children's group varies greatly
857 and depends on which children happen to have free time.
157 Among the Meau, the leader of the group is always the child present at the moment who is physically the strongest, although there is no noticeable competition for the position of leader. All of them, however, know exactly who is the strongest, and accordingly they submit to him without demur. Sometimes there are scuffles within the group. Competition

/463 cont./

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/467 cont./

426 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in
576 collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 As "please," the Meau use the word tǎu or tǎu mĕn yē,
576 which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tŏ tsē, but one usually says tŏ tsē hŏ lŏ, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kŭ tsĭ ŏa. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lău sĭ yŭń; veneration = lău sĭ lŭ lē; contempt = hŭ yŭ; fear, horror = hŭī; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ŏŭ.

•156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the
115 Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some
156 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is
622 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced
123 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

/468 cont./

115 156 622 123

"Chief Tsin Tsai is a wonderful fellow. When he sits cross-legged on the ground, his long back hair knotted, the long tobacco pipe in his hand, his high forehead furrowed in thought, tensing the muscles of his lean jaws, /469/ stroking his sparse beard which hangs down from his strongly projecting zygomatic arches, he is so remarkably the typical representative of his industrious people, and yet he towers above their average. Not for a moment is he idle or unoccupied. Now he plaits a basket; scarcely finished, he cuts up a piece of game and distributes the meat, and now he sharpens his knife on a stone and goes into the bush for a few minutes. There he digs up some edible roots and brings them to us as a welcome supplement to our monotonous diet in the camp and visits my husband at his work in order to propose a hunting trip together. As soon as my husband has consented, he goes into his house to lay out a stick oracle and ask the spirits in which direction he must turn in order to have success, what kind of booty he can expect, and more of the same. During this time his people have come back from the fields. They quietly wait for the oracle and then turn to the chief with a series of questions. Quietly and decisively the latter now gives his orders and then is off on the hunt."

[224] [787]

A few pages further in her journal my wife returns to the chief: "It is a pleasure to watch Tsin Tsai at work. He is friendly and helpful, offers us every service, carries the hand luggage, and regards no work as 'beneath his dignity.' Moreover, he is clever, circumspect, and prudent; he sizes up the situation immediately and is able to differentiate between the essential and the nonessential. He answers questions with brief, logical, and sensible replies. If one asks him for advice, he always supplements his information with detailed reasoning. To be sure, in matters dealing with hunting, he always judges for us on the basis of his own experiences, so that sometimes differences result. He maintains, for instance, that, after a shot, tigers come along to search for wounded game, whereas our experience was that they immediately disappeared, never to be seen again. Moreover, wild animals were generally much more timid than he expected, probably because there were more of us than he was accustomed to.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A 152 648 /473 cont./ of it back to their villages, the Akha, unbusinesslike despite their covetousness, squandered their earnings.

A 574 123 Another characteristic contrast in relation to the Meau was striking. The extremely hospitable Meau, as was pointed out, showed real gratitude for the board and lodging that we provided for them in the city, whereas the Akha, though they had charged me as much as possible for everything in their villages, now viewed it as their manifest right to live as guests at my expense. A 152 In one respect, however, the members of the two mountain peoples were alike, namely, in their homesickness for their mountains, which was openly expressed, though they stayed in the city for only a few days and were offered so much that was new and stimulating there.

A 181 556 555 Whereas the Meau value ability in itself, among the Akha the material possessions are of primary significance in evaluating a person. Among them the one who has much money and adornment is regarded as wise. /474/ It was also stressed several times that a person is wise and clever if he knows how to speak well, for the Akha are much more fluent in speech than the Meau. A M [156] [191] Among the latter, the women are superior in expressing themselves, whereas among the Akha the men surpass the women considerably.

A 123 574 609 622 Their fluency of speech, as well as their mistrustful reserve, was in evidence on the occasion of the first greeting in front of an Akha village. In accordance with the custom, we waited at one of the entrance gates until we were given permission to enter the village. If the visitor is of high social position, the guest is received by the chief himself in solemn fashion. When we visited a large Akha village at the foot of the Doy Tung, we experienced such a reception, which I described in my journal as follows: "We stopped in front of the six large gate-arches decorated with carvings, through which no stranger may pass without the express approval of the chief. Three old men, the chief of the village among them, solemnly approached us in greeting, squatted on the ground, and offered us rice, salt, and water in a flower-decorated bowl. A [273] They offered us a welcoming drink in small bowls full of rice liquor.

/120 cont'd/

181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

M /121 cont'd/
157 people. They must work hard so they can overcome nature and in-
461 crease their production. They must be frugal so they can make the most effective distribution of their hard-earned produce in order not to be anxious about starvation. All visitors who have been in Miao villages are surprised by how hard they work.. The women usually get up before dawn to do their various domestic chores. Early morning is also the time for them to hull rice. The thumping of pestle and mortar occasionally wakes up the sleeping guests. After sunrise they separate and go up the mountain to cut wood or do some kind of farm work. The men work on the same schedule from sunrise to sunset. The busiest season for them is the period from the second to the fifth month. Within this period they have to cut wood, burn the mountains, and sow. Every type of work requires much physical strength. They usually make the best use of every inch of the land.
M Their frugal life is equally praiseworthy. Though most of the men
273 drink and smoke, they do so only to a certain extent. There are almost no drunkards in Miao society. Except on a few festive occasions, they seldom drink. Some of the women do drink, but none of them smoke. /122/ This is in sharp contrast with Li life. Furthermore, under the double oppression of both Li leaders and Chinese merchants, the Miao are an underprivileged people. For the sake of living they have to learn how to obey and be submissive and patient, but at all times they never give up fighting for a better life. Therefore, in personality they are firm of purpose.

H The Li are not like this. In the Li area, though level fields
13 are very rare, yet the endless mountain slopes are invaluable property
313 given by nature, full of lumber, rattan, wild animals, etc., free for exploitation. The slopes of the small mountains are the best land for raising grain. It is only necessary to start operations and then gather in the crops. Since their supply of foodstuff is com-
H paratively sure, their spending is also freer. It is of no use for them
181 to pile up their savings. "Be drunk while you have wine today";
273 let tomorrow take care of tomarrow. Furthermore, they can move
276 from place to place rather freely. From mountain to mountain, they need not worry about seeking a place to live. Hence drinking

/122 cont'd/

H 181 273 276 [448] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

H M 171 157 181

(3)

H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

86: Robequain--248 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE5 Mi
157
212

Hospitable people, the Meo of Thanh Hoa have remained timid and extremely superstitious. They can neither read nor write, they stammer out the Thai language for their commercial transactions, and only their leader knows Annamese at all well. They all fled frightened into the rẫy when I wanted to photograph them before the door of their house. They used to live on the calcareous Mộc plateau which stretches out of the frontier chain of North Thanh Hoá beyond the Mai Châu gorge in the province of So'n La. Their leader told me that he was born at Chiêng Ly (?), three days' march from the market of Su Yut (2). They

Mi
167

2. On the Black River.

did not enter the province all at once, but by groups between 1900 and 1905. Some of the first-comers have already emigrated southwest into Hua Phan and the mountains surrounding M. Poun, Xiêng Mène and Sam Teu, and they will all probably end up by moving in this direction. Coming down Phú Nghi through M. Pung, I encountered several abandoned Mèo houses, entanglements of bamboo now invaded by brush, where a pipe still brought in a trickle of /236/ clear water, and where the decortication mill, too heavy for a distant exodus, still lay on the ground. Neither do the Mèo hesitate to leave their ancestors' tombs on these sheer slopes, little barricaded buttes on which they have placed tiny, derisory effigies -- bottles of brandy, bamboo pails and wooden spoons. The Mèo leader, who had only been settled three years in the house where he received me, already found that his rẫy were too far off and talked of leaving soon.

Indeed, there is nothing to induce the Mèo to settle permanently in these western cantons of Thanh Hoá. Any kind of irrigated crop is impossible on the narrow hills which taper off into sheer slopes, and even the lower edges of their rẫy strike those of the Thai coming up from the valleys. No doubt they appear as implacable destroyers of the forest, but it is the only way they can live (1).

1. Moreover, they are not responsible for the vast extents of thatch grass which, striped with black at the end of the dry season by the paths of fires, cover the sides of Phú Nghi. These patches are the result of a comparatively early deforestation which the Thai themselves impute to their ancestors.

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little
[184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature,
142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the
[147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well
[163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate
[165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare
[143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts
[164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have
241 carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not
361 live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage-
609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli,"
774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies
793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so
796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere-
[527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo"
[157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The
[831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The
[533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing
[535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving
524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

131 /131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their Miao AE6
living at high altitudes and their difficulty in acclimating in the lower valleys. In fact they seek to compensate for a lower altitude by a higher altitude. They require a severe climate, which they enjoyed on the high plateau of Yunnan and Szechwan and which they were forced to evacuate. They live especially on limestone peaks, and when some families live at the bottoms of cirques, the altitude of these goes up at least to a thousand meters. They prefer steep slopes where their little house appears to be suspended like a cage on the side of a wall.

Section 2

Physical and Moral Natures

142 147 143 The Meo is short and thick-set, his average height must be about 1.58 meters. He is right to be proud of the name Meo which was given to him by the Annamese as a contemptuous title. As a matter of fact, he climbs like a cat. Along trails where we must use hands and knees, he may be seen going ahead slowly but with supple ease, even though he often is carrying a loaded pack-basket on his back. His resistance to fatigue is very great while he remains above 800 meters altitude, below this he thinks he is in danger of being taken ill in the hot season.

142 157 [461] The Meo has a nearly white complexion, hard and prominent features, brown eyes and hair like all the inhabitants of Indochina, aside from a few unusual specimens with reddish hair and blue eyes. He is as hard-working as the Thai is indolent. More courageous than most of the natives, he would be as dangerous to have as an enemy as he has been useful to us as an ally on certain occasions, such as the conquest of Dongquan in 1893. The Meo woman is not pretty. 562 142 She is a crude country-woman and a hard worker whose sturdiness is incompatible with all grace and style. However, the young women attract one's eye by the freshness of their pink and white faces, the air of health and vigor which they give forth, and their well-developed figures, which are emphasized by their very picturesque costumes. /132/ The high pitch and the weakness of their voice makes it resemble a small girl's. In short, youth and freshness endow the crude woman of the mountain with the same allure as all women. Unfortunately, like her neighbors of the valleys, she is subjected to hard toil in the fields at an early age. Moreover, she marries young and the cares of maternity added to those of house-keeping cause her to lose her shape and to take away her fresh appearance very quickly.

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because [609] [867] of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it [157] [123] came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

/67 cont./

M 526 "pride themselves on exhibiting their physical superiority by frequently wrestling or by comparing skill and strength in the execution of a task or the swiftness and strength of their calves in climbing difficult paths. . . ," observations that Abadie (2) repeats.

2. Page 151.

A [526] Footraces and wrestling according to special rules are unknown, however, among the Meau and Akha in Thailand.

A 526 Among the Akha competitive games are scarcely practiced. Only once did I watch a shooting match with crossbows among them; on the other hand, fighting without any rules is generally widespread.

M 524 /68/ Guessing games are little practiced among the Meau and are completely absent among the Akha.

A [524] tsă mĭ sū is one of the few Meau guessing games. In it a child takes, let us say, a lamp in his hand and asks another, who must not look: "What is this? It is a rider on horseback without feet or eyes and yet able to see?" The answer runs: "It is a light on your arm; it has no eyes or feet, but reaches into every corner."

tū is another guessing game. Grain, copper, and a coin are placed next to a child who does not look. He must now guess what the object is.

A M 524 I did not find any humorous riddle games /Scherzspiele/, teasing games /Neckspiele/, or war games. It is strange, too, that among both peoples string games, which otherwise are widespread throughout the world, are completely absent. Aside from the aforementioned shooting matches and footraces of the Meau, there are no other sporting games, even in rudimentary form, nor games that would point toward sadistic or masochistic tendencies.

A M 524 526 157 It is striking that many games of these mountain peoples of Farther India are absolutely identical with the games of the children of fully civilized European peoples /europäischen Vollkulturvölker/. This is all the more remarkable since there

/69 cont./

A M 857 561 461 is first of all adjusted to their physical strength; in short, the playful imitation of adult activity is automatically replaced by actual work as soon as the necessary strength is there. Secondly, the work depends upon the seasons since, in general, the work of the Meau is conditioned by them.

Otherwise, there is no regulation of activity, either within the work group or with respect to the time that is to be spent at work and at play. Everything is arranged according to the work of the adults, into which all the children are always drawn. At the time when the fields are cultivated or when new villages are to be laid out, everyone must work uninterruptedly according to his strength from dawn to dusk, but during the period after the harvest there are long stretches of leisure, and the days are then filled with laughter and games. In any case, there is no more importance attached to a child's reaching the working age than to his completion of the sixth year, which is so significant for our children.

/70/ In general, it can be said that both sexes at about the age of sixteen are fully able to perform the work of the adults.

2. The Children's Group

A M 857 [156] As soon as the children of the Meau and Akha are three or four years old, they are admitted into the children's group (Ill. 14). Even earlier, however, they are taken along by their older siblings, on whose backs they participate in the games. There seems to be hardly any eccentrics among the children; at any rate, I never saw a child going about by himself.

M 857 157 The composition of the children's group varies greatly and depends on which children happen to have free time. Among the Meau, the leader of the group is always the child present at the moment who is physically the strongest, although there is no noticeable competition for the position of leader. All of them, however, know exactly who is the strongest, and accordingly they submit to him without demur. Sometimes there are scuffles within the group. Competition

/70 cont./

M 857 157 is noticeable in the children's groups of the Meau only in those games already described in which great emphasis is put on performance. Vying in speech, however, the so-called "showing off," does not seem to be customary.

A 857 157 Among the Akha things are done in a somewhat more brutal way, as the games described show. Accordingly, two children's groups more conspicuously separated by sex are formed here. The one includes all boys from three to thirteen years of age who happen to be "off duty," who are led with sheer force by the physically strongest boy. In this group there is intense rivalry for the role of leader, and there are often wild fights until the strongest has asserted himself.

A 573 157 [857] [589] A second group is made up of small girls, and a third of all older girls, widows, and divorced women who want to marry again. The leader of this third group is usually a merry widow. In this group there is no particular rivalry for leadership, which is not attained through mere strength, but through /71/ special intelligence. Nothing like a test of intelligence plays any role in this, but rather the woman to whom the rest naturally defer in the course of time becomes the leader.

A 857 These children's groups of the Akha are numerically very strong. This follows merely from the aforementioned size of the Akha villages and the extraordinary fertility of their inhabitants. One scarcely finds a group of less than twenty members. The activity of these groups begins chiefly in the evening, after the day's work has been done, and reaches its peak after sunset. Even as late as 10 o'clock we frequently heard these children shrieking and shouting at their games. After sunset, A [535] some of the Akha girls set out for the dance places, to which a few precocious boys also come, sometimes accompanied by smaller comrades (see also the section on "Sexual Development" A in this chapter). Like the children of the Meau, but to a much M greater extent, the Akha children live in the present; they [157] talk a great deal and are very active.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/71 cont./

3. The Refractory Age

A M 865 157

The refractory age of the children among both the Akha and the Meau is very pronounced in both sexes at the age of from three to five. The defiant child, screaming, will strike out at adults and try to beat them or throw himself down on the ground, howling and kicking. The adults of both peoples do not pay much attention to these tantrums. Sometimes they speak to the children, but kindly, and try to divert them by giving them something to eat or the like. Such an attitude presumes, however, that the child's behavior is not a reaction to orders he has been given. If such is the case, the children are punished and, I was told, also beaten and forced to carry out the order in spite of their resistance. The parents, however, never complain about such outbursts of defiance on the part of the children and accept them as something to be taken for granted. In answer to my question as to whether the behavior of the child did not seem serious to them, the Meau told me: "This happens only with small children."

/72/ 4. Puberty

A M 881 [884]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha does the beginning of puberty mean the slightest outward change in the normal life. Neither people has any ceremonial initiation in connection with it or an accompanying celebration of adulthood, since the latter, among them, does not coincide with the beginning of puberty (cf. the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family"). Similarly, tattooing, masking, or circumcision in any form does not occur. Only the attainment of the age when one is capable of bearing arms plays a role (see the chapter, "Army and War").

A M [304]

A M [145]

Depending on the nutritional level of the family, boys reach puberty at the age of fourteen to sixteen, girls somewhat earlier; in general this time point for both is considerably later than, for instance, for European Mediterranoid children. The behavior of the young people of the two tribes differs, however, as soon as they reach puberty.

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

[774] This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [756] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 836 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home.

[Text Continues on P. 112]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/82/

7. Mental Development

A M 114 125 145 Unfortunately I was unable to test adequately either the children of the Akha or those of the Meau. A number of difficulties blocked this, especially the shortage of porters, which did not permit moving our test material. Moreover my test forms were designed for the mental world of primitives and could not be applied without further ado to a mountain people of Farther India with the mental capacity of the Akha, much less that of the Meau. It would have been necessary to revise my test forms, but we did not have the time to do this, especially since our funds were limited.

A M 157 856 According to our observations, however, the children of the Meau are more highly developed and surpass those of all the mountain tribes of Further India, including the Akha. Particularly striking among the Meau is a marked individualism, or rather a strong differentiation in comparison with the other tribes mentioned, which is already apparent even in small children. At the age of four or five distinct differences of character and talent are already evident. The Meau children begin to talk when they are one year old, those of the Akha somewhat later; at this age they are already able to say "father" and "mother" and a few other words. There are, however, some gifted children who speak even earlier and some without talent who are hardly this far at the age of two. One can say, however that at an average age of three and a half years the language of the children is almost equal to that of the adults.

A M 153 856

At the age of two the children are not yet able to eat by themselves; they learn this during their third year. The Meau children begin asking questions at the age of five, those of the Akha at the age of six. The children of the Meau do not bother to think up explanations of their own for things that are unknown to them, but rather in each and every case ask their parents or other adults of their community, and in this respect they are decidedly vivacious and active. The children of the Akha are less persistent in this questioning than those of

A M 153 861 157

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but there are also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Lao at the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are precious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game, for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
[824] ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/ without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude, and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface, a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
[417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hundred meters long."

39: Bernatzik--619 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/458 cont./

A M 161 Thus, in recapitulation, it can be said that the number of the Akha and Meau living today, as well as the actual demographic movement, lie completely in obscurity. The Akha, too, may represent a considerable contingent of population, but it can hardly be assumed that it is a matter of anywhere near as mighty a bulk of population as the Meau. From my own observations I can say that in the case of both tribes it is a matter of thoroughly healthy people. As a consequence A M [163] [165] of the average number of children, from eight to twelve among the Akha and seven among the Meau, a strong increase of the population is to be presumed, in spite of high infant mortality, wherever there are no limiting factors, such as sickness (see the chapter, "Medicine"), crop failure, warlike events, or special laws of the political rulers of the country, which, of course, decisively influence the natural increase. /Ills. 86-91 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/459/ Chapter 31

Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners

M 181 461 The Meau are a typical mountain people. They are by nature healthy, honest, sincere, not at all treacherous, and, a above all, industrious. This is necessary in order to master the hard daily work that is to be done year in and year out. One M [124] seldom sees adults sit around idly. Among the Meau, whenever I summoned my informants for linguistic studies, they provided themselves beforehand with the necessary material for at least making string or rope during our conversations. They then worked mechanically while I conversed with them. These M 181 conversations and my observations of their daily life gave me a good opportunity to discover that the burden of everyday life had not made them morose. On the contrary, they are cheer- ● 157 ful, merry, and, at the same time, very conscientious.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A
M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
M these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
147 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
482 porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for
[609] strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared them-
selves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the
women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms,
walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could
hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
181 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having
171 Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps
without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and
indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family.
They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao
were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would
complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usu-
ally ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization,"
the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization")
well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
●157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have
acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female
M sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
577 are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/232 cont./

A pock-marked Meau. Abadie (1), too, noted the frequent occurrence
M
164

1. Page 159.

of smallpox:

M "The Meau are frequently afflicted with smallpox, but
164 they react wonderfully to the simplest medicines. In 1911, a
731 severe epidemic raged in a very large village in the Tha-Long
744 region and caused five to six deaths a day. All the inhabitants were inoculated on one day, the aged and the children, the healthy and the sick. From this moment on there was not another death." Such results are of course, highly gratifying, but it is /233/ somewhat disconcerting to see inoculation counted among the "simplest medicines"!

A As among most of the mountain peoples of Farther India,
M struma is common among the Meau and Akha, which Marabail (1)
164
732

1. Page 463.

confirms for the Meau, and likewise cretinism. These ailments are more frequent among the Meau than among the Akha. Moreover, in both tribes the women are more frequently and more severely ill than the men. Some of the cretins found in every
M Meau village do not seem to have been afflicted by true
164 cretinism, but by epidemic meningitis and similar diseases. At
732 any rate, the Meau told me on several occasions that these per-
[753] sons had been quite normal as children, but had suddenly been stricken with fever and were then tortured terribly by evil spirits. Since that time their minds were affected.

A Mental diseases and paralysis caused by nervous or
M rheumatic disorders are relatively frequent. I was unable to
164 find syphilis; to be sure, it may have been spread among the
[158] Meau in some places by Chinese traders, but it has caused no obvious devastation. Gonorrhea occurs more frequently, but still rarely among the Meau, and it seems to be completely absent among the Akha, which can probably be traced back to the strict tribal endogamy among this people. I could find no

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 185 858 /81/ One blacksmith was trying to educate his son to become an even better man at the same trade. One mother wanted her daughter to develop into a good batik designer. Another father wanted his son "to be made into a brave and industrious man"; a third father wished him to be "capable and clever." As was said, among the Meau the ideal factor always came before the material one. Only once did I receive the answer: "May he become clever and rich." In the case of girls, little value was placed upon intelligence and beauty; it was hoped that they would best master women's work and become industrious women who would have many children.

A 185 858 The Akha are much more materialistic than the Meau. They, too, love their children tenderly, and what was said about the Meau in this respect generally also applies to them. Nevertheless, when I also questioned as many Akha as possible, they often replied that children were needed since they could help with the work, an answer which, as was pointed out, I received only once from my Meau informants. Accordingly, materialistic considerations are always in the foreground in the plans for the future of the children among the Akha. Among them the mothers usually declared that they wished their sons to become so industrious and skillful that they would be able to support a family well. The idea of security was thus the foremost consideration in these replies, as well as in the ones which I shall not specifically quote. In only one case did an Akha father wish that his son would become a good physician, "because health is the most important thing in life." Despite their obviously happy youth, the adult Meau talk of it only rarely, the Akha almost never. Men might perhaps describe how they obtained their first gun or how they shot their first muntjac and the like, and women remember as an impressive moment of their childhood how they cooked alone for the first time or how the mother explained batik work or the use of the loom to them.

A M 159 868

/1/

Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 101 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from outside areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

101 "There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or more families living in ten villages; including men and women they [161] number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104]

/* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 101 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period 175 /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[188] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/10 cont'd/

Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

/11 cont'd/

175 "If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise
161 Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-enforcements." If these "Han-ta troops," "Lang-t'u soldiers," and the "Lang-mu," the "Ta-shou," etc., all were Miao troops, or if Miao troops constituted a part of them, we may conclude that the Miao troops who were repeatedly moved there could not have numbered less /12/ than 10,000. Another important question is whether these Miao troops brought their women along with them, or whether it was only in a later period that they began to increase prolifically through marrying the women of other groups in the Hainan
175 area? This is a very interesting question worthy of study. It is, of
162 course, closely related to the physical type of the present Miao people, and it is also directly related to the question of the number of original Miao immigrants. As far as I know, even at the present
[582] time, marriage among the Miao is still limited to their own group. To marry members of other groups (such as the Chinese, Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and others) is forbidden. Thus it is very probable that the Miao troops brought their women with them when they first came. There might have been an equal number of women accompanying
161 the original 10,000 Miao troops. Hence, the number of earliest Miao
175 immigrants would have been over 10,000 at the very least.

[27] Secondly, we shall examine the numbers recorded in the local annals. In the annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, it is stated that the Miao in Tan-chou consisted of "about 90 families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than a thousand." Since they numbered "less than a thousand," we may suppose that there were 500. An average village might consist of ten families of five members each. According to the same source, there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district. To use the same method of statistical averages for measurement, the five villages might have consisted of 50 families with 250 individuals. According to the annals of Kan-en district, there were "several hundred Miao families" in this particular district. Let us suppose that there were 500 families. Using the same method of calculation, there might have been 50 villages with a total population of 2,500, not counting those who

/12 cont'd/

161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/13 cont'd/
241 311 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li." This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 175 144 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 175 144 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the family register of the Lin family:
178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

162 144 178 Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname, who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung

/13 cont/ /

*175 no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in
776 Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the
[346] Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in
/14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without basis.

*101 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and
*175 meaning of [ko] ɕion], a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/ CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

131 Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density
[161] of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the
173 center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas
167 all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the
*[101] Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely with-
out reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. - Due to the lack of meteorological records the
climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
[114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not repre-
sent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-
chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparent-
ly on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals can-
not see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[570] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

4: Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 which housed the wooden grain-cleaning machine, with the sleeping room of the grown daughter above, (2) the five-*chien* building containing living rooms and a stable for cows, (3) a pig-sty, and (4) a five-*chien* building containing kitchen and stables for water buffalo and ponies. A granary stood to the north of this with the cesspool beyond.

This map is of March 1, 1941. In the three years following changes were made. House 6 and granary west of House 24 were demolished. A part of House 8 was taken off and with the material the widow and her daughter put up a tiny building to the north of the court, consisting of one room roofed with planks set on somewhat haphazard and a still smaller one roofed with tile. The porch west of House 16 had a shack added to it and the family in House 14 kept a cow in it. The pig pen before House 31 was removed. The framework of a building to be erected south of House 7 blew down in a gale and was never set up again. The whole of House 3 was made into a stable, and the stable which had faced it was turned to face west and used as a house. Two new houses, one with mud walls and thatch roof, one with interwoven straw walls and thatch roof, were built beyond the extreme southeast of the village.

The space between houses and other buildings was occupied by house foundations used as threshing floors (fig. 13 *b-e*), stone courts, gardens, and stone paths, of which two followed a winding way from the pond to a stone highway east of the village and one was that which divided the village into two parts, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai.

161 **Population.** January 21, 1941, there were one hundred eighty-seven persons in the village. The total population did not vary much during the three years following, but there was a continual shifting due to births and deaths and moving back and forth between villages. When I returned to the village in February, 1942, the family in House 16 had

and other buildings. These sites are said to have an influence on the people.

161 moved to some place in Ting-fan Hsien, but during the year the son and his wife (their baby daughter had died) returned and lived for a time with his older brother in House 17. They then moved back into House 16. Later
164 another brother came to live with the brother in House 17 bringing his wife with him. The son of the young man in House 15 had died of dysentery during the summer and the second son died of the same disease during the

8: Graham,E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/1954 AE5 Miao AE5

SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

By David Crockett Graham

(With 24 Plates)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

101 The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deep holes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are [491] generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[161] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 供縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung Ning 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow, south in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü [361] Kiang 徐江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[145] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.[1]

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

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[1] Clarke, S. R., Among the tribes of Southwest China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

Ik Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
161 Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[p. 66a]

[2 cont.]

101 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began
175 migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time.
[648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest.
000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed
131 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of
161 several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of
161 whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the
000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

[14 cont.]

000 to consolidate them, to advance their civilization, to improve their living conditions, to plan for their welfare and to alleviate their sufferings. The eighth article in the Declaration of the Fifth National Convention [15] says: "All political policies should be made for the welfare and in the interest of the local inhabitants." It is also hoped that our Miao-I compatriots will realize our mutual racial interest in the face of enemy aggression. Only by rising and resisting the enemy will we be able to ensure our ultimate freedom.

(First published in the Tung-fang tsa-chih [Far Eastern Miscellany], Vol. 27, No. 16, August 15, 1940.)

[16]

General Conditions of the Short-Skirt Hê Miao in Kweichow

Wu Che-Lin

1. Introduction

101 131 The Miao-I people in Kweichow occupy at least forty percent of the total population of the province. Except in the area north of the Wu River, where the population is entirely Chinese, the Miao-I are in a great majority in all rural communities farther away from the cities and larger villages, in which the Chinese mostly congregate. But these 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 [161] Miao-I people are different in languages, customs, and costumes as well as in cultural background. Therefore, their names (given them by the Chinese) total more than a hundred, such as the Ch'ing Miao, the Hê Miao, the Pê Miao, the Hung Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Ta-tieh Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Hua-ch'un Miao, the Chung-chia, the Sui-chia, the Tung-chia, the Ts'ai-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chi-tou, the Mu-lao, and so on. The Tuan-ch'ün

[16 cont.]

131 Miao [short-skirt Miao] is a branch of the Hê Miao, distributed
101 over a very extensive area in southeast Kweichow at Hsia-chiang, Yung-chiang, Chien-ho T'ai-kung, Tan-chiang, Pa-chai, Lu-shan and Ma-chiang. They total about 40,000 to
[161] 50,000 people. Although they have among them more or less the same costumes, customs and language, their cultural levels vary to a large extent. The present article deals only with those Short-Skirt Hê Miao who are located in the region contiguous to Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Pa-chai and Tan-chiang, and may not be representative of the entire group.

2. Costumes

101 [17] A common method to distinguish the various tribal
291 groups among the Miao in Kweichow is by the style of their women's dresses, because the men's are generally similar to those of the Chinese farmers. The women's costumes, however, still retain their original native style. The so-called Ch'ing Miao [blue Miao], Hê Miao [black Miao], and Pê Miao [white Miao] are distinguished by the colors of their womenfolks' clothes, which are either predominantly blue, black, or white. The
291 Short-skirt Miao is one group of the Hê Miao, their women's clothes being uniformly black. They are called the Short-skirts because their skirts are shorter than those worn by the other groups. In fact, aside from the length of the skirt, the other parts of their costumes are quite different too. To describe,
302 we start from the head. First of all, they never use make-up, but their hair is always well-trimmed and shiny. They often
[515] wash their hair by the river bank and afterwards apply tea-seed oil to give it a glossy finish. They comb their hair backwards first and leave a bang of about two to three inches falling down on the forehead in the shape of a small black umbrella. On the crown the hair is coiled up in a chignon and fastened by a small wooden comb three inches long, rather like the headgear of a Japanese woman.

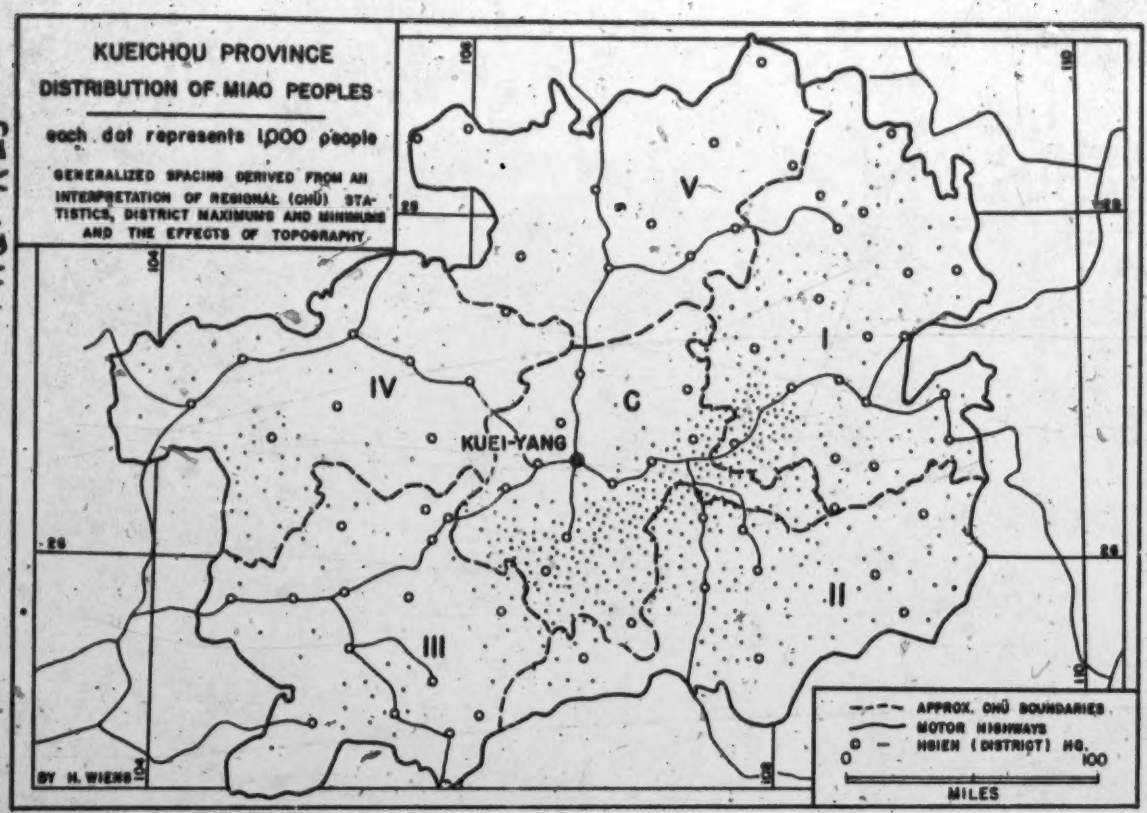
[30 cont.]

6. General Living Conditions

511 Due to limited space we cannot discuss all the phases of their living conditions. In sum, the Short-skirt Hê Miao are still passing through a phase of village economy. The necessities of life, except salt which is obtained from the Chinese, are all produced in the village. The area they occupy is quite fertile: Not long ago they produced a great deal of opium though they themselves are rarely addicted to it. They are, however, surrounded on four sides by the Chinese, and an extension of their cultivated acreage is therefore practically impossible. But their population has greatly increased in the course of centuries and in proportion the per family acreage under cultivation has greatly decreased. Although some few of them may be large landowners, the majority of the Hê Miao can maintain only the barest economic subsistence. Their continuous toil all year round yields merely a pittance, barely enough to ward off starvation. This kind of rigid economy [31] [161] together with the prevalence of smallpox increases the rate of mortality in recent years to such an extent that it follows closely the maximum birthrate, and thus manages to bring their population rate to a standstill: more people are being born, but more also are dying.

[212] They have no written language, their knowledge is limited, and their living standard is far below the standard of modern life. 648 Because of the backwardness of their civilization they are held in contempt by the Chinese. Due to repeated conflicts in the past between the Chinese and the Miao-I, a great deal of misunderstanding, suspicion and prejudice still exists between the two groups. Fortunately, there are no unified spoken language customs and habits among the various Miao-I groups, and so among their many millions of people there is yet no apparent consolidation of a minority group movement to oppose the 000 Chinese. If our government authorities can undertake the development of their educational standards on the one hand and the elimination of misunderstanding and racial prejudices on the

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AES



MAP 26

M 161
S 162
102

[p. 422]

[147] [Blank page in original text.]

[148] CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

[149] CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

10 13 The name "Méo" is applied to the peoples of a very characteristic type which inhabit the highest regions of Upper Tonkin.

The Chinese call the "Meo" "Miao-tseu," while often including them in the general designation of "Man" (rude barbarians).

In their dialects the "Méo" designate themselves by the name of "Mung."

In Tonkin, the various "Méo" tribes form a total of about [161] 40,000 individuals, of whom the densest groupings are located in the regions of Dongvan, of Pakha, and of Muongkhuong where they constitute the majority of the population.

Other relatively important settlements of "Méo" are also found towards Upper Laos.

162 [175] Like the other groups previously studied, the "Méo" have their origin in the mountainous regions of the south of China, from which they have been pushed back little by little towards the south by the Chinese pressure and expansion. There still exist in Yunnan and in Kweichow very important groupings of "Méo" whose numbers it has been impossible to estimate, even approximately. These groupings appear to have conserved a certain independence in the high valleys and mountains which form their habitat but continue to undergo the migratory movement which is pushing them towards the south.

The groupings which have settled in Tonkin, while following 131 the various mountainous ridges, have little by little spread themselves 167 the length of the north and northwest frontiers as far as the 175 great Annamite chain of mountains. This movement of [150] migration has most often taken a peaceful form, but several cases of violent invasion are reported, notably in the region of Dong-van at the beginning of the nineteenth century and towards 1860.

158: Diguet--127 G-3 (ca. 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Y 430 AE
M120 AE5

793 They know the legend of the flood which they end in a special manner: "The young sister married to her brother was sterile, and a spirit gave her eight beans so that by eating one bean each year she might have eight children. Overcome with happiness, she swallowed them all at once and was soon the mother of eight twins who were the founders of the eight Pa Teng families."

000 /128/ /A photograph entitled "Meo flutist" appears here. --Translator/

/129/

CHAPTER VII

THE MEO ETHNIC GROUP

Section 1

The Meo--Their Name--Their Origin and Immigrations. --Their Favorite Habitat

M
101 The Meo are called by the Annamese by the name Man Meo (wild cat). The first of these words is the one under which they mingle all the mountaineers, and the second is applied especially to those who dwell on the highest peaks and have the reputation of climbing like cats. It seems preferable to designate this ethnic group simply by the second word and exclude the first. It will be better to reserve the latter for the Yao in order to avoid confusion between these very different groups. The Chinese call them Miao tse and they call themselves Mong.

M
161 Their number may be estimated at 7 percent of the total population of the high region of Tonkin. The most important settlements where they live are located: 1) on the Chinese frontier between Dongvan and Quanba, between Pakha and Muongkhuong; 2) on the right bank of the Red River, between Nghialo, Van Bu and Tu Le; and finally, 3) on the Black River, to the north of Vau Yen.

M
175 They immigrated into Tonkin relatively recently. At first they migrated in two masses which invaded the Tonkinese mountains, throwing everything into disorder during their passage, one mass at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the other about 1845, at the time of the Tai Ping rebellion. Tribes coming down towards the south, family by family, following the crests of the mountains, have

/449 cont./

114 mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages
212 of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years
[175] 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

/450/

Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

●161 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven
175 out of their original homeland and in places were completely
648 destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an
[163] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and
[842]

/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.
[163]
[842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."
131
[167]
[648]

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/458 cont./

A M ●/161 Thus, in recapitulation, it can be said that the number of the Akha and Meau living today, as well as the actual demographic movement, lie completely in obscurity. The Akha, too, may represent a considerable contingent of population, but it can hardly be assumed that it is a matter of anywhere near as mighty a bulk of population as the Meau. From my own observations I can say that in the case of both tribes it is a matter of thoroughly healthy people. As a consequence A M [163] [165] of the average number of children, from eight to twelve among the Akha and seven among the Meau, a strong increase of the population is to be presumed, in spite of high infant mortality, wherever there are no limiting factors, such as sickness (see the chapter, "Medicine"), crop failure, warlike events, or special laws of the political rulers of the country, which, of course, decisively influence the natural increase. /Ills. 86-91 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/459/ Chapter 31

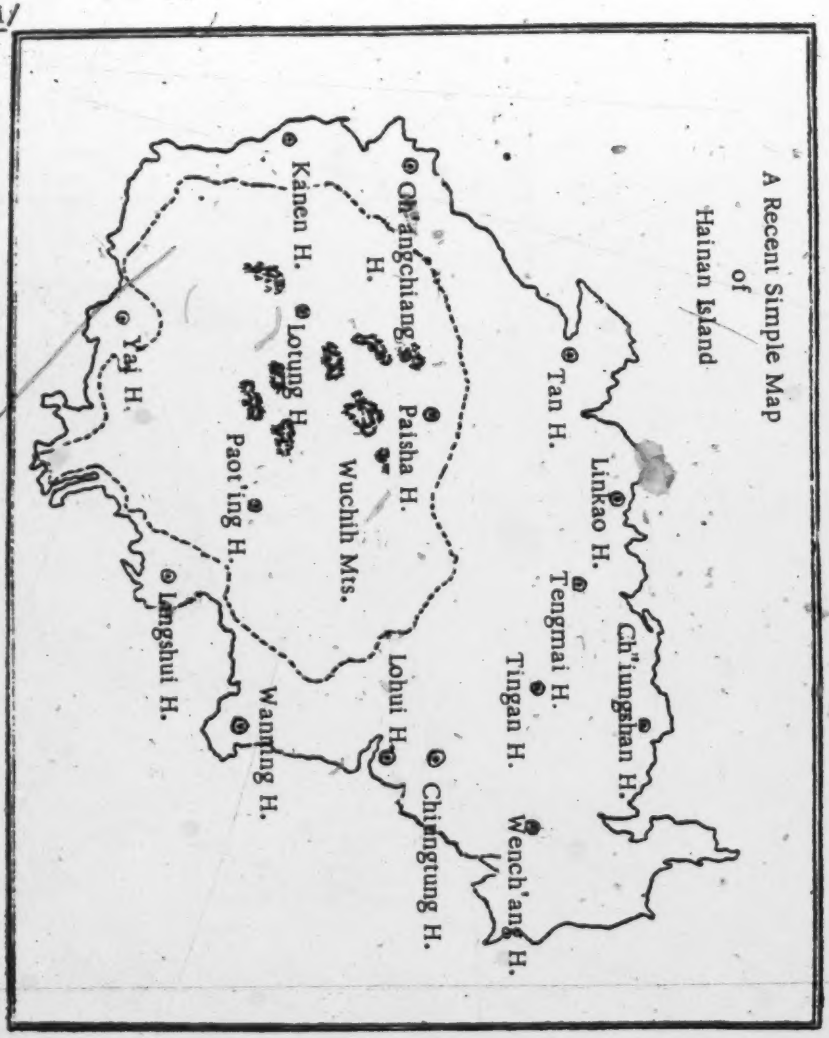
Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners

M 181 461 The Meau are a typical mountain people. They are by nature healthy, honest, sincere, not at all treacherous, and, a above all, industrious. This is necessary in order to master the hard daily work that is to be done year in and year out. One seldom sees adults sit around idly. Among the Meau, when- M [124] ever I summoned my informants for linguistic studies, they provided themselves beforehand with the necessary material for at least making string or rope during our conversations. They then worked mechanically while I conversed with them. These M 181 157 conversations and my observations of their daily life gave me a good opportunity to discover that the burden of everyday life had not made them morose. On the contrary, they are cheerful, merry, and, at the same time, very conscientious.

1: Wang--v S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/vi/

102



162 The space encircled by the broken line is the Li area where both the
53 Li and the Miao are intermingled, although the Miao people live in
361 the more remote area high in the mountains. The actual distribution of the Miao population in the three hsien (Pai-sha, Lo-tung, and Pao-t'ing) has not yet been investigated in detail, but its general distribution can be roughly estimated.

/1/

Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao
162 of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives
167 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from out-
101 side areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu
[113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

101 "There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or
[161] more families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104] /* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are
101 very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market;
175 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[181] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/9 cont'd/

131 175 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 166 221 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly. (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

121 551 162

Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/10 cont'd/

Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

/11 cont'd/

175 "If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise
161 Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-enforcements." If these "Han-ta troops," "Lang-t'u soldiers," and the "Lang-mu," the "Ta-shou," etc., all were Miao troops, or if Miao troops constituted a part of them, we may conclude that the Miao troops who were repeatedly moved there could not have numbered less /12/ than 10,000. Another important question is whether these Miao troops brought their women along with them, or whether it was only in a later period that they began to increase prolifically through marrying the women of other groups in the Hainan
175 area? This is a very interesting question worthy of study. It is, of
●162 course, closely related to the physical type of the present Miao people, and it is also directly related to the question of the number of original Miao immigrants. As far as I know, even at the present
[582] time, marriage among the Miao is still limited to their own group. To marry members of other groups (such as the Chinese, Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and others) is forbidden. Thus it is very probable that the Miao troops brought their women with them when they first came. There might have been an equal number of women accompanying
161 the original 10,000 Miao troops. Hence, the number of earliest Miao
175 immigrants would have been over 10,000 at the very least.

[27] Secondly, we shall examine the numbers recorded in the local annals. In the annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, it is stated that the Miao in Tan-chou consisted of "about 90 families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than a thousand." Since they numbered "less than a thousand," we may suppose that there were 500. An average village might consist of ten families of five members each. According to the same source, there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district. To use the same method of statistical averages for measurement, the five villages might have consisted of 50 families with 250 individuals. According to the annals of Kan-en district, there were "several hundred Miao families" in this particular district. Let us suppose that there were 500 families. Using the same method of calculation, there might have been 50 villages with a total population of 2,500, not counting those who

/13 cont'd/
244 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the
311 valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li."
This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the
175 Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure
144 blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of
175 other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the
144 family register of the Lin family:
178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had
162 some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname,
144 who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung
178

/14 cont'd/

162 144 178

district. This tendency for the Miao to become Chinese or Li is indeed unfavorable for an increase in the Miao population.

/15/ Chapter II. Language

192 802

English	Miao	English	Miao
Cardinal Numbers		Cardinal Numbers	
one	ǎ	twenty-one	nī sip jā
two	í	twenty-two	nī sip ngǐ
three	bo	twenty-three	ni sip tum
four	bā	thirty	tum sip
five	bǎ	forty	tā sip
six	kur	fifty	ngon sip
seven	njē	sixty	ngǔ sip
eight	z	seventy	kat sip
nine	dǒ	eighty	bid sip
ten	sip	ninety	shǔ sip
eleven	sip jā	one hundred	ǎ bā
twelve	sip ngǐ	two hundred	í bā
thirteen	sip tum	three hundred	tum bā
fourteen	sip tā	one thousand	á coon
fifteen	sip ngon	/16/ ten thousand	à tin
sixteen	sip ngǔ	one hundred thousand	à dū
seventeen	sip kat	a million	à bē
eighteen	sip bid		
nineteen	sip shǔ		
twenty	nī sip		

SW China AF16
Central China AF14

/18 cont./

M 167 [648] C 563 167 directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M *101 C 563

Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao, having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

M *101 [13] [167] CC 563

M [162]

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, M [131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines [167] resides this tribe.

(2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came [301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as [556] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they [527] hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came [462] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such [782] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and [769] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with [262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until [263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.
631
*648
622 (2) The Organization of Miao Officials
701 With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung
M /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96
[162] villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-
M tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty
[162] officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle,
[162] left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

/108 cont./

c shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei
175 were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising
631 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei,
563 two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in
701 charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men
M and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-
*175 tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18
631 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women.
*648 The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two
622 pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages,
701 consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The
162 above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and
25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130
villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. More-
over, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various
families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih,
Vol, 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 446 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

/109 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 701 162

three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

/110 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 701 [162]

The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers. (2)

2. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

C 631 563 701 [669] M 701 631 *648 622

Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung reign period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders. For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[text continues on p165]

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

[p. 40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, princi-
162 pally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered-head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend
114 periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

162

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS (see fig. 6)

Age	Male		Female		Total	
1	6		7		13	
2	1		7		8	
3	9		3		12	
4	5		0		5	
5	3	24	2	19	5	43
6	1		6		7	
7	2		1		3	
8	0		2		2	
9	3		0		3	
10	2	8	1	10	3	18
11	1		1		2	
12	4		0		4	
13	1		0		1	
14	2		0		2	
15	0	8	2	3	2	11
16	0		3		3	
17	1		2		3	
18	3		2		5	
19	1		1		2	
20	2	7	1	9	3	16
21	0		0		0	
22	0		0		0	
23	1		0		1	
24	0		0		0	
25	2	3	3	3	5	6
26	0		0		0	
27	0		1		1	
28	4		2		6	
29	1		0		1	
30	2	7	1	4	3	11
31	1		1		2	
32	0		3		3	
33	4		2		6	
34	2		2		4	
35	6	13	2	10	8	23
36	0		1		1	
37	2		1		3	
38	0		3		3	
39	0		0		0	
40	0	2	2	7	2	9
41	1		0		1	
42	0		0		0	
43	1		2		3	
44	0		1		1	
45	3	5	1	4	4	9

361 the busy season a boy of about the same age from Lung-li came to work there, too, and [16a]

000 FIG. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai.

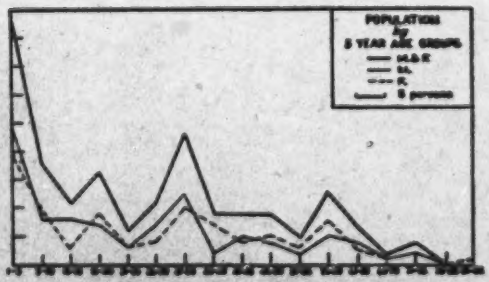
4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS (see fig. 6)

•162

Age	Male		Female		Total	
46	1		0		1	
47	0		3		3	
48	1		1		2	
49	1		1		2	
50	1	4	0	5	1	9
51	0		0		0	
52	0		2		2	
53	1		0		1	
54	1		0		1	
55	0	2	1	3	1	5
56	2		0		2	
57	0		2		2	
58	1		0		1	
59	0		2		2	
60	2	5	4	8	6	13
61	0		0		0	
62	0		0		0	
63	2		1		3	
64	1		2		3	
65	1	4	0	3	1	7
66	0		1		1	
67	0		0		0	
68	1		0		1	
69	0		0		0	
70	0	1	0	1	0	2
71	0		0		0	
72	1		0		1	
73	0		0		0	
74	1		1		2	
75	0	2	1	2	1	4
76	0		0		0	
77	0		0		0	
78	0		0		0	
79	0		0		0	
80	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	0		0		0	
82	0		1		0	
83	0		0		0	
84	0		0		0	
85	0	0	0	1	0	1
		95		92		187

Fig. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai.



[16b]

6:Ch'en--1 E-5 (no date)1942 AE5 Miao AE5

Religious Beliefs of the Miao and I Tribes in An-shun, Kweichow

An-shun is a center of the Miao and I tribes in Kweichow province, where there are two Miao tribes, the Ch'ing /green/ Miao and the Hua /flower/ Miao, and one I tribe, the Chung-chia. Although there are various groups of Miao-I with different customs, from the point of view of religious beliefs they are all polytheists. In recent decades due to contacts with the Chinese people a portion of the Chung-chia have been assimilated. Besides setting up family altars and worshipping ancestors, they believe in Kuan-yin /goddess of mercy/, Confucius, Kuan-kung /a deified hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the god of war/ and other gods. The Catholics and the Protestants have also exerted in recent years a strong latent influence on the Miao and I villagers. [101] 771

The following is a brief study of the religious development and beliefs of the Miao-I tribes.

/89/ The Catholic church in the city of An-shun is known as Shan-tsung T'ang /hall of goodness/ with four branch halls at Kung-pu, Mo-wan-tung, Shui-tang-chai and Ch'iu-chow. They all hold properties which are yearly on the increase. It is said that the Catholic Church at An-shun was established by a certain French priest some fifty years ago. Today, it is administered by Lengkuohsien /transliterated/ and Chailiszu /transliterated/, both French, and the expenses for maintaining it comes from the Catholic headquarters in Kweiyang. The church maintains an elementary school, studying chiefly the Bible, and the enrollment is about from 30 to 40 boys from Catholic families. Within the hsien district there are about 2000 Catholics, one-half of them being the Chung-chia people. 791 [162]

797 They are mostly converted to the faith because
427 they are tenant farmers on the land owned by the church. This land, also known as the "bible-hall land", is scattered over a number of localities that border on the Chung-chia villages. The profits from the land are equally divided. The advantages for tenant farmers being more than elsewhere, many Chung-chia people become believers in order to cultivate the church land. Every Sunday the farmers attend mass in nearby churches. During harvest time in October the church would send out priests to the villages to supervise harvests, where they also conduct religious services morning and night, requiring all believers to attend (some of the villages have small churches). The priest remains in each village for about a week, putting up with the richest family, but the expenses on food are borne by all the tenant farmers in the village. In recent years this relationship is undergoing a change as it is said that the priests have indulged in extortions which have greatly shaken the faith of the Miao-I believers.

797 Besides Catholics there are Protestants within the district. The China Inland Mission maintains a Gospel Church in An-shun. It was established in 1897 by an American missionary, Tanchüshih /transliterated/, who went deep into the Miao villages in many areas. His friendli-
[162] ness and sincerity won him many converts. At present there are in this hsien area from 5000 to 6000 Christians, both Chinese and Miao-I. The missionary was especially successful among the Hua Miao, and there are more Christians
792 among this tribe than among others. The leader
797 of the Hua Miao in An-shun was Yang Ching-an, who was trained by Tanchüshih. In the early years of the Chinese Republic, Yang had followed the American missionary to Shanghai and Nanking. With his extensive experience he was considered

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

133 men on this river are nearly all Heh Miao, who
487 convey goods to and from Hungkiang in Hunan. This stream, however, in consequence of long and difficult rapids, is only navigable for small boats, whereas the Chenyüan branch is navigable for river boats of the largest size. This lack of waterways, and the fact that there is no road, as far as we know, in the province over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven, makes the conveyance of produce a costly undertaking. Everything has to be carried by coolies, or on the backs of ponies and mules, and consequently it doubles the cost of rice to carry it one hundred and twenty miles.

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162 The population of Kweichow is probably between seven and ten millions. In speaking of numbers, in the absence of trustworthy census returns, it must be understood that we are giving opinions formed from our own observation, influenced by the estimates of others who are as well qualified to judge as ourselves. In this way, then, we put the population of the province at between seven and ten millions, and reckon that one-half of these are Chinese and the rest mostly Miao and Chung-chia.

To a traveller passing through Kweichow, the Chinese would appear to greatly outnumber the non-Chinese. This is because the Chinese

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

162 are mostly settled in the cities and towns, and in those districts which are nearer the cities and the great high-roads. Away from the cities and high-roads in the south-west and south-east, the non-Chinese greatly outnumber the Chinese. It must also be remembered that the Chung-chia men, and some of the men of the other tribes, dress exactly the same as Chinese peasants, and by the traveller might be taken for Chinese.

000 The Chinese of the province are divided into the *Lao-han-ren* and *Keh-chia*, that is, the "Original or Old Chinese" and the "Immigrants." The immigrants are very many, and the Old Chinese very few. Some of the Old Chinese claim that their ancestors settled in the province as early as the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and others as late as the fourteenth century. These were the soldiers left in the country as the results of early conquests and occupations, who married native women and settled down as cultivators of the soil. The descendants of these now form separate communities, speaking the old dialect their forebears brought into the country, or a modification of it, and able also to speak the mandarin dialect of the New Chinese. They are a sturdy industrious race who generally

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER II

THE LANGUAGES AND CUSTOMS OF THE MIAO

Chinese and non-Chinese—How named—How differentiated—Miao languages and dialects—Lack of literature—Love of litigation—Dacoits—The Black Miao—Other Miao—Moral condition.

162 If we estimate the population of Kweichow at eight millions, half of these as Chinese and the rest as Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia, we shall not be far from the truth. The Chung-chia are probably as numerous as the Miao-chia and I-chia together, and the Miao-chia much more numerous than the I-chia or Lo-lo. The I-chia are only to be found in the west and north-west, and even there are still outnumbered by the Miao. As the Miao were probably in what is now called Kweichow before the Chung-chia, and in most parts of it before the I-chia, the Miao may be first described.

101 The Chinese say there are seventy tribes of Miao, but one Chinese work makes that number

/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.
[163]
[842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came. /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."
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[167]
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If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

/451 cont./

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3. Pages 130 ff.

4. V. pp. 81 ff.

statements. Witek (5), too, asserts that the Meau undoubtedly

5. Pages 54 and 57.

constitute the largest and most unitary contingent of the population of Kweichow and speaks of nine million. Schotter (6)

6. Vol. III, pp. 198 and 402.

estimates their number in this region from five to 18 million and mentions that there they have been pushed back into the mountains and probably are the oldest population of the province. Seidenfaden (7) makes the following calculation: on the basis

7. II, p. 194.

of the statements by Clarke, who speaks of seven to ten million, he estimates the population of Kweichow as eight million inhabitants. Half are said to be Chinese, the rest divided up among the Meau, Chung-chia (Thai), and I-Chia. Since the Chung-chia are said to be as numerous as the Meau and I-Chia combined, and the Meau in turn more numerous than the I-Chia, he estimates the Meau at one and a half million. In addition to these Meau living in Kweichow, there are the Meau of Yunnan, Honan, and Kwangsi. In the last-named province they are said, with about four million, to constitute half of the total population. Thus, Seidenfaden finally arrives at a total number of eight million Meau.

Only an insignificant splinter group of the Meau pushed on to Burma.

/451 cont/

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The Burma Census of 1931 (8) gives the following figures:

8. Page 200.

1931, 830 Meau; 1921, 394 Meau; 1911, 646 Meau.

/452/ We have here a typical example of an apparent population increase! Actually, it is, of course, a matter, not of biological increase, but presumably of newcomers from the northern and eastern border areas, possibly even only faulty identification, with merely more Meau being included in the last census than in the previous ones.

There is no census for the Meau settled in Thailand. Credner (1), on the basis of his tables, comes to the conclusion

1. II, p. 137.

that their number can hardly exceed one to two thousand. Now I found many villages, all of them small, to be sure, in regions which he had not visited, from which I conclude that even for his time his statements must have been far surpassed. Nevertheless it is not possible for me either to give exact figures, since in the meantime the decree concerning the mountain peoples has been issued in Thailand (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand"), which practically makes it impossible for these people to live. This leads to emigration by the Meau, which, [167] however, will take place, of course, only in those areas where they can be seized by the government. Also to be considered is the fact that the Meau in Thailand principally inhabit areas in which they are actually uncontrollable and are difficult to get hold of statistically. Accordingly, there are no satisfactory demographic data concerning the Meau in Thailand.

In Indochina, as Von Eickstedt (2) states, most of the

2. II, p. 53.

/452 cont./

162 Meau now live on the Tran-Ninh Plateau, which forms the
131 bridge from Tonkin to Laos (Vientiane). He estimates them, with 20,000 persons in round figures, as about a third of the population of the district.

According to Lajonquière (3), the Meau in "Tonkin

3. II, pp. 296 and 297.

septentrional" always constitute significant population groups. In the region of Dongvan, Yen-Minh, Quan-Ba, on the one hand, and the region of Pakha, Muong-Khuong, they are the most numerous population, and to be sure 9,920 Meau as against 7,240 members of other ethnic groups live in the first region, and 5,984 Meau live among 5,540 persons of other tribes in the second.

According to Abadie (4), the various Meau tribes in

4. Page 149.

Tonkin add up to about 40,000 individuals, with the strongest groups found in the region of Dongvan, Pakha, and Muong-Khuong, areas in which they form the majority of the population. Other relatively /453/ important Meau groups are encountered in Upper Laos. Savina (1), on the other hand, speaks of 200,000

1. II, p. 193.

Meau for the Tonkin and Laos region.

101 The statements in the literature vary greatly concerning
162 the number of the different Meau tribes. Jaeger (2) mentions

2. Page 272.

61 tribes in one album. There is a great number of such albums whose year of origin as well as author are for the most part unknown. In them, too, the number of Meau tribes given varies considerably.

/453 cont./

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Bridgman (3) speaks of 82 different "sketches," an

3. Pages 257 ff.

expression that is used by him for tribes. The same number is also mentioned by Li-Tsung-fang (4) and Schotter (5), and the

4. Ch. 3, p. 9b.

5. Vol. III, p. 405.

latter also reports an album in the possession of a mandarin, in which 108 Meau tribes are said to be mentioned. Schotter adds, however, that this number is a sacred Buddhist number. Since otherwise nothing is known about this album mentioned by Schotter, his information at first glance seems to be of little significance. Now, however, Chang-Kong-Chiu has published an album in which the author adds explanations concerning "The Culture of the Miao-tse, according to Older Chinese Sources." This interesting work shows that undoubtedly a number of mountain peoples were classified by the Chinese with the Meau, who in an ethnological sense have little or nothing to do with them. Marabail (6), too, confirms that this is the case: "The famous

6. Page 133.

Tsai-Chen (1167 to 1230) in his commentary of the second part
[175] of the Chou-King seems to believe that the Meau are the same as the Yau, for the prisoners who at that time were taken from among the Yau /Yao/ of Hou-Nan usually called themselves Meau."

The Chinese classification and the resulting variation in the number given for the Meau tribes are understandable, however, if one keeps in mind that "Meau-tse" referred to all non-Chinese (see the chapter, "Derivation of the Names Akha and Meau"). At any rate, the ethnologist can only set up uncertain hypotheses as long as the affiliation and identification of the individual tribes is uncertain.

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/453 cont./

Witek (7) tries to find distinguishing marks for the in-

7. Page 45.

dividual tribes /454/ of the Meau and mentions, for instance, the differences in the clothing of the White and Black Meau or refers to the skin color or the "barbarity" (in contrast to the "refinement") as distinguishing features. Moreover, he quotes Liétard, who for his part draws on social stratification for the differentiation. Other authors, too, have sought to determine the number of Meau tribes both generally and for their narrower area of study. Maurice Abadie (1), for instance, says that there

1. Page 150.

are more than 50 different Meau tribes, but in his smaller area of study, Tonkin, only five tribes. Lajonquière (2) states: "The

2. II, p. 301.

Meau are said to be divided into 70 tribes in their narrower homeland. In Tonkin, however, we can find only a far smaller number of tribes." The missionary, P. Proux, whom Schotter refers to as an authority, speaks of 30 different tribes in Kweichow, and a Chinese author, of 39.

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Scott (3), on the other hand, comes to the conclusion

3. II, p. 598.

that there are three principal tribes of the Meau, which are called the Red, the White, and the Black Meau by the Chinese. The differences are said to lie in the clothing and in the language. This difference in language in turn is disputed by Savina (4), who divides the Meau into six large and four or five

4. II, p. 187.

/454 cont./

101 small tribes, about a dozen in all. Then he goes on to say:
162 "We are far from the 40 or more tribes which some like to
291 enumerate." According to him, the tribes differ only in the
184 color and form of the clothing, to the peculiarity of which the names White, Black, Yellow, Green, Striped Meau, and Meau With Horns are to be traced back. The name of the last-named tribe is said to be derived from the horn-shaped hairdo. Otherwise, each tribe is said to have special customs and a language only somewhat divergent. Seidenfaden (5), too, says that the

5. II, p. 101.

Meau tribes differ from one another principally in the attire of the women.

101 If some authors report a strikingly large number of Meau
162 tribes, there can be no doubt that they included other mountain
114 peoples, for example, the Yau, Lisu, and perhaps the Lolo tribes, with the Meau. This problem, however, cannot be finally settled until ethnographic fieldwork, for Kweichow at any rate, is completed, at least in broad outlines, /455/ for the investigation of the mountain peoples of South China has not yet gone beyond the first beginnings.

101 According to my own experience, in the case of the vari-
162 ous Meau tribes it is only a matter -- at least in Thailand -- of
291 very slight differences in the clothing of local groups, which
184 cannot by any means be regarded as independent tribes. Moreover, tribal names seem to have developed from nicknames which were given to individual Meau sibs. Such nicknames cannot, of course, be given the value of a true tribal designation.

In Thailand I myself had the opportunity to investigate three of the so-called Meau tribes, the White, the Black, and the Flowery Meau. My Lao informants tried to explain the name of the Black Meau by the lack of cleanliness of these families in particular. This did not correspond with the facts, however, inasmuch as the cleanliness among all the Meau tribes known to me leaves much to be desired, and the "White Meau" do not distinguish themselves in any way by special cleanliness. At

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/455 cont./

M 101 162 291 184 [582]

any rate, it turned out that the "Black" and the "Flowery Meau" are identical with the "White Meau" and actually differ only in that the women of the one Meau wear dark-blue skirts with stylized floral patterns in batik work, while those of the other Meau wear white skirts. Neither in the language nor in any racial or cultural element did further differences come to light. For judging the matter it seems to me to be especially decisive that the tribal endogamy which is otherwise strictly observed in practice does not apply between these three Meau tribes; thus, Black and White Meau may freely intermarry.

A 131 162 [167]

The Akha, too, like the Meau, reached the region inhabited by them today only in the course of their wandering. Among them, too, their continuous migratory movement obstructs any demographic coverage. With respect to Burma, the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1) of the year 1900 stated that the

1. Vol. I, p. 588.

Akha belonged among the most numerous and most widespread mountain peoples of Kengtung. This supposedly could be stated positively for the eastern uplands. At any rate, they were supposed to be a people more numerous than most of their neighbors. Telford (2) /456/ considers them the numerically strongest

2. Page 90.

mountain people in the state of Kengtung and states that their homeland, like that of the Katschin /Kachin/ and Lahu, was China. Consequently, they are of "Mongolian origin."

The census of the state of Kengtung gives for the year 1931 12,968 Akha (6,484 houses). It is certain that only a part of that portion of the people living in Kengtung is included in this figure. The official Burma Census Rep. (1) of the same year

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 183.

gives 40,407 Akha for Burma as against 34,265 individuals in

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [582] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably
163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate
171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his
165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time
622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with
217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages.

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual.

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground.

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little
[184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature,
142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the
[147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well
[163] [165] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare
[143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every oppor-
273 tunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts
[164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he
147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have
241 carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not
361 live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage-
157 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

163 Moreover, the birthrate among the Meo is one of the highest
165 of the high region and it is not rare to see six or seven children about each of their little houses. On the other hand, very high infant mortality operates to slow down the population's rate of increase. It is owing to the winter cold against which the Meo do not protect themselves by closing up their houses better and covering themselves more warmly. Be that as it may, we can foresee that in a more or less distant future, their tribes, no longer able to find nourishment in the mountains where they are settled, and driven along by new immigrations, will gradually come to overflow into the high valleys at less elevated altitudes, and will take the place of the Thai whose birthrate is very much lower.

Section 3

Dwellings

131 Sometimes Meo dwellings are found at the bottom of a cirque
342 situated on an elevated plateau, as at Dongvan, which is at a thousand
132 meters of altitude, but this is rather exceptional. In fact the Meo prefers to build his cabin on slopes with difficult approaches and near the summit of the mountains. The house usually is built on a small natural spur or platform cut into the side of the mountain, not far from a small ravine which provides him with water with the aid of a bamboo conduit. The roof is of straw or planks laid like tiles, the walls of pise or planks roughly joined, or yet of round logs placed one on the other, the doors wooden and fashioned with an axe. They almost never have windows. For light and air they rely on the interstices between the /133/planks or logs and on one of the gables whose upper triangle is open to every wind. In constucting his dwelling the Meo, who is still so industrious and thoughtful in his other tasks, shows himself to be most shortsighted. By building it with a little more care, and especially by stopping up both of its gables, he would keep away from his little family much of the bronchitis which comes each winter to threaten the lives of his loved ones. We have seen at 2,000 meters altitude and in zero temperature /centigrade/, little youngsters hugging the fire in a miserable wooden cabin with no other clothing than short cloth jackets. They stretched out their bare body and little hands to the flames, while shivering and coughing in a pitiful fashion, and the parents, accustomed to this spectacle, had no

/76 cont./

A 857 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 183 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/93 cont./

M 114 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said,

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 [163] Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [513] [893] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

/449 cont./

114 212 [175] mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

/450/ Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 175 648 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven out of their original homeland and in places were completely destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an [163] [842] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and

/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.
[163]
[842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."
131
[167]
[648]

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/458 cont./

A M 161 Thus, in recapitulation, it can be said that the number of the Akha and Meau living today, as well as the actual demographic movement, lie completely in obscurity. The Akha, too, may represent a considerable contingent of population, but it can hardly be assumed that it is a matter of anywhere near as mighty a bulk of population as the Meau. From my own observations I can say that in the case of both tribes it is a matter of thoroughly healthy people. As a consequence A M of the average number of children, from eight to twelve among the Akha and seven among the Meau, a strong increase of the [163] [165] population is to be presumed, in spite of high infant mortality, wherever there are no limiting factors, such as sickness (see the chapter, "Medicine"), crop failure, warlike events, or special laws of the political rulers of the country, which, of course, decisively influence the natural increase. /Ills. 86-91 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/459/ Chapter 31

Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners

M 181 461 The Meau are a typical mountain people. They are by nature healthy, honest, sincere, not at all treacherous, and, a above all, industrious. This is necessary in order to master the hard daily work that is to be done year in and year out. One seldom sees adults sit around idly. Among the Meau, whenever I summoned my informants for linguistic studies, they pro- M [124] vided themselves beforehand with the necessary material for at least making string or rope during our conversations. They then worked mechanically while I conversed with them. These M conversations and my observations of their daily life gave me 181 a good opportunity to discover that the burden of everyday life 157 had not made them morose. On the contrary, they are cheerful, merry, and, at the same time, very conscientious.

/iii cont'd/

114 book, Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao. If the reader is not
[128] bored by details, it would be better for him to refer to these two books at the same time. This is my humble hope.

If this book has made any academic or social contribution, the credit should not go to the author alone; it belongs to all the members of our commission (a list of the members of our commission is printed in the Appendix, "Journal of the Investigation"). I, myself, must express my gratification and, even more, my thanks to those others who have allowed me to write out what was the collective work of all of us. /iv/ The one to whom I am especially obliged, how-
[164] ever, is Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung. In that uncivilized region infested with malaria, where other people usually fear to go, we lived close together for a long time. We "comforted each other for the same kind of sickness" (actual physical sickness) and were of assistance to each other. To assuage our loneliness, we sometimes talked far into the night with our beds set next to each other. This experience will leave an indelible impression upon me for the rest of my life.

121 I have always been of the opinion that ethnology is not only a branch of pure science but also a practical study. We ethnologists should present the results of our studies not only to the academic world but also to our people and our country. In other words, we hope to offer some contributions toward the solution of our frontier problems. The last chapter of this was written for this purpose. Everything discussed therein concerns the most practical problems which are very important for the future development of Hainan Island. I should feel greatly honored if my writing could draw the attention of our government and the public to working out a proper solution.

Wang Hsing-jui
Graduate School
National Sun Yat-sen University

July 22, 1938

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Lu, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village
● 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

000 We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front,
262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival,
574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica,
[297] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but
000 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/138 cont'd/

Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[193] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[136] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

/139/

000 At Ta-ch'i we opened our box of medicines at Mr. Wang's house, but could not find any drug for dysentery. Mr. Wang's workmen 278 told us about a herb, used frequently by the Miao and said to be a kind of miracle drug to cure dysentery for the Miao. I suggested to Yüan-chiung that he should try it, as it might not do him any harm. He instantly resisted the idea and said he preferred death to taking the Miao drug. As we were put in such a predicament, with no medical facilities of any kind around this place, a thought suddenly struck me. As a child I had seen countrymen in my native place mix honey with tea to cure dysentery. Mr. Wang happened to have honey in his house, and we had brought along several kinds of tea with us. I mixed some and let Yüan-chiung drink it. Its effect is yet to be seen.

000 When we were at Ang-chi, though it was a filthy place, I was able to amuse myself by talking with the Miao. Back at Mr. Wang's house, it was like living in a castle; the place was much more comfortable, but I felt overcome with loneliness.

Third month, sixth day. (Saturday)

Originally I had thought that we should start for Pao-t'ing today, if Yüan-chiung was not any better. But after taking the drink of 278 honey in tea that I gave him yesterday, he has felt an immediate ● 164 effect. His dysentery has become much less frequent, and his spirits are much higher. As a complete cure seems in sight, we are glad to be able to cancel our previous plans.

After breakfast at ten o'clock, we set out for Wen-hua trading center, intending to take a closer look at the trading conditions of 226 the Miao and Li. At Wen-hua ten or more boys were making fish bombs, which they threw into the river to explode among the fish. We bought some 20 firecrackers for ourselves and asked the children to make a fish bomb for us. With it we caught about half a catty of fish, and we brought them back for supper.

243 The Li in the neighborhood were busy sowing and planting rice, and during the day we walked about the fields and talked with them.

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely with-
out reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. - Due to the lack of meteorological records the
climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
[114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not repre-
sent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-
chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparent-
ly on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals can-
not see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

161 moved to some place in Ting-fan Hsien, but
during the year the son and his wife (their
baby daughter had died) returned and lived
for a time with his older brother in House 17.
They then moved back into House 16. Later
•164 another brother came to live with the brother
in House 17 bringing his wife with him. The
son of the young man in House 15 had died
of dysentery during the summer and the sec-
ond son died of the same disease during the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

164 summer I was there. The young man later took a second wife. The old ladies in Houses 1 and 12 both died of old age, the old man in House 15 of heart disease, and a man of fifty-odd in House 31 of injuries due to the kick of a cow. A baby boy in House 8 died of malnutrition. At least thirteen children were born during this period, including two that died. The daughter of the widow in House 8 went to live permanently with her husband.

[13c]

4:Michey E-8 (1940-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the fields, but no men setting out plants.

241 I once tried my hand at helping and did
243 fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they
[164] were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 By the end of the first week of the fifth
243 month (end of June) the transplanting of rice
312 was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 **Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.** The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily. 757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757 I took with me the specifics for the troubles 123 mentioned and these, which a doctor at the Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put
123 it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

753 All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These
755 creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing
165 of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

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13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

● 164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

[26 cont.]

000 time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

766 Hê Miao who die of leprosy are cremated. The dead body
● 164 is carried to a vacant lot to be placed on a pile of firewood and
757 burned before the public. It is probably for the same purpose of avoiding contagion that the Hê Miao at Yung-chiang who die of small pox are cremated -- a sanitary idea derived from experiences.

5. Religious Beliefs

The Short-skirt Hê Miao apparently believe in animism.
774 In their view every object in nature is invested with a spirit.
776 The sky, earth, sun and moon are all nature spirits, but even rocks, rivers, bridges, trees and wells are also endowed with spiritual powers. The duties and responsibilities of these spirits, however, are not quite divided, and therefore in case of sickness, engagement and the acquisition of sons they would go to one of these objects to offer prayers, and if their prayers are fulfilled they would have to offer sacrifices. There are two kinds of spirits: the good spirits, efficacious and powerful, who guard over the welfare of the mortals, but in case of offences against them, can also inflict severe punishments; the bad spirits or ghosts, who are bent on doing harm and whom one has to suppress if one cannot put up with them. The first category of spirits includes the Jade Emperor, the Guarding Buddha, one's ancestors, the King of Hades, the Earth God, the God of Wealth, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Yo Fei [warrior hero of the 12th century], Shen-nung [Divine Husbandman, a mythical emperor of pre-historical times], Kwan-ti [warrior hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the God of War], tree spirits, cliff spirits, bridge spirits, the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the winnowing-fan spirits, and the Lady Buddhas. The second category includes the spirits of thunder and lightning, the tiger ghost, the well ghost, the drowning ghost, the mouth odor ghost, the sly ghost who hurts people surreptitiously, the pu-nung (Miao dialect) ghost, the nai-huang (Miao dialect) ghost, the leg-pulling ghost, the breath-obstructing ghost, the soul-bewitching

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
262 or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form
[252] of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes,
[252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/29/

A M 829

'In the plains there are too many wars, duties, soldiers, and mandarins!'

'If we were to settle down among the people on the plains, they would steal our herds.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because there we could not cultivate opium and maize or plant fruit trees.'

'The soil of the mountains belongs to the Meau; the soil of the plains does not belong to them'"

Savina states that only one answered: "Because the other tribes do not want us to live in the plains with them." Savina is of the opinion that this is actually the true reason. There can be no doubt, however, that he is mistaken about this.

A M 164 361

In my opinion, the reason lies much deeper. It lies outside the realm of human volition and is based upon the constitutional nature of the mountain tribes. In contrast to the valley peoples, such as the Thai tribes, the Chinese, or the Annamese, the Meau and Akha, and presumably the majority of the tribes occupying this area today and known as "mountain tribes," are not capable of becoming acclimatized to the tropics, as is true, for example, of all the members of the white races. These tribes show an amazingly low resistance in particular to the tropical diseases, above all to malaria. In this connection Abadie's further statement is of special interest: "The Meau came to Tonkin long after the 'Thai' and 'Man.' With the latter they had many local battles over the arable land, which sometimes were long and fierce. Stronger and more energetic than their opponents, they would perhaps have driven them out of Upper-Tonking altogether had they been able to acclimatize themselves to the lower altitudes." In the chapter "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "The Territories of the Mountain Peoples," I shall discuss at some length the extraordinary importance that this lack of ability to acclimatize has for colonial-ethnological affairs.

A M [174]

/51 cont./

A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. A M 858 Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, M [164] [123] for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

/157 cont./

771 114 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially important to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau. The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incantations and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning religion, before persons who do not belong to the community. Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

123 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, became sick. [753] His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wander- [774] ing and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sick- [164] ness for the Meau. I told the chief that many little evil spirits had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood. Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the ceremony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction. Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured, there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved, and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
[846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[164] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
[626] birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
765 as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
[262] member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[834] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 [364] Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very unsatisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is [296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by [312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects 314 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good • 164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child [165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the [356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for [514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see [231] the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau [361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

/230 cont./

364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

[264]

2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 205.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/230 cont./

A 515 Conditions among the Akha are somewhat more favorable, but likewise leave much to be desired. The personal cleanliness of the Akha, however, is unconditionally greater than that of the Meau. The people wash themselves regularly as soon as they A [356] are grown up; children are washed daily. The houses are always [296] swept clean, and the Akha seem to wash their clothing /231/ [364] more often than the Meau do. Otherwise what was found among the Meau applies. To be sure, hygienic conditions are somewhat 165 better, but they are still so deficient that a high mortality among [163] the children as a result of epidemics and sicknesses is unavoidable. Among the Akha, too, however, this mortality rate is offset by great fertility, so that the Akha, too, will certainly not be subject to a population decline.

A M Prophylactic measures against illness are completely unknown 164 to both the Meau and Akha, as is the nature of infectious diseases. 165 Although I did not succeed in determining precisely the losses [751] caused by epidemics, the consequences of such pestilences were [753] easily ascertained. Merely the presence of sibless Meau, who had placed themselves as unfree under the protection of powerful large /extended/ families, showed this, as did the many widows, widowers, childless parents, and orphans. Whenever I inquired M about the causes of death, it was said: "Died because of the 761 vengeance of evil spirits." It often turned out, however, that 164 these evil spirits had killed dozens of people at the same time. 731 I learned that once the Meau built a village in a country at an altitude lower than is customary and infested with malaria. When subsequently a malaria epidemic broke out they believed that they had chosen as a dwelling site a place haunted by evil spirits and they moved their village.

A I could not find any moving of a village because of the 164 outbreak of an epidemic among the Akha. Southwest of the 731 Doy Tung there was an Akha village whose inhabitants had almost all fallen victim to an epidemic; from the description it was probably cholera. The survivors, however, had not moved the village.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/231 cont./

A M 164 114 According to the symptoms that became known to me, other epidemics can seemingly be traced back to diarrhea, typhoid fever, and dysentery.

Unfortunately, nothing has as yet been published on the susceptibility or resistance of the mountain peoples to the various diseases. To be sure, the Census of Burma (1), for example, gave

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 112.

some statistics on the various diseases, but most of the mountain peoples were undoubtedly able to avoid inclusion in the statistics /232/ -- at least a substantial part of them is in practice not included at all (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"). Furthermore, the Census of Burma confounds the natives of various races and cultures. I need only point out the example of the relatively strong resistance of the Schan /Shan/ peoples to malaria, or the catastrophic susceptibility of the mountain peoples, especially the Meau and Akha, to this disease, in order to show how useless the statistics of the Census are for this purpose.

A M 164 753 A 443 753 Both peoples are well aware of the fact that they contract malaria in the lowlands, even though the belief in spirits is drawn upon for an explanation, as is shown by the example of the Meau village that was moved because of malaria. Even the Akha who travel to Kengtung on market days in order to sell their wares never spend the night in the city, but on the heights of the surrounding mountains. Even if they have sold only part of their wares and a longer stay in the city would facilitate their business, they prefer to return to the city on the following day and to take the wearisome trip back and forth in the bargain. They explain this custom by saying that in Kengtung there are evil spirits who would send them fatal sicknesses during the night.

A M 164 Among the endemic illnesses occurring in the two mountain peoples there are plague, bubonic plague, typhoid fever, amoebic dysentery, bacillary dysentery, and various forms of worms, especially hookworm and trichinosis. One often sees

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/232 cont./

A M 164 pock-marked Meau. Abadie (1), too, noted the frequent occurrence

1. Page 159.

of smallpox:

M 164 731 744 "The Meau are frequently afflicted with smallpox, but they react wonderfully to the simplest medicines. In 1911, a severe epidemic raged in a very large village in the Tha-Long region and caused five to six deaths a day. All the inhabitants were inoculated on one day, the aged and the children, the healthy and the sick. From this moment on there was not another death." Such results are of course, highly gratifying, but it is /233/ somewhat disconcerting to see inoculation counted among the "simplest medicines"!

A M 164 732 As among most of the mountain peoples of Farther India, struma is common among the Meau and Akha, which Marabail (1)

1. Page 463.

confirms for the Meau, and likewise cretinism. These ailments are more frequent among the Meau than among the Akha. Moreover, in both tribes the women are more frequently and more severely ill than the men. Some of the cretins found in every Meau village do not seem to have been afflicted by true cretinism, but by epidemic meningitis and similar diseases. At any rate, the Meau told me on several occasions that these persons had been quite normal as children, but had suddenly been stricken with fever and were then tortured terribly by evil spirits. Since that time their minds were affected.

M 164 732 [753]

A M 164 [158] Mental diseases and paralysis caused by nervous or rheumatic disorders are relatively frequent. I was unable to find syphilis; to be sure, it may have been spread among the Meau in some places by Chinese traders, but it has caused no obvious devastation. Gonorrhea occurs more frequently, but still rarely among the Meau, and it seems to be completely absent among the Akha, which can probably be traced back to the strict tribal endogamy among this people. I could find no

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II, p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

A M [513]

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A M 753 776 M 755 [756] [769]

As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

/265 cont./
592 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau;
621 family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased
[551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau
village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her chil-
[164] dren died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them
died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an
[734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely
paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire
family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son
of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of
Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bam-
[513] boo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the
infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the
[551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the per-
sonal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife
died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest
son and an infant are living.

[622] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan,
[551] Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the
Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years
ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second,
[587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His
wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he
[595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as
his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons
with wives also live in the house.

House 7; See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the
[551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name,
Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that
is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house-
[756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven
children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another,
[731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled
[164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[164] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good
[732] worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with
the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on
unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses, 3. Stables,
2. Granary housing, 4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on p. 369]

/441 cont./

A M 145 ●164 The teeth among both peoples are strong and well developed and well preserved into old age, if caries and pyorrhea (see the chapter, "Medicine"), especially common among the Meau, do not cause them to fall out prematurely.

A M 142 Both tribes also have well-developed ears; the shell shows no signs of degeneration or atavism, although attached lobes and their absence can be found more commonly among the Meau, rarely among the Akha.

M 142 The eye of the Meau is small with a narrow eyelid slit, which is often placed obliquely. Apart from the Mongoloid fold (Ills. 53)[1] which is very common among these people, the lateral corner of the eye often lies higher than the medial one. Therefore little of the cornea is to be seen among the Meau. The eye color is dark brown.

A 142 The eye of the Akha is essentially different. It is large and ?442/ almond-shaped (Ill. 6),[2] and the Mongoloid fold occurs only as an exception. The cornea is white and always quite visible; a higher placement of the lateral corner of the eye in comparison with the medial one is not rare. The color of the eyes is usually dark brown, sometimes even black.

M 142 As a rule (except for the Europoid types), the nose of the Meau is small, blunt, and quite deeply saddled; the bridge of the nose, protruding slightly only in exceptionsl cases, is otherwise broad and flat (Ill. 53). It becomes much wider at the bottom and at the sides toward the alae.

A 142 In contrast to this, the Akha usually have large noses with high bridges; even aquiline noses occur occasionally (Ill. 1). The bridge is narrow and slightly arched, usually very narrow at the root, but wider noses, especially toward the lower part, also occur (Ill. 6). They are never as flat, however, as those of the Meau. In isolated cases the bottom of the nose slopes upward somewhat toward the tip so that from the front one can see into the nostrils.

[1] [see cat. 116, p366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p14 - "]

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [582] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably
163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate
171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his
165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time
622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with
217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 123 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages. 165 163

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual. 844 788 791

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground. 788 793

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

753 All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and
755 some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among
165 the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

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13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) /954 AE5 Miao AE5

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made
as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather
like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it
often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165●
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the
same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing,
houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the
ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants
so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzĭ, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills
a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly
cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants
of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the [165] high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Laotians AM8

boy's pockets lay strewn about; the lengths of string, the broken penknives, the buttons, the mirror glass, the tins, the bottles and the burned out lamp bulbs. Here was accumulated the jackdaw harvesting, the valuable glittering rubbish which was all a Meo wanted of civilization, and which he was free to take, while leaving the civilization itself severely alone. What foolish, generous people, these town-dwellers were! M 342 181

Our host's wife, a child of fifteen, was lying with her baby on a heap of rags in the corner. The baby was sick, he said, but the only thing necessary was to keep it away from the light – and air – as much as possible. Most Meo babies die in their first two years, and one wonders what would have happened by now to the fertile land of Indo-China, if they didn't. M 758 165

There was a gun in the corner – a muzzle-loader of the kind it takes a Meo two years to make. They are copied from the guns first supplied by the Jesuits to the Chinese, but are turned out by an endlessly laborious process involving boring out a solid bar by twirling a white hot iron in it. It was enormously long, like an old-fashioned Arab stove-pipe gun, and when Dupont took notice of it the Meo offered to show it to him in use. We went outside and he loaded it with powder and shot he made himself. This process took about five minutes. Before pressing the trigger he warned us to stand well away because of the muzzle blast. The target was a small banana-leaf, skewered against a bank at twenty paces. There was a tremendous bang when he fired, but the leaf remained intact. He blamed this on the maize-spirit which we had just drunk, and was quite delighted when Dupont, giving a demonstration with his American light carbine, also missed. M 411 177

There were no dogs at all at this village. They were all down at the poppy fields with their owners, the Meo said. 000

Luang Prabang lies at the end of a long, curling descent from the mountains and through smoking bamboo groves, on the banks of the Mékong. It is built into a tongue of land formed by the con- L 361

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little
[184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature,
142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the
[147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well
[163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate
[165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare
[143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every oppor-
273 tunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts
[164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he
147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have
24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not
36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage-
157 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

163 Moreover, the birthrate among the Meo is one of the highest
165 of the high region and it is not rare to see six or seven children about each of their little houses. On the other hand, very high infant mortality operates to slow down the population's rate of increase. It is owing to the winter cold against which the Meo do not protect themselves by closing up their houses better and covering themselves more warmly. Be that as it may, we can foresee that in a more or less distant future, their tribes, no longer able to find nourishment in the mountains where they are settled, and driven along by new immigrations, will gradually come to overflow into the high valleys at less elevated altitudes, and will take the place of the Thai whose birthrate is very much lower.

Section 3

Dwellings

131 Sometimes Meo dwellings are found at the bottom of a cirque
342 situated on an elevated plateau, as at Dongvan, which is at a thousand
132 meters of altitude, but this is rather exceptional. In fact the Meo prefers to build his cabin on slopes with difficult approaches and near the summit of the mountains. The house usually is built on a small natural spur or platform cut into the side of the mountain, not far from a small ravine which provides him with water with the aid of a bamboo conduit. The roof is of straw or planks laid like tiles, the walls of pise or planks roughly joined, or yet of round logs placed one on the other, the doors wooden and fashioned with an axe. They almost never have windows. For light and air they rely on the interstices between the /133/planks or logs and on one of the gables whose upper triangle is open to every wind. In constucting his dwelling the Meo, who is still so industrious and thoughtful in his other tasks, shows himself to be most shortsighted. By building it with a little more care, and especially by stopping up both of its gables, he would keep away from his little family much of the bronchitis which comes each winter to threaten the lives of his loved ones. We have seen at 2,000 meters altitude and in zero temperature /centigrade/, little youngsters hugging the fire in a miserable wooden cabin with no other clothing than short cloth jackets. They stretched out their bare body and little hands to the flames, while shivering and coughing in a pitiful fashion, and the parents, accustomed to this spectacle, had no

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 [364] Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very unsatisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is [296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by [312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects 364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good 164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. [165] Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the [356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see [514] the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces [231] of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau [361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/230 cont./

A 515 Conditions among the Akha are somewhat more favorable, but likewise leave much to be desired. The personal cleanliness of the Akha, however, is unconditionally greater than that of the Meau. The people wash themselves regularly as soon as they A [356] are grown up; children are washed daily. The houses are always [296] swept clean, and the Akha seem to wash their clothing /231/ [364] more often than the Meau do. Otherwise what was found among the Meau applies. To be sure, hygienic conditions are somewhat 165 better, but they are still so deficient that a high mortality among [163] the children as a result of epidemics and sicknesses is unavoidable. Among the Akha, too, however, this mortality rate is offset by great fertility, so that the Akha, too, will certainly not be subject to a population decline.

A M 164 Prophylactic measures against illness are completely unknown to both the Meau and Akha, as is the nature of infectious diseases. 165 Although I did not succeed in determining precisely the losses [751] caused by epidemics, the consequences of such pestilences were [753] easily ascertained. Merely the presence of sibless Meau, who had placed themselves as unfree under the protection of powerful large /extended/ families, showed this, as did the many widows, widowers, childless parents, and orphans. Whenever I inquired M about the causes of death, it was said: "Died because of the 761 vengeance of evil spirits." It often turned out, however, that 164 these evil spirits had killed dozens of people at the same time. 731 I learned that once the Meau built a village in a country at an altitude lower than is customary and infested with malaria. When subsequently a malaria epidemic broke out they believed that they had chosen as a dwelling site a place haunted by evil spirits and they moved their village.

A I could not find any moving of a village because of the 164 outbreak of an epidemic among the Akha. Southwest of the 731 Doy Tung there was an Akha village whose inhabitants had almost all fallen victim to an epidemic; from the description it was probably cholera. The survivors, however, had not moved the village.

/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools.
[278] It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60
[285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the
[857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At
[165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to
[136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets,
[227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

/438 cont./

A 462 [342] [313] [252] The division of men's and women's work is quite similar among the Akha, who are not inferior to the Meau in industriousness. Among them, however, housebuilding is exclusively a task for the men, whereas the preparation of firewood, for which large trunks must often be chopped up, is one of the tasks reserved for the women. Cooking and the hulling of rice in the mortar are, to be sure, tasks of the Akha women, but the men very commonly help them.

A 461 857 No differently than among the Meau, there are scarcely any tasks for the Akha children that are to be performed exclusively by them; the situation in this respect is the same as among the Meau.

/439/

Chapter 27

Anthropology

M ● 165 When one considers the poor hygienic conditions in association with the hardest physical labor (see the chapter, "Medicine"), it is truly astonishing that one comes across relatively many old people among the Meau. Also, I cannot agree with Marabail (1) who in his work advocates the view that the

M 145 [114]

1. Page 463.

Meau grow old prematurely. On the contrary, I often marveled that the women, in spite of their work load, which was too hard for them physically, and even though no notice was taken with regard to the menstruation periods, actually do not lose their bloom any earlier than among our own people and in any case much less rapidly than among the southern Europeans.

M [841]

A M 141 The Akha as well as the Meau are definitely small in stature. From the 20 women and men measured, the average heights amounted to:

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/458 cont./

A M 161 Thus, in recapitulation, it can be said that the number of the Akha and Meau living today, as well as the actual demographic movement, lie completely in obscurity. The Akha, too, may represent a considerable contingent of population, but it can hardly be assumed that it is a matter of anywhere near as mighty a bulk of population as the Meau. From my own observations I can say that in the case of both tribes it is a matter of thoroughly healthy people. As a consequence A M [163] [165] of the average number of children, from eight to twelve among the Akha and seven among the Meau, a strong increase of the population is to be presumed, in spite of high infant mortality, wherever there are no limiting factors, such as sickness (see the chapter, "Medicine"), crop failure, warlike events, or special laws of the political rulers of the country, which, of course, decisively influence the natural increase. /Ills. 86-91 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/459/ Chapter 31

Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners

M 181 461 The Meau are a typical mountain people. They are by nature healthy, honest, sincere, not at all treacherous, and, a above all, industrious. This is necessary in order to master the hard daily work that is to be done year in and year out. One seldom sees adults sit around idly. Among the Meau, when- M [124] ever I summoned my informants for linguistic studies, they provided themselves beforehand with the necessary material for at least making string or rope during our conversations. They then worked mechanically while I conversed with them. These M 181 157 conversations and my observations of their daily life gave me a good opportunity to discover that the burden of everyday life had not made them morose. On the contrary, they are cheerful, merry, and, at the same time, very conscientious.

/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
[221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243] "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this
[166] kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/9 cont'd/

131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
●166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

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Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
● 166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas
245 may be seen occasionally.

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[p. 40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 162 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, principally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered-head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 114 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

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as the name of the gentry or clan of a state. Thus, Cheng Yung wrote: "The Miao-min are the princes of the Chiu-li. These princes were corrupted by Shao Hao and abandoned virtuous ways. Like Ch'ih Yu, they were punished heavily." Ling asserted that the Ch'ing Dynasty scholar Wang Ming-sheng was among those misinterpreting the connection between the modern Miao and the ancient Miao. Wang wrote: "The San-Miao are the descendants of the Chiu-li. The Li and the Miao were both names for the Nan-Man (Southern Man), and are similar to those of today." Japanese historians, in Ling's opinion, also have added to the misinterpretation, so that many present-day Chinese and western scholars have accepted it without question.[39] 174 114

Ling, however, argued that not only is there no connection between the San-Miao of ancient times and the Miao of modern times, but that there is a distinction between the early San-Miao princes or San-Miao State and the subjects of the San-Miao. He presented evidence to show that the subjects of the San-Miao of the north Hu-nan area were the Chiu-li. As to the princes of San-Miao, the Shih Chi says that Chin Yun's clan had the surname Chiang and that they were the progeny of Emperor Yen (B.C. 2737-2697). Evidently, according to this line of argument, the San-Miao princes perhaps with or without a portion of their Chiu-li subjects were banished to San-wei in Kan-su for refractory behavior. The rest of their subject Chiu-li tribesmen were left behind in the Hu-nan area.

On the basis of the banishment of the San-Miao to the Tun-huang area of Kan-su, the T'ang Dynasty writer Tu Yu appears to have drawn the conclusion that the Chiu-li were the forefathers of the Hsi-ch'iang or Western Ch'iang. This runs up against an obstacle in modern ethnography, since the Western Ch'iang are found to be the forefathers of the modern Lolo, whereas the Chiu-li are supposed to be directly related to the Chuang or T'ai group of Li tribes, who are entirely different culturally.[41] A logical hypothetical solution would solve the dilemma if the San-Miao princes were of a culturally different group from their Chiu-li subjects, but this would have to be proved

According to the ancient Chinese records, prior to the Chou Dynasty, the distribution of the peoples in South China were as follows: South of the Yang-tzu, the Chiu-li were the most powerful group, occupying the area between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. West of this area were the Man (presumably in the west Hu-nan and Hu-pei area). 166 174

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166 West of the Man were the Mao people. From the Spring
174 and Autumn period, the Man came into ascendancy, and gradually they began to migrate southeastward, invading the area of the Chiu-li. The Chiu-li then are supposed to have retreated gradually southward across the Wu Ling into Ling-nan. The Mao, on the other hand, advanced from Hu-pei into Ssu-ch'uan and then into Kuei-chou. The various historical works since the Han refer to the Li people as living throughout Ling-nan and Hai-nan Island, as well as Tongking. These Li were of the same group of people as the Chiu-li of former times. Thus, the Li appear to have once occupied the Central Yang-tzu Plain area and then retreated southward under the pressure of the Man and Mao. They represent the early T'ai of Ch'u Kingdom. The Mao and Man, on the other hand, appear to represent the later dominant tribes of Ch'u, and were related to the Miao of today.[42]

The evidence presented by Ling indicates that the original situation of the Mao during the later part of the Chou period (Spring and Autumn period) was within the borders of P'ing-lu Hsien in Shan-hsi. After this period, because of the calamities and precarious livelihood of the Warring States Period and the struggle between the Han and the Ch'u states, the Mao gradually migrated from the territories of the states of Chin and Hsiang to Pa and Shu in present-day Ssu-ch'uan. From Pa and Shu they drifted to Yueh-sui (now the Hsi-ch'ang area of eastern Hsi-k'ang). The Book of Poetry has the line: "Like Mao, like Man," because at this time the territory of the Mao was adjacent to the territory of the Man. The Mao were west of the Man, and for this reason Cheng Ch'ien calls them the Hsi-Yi or Western Yi. The Mao were close kin to the Man, according to Chang P'ing-lin, and Ling Shun-sheng went along with this conclusion. During the earliest historical times in China the Man inhabited the southwest part of Ho-nan around the present city of Nan-yang. By the time of the Chou Dynasty, the Man were occupying the drainage area of the Han and Yang-tzu and were called the Ching-Man from the name of the political division including the Hupei-Hunan territories. The Man tribes grew in power and prosperity from the Chou to the T'ang period, and the term Man gradually changed to take in all the tribes of the south. Since the Man (Miao) were slope farmers and mountain dwellers, their growth in strength here may be explained by the lack of competition for their pre-

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ferred habitat, because the T'ai were valley bottom inhabitants and land-users. The term Mao probably became hidden under the general term Man, especially since they were similar peoples. For this reason the term Mao disappeared from historical records for a thousand years. Or perhaps the Mao had migrated from Yueh-sui eastward and entered Kuei-chou where they became lost to Chinese contact. During the long intervening period, according to Ling, phonetical changes occurred in the language, and Mao thus emerged into more recent historical times as Miao. The migration of this group of Miao people, the "Mao", therefore, was one that led southward from Shan-hsi through Hu-pei, and Ssu-ch'uan to Kuei-chou through the course of over three thousand years.[43]

The sum of the foregoing arguments leads the present writer to the following conclusions: Definite proof has not been adduced to show whether the Hu-nan San-Miao are or are not related to the Kan-su San-Miao. The likelihood that they belong to the same ethnic group is strong, however, and this common ethnic group is that of the "Man". The term "Man", although used during certain periods of history as a general term for all the southern non-Han tribes peoples, is used to denote the Miao ethnic group specifically during other long periods, but is not used as a specific term for the T'ai ethnic group. The term "Man" appears to be a phonetic rendition of the term "Mon" as used in Mon Khmer to which ethnic classification the Miao belong. The San-Miao of Hu-nan were cultural predecessors of the modern Miao and constituted an alien ruling group over the Chiu-li (Nine Li) tribes of the T'ai ethnic group. These San-Miao (Miao or Man) in the Hu-nan area were late-comers compared to the Chiu-li who were earlier inhabitants: i.e., the T'ai groups of the Yang-tzu and South China area preceded the Miao in the occupance sequence. The Miao came as an alien invader into the land occupied predominantly by aboriginal T'ai and were successful at times in subjugating some of the T'ai tribes.

At this point the discussion in the preceding section 6 may be followed up: that is, the relation of the Miao to the Ch'u Kingdom. The Ch'u gentry claimed the quasi-mythical Han-Chinese Emperor Chuan Hsu as their ancestor. Chuan Hsu was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor. A branch of Chuan Hsu's line remained in Ssu-ch'uan and reportedly became the Ch'u Clan. Whether this story is so, or whether it was invented by the later Ch'u rulers

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to avoid being looked at askance by the Han-Chinese states of the north, the forefathers of the Ch'u derived from the upper reaches of the Yang-tzu tributaries and migrated eastward to Hu-pei and Hu-nan, according to Chiang Ying-liang.[44] The Ch'u were just one branch of the Miao cultural group, he claimed. The Later Han History tells of the Pan-shun Man tribes who lived on both banks of the middle reaches of the Chia-ling Chiang near Lan-chung in Ssu-ch'uan at the time of the Ch'in Empire. A branch of the tribe moved northward to occupy the Han-chung area of southern Shen-hsi. Another branch moved down the Yang-tzu eastward to occupy the lands of Hu-pei and Hu-nan to live with the various tribes that had already moved into the area. These Pan-shun Man also have the P'an-hu myth and presumably were of the same group as the Ch'u, both being related to the present-day Miao, said Chiang. During the Period of Division between North and South (5th and 6th Centuries), they were called the Ching-yang Man in the south and the Man-Liao in the north. The Liao were another branch of the Miao ethnic group, according to Chiang. Lao and Liao appear to be two pronunciations for the same name. Cochrane followed Lacouperie in calling them Shan or T'ai people.[45] Moreover, Eberhard advanced the view that the Miao originally were Yao strongly mixed with T'ai,[47] while Ling Shun-sheng claimed that the name Yao became attached to the Miao after they entered Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi.[48] Ling has not furnished adequate proof for this, however.

The T'ung-k'ao-ssu-yi says that the Liao were first seen in the northwest part of Ssu-ch'uan and later migrated southeastward to the Min Chiang, Pa Chiang and Chia-ling Chiang areas. From there they migrated during Sui and T'ang times (6th to 10th Centuries A.D.) down the Yang-tzu to Hu-pei and Hu-nan, some directing themselves northeastward into China Proper, while others drifted southward into Kuei-chou and Ling-nan. Subsequent to the T'ang, the name Liao became merged with Man to become Liao-Man (this again indicates their close relationship to each other). It also is possible to interpret Liao-Man as Liao and Man, indicating two separate groups. From this account, Chiang grouped as members of the Miao "race" the Ch'u, Pa, Pan-shun Man and Liao, all of whom migrated by the same general routes to the T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes region, where the Wu Ling Man had long since established themselves when the

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Han-Chinese first contacted the Southern Man tribes.[49] 174

It is clear from this grouping that Chiang did not distinguish the people generally considered by Western scholars to belong to the T'ai group such as the Pa, the Liao (Lao), and Ch'u, from the Man or the Miao. Hsu Sung-shih appeared to suffer from a similar tendency to overlook ethnological and cultural differences in arguing certain theories, while emphasizing them in arguing other theories. By a complicated philological juggling, for instance he tried to demonstrate that the Miao, Yao and Chuang or T'ai merely form three sub-groups of the southern branch of the same Chinese people as those of the Han group. While the northern Han-Chinese are descendants of the Yellow Emperor, he said, these southern tribes are descendants of Emperor Yen or Shen-nung, and both are equally Chinese.[50] 166

A largely pastoral people originally, the Miao migrated from western Ssu-ch'uan for two reasons, according to Chiang: (1) to seek new pastures (2) to escape the pressure of other peoples. In accordance with the first reason, they migrated toward the plains, looked for well-watered grasslands, sought warmer regions, (this does not accord with Miao preference for the cool high mountain slopes) and they followed the rivers.

It was the pressure of the south-moving Tibetan Ch'iang people that forced the migration of the Miao whose old homeland was in eastern Hsi-k'ang and northeast of Ch'eng-tu in the Tzu-t'ung region. The Western Ch'iang who moved into this area became the later Lolo people, according to Chiang. Their southward movement forced the Miao to migrate downstream. This Ch'iang pressure can be seen from some historical incidents. In the Records of the southern Man of the Later Han History, the account reads that: in the 3rd year of Kuang-ho (A.D. 180), the Emperor wished to raise a great army. He asked the Census Commissioner of Yi-chou to investigate the strategy for pacification. The Han-ching registrar reported as follows: The Pan-shun Man have seven clans. Their forefathers shot the White Tiger and gained merit in earlier times (during the Ch'in Dynasty). They have become Sinicized and their people are valiant and brave warriors. When the Ch'iang invaded Han-ch'uan (Han-chung Department) and disrupted administration at the beginning of the reign of An-ti (A.D. 107), the Pan-shun came to the rescue and routed the Ch'iang with a great slaughter. Hence they have been called the

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Supernatural Warriors. In the second year of the reign of Huan-ti (A.D. 148) there occurred another great Ch'iang invasion. It truly again depended upon the Pan-shun reinforcements to break the invadors.

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The above account, said Chiang, shows that the Miao peoples in the west had borne the brunt of Ch'iang attacks. In the course of time, the frequency of Ch'iang outbreaks finally forced the Miao to reassess their situation and to decide upon moving away from the constant Ch'iang pressure.[51]

From Chou and pre-Chou times down to the end of the Han in the 3rd Century A.D., therefore, the Miao peoples were migrating eastward down the Yang-tzu drainage from Ssu-ch'uan. This was a steady drift and not a single mass movement. However, two major epochs in this process are evident. The first one involved the settling of the Wu Ling and the Ch'ang-sha Man in the upper Hu-nan area. The second major movement followed the north bank of the Yang-tzu, emerged from the Yang-tzu Gorge Mountains in the vicinity of present-day Tzu-kuei District upriver from Yi-ch'ang. Here these Miao settled for a period. Then they moved farther down river and spread out to occupy the whole Central Yang-tzu Basin, according to Chiang. These were the Ch'u people who formed the Ch'u State. It was the steadily increasing Miao settlers from Ssu-ch'uan that led to the emergence of the powerful Ch'u State, said Chiang.[52] There is some support for this contention that the Ch'u chieftains were of the Miao group, if it be conceded that the Man of the Chou period were in fact Miao. For we have from the mouth of the Ch'u king himself that: "We are Man barbarians and have nothing to do with Chinese titles." (On the other hand, Hsu claimed that the Ching-Man were only the early names of T'ai peoples in the T'ung-t'ing Lake area, although he failed to provide convincing proof of this.)[53] Moreover, Eickstedt has pointed out that Erkes in a study of ancient Ch'u vocabulary seemed to find some connection with the Miao language, although Eickstedt did not agree with his conclusions. The language at least was demonstrated to be different from that of Han-Chinese. Nevertheless, Ch'u is constantly linked in historical sources with Yueh and at the same time even more sources link Ch'u with the Pa people and Shu all of whom appear to have been T'ai. Ch'u, said Eberhard, appears to have had a sub-stratum of Yao that, intermixed gradually with the Yueh, evolved

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from T'ai. It then had a thin super-stratum of Pa people. With its Pa culture strongly influenced by Tibetan (Miao?) culture, imposed upon it. Thus, it is obviously at least controversial whether the Ch'u were of T'ai or of Miao stock. This problem would be easier to solve could we accept Lacouperie's adjective "Mon-Taic" for a common stock from which both Miao (mon) and T'ai derived. But, as Cochrane has pointed out,[54] considerable doubt is thrown on this theory by the fact that they originally used quite different sets of words in their language. Seidenfaden characterizes Lacouperie's "Mon-taic" theory "fantastic".[55]

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In the view of the present writer, the explanation of the contradictions and perplexities lies in the multi-ethnic structure of the Ch'u state. The Ch'u rulers may very well have been Sinicized "Man" of the Miao ethnic group, but their subjects most probably included both Miao and T'ai ethnic groups and undoubtedly Yao and other groups as well. The valley-dwelling, rice-cultivating T'ai probably formed the bulk of the population, and it is likely enough that a T'ai variety of speech was the most widely spoken tongue in the Ch'u domain. When we consider the examples of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties in China, we see an alien ethnic ruling group gradually adopting the language and culture of its predominant Chinese subjects. The same type of process may well have occurred with an alien Miao (Man) ruling stratum over a T'ai sub-stratum in which T'ai vocabulary either crept into the language of the ruling stratum or in which the Miao rulers adopted Sino-T'ai speech. This would explain why the few words that have come down from the Ch'u speech appear to be T'ai and why Erkes found evidences connecting the Ch'u speech with Miao speech. It seems to this writer to be a mistake to regard Ch'u as a single ethnic entity. Ch'u should be regarded as a political entity under Man (Miao) rulers who had become highly Sinicized by the last half of the Chou Dynasty.

Originally, the Ch'u derived from western Ssu-ch'uan. As the Ch'u tribe moved eastward, it assumed the leadership of the earlier Miao tribes that had preceded the Ch'u in the migration. Gathering strength, the kingdom incorporated many smaller non-Miao states and tribes, as described in the Ch'u genealogy. During the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, the Ch'u absorbed 49 states, large and small, including parts of Ho-nan, Shan-tung, An-hui, Hu-pei, Hu-nan, and Shen-hsi. Certainly, in language groups

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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Miao AE5

Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

A M [241] [262] A M [648]

M 166 361 The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

[731] [756] [623] [622]

/259 cont./

•166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. -- The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can [492] carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, [731] a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest [312] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game, for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
[824] ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/ without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude, and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface, a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
[417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hundred meters long."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/262 cont./

M 166 484

Concerning the migrations of the Meau in Indochina, Savina (3) reports: "When the Meau move, they burn their

3. II, p. 183.

M [482]

houses; others let them fall into ruins. The small children are put into carrying baskets with the chickens and suckling pigs. When everything is ready, the signal for the departure is given, and everybody begins to move without the slightest sign of sentiment or excitement. Nobody turns around in order to cast a last glance at the village. The Meau say: Our home is where the maize grows thickly."

M 361 [171] A [361]

The villages of the Meau in Thailand have a very small number of houses. These are hamlets which consist of three to ten houses. This is also the size of the villages of the Yau /Yao/. The villages of the Lisu come next with four to twenty houses; the village settlements of the Akha have by far the greatest number of houses -- several hundred.

In the literature (4) there are accounts of Meau villages

4. Savina, II, p. 182.

which are said to contain from 20 to 30 houses. In Thailand I could not find any settlements that large, and Dhuraratsadorn (5),

5. Page 153.

too, who /263/ answered a questionnaire on the Meau prepared by the Siam Society, says nothing about such large Meau villages. His observations and my own correspond to Lajonquière"s (1)

1. II, p. 304.

statement: "With their attitude of independence, the Meau prefer not to have their dwellings crowded together... There are only groupings of six, seven, or eight houses around the dwelling of

/395 cont./

726 most suitable in the difficult forested mountainous terrain inhabited by the Meau. In addition, an attempt is made to reach and occupy all the passes ahead of the opponent.

The war tactics of the Meau consist of surprise attacks from ambush, preferably during the night. At first only small sections of troops are sent out, while the numerically stronger reserves are held back. Single combats are unknown. If the
727 Meau are victorious, they chop off the head of every slain or
[634] captured opponent and send these trophies to their tšǔń kŏǎń, the great chief, who pays money for them. Thus, there are no war trophies in the true sense. No harm is done to the women and children of the enemies; they are respectively married or adopted by the warriors. Enemy property, too, is not
[643] destroyed as a rule. The war booty is brought to the king, or
[634] lacking such a one, to the great chief for distribution among the warriors of his district.

726 Usually the battles are not as bloody as one might assume from the description. The fleeing enemy can soon escape his pursuers in the primeval forest, and the women and children immediately left their villages with /396/ all their movable property as soon as the spies reported the approach of enemy troops.

721 The purpose of war today among the Meau is exclusively to protect their own living space. Since as far back as the memory of man they have been in a defensive position in relation to their
[166] powerful neighbors, and since their constant migration southward is closely related to their search for such a safe living space, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether before that time other grounds for war were decisive. In any case the principle of only fighting tribal enemies prevails, whereas nothing is reported about wars between Meau tribes.

728 In the same way that an official declaration of war precedes the battles, war is also ended only by an appropriate ceremony. The opponents meet without weapons, eat a meal together, and declare that they want to be friends from now on. The Meau are also familiar with the truce, however, which

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577 aforementioned honesty which condemns lying to such an extent that it is not resorted to even if, in giving testimony, a father could thereby save his son, as I have already discussed in detail in the chapter, "Law and /462/ the Administration of Justice."

181 153 Considering their urge for freedom, the Meau can otherwise be designated as thoroughly disciplined.

648 Moreover, they have both presence of mind and the ability to make decisions, and are also very enterprising. While I was staying in northern Thailand in 1937, a group of about 100 Meau including men, women, and children quite unexpectedly [166] appeared in the Thailand city of Lampang. They indicated that they wanted to seek out new residence sites farther to the south. They were allowed to camp at the railway station, and after a week railway coaches were put at their disposal, and they were actually transported to the southwest where they were allotted new dwelling space in the mountains there. If one considers what it means for the Meau to descend into the hated valleys and, in addition, to venture into the city of a Thai people, one will be convinced that such enterprise and determination are not readily found among any of the other mountain peoples of Farther India.

181 153 The Meau face the tasks of life quite methodically, and accordingly Savina (1) characterizes them: "Accustomed to

1. II, p. 185.

disentangling everything alone, a Meau never falls into difficulties." Marabail (2) comes to the following conclusion: "Whereas

2. Page 463.

the Man (Yau) is full of imagination and religion, the Meau is a materialist..."

T /501 cont./
147 the humid tropics and in which thousands of Whites had settled.
563 The bearers of such European names, however, are today no longer distinguishable in any way from their black neighbors.

Even today, the mountain peoples of Farther India in Thailand live exclusively at altitudes between 1,000 and 2,000 meters, where the climate is essentially different from that in
T the tropical valleys. Just as in the case of the Whites who were
147 still unfamiliar with controlling tropical diseases, the tropics
166 are the ruin of the mountain peoples when they try to settle
563 in the valleys. I myself was able to confirm this repeatedly. For example, the Lahu allowed themselves /502/ to be pushed into lower regions in places in northwest Thailand and in a period of a few years suffered crushing losses from tropical epidemics. Again, among the Meau, I observed that even a temporary sojourn in the valley lowlands of the Lao produced severe malaria epidemics among them. In Kengtung, where the mountain peoples, especially the Akha and Lisu, who visit the markets of the Schan /Shan/ need only a stay of one single night in the region of the market to be infected.

This inability of the mountain tribes to become acclimated has also drawn the attention of other authors. In the literature there are noteworthy comments on this subject, which stand in marked contrast to the opinion of Heine-Geldern (1),

1. II, Vol. II, p. 746.

who, to be sure, did not have the opportunity to study conditions on the spot. He writes: "However much individual tribes cling to the mountains, the important step down into the plains is taken at a favorable opportunity." Now as far as the Meau
M and Lahu are concerned, there can be no doubt that this step
[147] was repeatedly attempted, but it is likewise certain that it was
[166] always unsuccessful and the mountain people each time had to
[648] pay for the attempt with heavy biological losses. Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 311.

/502 cont./

T 147 166 563 M 147 166 648

gives a typical example in describing the struggles of the Meau with a Thai people, the Tho, who had been defeated by the Meau: "Be that as it may, the surviving 'Tho' would have had to emigrate if the Meau had been able to become acclimatized in the low-lying valleys where the greatest number of wet-rice fields are. Happily for the Tho, the conquerors were unable to hold out in the heavy and humid atmosphere of the lowlands and had to return as quickly as possible to higher altitudes, leaving behind for the former owners all the rice fields lying below an altitude of 800 meters."

Maspero, too, made interesting observations. He speaks of the dispersed Meau groups in Tonkin who live as enclaves between foreign peoples and are completely separated from the main tribe. He proceeds literally: "They would have completely lost their individuality if they had not been incapable of acclimatizing themselves below an altitude of 800 to 1,000 meters; that has saved them."

It is interesting that Von Eickstedt (3) touches upon the same

3. III, p. 5.

subject, but from the /503/ economic aspect. He writes, for instance: "Miao in the plains are actually no longer Miao; it simply cannot be -- they would then have to become Chinese or Thai if only for economic reasons."

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How strongly the manner of settlement of the mountain peoples is tied to climatic prerequisites is also shown by the fact that while among the tribes settled in southwest China plow-cultivation and livestock-raising form the economic bases, in Thailand only hoe-cultivation is practiced. The breeding of cattle and horses was likewise abandoned in places in Thailand if the new living area demanded it. Here we clearly see that the cultural change, in these cases an impoverishment, is conditioned by the racially determined inability of the peoples in question to adapt to the tropics, in other words, by their genetic make-up.

/1/

Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 101 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from outside areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

"There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or 101 more families living in ten villages; including men and women they [161] number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104] /* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 101 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period 175 /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[181] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

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*175 no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in
776 Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the
[346] Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in
/14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without basis.

*101 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and
*175 meaning of [ko˥ ɕioŋ˩˧], a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/ CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

131 Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density
[161] of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the
173 center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas
●167 all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the
*[101] Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

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1. Ting, Wen-chiang: "Man Yu San Chi" /Miscellaneous Notes on a Rambling Trip/," Tu Li P'ing Lun /Independent Review/, No. 8.

*[101] according to the Englishman, S.R. Clarke, who came to the conclusion after 20 years of investigation in Kweichow, the indigenous peoples of Kweichow are the Ch'i Lao not the Miao, the latter having immigrated from elsewhere. (2) As a result

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2. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, p. 13.

of his study of Miao migration legends, the Frenchman, F.M. Savina, concluded that when the Miao first arrived in China they lived in Honan, whence they emigrated to Kweichow, next to Szechwan, Yunnan, Tonkin, and to Laos. (3) This

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3. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao /Miao Stories/, p. 247.

corresponds roughly to the above-mentioned theory that the Mao tribe emigrated from Shansi to Honan, then to Szechwan, to Yüeh-hsi, and to Kweichow, except that Mr. Savina has the order of Szechwan and Kweichow reversed. This is more *[101] evidence that the present-day Miao are not the ancient San Miao, as the location of the ancient San Miao was between Tung-t'ing and Peng-li lakes, which are not mentioned in the Miao legends.

The trend of Miao migration since the time of recorded history has been as stated above. As to their moves in the

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173 prehistoric period, F.M. Savina states in his Histoires des Miao
167 that the Miao must have been in the Arctic region on the basis of legends still prevalent among the Miao today. According to the legends, the Miao forefathers had lived in the opposite region of the earth, where the winter was very long and in a year there were six months of daylight and another six months of darkness, where the water was always frozen and the earth was covered with snow, where vegetation was small and sparse and human beings were short and small and wore skin and fur clothes. (4) Savina moreover advanced the hypothesis that the

4. Same as above, pp. 115-19.

Miao's place of origin was the area between the Pamir highland and the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. (5) Based upon the

5. Same as above.

above-stated references to Honan, the Artic, and the Iranian Plateau, /16/ Savina concluded that the Miao came from Mesopotamia, moved eastward until stopped by the Pamir highlands, and were diverted therefrom northeastward through Turkestan and along the western ranges of the Ural Mountains to the Polar region above 60 degrees north latitude, and then veered southeastward through Siberia, Mongolia, and Shensi, reaching Honan at last. (1) This theory, being based purely

1. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao, pp. 115-19.

upon oral legends of the Miao, is not based on sufficient evidence. If these legends came in from another tribe, then this theory is completely invalidated. At most we can only consider it a hypothesis.

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However, using language as a basis, Lowis maintains that the Karen are the predecessors of the Shan tribe (Pre-Shan). (3)

3. C.C. Lowis, The Tribes of Burma, p. 16.

The writers have used the 76 words of the Ch'i Lao language as recorded by S.R. Clarke to make a comparison with the languages of the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia, and have found a 40 per cent similarity between the Ch'i Lao and the Chung Chia languages.. However, the two tribes have lived together for a long time, mutually assimilating each other, so that we cannot assume on the basis of the partial similarity in languages that they are of the same origin. We know that although the list of names of the peoples of southwest China is long, they may be divided into four groups: the Miao-Yao, the Tibeto-Burman, the Thai-Shan, and the Mon-Khmer. The tribes in Kweichow cannot fall outside these four groups. The Miao belong to the Miao-Yao group, the Chung Chia to the Thai-Shan group, the Lolo to the Tibeto-Burman group. Whether the Ch'i Lao belong to the Miao-Yao or to the Thai-Shan group remains an unsettled question for lack of sufficient data. The Ch'i Lao were the earliest tribe to reside in Kweichow and might be called the natives. They covered a rather extensive area. The Kweichow T'ung Chih says: "There are many kinds of Ch'i Lao, found everywhere." But they have repeatedly been assimilated by other tribes in later times, and their population now is very small. The migration of the Miao tribes into Kweichow probably began before the Ch'in and Han periods. They came out of Szechwan and first arrived in the northeast of Kweichow, gradually moving southeastward. The Miao in Kweichow sometimes also call themselves the aborigines, but when the Ch'i Lao and the Miao are found together in the same locality, the latter are considered to be "guests" and the former the "hosts." The Lolo migrated to northwestern Kweichow

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M *101 C 563 from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution M *101 131 C 563 of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M ● 167 648 C 563 167 Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

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directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao,

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but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

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Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao,

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having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

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M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
M 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
[556] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[527] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

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*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
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M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[648] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chic Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

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*101 /20 cont./
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563 in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
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[167 the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
462 said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
517 who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
533 called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miáo. — Formerly most of these lived in
167 Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
291 and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
583 women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
517 a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
584 family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
167 ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
782 ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
574 found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
291 to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
302 and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
167 into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
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291 numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
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527 women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
782 tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
769 to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
776 to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
531 are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
386 with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

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M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. They then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563
(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

Central China AF14

M 782 CC 563 M [167] * [101]

/21 cont./

(20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him. They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox, the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns, and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off the four legs of the ox and carry them home. The rest of the guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

M [292]

M [574]

Central China AF14

M *101 CC 563 M [782] [769]

/22 cont./

(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

M [782] [769] [574] [248] [262] [175]

(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

M [167]

From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

2:Ling & Ruey--42 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14
South China AF17
SW China AF16

/22 cont./

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In western Hunan, besides the Miao of the three sub-prefectures there are Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning, and Ch'eng-pu hsiens. There are Yao in Hsü-p'u, Ch'ien-yang, Wu-kang, Tao-hsien, and Yung-ming hsiens. There are T'u Jen in Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Ku-chang, and Lung-shan hsiens, /23/ and Ch'i Lao in Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng hsiens. In recent times the non-Chinese people in west Hunan have been regarded as Miao, but actually only the Hung Miao in the three sub-prefecture and the Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien and T'ung-tao hsiens are pure Miao. Others like the Yao in such hsiens as Hsü-p'u and Ch'ien-yang are different from the Miao; the Ch'i Lao at Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng are the same people as the Ch'i Lao of Kweichow. The language of the Tu Jen of such hsiens as Yung-shun and Pao-ching belongs to the Thai-Shan language group with Tibeto-Burman influence. They may be remnants of the Liao people of ancient times. (1) All of them are not Miao.

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1. Terrien de Lacouperie:
The Languages of China
before the Chinese, p. 149.

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Kwangsi. — The Miao in Kwangsi are generally distributed over the areas bordering Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces, in the following 16 hsiens: Ling-yün, Pe-se, Tung-lan, Szu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Szu-en, I-pe, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lin, and Chen-pien. The Miao in Kwangsi for the most part are recent immigrants, and those on the Kwangsi and Yunnan border are still more recent. They are called by many names but broadly belong to the Pe Miao, Hua Miao, and He Miao.

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Szechwan. — The Miao are also found along the Szechwan-Kweichow border. There are many Hung Miao in the south-eastern corner of Szechwan and also in an area between Szechwan, Hunan, and Kweichow, including such hsiens as Yu-yang and

/23 cont./

M *101 SWC 563 Hsiu-shan. There are Pe Miao and Hua Miao in Kao-hsien, Kung-hsien, Hsing-wen, Ch'ang-ning, and Yün-lien in southern Szechwan. The number of Pe Miao is larger than that of the Hua Miao, and therefore this area is known as the Pe Miao area. Traces of the Miao are also found along the two banks of the Ya-lung-chiang River in the vicinity of Mien-ning-hsien.

Yunnan. — The area of distribution of the Miao in Yunnan is very extensive, because Yunnan is a larger province than Kweichow and its soil is more fertile. Although up to the present the number of Miao in Yunnan is not very large, their immigration into the province is continuing. Many Pe Miao and Hua Miao are found in northeastern Yunnan in such hsiens as Wei-hsin, Chen-yung, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Ta-kuan, I-liang, and Yung-shan. They are similar to the Miao in southern Szechwan in language and customs, although located in a different province. The Hua Miao entered Yunnan from western Kweichow, and their distribution is widespread, from Ch'ü-ching in the east through Sung-ming, Fu-min, Wu-ting, and Yen-hsing to Yang-pi, Yung-p'ing, Meng-hua, etc. hsiens; then across the Lan-tsang River from Meng-hua to Shun-ning, and westward to the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. Today, the British area of Ma-li-pa at Kuo-kan-hsien also have Miao villages. The Pe Miao and Hua Miao are scattered in such hsiens as Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Ch'iu-pe, A-mi, Hsi-ch'ou, Ma-kuan, /24/ Wen-shan, Meng-tzu, P'ing-pien, Chin-ho, etc. in the southeastern part of Yunnan.

M [167] M [167]

Indo-China. — Having migrated from Kweichow to Yunnan the Miao continued to move southward to the northern part of Tonkin, Indochina, to such regions as Kao-p'ing, Hai-chiang, and Lao-chieh in the area adjacent to Yunnan, reaching the border of T'ai-yüan province in the south, which is where they end. Further south is the plain of Tonkin, without hilly country to which to move and with a climate which does not suit the Miao people. The Miao in Tonkin are principally Pe Miao, but Ch'ing Miao and Hua Miao are also to be found.

M *101 I 563 M [167]

(1) 1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

2:Ling & Ruey--44 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Burma AP1

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1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

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Burma. — Having stopped at the Tonkin plains, the migratory trend of the Miao turned westward through Lao-chua /Laos/ (2) to such places as Meng-hsin and Ching-tung in the territory

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2. G. Ayme: Monographie du Ve Territoire Militaire /Monograph on the Ve Military Territory/, pp. 59-60.

under the Nan-shan headmen in Burma, but also stopped on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. (3) But their number is not

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3. J. Jeorge Scott: Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Part I, Vol. 1, pp. 296-299.

large, and only a few villages are inhabited largely by Pe Miao. (4)

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4. C.C. Lowis: The Tribes of Burma, p. 40.

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The foregoing is a general survey of the present geographical distribution of the Miao. It reveals two obvious characteristics: 1) the regional distribution is very widespread, and 2) the vertical distribution is very high.

Regional distribution. — What is called regional may also be called plane distribution that is to say; a people's area and directions of distribution, and an explanation of the reasons for this. (5) The present extent of Miao distribution on four

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5. Ling Shun-sheng:
Yunnan Min Tsu te Ti Li Fen Pu /The Geographical Distribution of the Peoples of Yunnan/, pp. 11-14.

sides is as follows: in the east it reaches west of Kwei-chiang River; in the west it stops on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River; in the north it ends at the north bank of the Ya-lung-chiang River at the territory under the Mu-li headman; in the south it reaches the hilly country above the confluence of the Hung-ho and Li-sien-chiang rivers. This area is the most extensive occupied by any one of the peoples of the southwest. *101 The migration of the Miao in recent times, due to the repeated disturbances in Kweichow, has reached eastward only to the 131 west of the Yüan-chiang River, and northward to the south bank ●167 of the Yangtze River. Since further on in their two directions the terrain becomes less hilly and is more densely populated, there is no land for the Miao to move into. Even if there were land available, the damp, hot climate would be unsuitable for them to live in. The spread of the Miao southeastward was along the Nan Ling mountains /25/ and stopped west of the Kwei-chiang River. Their movement westward met no obstacles because Yunnan, Tonkin, and Laos are all spacious and thinly populated, and now they have reached the east bank of the Nu-chiang. The emigration of the Miao is the latest among the movements of the peoples of the southwest. Yunnan and Indochina, although spacious and thinly populated as stated, have their arable areas in the mountains already occupied by the Lolo and other hill people. When the Miao arrived last they could not find extensive hilly country for living together as a tribe, and were forced to scatter, each to find his own way. Furthermore, being refugees from political turmoil, they lacked organization and definite destinations. In general, depending on hilly areas where they could settle down, they moved farther and farther, and thus their area became increasingly extensive.

/25 cont./

*101 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution
131 refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China,
133 for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep
167 valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various
361 directions are greatly limited by their past geographical environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, ac-
133 cording to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d, - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p48e - "]

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
148 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely with-
out reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. — Due to the lack of meteorological records the
climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
[114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not repre-
sent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-
chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparent-
ly on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals can-
not see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
161 Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. B. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[p. 66a]

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17 Miao AE5

S 175 166 563 Records lists the capitals of the Nan Man or Southern Man in the Chou period. Many of them were in the area between the lower and central Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers, and in the drainage of the Ssu and Huai.[27] After all, it was this sort of existence of the different cultural groups side by side that resulted in intermixtures of cultures and the development of different tribes as described by Eberhard.

Actually, Ling Shun-sheng would have us believe that the Man of the Miao cultural group forced out the earlier inhabitants of the area south of the Yang-tzu between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. These earlier inhabitants presumably were a T'ai related group known as the Chiu-li tribe, who up to this time had been the most powerful of the tribes south of the Yang-tzu.[28] In any case, this indicates that the Ch'u Kingdom comprised different ethnic elements. As to whether the political entity could be viewed as overwhelmingly and dominantly T'ai, as Eickstedt would have us believe,[29] is something that needs further support to be convincing unless the Yueh be equated with the T'ai. Eberhard showed the Yueh to be found in all the Lower Yang-tzu Valley region as well as in the southeast during ancient times. We shall look more closely into this question in the subsequent pages.

M 173 175 7. The History and Migrations of the Miao and their Relation to the Ch'u State

The Miao legends trace the origin of the Miao, in the interpretation of Savina,[30] from the Pamir area of Central Asia during prehistoric times. These legends state that in the early habitat of the Miao, the winters were long and the year was divided into two parts, each of six months. One was called "white or daylight landscape," the other "black night." The water often froze into ice, while snow covered the earth. Trees and shrubs were stunted and scarce. The people were of short stature and wore furs and skins for clothing. Savina believed that the Miao traveled east and northeastward from the Pamirs through Turkestan and the Tanu Ola Mountains across Siberia and then proceeded south through Mongolia and Shen-hsi to Ho-nan. From Ho-nan, according to these legends, they migrated to Kuei-chou, thence to Ssu-ch'uan, and from there to Yun-nan and Tongking-Laos. Of course, said Ling and Jui,[31] this is hypothetical deduction, and there are no substantial historical evidences available to sup-

M 167 174

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Miao AE5

port it, although, in general, this corresponds to the trend of the route of Miao migration traced by Ling and Jui. This would also refute the contention that the present Miao are descendants of the early San-Miao whose territory was in the north Hu-nan area. 167 174

We thus come up against the problem of the connection between the so-called San-Miao and the modern Miao. Some Chinese writers have contended that the Miao of today are the descendants of the ancient San-Miao, and moreover, according to Chu Hsi-tsu, "make the absurd claim that the Miao preceded the Han-Chinese in China".[32] Hirth, however, accepted the fact of the descent of the modern Miao from the San-Miao. He wrote:

> According to one of the commentaries, the Glutton, or T'au-t'ie, was identical with a personage or tribe (for it appears to be an ethnic name) called San-miau, whom the emperor banished from his dominions and who originally occupied the regions about Mt. Hong-shan and the shores of T'ung-t'ing Lake in the present Hu-nan province. From these ancient seats the emperor is said to have banished them to a place called San-wei, which Chinese commentators have identified with a locality now known as San-wei-shen in the neighborhood of Tun-huang-hien in northwestern Kan-su. The San-miau are considered the forefathers of the Tangutans, or K'iang, the southern neighbors of the Yue-chi, or Indo-Scythians, before their great migration westward in the second century B.C. and of the Miau-tzi tribes. If Klaproth's derivation, based on Chinese notices, of the origin of the Tibetan race from these K'iang tribes holds good (Cf. S. W. Bushell, The Early History of Tibet, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 439), the legend of the banishment by the Emperor Shun of the San-miau, their ancestors, may be looked upon as a symbolic allusion to the shifting of their aboriginal seats. It would appear from this tradition that Tangutans, Tibetans, and Miau-tzi originally occupied the north of Hu-nan province and were thence driven westward, owing to the rapid growth of the Chinese race. [113]

Less cautious than Hirth, Eickstedt[34] had no hesitation in saying that it is clear from the evidence that the Miao are derived from the San-Miao, who according to 174

86: Robequain--248 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE5 Mi
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Hospitable people, the Meo of Thanh Hoa have remained timid and extremely superstitious. They can neither read nor write, they stammer out the Thai language for their commercial transactions, and only their leader knows Annamese at all well. They all fled frightened into the rẫy when I wanted to photograph them before the door of their house. They used to live on the calcareous Mộc plateau which stretches out of the frontier chain of North Thanh Hoá beyond the Mai Châu gorge in the province of So'n La. Their leader told me that he was born at Chiềng Ly (?), three days' march from the market of Su Yut (2). They

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2. On the Black River.

did not enter the province all at once, but by groups between 1900 and 1905. Some of the first-comers have already emigrated southwest into Hua Phan and the mountains surrounding M. Poun, Xiềng Mène and Sam Teu, and they will all probably end up by moving in this direction. Coming down Phú Nghi through M. Pung, I encountered several abandoned Mèo houses, entanglements of bamboo now invaded by brush, where a pipe still brought in a trickle of /236/ clear water, and where the decortication mill, too heavy for a distant exodus, still lay on the ground. Neither do the Mèo hesitate to leave their ancestors' tombs on these sheer slopes, little barricaded buttes on which they have placed tiny, derisory effigies -- bottles of brandy, bamboo pails and wooden spoons. The Mèo leader, who had only been settled three years in the house where he received me, already found that his rẫy were too far off and talked of leaving soon.

Indeed, there is nothing to induce the Mèo to settle permanently in these western cantons of Thanh Hoá. Any kind of irrigated crop is impossible on the narrow hills which taper off into sheer slopes, and even the lower edges of their rẫy strike those of the Thai coming up from the valleys. No doubt they appear as implacable destroyers of the forest, but it is the only way they can live (1).

1. Moreover, they are not responsible for the vast extents of thatch grass which, striped with black at the end of the dry season by the paths of fires, cover the sides of Phú Nghi. These patches are the result of a comparatively early deforestation which the Thai themselves impute to their ancestors.

86: Robequain--249 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE5

Mi
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Furthermore, they are found at the extreme limit of their habitat, and, as rarely happens among the Mèo of Indochina, even have to locate their houses as low as 800 meters' altitude (2). Pursuing their

2. In Indochina it is rare to find Mèo settled below an altitude of 900 meters.

course and jumping from crest to crest without a care for administrative borders, they are here only birds of passage, and Phú Nghi is only a step between their more compact and solid groupings of the Mộc and of Tran Ninh. But they put the finishing touches to the physiognomy of Thanh Hoá, which is already so varied, and also bring to mind, in our province, the powerful current of human migrations which is drawing the population of Indochina southwards along the mountain tops, through the valléys and in the coastal plains (3).

3. The Mèo, coming from Yunnan and Kouang Si and still numerous in these Chinese provinces, do not seem to have entered Tonkin before the end of the 18th century. Their immigration was sometimes peaceful and sometimes violent. For their distribution in northern Tonkin and French Indochina, cf. the map by Lunet de la Jonquière and the maps already cited, p. 97, note 2. There is a most interesting book by Father Savina, (114), the greatest expert on the Mèo of Indochina, who lived among them for more than 10 years. Geographers should consult Chapter III (The Mèo at home) in particular, for it is interwoven with picturesque details and real life scenes. But why did the author, instead of retracing a fabulous exodus from icy Siberia, not seek to reconstruct a few precise itineraries of the migrations of the Mèo from the south of China down to their southernmost Indochinese habitat, migrations which are relatively recent and still alive in the memories of these mountainfolk, who are the best geographers of the Oriental peoples, as Father Savina himself says (p. 176)?

The Mèo claim that they cannot live in the hot and unhealthy valleys, the home of leeches and buffalo, where one is buried in water and opium does not grow.

86: Robequain--250 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese AM11
Miao AE5

Mi 167

A Mèo proverb says: "Fish swim in water, birds fly in the air, and the Mèo live on the mountains." But Father Savina (pp. 174-175) suggests, and quite judiciously as it seems to us, that the determining cause of their habitat, and one which they do not admit, is that all the valleys are already occupied by other ethnic groups and they often could not settle there without becoming sharecroppers and, in a sense, slaves. Whatever the case may be, in their journeys from crest to crest the Mèo have already reached the latitude of Thakhek in the province of Cammon. They cannot continue their march southwards, for beyond the Ai Lao gorge rise the Moi' plateaus, which are already occupied by comparatively dense Indonesian groupings. Settling them permanently appears to be an urgent matter. When they find it possible to establish irrigated rice fields away from other races, they lose their nomadic habits quite easily, and have already done so in Tonkin, for example, at Đồng Van, Pak Ha and Cha Pa.

Although their way of life is similar to that of the Man, the Mèo of /237/ Thanh Hoá remain much more isolated. Only rarely do the women go down towards the nearby Thai hamlets, and once or twice a year the men descend alone to the markets of Hồi Xuân, chiefly those of Cho' Bò', for trade with the Annamese and Chinese. In fact, they have very few things to ask of the outside world.

/238/ CHAPTER VII

INDUSTRY AND TRADE OF THE MOUNTAINFOLK

V 563

There is no question of a Thanh Hoá mountain dweller's "going into business." We know him well enough to understand that he has no aptitude for vast enterprises or remote speculations. He is concerned simply with living in his traditional way. The social organization results in inequality of wealth, and the wealthy man's existence is doubtless less difficult, broader and more regular than that of the poor man, but it is not fundamentally different. Even the thổ ti, when he does not grow crops himself, remains a proprietor of rice fields and buffalo. For him as for his subjects, commerce is only an intermittent

[147] [Blank page in original text.]

[148] CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

[149] CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

10 13 The name "Méo" is applied to the peoples of a very characteristic type which inhabit the highest regions of Upper Tonkin.

The Chinese call the "Meo" "Miao-tseu," while often including them in the general designation of "Man" (rude barbarians).

In their dialects the "Méo" designate themselves by the name of "Mung."

In Tonkin, the various "Méo" tribes form a total of about [161] 40,000 individuals, of whom the densest groupings are located in the regions of Dongvan, of Pakha, and of Muongkhuong where they constitute the majority of the population.

Other relatively important settlements of "Méo" are also found towards Upper Laos.

167 [175] Like the other groups previously studied, the "Méo" have their origin in the mountainous regions of the south of China, from which they have been pushed back little by little towards the south by the Chinese pressure and expansion. There still exist in Yunnan and in Kweichow very important groupings of "Méo" whose numbers it has been impossible to estimate, even approximately. These groupings appear to have conserved a certain independence in the high valleys and mountains which form their habitat but continue to undergo the migratory movement which is pushing them towards the south.

131 167 175 The groupings which have settled in Tonkin, while following the various mountainous ridges, have little by little spread themselves the length of the north and northwest frontiers as far as the great Annamite chain of mountains. This movement of [150] migration has most often taken a peaceful form, but several cases of violent invasion are reported, notably in the region of Dong-van at the beginning of the nineteenth century and towards 1860.

[150 cont.]

167 175 At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw [361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after 175 the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would 147 perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper 361 Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low alti- 175 tudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the 101 region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

158: Diguet--127 G-3 (ca. 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
430 AE6
M140 AE5

Y 773 They know the legend of the flood which they end in a special manner: "The young sister married to her brother was sterile, and a spirit gave her eight beans so that by eating one bean each year she might have eight children. Overcome with happiness, she swallowed them all at once and was soon the mother of eight twins who were the founders of the eight Pa Teng families."

000 /128/ /A photograph entitled "Meo flutist" appears here. --Translator/

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CHAPTER VII

THE MEO ETHNIC GROUP

Section 1

The Meo--Their Name--Their Origin and Immigrations. --Their Favorite Habitat

M 101 The Meo are called by the Annamese by the name Man Meo (wild cat). The first of these words is the one under which they mingle all the mountaineers, and the second is applied especially to those who dwell on the highest peaks and have the reputation of climbing like cats. It seems preferable to designate the ethnic group simply by the second word and exclude the first. It will be better to reserve the latter for the Yao in order to avoid confusion between these very different groups. The Chinese call them Miao tse and they call themselves Mong.

M 161 131 Their number may be estimated at 7 percent of the total population of the high region of Tonkin. The most important settlements where they live are located: 1) on the Chinese frontier between Dongvan and Quanba, between Pakha and Muongkhuong; 2) on the right bank of the Red River, between Nghialo, Van Bu and Tu Le; and finally, 3) on the Black River, to the north of Van Yen.

M 175 They immigrated into Tonkin relatively recently. At first they migrated in two masses which invaded the Tonkinese mountains, throwing everything into disorder during their passage, one mass at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the other about 1845, at the time of the Tai Ping rebellion. Tribes coming down towards the south, family by family, following the crests of the mountains, have

●167 131

Miao AES

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later. 175 167 131 175 609 643

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow. 131

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing. 101

/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their 000

/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.
[163]
[842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today
131 still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to
[167] Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and
[648] Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

Miao AE5

/451 cont/

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The Burma Census of 1931 (8) gives the following figures:

8. Page 200.

1931. 830 Meau; 1921. 394 Meau; 1911. 646 Meau.

/452/ We have here a typical example of an apparent population increase! Actually, it is, of course, a matter, not of biological increase, but presumably of newcomers from the northern and eastern border areas, possibly even only faulty identification, with merely more Meau being included in the last census than in the previous ones.

There is no census for the Meau settled in Thailand. Credner (1), on the basis of his tables, comes to the conclusion

1. II, p. 137.

that their number can hardly exceed one to two thousand. Now I found many villages, all of them small, to be sure, in regions which he had not visited, from which I conclude that even for his time his statements must have been far surpassed. Nevertheless it is not possible for me either to give exact figures, since in the meantime the decree concerning the mountain peoples has been issued in Thailand (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand"), which practically makes it impossible for these people to live. This leads to emigration by the Meau, which, however, will take place, of course, only in those areas where they can be seized by the government. Also to be considered is the fact that the Meau in Thailand principally inhabit areas in which they are actually uncontrollable and are difficult to get hold of statistically. Accordingly, there are no satisfactory demographic data concerning the Meau in Thailand.

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In Indochina, as Von Eickstedt (2) states, most of the

2. II, p. 53.

T /495 cont./
563 Even though mountain peoples without exception are
166 excellent warriors, they were still unable, with their primitive weaponry, to offer any lasting resistance to the numerically much stronger peoples of the valleys, for example, the Chinese or the Thai (see the chapter, "Military Affairs and War").

The extensively practiced cultivation in clearings without any fertilization is another reason for the migrations (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Agriculture"). Since, because of this, the arable land in the vicinity of the villages becomes exhausted after a few years, the people must take to traveling in order to settle on new, fertile land
T required for laying out fields.
563 That the fiscal policy of the colonial powers represents
167 another reason for the migrations is shown by the intrusion of
[651] the mountain peoples from Indochina into Thailand. Persons belonging to the mountain peoples repeatedly gave me as the reason for it the fact that in Indochina they had to pay 12 ticals as head tax, but in Thailand only three ticals besides a small fee for each rice field laid out.

T In addition, poor harvests caused by plant diseases or
563 insufficient cultivation in times of war play an important role.
167 For example, in northern Thailand, 60 kilometers from
M Tschiengmai, in the habitation area of the Lao, I met large
● 167 Meau groups who were desperately trying to sell their beautiful
731 mountain cattle at give-away prices to the Lao. These Meau had come from Burma, looked miserable, and reported that they had suffered a total crop failure as the result of a rice disease, and that they were now close to starvation and had to try by any means to find a more favorable region for habitation
T in the south.
563 /496/ Of special importance also is the religious atti-
166 tude of the mountain peoples, who are strongly influenced by the idea of good and evil spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). The signs that are regarded as bad omens are innumerable, and often the shaman, after he has questioned the spirits, demands that the residence site be moved. Such a

39: Bernatzik--689 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Burma AP1
Miao AE5

/511 cont./

B
T
797

The attitude of the various peoples toward the missions is largely dependent on the economic conditions of the natives in each case. If it is a matter of uprooted segments of a people, such as the Wa who were driven out of their homeland, the mission finds conversion easy. On the other hand, in the case of a rich and healthy people for whom adequate possibilities for a livelihood are provided, as, for example, the Lisu, they succeed in penetrating only with the use of all kinds of expedients. These, too, however, are often in vain.

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d) Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples

The migratory movement of the mountain peoples is of the greatest significance from a colonial-political standpoint for those peoples that rule the valleys and has induced them to take a stand toward the masses of people who have immigrated and continue to immigrate.

1) Conditions in China

In China since ancient times the mountain peoples have been fought (see the chapter, "History"). Raids, killings, and well-organized military expeditions were the order of the day. These battles usually ended with the subjugation of the vanquished, who subsequently were quickly assimilated, or with the forcible removal of the mountain peoples from the living space concerned. Often there were also vast resettlements of the vanquished. A large part, perhaps the main part of the mountain peoples, was as a consequence of these conditions absorbed into the great mass of Chinese people. Only a part succeeded in maintaining their independence by emigrating to territories difficult of access and also suitable for them climatically. More and more settled beyond the borders of the Chinese Empire.

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[167]
M
[167]

31: Scherman--27 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Miao AE5

Still another Yunnan tribe, the Miao (tse),
101 which is also found frequently in Laos, has
[167] migrated to Kengtung--1911: 646 (20). The

20. About their relation to the Mon-Khmer, good material by H.R. Davies, Yun-nan (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 337 ff. About their housing construction: UBG I, 1, pp. 599 ff. Other ethnological material with good illustrations by S.R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in South-West China (London, 1911) and by A. Schotter, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Kouy-tcheou (Chine)," /Ethnographique Notes on the Kweichow Tribes (China)/ Anthropos Vol. 3 ff. who considers the Yao (cf. above, fn. 19) as a subdivision of the Miao Anthropos Vol. 4, pp. 318 ff.; cf. 3, p. 405.

people excel in their clothing, architecture,
and household management through outstanding
342 cleanliness and neatness. Their houses in the
British-Burmese area where, being immigrants,
they certainly do not represent their complete,
original type, are built much better and stronger
than those of the neighboring people. Wherever
they are not made of mud (this seems to be the
older, original construction method) /214/ the
houses are built with strong wood and shingled
roofs and have mud or stone terraces. Sometimes
they are built on piles. The pile house has
certainly developed under the influence of the
building style of the Burmese countries. The in-
terior is much more carefully furnished than are
the Burmese houses. In the large rooms, which
[352] are divided by small walls into compartments,
are bamboo bedsteads, couches, and low chairs,
mats and furs. An attic is formed by a ceiling

/6 cont'd/

197 yellow		vung	wang	fan	wiang	guan
192 sun		gong-nog	mo-neu			
ox	lo	ngong	ngong	du-wó	ngong	wau
moon		ngar	la		tha	hlo
eat		en	ning	nong	njien	nang
drink		hop	hop	hu	hop	hu
sleep		fei	fei	foi	bu	ba

197 /7/ If, outside the physical type, language is a comparatively reliable standard for the classification of the races of man, 171 we may then say, in accordance with the chart given above, that the Miao of Hainan are of the same people as the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi rather than the Miao of Kwangsi. (Concerning the physical type of the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi, Mr. Fei Hsiao-t'ung has apparently made a scientific investigation, the results of which have not yet been published.) It is said that the name of the "Lan-tien" Yao of Kwangsi was derived from lan-tien /"blue indigo"/, which was the chief product of the region. The lan-tien is a plant, Polygonum tinctorium, which the Yao pick to make dye. With regard to this industry, the Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi /see above/ has given a detailed study (pp. [384] 13-14). During my last field trip to the Miao village of Ang-ch'i in Ta-chi, I saw a Miao woman making dye from a plant. I regret that at the time I did not notice whether this plant was the lan-tien. The Miao women of Hainan, in any case, are skilled in dyeing. This fact may be considered as contributory evidence.

171 If the aforesaid conclusion is in accord with the facts, then we can also deduce from which part of Kwangsi the Hainan Miao came. We are still not certain about the distribution of the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi either in the past or the present. However, according to the Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi, it is a fact that there are at present Lan-tien Yao in Ling-yün district. If we may make the tentative deduction that the Lan-tien Yao have

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171 lived in Ling-yün district since before the Ming period, we may not be too far off in concluding accordingly that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Ling-yün district in Kwangsi province. (It is to be noted that Ling-yün is in the northwestern part of Kwangsi, which is adjacent to the southwestern part of Kweichou and north-
171 eastern part of Yünnan. In the Ming period, this area was under the
175 jurisdiction of Szŭ-ch'eng and T'u-chou and was occupied completely by the aboriginal peoples.) Furthermore, we can also adduce some evidence from the above cited family register of the Lin family of the Hainan Miao, which states: "They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious." /8/ It is worth noting that there was a Szu-en Fu in the Ch'ing period; it was also called Szu-en Fu in the Ming period. During the Sung and Yüan periods, it was called Szu-en chou. Since the Republic, it has been under the jurisdiction of Nan-ning tao /district/. Its location is in the northern part of Kwangsi adjacent to the southern part of Kweichou. From ancient times, it has been a land of uncivilized wilderness. At the end of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505) of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the Ming period, it was brought under the liu system /i.e., it became a normal administrative unit under the local government/. It is beyond doubt that the "Szu-en Fu" written in the family register of the Lins is a miswriting of the above "Szu-en Fu" /the "Szŭ" in the register is indicated by a different character. —Ed./. Hence, there should be no question that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Szŭ-en Fu of Kwangsi, although until we have historical documents and reports from firsthand investigation, we cannot be sure whether the Lan-tien Yao people lived in the Szŭ-en Fu area during the Ming and Ch'ing periods or whether a part of them is there at the present time. This is all we can say about the question concerning the part of Kwangsi from which the Miao migrated to Hainan.

101 However, there is another question confronting us. Since the
171 Miao of Hainan Island originally were derived from the Yao of

/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
[221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243] "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this
[166] kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

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192 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao
807 language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in
171 other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but
193 sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ǐ but sip ngi. This is a notable
171 difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say "blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue," "mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind of syntax.

191 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in
184 Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [415 powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao 28] people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small ●171 groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
● 171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182 limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[[7]] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/42 cont'd/

we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls, trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese. Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting. High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
● 171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

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585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[793] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[768] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[769] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
● [771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan
● 171 Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr. /

796 4. Festivals and Sports

527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered
[782] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
773 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
775 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
648 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

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H 181 273 276 [148] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

H M 171 157 181

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H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

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755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
● [171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate ● 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers
585 assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

/143 cont'd/

872 that a primary-school building had been set up—a concrete manifestation of their pressing desire for education. A teacher, a native of Wan-ning had also been hired and had arrived. However, the question of his salary was still being negotiated.

585 The bride was a niece of Headman Lu, she had been brought up in Lu's family after having lost her parents in childhood. The bridegroom was also of the same village. We knew the families of both from before. We had bought several boxes of firecrackers at Wenhua center, which we had brought along as a wedding present. The wedding took place right after sunset. This time it was the groom who was to be married to the bride and who was taken into the latter's home. The groom covered his face with a red kerchief and was carried over on a man's back, followed by a procession of men serving as "bridemaids." The females on the bride's side began to shower extravagant jokes on him; some teased him with words, and others pushed him when he was not on guard to knock him down.

585 171 The groom stood there stiffly like a wooden cock, completely enervated, afraid even to take the red kerchief from his face. Onlookers sweated for him at the sight, and several companions came to his rescue and tried to get him away from the siege of these mischievous women. The series of jokes played on the groom reminded me of the Chinese custom of carrying on horseplay at weddings except that here the object was the groom instead of the bride. There were a great many more ceremonies and practices after the groom arrived at the bride's home. We watched till one o'clock in the morning before we went home to go to bed.

Third month, thirteenth day. (Saturday)

In the morning the groom presented a cup of wine to the bride's parents, to whom he showed great respect in his conduct, a custom closely resembling that of the Chinese, in which the bride presents wine to her parents-in-law with great ceremony. At noon the bride visited the groom's family for the first time. She had barely come in when a Taoist priest was asked to perform the simple ritual of ch'ü sha /"expelling baleful influences"/.

M 353 /43 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[784] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
514 for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
M 251 Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[813] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
M 241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
171 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
352 used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

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1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I, 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

[171]

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao area involve considerable labor. On a slope where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up in tiers, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

[332]
[333]

[731]
[784]

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp
248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching
[262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and
[231] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan
[439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo
[227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair.
[171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi-
[825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces
[227] of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
286 method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[171] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
[438] though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and [574] friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that 302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's. [585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the [71] most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/172 cont./
*782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mis-
[578] chief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to
come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one in-
[776] advertently walks into a house where this performance is going
on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a
performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs
[171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore,
[576] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he
[609] does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it
all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all
right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to
get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid
of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to
spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/175 cont./

*782 he examines which chiao it is. If it is sheng chiao, then he be-
*787 gins his inquiries from nine and again performs the divination. If he gets sheng chiao again, then the strength of the shen is nine points. If he does not get sheng chiao, then the sorcerer-priest announces a number between five or seven and fifteen; it has to be an odd number. When he divines again and still fails to get sheng chiao, then he has to keep on naming numbers and divining.
*782 After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen, also interspersed with the sound of cymbal and gong. Afterwards he empties the bowl of tea, and changes to pouring wine. Continuing his incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up a bamboo bow and five arrows. He chants toward the east and shoots an arrow to the dragon shen of the east, and his helper burns the eastern petition box. Thus, one by one the performance is reopeated for each direction, and finally the center petition box is burned. After the burning, the sorcerer-priest picks up the paper horses and utters an incantation to them. The large horse is cut into five lengths and pasted on the wall corners in the four directions and the middle. The next largest horse is hung on the beam, and the smallest horse is pasted in the center. The piece of cinnabar is placed in a cup and ground with a little wine. The earth covering the dragon chamber is removed as well as the slate, and into the chamber is poured the cinnabar wine, and then it is covered up as before. Paper is burned on it, more incantations are said, and all the paper money is gathered up and burned to send off the shen.

(19) Offering Thanks to Graves

[171] The Miao custom of offering thanks to graves is different from the Chinese custom of sweeping the tombs of ancestors. The reason for the former is similar to offering thanks to the earth. The ritual also is similar on the whole, except that it takes place on the grave. The top of the grave serves as the center. The circle and eight diagrams are not drawn with white lime, and no winnowing basket is used. Only 17 bowls are used,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴨雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoŋ Gɿ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[292] [177] The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a 291 Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. 562 But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

[114 cont.]

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habits. The development of the plot of the story, furthermore, will, on the whole, exhibit clearly what is considered right and what wrong. .... Material of this kind does not represent a systematic description of the ethnology of the people, but it has the merit of bringing out those points which are of interest to the people themselves. They present in a way an autobiography of the tribe." (1)

[1. Franz Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909-1910 (Washington, D.C., 1916), p. 393.]

As to the origin of man, stories vary according to different racial groups. Among these, however, there are points of similarity such as the story of the flood, the rescue of a small number of people favored by the spirits and ghosts, marriages between brothers and sisters, and so on. There are many such stories among the Miao in Kweichow, and in several respects their central theme is rather analogous to that of similar tales among other racial groups elsewhere in the world. The following is an account of some mythological tales among the Hua Miao and the Hê Miao for the reference of ethnologists.

121 171 773

2. The Folklore of the Hua Miao

[115] One day two brothers finished ploughing a field. The next morning they found, to their surprise, that their previous day's work was undone by some people for the field was levelled down as if it had never been ploughed. In their distress and uncertainty they had to plough the field all over again. But the second morning they found that the field was once more levelled. This was repeated four times and they were greatly

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[127 cont.]

539 of the parents they were engaged in constant fights. One day the twelve brothers drank together, but the youngest brother filled his gourd with cold water and poured real wine into his brothers' cups. When they were drunk and fast asleep, he lit a pile of straw and pushed his brothers into the fire to be burned alive. After death one brother became Thunder and ascended into the sky; one became a dragon and descended into the water; one became a snake and crept into a hole; one became a tiger and hid himself deep in the woods; one became a weasel and climbed up a hill; the other six all became animals and went away in search of food. When Thunder reached heaven he thought of revenge by sending down a disastrous flood to drown his wicked brother. But the youngest brother managed to reach heaven in time and did not return to earth until after the flood had subsided. One day he met a beautiful young woman, who was his younger sister born afterwards by his mother. They married each other and soon gave birth to an eyeless and noseless monster shaped like a melon. They killed the monster, cut it into twelve pieces and abandoned them on the ground. Unexpectedly each piece of flesh became the ancestor of a Miao tribe, and the last piece was the forefather of the Short-skirt Hê Miao today.

5. Conclusion

773 171 The myths regarding the origin of man are generally alike in substance among the Hê Miao at Pa-chai, the Hua Miao and the Short-skirt Hê Miao. [128] A few points worthy of note are: first, the stories are not related to man's first ancestors after the creation, but to the resuscitation of mankind after the flood. They are not the stories of Adam and Eve but those of Noah. The story of the flood is found in the myths of all these primitive peoples. The Miao are supposed to have originally migrated from Hunan and Kiangsi, and the flood referred to in their myths was probably the legendary flood during the time

[128 cont.]

171 773 of the great Yü [who finally quelled the flood and was made an emperor]. Although their ancestors might not have lived in the flood devastated valleys, at least through contacts with the Chinese or from Chinese legends they might have gotten the stories. These referred to the use of iron knives, iron pieces, needles, and other metals. So if iron was only first used during the Ch'un Ch'iu period [spring and autumn, an historical period from 722 to 484 B.C.], this body of folklore must have originated after that period. In all these stories the surviving brother and sister eventually got married. Anthropologists have informed us that marriage between brother and sister was early tabooed among all ethnic groups, and that violations were considered serious perversions of nature and human relationship. Among the royal families in ancient Egypt, Peru, Japan and India such marriages were permitted at first to preserve the purity of the royal blood, but soon this custom was abolished. The incestuous marriages in the Miao myths have shown that the sisters were the unwilling parties, who yielded only after much persuasion and reluctance. It is apparent that at the time these mythological tales became current, unions between brothers and sisters were no longer in vogue or already under ban. Otherwise, there is no reason why these marriages should be consummated only after the fulfillment of some impossible conditions. According to eugenic reports marriages within the family are detrimental to the offspring. The children born of a marriage between brother and sister may have the beautiful looks of Cleopatra of ancient Egypt, but statistically considered they are in the majority weak of mind and body. In the mythologies of the Hê Miao and Hua Miao, the children of such marriages were all crippled monsters. Among the Ya-ch'ieh Miao there is a similar story, in which the offspring was not only without four limbs but also dumb. This genetical fact had already been noticed by these primitive peoples. We do not know whether there was ever a custom among the Chinese of marriage between brother and sister, but in any case at the Ch'un Ch'iu period incestuous marriage [129] was banned because of its "non-productivity" and "disease-giving

[129 cont.]

171 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did
773 not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many changes later.

174 From these myths we can gather some material regarding the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive people originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from the American Indians to show that the method of friction pre-
174 ceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of
372 the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire, and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with localities, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of our attention.

114 (This article was first published in the "She-hui hsün-k'an" [Social Studies, a publication appearing every ten days], Nos. 4-5, of the Kwei-yang Ke-ming Jih-pao [Kwei-yang Revolutionary Times], May 19, 1938, and has been slightly revised in its present form.)

[146 cont.]

773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
● 171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

[162 cont.]

534 They construct a musical instrument of an entirely special model called "sen," a sort of "pipe of Pan," formed of a tube which swells out very much in its lower portion. Into this swollen section are fitted six or eight reed pipes of varying lengths, pierced with holes and set at right angles to the large tube. The player obtains continuous sounds by successive aspirations and expirations. The scale is rather extended, as it provides from twelve to sixteen notes and numerous cords. The player of the "sen" dances while playing. (See photo 155, Plate 40.) The "sen" of the "Méo" very much re-
[171] sembles the Laotian "ken."

The "Méo" also make tambourines, copper cymbals, a sort of
[237] bagpipe with a nasal sound, produced by a goatskin sack of voluminous dimensions, and a small guitar with a long neck, made from a turtle's shell covered with a tightly stretched snake's skin.

In the area which gave them birth, the "Méo" were, without
631 doubt, formed into groupings placed under the orders of chiefs of
648 their race and preserving a certain independence in relation to the neighboring Chinese authorities. In the matter of the tribes who have immigrated into Tonkin, they have had to place themselves little by little under the authority of local native functionaries and of the commandants of sectors, spheres, and provinces.

In accordance with the importance of their groupings, these tribes are organized into communes (region of Dong-Van) placed under the authority of a "toung-tcha" (corresponding to "ly-truong Thai") in direct contact with the chiefs of canton ("quan-châu") or with the commandants of sectors. These communes are subdivided into quarters commanded by a "ping-t'éou" who has under his orders a certain number of "siao-phay," the latter having, in general, authority over the groups of hamlets or villages built in the same valley or on the same slope of a mountain chain. [163] In the regions where the "Méo" population is too scattered to form a distinct commune, the "Méo" have only some "siao-phay" and sometimes a "ping-t'éou" placed administratively under the authority of the "pho-ly" or of the "ly-truong" of the "Thai" race.

/37 cont./

A M 571 114

Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

M [171]

2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/

Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

M 631

From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

M [148]

regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/67 cont./

M 526 "pride themselves on exhibiting their physical superiority by frequently wrestling or by comparing skill and strength in the execution of a task or the swiftness and strength of their calves in climbing difficult paths. . . ," observations that Abadie (2) repeats.

2. Page 151.

A [526] Footraces and wrestling according to special rules are unknown, however, among the Meau and Akha in Thailand.

A 526 Among the Akha competitive games are scarcely practiced. Only once did I watch a shooting match with crossbows among them; on the other hand, fighting without any rules is generally widespread.

M 524 /68/ Guessing games are little practiced among the Meau and are completely absent among the Akha.

A [524] tsă mĭ sŭ is one of the few Meau guessing games. In it a child takes, let us say, a lamp in his hand and asks another, who must not look: "What is this? It is a rider on horseback without feet or eyes and yet able to see?" The answer runs: "It is a light on your arm; it has no eyes or feet, but reaches into every corner."

tŭ is another guessing game. Grain, copper, and a coin are placed next to a child who does not look. He must now guess what the object is.

A M 524 I did not find any humorous riddle games /Scherzspiele/, teasing games /Neckspiele/, or war games. It is strange, too, that among both peoples string games, which otherwise are widespread throughout the world, are completely absent. Aside from the aforementioned shooting matches and footraces of the Meau, there are no other sporting games, even in rudimentary form, nor games that would point toward sadistic or masochistic tendencies.

A M 524 526 157

It is striking that many games of these mountain peoples of Farther India are absolutely identical with the games of the children of fully civilized European peoples /europäischen Vollkulturvölker/. This is all the more remarkable since there

A M 524 526

171

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/68 cont./

A is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can
M there be any thought of influences coming from Europe.
524 Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the fre-
526 quent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect
171 a common origin.

There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha
A and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are some-
M times arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks,
541 as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples.
171 Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often
[525] lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these fights.

A Children begin to perform work at the age of four among
M both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect fire-
857 wood (Ill. 38),[1] which they carry home in their own small wood
561 /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields,
[252] carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93),[2] and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard
A the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers,
M a particularly important task in a country where there is neither
[203] mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys, both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having complained about work that was too hard.

A Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games,
M there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but
857 rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing
561 children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in
461 the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[1] [See cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", p 643- "]

/142 cont./

M 539 832 A lover to whom favors were granted often sings of his luck in many successive sentences: "Now I have to leave your village, and whenever I remember your embraces, my soul will be happy. Now I must leave, but I shall think only of returning. My soul wanders in the clouds (meaning: you have bewitched me) and not on earth. And when I return and hold your hand, I shall not be able to stop the flow of words until the end of my life (meaning: he will take her as his wife for life). What are you going to give me then to fill my soul and to stop the flow of my words? (a clear allusion to the sexual act, the only moment when the lovers are silent). Whatever you give me I shall give back to you all my life long."

M 533 M [484] In these songs rhythm plays no role, and melody only a minor one. The words are produced in a high-pitched voice with wholly /143/ unrelated high notes. Even while traveling no rhythm is maintained and marching in our sense is unknown to these peoples. There is singing, however, on every occasion: upon setting out to hunt, in connection with the preparations for the caravan when it is necessary to look for new village sites, in connection with bringing in the harvest, and in connection with housework. Lajonquière (1) reports similarly on the Meau.

1. II, p. 311.

There are no professional singers or bards, and similarly no epics heroic songs, or war songs, which formerly, at least among the Meau, were probably present. In any case, however, they cannot be found today. On the other hand, I was able to A [533] find two melodies among the Meau and one among the Akha to which texts similar to our Alpine "ditties" are sung. Often, however, the performer only sings words which happen to come into his head.

M [171] The sound of the songs of the Meau is very reminiscent of the "joiken" of the Lapps (2), although in the case of the

2. Bernatzik, VI, pp. 78 ff.

A M 533 832 joiken there are no words. Alternate songs to which texts are

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Miao AE5

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes. A M [177]

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any M 114 533 538

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

[1] [See cat 116, p124 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[287] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
171 Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instru-
171 ment, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
533 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
534 form (Ill. 75)[4] among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral in-
[778] strument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as
[562] women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

4 [see cat. 116, p 574 – ANALYST]

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [752] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's [202] celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute
of the Meau. 1/9
nat. size. Fig. 28,
from above, Fig. 29,
side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/149 cont./

c) Dancing

A M 535 [171]

In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

M 114 535 796 [764]

The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

M [273]

they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

/166 cont./

776 825 [372] [626] [171] The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 [844] I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

[778] [756] The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." [177] [829] In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its
825 web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that
he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree
under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its
droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen
imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the
conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes
every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appear-
ance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role
among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish
likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
[821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that
among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among
the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to
human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The
belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but
that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is
endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the
will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed --
as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and
therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while
a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are
some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

[763] In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[171] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is
interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream
in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and
Chinese, as well as in Europe.

/227 cont./

539 756 to revive their dry bones. Mad with grief, they threw their medicine into a cave and decided to die. Their countrymen tried in vain to prevent them from doing so. They did not succeed, but Ngionggi and Xigi consoled them by saying: 'After our death shall appear to some of you in your dreams in the shape of a virgin and teach you how to cure the sick. Consult these men when you are ill, and you will recover!' Since that time the Meau consult their shamans whenever they are sick."

539 114 I could not find any legends that tell of the historical development of the Meau, nor have other authors, so far as I know, published such legendary material. Only Von Eickstedt (2)

2. II, p. 52.

recorded a legend of the Meau, and a similar version is also reported by Leuschner (3). Von Eickstedt asserts that it is a Man

171 539

3. Page 44.

legend, which, however, is also claimed by the Meau:

/228/ "The Chinese emperor Ti Ku (about 500 B. C.) is said to have promised the hand of his third daughter and the advantages accruing from this to the one who would rid him of his most dangerous enemy, who would kill the latter and bring his head. A yellow dog by the name of Pan Hu heard this, accomplished the deed, and married the princess, who bore him six sons and six daughters. From these stem the various Man tribes. A division of the realm took place, according to which the Chinese were given the valleys and the Man the mountains."

Von Eickstedt correctly concludes that when the Chinese, during an attack by presumably northern warlike nomads, turned to the neighboring mountain peoples for help and the latter actually defeated the enemy, the chief of the mountain peoples was given a daughter of the imperial house along with the political advantages connected with it.

Miao AE5
Akha AO4

/228 cont./

M 171 539 Now it follows, however, that this legend belongs to the culture of the Yau (Man) and not to that of the Meau, though it is, of course, quite possible that the Meau, who in Indochina and Thailand often live in the immediate neighborhood of other tribes, have borrowed cultural elements from their neighbors. It is noteworthy for the general ethnology of Farther India that similar motifs may be found among other hoe-culture peoples, as well as in the legends of the gathering people, the Moken /Mawken/, the inhabitants of the Mergui Archipelago, on which I have published in another place (1).

1. IV, p. 45.

A 773 The Akha, like the Meau, have no concrete conception of the creation of the world and the natural phenomena. Myths concerning this are lacking.

A [821] [789] I was able to find only a single exception, a moon myth. It indicates that an eclipse of the moon causes great alarm since it is believed that a dog is about to devour the moon. To prevent this, crossbows and firearms are fired at the sky.

[114] I could not find any more detailed information in the literature either. Scott (2) mentions in passing that, during the

2. Burma and beyond, p. 270.

festivals of the Akha, "clan legends" were recited so that they will not forget them. Unfortunately, however, he does not give a single legend.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's [731] march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest [312] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/262 cont./

M 166 484 Concerning the migrations of the Meau in Indochina, Savina (3) reports: "When the Meau move, they burn their

3. II, p. 183.

M [482] houses; others let them fall into ruins. The small children are put into carrying baskets with the chickens and suckling pigs. When everything is ready, the signal for the departure is given, and everybody begins to move without the slightest sign of sentiment or excitement. Nobody turns around in order to cast a last glance at the village. The Meau say: Our home is where the maize grows thickly."

M 361 [171] A [361] The villages of the Meau in Thailand have a very small number of houses. These are hamlets which consist of three to ten houses. This is also the size of the villages of the Yau /Yao/. The villages of the Lisu come next with four to twenty houses; the village settlements of the Akha have by far the greatest number of houses -- several hundred.

In the literature (4) there are accounts of Meau villages

4. Savina, II, p. 182.

which are said to contain from 20 to 30 houses. In Thailand I could not find any settlements that large, and Dhuraratsadom (5),

5. Page 153.

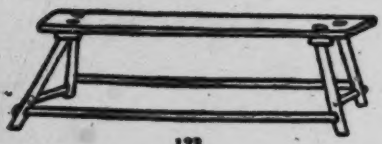
too, who /263/ answered a questionnaire on the Meau prepared by the Siam Society, says nothing about such large Meau villages. His observations and my own correspond to Lajonquière"s (1)

1. II, p. 304.

statement: "With their attitude of independence, the Meau prefer not to have their dwellings crowded together... There are only groupings of six, seven, or eight houses around the dwelling of

/302 cont./

352 the customary squatting position on mats on the floor (Ill. 106).1
[511] Sometimes, too, only the adults are entitled to the table and
[516] bench, whereas the children eat their meals on the floor.
[264] Tables and benches (Ill. 107)1 have strong slabs hewn out of one piece of wood, into which slanting wooden legs are inserted (Figs. 123 and 124). This furniture differs fundamentally from
[171] that of the Chinese and is almost identical with the tables and benches of our Alpine dwellers. Among the Meau, low wooden stools (Fig. 125) and stools to sit on, with /303/ plaited seats (Fig. 126), are in use, as they are among all the mountain peoples of Farther India.


123

Figs. 123-126. Furniture of the Meau.

Fig. 123. Table, 1/66 nat. size.

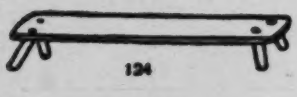

124

Fig. 124. Bench for sitting, 1/34 nat. size.

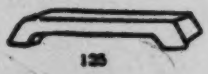

125

Fig. 125. Stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

126

Fig. 126. Plaited stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

1 [see cat 116, p 706 - ANALYST]

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[2] [See cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]
[3] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [See cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--460 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

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Akha A04
Miao AE5

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Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

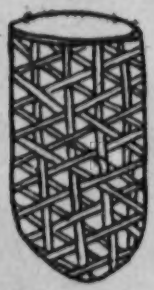
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, A [227] with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India. The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In



M 178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

M [227] [285]

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/369 cont./

231 "On the other hand, they do sell pigs. Few peoples
[432] raise as many pigs as the Meau. They are seen everywhere. In every family there is a pig that is petted and favored by everyone."

[422] I could learn no more about property marks on animals than other authors mention them. Informants whom I questioned explained to me that every owner knows his animals without this.

[171] Whereas most of the other peoples of Farther India practice bee-keeping, I could not find it among the Meau. Other authors, too -- with the exception of Lajonquière (1), who

1. II, p. 310.

mentions them in his enumeration of the domestic animals -- report nothing about this, and the raising of silkworms seems to be just as little known among the Meau of all the regions mentioned. I, too, was unable to find it anywhere.

Among the Meau in Thailand, one sporadically comes across so-called "mandarin blackbirds" /Mandarinenamseln/, which are said to be kept as ornamental birds and traded for high prices.

232 Among the Meau whom I visited, the castration of domestic animals is widespread. This is not limited to pigs, cattle, and horses, but includes even dogs and chickens. The animals are castrated by cutting open the scrotum, tying up the reproductive gland, and sewing up the scrotum again. An exception is made in the case of cattle, whose scrotum is clamped between sticks and smashed with a cudgel. In answer to my question as to why so cruel a procedure is used for them, the Meau were of the opinion that it was nothing for the cattle, that they are much less sensitive to pain than horses.

39: Bernatzik--503 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are [515] thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water/
are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos,
[245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or
fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole
series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as
spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
[135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders
(see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

252 Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
[262] which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the
sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in
the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans
until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried
[251] in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks
where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsuǎ) are made, three kinds of
which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/376 cont./

252 262 The blood of slaughtered animals, either fresh or cooked, is happily eaten. Cooked, it is also added to other dishes.

A meatless dish consists of ground millet which is mixed with green vegetables and maize meal to form dumplings and cooked in water.

252 The eggs of all birds are eaten raw or cooked.

/377/ Without anything further, it is obvious from these descriptions that the preparation of the meals can indeed not be designated as primitive. It can be assumed that in the regions of Indochina, which are in every respect more favorable, the Meau will not practice simpler cooking, since more things in larger quantities are available to them. Nevertheless, Lajonquière (1) writes: "The preparation of food is primitive.

1. II, p. 303.

Rice, maize, and the other cereals are eaten cooked in salted water or made into mush. Vegetables are usually cooked in water, and meat is roasted in kettles. We shall always remember our first visit to the kitchen of the Lytruong of Pakha. There, whole quarters of buffalo were roasting and cooking in tremendous kettles, without any other ingredients than a few handfuls of salt, a little water, and their own fat. It was immense in quantity, but ignoble in preparation."

[114] [171] Aside from the fact that the author probably did not observe the preparation of food in detail, he is undoubtedly comparing Meau cooking with Chinese cooking, or with Annamese cooking, which is extensively influenced by the Chinese. In comparison with the excellent and highly sophisticated culinary art of these peoples, Meau cooking seems primitive indeed.

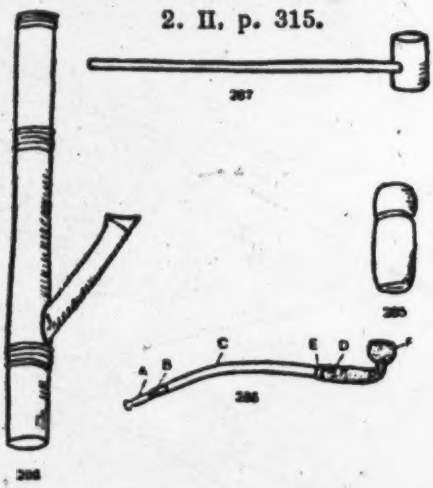
264 From Savina's description (2) we get an impression of

2. II, p. 192.

the everyday, very modest way of life of the Meau: "The Meau have two meals a day, one in the morning before going to the fields and one in the evening upon return. Often,

/380 cont./

276 [171] The Meau know of no other form of enjoyment of tobacco, such as the rolling of cigars or cigarettes, which is customary among the Lao and Schan /Shan/. Other plants, such as the hemplike ones, are not smoked either. Savina (2), 2. II, p. 315.



Figs. 285-288. Equipment for Tobacco-smoking among the Meau.

[415] Fig. 285. Tobacco box of bamboo, with cover, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 286. Tobacco pipe of the chief, about 1/7 nat. size: A = mouthpiece of porcelain; B = silver mounting; C = stem; D = brass; E = sealed with wax. Fig. 287. Tobacco pipe of bamboo, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 288. Water pipe of bamboo, 1/7 nat. size.

[857] however, reports that the Meau children in Tonkin smoke discarded hemp-stalks. It seems, however, that this is more of a game, rather than real enjoyment of the drug. The chewing of betel is unknown, which Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ confirms for Indochina.

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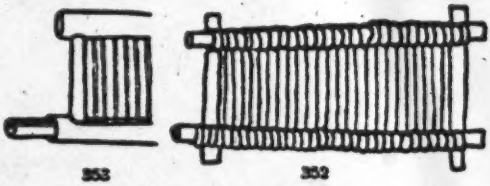
/403 cont./

283 which are called kǒulǐ, but then sticks about as thick as a finger are stuck in the ground in two rows one to two meters apart, and the yarn is now wound between them in skeins ready for weaving.

286 The yarn thus prepared is woven on horizontal looms (Ill. 88)[1] into strips of material 37 centimeters wide (Ill. 89).[2]

The weaver's comb of the loom has either a frame made of two wooden sticks between which the thin, flexible cross-strips of bamboo are held and tied fast (Fig. 352), or the frame consists of bamboo tubes with iron bands (Fig. 353), into which /404/ the cross-sticks are inserted. The threads are then drawn between these narrow cross-sticks.

Besides these looms, the Meau also use weaving boards to make narrower bands.



Figs. 352-353. Weaver's Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 352, of wood with bamboo cross-strips; Fig. 353, of bamboo with iron cross-strips.

Concerning this work, we also have some reports by Lajonquière (1), which in part are confirmed by Abadie:

1. II, p. 309.

"The common spinning material is hemp. It is harvested in
[248] the lowlands, wound on spools, and combed with coarse combs.
[283] The women spin it by hand... They weave their own cloth
[171] and dye it in the same manner as the Tho." Savina (2) describes
[184]

2. II, p. 211.

the procedures in Indochina somewhat differently: "When the

1 [see cat 116, p 621 - ANALYST]
2 [" " p 622 -]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
171 the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put
[413] on the still undyed material by the women with a special instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants.
[413] In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure, for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely
[171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and
[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/421/

A 487 The paths in the territory of the Akha are wide and kept in good condition, as is shown by Ill. 31.[1] The difference [361] lies in the fact that among the Akha the villages are very populous and their paths are therefore more frequented. More- [464] over, every village settlement of the Akha has a much greater labor force at its disposal than the villages of the Meau.

M 482 The primary means of communication among the Meau is porters who transport loads on their backs on carriers (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 178-180) or in baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 330, 333, and 336), which are carried, in the fashion of our rucksacks, without a forehead strap (Ill. 93).[2] Wherever M 492 the nature of the terrain permits, the Meau also use, as has already been discussed in the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry," small reddish-brown cattle or small horses as /Figs. 418-422 appear here/ /422/ pack animals, which for this are provided with a special packsaddle (Ill. 81)[3] which is the same for both breeds.

The packsaddle (Figs. 418 and 419) consists of a wooden frame (A), on which a board (B) is mounted. Under the board is fastened a straw-filled cushion (C), which lies on the crupper M of the animal. This packsaddle is fastened on by means of a [283] strong strap (D), about five centimeters wide and plaited out of fiber cords, around the body of the animal. In addition, a hide strap (Fig. 420, G) with iron buckles (H), which is fastened to the packsaddle, leads around the chest of the animal, and a cord with wooden balls strung on it (Fig. 421, E), which come under the tail of the animal, runs around its hind quarters.

M In regions where it is possible to breed horses, the Meau [231] also know how to ride. They use stirrups of iron, such as the [171] Chinese use, but also homemade ones, which are plaited out of [285] rattan (Fig. 422).

1 [see cat. 116, p250- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p643- "]
3 [" " " p596- "]

39: Bernatzik--581 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

Chapter 25

Time-reckoning and the Division of the Day

805

The Meau reckon by days. This is already shown by the designation for day, dŏ nŭ, literally, day-sun. The month, ĭs dĭ, of the Meau has thirty days; the year, tsŭn, is reckoned by moons. Twelve moons are one year. It begins with the new moon in December and is ushered in with tremendous festivals (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). If circumstances occur which prevent a [796] proper appreciation of the beginning of the new year, the festivities are postponed to a more suitable time.

805 This custom seems to have given the impression among 114 outside observers that the Meau have no calendar and celebrate 171 the beginning of the new year at very different times (Savina (1)). [796]

1. II, p. VII and p. 222.

Some people have even arrived at the view that the time reckoning of the Meau is of Chinese origin, as Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 314.

maintains, or even Dhuraratsadorn (3), who states concerning

3. Page 172.

this that the New Year's festival of the Meau coincides with that of the Chinese. On the contrary, the divided year of the Meau is fundamentally different from that of their neighbors, the Chinese, Yau /Yao/, Lahu (Mushŏ /Musso/), and Lisu, whose new year begins in January, or that of the Lao, which begins on April 14, and that of the Thailanders, which begins on March 31.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical people of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having
● 171 Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

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AE5 Miao AE5

this goes a hollow bamboo tube 2–3 feet long through which they blow; through the body go, at right angles to this blowing tube, 6 bamboo tubes ½-inch in diameter perforated by several holes. When played it sounds very much like Scot bagpipes. When they play it they dance. Their singing is not as falsetto as the Chinese. The clothes and hats of the women are often beautifully embroidered. Some men also wear embroidered clothes, but most of their (men's) clothing is like the Chinese. Neolithic stone implements were found in considerable numbers.

Conclusions.—The report of the blood-groups of 205 Ch'wan Miao (157 males and 48 females), an aboriginal type of Szechwan province, West China, is submitted. There is also a report made of 1,292 Chinese of that province. The Ch'wan Miao examined were adults, their blood-pressure was recorded,[2] photographs were taken and a complete physical anthropological examination was made.

The blood-groups of the Ch'wan are very low in A and high in B, as compared with the Szechwanese.

534
[533]
172
143
[p. 67 b]

/4 cont'd/

217 Ch'u P'ing reign period /190-94 A.D./, be allowed to go to the
175 provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Ch'ao-chou, Hu-kuang, and Hupei, traveling on roads and waterways and living in the high mountains by wood while wood-cutting and cultivating, cutting and planting.

This is the due document to act as proof in perpetuity.

This certificate was filed for reference on the 16th day of the fifth month in the fifth year of Ch'u P'ing.

217 It is still a mystery where and when they had gained this "certificate," which up to the present is still carefully kept by them as their most precious treasure. From the description in the last paragraph, we are sure that the Miao of Hainan not only had direct relationship with the Miao (?) of Kwangsi but also had the same origin as the other Miao tribes (?) in different regions throughout South China.

●173 From what has been said above, there is no doubt that the Miao of Hainan migrated from Kwangsi during the Ming period. However, I am very doubtful that the Miao of Hainan are actually the same as
197 the Miao of Kwangsi, because from the linguistic point of view, the languages spoken by them are very different. On the contrary, the spoken language of the Miao people of Hainan is very similar to that of the Yao people; particularly it is similar to, and almost identical with, the dialect spoken by the Lan-tien ("blue indigo") Yao tribes living in the Ling-yün area. The chart which follows may be helpful for reference. (Note: The vocabulary of the Miao of Hainan shown in the following chart is in my own romanization. The romanization of the vocabulary of the different Yao peoples of Kwangsi is based upon Kuang-hsi Lin-yün Yao-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi/, jointly compiled by Yen Fu-li and Shang Cheng-tsu. The romanization of the words of the Miao of Kwangsi province is based upon Liu Hsi-fan's Ling-piao Chi Man /The Aborigines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi/. In Liu's book, however, Chinese phonetic symbols are used. For the sake of uniformity I have used romanization in the present writing.)

/98 cont'd/

539 Who (T'ien Shih*) first settled peace in the world?

/* "heavenly teacher," head of the Taoist sect. —Ed. /

In the beginning what (P'ing) prince first sat in the palace?
He sat in what chou /district/? (Peking)
He ruled in what dynasty? (T'ang dynasty)
Emperor P'an delimited boundaries in what place? (Fu-tsu Mountains)
How many (Five) paths were opened up and what custom was established? (Marriage)
We ask you what year (The first year of Chia-tzu) did Ko-tou */?"singing bean"/ die?
Who (Hsien, "immortal") took him and buried him on what mountain?
He was buried on what (Nan, "south") mountain facing what direction?
How many (Five) hundreds of mud bricks were put up in a heap?
/99/ Talk of ancient times is endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

539 (c) (The name of this song has been lost; it is also of the
173 question and answer form.)

(Preceding part omitted.)

When heaven was opened and earth established, who did it?
When heaven and earth were made, how many pillars were there?
How many chang were there between heaven and earth?
How many chang to heaven, how many chang wide?
There was both birth and death.
Eight days to the east are what kind of countries?
Eight days to the south are what kinds of gates /?/ ?
Eight days to the west are what kinds of countries?
Eight doors to the north are what kinds of gates?

/99 cont'd/

539
173

Flowing from the center, how many stars appear?
We ask you, Spring Officials, let us know.
We ask you when was the flood?
Under which emperor were the people killed by the flood?
We ask you in which year (The first year of Chia-tze) did the flood subside?
It flowed in what direction? (Koulkun Mts.)
In the beginning how many (Five) princes crossed the oceans?
Where (Transformed corpse) did the branches begin to divide?
What (P'an) prince was born in what palace? (Me-shui Palace)
Where did he succeed (Ch'ing Dynasty) and how (Ten thousand soldiers) well?
Which emperor (Li) fulfilled which (P'an) emperor's rule?
Which (P'an) emperor was capable of ruling the world?
Which (P'an) emperor delimited boundaries at what place? (Fu-tze Mts.)
He opened up how many (Five) paths, and established what custom? (Marriage)
/100/ In the beginning this rule was made by whom? (Emperor P'an)
When it was set up in the world, who (Descendants) was sought?
As for the system of matching horoscopes of betrothal couples, who (Lü Tsai) devised it?
When it was devised in the world, it concluded what custom? (Marriage)
When matching horoscopes, how many (Seven) characters are offered...?
When this is done, how many (Eight) characters conclude what custom? (Marriage)
As for Emperor P'an, who (Wu-yün) brought him up in the beginning?
He was brought up in what place? (Ch'u Hsien)
The sacred register was produced in what dynasty? (Ch'ing)
Which (Ch'ing) dynasty set up what custom? (Imperial Gate)
Emperor P'an married what (Hsien) family's daughter?

/100 cont'd/

539 Who (Emperor P'ing) proposed the use of go-betweens?
173 As for Emperor P'an ... how many daughters?
Then he beckoned /for marriage into his family/ what young men of how many (five) surnames?
The first daughter married what (Teng) surname?
The second daughter married what (Chiang) family's young man?
The third daughter married what (Chao) surname?
The fourth daughter married what (Li) family's young man?
The fifth daughter married what (The family register is unclear) surname?
In the world today what is the custom for union? (Marriage)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many springs?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how are parents cared for?
The fifth daughter respectfully cared for them
And her parents lived a long time for many springs.
Her kindness was exalted and endless.
The record even though unclear mentions this and tells us about it.
Emperor P'an in his lifetime lived how many (Five hundred) years?
Graciously added to his life were how many (Sixty) springs?
/101/ Talk of ancient days are endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

533 Because these historical legends are all rhymed songs made of
538 lines of seven words each, they are frequently sung: The first, (a),
173 is sung by the Taoist priests during the "tso chai" ceremony. The next two, (b) and (c), are sung at wedding feasts with groups of men and women as the opposing singing parties. Interestingly, the contents of these legends provide answers to questions related to the origin of mankind, such as the creation of heaven and earth, the calamity of

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This is not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a
773 daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/12 cont./

*101 ~~the thought that~~ the people who call themselves [ɕioŋ˨˩] and
*175 those who call themselves [muŋ˧] are not of the same origin. Or even if they are of the same origin, there must have been two different names adopted in ancient times. The Hung Miao call themselves [ko˥˧ ɕioŋ˨˩]. [ko˥˧] is a prefix and [ɕioŋ˨˩] the name proper. But another meaning of [ko˥˧ ɕioŋ˨˩] is "bamboo tube." (1) For this reason the writers suspect that there is a

1. A magic instrument used by Miao sorcerers, see Illus. 65.

relation between [ɕioŋ˨˩] and the Bamboo King /Chu Wang/.
*101 The story of the Bamboo King was reported earliest in "Nan
*175 Chung Chih" of Hua-yang Kuo chih by Ch'ang Ch'ü in the
● 173 Chin period. The story is as follows: "The Bamboo King arose in the Tun-shui region. A girl was bathing in the river when a large bamboo with three nodes flowed in between her legs. She pushed it away, but the bamboo refused to move. Suddenly she heard a child crying inside. She took the bamboo home and broke it open and found a baby boy, who grew up to be a talented and brave man, and led the barbarians. He took "Chu" /bamboo/ as his surname, and threw away the broken bamboo in the wilderness, where it grew into a bamboo grove, which is the present-day bamboo grove of the Temple of the Bamboo King. The King went one day with his followers to a great rock, where he asked for soup. His followers replied that there was no water; whereupon he hit the rock with a double-edged sword. Water gushed forth, forming the present-day Bamboo King River. The broken rock still remains....Emperor Wu-ti made T'ang Meng a military commander to annex the Tsang-kou region. Valuable gifts were given to various tribal kings who submitted to the Emperor. The Bamboo King was executed. Tsang-kou was made a prefecture, and Wu Pa the prefect. The prefectures of Yüeh-hsi, Chu-t'i, and I-chou were also established. After-

/12 cont./

*101 ward, the I and P'u tribes came to the city and complained
*175 that their Bamboo King had not been born of blood and flesh
●173 and asked that a family line be set up. Pa enfeoffed his third
[776] son as a marquis. At his death he was included in the sacrifice to his father's ancestors. At present he is worshipped as the spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King." The Hou han Shu also gives an account of this story in the Hsi Nan I Ch'uan /History of the Barbarians in the Southwest/: "Yeh Lang was first found by a girl bathing in the Tun-Shui River. A large bamboo with three nodes flowed between her legs. She heard someone crying inside and when she broke open the bamboo, she found a baby boy. She brought him home and reared him. When he grew up into a talented and brave man, he established himself as the Marquis Yeh Lang and took Chu /bamboo/ as his surname. In the sixth year of Yüan Ting /III/ Emperor Wu-ti subjugated the southern barbarians and established Tsang-kou prefecture. The Marquis Yeh Lang surrendered. The Emperor issued the official seal to him, and later executed him. The I and the Liao tribes believing that the Bamboo King had not been born from flesh and blood and greatly respecting him, asked that a line of descendants be set up. The prefect of Tsang-kou, Wu Pa, reported this to the Emperor, who enfeoffed his /Bamboo King's/ son as a marquis. At his death, he was
[776] included in the sacrifice to his father. He is the spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King as worshiped today in Yêh-lang Hsien." The account recorded in the Hou Han Shu is based
*101 upon the Hua-yang Kuo Chih but the two stories differ slightly.
*175 The latter mentions the Bamboo King as leading the barbarians, but the former says that he made himself Marquis Yeh Lang. Yeh Lang, according to the Chih, surrendered to Ch'u during the last days of the Chou Dynasty. Nan Chung Chih says: /13/ "Toward the close of the Chou dynasty Hui Wang of Ch'u (Ch'ing Hsiang Wang according to Hou Han Shu) despatched General Chuang Ch'iao (Hao according to Hou Han Shu) up the Yüan-shui River to Ch'ieh-lang in order to subjugate Yeh Lang,

/13 cont/ /

no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in /14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without basis.

In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and meaning of /ko˥ ɕion˥˩/, a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

/15 cont./

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[113]

1. Ting, Wen-chiang: "Man Yu San Chi" /Miscellaneous Notes on a Rambling Trip/," Tu Li P'ing Lun /Independent Review/, No. 8.

*[101] according to the Englishman, S.R. Clarke, who came to the conclusion after 20 years of investigation in Kweichow, the indigenous peoples of Kweichow are the Ch'i Lao not the Miao, the latter having immigrated from elsewhere. (2) As a result

[113]

2. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, p. 13.

of his study of Miao migration legends, the Frenchman, F.M. Savina, concluded that when the Miao first arrived in China they lived in Honan, whence they emigrated to Kweichow, next to Szechwan, Yunnan, Tonkin, and to Laos. (3) This

[113]

3. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao /Miao Stories/, p. 247.

corresponds roughly to the above-mentioned theory that the Mao tribe emigrated from Shansi to Honan, then to Szechwan, to Yüeh-hsi, and to Kweichow, except that Mr. Savina has the order of Szechwan and Kweichow reversed. This is more *[101] evidence that the present-day Miao are not the ancient San Miao, as the location of the ancient San Miao was between Tung-t'ing and Peng-li lakes, which are not mentioned in the Miao legends.

The trend of Miao migration since the time of recorded history has been as stated above. As to their moves in the

/15 cont./

173 prehistoric period, F.M. Savina states in his Histoires des Miao
167 that the Miao must have been in the Arctic region on the basis of legends still prevalent among the Miao today. According to the legends, the Miao forefathers had lived in the opposite region of the earth, where the winter was very long and in a year there were six months of daylight and another six months of darkness, where the water was always frozen and the earth was covered with snow, where vegetation was small and sparse and human beings were short and small and wore skin and fur clothes. (4) Savina moreover advanced the hypothesis that the

4. Same as above, pp. 115-19.

Miao's place of origin was the area between the Pamir highland and the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. (5) Based upon the

5. Same as above.

above-stated references to Honan, the Artic, and the Iranian Plateau, /16/ Savina concluded that the Miao came from Mesopotamia, moved eastward until stopped by the Pamir highlands, and were diverted therefrom northeastward through Turkestan and along the western ranges of the Ural Mountains to the Polar region above 60 degrees north latitude, and then veered southeastward through Siberia, Mongolia, and Shensi, reaching Honan at last. (1) This theory, being based purely

1. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao, pp. 115-19.

upon oral legends of the Miao, is not based on sufficient evidence. If these legends came in from another tribe, then this theory is completely invalidated. At most we can only consider it a hypothesis.

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shuts her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[829] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

173 **Historical.** Chinese literature has references to the province of Kweichow and its peoples from the days of Shen-nung, when Emperor Yen married the daughter of Ch'ih-shui, from the southern part of the present

[5c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

province. It is a fascinating story. Native states were conquered and reconquered; clans whose names are still to be found among those known as "Old Chinese" were transported to the province; companies were led in by their

[5 d]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

173 feudal lords; land was given to garrisons and soldier villages which they were to keep "from generation to generation."

The entire tale is too long to tell here, but one small portion may be of interest.[2a] During the first period of the reign of Han Wu-ti (140–135 B.C.) an envoy was sent to Nan-yüeh, in the region occupied by present-day Kwangsi and Kwangtung. During his visit he was offered a relish of betel pepper from Shu, an ancient state with its capital at Ch'engtu. When he inquired whence this relish came, he was told that it was brought from Tsang-ko in the northwest by a river which has its source in the mountains northwest of Ting-fan-hsien in Kweichow. Upon his return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an) he inquired further concerning this relish and was told that it was a product peculiar to Shu, from which it had been taken in private trade to Yeh-lang, a state in what is now the western part of Kweichow and Kwangsi. It occurred to the envoy that by this trade route a way might be afforded for an army recruited in Yeh-lang to proceed against wealthy Nan-yüeh. Accordingly, he memorialized the throne and the project of constructing a road to this river was started; but the road was never finished because the soldiers engaged upon it suffered too much from weariness, hunger, and the "dampness of the weather," and the expense of keeping native peoples from revolt was too great.

The tradition and folklore of those peoples who have no written language, as well as Chinese historical writings, support the contention of all Kweichow people that their ancestors were immigrants from other provinces. Some came from the region between the lakes of Tung-t'ing in Hunan and Po-ying in Kiangsi, some across the borders from Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Szechuan. Among them were forced or voluntary immigrants who came as families or clans, garrison soldiers without families who married women from non-Chinese groups, and in more recent years farmers, business and professional men, and officials. [6a]

563 **Division of Peoples and Their Location.** S. R. Clarke[3] divides the people of the province

[2a] Cheng Teh-k'un, 1945. [3] Clarke, 1911.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

173 **Tradition of Origin.** According to Miss Li,[11] with whom I made my first visit to a Cowrie Shell Miao village, two places were mentioned as the original home of the Cowrie Shell Miao, Kiangsi and the Pearl River, where, one man said, they were known as Hai (Sea) Miao. The head of the family in which I lived insisted that their ancestor was a Chinese (Han-jen) by the name of Lei who migrated voluntarily from Chu-shih-hang in Kiangsi with his wife and settled in Ting-fan Hsien. As the descendants of their sons increased in number they adopted other Chinese surnames and his own family, my informant suggested, might be called Yang Lei Chia (the Yang branch of the Lei family).

131 **Present Distribution.** They are now to be found chiefly in the three *hsien* of Lung-li,

[11] T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939. [11] T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939.

[8c]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

291 531 is a group of young girls, sitting round the door of one of the houses, laughing and chatting and doing their embroidery. When the costumes are finished, they are worn on gala days before they are married and on festive occasions for years afterwards. I have asked my teacher and others if they call themselves *mp'eo* because of the embroidery their women wear, but none of them was able to say why they call themselves by that name.

101 The Ya-chio Miao of Tatung, who live about one hundred miles distant from the nearest Heh Miao, call themselves *mp'ü*, which is the same word and means " embroidery " also with them. They also were not able to tell me why they are so named. The Hua Miao call themselves *hmung* and *hmung-a-li*. The Shui-hsi Miao and Peh Miao also call themselves *hmung*, and some of the other Miao call themselves *hmao*. Now all these words *mp'ü, mp'eo, hmao, hmung* are doubtless the same word, but whether *hmao* and *hmung* also mean embroidery or not in those dialects we are not at present able to say.

173 As these people have no literature, they can say very little that is trustworthy about their own origin and history. The Heh Miao say they came from Kiangsi province, and that is where the Chinese place the San Miao in the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

"Book of History." The Heh Miao, we have every reason to think, were the last to move into Kweichow. Some of them are to be found in Hunan, which lies between Kiangsi and Kweichow, and we believe traces of their language are to be found in some of the local dialects of Kiangsi. The Hua Miao say they have always lived where, or very near to where, they are now. However, when the Keh-lao are mentioned, they readily admit that the Keh-lao were in the district before them. Probably the Hua Miao were the first of the Miao tribes to move into those regions, it may be two thousand or more years ago. 173

The Ya-ch'io Miao say their old home was in Tongking, and that they came to Kweichow by way of Szechwan and Yunnan. This is absurd, and we only put it on record because they insisted that it was so. They also say that when they die their souls return to their ancestors in Tongking. There can be no doubt these various tribes originally came from farther east, though at vastly different periods, some of them two thousand years ago, and the Heh Miao last of all within the last five hundred years. It may be, however, and is indeed very probable, that some of them moved about in different directions before they settled down 174

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

their reading and writing for them. All proclamations and official notifications, all pleas and counter-pleas in law cases have to be written in Chinese. When a Miao headman receives a dispatch from the magistrate, he has to find some one to read it for him and write his reply. All their contracts, mortgages, and deeds of sale or rental are written in Chinese, and not one in a hundred of them when he buys a piece of land is able to read the deed of sale when it is written. 212

A man once explained to me how it happens that they have no written language. He said that many years ago the Miao were living in the neighbourhood of the Chinese, and the Chinese were too crafty for them, so they determined to move westward and live by themselves. At that time they knew a few characters, but evidently knew very little else. After travelling for many days they came to a vast sheet of water, and, having no boats, were unable to proceed. As some of them stood perplexed at the edge of the water, they noticed some water-spiders moving about on the surface of it, and they said one to another, "If these little things can walk on the water, why cannot we?" Thereupon they tried to walk on the surface of the water, which nearly cost them 212 173

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

212 173 their lives. Before they managed to get back again on the bank, they swallowed a great deal of water, and with the water they swallowed all the characters they knew, and have been without characters ever since! This may be regarded as an historical romance with a basis of fact. They did move west away from the Chinese, and the sheet of water was doubtless the Tungting Lake. But are we to gather from it that there was a time when they had some characters, but have since forgotten them?

538 If the Miao have no literature, they have plenty of legends handed down from earlier times. Who composed these legends no one knows; they are taught by the older people to the girls and boys. Many of them are in verse, five syllables to a line, the stanzas being of unequal length, one stanza interrogative and one responsive. These are sung or recited at their festivals by two persons or two groups, generally one group of young men and one group of young women, one group interrogating and the other responding. Among these legends, which I have written down from the dictation of my Heh Miao teacher, is a story of the Creation and a story of the Flood. The story of Creation commences:

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoŋ Glɛ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

VIII. LEGENDS

538 It has already been stated that much of the history and folklore of the Ch'uan Miao has been put into verse from and is sung or chanted by the men and women on various occasions so that they are handed down as songs from generation to generation. There are of course some legends that are not in verse form and are not sung and much of the past history of the group has been lost, but there seems to be no poetry among these people that is not sung or chanted.

It is a well-known fact that the stories spread from group to group and that some stories have spread over most of the world. No doubt some of the Ch'uan Miao legends and stories have been learned from other cultural groups, but many have originated among the Ch'uan Miao themselves. There are old men and women who know hundreds of these legends and songs and gladly teach them to younger people. It is said, however, that many of the young folk are not learning them so that in a few generations they may be forgotten. This will be a real loss for they reflect the history, experiences, customs, ideals, and presuppositions of the people.

538 173 Among the great variety of songs and legends one is historical. There are occasionally to be found in these stories bits of history that have not been recorded in any book. One story tells of the final defeat of the Miao in Kiangsi Province. According to this legend, the Chinese then had guns and cannon. I myself heard the old Ch'uan Miao sing this legend and took it down sentence by sentence as it was translated into Chinese for me by a Ch'uan Miao friend. Those who sang and translated the song knew very little about Kwangtung and Kiangsi Provinces. Another legend tells of a forced migration to Szechwan with their hands tied behind their backs. Still another tells of the settlement of the first Ch'uan Miao at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨. Going farther back into history, there are legends that indicate that their ancestors lived in a land where there were Chinese and also camels; this land surely must have been in North China. There are legends that say, "My ancestors lived in a hot southern climate," and describe conditions that point to a land in the south beyond the frontiers of China. There are stories that reflect conditions in a late neolithic age, or at least an age before metal was in common use, as for instance the story of the man who killed a bear by striking it with a stone axe. One very interesting story tells how monkeys lost their tails by sitting on them and so gradually became men.

The legend about the defeat of the Miao by the Chinese in Kwangtung is as follows:—

"The heavens are empty, the earth is small. The Chinese arose and fought us Miao. When we heard this evil news, when the Chinese reached Kwangtung, they brought cannon

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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and guns and we were much afraid. When they had conquered Kiangsi, the Miao T'ien Ho 天火 (fire from heaven) blew his bugle, and Earth Fire 地火 took up his sword and curved bows and mustered soldiers as far as the horizon. The Chinese in attacking the Miao towns fought rapidly, attacking quickly, and even chickens and dogs were frightened. The Miao soldiers went and fought them but the Chinese broke open the Miao cities. The Chinese soldiers, when they saw the Miao soldiers covering the surrounding hills, were unable to hold back the Miao soldiers and fled and took refuge on the cliffs. The Chinese used a trick, making boats and chariots, filling them with soldiers, and came again to fight the Miao. The Miao were then defeated. The Chinese took possession of the Miao land and ordered the Miao to make them three thousand bows and arrows. The Miao could not oppose them and took refuge in caves."

It is not impossible that the migration of the Ch'uan Miao to Szechwan occurred under Yung Chêng 雍正 about the year 1733.

There is a legend that seems to imply a blood relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. It states that originally the Chinese and the Miao were one family. They were two brothers. The Miao was the older, the more powerful and the more respected brother and the Chinese was the younger. The parents died and were buried. The brothers separated and lost all trace of each other. They both commemorated their ancestors at the same grave but at different times so that they did not meet. The younger brother, the Chinese, worshipped later in the year, so that the older brother noticed that somebody was worshipping at the grave of his parents. "Who is doing this and for what reason?" he asked. Then he began to watch and caught the younger brother. A disagreement ensued. They did not recognize each other so each blamed the other for worshipping at his ancestral grave. Instead of fighting, they went to law about it. The official asked the Miao, "What evidence have you that this is your ancestral grave?" He replied, "I have buried a millstone a certain distance to the right of the grave." He asked the younger brother the same question. He answered, "I have buried a brass gong a certain distance to the left of the grave." The official sent men to dig and found both the millstone and the gong. Then it became known that the two men were brothers. But in the centuries that followed the descendants of the two brothers grew apart and forgot their common ancestry so that the Chinese have forgotten it altogether. Moreover, the Chinese descendants have become more and more powerful and numerous so that the Miao are now the younger and weaker brothers and the Chinese are the older and stronger brothers.

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There is a variation of this legend which states that when the two brothers first separated they took a brass gong and broke it in two, each brother burying his piece near the grave. Later, at the official investigation, the two parts fitted together, proving their common ancestry.

The Ch'uan Miao trace their ancestry to a female ancestor called Na Bo Hmo Ntsə or the Miao mother named Ntsə.

One legend is that of P'an Ku 盤古, a great superman who with his hammer and chisel carved out the sky and the earth. The Chinese also have this legend and it is a question whether the Miao learned it from the Chinese or the Chinese from the Miao. An interesting fact is that this was not a creation of original materials but a shaping of the sky and the earth out of substances that already existed.

Savina found among the Miao of Tongkin the Biblical story of the flood, the tower of Babylon, the confusion of tongues, and a migration across northern Asia, finally reaching Tongkin. I have always suspected that the Miao of Tongkin learned these stories in recent times from Christian sources. I have not found the slightest trace of them among the Ch'uan Miao.

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The story of the flood as I have learned it from Ch'uan Miao friends is as follows. Two brothers were hoeing a piece of land in order to plant a crop. Every morning when they returned to the field they found the soil turned back as it had been before they began work. One night, they kept watch to see who was doing this and saw an old man come onto the field and begin turning the soil back. When they asked for an explanation, the old man said, "It is useless for you to plant a crop. The world will be flooded and all the crops will be ruined and all the people will be drowned." Then they went and asked ʒ̄e sʌu what to do about it. He advised each of them to make a large tub or barrel and to get into it when the flood arose. So the younger brother made a wooden tub and the older brother made one of iron. When the rains descended and the floods came, each brother got into his tub. The iron tub sank and the older brother was drowned but the wooden tub floated and so the younger brother was saved.

There is a variation of this story by which a brother and a sister were saved from the flood. There were no other people on earth, but they were brother and sister and had the same name, so it was not right for them to marry. They made three tests which finally proved to their satisfaction that it was the will of Ntsə that they should marry. One of these tests was the rolling of two round stones from opposite sides of a gulch or canyon. Their stopping together was a proof of the will of Ntsə that they should marry. Savina says that in the legend as he received it, it was not

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17 Miao AE5

S 175 166 563 Records lists the capitals of the Nan Man or Southern Man in the Chou period. Many of them were in the area between the lower and central Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers, and in the drainage of the Ssu and Huai.[27] After all, it was this sort of existence of the different cultural groups side by side that resulted in intermixtures of cultures and the development of different tribes as described by Eberhard.

Actually, Ling Shun-sheng would have us believe that the Man of the Miao cultural group forced out the earlier inhabitants of the area south of the Yang-tzu between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. These earlier inhabitants presumably were a T'ai related group known as the Chiu-li tribe, who up to this time had been the most powerful of the tribes south of the Yang-tzu.[28] In any case, this indicates that the Ch'u Kingdom comprised different ethnic elements. As to whether the political entity could be viewed as overwhelmingly and dominantly T'ai, as Eickstedt would have us believe,[29] is something that needs further support to be convincing unless the Yueh be equated with the T'ai. Eberhard showed the Yueh to be found in all the Lower Yang-tzu Valley region as well as in the southeast during ancient times. We shall look more closely into this question in the subsequent pages.

M 173 175 7. The History and Migrations of the Miao and their Relation to the Ch'u State

The Miao legends trace the origin of the Miao, in the interpretation of Savina,[30] from the Pamir area of Central Asia during prehistoric times. These legends state that in the early habitat of the Miao, the winters were long and the year was divided into two parts, each of six months. One was called "white or daylight landscape," the other "black night." The water often froze into ice, while snow covered the earth. Trees and shrubs were stunted and scarce. The people were of short stature and wore furs and skins for clothing. Savina believed that the Miao traveled east and northeastward from the Pamirs through Turkestan and the Tanu Ola Mountains across Siberia and then proceeded south through Mongolia and Shen-hsi to Ho-nan. From Ho-nan, according to these legends, they migrated to Kuei-chou, thence to Ssu-ch'uan, and from there to Yun-nan and Tongking-Laos. Of course, said Ling and Jui,[31] this is hypothetical deduction, and there are no substantial historical evidences available to sup-

M 167 174

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/8 cont./

A 101 The Akha call themselves Ǎkhǎ, but are called "Kō" by the Haw and the Thai peoples near Kengtung. This name was accepted by all the Thailanders, the Schan, and other peoples with whom the Akha came into contact. The identity of the name for the basket carried with the shoulder board (ǎkhǎ), which is found among no other mountain people of this region, and the tribal name of the people, for which there is no explanation, is striking. Concerning the meaning of the name, we find in the literature only the following reference in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (4): "They (the Akha, note by Dr.

A [482] [415]

4. Part I, Vol. I, p. 588.

Bernatzik) are better known under the name Kaw /Ill. 1-6 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /9/ or Hka-kaw. The prefix kha, as in all similar cases, designates 'slave' or 'subjugated people.' In some areas they call themselves Akhö." This could perhaps be an explanation for the designation used for the Akha by the other peoples, but it in no way explains the indigenous name.

/10/

Chapter 2
History

M 173 According to Savina, Meau tradition (see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales") reports that "after the confusion of tongues" they turned toward a high plateau and then toward a territory in which the "antipodes" of their present-day sites in China were to be found. This territory allegedly was completely covered with snow and ice; day and night alternated after each had lasted for six months; and the people there were small and wore fur clothing. Savina (1) continues thus: "When our an-

1. II, p. xi.

cestors left these regions, they settled down in Honan, where the Meau had their first settlements in China."

[Text continues on p. 15]

/10 cont./

174 The description by the Meau concerning their later his-
[173] tory from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they
[823] would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agree with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

[648] We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B.C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

175 each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports,
648 around the twenty-seventh century B.C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history

/22 cont./

131 [175] there, too, east of the Menam /Mae Nam/, a similar broad expansion of the Meau to the south is confirmed." A chart supplementing his discussion shows the area of Meau settlement as the mountains of northern Thailand at altitudes above 1,000 meters, where they occur sporadically, as well as the central cordillera at 16° 35' north latitude as the southernmost occurrence (1).

1. Credner, IV, p. 137.

/Today we therefore find settlements of the Meau at a distance of only 300 kilometers as the crow flies from Bangkok. Since they are now approaching the spurs of the mountain ranges which follow the Menam, the question arises as to whether they can finally be made sedentary or whether there will be further movement southward. Such a movement, however, in view of the conditions and the geographic situation forcing the Meau to maintain a southward direction, would lead into the peninsula of Thailand and the Malay Peninsula, which would mean a descent into the tropical forest climate. This would presumably bring about a biological catastrophe for the mountain peoples. At any rate, their future development will also be of colonial-ethnological interest.

173 The Meau whom I investigated in Thailand, according to their own statements, came from Yunnan. Luang Boriphand Dhuraratsadorn (2), too, gives the "Haw country (Yunnan)"

2. Page 157.

/cited in English/ as the homeland of the White Meau. Undoubtedly his statement is also based upon information from the Meau, who, if we refer back to Savina's (3) findings summarized

3. II, p. vii.

above, regard Tonkin merely as a way station on their route from Yunnan and have remained historically aware of their migration route.

/22 cont./

173 This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom
[115] I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tsu tên, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/
[648] In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands ~~in~~ China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nyă lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

174 The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been re-
[131] ported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan actually are Meau and not perhaps Yau. It is significant, at
[197] any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

/40 cont./

173 According to the tradition of the Thailand Meau, as my
643 informants told me, their last king waged war against the
648 Chinese because the latter menaced the Meau settlements. After the initial successes of the royal commander-in-chief, tă lĕn tĕŭ, the Meau were nevertheless beaten. The king and his military leaders died in the bloody battle. Then the younger brother of the slain king assumed leadership. He led all the people southward on the flight before the pursuing enemy. -- The present-day Meau in Thailand no longer re-
643 member the kingship in detail. It could not be learned, for instance, whether the crown was customarily passed on to the son or to the brother of the deceased. Only the designation
668 for king - văn tšŏ has survived. Even today they believe that
643 sometime and somewhere a Meau king will rise again, who will unite his people, gather them together, and lead them victoriously against the hated oppressors. Savina (1) describes

1. II, p. 258.

similar ideas from among the Meau in Indochina: "The Meau are waiting for a liberator, a king, a phoa thay. As soon as the report of a phoa thay comes from somewhere, they immediately take up their weapons and set out to put themselves at his disposal. What we call a 'rebellion' they call oa phoa thay, 'to make a king.'"

173 Far more vivid, however, is the memory of the Meau
634 concerning the power and activity of the great chiefs (tšŭń kŏăń). One of my informants in particular knew all kinds of details; he was a direct descendant of the last great chief. The memory of the great chief, however, /41/ was also alive among the other Meau and in any case was more vivid than that of the king, since the common man probably scarcely had an opportunity to know the king himself except by hearsay.

Miao AE5

/449 cont./

114 mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages
212 of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years
[175] 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

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Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven
175 out of their original homeland and in places were completely
648 destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an
[163] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and
[842]

M 175 184 *535 /203/

to perform a native dance.
One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
which sounded like gnats. After
a good while some tens of them,
turning side by side, danced.
They called it the shui-ch'ü."

to the ch'ü-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty (1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

M [113]

1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya,
Vol. I, sections on the
T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the Pe Miao, have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known. Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to describe the singing and dancing. However good the description, it is only a simulation. The Li Shan annotation on the phase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums," sets in order all the phrases. On reading it one gets a better understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance. The ancient Hsin ch'eng Aa-lo-kung Tz'u says: 'The p'an drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven P'an Dance/, Chang Heng says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

M 174 *535 C 535 C [175]

/203 cont./

M sandals go up'; again, 'the p'an drums glitter with heavy silk.' ● 174 Wang Ts'an in his Ch'i Shih says: 'The seven p'an take place *535 in a large yard, the group fall in line, throwing their white C 175 sleeves high up, suddenly close their feet and stand straight, 535 looking askance at the drum, raising their voices to follow the rhythm, slowly tiptoeing to follow the beat, then bending their bodies in rapid sequence.' K'a Lan in his Hsü-ch'ang-kung Fu says: 'They stamp the feet to stop following, and continue when they seem about to stop. The drums roar but the steps are not confused, the feet following one after the other but not together. They lean toward the drum, zigzagging like a snake. As for the seven p'an dance, they go lightly like feathers.' The descriptions are similar." The p'an drum dance became extinct during the Tang dynasty. Although Li Shan had collected data about the various dances and studied them carefully, he had only a general idea of them. Fortunately, today we have the stone carvings from the Han dynasty. C [532] Such books as the Shan Tso Chin Shih chih (2) and the Nan-yang

2. By Pi Yüan and Yüan Yüan of the Ching dynasty.

Han Hua-hsiang Hui-ts'un (3) /Illus. 78 and 79, on pp. 204,

3. By Sun Wen-ch'ing, published by the Literary Society of Nanking University, 1938, containing four illustrations of the drum dance, Nos. 137, 138, 139, and 142.

205/ /206/ contain pictures of the drum dance of the Han dynasty. Looking at the illustrations and reading the poems bring the drum dance of the Han dynasty vividly to mind. Illustrations 78 and 79 show stone carvings of the drum dance

[text continues on p316]

2:Ling & Ruey--314 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Ch'in-Han AF8

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Illus. 78. Stone carving of the drum dance at Nan-yang, A.

2:Ling & Ruey--315 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Ch'in-Han AF8

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Illus. 79. Stone carving of the drum dance at Nan-yang, B.

/206 cont./

M 174 *535 at Nan-Yang. They very much resemble the drum dance of the Hung Miao today. This strengthens the belief that the drum dance was brought into the Miao area during the Han dynasty. Further, according to the legend still prevalent today in the C [175] [535] Miao area, in ancient times the Miao lived in Honan. The ancient Chinese records refer to the Mao Jung at Yin-ti in Honan province. From the geographical standpoint the theory also seems close to facts.

M *535 The drum dance of the Miao may be divided into two kinds: the solo dance and the duet dance. The solo dance is done by one person beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping the waist of the drum (Illus. 84-116). The duet dance is done by two persons beating the drum and dancing and one person M [562] tapping (Illus. 81, 82, and 83). There is no restriction as to sex, any combination being permitted.

[534] The size of the drum was probably set in former times, but now there are no uniform requirements. The drum is hoisted on a wooden frame and the stick /pang/ used for tapping is about a ch'ih long, and the drumstick is about half a ch'ih.

There are two kinds of dances: the drumstick dance and the fist dance, the difference being that in the former the drum is struck with the drumstick and in the latter with the fist. The M [562] fist dances, except for the ta-pa-pa dance (see later), are men's dances and are not practiced by women. As for the drumstick dances, although they are for both men and women, there is a certain number exclusively for men. When we observed the Miao dances we felt at first that the movements were rather complicated, but after detailed analysis they are rather simple. Since within the short space of five minutes they can dance over 20 different steps in very rapid motion, each being interchangeable with the other, on-lookers cannot help but feel that the steps are extremely intricate. Following are accounts of the drumstick dance and the fist dance.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER II

IN THE SLOUGH OF DESPOND

Pictures of the People

THE Miao do not live alone. They are close neighbours of Chinese and of another tribe, the Nosu. 174

The Nosu (pronounced No-soo) are not illiterate as the Miao. They have a written language represented by some three thousand different words and are a fine, tall race, with a comparatively fair complexion. Probably of Aryan origin, they are distinct from the Chinese in language, customs and character. There is a stretch of hill country in the South of Szechuan where they still live under their own chiefs and are independent of Chinese rule. As to their religion, the Nosu worship nature, and have a great fear of evil spirits.

The Nosu of this story are under Chinese domination and are rapidly imbibing Chinese culture and civilisation.

For several generations the Flowery Miao, harried and dispossessed of their land, have been the shuttle-cock of both the Chinese and Nosu, who had come to regard them as "the offscouring of

174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 579 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being distilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

536 The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House", where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

"Book of History." The Heh Miao, we have 173
every reason to think, were the last to move into Kweichow. Some of them are to be found in Hunan, which lies between Kiangsi and Kweichow, and we believe traces of their language are to be found in some of the local dialects of Kiangsi. The Hua Miao say they have always lived where, or very near to where, they are now. However, when the Keh-lao are mentioned, they readily admit that the Keh-lao were in the district before them. Probably the Hua Miao were the first of the Miao tribes to move into those regions, it may be two thousand or more years ago.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say their old home was in Tongking, and that they came to Kweichow by way of Szechwan and Yunnan. This is absurd, and we only put it on record because they insisted that it was so. They also say that when they die their souls return to their ancestors in Tongking. There can be no doubt these 174
various tribes originally came from farther east, though at vastly different periods, some of them two thousand years ago, and the Heh Miao last of all within the last five hundred years. It may be, however, and is indeed very probable, that some of them moved about in different directions before they settled down

7: Clarke M-S (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

•174 where we find them now. Tongking, which the Ya-ch'io Miao pronounce as the Chinese do *Tung-chin*, may be one of the old capitals of China called "The Eastern Metropolis."[1]

622 Till recent times the Miao, while actually subject to China, were ruled by their own hereditary chiefs. This system is now passing away, if it has not already ceased to exist. We have heard of Miao chiefs still exercising hereditary authority at the present time, but we have not met them or been, so far as we know, in their districts. The men now responsible for their districts and fellow-tribesmen to the Imperial magistrates are appointed by those magistrates. These men are called *Tuan* or headmen, just as the same sort of men are called by the same name among the Chinese. These are something like Justices of the Peace in England, having authority in their own jurisdiction to settle minor disputes, while all serious cases are tried by the Chinese magistrate. These headmen are also responsible for the collection of the land tax. Among the Miao they are generally very ignorant men, not able to read and write. Thus it appears that the

[1] Peking = Northern Capital. Nanking = Southern Capital. Tungking = Eastern Capital. Compare the Japanese Tokio (Tungking) = Eastern Capital.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER I

THE PROVINCE AND ITS PEOPLES

Ancient history—Chinese and Miao—The Miao move westward —Kweichow—Constituted a province—General characteristics of the province—Original Chinese—New Chinese—The non-Chinese—The Keh-lao.

175

WHEN the people now known as Chinese reached the regions which at present form the provinces of Shensi and Shansi in north China, they found much land already occupied by tribes not unlike themselves. These tribes were doubtless the descendants of people who had, at an earlier date, migrated from the west. Those to the south were called *Nan Man* or Southern Barbarians. They were also called *Miao*. The character *Miao*, as written in the "Book of History," means tender blades of grass or sprouts, and it is hard to decide whether the people were so named in consequence of the district they occupied, or whether the district took its name from the people. The word is

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

175 evidently Chinese, and seems to be a natural term for all newcomers to apply to the aborigines, whom they regard as sons of the soil.

In the "Canon of Shuen" it is recorded that Shuen drove the San Miao into San Wei. Whether San Miao was the name of one tribe or meant three tribes[1] is not clear. San Wei was a district extending from what is now Kiukiang, in the province of Kiangsi, to Yochow, at the mouth of the Tungting Lake in the province of Hunan. This was about 4000 years ago. Later on, as the Miao continued rebellious, Yü was sent, at the command of Shuen, to correct them. For reasons which do not appear, Yü sent back his army and determined to try the effect of moral suasion on these unmanageable people, and in seventy days the Prince of the Miao came to make his submission!

From that time forth the struggle has proceeded between the ever-encroaching Chinese and the Miao, in which struggle the more civilised and better organised Chinese have always, in the end, prevailed. About 800 B.C. Shuen Wang, one of the kings of the Chow dynasty, sent an expedition against them.

[1] San is Chinese for three.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Fang Shuh, who was the leader, proceeded with three thousand chariots as far as the present cities of Changsha and Changte in Hunan. Three mailed warriors rode in each chariot, and these, with other soldiers, made up a force of some thirty thousand men. The barbarians, alarmed at the news of recent Chinese victories over the Northern Tartars, and terrified by the beating of drums and cymbals, submitted without resistance. 175

During the reign of Shih Hwang Ti, the Emperor who built the Great Wall and overthrew the feudal system of China (200 B.C.), cities were built in what are now the southern provinces of the Empire, and the whole of that country was brought under real or nominal subjection. The wilder west was, however, still unsubdued, and into these higher and less fertile regions many of the Miao withdrew.

When the Chinese first came upon the scene, the *Nan Man* or *Miao* were probably as numerous, if not more numerous than the new arrivals. The Chinese, however, were not only more civilised but under one government, whereas the Miao were divided under many local kings and rulers. The inevitable result followed. The Miao were gradually destroyed, or absorbed 175
by the conquering race, or driven to the less 177

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

175 desirable regions of the west and south-west.
177 This process of absorption has been going on since the days of Yao and Shuen, 2356 B.C., and may be observed at the present time in the province of Kweichow. In that province m ·v of the Chinese have Miao wives or concubines, and the children of such marriages always claim to be and are looked upon as Chinese.

121 The writer has neither the intention nor the ability to recall the history of the Miao tribes from the earliest times. His purpose, so far as he is able, is to describe briefly the different peoples now inhabiting the province of Kweichow, more especially the non-Chinese peoples. West China, Tibet, Burma, Tongking, Annam, and Siam are inhabited by many tribes, and it is impossible not to ask such interesting questions as: Who are they? Whence came they? and When? After a residence of more than twenty years in the province of Kweichow, where we have learned something about these tribes, it is our purpose to set down what we know.

103 The two characters *Kwei-chow* as they are now written, and have been written for about six hundred years, mean "Precious or Honourable Region." But eighteen hundred years ago, during the Han dynasty, the name was written

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

with the character *Kwei* meaning "demon" and thus would mean "Demon Region," that is, "the region inhabited by demons." Sometimes it was written *Kwei Fang*, "demon place" or "land of demons." The inhabitants were also called *Lo-sï Kwei* or "Lo-sï demons," which probably had reference to the spiral form in which some of them did up their hair. 103

What is now Kweichow was only constituted a province, with Kweiyang Fu as its capital, about two hundred years ago. Previous to that time that portion of the present province north of the Wu-kiang or "Crow River" was part of the province of Szechwan. South of that river were semi-independent kingdoms; *I-chia* or *Lo-lo* who call themselves *No-su* in the west, and *Miao-chia* in the east. Hundreds of years previous to that time Chinese armies had marched into Kweichow and left garrisons in different places. 175.

One hundred and fifty years ago, when Roman Catholic missionaries made a map of the Empire, some parts of southern Kweichow were put down as occupied by *Sen Miao* or "Independent Miao." Evidently at that time some of the Miao were still independent, for if they had in any way admitted Chinese sovereignty they would not have been reckoned

7: Clarke M-S (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

175 as *Sen Miao.* The various tribes within the Empire, and those on the border, are divided into *Sen* and *Su* tribes. *Sen* means "raw," and *Su* means "ripe" or "cooked." The independent tribes are "raw," and those who acknowledge Chinese sovereignty are "cooked." There are no Miao, or any other tribe in Kweichow now, who claim to be independent. The last vestiges of independence passed away forty years ago when the latest Miao rebellion of any importance was put down after years of mutual slaughter. Talking recently with a Miao who remembered that time, he said, "Our people were worse than the Chinese and killed more women and children than they did."

133 Most of Kweichow is at least three thousand feet above sea-level, the altitude constantly increasing as the traveller goes west. Weining Lake, in the north-west, a large sheet of water fifty miles long and in some places nearly twenty miles broad, is 7000 feet above sea-level. We saw no boats and there appears to be no traffic on the lake. The hills are not exceedingly high, but they are everywhere. The province is a labyrinth of hills and valleys, and probably not one-fifth of the surface of it is cultivated or cultivable.

When the traveller reaches the top of a high

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴨雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoŋ Glɛ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

S [92 cont.]
684 then the life of the lover will be threatened when the affair comes to the knowledge of her husband or fiancé. If both lovers are killed, society takes no notice of the case; but if only one party is killed, the other could still prosecute the matter.

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562 There are other restrictions between men and women. If
574 male guests arrive, only the host of the family sits at the table, and the mistress takes no part in the reception. Likewise, if female guests arrive, the hostess will act her part but the master of the house will ignore the visit, at most exchanging a few polite remarks. Male and female guests are rarely seen sharing the same table. On the other hand, when men and women are found wining and singing together the women would be considered as crazy and shameless, and public opinion would be to their detriment.

From this it may be seen that the relationship between men and women among the Sui-chia, although not reaching the extent of "not handing things to each other," is subject to the closest scrutiny from all sides.

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[113] The Story of the Miao Ancestors

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

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174 There are many different Miao-I tribes in Kweichow, but
569 in the opinion of modern anthropologists they fall into three large groups. According to their geographical distribution those in the east are mostly the Miao, those in the south and the southwest are mostly the Chung-chia, and those in the northwest along the Wei-ning area are mostly the Lolo. The Miao probably came from Hunan. (Originally they were distributed in Central

[113 cont.]
174 China, and later due to pressure from the Chinese they migrated
563 to the south.) The Chung-chia probably came from Yunnan and Kwangsi and together with the Siamese [Thai] belong to the Pai-Shan linguistic group. The Lolo came from the borders of Szechwan and Yunnan, and their language is of the same branch as that of the Burmese. To confirm or to disprove this
121 theory we have to be guided by two criteria in our study: first, the criterion of physical anthropology, and second, the criterion of cultural anthropology. Within the confines of physical anthropology, besides the measurement of head and nose indices and cheek-bone protrusion, the study of blood types has become a reliable standard of racial classification in modern anthropology. Within the confines of cultural anthropology the comparison of languages is an important method of study, while a comparative study of customs, folklore and myths is also exceedingly valuable.

The comparative study of myths and folklore is highly regarded by American anthropologists because the similarities in these tales can establish evidences of kinship and mutual influences between various ethnic groups. This method of study is generally known as the historical method of anthropology. It is not concerned with the historical value of mythology for the group, nor with its effect upon the tribal people, nor with its literary value. This [114] method is concerned only with an objective comparison of all the stories to determine the particular group to which the tribes belong and the route of their migration.

Mythology and folklore represent the background of a certain period and reflect the degree of civilization of a tribal group at the time the myths originated. Franz Boas, the leading anthropologist today, has collected over a hundred mythological tales among the Tsimshian Indians and the following is his conclusion:

> "It is obvious that in the tales of a people those incidents of the everyday life that are of importance to them will appear either incidentally or as the basis of a plot. Most of the references to the mode of life of the people will be an accurate reflection of their

[129 cont.]

171 773 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many changes later.

174 From these myths we can gather some material regarding the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive people originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from the American Indians to show that the method of friction preceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of 174 372 the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire, and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with localities, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of our attention.

114 (This article was first published in the "She-hui hsün-k'an" [Social Studies, a publication appearing every ten days], Nos. 4-5, of the Kwei-yang Ke-ming Jih-pao [Kwei-yang Revolutionary Times], May 19, 1938, and has been slightly revised in its present form.)

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Records lists the capitals of the Nan Man or Southern Man in the Chou period. Many of them were in the area between the lower and central Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers, and in the drainage of the Ssu and Huai.[27] After all, it was this sort of existence of the different cultural groups side by side that resulted in intermixtures of cultures and the development of different tribes as described by Eberhard.

Actually, Ling Shun-sheng would have us believe that the Man of the Miao cultural group forced out the earlier inhabitants of the area south of the Yang-tzu between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. These earlier inhabitants presumably were a T'ai related group known as the Chiu-li tribe, who up to this time had been the most powerful of the tribes south of the Yang-tzu.[28] In any case, this indicates that the Ch'u Kingdom comprised different ethnic elements. As to whether the political entity could be viewed as overwhelmingly and dominantly T'ai, as Eickstedt would have us believe,[29] is something that needs further support to be convincing unless the Yueh be equated with the T'ai. Eberhard showed the Yueh to be found in all the Lower Yang-tzu Valley region as well as in the southeast during ancient times. We shall look more closely into this question in the subsequent pages.

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7. The History and Migrations of the Miao and their Relation to the Ch'u State

The Miao legends trace the origin of the Miao, in the interpretation of Savina,[30] from the Pamir area of Central Asia during prehistoric times. These legends state that in the early habitat of the Miao, the winters were long and the year was divided into two parts, each of six months. One was called "white or daylight landscape," the other "black night." The water often froze into ice, while snow covered the earth. Trees and shrubs were stunted and scarce. The people were of short stature and wore furs and skins for clothing. Savina believed that the Miao traveled east and northeastward from the Pamirs through Turkestan and the Tanu Ola Mountains across Siberia and then proceeded south through Mongolia and Shen-hsi to Ho-nan. From Ho-nan, according to these legends, they migrated to Kuei-chou, thence to Ssu-ch'uan, and from there to Yun-nan and Tongking-Laos. Of course, said Ling and Jui,[31] this is hypothetical deduction, and there are no substantial historical evidences available to sup-

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port it, although, in general, this corresponds to the trend of the route of Miao migration traced by Ling and Jui. This would also refute the contention that the present Miao are descendants of the early San-Miao whose territory was in the north Hu-nan area. 167 174

We thus come up against the problem of the connection between the so-called San-Miao and the modern Miao. Some Chinese writers have contended that the Miao of today are the descendants of the ancient San-Miao, and moreover, according to Chu Hsi-tsu, "make the absurd claim that the Miao preceded the Han-Chinese in China".[32] Hirth, however, accepted the fact of the descent of the modern Miao from the San-Miao. He wrote:

According to one of the commentaries, the Glutton, or T'au-t'ie, was identical with a personage or tribe (for it appears to be an ethnic name) called San-miau, whom the emperor banished from his dominions and who originally occupied the regions about Mt. Hong-shan and the shores of T'ung-t'ing Lake in the present Hu-nan province. From these ancient seats the emperor is said to have banished them to a place called San-wei, which Chinese commentators have identified with a locality now known as San-wei-shen in the neighborhood of Tun-huang-hien in northwestern Kan-su. The San-miau are considered the forefathers of the Tangutans, or K'iang, the southern neighbors of the Yue-chi, or Indo-Scythians, before their great migration westward in the second century B.C. and of the Miau-tzi tribes. If Klaproth's derivation, based on Chinese notices, of the origin of the Tibetan race from these K'iang tribes holds good (Cf. S. W. Bushell, The Early History of Tibet, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 439), the legend of the banishment by the Emperor Shun of the San-miau, their ancestors, may be looked upon as a symbolic allusion to the shifting of their aboriginal seats. It would appear from this tradition that Tangutans, Tibetans, and Miau-tzi originally occupied the north of Hu-nan province and were thence driven westward, owing to the rapid growth of the Chinese race. [113]

Less cautious than Hirth, Eickstedt[34] had no hesitation in saying that it is clear from the evidence that the Miao are derived from the San-Miao, who according to 174

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174 the Water Classic were located in the Upper Wei Ho Valley during the Hsia Dynasty (B.C. 2205-1766). Let us follow his account of the evolution and migration of the Miao. It is true enough, he said, that the name of the Miao disappears for a long period from the literature, as occurs in frequent cases among the other tribes. Perhaps, swept over by the storm of west barbarians such as the Tibetan Ch'iang whose territory occupied the area between Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan, they are concealed under the names of tribes with Tibetan affinities. To this group belong the Tang Hsiang which, wrote Eickstedt, Han sources clearly indicate are the descendants of the San-Miao. They occupied the Upper Wei Valley where the old San-Miao had existed. From period to period a succession of folk names whose folk were closely related - San-Miao, Ch'iang, Fan, and Miao, was pushed southward. But since the Sung period, the name Miao has become fixed upon a circumscribed group of tribes people who, above all, are found in Kuei-chou.

The present-day, though not the ancient, Miao language has been strongly influenced by the Mon Khmer, according to Eickstedt, and is looked upon by many, indeed, as being as much Mon Khmer in character as the Yao. However, the T'ai influence is so strong that it works as a tie between the two groups today. In any case, the east Tibetan element, - perhaps the remnant of the Ch'iang, - is unrecognizable. All this certainly does not exclude the possibility that as early as the Hsia Dynasty the Miao reached as far as the border of Kuei-chou or Ch'u, as in the actual case with the Ch'iang. Once upon a time, however, asserted Eickstedt, they did not extend this far, and they never were the sole inhabitants of the area. For the Ch'u Kingdom was a rice culture kingdom of the plains whose T'ai population could have had only a loose sovereignty over the adjacent passes and valley slopes, and perhaps not even these at times.

With this, said Eickstedt, we come to a significant point [and apparently this significance ties the Miao to the San-Miao]. Even the San-Miao were, as indicated by the ancient character for their name (grass radical over field) not rice farmers of the hot, moist valley slopes, but mountain-meadow nomads just as they were in the middle ancient period and at present. The oldest sources reveal such Miao as "southern barbarians" in the mountain steppes, i.e., the northern Ch'in-ling Mountains, while

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the middle-ancient sources of the 3rd century B.C. recognized unquestionably descendants of these early (San) Miao still in the Nan Shan (Ch'i-lien Mts.) in Kan-su, a northern region of mountain steppes. Truly the entire economy, clothes, way of living, and social organization is derived from this type of landscape, - mountains, mountain-steppes, or steppe. The Miao of the plain are not really Miao any longer; for on cultural and economic grounds they must become T'ai or Chinese. 174

Without denying the validity of his statement that the early ancestors of the Miao may have been steppe or mountain-steppe dwellers, it ought to be pointed out that philologically, the grass radical over a field in the character Miao does not necessarily refer to steppe or grassland, and, in fact, may not refer to such vegetation or landscape at all. The Tz'u-Hai Encyclopedia[35] gives one definition of Miao as rice-plant shoots before the rice matures. Before maturity, rice plants are called Miao; after maturity they are called Ho. Miao also is given as an ancient place-name north of the Yellow River in Honan. While the vegetation here may be steppe where the land is not planted, it is hardly mountainous or even hilly. The K'ang-hsi Dictionary refers to a classical line of poetry during the Chou or Han period which freely translated reads "Large rats, do not eat up my tender plant shoots (Miao)". Thus, this character appears to picture cultivated fields rather than wild grass-lands. The danger inherent in this sort of evidence is perceivable.

Eickstedt said that many Miao in talking to him raised their hands in horror at the very thought of settling on the plains, and, no doubt, as he points out, if we take their general cultural situations, the Miao, Fan and Ch'iang belong on the cold mountain heights, in contrast to the Wu-man and Liao on the warm slopes, with the T'ai people in the hot, steaming valleys. But he appears to be going too far in saying that from the foregoing, i.e., his preceding description, it follows that around the 2nd Millennium B.C., the San Miao were found neither in the rice plains of the Yang-tzu as inhabitants of Ch'u nor as solely inhabiting the mountains of distant Kuei-chou but that they were partly or solely to be found in the cool steppes or steppe mountains of the north.[36] The Miao preferences may merely reflect the historical conditioning of a habitat forced upon them. 114 133

Having viewed one side of the argument, let us examine the other side. In the first place, according to Chiang Ying-

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174 114 liang, historically the San-Miao of the Shang History who were driven from the Yellow River Plain to the northwest by the Han-Chinese have no relation to the San-Miao described by Han Fei-tzu in the Book of History.[37] The latter were a southern people living between the P'o-yang Lake and the T'ung-t'ing Lake. If this be so, then the proponents of the preceding arguments have confused a southern San-Miao with a northern San-Miao which has no relation to the southern one. However, Chiang gave this as his evaluation of conflicting evidence. The authorities that many Chinese historians have used to contend that the Miao are descendants of the Hsia Dynasty San-Miao are the Chan-kuo-ts'e (Warring States Records) (B.C. 403-221) and the Wei Ts'e (Records of the Wei Dynasty: A.D. 220-277). These state that the habitat of the San-Miao is to the left of the T'ung-t'ing (looking at it from the north), and to the right of P'eng-li (P'o-yang Lake). Because the character Miao in San-Miao is the same as that for the modern Miao, and because the modern Miao are found in the same locality, the connection appears to be plausible and has been assumed to be a fact. Nevertheless, after the period of the Ch'in and the Han, the historical records do not carry the nomenclature of Miao until the beginning of the Sung and Yuan, 700 to 1000 years later.[38]

The pre-Ch'in historical works refer to three terms using the character Miao as applied to an ethnic group (1) San-Miao (2) Yu-Miao and (3) Miao-min. Various explanations have been offered for the meaning of the characters San ("three"), Yu ("there are"), and Min ("people"), especially in writings since Han and T'ang times. Ling Shun-sheng considered that San was not meant to limit the number of Miao tribes to three, but that it was used merely in the Chinese fashion to indicate that there were more than just one or two. In the same way, for instance, the Chiu-Li (Nine Li) were not necessarily limited to nine tribes or groups. (Ling referred the reader to Wang Chung's article in the first issue of Shu Hsueh entitled Tz'u San Chiu (an interpretation of "three" and "nine"). The character Yu in Yu-Miao is a modifier added for the sake of euphony and rhythm.

Writers on the classics since the Han and T'ang have largely taken San-Miao as the name of a state, according to Ling. Thus, Ma Jung said: "In the western frontier, San-Miao is the name of a state. Its nobles are the descendants of Chin Yün." Or the writers referred to San-Miao

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as the name of the gentry or clan of a state. Thus, Cheng Yung wrote: "The Miao-min are the princes of the Chiu-li. These princes were corrupted by Shao Hao and abandoned virtuous ways. Like Ch'ih Yu, they were punished heavily." Ling asserted that the Ch'ing Dynasty scholar Wang Ming-sheng was among those misinterpreting the connection between the modern Miao and the ancient Miao. Wang wrote: "The San-Miao are the descendants of the Chiu-li. The Li and the Miao were both names for the Nan-Man (Southern Man), and are similar to those of today." Japanese historians, in Ling's opinion, also have added to the misinterpretation, so that many present-day Chinese and western scholars have accepted it without question.[39]

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Ling, however, argued that not only is there no connection between the San-Miao of ancient times and the Miao of modern times, but that there is a distinction between the early San-Miao princes or San-Miao State and the subjects of the San-Miao. He presented evidence to show that the subjects of the San-Miao of the north Hu-nan area were the Chiu-li. As to the princes of San-Miao, the Shih Chi says that Chin Yun's clan had the surname Chiang and that they were the progeny of Emperor Yen (B.C. 2737-2697). Evidently, according to this line of argument, the San-Miao princes perhaps with or without a portion of their Chiu-li subjects were banished to San-wei in Kan-su for refractory behavior. The rest of their subject Chiu-li tribesmen were left behind in the Hu-nan area.

On the basis of the banishment of the San-Miao to the Tun-huang area of Kan-su, the T'ang Dynasty writer Tu Yu appears to have drawn the conclusion that the Chiu-li were the forefathers of the Hsi-ch'iang or Western Ch'iang. This runs up against an obstacle in modern ethnography, since the Western Ch'iang are found to be the forefathers of the modern Lolo, whereas the Chiu-li are supposed to be directly related to the Chuang or T'ai group of Li tribes, who are entirely different culturally.[41] A logical hypothetical solution would solve the dilemma if the San-Miao princes were of a culturally different group from their Chiu-li subjects, but this would have to be proved

According to the ancient Chinese records, prior to the Chou Dynasty, the distribution of the peoples in South China were as follows: South of the Yang-tzu, the Chiu-li were the most powerful group, occupying the area between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. West of this area were the Man (presumably in the west Hu-nan and Hu-pei area).

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166 West of the Man were the Mao people. From the Spring
174 and Autumn period, the Man came into ascendancy, and gradually they began to migrate southeastward, invading the area of the Chiu-li. The Chiu-li then are supposed to have retreated gradually southward across the Wu Ling into Ling-nan. The Mao, on the other hand, advanced from Hu-pei into Ssu-ch'uan and then into Kuei-chou. The various historical works since the Han refer to the Li people as living throughout Ling-nan and Hai-nan Island, as well as Tongking. These Li were of the same group of people as the Chiu-li of former times. Thus, the Li appear to have once occupied the Central Yang-tzu Plain area and then retreated southward under the pressure of the Man and Mao. They represent the early T'ai of Ch'u Kingdom. The Mao and Man, on the other hand, appear to represent the later dominant tribes of Ch'u, and were related to the Miao of today.[42]

The evidence presented by Ling indicates that the original situation of the Mao during the later part of the Chou period (Spring and Autumn period) was within the borders of P'ing-lu Hsien in Shan-hsi. After this period, because of the calamities and precarious livelihood of the Warring States Period and the struggle between the Han and the Ch'u states, the Mao gradually migrated from the territories of the states of Chin and Hsiang to Pa and Shu in present-day Ssu-ch'uan. From Pa and Shu they drifted to Yueh-sui (now the Hsi-ch'ang area of eastern Hsi-k'ang). The Book of Poetry has the line: "Like Mao, like Man," because at this time the territory of the Mao was adjacent to the territory of the Man. The Mao were west of the Man, and for this reason Cheng Ch'ien calls them the Hsi-Yi or Western Yi. The Mao were close kin to the Man, according to Chang P'ing-lin, and Ling Shun-sheng went along with this conclusion. During the earliest historical times in China the Man inhabited the southwest part of Ho-nan around the present city of Nan-yang. By the time of the Chou Dynasty, the Man were occupying the drainage area of the Han and Yang-tzu and were called the Ching-Man from the name of the political division including the Hupei-Hunan territories. The Man tribes grew in power and prosperity from the Chou to the T'ang period, and the term Man gradually changed to take in all the tribes of the south. Since the Man (Miao) were slope farmers and mountain dwellers, their growth in strength here may be explained by the lack of competition for their pre-

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ferred habitat, because the T'ai were valley bottom inhabitants and land-users. The term Mao probably became hidden under the general term Man, especially since they were similar peoples. For this reason the term Mao disappeared from historical records for a thousand years. Or perhaps the Mao had migrated from Yueh-sui eastward and entered Kuei-chou where they became lost to Chinese contact. During the long intervening period, according to Ling, phonetical changes occurred in the language, and Mao thus emerged into more recent historical times as Miao. The migration of this group of Miao people, the "Mao", therefore, was one that led southward from Shan-hsi through Hu-pei, and Ssu-ch'uan to Kuei-chou through the course of over three thousand years.[43]

The sum of the foregoing arguments leads the present writer to the following conclusions: Definite proof has not been adduced to show whether the Hu-nan San-Miao are or are not related to the Kan-su San-Miao. The likelihood that they belong to the same ethnic group is strong, however, and this common ethnic group is that of the "Man". The term "Man", although used during certain periods of history as a general term for all the southern non-Han tribes peoples, is used to denote the Miao ethnic group specifically during other long periods, but is not used as a specific term for the T'ai ethnic group. The term "Man" appears to be a phonetic rendition of the term "Mon" as used in Mon Khmer to which ethnic classification the Miao belong. The San-Miao of Hu-nan were cultural predecessors of the modern Miao and constituted an alien ruling group over the Chiu-li (Nine Li) tribes of the T'ai ethnic group. These San-Miao (Miao or Man) in the Hu-nan area were late-comers compared to the Chiu-li who were earlier inhabitants: i.e., the T'ai groups of the Yang-tzu and South China area preceded the Miao in the occupance sequence. The Miao came as an alien invader into the land occupied predominantly by aboriginal T'ai and were successful at times in subjugating some of the T'ai tribes.

At this point the discussion in the preceding section 6 may be followed up: that is, the relation of the Miao to the Ch'u Kingdom. The Ch'u gentry claimed the quasi-mythical Han-Chinese Emperor Chuan Hsu as their ancestor. Chuan Hsu was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor. A branch of Chuan Hsu's line remained in Ssu-ch'uan and reportedly became the Ch'u Clan. Whether this story is so, or whether it was invented by the later Ch'u rulers

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to avoid being looked at askance by the Han-Chinese states of the north, the forefathers of the Ch'u derived from the upper reaches of the Yang-tzu tributaries and migrated eastward to Hu-pei and Hu-nan, according to Chiang Ying-liang.[44] The Ch'u were just one branch of the Miao cultural group, he claimed. The Later Han History tells of the Pan-shun Man tribes who lived on both banks of the middle reaches of the Chia-ling Chiang near Lan-chung in Ssu-ch'uan at the time of the Ch'in Empire. A branch of the tribe moved northward to occupy the Han-chung area of southern Shen-hsi. Another branch moved down the Yang-tzu eastward to occupy the lands of Hu-pei and Hu-nan to live with the various tribes that had already moved into the area. These Pan-shun Man also have the P'an-hu myth and presumably were of the same group as the Ch'u, both being related to the present-day Miao, said Chiang. During the Period of Division between North and South (5th and 6th Centuries), they were called the Ching-yang Man in the south and the Man-Liao in the north. The Liao were another branch of the Miao ethnic group, according to Chiang. Lao and Liao appear to be two pronunciations for the same name. Cochrane followed Lacouperie in calling them Shan or T'ai people.[45] Moreover, Eberhard advanced the view that the Miao originally were Yao strongly mixed with T'ai,[47] while Ling Shun-sheng claimed that the name Yao became attached to the Miao after they entered Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi.[48] Ling has not furnished adequate proof for this, however.

The T'ung-k'ao-ssu-yi says that the Liao were first seen in the northwest part of Ssu-ch'uan and later migrated southeastward to the Min Chiang, Pa Chiang and Chia-ling Chiang areas. From there they migrated during Sui and T'ang times (6th to 10th Centuries A.D.) down the Yang-tzu to Hu-pei and Hu-nan, some directing themselves northeastward into China Proper, while others drifted southward into Kuei-chou and Ling-nan. Subsequent to the T'ang, the name Liao became merged with Man to become Liao-Man (this again indicates their close relationship to each other). It also is possible to interpret Liao-Man as Liao and Man, indicating two separate groups. From this account, Chiang grouped as members of the Miao "race" the Ch'u, Pa, Pan-shun Man and Liao, all of whom migrated by the same general routes to the T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes region, where the Wu Ling Man had long since established themselves when the

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Han-Chinese first contacted the Southern Man tribes.[49] 174 166

It is clear from this grouping that Chiang did not distinguish the people generally considered by Western scholars to belong to the T'ai group such as the Pa, the Liao (Lao), and Ch'u, from the Man or the Miao. Hsu Sung-shih appeared to suffer from a similar tendency to overlook ethnological and cultural differences in arguing certain theories, while emphasizing them in arguing other theories. By a complicated philological juggling, for instance he tried to demonstrate that the Miao, Yao and Chuang or T'ai merely form three sub-groups of the southern branch of the same Chinese people as those of the Han group. While the northern Han-Chinese are descendants of the Yellow Emperor, he said, these southern tribes are descendants of Emperor Yen or Shen-nung, and both are equally Chinese.[50]

A largely pastoral people originally, the Miao migrated from western Ssu-ch'uan for two reasons, according to Chiang: (1) to seek new pastures (2) to escape the pressure of other peoples. In accordance with the first reason, they migrated toward the plains, looked for well-watered grasslands, sought warmer regions, (this does not accord with Miao preference for the cool high mountain slopes) and they followed the rivers.

It was the pressure of the south-moving Tibetan Ch'iang people that forced the migration of the Miao whose old homeland was in eastern Hsi-k'ang and northeast of Ch'eng-tu in the Tzu-t'ung region. The Western Ch'iang who moved into this area became the later Lolo people, according to Chiang. Their southward movement forced the Miao to migrate downstream. This Ch'iang pressure can be seen from some historical incidents. In the Records of the southern Man of the Later Han History, the account reads that: in the 3rd year of Kuang-ho (A.D. 180), the Emperor wished to raise a great army. He asked the Census Commissioner of Yi-chou to investigate the strategy for pacification. The Han-ching registrar reported as follows: The Pan-shun Man have seven clans. Their forefathers shot the White Tiger and gained merit in earlier times (during the Ch'in Dynasty). They have become Sinicized and their people are valiant and brave warriors. When the Ch'iang invaded Han-ch'uan (Han-chung Department) and disrupted administration at the beginning of the reign of An-ti (A.D. 107), the Pan-shun came to the rescue and routed the Ch'iang with a great slaughter. Hence they have been called the

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Supernatural Warriors. In the second year of the reign of Huan-ti (A.D. 148) there occurred another great Ch'iang invasion. It truly again depended upon the Pan-shun reinforcements to break the invadors.

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The above account, said Chiang, shows that the Miao peoples in the west had borne the brunt of Ch'iang attacks. In the course of time, the frequency of Ch'iang outbreaks finally forced the Miao to reassess their situation and to decide upon moving away from the constant Ch'iang pressure.[51]

From Chou and pre-Chou times down to the end of the Han in the 3rd Century A.D., therefore, the Miao peoples were migrating eastward down the Yang-tzu drainage from Ssu-ch'uan. This was a steady drift and not a single mass movement. However, two major epochs in this process are evident. The first one involved the settling of the Wu Ling and the Ch'ang-sha Man in the upper Hu-nan area. The second major movement followed the north bank of the Yang-tzu, emerged from the Yang-tzu Gorge Mountains in the vicinity of present-day Tzu-kuei District upriver from Yi-ch'ang. Here these Miao settled for a period. Then they moved farther down river and spread out to occupy the whole Central Yang-tzu Basin, according to Chiang. These were the Ch'u people who formed the Ch'u State. It was the steadily increasing Miao settlers from Ssu-ch'uan that led to the emergence of the powerful Ch'u State, said Chiang.[52] There is some support for this contention that the Ch'u chieftains were of the Miao group, if it be conceded that the Man of the Chou period were in fact Miao. For we have from the mouth of the Ch'u king himself that: "We are Man barbarians and have nothing to do with Chinese titles." (On the other hand, Hsu claimed that the Ching-Man were only the early names of T'ai peoples in the T'ung-t'ing Lake area, although he failed to provide convincing proof of this.)[53] Moreover, Eickstedt has pointed out that Erkes in a study of ancient Ch'u vocabulary seemed to find some connection with the Miao language, although Eickstedt did not agree with his conclusions. The language at least was demonstrated to be different from that of Han-Chinese. Nevertheless, Ch'u is constantly linked in historical sources with Yueh and at the same time even more sources link Ch'u with the Pa people and Shu, all of whom appear to have been T'ai. Ch'u, said Eberhard, appears to have had a sub-stratum of Yao that, intermixed gradually with the Yueh, evolved

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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from T'ai. It then had a thin super-stratum of Pa people, With its Pa culture strongly influenced by Tibetan (Miao?) culture, imposed upon it. Thus, it is obviously at least controversial whether the Ch'u were of T'ai or of Miao stock. This problem would be easier to solve could we accept Lacouperie's adjective "Mon-Taic" for a common stock from which both Miao (mon) and T'ai derived. But, as Cochrane has pointed out,[54] considerable doubt is thrown on this theory by the fact that they originally used quite different sets of words in their language. Seidenfaden characterizes Lacouperie's "Mon-taic" theory "fantastic".[55]

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In the view of the present writer, the explanation of the contradictions and perplexities lies in the multi-ethnic structure of the Ch'u state. The Ch'u rulers may very well have been Sinicized "Man" of the Miao ethnic group, but their subjects most probably included both Miao and T'ai ethnic groups and undoubtedly Yao and other groups as well. The valley-dwelling, rice-cultivating T'ai probably formed the bulk of the population, and it is likely enough that a T'ai variety of speech was the most widely spoken tongue in the Ch'u domain. When we consider the examples of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties in China, we see an alien ethnic ruling group gradually adopting the language and culture of its predominant Chinese subjects. The same type of process may well have occurred with an alien Miao (Man) ruling stratum over a T'ai sub-stratum in which T'ai vocabulary either crept into the language of the ruling stratum or in which the Miao rulers adopted Sino-T'ai speech. This would explain why the few words that have come down from the Ch'u speech appear to be T'ai and why Erkes found evidences connecting the Ch'u speech with Miao speech. It seems to this writer to be a mistake to regard Ch'u as a single ethnic entity. Ch'u should be regarded as a political entity under Man (Miao) rulers who had become highly Sinicized by the last half of the Chou Dynasty.

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Originally, the Ch'u derived from western Ssu-ch'uan. As the Ch'u tribe moved eastward, it assumed the leadership of the earlier Miao tribes that had preceded the Ch'u in the migration. Gathering strength, the kingdom incorporated many smaller non-Miao states and tribes, as described in the Ch'u genealogy. During the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, the Ch'u absorbed 49 states, large and small, including parts of Ho-nan, Shan-tung, An-hui, Hu-pei, Hu-nan, and Shen-hsi. Certainly, in language groups

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF 17
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it included Han-Chinese, Southern Man, Eastern Yi, and the Wu and Yueh speaking peoples. Thus, although originally composed of Miao people, with its encompassment of this large segment of the Yang-tzu and adjacent drainages, the large variety of peoples became intermixed and fused to form a new group both in culture and in blood. The original Miao (as well as T'ai) element became lost in it.

On the other hand, the earlier Miao migrants south of the T'ung-t'ing region had long since consolidated their strength and resisted absorption by Ch'u. They were able to maintain their independence to the south of imperialist Ch'u. These Miao were the Wu Ling Man of the Five Streams region of northwestern Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou. They were powerful enough to give stiff combat to the Ch'u rulers. Thus, in the Records of the Southern Man of the Later Han History it is stated that: at the time of King Wu of Ch'u, the Man, together with the Lo-tzu (a small state centered at present Ich'eng District in Hupei) defeated the Ch'u army and killed its General Ch'ü Hsia. Ch'u, which had come to amalgamate so many cultural elements and which had become highly Sinicized, was unable to absorb this independent group of Miao that had migrated southward and was destined to preserve a Miao entity to modern times.[56]

While it is not to be doubted that the Ch'u drew many Han-Chinese into their court circles and official bureaucracy as their Sinicization progressed, it is not necessary to follow Hirth[1] in considering that the tribes peoples of Ch'u were ruled by an upper crust of Han-Chinese who became gradually "infected with barbarian qualities." This sort of a development is not impossible, of course, for it occurred in the case of the southern kingdom of Nan Yueh. But the preceding exposition of the Sinicization of the proud Miao rulers of Ch'u gives an equally convincing explanation of the "cultural problems encountered by the student of Chinese history a few centuries later in the shape of important changes that must have taken place in the popular views of the masses, in folklore, superstitions and art."[57] Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, no doubt was a Sinicized tribesman of Ch'u, probably of Miao or T'ai stock. His fondness for the mountain wilds of South China and the lonely communion with nature points to such an affinity. However, this writer certainly goes along with Hirth in quoting Chavannes that:

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83 S 174 563 619 M 174 563 619

Ts'in and Ch'u were not, in the proper sense of the word, to be comprised among the kingdoms of the middle [China Proper]. Their populations, though civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the time when Tsin and Ts'i fell victims to internal dissensions, Ts'in and Ch'u became the leading actors in that drama destined to end with the triumph of Ts'in and the establishment of the empire by Ts'in Shi-huang-ti in 221 B.C. We may thus say that the revolution which finally led to the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that this is the reason why Ssu-ma Kuang makes this year the starting point of his great history entitled: Tzi-chi-t'ung-kien.

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By the Ch'in and Han periods the Sinicized Ch'u inhabitants had joined the ranks of the Han-Chinese in exerting pressure against their former relatives, the Man or Miao peoples on their southern fringe as well as against other ethnic groups not conforming to Han culture. The Southern Man Records of the Later Han History says that when Tao Wang, King of Ch'u, appointed Wu Ch'i his prime minister, he sent him south to seize the Man-Yueh state and thereby added T'ung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu to his possessions. Moreover, when Chao Wang of the Ch'in invaded the Ch'u Kingdom, he garnered the Man-Yi tribal territories and first established Ch'ien-chung Department (with the seat of administration at the site of present-day Yuan-ling in Hu-nan). The Han Dynasty changed this to Wu Ling Department. Its territory included the Hu-nan prefectures of Ch'ang-te, Ch'en-chou, Yuan-chou, and Pao-ching, and the Kuei-chou prefectures of Ssu-chou, Shih-chien, T'ung-jen, Li-p'ing and Ssu-nan. Thus, by the Han period, the Wu Ling Man tribes were occupying not only the hilly region between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes, but also the eastern part of Kuei-chou.[58]

The Hua-yang Kuo-chih states that the Ch'ien-chung Man were the Wu-ch'i Man whose people were scattered over the region of the Wu Ch'i or Five Streams. These streams are the Ch'en, Yu, Wu, another Wu, and Yuan. Apparently the Miao who come into the historical picture of the two Han periods had migrated to Hu-pei and then Hu-nan, centering at Yuan-ling District. Following up the Yuan River southwestward they settled in the drain-

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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age of the Five Streams. Later they gradually filtered into Kuei-chou territory.

In A.D. 47 when the Wu Ling Man ravaged the southern administrative regions of the Han Empire, the Emperor sent General Liu Shang, who drafted soldiers at Wu Ling and Ch'ang-sha, embarked them in boats and sailed up the Yuan River to the Five Streams to suppress the Miao. This followed the migration route of the Miao. We have noted in Chapter I that several of the Yuan River tributaries are navigable to small boats into Kuei-chou territory. The resulting Han-Chinese pressure in this direction forced the further steady southwestward migration of the Miao that resulted in their post-Han Dynasty distribution.

After the A.D. 47 suppression, the Miao fleeing southward were further subjected to the suppression campaigns of Ma Yuan. Far from eradicating all traces of the Miao in the T'ung-t'ing region, however, the Han-Chinese in the post-Han Dynasty period saw the continued eastward migration of the Miao from Ssu-ch'uan. These tribes occupied the hill fastnesses along the north bank of the Yang-tzu from Ch'ung-ch'ing to the north shore of T'ung-t'ing Lake. This steady eastward infiltration swelled the Miao strength to the extent that enabled the Ching-hsiang Man (Hsu referred to a Ching-Man whom he erroneously claimed were T'ai people)[59] to surge northward in an invasion wave during the Six Dynasties period (5th and 6th Centuries). This eastward movement itself was the result of other pressures exerted upon the Miao peoples. In fact, the large [63] number of Miao who today continue to be found in the Five Streams region have caused the Communist regime to constitute part of the area the West Hu-nan Miao Autonomous Region (See Map 31).

As the Later Han Dynasty drew to a close, invading nomads from the north were steadily encroaching deeper southward into China Proper. The Three Kingdoms Period following the Han marked an era of great population intermixtures in North China which we shall discuss in the next chapter. During the same period that the northern Tatars were descending south upon China in great masses, the southern Miao were also opportunely blossoming into a period of greatness and prosperity. They seized the opportunity presented by the turmoil in the North China area to advance northward and harass the Han-Chinese from the south.

During the four centuries between the fall of the Han

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Dynasty and the beginning of the Sui (A.D. 220-581), not only did North China experience the aggression of the Wu-Hu (Five Tatar tribes), but it also faced the northward menace of the Miao-Man. The division of China between northern and southern dynasties created a kind of a no-man's-land between the two areas where political control was loose and chaotic. Moreover, during the relatively peaceful four centuries that the Han Dynasty held sway, the mixed peoples of the former Ch'u Kingdom had become completely assimilated to Han-Chinese civilization and now presented a bloc that prevented the further western (Ssu-ch'uan) Miao movement into the territories of Hu-nan and Kuei-chou via the accustomed route. The Tibetan Ch'iang and the Tatar pressures from the west at the same time kept the Miao on the move in Ssu-ch'uan. The result was that the former eastward movement was diverted into the eastern reaches of the Ta-pa and Ch'in-ling mountains and thus brought the Miao into the political vacuum of the no-man's-land. These northward invading Miao, then, did not come from the Hu-nan region, but from the upper tributaries of the Yang-tzu, i.e., from western Ssu-ch'uan.[60]

These Miao migrants spread into northeastern Hu-pei, where they were called the Yü-chou Man. From there they overflowed into the valleys of the Yang-tzu, Huai, Ju and Han Rivers. The areas occupied by them include northern An-hui, the Shen-hsi borders, and the heart of Ho-nan. Some tribes even penetrated as far north as Sui-yuan Province. Between A.D. 403 and 561 there were more than 40 instances of Miao uprisings between the Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers. In one outstanding respect, Chiang Ying-liang said, these Miao-Man uprisings differed from those of other frontier tribesmen seeking plunder in a robber-fashion. These were really struggles arising from attempts to seize political control from the existing body of land-holding people. Moreover, both northern and southern dynasties competed to gain the adherence of the Miao gentry, and there were many Miao leaders in high positions in the various courts of the competing dynasties. These appointments were given them because they voluntarily submitted their allegiance, or as a reward for military aid against the opposing dynasty, or because the court on one side or the other wished to gain the support of strong Miao leaders who had succeeded in seizing territory and establishing their domination.[61]

During this period of confusion in the melting pot of

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circled and besieged Ts'un-yi. In spite of the efforts of 20,000 Imperial troops under the command of the Kuei-chou Commandant, little progress against the Miao was made until Lo Jao-tien took personal command, driving them back to their strongholds in the Lei-t'ai Mountains.[69] The British officer Wingate, traveling from Hu-nan to Burma in the 1890's, describes the devastation suffered by the Han-Chinese towns from which they had not yet recovered even at that late period. He said: "At a place called Ching-chi on the Wu Ho [in Kuei-chou] is a town wall of some miles in circumference which once enclosed a prosperous town of several thousand families, but which now only contains a few officials' houses and a temple or two. It is one among many others which have suffered during the wars which the Chinese have had with the Miao or aborigines living in the hills south of the river."[70]

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As pointed out in a preceding page, the suppressions of the last two centuries started a new period of migration for the modern Miao. The various tribes or clan groups feeling the pressure of encroaching Chinese agriculturalists in Kuei-chou, sought the higher secluded mountain fastnesses of surrounding provinces. The Black Miao gradually drifted to Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi. The Red Miao in the vicinity of T'ung-jen Hsien in eastern Kuei-chou migrated eastward to the three western Districts of Hu-nan. Some of the White Miao entered Ssu-ch'uan to their northwest. Tribes of the Hua Miao or Flowery Miao traveled westward through An-shun to the eastern part of Yun-nan, northward to Wu-ting District, and farther on to the north and south banks of the Chin-sha Chiang. Some of them also traveled southeastward through Yun-nan to the northern parts of Annam and Tongking. The Blue Miao scattered in many directions and are found now mostly in Hu-nan, Kuang-hsi, and Yun-nan. Many of these southwest provinces have representatives of different tribes of Miao. As far southwest as Ssu-mao in Yun-nan small groups of White, Blue, and Flowery Miao have penetrated. When the different groups of Miao live together in one locality, they soon tend to become much alike in cultural practices and dress, so that it is hard to distinguish members of one group from those of another.[71]

M, S 174 563

The above delineation of Miao history and migration brings us back to the consideration of the groups related to the Miao discussed in Chapter II, in particular the Fan, who developed in the southwestern periphery of China Prop-

2: Winn G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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er. Among other evidences of a close relationship between the modern Miao and the ancient Fan is the fact that seven ancient family or clan names among the Fan also occur among the modern Miao.[72] The Fan have formed a kind of buffer between the Tibetan Ch'iang and the Han-Chinese and often bore the brunt of eastward expansionist pressure of the Ch'iang tribes. The culture of the Fan has drawn close to that of the Ch'iang.[73] The debate among Chinese researchers as to whether these Ch'iang are the same as the Ch'iang of the oracle bones has never been decided, although everything seems to point to this conclusion.[74] This group of Tibetan Ch'iang people during the Han period when they first became more exactly known, inhabited the northern part of Tibet, the Kokonor or Lake Ch'ing-hai region. Parts of Kan-su, great parts of Shen-hsi, and the border regions of Ssu-ch'uan and even parts of Hu-pei and Shan-hsi were occupied by them.[75]

The 32 tribes and folk of the Fan Group as mentioned in Chinese history on the whole occupied the region of present day Kuei-chou and the northwest part of Kuang-hsi. References to them are limited almost entirely to the Sung Dynasty period. We must assume, said Eberhard, that prior to the Sung the habitat of these tribes had not yet been penetrated by the Han-Chinese. More important and difficult is the question as to why the references cease after the Sung period. From then on the expression Fan only applies to tribes in the Tibetan Plateau and no more to this group in Kuei-chou and Kuang-hsi. From this period on and especially during the Ming Dynasty the name Miao becomes prominent (it may be well to recall here the hypothesis about Mao and Miao). Since references to migrations are lacking, said Eberhard, we must assume a tie-up between Fan and Miao. Unfortunately, all the references to the Kuei-chou Fan are very short and poor. The Chinese sources know little of these tribes and most often give no more than the name attaching them to a description of the Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang. (We shall come to further references to Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang in our discussion of the early history of Ling-nan later in this chapter.) Eberhard with some uncertainty included the Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang peoples with the Wu Man Group. Various indications link the Fan with the Lolo and in a large sense to the Tibetan peoples. Nevertheless, the Fan have characteristics of the South Chinese cultures and appear to be the direct forefathers of the present-day

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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Miao tribes.[76]

The Miao themselves, interpreted from their culture, represent an intermixture of a large number of differing cultural elements, including Chuang or T'ai, Yao, and Tibetan.[77]

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The historical sources have indicated that the Man or Miao peoples migrated eastward from western Ssu-ch'uan or the eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau. This places their origin in the region occupied by the Fan in modern times. In fact, whether conscious of the distinction between Miao and Fan or not, both Boulger and Grantham called the west Ssu-ch'uan Fan by the term Miao when they discussed the great Fan uprisings of 1746 and 1772-76 on the Big and Little Gold River tributaries of the Ta-tu Ho in the plateau land northwest of Ch'eng-tu.[78]

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In a sense more fortunate than the Kuei-chou Miao, the West Ssu-ch'uan Fan occupy lands even less attractive to the agricultural Han-Chinese than the high mountain slopes of Kuei-chou. Without the inducement of low-lying valley lands for the Han-Chinese farmers such as exist in Kuei-chou, the lands of the Fan are occupied by Han-Chinese only in the chief towns and there only by merchants and official elements. The problem of Fan displacement by Han-Chinese agriculturalists has not arisen to the same extent therefore. Here, then, tribal autonomy has been enabled to continue for a longer time and more thoroughly than in Kuei-chou.

8. The History and Migrations of the Lolo

In our preceding discussion of the early spread of the Miao into Kuei-chou, it was noted that this spread was probably checked in southern and western Kuei-chou by the Lolo who were recorded as masters and occupants of the area in the 3rd Century A.D. Wissman said that the entire highland triangle of Central and northeast Yun-nan was occupied by the Lolo prior to the coming of the Han-Chinese.[79] Their stronghold comprises the Ta-liang Shan, a mass of high mountains at the meeting point of Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan and Hsi-k'ang.[80] They are the group referred to in Chinese texts under the more inclusive ethnic name of Wu Man or Black Man, from the dark brown skin pigment of this race of people. Eickstedt and Eberhard classed them as Austro-Asiatic in racial stock, otherwise known as a branch of the Tibeto-Burman peoples.

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101 If one keeps it in mind that during my investigations in Farther India I discovered again and again that even today the valley peoples constantly confuse the Yau /Yao/ and Meau, although, especially in northern Thailand, for example, there are very pronounced differences even in externals between the two tribes, one cannot but assume that in former times the situation was no different in the Chinese territories. Credner (2) be-

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2. IV, p. 166.

lieves that the Meau were named after cats by the Chinese, an opinion which is also held by E. Lunet de Lajonquière (3), who

3. Page 296.

maintains that the word Meau is the Sino-Annamese pronunciation of a written character meaning "cat." According to him, however, the Meau call themselves "mung," or rather "h'mung." Marabail's accounts (4) also agree with these opinions: "In the

4. Page 451.

Annamese language, Meau means cat, perhaps because the dialect reminded the Chinese of the mewing of cats or because the Meau are actually as nimble as cats. One need only observe the /7/ suppleness with which they climb rocks." In referring to the tone color of the Meau language, Von Eickstedt (1) also

1. V, p. 53.

traces the name back to "cats" and calls the word onomatopoeic. He points out, however, that it might also characterize the catlike skill of the Meau in climbing their mountains; also, contemptuous expressions such as "despised like cats" may have played a role. On the other hand, the old Chinese historical work, Mong-tse, compares the language of the Meau with the howling or cry of the hyena.

/7 cont./

101 174 In addition to the conclusions based on "cat" for the name Meau, there are attempts by others, for example, M. Terrien, to explain it on the basis of the agricultural activities of the Meau. To be sure, he points out that the ancient character for "Meau" represented a cat's head and was supposed to mean cat, because their highly vocalized language reminds one of the mewing of cats, but he further states that the ancient Sinologists translated "Miau-tse" as "son of the soil." But this, he says, was an error brought about by the modern analysis of Chinese writing. According to Terrien, the character for Meau consists of one part meaning "plant" and another meaning "field." In translating tse as "child," the meaning "son of the soil" resulted. Witek (2),

2. Page 38.

who has a different interpretation of the word, also discusses the undertone of contempt mentioned by Von Eickstedt (1) /see footnote 1 above/. According to Witek, the Chinese use Meau or Meau-tse to designate foreigners, that is, non-Chinese, and, to be sure, with reference to the "tillers of the soil," "the peasants," and therefore Meau-tse are the people of the soil, the farmers, who do not belong to the "Great Nation." Witek goes on to say that the Chinese give the word a certain contemptuous undertone in the sense of "boorish peasant" or "country bumpkin." Ordinarily, and especially if the word is supposed to have this meaning, the designation tse is added, hence Meau-tse. Imbert (3), at any rate, shares the opinion that the character

3. Page 3.

"Meau" corresponds to agriculture. Witek's (2) /see footnote 2 above/ information concerning the use of the expression Meau for all non-Chinese corresponds to the evidence of Schotter (4), who

4. Vol. III, p. 405.

points out that Meau can be used as an adjective and as a noun.

/7 cont./

101 According to him, it is often used in the latter sense in
174 Kweichow to designate non-Chinese. /8/ Furthermore, Schotter is of the opinion that the words Yau and Meau have the same meaning and that Yau-Meau is merely the reduplication of one and the same expression. In the ancient Chinese legends he finds the expression Tche-Yeau as the name of the chief of eighty-one brothers, by which the tribes of the Meau are to be understood. And in fact, according to Wieger (1), Ch'ih'yu was

1. Page 10.

the leader of the Meau when the latter were decisively beaten near Cho-Chon by the Chinese under the leadership of Huan-Yuan (Huang-ti). Although the Meau and Yau are undoubtedly two altogether different peoples, Schotter's attempted derivation of the name Tche-Yeau is still possible. Finally, as Savina (2)

2. II, p. 175.

states, according to P. Wieger, the word Meau means "rice planter," an interpretation which, all things considered, seems to be more plausible than the derivation from "cat."

101 The Meau are given different names by the various peoples and tribes with whom they come into contact. According to Witek (3), the Thai of Kweichow call them Yeou; in South

3. Page 44.

China they are said to be called Mro; in Tonkin and French Laos, however, Mang, Mong, M'long, and finally H'mong, which is what they call themselves. In the Meau language this latter expression means simply "human being," a designation that would correspond to those of many other peoples. The Siamese, Lao, Kamuk, Yau, Schan /Shan/, and Tin call them Meau, the Chinese, Mĕáotsĕ. The Meau in Thailand call themselves "Moň." Accordingly, the groups of White Meau which I investigated were called "Moň kleo"; the Black Meau, "Moň klŭ."

/10 cont./

174 [173] The description by the Meau concerning their later history from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they [823] would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agree with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

[648] We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B. C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

175 648 each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports, around the twenty-seventh century B. C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history

/18 cont./

A 175 It is to be deeply regretted that almost nothing is known as yet concerning the history of the Akha, and therefore comparative material between them and the Meau is lacking.

/19/ Chapter 3

Origin and Habitation Sites

M 174 It is possible for us to trace the history of the Meau over a period of four and a half millennia. Thus there are unexpected possibilities, especially for the ethnologist, who, as a rule, has to be satisfied with observations based on a few generations in the life of a people.

Concerning the original homeland of the Meau, Von Eickstedt (1) writes: "The tribal conglomeration of the present-day Meau, in the essential aspects of its physical composition and cultural individuality, may have originated in the steppe region where Tibet, Mongolia, and Old China touch. In the subsequent more and more violently pulsating restlessness of the Tungoid steppe peoples of Mongolia and the ever more oppressive numerical superiority of the Sinoid farmers of North China and later also of South China, there was sought the only way out that presented itself. This line of least resistance led in the direction of those areas which at the beginning of our era were still practically free of people and at the same time offered possibilities for the original native form of economy. Thus there developed a route, an anthropo-dynamic current, leading over the alpine meadows of the mountain ranges first of West China, then of South China and Farther India. In view of the finger-like extension of the mountain ranges from the Tibetan plateau, this route was bound to lead the Meau ever farther south.

1. III, p. 9.

/22 cont./

173 This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom
[115] I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tsu tên, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/
[648] In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands in China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nyă lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

174 The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been re-
[131] ported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan
[197] actually are Meau and not perhaps Yau. It is significant, at any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

M /23 cont./
174 to Stübel, on the other hand, their clothing is identical with
[197] that of the Meau of Kwangsi.

Summarizing, it may be said with Von Eickstedt that the
M Meau come from the high-mountain steppes where Tibet,
174 Mongolia, and Old China converge, perhaps even from Siberia.
131 The majority of the Meau today live in two large, compact
[101] groups, separated from one another, in Kweichow; vast numbers of them are also settled in the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Szechwan, and especially in Yunnan. Considerable groups have also occupied Tonkin as far as the Annamese Cordillera, and others entered Thailand, where they reached the central cordillera at 16° 15' north latitude. /24/ During the past decades advance units of these people have also entered Burma. On the other hand, it has not been unequivocally determined whether Meau are actually found among the mountain peoples of the island of Hainan; if this should be the case, however, they would not have reached the island in the course of a natural migration, but would have been settled there forcibly by the Chinese. In accordance with geographical and population-political possibilities, the migratory movement necessarily always proceeded from the north to the south and has not yet ceased even today.

M A great number of Meau, perhaps even the larger half
174 were forced by the most severe political pressure to give up their allegiance to tribal customs and, with the loss of their cultural and ethnic identity, have been absorbed by the neighboring tribes. Undoubtedly the Chinese especially have absorbed much Meau blood. The culture of the ancient Meau was presumably an element which, among others, formed the foundation for the building of the Chinese high culture.

A As for the original homeland of the Akha, Davies (1) and
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1. Page 395.

the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (2), as well as Heine-Geldern (3),

2. Part I, p. 590.

/27 cont./

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3. IV, pp. 137, 138.

the level of the forest hoe-culture tribes there is the elevation of the mountain tribes... Having come from the north they stay in areas where the climate corresponds most closely to that of their countries of origin, that is, at altitudes up to 2,600 meters... The Thai tribes stayed in the lowest parts of the country. Their counterparts in the high areas are the migratory mountain tribes, who, as the most recent arrivals from the north, are gradually occupying the settlement-free space in the peaks of the mountains. They are the Tibeto-Burman Lahu and Lisu and the Siamo-Chinese Miao and Yao"(4).

4. Credner, IV, p. 147.

Von Eickstedt (5) writes: "The Chinoisants (among whom

5. VI, p. 54.

he includes the Meau, note by Dr. Bernatzik) are the masters of the mountains and are spreading. The Monkhmer Ka /Mon-Khmer Kha/ live on the wooded slopes, but are shot off by the Chinoisants and pushed aside by the Lao. The latter, in turn, live a few altitude levels lower, preferring the rice fields of the smaller valleys, whereas, finally, the Annamites and Chinese occupy the large troughs of the base centers lying in the lowermost valleys."

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Savina (6) likewise deals with the habitation areas of the

6. II, pp. 173 ff.

Meau and concomitantly with their reasons for choosing the high altitudes: /28/ "The customary habitation sites of the Meau are the mountains. Only on the heights are they in their element; elsewhere they are rootless and do not feel comfortable."

[174] ... "However far one traces the history back into prehistory, one always finds them in the mountains. In the course of time this

½ [ie - "Killed off" - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 361 174

728 cont./

great migratory tribe has visited almost all the mountains of Asia. Even today one would look in vain for Meau in the plains. The Meau of Kwangsi, of Kweichow, of Szechwan, of Yunnan, of Tonkin, of Laos are all mountain folk."

A 101 361

The Akha, too, always live in the high parts of the mountains. In addition to the regions named in connection with the Meau, the state of Kengtung should be added as the chief settlement area of the Akha. Telford divides the levels occupied by the various tribes as follows: the Lahu live highest, below them the Lisu, and below them the Akha. "The latter often settle in markedly steep mountain areas, though they prefer mountains of medium height."

A M 829

This pronounced preference of the mountain tribes for high settlement areas is very striking.

Under these circumstances it is understandable that the question of the reason for this strange fact has occupied other authors. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "If one asks them

1. II, p. 174.

why they live in the mountains and why they abhor the plains, they give various answers:

'In the mountains it is less hot, humid, and unhealthy.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because we are afraid of the water, the leeches, and the buffalo.'

'We cannot live in the plains because we were born in the mountains. Transplanted trees never thrive.'

'How can we leave the mountains where the graves of our ancestors are?'

'The inhabitants of the plains are accustomed to the work and the cultivation of the plains, we Meau to the work and the cultivation of the mountains.'

'The people of the plains do not speak our language. How could we understand them?'

'If we were to descend into the plains, our girls would marry people who do not belong to our race.'

39: Bernatzik--42 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

A M 829

'In the plains there are too many wars, duties, soldiers, and mandarins!'

'If we were to settle down among the people on the plains, they would steal our herds.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because there we could not cultivate opium and maize or plant fruit trees.'

'The soil of the mountains belongs to the Meau; the soil of the plains does not belong to them?"

Savina states that only one answered: "Because the other tribes do not want us to live in the plains with them." Savina is of the opinion that this is actually the true reason. There can be no doubt, however, that he is mistaken about this.

A M 164 361

In my opinion, the reason lies much deeper. It lies outside the realm of human volition and is based upon the constitutional nature of the mountain tribes. In contrast to the valley peoples, such as the Thai tribes, the Chinese, or the Annamese, the Meau and Akha, and presumably the majority of the tribes occupying this area today and known as "mountain tribes," are not capable of becoming acclimatized to the tropics, as is true, for example, of all the members of the white races. These tribes show an amazingly low resistance in particular to the tropical diseases, above all to malaria. In this connection Abadie's further statement is of special interest: "The Meau came to Tonkin long after the 'Thai' and 'Man.' With the latter they had many local battles over the arable land, which sometimes were long and fierce. Stronger and more energetic than their opponents, they would perhaps have driven them out of Upper-Tonking altogether had they been able to acclimatize themselves to the lower altitudes." In the chapter "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "The Territories of the Mountain Peoples," I shall discuss at some length the extraordinary importance that this lack of ability to acclimatize has for colonial-ethnological affairs.

A M [174]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/108 cont./

A 595 [422] [606] [179] even the clothes of the secondary wives, belong to her. Among the Akha, the position of the daughter-in-law, who is the first to be called upon for assistance in all the difficult or unpleasant work of the women, is similar to her position among the Meau, and presumably has likewise been influenced by the Chinese. Among the Akha, as among the Meau, after the wedding both sexes are required to observe marital fidelity, which among the Meau at least is not always followed. If a man commits adultery with a girl, it is considered unimportant, provided that there are no consequences. If there are, the man must marry the girl or pay an indemnity agreed upon. It is different if a man commits adultery with a married woman and the affair is discovered. In this case, the seducer has to pay the deceived husband the entire bride price or he will be punished by the village chief. Moreover, the disclosure of such a case is a terrible disgrace for the seducer, whose prestige in the community suffers greatly (see the section, "Dissolution of Marriage," in this chapter).

A M 837 684

A M [558]

The obligation for marital fidelity for both sexes is stricter among the Akha than among the Meau.

A 184 837 Telford (1) reports that among the Akha of Kengtung

1. Page 108.

a married, but childless woman may have sexual intercourse now and then with an unmarried man. If she becomes pregnant, her husband has to /109/ slaughter a pig and give it to her lover. I assume that the reference to a slaughtered pig means that a sacrificial feast must be arranged.

A M 837 432 583 M 174 583 432 Wife exchange, the lending of wives, and outright wife-purchase, under which I do not include the indirect purchase for marriage described above, are equally unknown among the Meau and Akha. It can be assumed, I think, that in former times among the Meau a purchase of wives in some form as yet unknown might have been practiced. In any case this is indicated by the fact that the Meau believe it is not proper to sell the household broom, because this would be tantamount

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [736]

to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648

Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563

Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

M [114]

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/406 cont./

322 Aside from the construction of houses and stables, wood
824 has /407/ an extraordinary number of uses. For example, tables, benches, stools (Ill. 107) 3 and beds, the distillation apparatus for making alcohol, rice mills, rice steamers and pounders, the troughs for the pig fodder, and the pack saddles for the animals (Ill. 81) 2 are made of it; furthermore the handles of tools and knives, sheaths for knives, spear shafts and the gun stocks, crossbows, bellows (Ill. 82), 3 and musical instruments, such as the mouth organ, are produced from it; the altars (Ill. 99) are built out of it; it is likewise necessary for building wells,
[386] and, finally, dyestuff is also obtained from wood.

Since the Meau have long since left the Neolithic, stone
324 tools are no longer in use, and since the immigration of the
[412] Meau into their present habitation area in northern Thailand
[174] took place only a few decades ago, I could no longer find any such material from their early history. On the other hand, even today the Meau work stone into grindstones (Ill. 94) 5 or whetstones. Moreover, from a soft porous stone which they burn out before working, they make the crucibles (Fig. 365)
325 and casting molds (Ill. 82) for silver and copper, since they have a considerable knowledge of the use and working of metals. On the other hand, they are not in a position to obtain metals from ore, nor can they smelt wrought iron, but with the help of their bellows (Figs. 362-364) and a charcoal fire they know how to forge and weld it. They can smelt cast iron
[439] which they obtain from broken pots and pans acquired from the Chinese traders. From this kind of iron, bullets and even implements, such as the shoe of the digging stick (Fig. 267) are molded. For this a mud mold is made of an implement for which one wants to make a new piece, and it now serves for the new casting. Casting by dead mold is unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

The forging equipment (Ill. 82) is of wood, iron, or stone and is entirely made by a Meau smith. It is:

1 [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
2 + 3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p664 - "]
5 [" " " p644 - "]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/443 cont./

A M 144 up a light red under the crust on the cheeks of young girls. Such Europoid or Europiform elements also appear among the Lolo in Yunnan.

"The skin coloring of the people is often actually Europoid light. Under the /444/ armpit tones of 3, 7 and 10 (according to v. L. /von Luschan/) are very common, but the faces show 14-17, with a strong yellow tone that the table does not cover. The features of the Miao, however, are Sinoid, not at all Paleo-Mongoloid, and not even especially frequently Southern Sinoid. From the Central Sinoid type the range of variation goes to Tungoid flatness on the one hand and on the other hand to decidedly Europiform, narrow-faced, aquiline-nosed types."

This Europoid element is also reported for the closest relatives, according to Von Eickstedt -- direct ancestors would be better -- of the Meau, the Tjiang, still hardly investigated even today. Torrance, too, writes that the latter are definitely of a western and not Mongolian type."

M 144 ●174 It is noteworthy that Von Eickstedt (1) confirms from the

1. II, p. 59.

anthropological aspects the assertions of the Meau concerning the absence of any close relationship with the Man (Yau /Yao/): "A glance at the broad, more delicate, light-yellow faces of the Man again shows, as in Nieng Pu, that racially they represent a quite different mixture. They are far more Southern Sinoid than the Miao." With this Von Eickstedt unequivocally refutes M [114] Marabail's (2) assertion that the Meau, with all the differences

2. Page 131.

of the customs, are identical with the Yau /Yao/ (Man) in anthropological respects. Von Eickstedt (3) finally comes to

3. II, p. 53.

/444 cont./

144 the following general conclusion: "From an anthropological
174 standpoint, the homeland and the linguistic relationships lead to the assumption that here it is a matter of another, second part of the Central Sinoids -- a second part besides the Thai -- which, in the eastern mountains of Central China, poured over or pushed out the older Mon-Khmer Paleo-Mongolians similar to the way that this happened in the western part through the Central Sinoid Thai."

/445/ Chapter 28

Language

193 The language of the Meau is a monosyllabic tone language with five different tones. The best expert on it, P. P. Savina (1),

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1. II, p. 168.

writes concerning the language of the Meau that it is spoken with the nose as well as with the mouth and that it differs from all other languages. Marabail (2), too, stresses the independence

2. Page 131.

of the "dialect" of the Meau. Savina emphasizes its dissimilarity in relation to the languages of the Lolo, Chinese, Annamese, Tho, and Yau /Yao/. Seidenfaden (3), on the other hand, doubts

3. II, p. 198.

the dissimilarity of the languages of the Meau and Yau, just as the Census of Burma (4), in direct opposition to Savina,

4. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 200.

classifies the Meau language with the "Man Group," which

39: Bernatzik--648 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Chapter 32

Contribution to Ethnology

In Farther India and especially in Thailand a wealth of ethnological problems await solution. It seems to me that the completely obscure, but for many reasons especially important problems are those relating to the mountain peoples, as well as the problems of the forest peoples, who are classified under the name of "Karen," though they consist of thoroughly heterogeneous anthropological and ethnological elements, and finally, the origin and organization of those groups of peoples that are made up of the so-called Moi peoples.

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The clarification of this international picture confronting us today must, however, be combined with a consideration of those migrations of peoples that have been going on in Farther India for thousands of years and even today have not yet come to an end. Countless waves of peoples have pushed down from the north toward the south, have poured over Thailand territory, and have advanced farther to the south, beyond the Malay Peninsula, to Indonesia and the island world of the South Seas. The point of departure of almost all the waves of people was the vast living spaces of Central Asia; the direction of migration on the continent has been oriented principally from north to south. Only the smallest part of these migrations have been dealt with scientifically; indeed, only in the last few years did any serious consideration of them begin. The first attempts to classify groups of peoples on the basis of prehistoric findings are now available. For example, Heine-Geldern IV has set up an Austro-Asiatic and an Austronesian Group and tried to give this initially linguistic classification an anthropological and cultural foundation. These two groups of peoples, however, have not yet by any means been unequivocally established scientifically as units. I have dealt in another place

39: Bernatzik--649 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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A M 174 (Die grosse Völkerkunde (1)) with the problems relating to this;

1. Vol. II, pp. 198 ff.

/479/ in the same place I have also discussed the problem of the original population. The migration of a third group of peoples, and to be sure that of the Thai peoples, on the other hand, can already be followed historically and prehistorically. The valleys and lowlands demonstrably formed the migration routes for these peoples; this can also be assumed for the earlier waves of peoples. On the other hand, the most recent migratory movement, which is still in progress today in Farther India and especially in Thailand, is being carried out by the true mountain peoples, such as the Meaû, Akha, Yau /Yao/, Lahu, Lisu, and Katschin /Kachin/. The direction has probably remained the same, but the migration routes now run on the tops of the mountains. I have tried to explain the reason for the strange fact that these peoples obviously avoid the lowlands in the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." In the present volume I have now dealt with this, to me seemingly important problem of the mountain peoples and in so doing have discussed the Meau in particular, as by far the strongest representative, both in number and vitality, of this group of peoples, as well as the Akha.

M 114 174 A 114 As is brought out in the chapter, "History," we are able to follow the Meau over a span of time of almost 4,500 years. To be sure, the old sources must be evaluated critically since they deal with testimonies of the Chinese, who from ancient times have been at war with the Meau. Moreover, the descriptions of customs in these sources are very scanty and presumably mention only cultural elements that differ from those of the Chinese. In addition, they are faulty, since the authors frequently confused the various mountain tribes. In the literature of the past decades, which we owe primarily to European observers, those cultural elements that strike the casual traveler,

39: Bernatzik--650 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

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such as clothing and settlements, are always dealt with, but everything else is almost totally ignored. I therefore strove to record all the cultural elements of the Meau, as well as those of their neighbors, the Akha, within my area of investigation, in order to create, at long last, an unobjectionable basis for research. It is shown from these elements presented by me in the present work that the Meau culture is by no means to be regarded as homogeneous culture, but rather as a mixed one. The various cultural influences correspond to the migration routes known from the history of the Meau. Cultural goods from Mongolia and Siberia and such of Tibetan /480/ origin are frequently mixed with Chinese elements. In judging the latter, caution is required, because the early Chinese also absorbed cultural possessions of the Meau; therefore elements that today are regarded as Chinese in origin may conversely stem from the Meau. The anthropology confirms the cultural picture. It is regrettable that, despite various existing studies, the language of the Meau, like that of the Akha, has not been unequivocally classified by comparative linguists and therefore could only partially be drawn upon for proof. The works of other authors also supplement my observations. Koppers (1) and Shirokogoroff,

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1. Pages 304 ff.

for instance, indicate cultural connections with the Tungus. Eberhard (2) rejects a uniform Meau culture and speaks of a

2. II, pp. 271 and 274.

mixed culture in which elements of the Chuang and Yau predominate. He also mentions Tibetan influences. On the other hand, I cannot agree with his proposal to regard the Meau as originally Yau who have strongly interbred with the Chuang and are only secondarily overlaid with Wuman, as well as viewing the Fan as alleged ancestors of the Meau, since the old Chinese sources, which he used as evidence, are too unreliable for the reasons already discussed, but above all the

/480 cont./

174 [114] cultural elements drawn upon for proof are too few in number and moreover in large part not characteristic for the Meau, and are often to be regarded as environmentally conditioned.

It is an interesting question whether the Meau may be classed in the circle of those peoples whose very ancient cultures are brought into relief from their surroundings by, among other things, megaliths, certain forms of animal sacrifice, and head-hunting. It is well-known that this culture is still alive today among the Naga and wild Wa and their neighbors. Relics in many places in Farther India, Hindustan, Indonesia, and beyond into the South Seas and traces in northwestern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East show that its spread must have been far greater in former times. -- I myself was able to identify the so-called "Moi peoples" of Indochina as belonging to this group, as I shall report in detail in another place. Judging by the available facts, there can be no doubt that the Meau do not belong to this cultural complex, even if the /481/ classification of the Meau language with the Mon-Khmer languages (see the chapter, "Language"), which is absolutely erroneous in my opinion, should be proved correct.

[325] For the question of the origin of the culture of the Meau, a bronze drum allegedly made by the Meau and cast by dead mold, which is in the possession of the ethnographic museum in Vienna and has not yet been described up to now,* is of special

* During the printing of the present work, a few statements about this drum by F. M. Schnitger appeared in the Archiv für Anthropologie, 1943, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

[534] significance. The shape of the drum is shown in Figures 423 and 424. The diameter of the striking surface is 70.5 centimeters. The drum is hollow, open at the bottom, and four bronze handles are attached to the side walls. It belongs to the group of bronze drums that Heger discussed in his work, Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien /Old Metal Drums from [532] Southeast Asia/. /Fig. 423 appears here./ /482/ The drum

/482 cont./

174 surface (Fig. 424) shows in the center a sun with twelve rays, around which several circles with various decorations, such as wedge patterns, rings, meanders, and rows of dots, seal it off. Then follows a band, about five centimeters wide, with representations /Fig. 424 appears here/ /483/ of human beings, houses, and various scenes. Two houses have a boat-shaped roof, the ends of which are ornamented with birds' heads. Similar houses are still found even today in various parts of Indonesia, New Guinea, etc. Above each roof stands a peacock. In one

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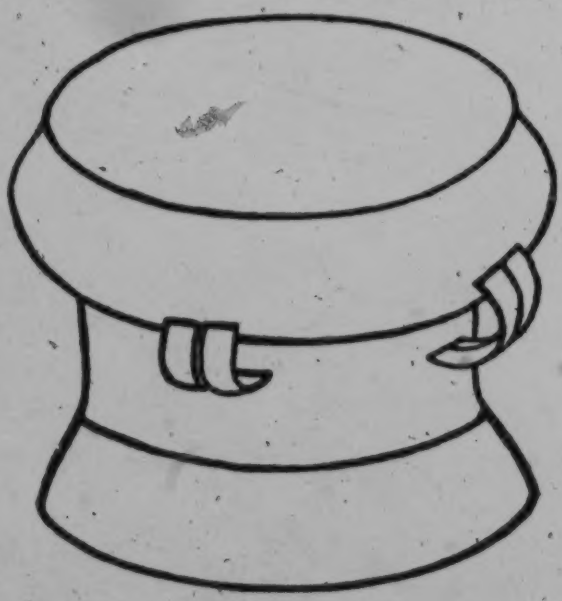

[534]

Fig. 423 Sketch of the bronze drum, viewed obliquely from above, about 1/10 nat. size.

of the houses one can see mouth-organ players, in the other probably women preparing a meal. Beside each house there are two drums, each resting on a frame, /Fig. 425 appears here/ which are beaten with long drumsticks. These drums have the same shape as the very bronze drum being described here. Between the houses armed men with large feather crowns

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Miao AE5

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Fig. 424. A copy, faithful to the original, of the striking surface of a bronze drum from the region of Kaihwa (southeast Yunnan). Throughout centuries it is supposed to have been in the possession of the family of a Meau chief, which, according to its own tradition, brought it along from south of Kweichow. Now in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna.

39: Bernatzik--654 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
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/483 cont./

on their heads are dancing. The representation of their clothing reminds one of the festive clothing made of palm leaves, as they are worn to this day by some /484/ Naga and Dajak /Dyak/ tribes at their head-hunter celebrations. A man with

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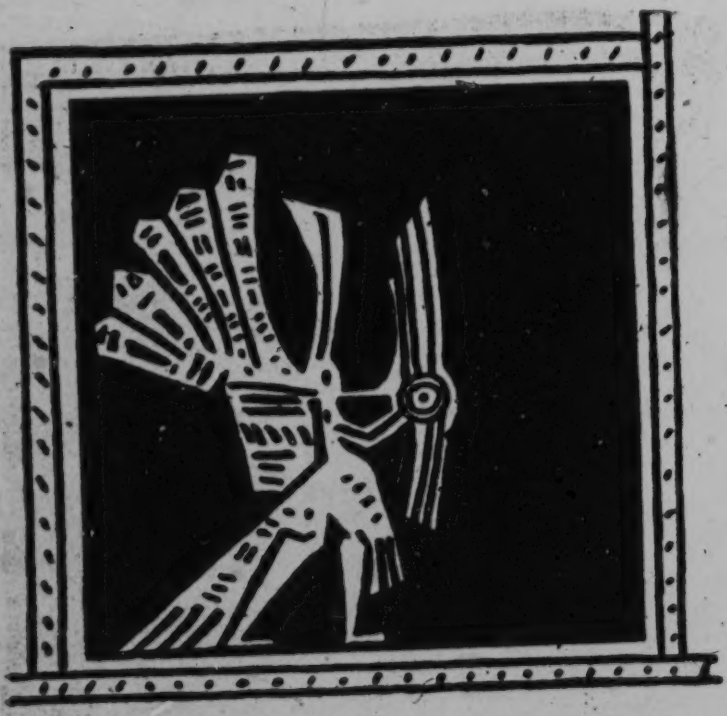

Fig. 425. Representation of a Mouth-organ Player with a Feather Crown. He is presumably clothed in a cloak of batiked bark-cloth. Natural size.

a crown, which presumably is made of argus-pheasant feathers, is blowing on a mouth organ (Fig. 425).

After this series of decorations there follows a representation of stylized birds, presumably flying herons arranged in the circle (Fig. 426).

On the outer surface of the drum, too, figurate representations are found. Especially striking here are four boats whose bows and sterns are clearly visible (Fig. 428). From a comparison with

/484 cont./

●174 532 the sacral temple-boats still in use today on the Nan River in northeastern Thailand (Fig. 427), we can but assume that the bow is provided with a dragon's head and the stern with a dragon's tail /Fig. 426 appears here/ the latter presumably decorated with a flag. Rowers wearing feather crowns make up the crew of the boat. In each of two boats a person is sitting on a stool (Fig. 428); presumably this is a matter of shamans. Representations of sitting herons are put in between the boats. Eight reliefs, which represent warriors adorned with large feather crowns, form the lower edge of the drum. Among them a mouth-organ player

Fig. 426. Probably the representation of sitting herons, on the outer surface of the drum.
A copy true to nature, somewhat over 1/2 nat. size.

is clearly recognizable (Fig. 425). Several dancers hold a shield, two are swinging an ax (Fig. 429), and two others are holding a pear-shaped object in their hands (Fig. 430), which one could regard as a head-hunter's trophy. These men are adorned with large birds' heads looking backwards.

Taken as a whole, it is surely a matter of an over-all representation of a great celebration; it may be left undecided whether a celebration for the dead, a New Year's festival, a head-hunters' ceremony, or something similar is meant by it. The /485/ /Fig. 427 and 428 appear here/ affiliation of the producer with the culture complex of the megalith producer and head-hunter is probable in view of the cultural elements depicted. A precise treatment of this drum from an

39: Bernatzik--656 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

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Fig. 427. Sacral temple-boat, about 20 meters long, of the Lao on the Nan River in northeastern Thailand. A dragon's head is set on the bow of the boat; the rear stem carved out of wood, is decorated with a flag. Only the part of the boat projecting

Fig. 428.

out of the water is visible. Pen drawing from a photograph.

Fig. 428. Representation of a boat on the outer convex surface of the bronze drum. Human beings with feather crowns are rowing the boat, whose front part seems to end in a dragon's head. A figure sitting on a seat in front of the helmsman, perhaps a female shaman. About 1/2 nat. size.

Miao AE5
Kachin AP6

M /485 cont./
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ethnological point of view is reserved for a work by F. M. Schnitger. What interests us in this connection is whether it is actually a matter of a Meau drum and whether the persons and scenes depicted are derived from cultural possessions of the Meau, as Schnitger assumes and as seems to follow from the tradition of the family from which the drum was acquired. The clothing of the women depicted is vaguely recognizable, but in no way resembles the present-day attire of the Meau women, which, as is apparent from some of the Chinese sources, /486/ has scarcely changed for thousands of years. Similarly the clothing of the dancers represented and especially the feather crowns do not in any way remind one of the present-day clothing of the Meau men. To be sure, it should be noted here that the present-day clothing of the men, such as the wearing of turbans, is presumably not autochthonous for the mountain peoples of this area. /Fig. 429 appears here./ It has not been incontestably determined how the head-covering looked in former times. In representations in the "albums," other head-coverings can occasionally be recognized, to be sure, and Bridgman (1), too, on the basis of such Chinese representations

1. Pages 260, 261, 265, 268 ff.

expressly mentions /487/ feather crowns as customary head-adornment among various Meau tribes, but doubtlessly all such drawings originated later, and moreover the possibility of confusion with members of another "barbarian" tribe is never to be excluded. /Fig. 430 appears here./

The following facts, however, may be of significance under these circumstances: Among the Katschin /Kachin/ west of Kengtung, a people who, as is known, like the Meau, come from similar living spaces and who find themselves in the midst of a similar migratory movement, the men now wear turbans, just like the Meau. On the occasion of the performance /488/ of the ancient sword-dances, however, the leaders of the Katschin wore splendid ancient ceremonial costumes and mighty feather crowns made of argus pheasant and peacock feathers (Fig. 431).

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[796]

39: Bernatzik--658 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

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/488 cont./

(Fig. 431). I have already published an over-all scene of this dance in another place (Bernatzik (1)). These ceremonial garbs

1. IV, Ill. 75.

Fig. 429. Representation of a dancer with feather crown and shield on the outer surface of the drum. In one hand the dancer carries a pear-shaped object, which might be regarded as a head-hunter's trophy. Copy true to nature, 11/10 nat. size.

permit one to conclude that such feather crowns were formerly also used among other mountain peoples of the latest wave of migration, to which the Katschin as well as the Meau belong. /Fig. 431 appears here./

/488 cont./

The present absence of the feather crowns among the Meau is thus no proof that the feather crowns depicted on the drum were nevertheless not originally part of the cultural possessions of the Meau. 174 532

Among the cultural elements of the Meau recorded by me, there is no indication that the pictures on the drum

Fig. 430. Representation of a dancer with ax, shield, and feather crown on the outer surface of the drum. Copy true to nature, 11/10 nat. size.

have anything to do with the Meau. Rather, the custom of preserving the heads or at least parts of the hunting booty or of sacrificed animals, or /489/ any kind of references to head-hunting, as well as the kind of animal sacrifice characteristic of the Meau, point to the opposite.

39: Bernatzik--660 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5
Kachin AP6

/439 cont./

Thus, almost all of the elements represented on the drum are not to be perceived as autochthonous cultural possessions of the Meau. Only the mouth organ could be designated as a Meau element. It, however, is much too widespread among other peoples to appear alone as valid proof.

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Finally, if one considers the fact that the Meau have always been a mountain people that has at most

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Fig. 431. Crown of Feathers from Argus Pheasants.

It is worn by leaders of the Katschin /Kachin/ dancers in a village west of the Kengtung market and is part of a sacral festive costume, which is still preserved only in places.

Pen drawing from a photograph.

occasionally navigated mountain rivers, he will find neither the representation of the many boats on the drum nor the association of boats with the cult explicable. The positively startling similarity between these boats and the sacral temple-boats (Fig. 427) of the Lao, one of the Thai peoples, is another indication that this

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/489 cont./

174 cannot have anything to do with the Meau.

532 Furthermore, we come to the question of whether mountain peoples with a relatively lower culture, like the Meau, are to be credited at all with the production of such works of art [325] as these drums represent. If one considers the perfect casting and above all the ornamentation and plastic representation so well executed technically, this appears most improbable, quite apart from the fact that I could find no indications of any kind among the Meau that the technique of casting by dead form had been familiar to them at any time in their history. I would far rather speak of this work of art as the flowering of a high culture. Under these circumstances, and especially in view of the boats depicted, Von Eickstedt's conjecture, expressed orally to me, that a Thai people may have been involved as the original producer, is not to be rejected. Also the fact that the original homeland of several Thai peoples is to be sought not far from the region in which the Meau drum, according to its previous owners, was originally used at least does not argue against it.

174 To be sure, it is possible that the Meau, who, as their history leads one to suspect, had formerly developed a high culture or at least the beginnings of one, were checked in their development by martial events and oppressions following them, and their culture was subjected to a shrinking process. That a cultural atrophy of considerable proportions actually must have taken place /490/ can be verified by the far more primitive material culture in comparison with the spiritual culture. Even though it has still never been proved that such drums were made by the Meau, it is indeed theoretically possible, their great absolute antiquity being established, that they come from the cultural golden age of the Meau. The frequent statements in the literature to the effect that the Meau did beat bronze drums on various cultic occasions (Heger (1), Nan-chao (2) seem also

1. Pages 235 ff.

2. Pages 187 ff.

/490 cont./

174 to argue for the acceptance of a Meau origin, since cultural elements must be domestic for a long time among a people before they find acceptance in the cult. Now I have found, however, that the bronze gongs which today play such an outstanding role in the cult of the Meau (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic") could not be made by them, but are purchased from the Chinese. The same phenomenon is striking among other mountain peoples. For example, I discovered the following among the Kamuk, a forest people from Upper Laos that occasionally also settles in the Thailand border region and unfortunately is still almost unknown scientifically even today: The Kamuk hire themselves out for work among the valley peoples, the Lao and Chinese, and also among the Europeans. Before they return to their homeland, they endeavor to buy bronze drums in Luang Prabang with the acquired money. The origin of these drums is unknown; it is only known that the Kamuk themselves are unable to manufacture them and that it is usually a matter of chance archeological finds which are offered by traders in Luang Prabang. They are also greatly prized as collectors' items by the European colonists, and their market value is therefore high. The Kamuk buyers must often spend their entire savings, and sometimes several join together in order to be able to acquire one of these precious instruments. The drums are said to play a special role in the cult in the Kamuk villages. I was unable to learn any further details on this subject and therefore planned to investigate this question on my next trip to Farther India. Since my plans, because of the outbreak of this war, can probably not be realized within a reasonable space of time, I am publishing this account so that some other ethnologist working in northern Indochina may investigate it. The solution of the problem may very likely yield interesting results in several respects. Nevertheless, it can be stated even today /Ills. 97-101 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /491/ that the appearance of such drums in the cult of the Meau is by no means conclusive evidence that the Meau were at one time in a position to manufacture these

[Text Continues On P.667]

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/491 cont./

M 174 drums themselves. Even today, the origin of the various forms of Southeast Asian bronze drums has still not been satisfactorily settled, although several authors have dealt with it and Heger's multiple-volumed work represents a special investigation of it. It is certain that the art of manufacture is almost lost today and has been preserved longest in the Karen states of Burma. But even there it has not been transmitted by the mountain peoples, but by the high-culture people of the valleys, the Schan /Shan/ of the Thai people (Fisher (1)).

1. Pages 668 ff.

A 174 As far as the Akha are concerned, scientific proof for the affiliation of their culture is considerably more difficult than in the case of the Meau, since there is no information in the scanty literature to start from. A further difficulty is that nothing is really known about the history of the Akha and no archaeological finds are available. Nevertheless, the Akha A [224] custom of preserving skull parts of hunting booty, as well as the buffalo sacrifice (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," A [825] the section, "Cult and Taboo") and the protection of the hornbill (Bucerotidae), the animal closely associated with the head-hunters' cult, for the reason that "the hornbill was a friend of the ancestors," makes it appear questionable whether the culture of the Akha should not be classified with that of the megalithic peasants and head-hunters.

On the basis of the elements recorded by me and a comparison with the cultural picture of the Meau, I believe that one can answer this question negatively since in almost all essential aspects correspondences with the Meau can be found. On the contrary, an even stronger Europoid racial strain, as well as an accumulation of Tibetan cultural influences, indicates rather that the Akha belong, if not to the same wave of peoples as the Meau, in any case to a very recent migratory wave, which possibly came into contact with head-hunting peoples. Perhaps the peculiar hunting custom was adopted by the Akha as a result of this contact.

39: Bernatzik--668 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/491 cont./

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In recapitulation, it can be said: The culture of the Meau and of the /492/ Akha is not unitary; rather, within it there are elements that point to Tibetan as well as Mongolian influences. Especially many Chinese influences appear. The history of the Meau and the anthropology of both peoples, and presumably the languages as well, confirm these facts. The cultures of both peoples not only do not seem to belong to the group that is characterized by megaliths and head-hunting, but, on the contrary, are rather to be classified with the migratory wave that shattered the unity of this megalithic culture in the living spaces of Farther India. Without further ado, it is conceivable that the Meau and Akha, upon contact with these peoples, adopted individual elements, but any scientific proof of this is lacking. -- The Meau drum in the Vienna ethnographic museum was probably not made by the Meau. A Thai people may come into the matter eventually as the producer. This does not by any means contest the fact that this and similar drums were formerly used in the cult of the Meau.

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/493/ Chapter 33

Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand

a) General Remarks

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It is apparent from the comprehensively described cultural picture of the most important mountain peoples of Farther India that they, as semi-nomads, are in continual movement and because of that constantly pose new problems for the sedentary peoples of the plains, under whose political control they theoretically stand. This prompts me to discuss more thoroughly the colonial-political problems arising out of this. In doing this, it will be necessary to pick out from among the manifold elements already described those factors that are more closely connected with them.

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Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from out- 101 side areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

"There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or 101 more families living in ten villages; including men and women they [161] number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104] /* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 101 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period ● 175 /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[187] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/1 cont'd/

101 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao
175 troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains
[411 and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the
278] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people
[291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like
[481] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where
[221] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned
[224] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are
[754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] */Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

2: Ling & Ruey AE 5 Miao AE5

175

/For a discussion of the meaning of the name "Miao" based on evidence from written sources, see category 116, pp. 2-26./

2: Ling & Ruey AE 5 Miao AE5

175, 648

/For information on the relations between the Miao and Chinese in Western Hunan, beginning in the 14th Century, and including the establishment of Miao official posts by the Chinese, see category 116, pp. 148-175/

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

(18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[534] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
[167] Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
M Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
648 and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
175 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
CC calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
175 Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
563 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
669 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts, and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/ to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble, and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563

(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/2 cont'd/
101 in the Ch'ang-hua Hsien Chih /Annals of Ch'ang-Hua District/,
175 published in the Kuang-hsü period /1875-1908/. It is to be noted that the story in this text was based on the historical facts of the suppression of the Li uprisings led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i fang t'ung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501) of Emperor Hsiao-tsung.

In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Chèng T'ing-ku stated:

"... In the past the ringleaders of the uprisings were only the rebels in the Ch'iang-shih-sung area. Their strength was rather isolated. At the present, however, they are allied with the bandits in the Ch'ang-hua and Kan-en areas. Their forces have been increasing from day to day. If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-inforcements." (See Cheng T'ing-ku's Shih-hu I-chi /Collected Works of Shih-hu*/. The author lived during the Chia-

/* This is Cheng's hao, or literary name.—Ed./

ching period of Emperor Shih-tsung (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty.)

In every aspect, there are points of very noticeable difference between the two tribes, the Li and the Miao. They cannot be discussed as if they are of one people. The name Li-Miao, however, appears both in the Ch'iung-chou Fu-chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture/ and the Kan-en Hsien-chih /Annals of Kan-en District/, which treat the Miao as a branch of the Li people. It is quite obviously an error. Nevertheless, both annals give a clear description concerning the place from which the Miao migrated and the period and circumstances of their migration. According to the Tao-kuang /1821-51/ edition of the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, the Li uprisings during the Ming period became serious only after the reign of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, for instance, the Li rebellion led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i-fang Tung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501). After the first year of Cheng-teh (1506) of Emperor Wu-tsung, and other t'ungs in Yai-chou revolted several times, and the government

/2 cont'd/

101 also repeatedly sent out numerous troops to suppress them. Miao
175 troops must have been sent there at various times during this period. Hence, it has been only about 500 years since the Miao migrated to Hainan. There are some additional primary sources which show that the Miao migrated from Kwangsi province. /3/ During my last field trip to the Miao area, I acquired the family register of a certain Lin family, in which there is the following statement:

127 "This is a certified copy of the register of the family and its
101 branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-an Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien /sic/ province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Min-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They lived on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. X-X had only one son, Lin Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng. Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

At the same time I obtained another important document from the family of a Miao headman, which concerns the origin of the Miao. It is copied as follows:

"With the approval of the Heavenly Emperor,
While the world is in peace.

101 Our ancestors for generations have been the descendants of P'an.
175 The Prince and his followers of Peking entered Ch'i-hsien T'ung in the K'uai-chi Mountains after falling into adversity. They proliferated down to the time when our imperial ancestor P'an's descendants went out and settled down in every district. Emperor Ch'u-p'ing issued them a grant certificate to the law-abiding mountain people, permitting them to go at will to the deep recesses of the mountains where only birds had been living, from where they could look out over the clear mountains and make their living. Moreover, they were neither subject to Imperial taxation, nor forced labor, nor harassment by troops. They could cut wood in the forests and could use ferries without paying. The Chinese people were not allowed to

/3 cont'd/

101 burn incense and candles at their altars and temples; nor were the
175 Chinese allowed to associate with them. Chinese peasants were not to take their women by force as wives. /The original text is: "...were not to take their t'ien-tzu...." T'ien-tzu literally means "son of heaven." It probably is a miswriting of nü-tzu which means woman.—Tr./ Any violaters of this rule were to be sent to the government to be tried and sentenced. The certificate indicated that the mountain people had their own boundaries and should not farm in the Chinese peasants' fields or ponds. They had their own region of secluded cliffs, mountains, and peaks. Monkeys were their companions and birds were their neighbors. They hunted on the mountains and made their living by cutting wood and planting. The Chinese were not allowed to cause trouble to them. Those who did were to be sent to be tried and sentenced by the officials at the district courts. The certificate conferred on our imperial ancestors was originally issued to the descendants of our ancestor P'an. Each law-abiding mountain person received a copy of it. They were not to feed the Imperial treasury. They were to watch over the mountain fields. Their bird guns, bows, and crossbows were to be used only for hunting wild boars, horses, and deer. Since they are law-abiding, when they move or pass through the various districts, they must be allowed to pass freely by the collectors of transit tolls. This was the certificate issued to our ancestors, and here is a copy. To whom it may concern.

It is certified as above.

217 /4/ The honorable titles of those in the Royal Court who recom-
175 mended this certificate are as follows:

Recommended by the Department of Certification of Documents of the Royal Court

Recommended by the President of the Board of Civil Appointment

Recommended by the President of the Board of War

Recommended by the President of the Board of Public Works

Recommended by the President of the Board of Rites

Recommended by the President of the Board of Punishments

Recommended by the President of the Board of Finance

It is hereby recommended that the descendants of our imperial ancestor P'an, in accordance with this imperial certificate of the

/4 cont'd/

217 Ch'u P'ing reign period /190-94 A.D./, be allowed to go to the
175 provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Ch'ao-chou, Hu-kuang, and Hupei, traveling on roads and waterways and living in the high mountains by wood while wood-cutting and cultivating, cutting and planting.

This is the due document to act as proof in perpetuity.

This certificate was filed for reference on the 16th day of the fifth month in the fifth year of Ch'u P'ing.

217 It is still a mystery where and when they had gained this "certificate," which up to the present is still carefully kept by them as their most precious treasure. From the description in the last paragraph, we are sure that the Miao of Hainan not ~~only had direct~~ relationship with the Miao (?) of Kwangsi but also had the same origin as the other Miao tribes (?) in different regions throughout South China.

173 From what has been said above, there is no doubt that the Miao of Hainan migrated from Kwangsi during the Ming period. However, I am very doubtful that the Miao of Hainan are actually the same as
197 the Miao of Kwangsi, because from the linguistic point of view, the languages spoken by them are very different. On the contrary, the spoken language of the Miao people of Hainan is very similar to that of the Yao people; particularly it is similar to, and almost identical with, the dialect spoken by the Lan-tien ("blue indigo") Yao tribes living in the Ling-yün area. The chart which follows may be helpful for reference. (Note: The vocabulary of the Miao of Hainan shown in the following chart is in my own romanization. The romanization of the vocabulary of the different Yao peoples of Kwangsi is based upon Kuang-hsi Lin-yün Yao-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi/, jointly compiled by Yen Fu-li and Shang Cheng-tsu. The romanization of the words of the Miao of Kwangsi province is based upon Liu Hsi-fan's Ling-piao Chi Man /The Aborigines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi/. In Liu's book, however, Chinese phonetic symbols are used. For the sake of uniformity I have used romanization in the present writing.)

/7 cont'd/

171 lived in Ling-yün district since before the Ming period, we may not be too far off in concluding accordingly that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Ling-yün district in Kwangsi province. (It is to be noted that Ling-yün is in the northwestern part of Kwangsi, which is adjacent to the southwestern part of Kweichou and north-
171 eastern part of Yünnan. In the Ming period, this area was under the
●175 jurisdiction of Szŭ-ch'eng and T'u-chou and was occupied completely by the aboriginal peoples.) Furthermore, we can also adduce some evidence from the above cited family register of the Lin family of the Hainan Miao, which states: "They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious." /8/ It is worth noting that there was a Szu-en Fu in the Ch'ing period; it was also called Szu-en Fu in the Ming period. During the Sung and Yüan periods, it was called Szu-en chou. Since the Republic, it has been under the jurisdiction of Nan-ning tao /district/. Its location is in the northern part of Kwangsi adjacent to the southern part of Kweichou. From ancient times, it has been a land of uncivilized wilderness. At the end of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505) of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the Ming period, it was brought under the liu system /i.e., it became a normal administrative unit under the local government/. It is beyond doubt that the "Szu-en Fu" written in the family register of the Lins is a miswriting of the above "Szu-en Fu" /the "Szŭ" in the register is indicated by a different character.—Ed./. Hence, there should be no question that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Szŭ-en Fu of Kwangsi, although until we have historical documents and reports from firsthand investigation, we cannot be sure whether the Lan-tien Yao people lived in the Szŭ-en Fu area during the Ming and Ch'ing periods or whether a part of them is there at the present time. This is all we can say about the question concerning the part of Kwangsi from which the Miao migrated to Hainan.

101 However, there is another question confronting us. Since the
171 Miao of Hainan Island originally were derived from the Yao of

/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
[221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243] "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this
[166] kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

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131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

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Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/10 cont'd/

Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

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175 "If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise
161 Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-enforcements." If these "Han-ta troops," "Lang-t'u soldiers," and the "Lang-mu," the "Ta-shou," etc., all were Miao troops, or if Miao troops constituted a part of them, we may conclude that the Miao troops who were repeatedly moved there could not have numbered less /12/ than 10,000. Another important question is whether these Miao troops brought their women along with them, or whether it was only in a later period that they began to increase prolifically through marrying the women of other groups in the Hainan
175 area? This is a very interesting question worthy of study. It is, of
162 course, closely related to the physical type of the present Miao people, and it is also directly related to the question of the number of original Miao immigrants. As far as I know, even at the present
[582] time, marriage among the Miao is still limited to their own group. To marry members of other groups (such as the Chinese, Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and others) is forbidden. Thus it is very probable that the Miao troops brought their women with them when they first came. There might have been an equal number of ~~women accom~~panying
161 the original 10,000 Miao troops. Hence, the number of earliest Miao
175 immigrants would have been over 10,000 at the very least.

[27] Secondly, we shall examine the numbers recorded in the local annals. In the annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, it is stated that the Miao in Tan-chou consisted of "about 90 families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than a thousand." Since they numbered "less than a thousand," we may suppose that there were 500. An average village might consist of ten families of five members each. According to the same source, there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district. To use the same method of statistical averages for measurement, the five villages might have consisted of 50 families with 250 individuals. According to the annals of Kan-en district, there were "several hundred Miao families" in this particular district. Let us suppose that there were 500 families. Using the same method of calculation, there might have been 50 villages with a total population of 2,500, not counting those who

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161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

[27] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

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244 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the
311 valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li."
This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the
●175 Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure
144 blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of
175 other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the
144 family register of the Lin family:
178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had
162 some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname,
144 who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung
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648 influential person in the locality and often took advantage of the
736 Miao of the area. Once a Miao man who had picked a few catties of edible tree fungus on another mountain passed through his mountain. He then arrested him on the ground that the Miao had stolen the fungus from his land. In addition to the confiscation of the fungus, the Miao was fined several tens of dollars. The Miao then began to appeal for justice to everyone he met. His Miao neighbors were sympathetic and wished to help him. They advised him to petition the district government. Anxious to have the affair settled, they sent agents to the government everyday to find out the result and waited for the trial. Days passed, and there was no response from the government at all. We could imagine how disappointed they were. Later when I came back from the Miao villages and went to inquire about it at the district office, I was told that no such case had been received, and the district government had /118/ heard nothing about it. What happened? I really felt bad about it.

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648 Now let us turn to the relationship between the Li and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book, we mentioned that originally the Miao were sent to Hainan to help the Chinese government suppress the Li uprisings. Therefore, the two groups had no reason to like
175 each other. However, neither the Li nor the Miao possesses a written history. These ancient conflicts could not have remained in their minds. Their antagonism, therefore was due not to historical factors but to economic reasons, or, more correctly, to their connections with the land.

As mentioned before, the Miao were the last group of immigrants to Hainan Island. The fertile land was already occupied by the Chinese and the Li by that time. Consequently, they were compelled to live in the deep mountains, enduring terrible hardships. Yet these mountain lands by no means belonged to them but were rented from the Li under contracts of different terms, because long before the Miao moved into Hainan these mountains had already been occupied

2:Ling & Ruey--41 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; The Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

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Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

2:Ling & Ruey--126 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 56. Women's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

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000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[304] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting, fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men. The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells, and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

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*782 few coins inside the sheng of rice. The sorcerer-priest in plain
842 clothes and holding the ritual knife and chiao-tzu utters an in-
*[787] ~~cantation~~ and divines, pours the wine and states the reason. After having divined again for when a son is to be born, he burns the paper to send off the shen. After the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, he next performs the Nuan No.

(23) Nuan No

[776] /178/ When the No shen /a god who drives away pestilence/ has been offended, (for details see "Huan No Yüan") if the time for Huan No Yüan is still far away, then they must do this. Also every ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the day when the No shen comes down, and the third day of the third month is the day when this shen goes up to heaven, and some people hold the same ritual on either one of these two dates. Also the ritual of Putting Up an Earth Bridge has to be followed by the performance of Nuan No. It is held during the daytime, with a square table placed in the back half of the main house. On the table are set five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and a sheng of rice on which there are some coins, incense, and candles. There are also two stacks of paper money, a bowl of meat with a little salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. The sorcerer-priest wears plain clothes and a red head kerchief, and, holding the ritual knife and the chiao-tzu, he utters the same incantation as that for Putting Up an Earth Bridge. After he has finished he burns the paper to send off the shen.

(24) Huan No Yüan

175 Huan No Yuan /"fulfilling the No vow"/ is fulfilling a
*782 vow to the No shen. The origin of No is very ancient. The
776 "Hsiang Tang" chapter of the Lun Yü says: "When the villagers drove away the demons of pestilence /no/, they dressed in formal robes and stood on the eastern steps." After the Ch'in and Han

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175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
776 In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

[113] 1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk
[779] Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen;[1] and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

[1 [for the ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280. - ANALYST]

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*535 t'iao ku /lit. "to harmonize drums"/ . The section on the
184 Hung Miao in Kuei-chou T'ung-chih states: "To sing and dance to the beatings of the drum is called t'iao ku." Thus it may be seen that the drum dance is common among the Hung Miao in both Hunan and Kweichow, but it has not yet been found among other tribes in the southwest. It is suspected that this dance may belong to the Hung Miao alone. The histories
175 of ancient dynasties contain the names of dances of the tribes
184 of the southwest. The "Nan Man Chuan /Section on the
*535 Southern Tribes/" in the Hou Han Shu /History of the Later Han Dynasty/ refers to the pa-yü dance, (1) the "Hsi-nan Chü I

1. Hou Han Shu, Vol. 116, "Lieh Chuan /Biographies/," No. 76, "Nan Man Chuan," states: "They like to sing and dance. Emperor Kao Tsung saw them, and said, 'This is the song of Prince Wu when he subdued Chou.' He ordered his musicians to learn it. This is the pa-yü dance."

Chuan /Section on the Tribes of the Southwest/" in the Sung Shih /History of the Sung Dynasty/, has a reference to the shui-ch'ü /lit. "water tune"/ dance, (2) and there are references

2. Sung Shih, Vol. 496, "Lieh Chuan," No. 225, "Hsi-nan Chu I Chuan," states: "The first year of the Chih Tao reign period /995/, Lung Kuang-chin led the Tsang-k'o tribes of the southwest to come to bring tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsung asked them

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to perform a native dance.
One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
which sounded like gnats. After
a good while some tens of them,
turning side by side, danced.
They called it the shui-ch'ü."

to the ch'ü-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty (1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

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1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya,
Vol. I, sections on the
T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the Pe Miao, have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known. Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to describe the singing and dancing. However good the description, it is only a simulation. The Li Shan annotation on the phase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums," sets in order all the phrases. On reading it one gets a better understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance. The ancient Hsin ch'eng An-lo-kung Tz'u says: 'The p'an drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven P'an Dance/, Chang Heng says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

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CHAPTER I

WHO ARE THE FLOWERY MIAO?

101 175 WHEN the first Chinese inhabitants came from the West, they encountered a half-savage population whom they were frequently compelled to fight. One of these races, the Miao-tzu, is still to be found in several provinces of China. The name means "Shoots", i.e., sons of the soil, and was probably given by the invaders. Originally nomads and hunters, the Miao-tzu have now settled in the mountain districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, in Western and Southern Szechuan, Hunan, Kuang-tung and Kwangsi, where they cultivate the soil and hunt whatever prey may be found. Divided into a great many tribes, numbering, it is said, more than fifty, they are often called, from the colour of their dress, Black Miao, White or River Miao, Red Miao, Magpie Miao, West-of-the-water Miao and Flowery Miao. All the Miao people look back to a common ancestor chieftain Ch'ih-Yu, who was defeated by the Yellow Emperor of China at a date prior to the days when Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan. Of Ch'ih-Yu these aboriginals still

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5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 175 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these that this book is mainly concerned. All are 262 [241] agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The word Ch'uan 川 means river but it is also an abbreviation for the word Szechwan 四川. Szechwan means four rivers. The Szechwan people are often called Ch'uan Jen 川人 and Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵 Apparently the Ch'uan Miao have been given this name because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao 苗 means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The word Miao sounds like the Chinese word cat. and it is very likely that the name Miao was given to these people by the Chinese because their speech sounded to the Chinese like the mewing of cats. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to aborigine groups in West China.

The Miao call themselves Hmoɔ and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmoɔ Bo or ancient Miao because they believe that they belong to a very ancient race. The Hua Miao are called Hmoɔ Ndᵊʌu or old Miao* and the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 are called Hmoɔ Ntʂwa or dark Miao.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 There are frequent references to the Miao in the Chinese Classics. The accounts state that failing to pacify them by peaceful methods, the emperor exiled many of the Miao to the Province of Kansu on the extreme west of China, where they have apparently disappeared.† Other groups of the Miao who refused to be absorbed have been driven south and south-west into the highlands of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, southern Szechwan, the Island of Hainan and Tongkin. There are historic records of the forced migrations of Miao from Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. One such migration occurred in 1733 during the reign of the Emperor Yung Chêng. 雍正.

Historians[3] indicate that the Miao were living as far north as the Yellow River, nearly four thousand years ago

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*Another name for the Hua Miao is Hmoɔ Lʌu, which also means old Miao.

† Mr. Chuang Hsüeh Pên 莊學本, a representative of the Chinese government who has travelled extensively in the Si K'ang region, and was with the Panchan Lama at the time of his death, has studied and taken pictures of a Miao tribe in Kansu northeast of Kokonor, which is called the Pai Miao 北苗. It is very likely that the Pai Miao are the descendants of the Miao who were exiled into this region many centuries before Christ. There is a tribe or ethnic group of Miao west of Kwanhsien in the region of Mowchow 茂州.

3. Faber, E., Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, p. 4.
Li Ong Bing, Outlines of Chinese History, p. 2.
Müller, E. Max, Sacred Books of the East, Vol III, The Shu King, The Shih King, The Hsiao King, pp. 41, 54.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoŋ Glɛ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

10: Graham E-5 (192'-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 463 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan 353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

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121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
161 Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[p. 66a]

lk Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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563 175

Szechwan was occupied by the Pre-Chinese aborigines called the Shu and Pa.[3] These were highly civilized by 1200 B.C. and had temples, schools, irrigation, etc. The Chinese entered the territory in small numbers about 200 B.C. From 250 A.D. they came in increasing numbers, but were not the main leading and controlling body until the sixteenth century. In 1449 a Chinese tyrant of exceeding cruelty massacred the majority of the population. The province, being such a rich prize, was soon re-populated by the Chinese from the other provinces.

125

Method Employed in Blood-Grouping.—Drops of blood were secured by pricking the lobe of the ear or the finger. This blood was placed in 5 c.c. of normal saline, and well shaken. A drop of standard serum from Group II and Group III was placed on separate marked cover slips. Using a small pipette, one drop of blood-suspension was added to each of the standard sera. The entire preparation was then well mixed and mounted on hollow ground slides and ringed with vaseline. After standing at room temperature for half an hour the preparation was examined by the low power objective, and the presence or absence of clumping was observed.

The sera employed were obtained from the Department of Pathology of West China Union University. All the sera were used up in the field during the examinations. The results are shown in the Table below:—

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	O	*A*	*B*	*A B*	*Total*
Chwan Miao -	74	23	80	28	205
per cent.	36·1	11·2	39·0	13·7	
Szechwanese -	487	375	289	141	1,292[4]
per cent.	37·7	29·0	22·4	10·9	

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Sincere gratitude and deep appreciation is extended to Professor R. Ruggles Gates for the inspiration given us in anthropological study. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and help—re sera and apparatus—given us by Drs. Lenox, Williams and Cheo, of the Department of Pathology. Our thanks are due to Dr. Agnew for taking the photographs: his dietetic and dental studies are to be published shortly. The blood grouping was done chiefly by Mr. S. C. H. Yang, who was assisted in part by Dr. Beh. The anthropological measurements, which have now been analyzed statistically, were done by Drs. Morse and Beh, assisted by Mr. Liao as recorder.

[4] Of these 1,292 Chinese, 1,000 were collected and/or observed by Dr. R. G. Lo and 292 by S. C. H. Yang.

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12: Wu and Ch'en--1 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

General Conditions of the Miao-I in Kweichow

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Introduction

The year before last I was commissioned by certain organizations to investigate the conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow. After having received the order, I left for the Miao-I areas of the various hsien districts to start work on the spot. Unfortunately, the references I had previously gathered were of little use. After I had reached the Miao-I district, all that I had seen and heard through personal contacts in the wild mountains and lonely hamlets I recorded faithfully on the spot in the midst of fatigue and traveling. In three years I covered the whole province, and the amount of material I collected was immense. Before it had been organized and put into shape, inquiries came from many quarters concerned with the welfare of the Miao-I people, but these could not be replied to one by one. Furthermore, conditions in the Miao-I areas are quite different from those in the interior, and people who have never been there are prone to picture the Miao-I as a mysterious people and to distort the facts about them. The present article "General Conditions of the Miao-I Societies in Kweichow" serves as an introduction to a knowledge of the Miao-I areas. It is hoped that the readers will be pleased with this survey.

2. Racial Groups

1) Origin and History. Among the 450,000,000 Chinese nationals, there are a large number of ethnic groups. According to ancient history, there were the Hua-hsia, the Tung-i, the Ching, the Wu, the Pa-yueh, the Tung-hu, the Su-shen, the Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh [Turks], the Ch'iang, the Hsi-ts'ang [Tibetans], the Miao, the Yao, and many others. After a thousand years [2] of assimilation and amalgamation, those who

[2 cont.]

175 563 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic groups with different habits and customs.

We are here concerned with the origin and history of the 101 175 Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man" [563] [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u [a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with [133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys, and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

[2 cont.]

101 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began
175 migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time.
[648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest.
000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed
131 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of
161 several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of
161 whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the
000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17 Miao AE5

S 175 166 563 Records lists the capitals of the Nan Man or Southern Man in the Chou period. Many of them were in the area between the lower and central Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers, and in the drainage of the Ssu and Huai.[27] After all, it was this sort of existence of the different cultural groups side by side that resulted in intermixtures of cultures and the development of different tribes as described by Eberhard.

Actually, Ling Shun-sheng would have us believe that the Man of the Miao cultural group forced out the earlier inhabitants of the area south of the Yang-tzu between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. These earlier inhabitants presumably were a T'ai related group known as the Chiu-li tribe, who up to this time had been the most powerful of the tribes south of the Yang-tzu.[28] In any case, this indicates that the Ch'u Kingdom comprised different ethnic elements. As to whether the political entity could be viewed as overwhelmingly and dominantly T'ai, as Eickstedt would have us believe,[29] is something that needs further support to be convincing unless the Yueh be equated with the T'ai. Eberhard showed the Yueh to be found in all the Lower Yang-tzu Valley region as well as in the southeast during ancient times. We shall look more closely into this question in the subsequent pages.

M 173 175 7. The History and Migrations of the Miao and their Relation to the Ch'u State

The Miao legends trace the origin of the Miao, in the interpretation of Savina,[30] from the Pamir area of Central Asia during prehistoric times. These legends state that in the early habitat of the Miao, the winters were long and the year was divided into two parts, each of six months. One was called "white or daylight landscape," the other "black night." The water often froze into ice, while snow covered the earth. Trees and shrubs were stunted and scarce. The people were of short stature and wore furs and skins for clothing. Savina believed that the Miao traveled east and northeastward from the Pamirs through Turkestan and the Tanu Ola Mountains across Siberia and then proceeded south through Mongolia and Shen-hsi to Ho-nan. From Ho-nan, according to these legends, they migrated to Kuei-chou, thence to Ssu-ch'uan, and from there to Yun-nan and Tongking-Laos. Of course, said Ling and Jui,[31] this is hypothetical deduction, and there are no substantial historical evidences available to sup-

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HISTORY AND MIGRATIONS

83 S 174 563 619 M M74 563 619

Ts'in and Ch'u were not, in the proper sense of the word, to be comprised among the kingdoms of the middle [China Proper]. Their populations, though civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the time when Tsin and Ts'i fell victims to internal dissensions, Ts'in and Ch'u became the leading actors in that drama destined to end with the triumph of Ts'in and the establishment of the empire by Ts'in Shi-huang-ti in 221 B.C. We may thus say that the revolution which finally led to the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that this is the reason why Ssu-ma Kuang makes this year the starting point of his great history entitled: Tzi-chi-t'ung-kien.

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By the Ch'in and Han periods the Sinicized Ch'u inhabitants had joined the ranks of the Han-Chinese in exerting pressure against their former relatives, the Man or Miao peoples on their southern fringe as well as against other ethnic groups not conforming to Han culture. The Southern Man Records of the Later Han History says that when Tao Wang, King of Ch'u, appointed Wu Ch'i his prime minister, he sent him south to seize the Man-Yueh state and thereby added T'ung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu to his possessions. Moreover, when Chao Wang of the Ch'in invaded the Ch'u Kingdom, he garnered the Man-Yi tribal territories and first established Ch'ien-chung Department (with the seat of administration at the site of present-day Yuan-ling in Hu-nan). The Han Dynasty changed this to Wu Ling Department. Its territory included the Hu-nan prefectures of Ch'ang-te, Ch'en-chou, Yuan-chou, and Pao-ching, and the Kuei-chou prefectures of Ssu-chou, Shih-chien, T'ung-jen, Li-p'ing and Ssu-nan. Thus, by the Han period, the Wu Ling Man tribes were occupying not only the hilly region between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes, but also the eastern part of Kuei-chou.[58]

The Hua-yang Kuo-chih states that the Ch'ien-chung Man were the Wu-ch'i Man whose people were scattered over the region of the Wu Ch'i or Five Streams. These streams are the Ch'en, Yu, Wu, another Wu, and Yuan. Apparently the Miao who come into the historical picture of the two Han periods had migrated to Hu-pei and then Hu-nan, centering at Yuan-ling District. Following up the Yuan River southwestward they settled in the drain-

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age of the Five Streams. Later they gradually filtered into Kuei-chou territory.

In A.D. 47 when the Wu Ling Man ravaged the southern administrative regions of the Han Empire, the Emperor sent General Liu Shang, who drafted soldiers at Wu Ling and Ch'ang-sha, embarked them in boats and sailed up the Yuan River to the Five Streams to suppress the Miao. This followed the migration route of the Miao. We have noted in Chapter I that several of the Yuan River tributaries are navigable to small boats into Kuei-chou territory. The resulting Han-Chinese pressure in this direction forced the further steady southwestward migration of the Miao that resulted in their post-Han Dynasty distribution.

After the A.D. 47 suppression, the Miao fleeing southward were further subjected to the suppression campaigns of Ma Yuan. Far from eradicating all traces of the Miao in the T'ung-t'ing region, however, the Han-Chinese in the post-Han Dynasty period saw the continued eastward migration of the Miao from Ssu-ch'uan. These tribes occupied the hill fastnesses along the north bank of the Yang-tzu from Ch'ung-ch'ing to the north shore of T'ung-t'ing Lake. This steady eastward infiltration swelled the Miao strength to the extent that enabled the Ching-hsiang Man (Hsu referred to a Ching-Man whom he erroneously claimed were T'ai people)[59] to surge northward in an invasion wave during the Six Dynasties period (5th and 6th Centuries). This eastward movement itself was the result of other pressures exerted upon the Miao peoples. In fact, the large [631] number of Miao who today continue to be found in the Five Streams region have caused the Communist regime to constitute part of the area the West Hu-nan Miao Autonomous Region (See Map 31).

As the Later Han Dynasty drew to a close, invading nomads from the north were steadily encroaching deeper southward into China Proper. The Three Kingdoms Period following the Han marked an era of great population intermixtures in North China which we shall discuss in the next chapter. During the same period that the northern Tatars were descending south upon China in great masses, the southern Miao were also opportunely blossoming into a period of greatness and prosperity. They seized the opportunity presented by the turmoil in the North China area to advance northward and harass the Han-Chinese from the south.

During the four centuries between the fall of the Han

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Dynasty and the beginning of the Sui (A.D. 220-581), not only did North China experience the aggression of the Wu-Hu (Five Tatar tribes), but it also faced the northward menace of the Miao-Man. The division of China between northern and southern dynasties created a kind of a no-man's-land between the two areas where political control was loose and chaotic. Moreover, during the relatively peaceful four centuries that the Han Dynasty held sway, the mixed peoples of the former Ch'u Kingdom had become completely assimilated to Han-Chinese civilization and now presented a bloc that prevented the further western (Ssu-ch'uan) Miao movement into the territories of Hu-nan and Kuei-chou via the accustomed route. The Tibetan Ch'iang and the Tatar pressures from the west at the same time kept the Miao on the move in Ssu-ch'uan. The result was that the former eastward movement was diverted into the eastern reaches of the Ta-pa and Ch'in-ling mountains and thus brought the Miao into the political vacuum of the no-man's-land. These northward invading Miao, then, did not come from the Hu-nan region, but from the upper tributaries of the Yang-tzu, i.e., from western Ssu-ch'uan.[60]

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These Miao migrants spread into northeastern Hu-pei, where they were called the Yü-chou Man. From there they overflowed into the valleys of the Yang-tzu, Huai, Ju and Han Rivers. The areas occupied by them include northern An-hui, the Shen-hsi borders, and the heart of Ho-nan. Some tribes even penetrated as far north as Sui-yuan Province. Between A.D. 403 and 561 there were more than 40 instances of Miao uprisings between the Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers. In one outstanding respect, Chiang Ying-liang said, these Miao-Man uprisings differed from those of other frontier tribesmen seeking plunder in a robber-fashion. These were really struggles arising from attempts to seize political control from the existing body of land-holding people. Moreover, both northern and southern dynasties competed to gain the adherence of the Miao gentry, and there were many Miao leaders in high positions in the various courts of the competing dynasties. These appointments were given them because they voluntarily submitted their allegiance, or as a reward for military aid against the opposing dynasty, or because the court on one side or the other wished to gain the support of strong Miao leaders who had succeeded in seizing territory and establishing their domination.[61]

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During this period of confusion in the melting pot of

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China Proper, the fusing process of some 300 years welded the different peoples into a single body in which Han-culture submerged not only the northern Tatar nomads, but also the numerically smaller Miao tribes. Therefore, we find that what was called the Southern Man during the T'ang, Sung, and Yuan Dynasties was limited to those in China south of the Yang-tzu. The restoration of Han-Chinese rule over the Chinese empire in A.D. 618 prevented the further eastward migration of Miao remnants from the old Miao homeland in the east Hsi-k'ang and west Ssu-ch'uan mountain lands. The remnant tribes either were assimilated into Han culture or became exterminated by Ch'iang or Han-Chinese rulers. A few may have migrated southwestwards and southeastwards from Hsi-k'ang.

After the Han period the area of western Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou became the stronghold of the Miao. This area accordingly became the scene for conquest and development by the first T'ang rulers. The meaning of the phrase "chih-chou" (organizing administrative districts) as applied to the Miao may be looked at from two viewpoints, said Chiang. If characterized sympathetically, it was the development of the Man territory and the cultural assimilation into a higher civilization of the Man peoples. If characterized unsympathetically, the process meant the ruthless subjugation and the oppression of the Man-Miao and the aggressive occupation of their lands.[62]

In the turmoil following the T'ang and known as the Five Dynasties period (A.D. 907-960), Ma Yin, an adventurer, occupied Ch'ang-sha and proclaimed himself king of a new state of Ch'u (one of ten states of this period). Of course, the Miao had taken the opportunity of reasserting their own independence, and Ma found it necessary to subjugate the Man-Yi and with this was able to incorporate Chiang Chou as well as Ch'i and Chin Departments into his domain. Chiang Chou was in present Kuei-chou territory. By this period, therefore, Han-Chinese political organization had penetrated deep into the upper drainage of the Five Streams.

The Sung Dynasty took the most vigorous and positive steps in opening up the Southern Man territory (in more than one way the advance of the Han-Chinese into tribal territories reminds one of the American "opening up" of the Indian Territory). These steps had two results. They caused the assimilation of those that were willing to submit or the flight and migration into the adjoining territories of central and eastern Kuei-chou and the areas of

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF 17
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Ling-nan in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. By T'ang times, the Miao had reached as far south as Ts'un-yi in Kuei-chou, but it is not clear whether they were spread all over Kuei-chou during T'ang and Sung times. It seems unlikely that they had, because the Lolo tribesmen were in occupation of large parts of southern and western Kuei-chou.

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The history of the Lolo in the Ch'ien Shu or History of Kuei-chou states that the An Clan of Lolo in the Ta-ting area was in occupation there as early as the Three Kingdoms period (3rd and 4th centuries). The chief of the clan was "enfeoffed" as King of Lo-tien State. (Actually, enfeoffment merely meant the confirmation of the de facto position the tribal chieftain already held). This was conferred by Chu-ko Liang of the Ssu-ch'uan Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-265). The An Clan chief's hereditary succession was confirmed by the T'ang and Sung Dynasties as a matter of expediency. This was not changed by succeeding Han-Chinese dynasties. Kublai Khan gave the An Clan chief the title An-fu-ssu, later changed to the higher Hsuan-wei-ssu plus the added designation Marquis of Lo-tien. The Ming Emperor made him Hsuan-wei-ssu of Kuei-chou. From all this, it would appear that the incoming Miao migrants did not reach this far west. The Miao probably traveled up the three rivers Yuan, Ch'en and Yu from Hu-nan, making the upper reaches their base area. In northern Kuei-chou the Miao eventually reached the Districts of Ts'un-yi and Tzu-t'ung. In southern Kuei-chou they reached An-shun and Tz'u-yün Districts.[63]

There are not many Miao people in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, and their history here is comparatively short. They probably came first to northern Kuang-hsi during the Yuan Dynasty, said Hsu Sung-shih.[64] Because of the frequent military operations of the Yuan and Ming against them, the Miao of Kuei-chou began to migrate out of the Kuei-chou province.[65] When Kublai Khan conquered the Kuei-chou territory, it was organized as Shun-yuan Lu (Shun-yuan Province). The Yuan Shu (History of the Yuan) tells of the suppression of the T'ung-Miao-Man. There is a so-called "Long-Bridge tomb plaque of the 300 Chung (Red Yao tribe) nobles" in Lung-sheng District of northern Kuang-hsi. This states that the ancestors of these nobles were Ching-chou (southwest Hu-nan) Miao, and that they had come into Kuang-hsi only since the Yuan Dynasty. However, the Miao have come across the southern ranges into Ling-nan in large numbers only since the Ming Dynasty.

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In 1381 the first Ming Emperor appointed Marquis Yi

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Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily understandable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate southward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-1567), there was a major suppression campaign against the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears relatively even except where mountain systems such as the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface. The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the one in the foreground have been eroded far below the surface of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers cultivate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon. Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes quickly with crop cultivation.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their descendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-nan.[66]

During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their territories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand, and suppression and extermination on the other. There was hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when suppression or pacification campaigns were not being undertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major suppression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating the migratory movements of the modern period. (The Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover, these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and massacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields. The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the pushing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land considered of little value by Han-Chinese.[68] (The parallel situation with respect to the American treatment of the Indians is noteworthy.)

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The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not coordinated events and were put down by Governor-General Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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circled and besieged Ts'un-yi. In spite of the efforts of 20,000 Imperial troops under the command of the Kuei-chou Commandant, little progress against the Miao was made until Lo Jao-tien took personal command, driving them back to their strongholds in the Lei-t'ai Mountains.[69] The British officer Wingate, traveling from Hu-nan to Burma in the 1890's, described the devastation suffered by the Han-Chinese towns from which they had not yet recovered even at that late period. He said: "At a place called Ching-chi on the Wu Ho [in Kuei-chou] is a town wall of some miles in circumference which once enclosed a prosperous town of several thousand families, but which now only contains a few officials' houses and a temple or two. It is one among many others which have suffered, during the wars which the Chinese have had with the Miao or aborigines living in the hills south of the river."[70]

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As pointed out in a preceding page, the suppressions of the last two centuries started a new period of migration for the modern Miao. The various tribes or clan groups feeling the pressure of encroaching Chinese agriculturalists in Kuei-chou, sought the higher secluded mountain fastnesses of surrounding provinces. The Black Miao gradually drifted to Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi. The Red Miao in the vicinity of T"ung-jen Hsien in eastern Kuei-chou migrated eastward to the three western Districts of Hu-nan. Some of the White Miao entered Ssu-ch'uan to their northwest. Tribes of the Hua Miao or Flowery Miao traveled westward through An-shun to the eastern part of Yun-nan, northward to Wu-ting District, and farther on to the north and south banks of the Chin-sha Chiang. Some of them also traveled southeastward through Yun-nan to the northern parts of Annam and Tongking. The Blue Miao scattered in many directions and are found now mostly in Hu-nan, Kuang-hsi, and Yun-nan. Many of these southwest provinces have representatives of different tribes of Miao. As far southwest as Ssu-mao in Yun-nan small groups of White, Blue, and Flowery Miao have penetrated. When the different groups of Miao live together in one locality, they soon tend to become much alike in cultural practices and dress, so that it is hard to distinguish members of one group from those of another.[71]

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The above delineation of Miao history and migration brings us back to the consideration of the groups related to the Miao discussed in Chapter II, in particular the Fan, who developed in the southwestern periphery of China Prop-

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
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CHAPTER XIX

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

101 131 IN the sense that least is known about them, the Meos are the most mysterious of the twelve principal races of Indo-China. This Mongolian people is to be found at altitudes higher than 3000 feet over the whole of Indo-China north of the 21st parallel of latitude. They are utterly incapable of bearing, even for the shortest time, other than cool and temperate climates. Being self-supporting, they rarely come down to visit the markets of the plains and valleys, and when obliged to cultivate fields below the 3000 feet line, they always return to their villages to sleep.

175 The Meos' territorial aspirations are purely vertical. By their disastrous method of cultivation, which completely exhausts the soil in a few years, they have been forced steadily southwards from China. In migration, as in the year 1860, when they crossed the frontier of Indo-China, they will fight their way savagely and effectively across low-lying country, only to split up and disperse immediately the mountains are reached. An ethnographical map of northern Indo-China is pock-marked with groups of Meos. Since 1860 they have travelled about 400 miles and are now filtering slowly southwards down the Annamite Chain, where from time to time a new group is reported on a mountain top. They are said to have been attacked in recent years by government forces in northern Siam, but it is unlikely that anything short of extermination can stop their slow, silent movement through the mountains. Europeans who have studied them superficially believe them to be of Esquimaux origin; a theory which is offered to explain their horror of warm climates. These authorities report that they possess legends of eternal snows and of arctic days and nights. But the short description published in 1906 by Commandant Lunet de Lajonquière says nothing of this, and no other scientific account of the Meos has appeared.

155: Abadie--159 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
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[148] CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

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THE "MÉO" GROUP

101 The name "Méo" is applied to the peoples of a very character-
13 istic type which inhabit the highest regions of Upper Tonkin.

The Chinese call the "Meo" "Miao-tseu," while often including them in the general designation of "Man" (rude barbarians).

In their dialects the "Méo" designate themselves by the name of "Mung."

In Tonkin, the various "Méo" tribes form a total of about
[161] 40,000 individuals, of whom the densest groupings are located in the regions of Dongvan, of Pakha, and of Muongkhuong where they constitute the majority of the population.

Other relatively important settlements of "Méo" are also found towards Upper Laos.

Like the other groups previously studied, the "Méo" have their
167 origin in the mountainous regions of the south of China, from which
[175] they have been pushed back little by little towards the south by the Chinese pressure and expansion. There still exist in Yunnan and in Kweichow very important groupings of "Méo" whose numbers it has been impossible to estimate, even approximately. These groupings appear to have conserved a certain independence in the high valleys and mountains which form their habitat but continue to undergo the migratory movement which is pushing them towards the south.

The groupings which have settled in Tonkin, while following
131 the various mountainous ridges, have little by little spread them-
167 selves the length of the north and northwest frontiers as far as the
175 great Annamite chain of mountains. This movement of [150] migration has most often taken a peaceful form, but several cases of violent invasion are reported, notably in the region of Dong-van at the beginning of the nineteenth century and towards 1860.

[150 cont.]

At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of
167 "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their
175 passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw
[361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after
175 the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would
147 perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper
361 Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low alti-
175 tudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the
101 region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

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186 631 648 It is fitting, however, to point out the repugnance with which the "Méo" accept being subordinated to "Thai" chiefs, even though this subordination is of the lightest kind and applies only to rare acts of ordinary living: the payment of taxes, the furnishing of labor details, and so on. In this repugnance must be seen only a manifestation of the spirit of independence with which the "Méo" are so deeply imbued.

631 648 In other communes, by contrast (Pha-Long, and so on), the "ly-truong" are of the "Méo" race and they hold the administrative authority over "Thai" and "Man" groupings settled upon the territory of these communes.

175 There is not now in Tonkin a "Méo" chief above the rank of "ly-truong." However, legend preserves the memory of a personage by the name of Sioung, calling himself the "King of the Méo," who established himself in the region of Yen Minh about the year 1860, an epoch corresponding to the second violent invasion of the "Méo," spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

This King Sioung showed himself to be most bloodthirsty in the war he carried on for some ten years against the "Thai" of the regions of Quan-Ba, Yen-Minh, and Dongvan, and was killed by myrmidons in the pay of his father-in-law (1).

1. Also it is fitting to indicate a movement of insurrection fomented in 1911 among the "Méo" of Dong Quong by a chief who took the name of Sioung. This revolt was quickly suppressed. During the war of 1914-1918, an uprising of the "Méo" of Upper Laos caused the dispatch of an expeditionary column, which re-established order.

631 648 There still exists in our time, in the Chinese region contiguous to the Thanthuy sector, a personage improperly called "King of the Méo," who is none other than a "Méo" chief invested by the Chinese

158: Diguet--127 G-3 (ca. 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
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They know the legend of the flood which they end in a special manner: "The young sister married to her brother was sterile, and a spirit gave her eight beans so that by eating one bean each year she might have eight children. Overcome with happiness, she swallowed them all at once and was soon the mother of eight twins who were the founders of the eight Pa Teng families."

000 /128/ /A photograph entitled "Meo flutist" appears here. --Translator/

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CHAPTER VII

THE MEO ETHNIC GROUP

Section 1

The Meo--Their Name--Their Origin and Immigrations. --Their Favorite Habitat

M 101 The Meo are called by the Annamese by the name Man Meo (wild cat). The first of these words is the one under which they mingle all the mountaineers, and the second is applied especially to those who dwell on the highest peaks and have the reputation of climbing like cats. It seems preferable to designate this ethnic group simply by the second word and exclude the first. It will be better to reserve the latter for the Yao in order to avoid confusion between these very different groups. The Chinese call them Miao tse and they call themselves Mong.

M 161 131 Their number may be estimated at 7 percent of the total population of the high region of Tonkin. The most important settlements where they live are located: 1) on the Chinese frontier between Dongvan and Quanba, between Pakha and Muongkhuong; 2) on the right bank of the Red River, between Nghialo, Van Bu and Tu Le; and finally, 3) on the Black River, to the north of Vau Yen.

M ●175 167 131 They immigrated into Tonkin relatively recently. At first they migrated in two masses which invaded the Tonkinese mountains, throwing everything into disorder during their passage, one mass at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the other about 1845, at the time of the Tai Ping rebellion. Tribes coming down towards the south, family by family, following the crests of the mountains, have

Miao AES

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later. 175 167 131 175 609 643

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow. 131

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing. 101

/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their 000

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174 The description by the Meau concerning their later his-
[173] tory from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they
[823] would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agtee with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

[648] We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B.C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

• 175 each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports,
648 around the twenty-seventh century B.C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history

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175 648 in the basins of both the Yellow River and the Hoai. These wars always ended with the destruction or subjugation of the Meau, the latter inevitably being followed by destruction (see chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples").

In the Chinese reports the Meau are always described as the attackers and as inferior barbarians, which was why the Chinese "had to punish them." The first European reports come from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We owe them [797] to missionaries of the Society of Jesus. Thus, Mailla, du Halde, and Amiot repeatedly speak in their works of the battles of the Meau with the Chinese. Naturally, later works are also based upon the ancient Chinese literature. For example, Savina (3)

3. II, p. 129.

reports: "The 'Sin kouo wen' speaks of the Meau in the eighth volume, which is entitled 'Allgemeine Geschichte von China /General History of China/' (4): 'There follows the period of

4. Translation of Père Lamasse, p. 485.

Hoang-ti. Thanks to the symbols of the calendar it was possible from then on to verify time, an improvement which has lasted to the present day, that is, for more than 4600 years. Hoang-ti invented the weapons of war in order to subjugate the Meau tribes.'"

/12/ At this point we shall borrow from Wieger's study (1)

1. Pages 9 ff.

the following quotations which are illuminating for the history of the Meau: "The Hia, namely, the Chinese, came from the northwest, followed the course of the Wei River...to the Hoai River. Here the migration was stopped by a then numerous people whose remnants are the Meau of today... These resident

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175 648 Meau looked askance at the intrusion of the Chinese. They rose up in a general revolt, made war on the Chinese, and beat them back from the plains south of the Yellow River to the north of the plain of the present-day Tcheu-li. The instinct of self-preservation unified the Chinese, who, led by Huan-Yuan, defeated the Meau under Tcheu-yeou. It was a bitter battle, with life or death at stake...Defeated, Tcheu-yeou's subjects were made slaves...., history makes no secret of the fact that Hoang-ti imposed Chinese culture upon the Meau by force...In order to soften up the Meau, a cruel people, Hoang-ti used their own criminal laws against them."

It seems that once the harmony between the Chinese and the Meau was disturbed there was no way of restoring it later on. Savina (2), for instance, reports: "At the time of Confucius,

2. II, p. 131.

twenty centuries after the events just described, there were still twelve noble and powerful families." The author believes that these were Meau, and he adds (3) that, according to all the

3. II, p. 132.

Chinese reports of later times, the Meau are regularly mentioned whenever there is an account of sedition and revolt. We find this largely confirmed. In the oldest part of the Schu-djing, which supplements and elaborates the Bamboo Annals, it is said that even the mythical Emperor Chun forced the San-Meau to hide away in San-Wei: "Under Chun's fourth successor it was again only the Meau who refused to obey the Emperor" (4). Father

4. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 2.

Amiot (5) writes: "In the following year 2282, Chun threw the

5. Vol. XIII, pp. 286 ff.

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•175 San-Meau back to San-Wei...It is asserted that the San-Meau
648 are the descendants of the peoples who, after the defeat of Tscheu-yeou, refused to submit to Hoang-ti. They have always lived independently within the empire, and those who ruled them belonged to the people of Tscheu-yeou." Amiot (6) continues:

6. Page 299.

"In the year 2247, /13/ Chun divided the San-Meau into various tribes in order to distinguish them in this way from the other people." Amiot also describes an attempt at direct colonization by the Chinese and relates how the Meau, who were protected by the inaccessibility of their mountainous country, were subjugated by trickery.

When Chun divided the Meau into various tribes over which he appointed Chinese officials, he also allotted ground to the Meau, which they were supposed to cultivate, and houses and villages as well; he differentiated the families and "in short, neglected nothing in order to bend them gently under the yoke." Evidently, however, these attempts were not very successful, for later on it is said that the Meau spread into almost all the mountains of China and, as before, maintained their unyielding character which no one again tried to humble. Amiot confirms that "the mandarins who are appointed over them to give an appearance of ruling them do not exert any power over them except that which the Meau concede to them voluntarily."

The Chinese seem to have already become aware of the fact that the prerequisite for successful colonization is accurate knowledge of those to be colonized. Thus, it is reported that the Chinese emperors sent mandarins as well as scholars to the Meau, with the task of "ascertaining everything that seems worth knowing about this type of savage." Even at that time, however, complaints were voiced -- as is often the case among us today -- that the scholars entered only the nearest and most accessible regions, because they feared every possible kind of difficulty and merely brought back any kind of information they chose, which did not say anything except what was already known.

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As Amiot (1) further reports, Chun now decided to use

1. Pages 286 ff.

the "fivefold tortures." We learn what this refers to from his report: "They were condemned to have their noses or one or both ears cut off, to be castrated, or to be 'branded shamefully in the face.'" It is then said further: "Since the Meau prince did not have any principle of virtue, his people always remained in barbarism and far from permitting themselves to become civilized, did nothing rational. They thought only of sedition and knew nothing about faithfulness, truth, and openness, either in words or in deeds, and /14/ sought to be skillful only in deceit. The prisons were not adequate to accommodate the prisoners. The streets were red with the blood of those executed; the majority professed their innocence before the Throne of Heaven and complained bitterly about injustice. But Chang-ti (God), before whom nothing remains hidden, saw no trace of virtue among them. He saw only crime and rapine. Outraged by the bad example set by these peoples, the emperor decided to exterminate them and obliterate their princes, for Chang-ti, angry because justice could not be attained among the San-Meau, used Chun in order to annihilate the Meau prince and his people."

Corresponding to this report, we learn similar things from other authors. For example, from Mailla (1), that the Yau-Meau

1. Vol. I, pp. 47 ff.

rose in revolt about 2225 B. C., whereupon the emperor ordered Yu to subjugate the Meau prince, which he succeeded in doing. Von Eickstedt (2) comments on this subject: "Both the Tung-

2. III, p. 2.

djiän-gang-mu and Dschou-schu, the latter having been translated in the eighteenth century by the famous Père Amiot, report

/14 cont./

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to the same effect for the Hsia Period (that is, 2205-1766 B.C.) that it was the Meau who prevented the Chinese under 'Emperor' Huang-di from advancing farther" (3). And the Bamboo Annals

3. Young, pp. 133 ff.

matter-of-factly report of Emperor Chun (allegedly about 2254 B.C.): "In the thirty-fifth year of his reign the Emperor commanded the Prince of Hsia to fight the Meau, whereupon the Meau people came to the throne (in order to offer their submission)" (4). Wieger (5) states that the Meau were subjugated

4. Also confirmed by Legge, p. 116.

5. Page 46.

in 2220, in spite of the fact that they had successfully resisted the Chinese army. Pauthier (6) reports that about 1110 B.C. part

6. Vol. I, p. 87.

of the Meau were shifted to East China by Emperor Chun, while other groups of the people inhabited the mountains in the south, where they and their descendants maintained their independence. As Wieger (7) also points out, about 826 B.C. the emperor himself

7. Page 127.

had waged war against the barbarians who had invaded the territory north of the Hoai and the Han, while Fang-chou marched against the Man to the south of the Han, and Hou moved from Chao against the Meau to the south of the Hoai. The Chinese odes dealing with these expeditions speak of 3,000 battle carts and of 300,000 foot soldiers who were at the /15/ disposal of Fang-chou. Nevertheless, the Chinese did not succeed in

/15 cont./

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achieving a lasting peace. Even though the term "barbarians" may include other mountain tribes, it is safe to assume from all this that the Meau took a leading part in the wars.

Even in later times the struggles continued. We learn from Mailla (1) that in the fourth month of the year 1456 A.D.

1. Vol. I, p. 316.

Fang-yün destroyed the Meau after he had surrounded them from four sides. A legend reported by Von Eickstedt (see the chapter "Myths and Fairy Tales") indicates that these battles did not always turn out well for the Chinese or at least were not always waged against the mountain tribes. According to his interpretation, a Man or a Meau chief is said to have become a Chinese prince and son-in-law of the emperor of China in acknowledgment of his successful armed assistance.

Savina (2), however, on the basis of the Textes historiques (3),

2. II, p. 145.

3. Page 2073.

further relates that as early as 1733 and 1735 the Meau rose up from the mountains of Kweichow. And thirty years later, in 1763, the Meau of Szechwan and Kweichow under their leader took up arms again and were defeated by the Chinese under General Akoui. Not until 1775 did the Chinese succeed in taking the fortified places of the Meau in the mountains one by one. Finally, Sonom, the king of the Meau, surrendered after being assured that his life and that of his subjects would be spared. The Chinese, however, broke their word and executed him.

We are indebted to Amiot (4) for a description of the sur-

4. Vol. III, pp. 387 ff.

render of the Meau king and of the way he was lured to Peking: "There (in Peking, note by Dr. Bernatzik), after his arrival, he was entertained. Once or twice he became suspicious and became sick with grief. The attention, the flattery, and the outward demonstrations of friendliness were redoubled. He

/15 cont./

175 recovered and hoped for the best." -- According to the description, however, the Chinese were only "saving" the subjugated Meau for their festivals. Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ is therefore justified in maintaining that the Chinese used many strategems and were no less cruel than the Meau, assuming that the latter were actually cruel. He calls attention to a truly heart-rending letter written by the missionary Amiot in the year 1775, in which the latter describes how the /16/ Meau, outwitted by the aforementioned General Akoui, were led to Peking under the leadership of King Sonom and his entire court, in order to be executed there. Amiot (1) then describes an abortive

1. Vol. III, p. 387.

attempt to rescue the Meau king and reports on the execution of the verdict: "Before the tortures began, the great military leader of the Meau said to the emperor of China: 'Before he [797] died Father Sourvin (a Catholic missionary, note by Dr. Bernatzik) entrusted the king to my care. He was a young prince and not yet capable of making an independent decision. I am the one who was in favor of war. If this be a sin, then I alone have sinned, I alone deserve to be punished. I beg you to spare the life of the young king who could not be guilty. We could have sold our lives at a high price, and yet we surrendered after we had been assured of Your Majesty's mercy.' But he spoke in vain, and at a signal from the emperor, the tortures were begun. With a gag in their mouths, they were tied to stakes and cut to pieces at eleven o'clock in the morning."

We find similar descriptions of the executions in Amiot's letter which was reproduced by Savina (2): "Sonom, his younger

2. II, pp. 145 ff.

brother Chalopen, his advisers, Kantak, Sonompontchouk, Karoua, Goisar, his aunt Atchin, and her husband Langtsia were cut into small pieces alive, and the two shamans of the king,

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/16 cont./

175 648 named Tonkio and Kanpou, along with ten other advisers, met the same fate. Nineteen others from the court of the king, who were treated with leniency, were 'only' decapitated; sixteen other relatives or followers of Sonom were incarcerated for life. Fifty-two others were sent into exile to Ily and were given as slaves to the Eleuths; forty-five staff officers of Sonom's army had to serve as simple soldiers in the Chinese army, thirty-five others served as slaves of the Tatar San-sing, and fifty-eight as slaves of important Manchu officers. The remaining shamans (Amiot speaks of 'lamas') were condemned to become the servants of the lamas in the temples of Kiang-ning. In his work, Amiot gives the following verbatim report, continuing from the day of execution of the leading Meau: "Their heads were then taken and exhibited in cages with designations of their names, surnames, and titles. On the following days, /17/ the bloody execution of the Meau of lower rank began. Of this unfortunate nation only a few members of the lower rank survived, and they were given to the victorious officers as slaves."

Von Eickstedt also gives a description (1): "Again around

1. III, p. 1b.

1650, then between 1755 and 1779, and finally from 1855 to 1881, they tried to regain their complete political freedom by bloody aggressive wars. By that time, however, the Chinese hold and penetration were much too strong and the uprisings were suppressed with a truly boundless cruelty, although also with considerable trouble and sacrifice." The author continues: "When the Chinese did not succeed in subduing the Meau with armed might, they tried to do it with 'wisdom and virtue' (probably economic and cultural penetration is meant), and the fact that they were successful in this is shown in the Tung-djiän by the statements that the Meau treated in this manner gave themselves up after seven decades."

/17 cont./

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Nevertheless the power of resistance of the Meau was not broken, and, tyrannized by the avaricious Chinese officials, the Meau of Kweichow rose in revolt again and again, and the Meau of Szechwan, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and Tonkin were also heard from on various occasions, as Savina (2) reports on the

2. II, p. 145.

basis of the Textes historiques (3). We further learn from

3. Page 2081.

Abadie (4) that the Meau residing in Tonkin gradually spread

4. Pages 149 ff.

along the northern and northeastern border to the Annamese Cordillera. To be sure, most of this movement proceeded peacefully, but Abadie also points out several instances of penetration by force into the Dongvan region at the beginning of the nineteenth century and about 1860. According to him, on the occasion of their first penetration, several thousand Meau marched in warlike formation from southern Yunnan, devastated everything along the way, and reached Annamese territory in the region of Dongvan. There they used force to drive out the "Thai" and the "Man" who had settled there. The invasion of 1860 was of even greater scope, and many "Thai" today still vividly remember it. At this time, the Meau pushed from Dongvan and Quan-Ba almost as far as Phu-Yen-Binh deep into Annam, after they had beaten the Annamese troops and /18/ had spread horror with their indescribable cruelty. This invasion was nevertheless repulsed by troops brought up from the delta and reinforced by many war elephants. The use of these animals spread panic in the ranks of the Meau, and they fled into the high mountains, in which they still live today.

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/18 cont./

Finally Abadie (1) comes to the description of the history

1. Page 163.

of the Meau in the twentieth century. Here he mentions an uprising of the Meau of Dongvan in 1911 under a Chief Sioung. This movement was quickly suppressed. Then an uprising by the Meau in upper Laos during the World War 1914 to 1918 made it necessary to send an expeditionary force there. I was told that this revolt was fomented by agents of one of the powers in the war. Concerning this uprising, Savina (2) reports briefly

2. II, p. 235.

that in July, 1918, the Meau in the province of Laokay had revolted, and in the Luang Prabang district the uprising had lasted until March, 1921. Lajonquière (3) gives a similar account:

3. II, pp. 297 ff.

"The last minor revolt took place in 1928 in French Laos. Of greater importance were the uprisings that broke out in July, 1918, in the province of Laokay, which caused the French administration considerable difficulty and could not be suppressed until March, 1921, in the region of Luang Prabang."

Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ then discusses the causes of the uprisings of the Meau and comes to the conclusion that the Meau had always revolted "because they are a people without property. They have no homeland and no king." It seems to me, all things considered, that this is a somewhat rash statement. I shall come back to the probable actual causes, and not only for the revolt of 1918, which I have already briefly mentioned, at length and upon a sound basis in the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," in the section on "Causes of the Migrations."

[114]

/19 cont./

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Savina (2) writes that in the first centuries of Chinese his-

2. II, p. vii.

tory they had waged war in the basin of the Yellow River as well as in the basin of the Hoai. He says that since it is a fact that they had settlements along the lower course of the /20/ Yellow River in Honan at the time of Hoang-ti, the Meau there can be traced back about twenty-five centuries before our era. Marabail (1), too, relies on ancient sources and reports: "In

1. Page 133.

his book, Ouen Hieng-Tong-Kao, Ouang-Ki, who lived in the sixteenth century, says: 'These people are descended from [101] ancient tribes who are called San-Meau and who are already mentioned in the Chou-King. They are very numerous in Tschang-Cha, in the provinces of Youen and Chin, and to the south in the Ye-Lang country, where the Chinese call them Nam-Man, i.e., southern barbarians.'"

Savina (2) reports further that five centuries after the time

2. II, p. vii.

of Hoang-ti Chinese historical writing is silent about the Meau in the basin of the Yellow River. Other Chinese sources, however, report that these Meau were pushed toward the bend of the Yellow River in the direction of present-day Chensi and Kansu. The Meau from the basin of the Hoai, however, crossed the Blue River /Yangtze/ migrated toward the Tungting and Poyang Lakes, wandered as nomads in Hou-Pé, Kiangsi, and Honan, reached the mountains that separate the basin of the Blue River from that of the West River, and finally came to Kweichow from where the Chinese have not been able to expel them up to the present time. Von Eickstedt (3) also opposes

3. III, p. 4.

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/20 cont./

175 648 the view often held by the Chinese that the Meau were located only in present-day Kweichow and therefore remote from the ancient China of Hsia and Shang. He points out that the assertion of the Schui-djing-dschu (sixth century B.C.) that San-Wei was located on the upper course of the Wei-Ho is very plausible. The Meau of the Hsia are submerged under the term "western barbarians" or under the names of widely dispersed groups of Tibetan affinity, such as the Tjang. After this it is not until the Tang and Sung Periods (816 to 907 and 960 to 1279, respectively) that the foreign peoples who live in western Szechwan and eastern Tibet, but also far into Kweichow, again emerge. Thus they already appear in the nuclear area of the present-day Meau, but still retain those regions through which the ancient San-Meau must have passed during their southward infiltration. The author continues: "Actually, with San-Miau, Tjiang, Fan, and Miao, this brings about, step by step and with extensive overlapping, a southward shift of tribal /21/ names whose ethnic substratum is most closely related. Since the Sung [101] Period, however, the name Miau has been applied to a definite tribal group which is now found chiefly in Kweichow."

131 175 648 Today, these Meau in Kweichow are split into two large surviving blocks. The Chinese administration there can best be described as a kind of protectorate. Even today, however, the Meau exist as an independent nationality, and this after four thousand years of historically confirmed struggles and continual repulsion (1). Retaining Kweichow as their settlement area,

1. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 16.

they gradually spread into the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the south and into the provinces of Szechwan in the north and Yunnan in the west, as well as into Indochina (Tonkin), Thailand, and Burma. Savina comes to the conclusion that the present-day Meau in Tonkin came from Yunnan, but those in Laos from Tonkin. He says that the latter steadily pursued their way to the south and today have reached the twentieth degree of northern latitude in the Annamese Corderilla.

Miao AE5

/21 cont./

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We learn from Maspero (2) concerning both groups, the

2. Page 244.

Meau in Tonkin and those in French Laos: "The Meau form very scattered groups in Tonkin and Laos. The most important group, that of Mung-trang, north of Lao-cay, belongs to the territory [148] of a chief (tou-sseu) on Chinese territory. The other groups live completely separated from their relatives in smaller villages."

In Tonkin the limits of expansion which they have reached thus far by following the various mountain ridges are given by Von Eickstedt as the northern and northwestern boundary up to the Annamese Cordillera. At any rate -- as has already been mentioned -- all the Meau are rapidly advancing toward the south.

J. McCarthy (3) reported in 1902 that in 1886 the Meau

3. Pages 83 ff.

had not yet crossed the left bank of the Mekong, but in 1894 they had already settled on the heights of the right bank. Credner (4)

4. IV, p. 167.

writes: "Only in very recent times, during the last half-century, have they also moved into the high regions of northern Siam." In 1929 the explorer (5) found them south of the Mulmein-

5. IV, p. 139.

Raheng /Tak/ route at 16° 35' north latitude and stated that within about forty years, they had thus shifted their area of distribution almost 380 kilometers to the south, and /22/ continues: "In the mountain ranges between Menam Tschao Praya /Chao Phraya River/ and Menam Pasak /Pa Sak River/, A. Kerr in 1927 found a large Meau village at 17° north latitude on the heights of the Pu Lomlo on the Uttaradit-Lamsak route, so that

/22 cont./

131 [175] there, too, east of the Menam /Mae Nam/, a similar broad expansion of the Meau to the south is confirmed." A chart supplementing his discussion shows the area of Meau settlement as the mountains of northern Thailand at altitudes above 1,000 meters, where they occur sporadically, as well as the central cordillera at 16° 35' north latitude as the southernmost occurrence (1).

1. Credner, IV, p. 137.

Today we therefore find settlements of the Meau at a distance of only 300 kilometers as the crow flies from Bangkok. Since they are now approaching the spurs of the mountain ranges which follow the Menam, the question arises as to whether they can finally be made sedentary or whether there will be further movement southward. Such a movement, however, in view of the conditions and the geographic situation forcing the Meau to maintain a southward direction, would lead into the peninsula of Thailand and the Malay Peninsula, which would mean a descent into the tropical forest climate. This would presumably bring about a biological catastrophe for the mountain peoples. At any rate, their future development will also be of colonial-ethnological interest.

173 The Meau whom I investigated in Thailand, according to their own statements, came from Yunnan. Luang Boriphand Dhuraratsadorn (2), too, gives the "Haw country (Yunnan)"

2. Page 157.

/cited in English/ as the homeland of the White Meau. Undoubtedly his statement is also based upon information from the Meau, who, if we refer back to Savina's (3) findings summarized

3. II, p. vii.

above, regard Tonkin merely as a way station on their route from Yunnan and have remained historically aware of their migration route.

/385 cont./

A 276 [249] [439] I came across Akha villages whose inhabitants neglected agriculture completely in favor of the cultivation of poppies. They were devoting themselves entirely to the smuggling of opium, exchanged the drug for food with the neighboring Lahu, and thus lived incomparably better than their fellow tribesmen who had remained faithful to agriculture.

A [177] The Akha, to be sure, claim to have first learned the cultivation of poppies and the enjoyment of opium from the Chinese, but this does not sound very probable.

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Chapter 19

Weapons

M 714 [175] In the old Chinese literature the defensive weapons of the Meau are mentioned several times. For example, helmets and armor with greaves made of iron and wooden shields are mentioned (1). Such weapons are no longer used by the Meau

1. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

settled in Thailand today, though the memory of similar weapons has remained alive. Thus, the great-grandfather of one of my informants told him that iron shields had been used. He was unable to tell me anything about their shape, but described very well armor which consisted of iron plates about three fingers wide. These iron plates were sewed on muntjac leather, like roof tiles. The coat of armor consisted of three pieces. The principal part protected the genitals, chest, shoulders, and the back. It was put on by sticking the head through a central aperture left open; it was reduced to neck size by drawing together appropriate cotton strings. The second piece of armor protected the thighs, the third the upper arms. There supposedly, however had never been any head protection.

Miao AE5

/386 cont./

411 Among the offensive weapons of the Meau, there were formerly spears, which have been retained today in crude [115] form only very sporadically. One of my interpreters, a Chinese trader, whose calling took him from one village to another, reported long thrusting spears with a double-edged, poisoned iron-point which was attached to a wooden shaft about four meters long. Even my best informants, however, could not [175] remember such spears. In the old Chinese literature the use of long spears is mentioned several times (2). Furthermore, wooden

2. Eberhard, II, pp. 245, 252, and 259.

clubs were used, which, however, are no longer found anywhere today. This /387/ club, round and about as thick as a thumb, with an egg-shaped handle, was made flexible at two points by the insertion of three chain links at each one.

As weapons for close combat the rice sickle (Fig. 271) is used, which for this purpose is equipped with a handle of about one and a half meters.

In addition, peculiar slings are used. They consist of perforated iron balls of about six centimeters in diameter, which are attached to a thin rope 20 fathoms long. One now grasps this rope half a meter behind the iron balls, whirls them in a circle, and lets them fly. When this sling has hit its target, it is pulled back by the rope.

On the other hand, there was no device for throwing spears. Nor were bow and arrows or battle-axes used, though [412] in close combat the Meau use their wood ax (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273) as a weapon.

411 One finds small knives (see chapter, "House Furnishings, 412 Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 161-164) in daily use, which, in case of war, are used as pointed weapons in close combat. /Fig. 305 appears here./ The large bush knives (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 272) have versatile utility as a jungle knife and as a hunting and war weapon, as does the slightly curved, double-edged saber with a thin blade.

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/387 cont./

411 In addition there are double-edged swords for close com-
177 bat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size accord-
ing to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords
[778] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305).
[175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78,[1] Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau
[326] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the
[439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

Fig. 305

Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [326] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide- [439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--606 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/448 cont./

A M 114 197 Recapitulating, it must be stated that neither the language of the Meau or that of the Akha has been investigated scientifically. An urgent task for the linguistics of Farther India is to concern itself with the basic problems involved.

/449/

Chapter 29

Writing

M 114 212 A [212] Whereas there is no information concerning any writing of the Akha, and the Akha groups studied by me had no letters at all, the information available concerning the writing of the Meau is rather contradictory.

Lajonquière (1), Abadie (2), and Dhuraratsadorn (3)

1. II, p. 321.

2. Page 151.

3. Page 171.

regard the Meau as complete illiterates. It is said that there are only very few Meau who know a few and at that Chinese characters, which they pronounce with Chinese phonetics. It is reported of other Meau in China that they write and speak Chinese (4).

M [191]

4. Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 42.

M [175] In any case, these authors say nothing about the Meau having a writing of their own. In contrast to this, Seidenfaden (5)

5. II, p. 195.

Miao AE5

/449 cont./

114 mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages
212 of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years
[175] 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

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Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven
175 out of their original homeland and in places were completely
648 destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an
[163] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and
[842]

/453 cont./

101
162

Bridgman (3) speaks of 82 different "sketches," an

3. Pages 257 ff.

expression that is used by him for tribes. The same number is also mentioned by Li-Tsung-fang (4) and Schotter (5), and the

4. Ch. 3, p. 9b.

5. Vol. III, p. 405.

latter also reports an album in the possession of a mandarin, in which 108 Meau tribes are said to be mentioned. Schotter adds, however, that this number is a sacred Buddhist number. Since otherwise nothing is known about this album mentioned by Schotter, his information at first glance seems to be of little significance. Now, however, Chang-Kong-Chiu has published an album in which the author adds explanations concerning "The Culture of the Miao-tse, according to Older Chinese Sources." This interesting work shows that undoubtedly a number of mountain peoples were classified by the Chinese with the Meau, who in an ethnological sense have little or nothing to do with them. Marabail (6), too, confirms that this is the case: "The famous

6. Page 133.

Tsai-Chen (1167 to 1230) in his commentary of the second part
[175] of the Chou-King seems to believe that the Meau are the same as the Yau, for the prisoners who at that time were taken from among the Yau /Yao/ of Hou-Nan usually called themselves Meau."

The Chinese classification and the resulting variation in the number given for the Meau tribes are understandable, however, if one keeps in mind that "Meau-tse" referred to all non-Chinese (see the chapter, "Derivation of the Names Akha and Meau"). At any rate, the ethnologist can only set up uncertain hypotheses as long as the affiliation and identification of the individual tribes is uncertain.

39: Bernatzik--175 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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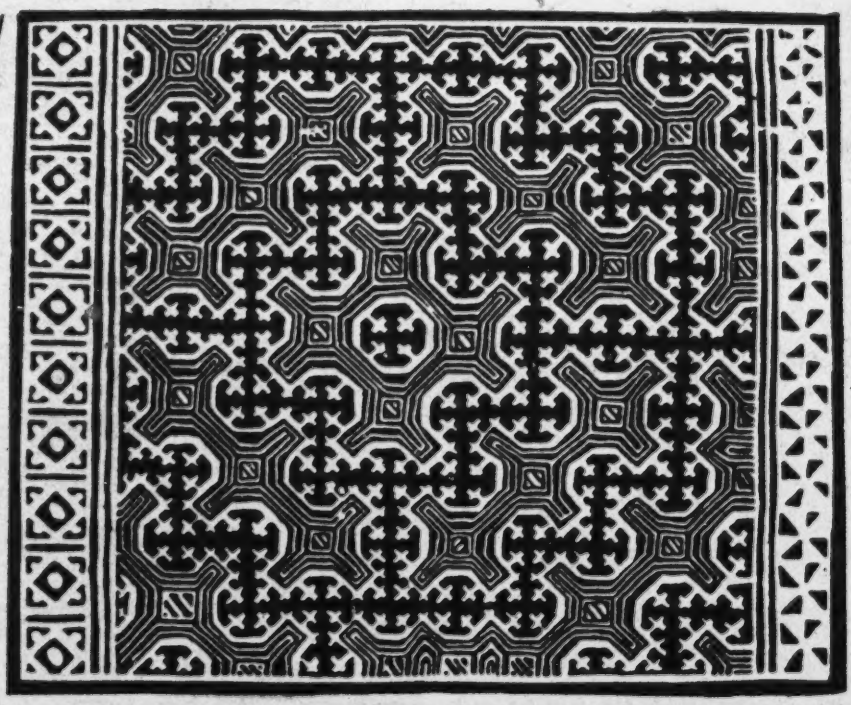


Fig. 8. Batik design of the Meau in the positive, after the dyeing. 1/3 nat. size.

though most of these patterns correspond to old traditional forms, there can be no doubt that the individual talent for design of the female artists provides further room for action. At any rate, /126/ /Fig. 9 appears here/ we often found that the women had invented, [176] so to speak, new designs. Colorful embroidery is also found on the clothing. Many of these splendid decorations (see also the chapter "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners") attracted the attention of travelers. Abadie (1) for example, writes:

1. Page 161.

H
M /123 cont'd/
648 economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and
439 the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

H
M In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought
177 about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading
191 position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and
H the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest
M way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both
[87] the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

(4)

H
M We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems
648 exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

177

/For a description of Miao religious practices borrowed from the Chinese see a discussion of the "guest religion," category 116, pp. 237-297./

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, M [137] pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

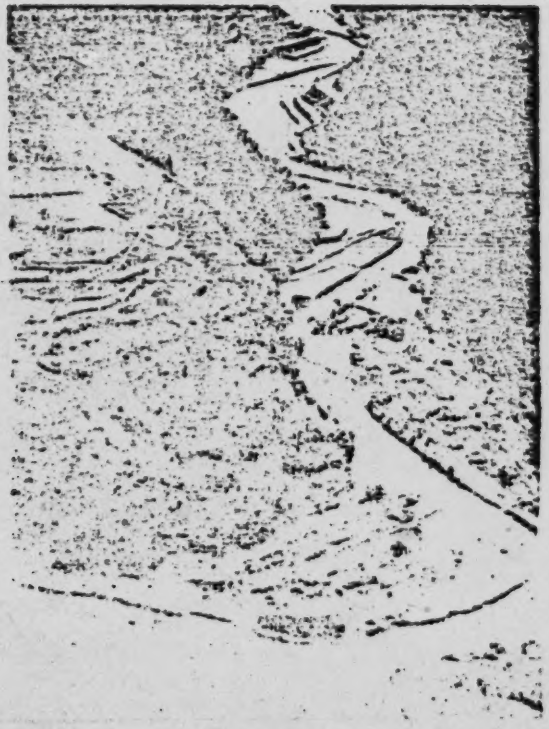
The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-M 353 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the 778 rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

[text continues on p63]

● 177 [1] [see Cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p65- "]

/38 cont./

361



Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353
[778] Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
782 room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
769 in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
354 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
000 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

2:Ling & Ruey--80 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/54/

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts. Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

114 177 [439]

241 [114] Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/: "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

252 [text continues on p. 106]

/77 cont./

252
262

miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those
000

/77 cont./ Today, those
291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
292 at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
[531] and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[764] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they [177] have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ [551] was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing 517 Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would [533]

/95 cont./

584 Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been
[177] thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine
[554] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ɲaŋ˥ tɕʰɤ˧ mpʰa˥), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense
[782] has to take place, which is called /soŋ˥ tʰiɤ˥˧), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally
[583] consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat.
[554] The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may
[583] omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.
[301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's
585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's
[177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's
[756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and
[782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense
[787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kowtows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and
[556] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At
585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense
782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.
[756] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
[113] 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
769 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
[113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spells. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles. Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
764 as the Chinese.
[177]

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[606] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice, in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[787] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[604] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
[768] a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

/112 cont./

C 631 563 701 M 631 622 *648 701 [177] The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

/113/

CHAPTER SEVEN

C 175 563 669 M *175 *648 C [712]

T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

/114 cont./

C 175 563 669 [901] [712] M * 175 * 648 M C [631] M [177]

During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peaceful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving 1,100 men. Military strengh was slight and the defense system was relaxed. Further, following the change from native headmen to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/ and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the blockade policy was once more used. The various hsiens along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

C 175 563 701 M 701

Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Fenghuang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, controlling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left, with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries /e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

/123 cont./

C 701 425 651 The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men. The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are 7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i, tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given 4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8 liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent. Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/ /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system, totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier region is about 1,000 strong. The maintainance of the Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

C 701 425 651 563 M 701 648 [425] [177]

/127 cont./

121 Joseph Needham, translated
771 into Chinese by Li An-che,
Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao
yü Shen-hua, page 1, The
Commercial Press.

According to the report
114 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of
771 today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-
ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation
Bureau's Chinese translation, page
259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept
771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been
177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

776 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese,
771 "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/.
[177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have
supernatural power; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits,
[192] or gods, they are all called "kuei," [kuei] in the Miao
language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon
or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen. Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region. (1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648] 1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛy ɕioŋy] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛy tsay] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
756 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297-

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [842] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [177] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" [755] to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "wash- [783] ing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seek- [777] ing resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies [842] performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/130 cont./

*782 Among the 24 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the
●177 guest religion, the "Local Divinity of the Soil" and "Flying Mountain" are routine sacrifices, and the rest may be performed for multiple entreaties. The following is a presentation in separate divisions of the various sacrifices to kuei in both the Miao and guest religions.

1. Miao Religion

(1) Sacrifice to the Ancestors

769 The sacrifice to the ancestors, called [ɕi˩ ɕioŋ˩˧] in the
*782 Miao language, is performed generally once a year in every family, but sometimes once every few years, after the autumn harvest. In the event of a death, it must be performed not later than within five or six days after the death. The kuei invoked are called [ɕioŋ˩ lio˥˧ ɕioŋ˩ ko˥˩]. The place for the sacrifice is beside the fire pit inside the house and the time is in the early morning. They set up a winnowing basket in which are placed five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, with the rest of the space filled with pa-pa.[1] The winnowing basket is laid down on the left side of the fire pit, and a bowl of beeswax and a bamboo tube on the right. The Miao Sorcerer sits facing the fire pit, beating the bamboo tube with his right hand, uttering incantations, the general idea of which is as follows:

"The fifth and the sixth months has already gone by; the ninth and the tenth months have arrived. In the loaded fields the five grains have ripened. They carry the grain back home, the men on their shoulders with a pole and the women on their backs. They cannot eat it all; they invited me to come. I brought soldiers and horses to fill this house; I am burning beeswax, beating the bamboo tube, and have prepared the wine, meat, pa-pa, and paper money. I beg you kuei to receive them, but hold them for the time being without eating them!"

769 At this point he ceases to beat the bamboo tube and with
787 a pair of chiao-tzu (1) divines the fortunes of the whole family

[1] [ɑ'ɛ - maize baked into a crust - ANALYST]

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the ~~/host's/~~ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [550] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[434] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [pʰiŋ] in the Miao language, and a ku woman is called [mpʰa pʰiŋ]. Most of the ku women are loved by their husbands, /200/ which is called /tʰio pʰiŋ/, meaning seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/233 cont./

*535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow. [533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated, making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25 centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, [533] two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung— tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

857 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/ gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttlecock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese [177] children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on p351]

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
517 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
526 same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[177] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
[411] of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around,
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
773 swing:
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

194 this point — including "singing tones" similar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sen-
193 tence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

871 When a family can afford it one or more
177 boys — rarely a girl — receive some education. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

871
177

go beyond the local primary school. In the family in which I lived, for several generations one or more boys have graduated from middle school. There is one now in the *hsien* city of Lung-li, but formerly they had to go to Kweiyang. This family has furnished the teacher of the local school for two generations. Most of the men and many of the women speak Chinese, especially those who go to market a great deal. One of the priests in the village told Miss Li that he had a book of the ritual for "opening the way" written in Chinese, but he never showed it to us. A well-educated Miao often insists that he is Chinese (Han) and those in Kweiyang are sinicized.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

When they were a little older they watched 857
animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches.

Children were indulged as far as the family 862
could afford to do so. The choicest bits were 865
often given them. Mothers brought back little packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Ssu-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that.

Only a few of the boys, and almost never 872
a girl, went to the school less than half a 177
mile away, and then only for a few years (fig. 18, *d*). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao

[49a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. 857 517 [535]

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836 [496]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Fang Shuh, who was the leader, proceeded with three thousand chariots as far as the present cities of Changsha and Changte in Hunan. Three mailed warriors rode in each chariot, and these, with other soldiers, made up a force of some thirty thousand men. The barbarians, alarmed at the news of recent Chinese victories over the Northern Tartars, and terrified by the beating of drums and cymbals, submitted without resistance. 175

During the reign of Shih Hwang Ti, the Emperor who built the Great Wall and overthrew the feudal system of China (200 B.C.), cities were built in what are now the southern provinces of the Empire, and the whole of that country was brought under real or nominal subjection. The wilder west was, however, still unsubdued, and into these higher and less fertile regions many of the Miao withdrew.

When the Chinese first came upon the scene, the *Nan Man* or *Miao* were probably as numerous, if not more numerous than the new arrivals. The Chinese, however, were not only more civilised but under one government, whereas the Miao were divided under many local kings and rulers. The inevitable result followed. The Miao were gradually destroyed, or absorbed 175
by the conquering race, or driven to the less 177

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

175 desirable regions of the west and south-west. This process of absorption has been going on
• 177 since the days of Yao and Shuen, 2356 B.C., and may be observed at the present time in the province of Kweichow. In that province many of the Chinese have Miao wives or concubines, and the children of such marriages always claim to be and are looked upon as Chinese.

121 The writer has neither the intention nor the ability to recall the history of the Miao tribes from the earliest times. His purpose, so far as he is able, is to describe briefly the different peoples now inhabiting the province of Kweichow, more especially the non-Chinese peoples. West China, Tibet, Burma, Tongking, Annam, and Siam are inhabited by many tribes, and it is impossible not to ask such interesting questions as: Who are they? Whence came they? and When? After a residence of more than twenty years in the province of Kweichow, where we have learned something about these tribes, it is our purpose to set down what we know.

103 The two characters *Kwei-chow* as they are now written, and have been written for about six hundred years, mean "Precious or Honourable Region." But eighteen hundred years ago, during the Han dynasty, the name was written

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[292] [177] 291 562 The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

294 saw was only about one fifth as large as that now in the Museum, and some of the finest specimens were not then in the collection.

177 Within twenty years probably there will be no such embroideries among the Ch'uan Miao. The making of such embroideries takes a great deal of time and often the girl or woman who wears them is ridiculed by less intelligent and unfriendly Chinese who live near them. For these reasons the Ch'uan Miao women are very rapidly adopting a simple Chinese style of embroidery or merely purchasing cheap and gaudy cloth and ribbons in the Chinese markets. The change is taking place so fast that the difference between the clothing worn now and even two years ago is quite noticeable.[8]

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

596 The family is the social unit. Descent is reckoned through males and the oldest living male is the head of the family. Before a girl marries she belongs to the family of her parents but after marriage she belongs to the family of her husband. While the parents live all the descendants, except females that are married but including the wives of the male descendants, live in the same house. After the death of the parents the children separate and form new families. There is evidence in the legends that formerly the husbands lived with the relatives of their wives so that the families may have been matrilinial.

Sons are more desired than daughters because they remain in the family. Women are considered to be inferior to men but women and girls are appreciated and desired.[9]

There is a larger sense in which the family includes all blood relatives of the same name—fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, gandsons, great-grandsons, uncles, cousins, and so on and their wives and umarried daughters, but it does not include the women who have married into other families. The importance of this enlarged family can be seen when the memorial and calendar festivals and the intricate list of the ancestors and descendants are noted.

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8. The Ch'uan Miao do not wear their best clothing and ornaments at funerals. They are worn at weddings, at feasts and at the memorial services and calendar festivals.

In Savina's book, *Histoire des Miao*, there are pictures of Miao wearing brass chain ornaments hanging from their necks. I have purchased chains like these from the Ch'uan Miao but they are now very rare.

9. In some localities men and women in the same family eat together but the daughter-in-law, because of a sense of shame, does not eat with the rest of the family. A daughter-in-law must not sit down on the same bench with the husband's father, brothers, or uncles but she may with her husband.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 After the parade, playing the *liu shêng* and dancing continues and songs are sung. The singing sometimes becomes a contest to see who can remember and sing the most songs. After each song the singer ties a knot somewhere on the tree or on his person so that after the contest the knots can be counted and the winner determined. Of course during these ceremonies the animal that is sacrificed is cooked, wine, rice, corn and vegetables are added and there is a feast.

VI. THE CALENDAR AND THE CALENDAR FESTIVALS

[177] The Ch'uan Miao use the lunar calendar like the Chinese from whom they have probably learned it. There are normally twelve months in the year but sometimes thirteen. The month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Ch'uan Miao are becoming acquainted with the western calendar.

787 As among the Chinese, there are twelve creatures with reference to whom lucky and unlucky days are determined. These are the rat, the cow or water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep or goat, the monkey, the cock,[1] the dog and the pig. The hours, days, months and years are controlled by these creatures in succession. The lucky creatures are the cow or water-buffalo, the dragon, the dog, the pig, the sheep or goat, the horse, and the cock. The unlucky are the monkey, the rat, the snake, the hare and the tiger. The days, months and years controlled by the unlucky creatures are unlucky and those controlled by the lucky creatures are lucky. Important journeys should not be begun, sales made or projects started on unlucky days. But engagements should be made on dog and on dragon days, and burials on snake or on rabbit days. The souls of animals are sometimes commemorated in the eleventh moon on cow days.

The seasonal or calendar festivals are as follows:—

796 **The first day of the first moon,** or New Year's Day. New leaves of the tea tree are used to symbolize the fact that the new year has come and tea is made from these leaves. Biscuits or *pa pa* 粑粑 are made of rice, corn, or some other kind of grain and bean curd is cooked. After offering these things to the deceased ancestors, with sweetmeats, the descendants have a family meal at which they eat the same things. The ancestors must be invited to this meal.

The second day of the first moon. On this day the ancestors rest. There are no ceremonies of commemoration and no offerings, although the ancestors are regarded as present. The living play and enjoy themselves.

1 [sic --Analyst]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

194 and is the most common and difficult to distinguish.[16]

The Chinese language in West China has four tones with five in some localities but in some parts of Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi the language spoken has eight or nine tones. There are Ch'uan Miao legends which indicate that they came to Szechwan from Kwangtung or Kwangsi.

193 During recent centuries, the Ch'uan Miao language, like
177 their customs, has been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Take, for instance, the comparative and the superlative of adjectives and adverbs. To make the comparative the word
192 xau is spoken before the positive. To make the superlative the word xʌn is spoken after the comparative.

Thus:

positive		*comparative*			*superlative.*		
ʒoɔ	good	xao	ʒoɔ	better	ʒoɔ	xʌn	best
ʂʌu	poor	xao	ʂʌu	poorer	ʂʌu	xʌn	poorest
ju·	small	xao	ju·	smaller	ju·	xʌn	smallest
lo·	large	xao	lo·	larger	lo·	xʌn	largest

The word xao is evidently the Chinese word xao 好, *hao* for food which may be used in Chinese in the sense of very and the word xʌn is the Chinese word xʌn 很, *hên* for both the pronunciation and the tones are exactly the same in the Ch'uan Miao and in the Chinese languages. It is significant that the Ch'uan Miao cannot express the comparative and the superlative without the use of Chinese words.

There is a goodly nucleus of Ch'uan Miao words that
192 are non-Chinese and which are to be found in various Miao dialects in Kweichow, Yunnan and even in Tongkin. There
177 are also many words that are evidently of Chinese origin. The Chinese word for chair is i^3 *tzu*^{3} 椅子. The Ch'uan Miao word is i^2 tzū^3 ʐ̍i tsə or i· tsə. The Chinese word for man in Szechwan is zʌn 人 and the Ch'uan Miao word is nʌn. A very common Ch'uan Miao word for love is nia and the Chinese is *ngai* 愛 (*ai*). Occasionally a Chinese word that has been adopted is given a slightly different pronunciation and a different tone.

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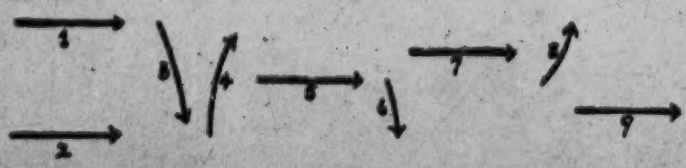
144 16. The following diagram may help to distinguish Ch'uan Miao tones.



8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

823 I can hardly affirm that the Ch'uan Miao believe that the world is flat. The untutored Miao does not know that the world is round, but he sees and climbs and farms so many hills and cliffs and mountains that he regards the world as only comparatively flat. The world has an end somewhere, but he has no conception of its size.

772 Above the sky, or rather on it, is a level land where the souls remain after death with the souls of their ancestors. This paradise is Ntsə ni lʌu GʌU bi or the level land of Ntsə. There are no hills to climb and there is neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day. Although there are no rainstorms there is no lack of moisture. Those who live there do not farm but find in the forests such things to eat as berries and fruit, as people are supposed to have done on earth in very ancient times. They are given food, clothing and money by their descendants through the memorial and calendar festivals. It is a good place to live in but not as good as this world. There is a ladder to the sky, but ordinarily mortals cannot go up. Some have swooned away and returned and related to their friends what they saw in the level land of Ntsə.

Under this earth there is another world inhabited by dwarfs. These are called in Chinese *sao pa jên* 掃把人 or broom people, because they are as tall as small Chinese brooms or about two feet high. They farm and have their own king, soldiers and government. They live very much as people on this earth, but they have much smaller houses, farms, etc. One Miao fell into dwarfland through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace, and later came back to the earth through a crack in the ground caused by a drought. When rain finally came, the ground swelled and closed up the crack.

In a special region dragons live or at least the king of dragons lives there. Other stories are told of fishermen who hooked the king of dragons or other dragons with fishhooks in rivers and creeks. To reach the palace of the dragon king it is always necessary to go down through pools of water. When the palace is reached, everything is normal and dry.

There is a special region where demons live where it is always dark. People rarely go there although certain legends describe it.

177 775 The Chinese idea of three principal souls or *hun* 魂 and seven lesser souls or *p'o* 魄 is accepted by these people. The *hun* are called in Ch'uan Miao pl'ei and the *p'o* are called *mpl'o*. Of the three principal souls, one remains in the tomb, one goes to Ntsə's level country. One stays among the beams under the roof of the house. On the other hand, one is supposed to be reincarnated. The ideas of reincarnation and of the three *hun* and seven *p'o* were learned evidently from the Chinese; my impression is that they have not been well assimilated.

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1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

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6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shêng* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

791 the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon,
but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored.
177 Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose
that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao. But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

791 There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a
prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused
787 with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called *yin yang kua*. This fortune-teller is called a so ɓʌu. So means first or previously and bʌu means to know or understand. Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods. They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person q ɔʍ ɐ ɟɐʌʎ ʌna present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits, money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao believe in the so bʌu and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

828 Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In
addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain
787 things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey, a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill; if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horse, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a parent will probably die.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

774 A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it
778 is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries. A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is a living being that can speak. He has a definite character and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is lighting. It is this knife that causes the damage when lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

. . . . . .

177 The greatest changes in all their history are now taking place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited
797 these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the
563 Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years. Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and one graduate of the West China Union University gave the money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager for modern education and higher culture. With the continued help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese people, they can become an enlighteed race that will be an asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to the British Empire.

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Some Ch'wan Miao Characteristics.—The Ch'wan Miao are a very isolated, segregated, financially poor group of people almost certainly with no European contacts. They live in the mountains at an elevation of about 3,000 feet. They are mainly an agricultural people, although they are also pastoral and some are hunters. They travel entirely on foot. Their crops are mainly maize and rice. They eat very little meat (mostly mutton) and few vegetables; their chief diet is maize and/or rice. 105

The Ch'wan Miao have been permeated very considerably by the culture of the Chinese and the grade of that culture is not low. Given equal advantages the Miao are as intellectual as the Chinese. Some students, under great handicaps, have persevered and graduated from our University. 177

They have a distinct unwritten language, which differs markedly from the Chinese. Many of the males are bilingual. Their folklore, songs and music are distinct from those of the Chinese. They have a peculiar bamboo wind-instrument; it consists of a body of a bamboo tube 6–8 inches long by 3 inches in diameter. To the centre of 197 534

[P. 67a]

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[26 cont.]

774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost, the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost, the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primitive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear, each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
777 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium,
756 who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and socially it does not command any special respect and authority. Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated as follows:

755 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,
756

12: Wu and Ch'en--71 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

The Ancestral Myth of the Sheng Miao

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Who are the Sheng Miao?

101 184 The Sheng (wild) Miao and the Shu (assimilated) Miao are two antithetical terms, with which the early scholars distinguished the various Miao tribes. These two names are self-explanatory. The Sheng Miao are those Miao who live in the wild and distant mountains without any intercourse with the Chinese. Their nature is wild and cannot be disciplined; their foods are hard and uncooked. The Shu Miao, on the other hand, reside in the [177] nearby mountains, where they learn to speak the Chinese language and trade with the Chinese. They plant and cultivate the land in almost the same way as the Chinese. Originally, before the Miao were civilized they were all vaguely called the Sheng Miao. But after the lapse of a great deal of time, the Chinese population in the Miao areas increased and their relations with the Miao became closer so that a part of the Miao who were assimilated by the Chinese became known as the Shu Miao. The other part of the Miao who were backward and unassimilated continued to be called Sheng Miao. The "Man-chuan" [Record of the Savages] in the Kweichow T'ung-chih [Kweichow Gazetteer] says: "Those Miao who have t'u-ssu [headmen] are the Shu Miao, and those without them are the Sheng Miao." This division is based upon the fact whether they are ruled by native chieftains or not. Again, according to Hu Ting's "Miao-Man pu-lo k'ao" [Studies in the Miao and Man Tribes] in Li-p'ing-fu chih [Gazetteer of Li-p'ing Prefecture]: "As to the Miao ..... those who live near the fu [prefecture] and hsien [county] areas are the Shu Miao; they pay taxes and contribute labor more or less like the Chinese. Those not living in these places are the Sheng Miao, who however greatly outnumber the Shu Miao." Later, as the Miao society progressed, the 101 Shu Miao gradually outnumbered the Sheng Miao, who were confined to certain remote areas. Regarding the various Miao

[146 cont.]
773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[786] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their descendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-nan.[66]

During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their territories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand, and suppression and extermination on the other. There was hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when suppression or pacification campaigns were not being undertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major suppression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating the migratory movements of the modern period. (The Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover, these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and massacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields. The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the pushing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land considered of little value by Han-Chinese.[68] (The parallel situation with respect to the American treatment of the Indians is noteworthy.)

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The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not coordinated events and were put down by Governor-General Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Laotians AM8

boy's pockets lay strewn about; the lengths of string, the broken penknives, the buttons, the mirror glass, the tins, the bottles and the burned out lamp bulbs. Here was accumulated the jackdaw harvesting, the valuable glittering rubbish which was all a Meo wanted of civilization, and which he was free to take, while leaving the civilization itself severely alone. What foolish, generous people, these town-dwellers were! M 342 181

Our host's wife, a child of fifteen, was lying with her baby on a heap of rags in the corner. The baby was sick, he said, but the only thing necessary was to keep it away from the light – and air – as much as possible. Most Meo babies die in their first two years, and one wonders what would have happened by now to the fertile land of Indo-China, if they didn't. M 758 165

There was a gun in the corner – a muzzle-loader of the kind it takes a Meo two years to make. They are copied from the guns first supplied by the Jesuits to the Chinese, but are turned out by an endlessly laborious process involving boring out a solid bar by twirling a white hot iron in it. It was enormously long, like an old-fashioned Arab stove-pipe gun, and when Dupont took notice of it the Meo offered to show it to him in use. We went outside and he loaded it with powder and shot he made himself. This process took about five minutes. Before pressing the trigger he warned us to stand well away because of the muzzle blast. The target was a small banana-leaf, skewered against a bank at twenty paces. There was a tremendous bang when he fired, but the leaf remained intact. He blamed this on the maize-spirit which we had just drunk, and was quite delighted when Dupont, giving a demonstration with his American light carbine, also missed. M 411 177

There were no dogs at all at this village. They were all down at the poppy fields with their owners, the Meo said. 000

Luang Prabang lies at the end of a long, curling descent from the mountains and through smoking bamboo groves, on the banks of the Mekong. It is built into a tongue of land formed by the con- L 361

[152 cont.]

538 lot is otherwise so hard. Below are given two extracts from "Méo" songs, borrowed from the work of P. Maraball (op. cit., pp. 296 and 298):

539 1. Love song:
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The Young Man. — One is born only once. As the bee and the butterfly go far off in search of flowers, so human creatures are obliged to make long journeys to seek out those beings with whom they should unite. In like fashion we two are of different villages and yet we are about to wed. It is Heaven that has so willed it, He who is just and is never mistaken.

The Young Woman. — No, we are like the reed and the plum-tree, which are separated by long distances. Don't make fun of it in that way. But since you tell me of the example of the bees, we have only to follow it. Wait for me then this evening at nightfall and I shall take care not to miss the rendezvous.

2. Prayer:

May we have an abundant harvest of maize! May the
539 wind blow with moderation and the rain fall with regularity! Then
782 more than a hundred plants will give rich harvests. Thus the mandarins will have a tranquil people to rule. Oh, that these desires may be completely realized! Let us beat the drum to celebrate autumn.

The costume of the men scarcely varies from one tribe to an-
291 other (see photo 204, Plate 38, in which representatives of various "Méo" tribes of Upper Tonkin appear). It consists of a jacket which buttons [153] usually in front of the right shoulder as well as on the side, and goes down just below the hips, a long pantaloon falling to the feet and held up by a belt, a turban of variable size, wrapped in a haphazard fashion.

Among those tribes which are in direct contact with the Chinese,
[177] the masculine costume approaches that of the Chinese, the jacket buttons in front by means of a variable number of braided loops and buttons and the turban is often replaced by a small skullcap.

The "Méo" usually go about barefooted. Some wear sandals with soles of rattan or bamboo fiber, or even the Chinese heelless

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
317 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
439 against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

23: Graham G-3 (ca. 1900-1920)1924 AO1 Thailand AO1
Miao AE 5

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men and the generally dirty and sparsely-clad women, to whose frowsy appearance and unwashed Mongoloid faces the traveller in this part of the world has grown accustomed, there appears a neat and sturdy people, in whose features the Mongolian type is slightly modified, of a bright, cleanly and intelligent appearance, and of industrious habits. They are divided into eleven, some say twelve, clans the majority of which are not, however, represented in Siam, and from long contact have acquired many points of resemblance with the Chinese of Yunnan, the most remarkable of which are their language and the abbreviated pigtails and the costume of the men. The dress of the women varies greatly in the different clans, and borrows nothing from the Chinese. The men wear loose trousers and short coat, a waist-band, sometimes with embroidered tassels, and a large blue turban occasionally replaced by a Chinese cap fitting close to the head. All carry an embroidered bag which serves as a capacious pocket, and many go armed with a dah, or sword, and a cross-bow. The women of the clans found in Siam wear a pleated skirt descending below the knees, and a cross-over coat embroidered at the edges, with sleeves down to the wrist. They also wear a many-coloured turban and sometimes swathe their legs in strips of cloth as a protection against thorns. The women wear their hair in a top-knot which, however, is usually concealed by the turban. McCarthy records that in one of the clans the coiffure of the ladies is an elaborate affair kept in position with beeswax and so constructed as to last for several years without remaking. They have very little jewellery but both sexes often wear a silver torque, to which a pendant inscribed with Chinese characters is sometimes attached.

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With the advance of the French across the Mehkông Siam has lost the greater part of her Meao subjects, but a certain number of villages are to be found in the province of Nan and in other parts of Northern Siam,

23: Graham G-3 (ca. 1900-1920)1924 AO1 Thailand AO1
Miao AE 5

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and as the long-prevailing southward and westward movement of the various clans of this people still continues, more communities are continually being established within the present Siamese border.

M 105

The Meao live in strongly-built houses with timber or mud walls and stone floors, generally perched on or near the crest of the highest available mountains. They use a rough bedstead, stools and tables, all of which are conspicuously absent from the houses of the Kaché. Their agriculture is carried on in forest clearings on the sides of the mountains on which they have their settlements, and they grow rice, maize, tobacco, hemp, vegetables of sorts and opium. They keep cattle, goats and a few ponies. The women are much occupied with weaving and embroidery, the results of their labour being often of artistic value. The Meao are monogamists and their marriages, which are usually preceded by a period of irregular co-habitation, are accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. Their religion is the usual spirit-worship, observed by means of sacrifice, by heavy eating and by the copious drinking of rough, strong spirit distilled from rice. They practise burial of the dead, and their custom of placing a white cock beside the corpse to do battle with the great lizard supposed to bar the passage of the soul to paradise may possibly denote some remote connection with the Chinbok tribes far away to the west, on the other side of Burma. The Meao say they once had a written character but have lost it. They now use the Chinese, in which a small proportion of their men are proficient. They also use the Chinese calendar. There appears no reason to warrant affiliation of the Maeo with the races of Môn-Annam stock, while language, customs and, to some extent, appearance, seem to hint at connection with the Tibeto-Burman races. They are therefore now included among the latter, though subsequent investigation may possibly prove such classification quite wrong.

M [177]
M [144]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/64 cont./

M 526 A [526] bǔ kŭm mǒǔ of the Meau is none other than our game of hide-and-seek. One child closes his eyes while the others hide. The one who /65/ is found first must close his eyes next. The Akha children also like this game.

The Meau girls are very fond of a circle game (Ill. 71),[1] in which the girls hold hands and whirl about in a circle.

Scott (1) has observed another game. Two girls put their

1. II, p. 275.

feet against each other, hold hands, lean way back, and whirl around rapidly in a circle, as in our "Tellerreiben."

A M 526 A swing-game that I found among the Akha is described in the same way by Abadie (2) for the Meau, among whom I

2. Page 169.

did not find this game: "The Meau children often /Fig. 7 appears here/ play with the rotating swing." He adds that the M [177] Meau probably adopted this game from the Chinese, an opinion to which I do not subscribe.

A 526 The swing of the Akha is constructed somewhat differently from the one used by us. The board is pierced, and drawn through the hole and fastened, there is a rope or usually a twisted liana, which leads between the legs of the person swinging to a branch or any crossbeam to which the swing is fastened. Moreover, one does not swing to and fro, but twists around his own axis. Then he lets himself unwind in the opposite direction until the rope has resumed its natural position. "Our" swing, too, however, is found among the Akha. A rope or rattan is tied at both ends to a fence or a tree and forms the seat (Fig. 7).

Among the Akha, šeń tǒ nǐ is the name of the game that we call blindman's buff, and it is played according to exactly the same rules as among us.

1 [see cat. 116, p 513 - ANALYST]

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, A M [262] eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly A [857] observed that they tortured the animals without interference on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49[1] and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

1 [See cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/107 cont./

M 593 123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

M [622] [627] With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M 593 595 [177] [606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has

M [606] built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

A 595 [606] [422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by [775] putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, women, and children, with no differences other than that the [554] sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/129 cont./

M 325 [531] [301] [177] A [301] [531]

The silver ornaments of the Meau (chapter on "Clothing and /130/ Ornaments," Fig. 211 to Fig. 227), as well as those of the Akha (Fig. 239 to Fig. 253 of the same chapter), are sometimes decorated with attractive incised designs. The chasing technique by means of which spiral designs /Fig. 15 appears here/ are produced on the silver scabbards for daggers (Fig. 15) and the embossing technique occasionally used on bracelets may have been borrowed from the Thai peoples, but the fact remains that the Meau silversmiths are quite able to compete with the Thai ornaments in beauty of workmanship, even though the Meau men practice these difficult techniques just as casually as even the most famous women produce their batik designs.

A [531] [276]

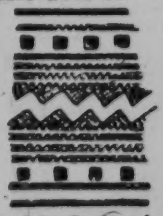

Fig. 14. Incised decoration on girl's pipe of the Akha. 2/1 nat. size.

A M 532

For test purposes, as has been mentioned, I had drawings made by both sexes. In the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children," I have described the guiding principles that I followed in this. These drawings provided an interesting insight into the drawing talents of the Akha as well as of the Meau.

In all the drawings, with the possible exception of Fig. 18, the complete lack of composition is striking. Only individual objects, animals, plants, or little scenes from daily /131/ life are ever represented. As a result many drawings are upside down or sideways. Usually one cannot determine by himself where the artist actually imagined the top or the bottom of the sheet to be. Actually, they focused their attention exclusively on that part of the drawing on which they were working at the moment. As soon as this was finished, the sheet was turned so that an adjacent free area of the sheet could be comfortably worked on, regardless of the position of the last drawing.

Akha as well as Meau men showed a special preference for representations of animals of the hunt and domestic animals; in addition, implements, weapons, and occasionally scenes

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Miao AE5

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] A M [177] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When M 114 533 538 Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

[1] [See cat 116, p124 - ANALYST]

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [752] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's [202] celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute
of the Meau. 1/9
nat. size. Fig. 28,
from above, Fig. 29,
side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/147 cont./

M 534 231 177

piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A M 533

The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Sometimes they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they

M 534 [531]

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Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

A M 533 [224]

hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here./ The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

/156 cont./

know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
[114]

3. Page 168.

same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of

4. II, p. 253.

heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

•177 Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
771 Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
776 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones. Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
[782] sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated. Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[795] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan, the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

/161 cont./

775 not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of
[761] apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one.
787 Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not
775 feared either. There is one exception, however. During the
776 three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected, so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen
825 that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling
825 neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the
[648] Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the
[763] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person
[177] is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyôňň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese [177] and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [726] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/166 cont./

776 825 [372] [626] [171] The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 [844] I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yen.

[778] [756] The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of [177] [829] this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/169 cont: /

M 776 spirits and regard lightning as the avenging power, so to speak, with which these spirits punish rebellious mortals.

821 [626] The Meau do not know how an eclipse of the sun or the moon is produced. As soon as such natural events occur, one must shut himself up at home and may not in any case look at the stars because the latter are being eaten by evil spirits. If one should look nevertheless, the spirits concerned would likewise eat him in an instant. How it happens that the "devoured" stars appear again cannot be explained, nor is it attempted.

M 177 .821 [776] The Meau also do not associate the aforementioned natural phenomena with the supreme "Father-Mother" spirit. How little the religious views of the peoples with whom the Meau come in contact have been adopted is shown by the fact that they pay no attention to comets, whose appearance is of great significance for their Laotian and Chinese neighbors. This is all the more striking since among the Chinese the appearance of a comet signifies the outbreak of a war or revolution, among the Lao the death of a person of royal blood, both being conceptions which, in view of the history and mentality of the Meau, could certainly psychologically /170/ make an impression on them. As has been said, however, although the Meau know the deities of the neighboring peoples, they are little influenced by their views.

A 776 Among the Akha, too, I discovered the conception of a supreme being, which is found in such a marked fashion in the religion of the Meau, and, to be sure, among the Akha it is the god of heaven, ăddŏdŭchŏ. He likewise resides in and above the clouds, and all the other spirits are subject to him. Accordingly, A [782] he automatically partakes of all the sacrifices offered by the human beings to the other spirits, and therefore special offerings to him are regarded as unnecessary. Telford's (1) opinion that

1. Page 98.

such a conception is only "vague" among the Akha contrasts with A [773] these findings. Perhaps, however, Telford's words refer to the spirit "yăbĭdĕlăhăt," who created the universe. In any case,

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
241 other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

782 Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by
796

1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
769 spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/210 cont./

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
[413] however, only after it has been punched with the special punches in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
787 Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
[177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses,
[177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[788] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
789 purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and
[562] is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
[177] dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

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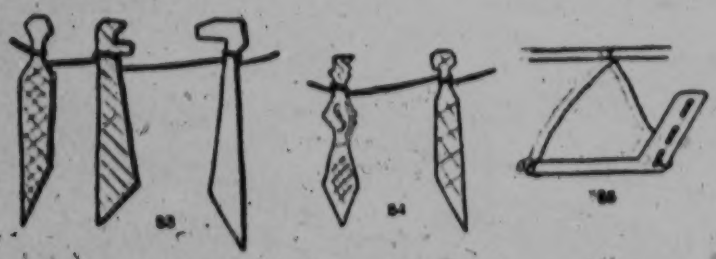

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
537 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.
[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

M [114] [177]

1. Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yǎ. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[847] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kī, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role;
177 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
278 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For
832 example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/237 cont./

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.
832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious
ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
757 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
278 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
114 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test
the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not
forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to
medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than
the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine!
It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines
that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be
found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.

752 They are most skillful, however, in the treatment of bone fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing
[845] trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.

278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manufacture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of certain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

/274 cont./

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only rep-
[177] sent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).[1]

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the
[251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).[2]

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.
[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

[1 (see cat 116, p706- ANALYST
[2 E " " " p665- "

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."
342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult
[439] has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[177] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
[see cat. 116, p645 – ANALYST]

/322 cont./

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79,[1] also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the [301] neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ [531] (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).[2]

The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [294] (Ill. 81).[3] In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [531] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of [439] purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark-[531] blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77),[4] and not wound high, as is customary among the women. In-[177] stead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese 292 caps (Ills. 55 and 56).[5] On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

1 [see cat 116, p 576 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 706 - "]
3 [" " " p 594 - "]
4 [" " " p 575 - "]
5 [see cat 116, p 367 - ANALYST]

/323 cont./

292 Against rain, the men wear coarsely plaited rain hats made of straw.

The men's clothing of the Meau does not differ from the
291 clothing of the boys. As Lajonquière (1) remarks, men's
184

1. II, p. 307.

[177] clothing is the same among all the tribes. Only the tribes that live in close contact with the Chinese are said to resemble them more and more in dress.

Another author, Abadie (2), also mentions fur-lined vests

2. Page 153.

such as the cold continental climate of Yunnan probably requires, but not that of Indochina or Thailand. The statements of other authors, such as Lajonquière (3) and Savina (4), show that the

3. II.

4. II, p. 211.

clothing of the Meau otherwise, even in other countries, does not essentially differ from that described here. /324/

I could not find footgear anywhere among the Meau in Thailand. Other authors, too, mention this. It is also stated,
[177] however, (1) that some Meau have adopted the Chinese custom

1. Abadie, p. 153.

[824] of wearing sandals with soles made of rattan fibers or bamboo or even Chinese slippers made of canvas. Sandals plaited out of bamboo fibers are also mentioned. One author (2) reports

2. Savina, II, p. 211.

[554] that among the various Meau tribes in Tonkin the clothing of

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[2] [See cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[3] [" " " p 448 - "]
[4] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [See cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

/325 cont./

301 are worn over one another (Ills. 52-54).[1] The most common are simple round hoops which are worn open at the neck or are provided with a fastener of silver rings (Fig. 213). Instead of the small silver rings, a silver clasp may also be used to close the hoop, as, for example, in the case of the large neck ring of the shaman, which is illustrated in Fig. 212. Some-
[789] times small charms, powder sewed into black cloth and the like, are attached to the neck hoop for protection against evil
[531] spirits (Fig. 211). The two bent ends of the neck hoop are usually provided with incised designs (Figs. 214-216). In
[412]

209 210

Figs. 209-210. Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 209. Wooden comb to stick in the hair, about 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 210. Bamboo comb for dressing the hair, about 1/3 nat. size.

addition to these typical solid silver hoops, such neck rings made of iron or copper, or of silver twisted with copper, are also worn (Fig. 217). All of the neck hoops are made by the Meau themselves and are also worn on workdays.

[325] The material for the making of silver ornaments is ob-
[177] tained by melting down the old Indochinese piaster pieces or Chinese silver coins. For a heavy men's hoop nine pieces of mon (which are old Indochinese silver coins) are required.

The earrings of the girls and women -- I did not see any on men -- are likewise made of solid silver. The most common form is provided with an arrow wound with fine silver wire (Fig. 218 and Ill. 60).[2] /326/ I have also often come across the large silver ear-pendants in the shape of reversed question marks, which Lajonquière (1) mentions, among the

1. II, p. 309.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /326 cont./
301 Meau in Thailand (Ill. 57).[1] The dot of the question mark is formed by the button that holds the ornament in the hole in the ear lobe, while the curve hangs down to the chest (Figs. 219 and 220). The same author also saw ear pendants with a ring of jade among the Meau. These ear pendants are usually /Figs. 211-216 and 218-220 appear here/ /327/ purchased
M [439] from the Yau /Yao/ or Chinese, but are also made by the Meau themselves, faithfully following the traditional model. Children often wear small silver bells in their ears.

Solid rings of silver, copper, or iron are worn around the ankles by both sexes (Figs. 221-223). /Figs. 217 and 221-227 appear here./

/328/ The finger rings that I saw among women, men, and children were mostly simple, open silver hoops, but one also frequently sees beautiful homemade ornamental rings (Figs. 224 and 225).

M [177] Among the various silver objects still to be mentioned here
[413] are the scratching pins (Fig. 226), probably of Chinese origin,
[276] which one comes across everywhere. They are worn tied to the belt, along with small bells and a needle for serving up opium.

A The clothing of the Akha maintains its characteristic note
291 through the richness and the variety of the ornaments used.
[531] The patches, embroidery, and appendages of the articles of clothing and the body ornaments almost reach the limits of possibility, but nevertheless are used with so much taste that the clothing makes a thoroughly harmonious and very decorative impression (see Ills. 4 to 13 and Colored Plate I).[2] The basic elements, however, the dark-blue material and the cut, as well as the three-part division of the women's clothing into
A blouse, skirt, and leggings and the two-part division of the
[171] men's clothing into jacket and trousers, are the same as among
[286] the Meau and other mountain tribes of Farther India. The
[439] fabric is self-woven out of hemp or cotton and indigo (see
[294] the chapter, "Handicrafts") and even today is very seldom replaced by purchased goods. The clothing is sewed only by the women and apparently in abundant quantities, for among the Akha we never saw garments in use that were anywhere near as shabby or torn as among the Meau.

[1] [See Cat 116, P368 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", pp 13-14, 34-37 + 120 - ANALYST]

/343 cont./

224 [177] Pitfalls are not set up by the Meau. To be sure, some Meau hunters are familiar with this hunting method from the Lao, but it is not used, as was explained to me, because of the fear that human beings might fall in. The Meau do know a method of catching tigers, however, which is in a way reminiscent of pitfalls. At a point where the customary path of the tiger leads across a brook, a tree trunk cut in the middle is laid across the watercourse. Under the breaking point thus prepared, pointed posts are put in the brook and screened, and the tiger, plunging down, is impaled on them. During our stay the Meau actually succeeded in capturing a big cat in this manner.

The catching of mammals in nets is unknown, but the Meau are very skillfull in setting self-firing traps with a crossbow built in (see the section, "Agriculture," in this chapter), as well as nooses, which, in long rows, always with one noose beside another, are set so as to be invisible in the grass (Figs. 254-256). In association with bait or decoy-whistles (Fig. 257), the hunters then succeed in catching the [223] representatives of the gallinaceous birds, which are especially numerous in Thailand, in the noose or in the snare that has been set (Ill. 80[1] and Fig. 258). Larger animals up to the size of a deer are caught by the Meau in plate-traps. These consist of a foot board, /344/ which, when stepped upon, pulls up a flexible branch to which the noose is attached and thereby drawn together.

The construction of such deer traps is shown in Fig. 259. When the game steps on the boards fastened on one side over a pit and screened with leaves, the small board e and the crossbar d fall down, which releases the string J and the liana L, and the branch M /Figs. 254-259 appear here/ /345/ snaps upward. Through this the noose H, which was also connected with the liana and was placed over the foot boards, draws together around the leg of the animal. The snaring line is tied fast to a peg driven into the ground so that the captured game cannot escape. In setting the trap, the branch is bent down so low by means of block and tackle that the small board

[1] [see cat 116, p595- ANALYST]

/357 cont./

243 [262] 1. Rice. It is by far the most important cultivated plant of the Meau in Thailand and actually represents the basis of their diet. Seven different kinds are planted, four of which are glutinous rice and three are so-called white (Chinese) rice. The individual kinds are distinguished by the time until they ripen and also by the size of the grains and ears. All seven kinds belong among the types classified under the concept of mountain rice, which are not cultivated in Europe at all. They grow, independent of artificial irrigation, on cleared slopes. Classified as glutinous rice are the kinds that, when cooked, form a sticky, gelatinous substance, which does not appeal very much to the taste of Europeans. The "white rice," on the other hand, consists of types similar to those available commercially among us in Europe. The Meau have presumably [177] received these different kinds of rice from the Chinese.

The Meau in Thailand begin to plant rice between the end of May and the beginning of June, with the harvest, depending on the type, three to five months later. At the beginning of the rainy season, after the appropriate ceremonies have been performed (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"), cultivation begins. With the digging stick (Fig. 267), one person punches holes in the ground about five centimeters deep and 50 centimeters apart. He is followed by a second one, who lets eight to ten grains of rice fall into each hole, which, however, are not covered with earth, but rather the rain is supposed to do this. The Meau maintain that otherwise the rice would not get sufficient water for their first development.

At the harvest, the rice is cut individually, high on the stalk (Ill. 92),[1] with a special crescent-shaped knife (Fig. 268), put in bundles, and left lying in this fashion in the fields until it is dry. Then it is gathered together in the field hut and, in part, hulled right in the field /358/ in a special mortar which is operated with a suitable lever (Ill. 96).[2] This rice, as well as the bundles of ears, is then carried into the village (Ill. 93).[3] The rice straw remains standing in the field, rots, and thus forms a fraction of the fertilization so necessary to the soil.

1 [see cat 116, p642- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p645- "]
3 [" " " p643- "]

/380 cont./

272 With the exception of water, non-alcoholic beverages remain unknown among the Meau in Thailand.

273 /381/ Therefore the enjoyment of alcohol plays all the greater a role, especially at the time of the major celebrations. To be sure, since beer-making, such as is customary among the Moi peoples of Indochina, is unknown, the more alcohol is obtained by the process of distillation. The raw product among the Meau is preferably maize. It is mixed with yeast and buried in the ground half a meter deep, when it remains for five days. A certain amount of water is added to the substance thus produced, and the whole is put on the fire in the distilling apparatus (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 169) which condenses the escaping alcohol, and the product is collected in a gourd bottle. The distillate is clear as water and has a somewhat earthy taste, but is otherwise similar to the European slivovitz.

[184] According to observations by Abadie (1) and the description by Lajonquière (2), the preparation of alcohol in Tonkin seems to be similar: "The Meau consume great quantities of alcohol made of fermented grain, sometimes distilled alcohol... The Meau produce alcohol by putting grain, primarily maize, which has been steamed and mixed with yeast, in large earthenware jugs which they seal hermetically during the fermentation. It is then drunk, when needed, with the help of a bamboo tube which is dipped into the liquid." This use of the sucking tube and of the mighty earthenware jugs is characteristic of the "Moi peoples" of Indochina, but is unfamiliar to the Meau of northern Thailand. Presumably the Meau in Indochina have borrowed this from the Moi peoples.

[415] [184] [177]

1. Page 161.

2. II, p. 303.

Miao AE5

/387 cont./

411 177 In addition there are double-edged swords for close combat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size according to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords [778] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305). [175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78, [1] Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau [326] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the [439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

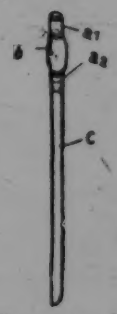

Fig. 305
Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
[171] the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put on the still undyed material by the women with a special
[413] instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

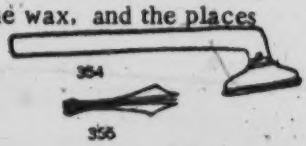

Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
[411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for
[262] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their
[177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

/409 cont./

325 [439] Iron is bought from Chinese traders, or from the Lao, Schan /Shan/, or Burmese, in the form customarily traded in northern Thailand, four-cornered, square bars four to five centimeters thick and 50 centimeters long. Silver, brass, copper, and lead also come from them. In order to obtain [177] silver, the Meau melt Chinese, Burmese, or Indochinese silver coins in the crucible (Fig. 365) of porous stone and pour the silver into the mold (Figs. 369 and 370) which was previously lined with cloth so that the molten metal will not stick to the walls. The silver coins are crushed before they are

Figs. 362-372. Forging Equipment of the Meau.

Fig. 362. Bellows, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 363. Piston of the bellows. Fig. 364. End of the pipe. Fig. 365. Smelting pot of stone, 1/6 nat. size. Figs. 366-367. Anvils, 1/35 [285] nat. size. Fig. 368. Annealing basket, 1/25 nat. size. [415] Fig. 369. Casting mold, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 370. Casting mold in use. Fig. 371. Sledge hammer, 1/6 nat. size. [413] Fig. 372. Blacksmith's tongs, 1/6 nat. size.

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants.
[413] In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure, for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely
[171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and
[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/427 cont./

A 439 valleys are likewise sought out by the Akha, is only irregular. In this connection the Chinese who live among the Lao are also sought out for the purpose of smuggling opium, whereby the trader gets the raw product for the merest fraction of the actual selling value, even though the Akha try to strike the best possible A [435] bargain. The reason is primarily, as among the Meau, the lack of contact with the outside world, so that the Akha, too, have no way of comparing the prices offered. Incidentally, there are regions where the Akha refuse to go to the valleys to engage in trade. I discovered, for instance, that the Akha living in villages along the Doy Tung, who, to be sure, could easily have reached the valley stores of the Lao and Chinese, never left their mountains, but rather produced all the necessities of life themselves.

A [438] Among the Akha, too, all trade is undertaken during the dry season. The observation that within the tribe goods are obtained directly from the producer, without any carrying trade, and outside the tribe rarely from the producer and mostly from the trader, is generally true for both peoples.

M 804 177 The Meau are not familiar with any weights and balances and use those of the Chinese. On the other hand, it is indicative of the importance of cotton among the Akha that they have a A 804 special cotton weighing-machine. In connection with this there is a weight, the only one the Akha know, which they call hǎ́lǒ, a stone that weighs about three-quarters of a kilogram. Every Akha village has such a weight. It is the chief's duty to A [422] produce and to preserve it (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship"). To make it, the chief borrows a hǎ́lǒ from a neighboring village /428/ and then grinds a suitable stone until its weight corresponds exactly to that of the borrowed one. Every inhabitant of the village who needs the weight may borrow it from the chief without a fee. The cotton trade in the Akha villages requires con- A [439] siderable patience if only because of the complicated weighing procedure. Every quantity that is sold, however, must be weighed little by little, in portions corresponding to the weight of three-quarters of a kilogram.

/462 cont./

181 [153] Their reaction to new impressions is remarkably quick, according to my observations, and stands in marked contrast to that of primitive peoples, as well as to that of the neighboring high-culture peoples, such as the Schan /Shan/ or Lao. In any case, it is established that in the case of the Meau there is no question at all of "primitives." Von Eickstedt (3), too, confirms

3. II, p. 57.

this: "These are no 'primitives.' On the contrary, they are a [177] dislodged tribe with a unique culture definitely from China, but not typically Chinese, driven out by the true Chinese and most strongly influenced by them. These people have their own language and their own tradition."

152 148 It was interesting to observe the behavior of the Meau who accompanied us into the cities of northern Thailand. Toward the Lao and Thai, they were by no means servile, but only modest, and yet proud /463/ and reserved. Impressed, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 184.

describes this pride of the Meau, which, interwoven with an episode, he depicts: "Once when we were traveling with some Meau and rested for a moment in a village of the Thai, whose inhabitants had a dispute with the Meau, great thirst tormented us. The Meau, however, preferred to walk another four kilometers rather than ask the Thai for a glass of water." How very 152 much the Meau, as true mountain people, suffer from homesickness when circumstances force them to leave their mountains was obvious even during the few days that they spent with me in the valleys. It is again Savina (2) who has also recorded this trait.

2. II, p. 177.

He tells of several Meau in a prison who would not eat and grew visibly emaciated. When asked the reason, they all answered: "We are thinking too much of our homes." A few days later, they were released and regained new strength immediately.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

● 177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

/470 cont./

177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the [824] Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of [722] war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re-[675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/475 cont./

A 576 [648] [609] The Akha, too, treat women and children well, but are not nearly as polite as the Meau, are more robust in every respect, and believe less in the authority of the Whites, whom they approach with confidence. In any case, among the Akha nothing is to be seen of any overly great politeness toward strangers or one another, though they greet one another with the customary "where are you going" or "where do you come from." A [554] Among the Akha, as among the Meau, the younger ones must wait until they are addressed by the older ones. The Akha, however, are not familiar with any gesture of greeting. For M [177] [576] them the handshaking, folding of hands, or placing them on the chest, as is customary among the valley dwellers, is as unknown as the greeting gestures of the Meau, which are probably influenced by the Chinese.

If the Akha combine a visit with a request, they observe the same custom as the Meau do and casually mention the reason for their coming only in connection with the departure, likewise A 192 576 announced several times. As "please," the Akha use the word etšĭbĭlă; as "thank you," mŭhă. I could not find expressions for disdain, veneration, esteem, and astonishment. Expressions of fear and horror are tšŏ gŭ yŏ or only a drawn-out ĭ; the expression for hatred is mă hŏ nŏn yă. As affirmation, they utter a drawn-out ŏ; as negation, măĭ; mădyă is said with the meaning of "there is none."

A M 531 [577] In representational artistic talent, the Akha women, like those of the Meau, are far superior to the men. To be sure, the men of both peoples hardly have any opportunity for /476/ pictorial representation, which, in connection with the production of the richly ornamented clothing, is one of the virtues of a good housewife (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"). Even in connection with these representations, how- A 152 126 ever, the greediness of the Akha became apparent. Not only did they demand exorbitant prices for everything that I wanted to acquire and, if I was unwilling to agree to it, disappear at once with their articles, never to appear again, but the Akha were also the only people to whom I had to give a special payment for every object that my wife wanted to sketch. It was

T /497 cont./
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At any rate, a Europeanization, that is to say, the assimilation of the culture of the mountain peoples to the European full-culture, carries great dangers with it. A forced cultural change progressing too rapidly in time /498/ destroys the natural development, destroys the unique culture of peoples, and causes severe psychic shocks. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the peoples who later perhaps become assimilated will always be docile pupils of the colonizers, if they do not merge into their nationality, and whether, on the contrary, serious political complications will not arise in the future. I have already referred to these problems in detail in my Völkerkunde, Vol. I, "Aufgaben der Kolonialethnologie/ Problems of Colonial Ethnology/." For a critical examination of the question as to whether the mountain peoples could fit into an organized state in our sense, a brief characterization is essential, in which I shall apply a yardstick corresponding to the European peoples.

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[181]

The special abilities of the Meau are described in detail in the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge...," etc. It should nevertheless be recalled here that these people are distinguished by an especially clear mind and a discriminating intellect. The Meau think logically and act deliberately, possess a quick talent for comprehension and critical judgment. Persistence and industriousness at mental and physical work are remarkable. Of particular importance for the colonizer is their willingness to accept innovations once they have recognized them, and their striving for all kinds of improvements. Their manual skill and the indefatigable energy with which hardships and deprivations are endured are also to be stressed here. Their ability to make decisions is probably in every respect foremost among all the mountain peoples.

M
[181]

Their urge for independence, their fearlessness bordering on defiance of death, their glowing love of freedom, which has been strengthened through thousands of years of fighting against powerful oppressors and has given them the reputation of feared warriors, will perhaps make difficulties for the colonizer.

It must also be pointed out that the culture of these people has undergone a shrinking process. The relatively low material culture and the return to hoe culture with the burning of clearings

/498 cont./

T 177 563 M [177]

stand in contrast to their spiritual culture in which the many-shaped social and political organization as well as the well-developed and differentiated system of law are predominant. There can be no doubt that the Meau, as a result of their prominent mental and physical /499/ talents and their cultural growth, are capable of achieving a higher culture.

The Lisu, who likewise have undergone a cultural shrinkage, are most similar to the Meau in their mental and physical aptitudes, as well as culturally. The tribal endogamy that in practice is strictly observed by the Meau has been relaxed among the Lisu. Intermixture with the Chinese is especially popular. In the Schan /Shan/ states I came across villages which, with few exceptions, were inhabited by Chinese who had married Lisu women. I also found marriages between Lisu men and Lahu women. It is well known that in the case of such inharmonious unions as marriages between a Lahu and a Lisu the wife always belongs to the inferior people. The Lisu are more distrustful than the Meau and hostile toward foreigners. Intellectually they probably do not measure up to the Meau.

T 177 563 A 177 181

The Akha differ from both these peoples. They do not rank below the Meau in their love of freedom, fortitude, fearlessness, and honesty, but their mental abilities are inferior. To be sure, they are likewise capable of abstract thought and of following difficult thought processes for a longer time, but their intellect is less discriminating and more primitive in every respect. They lack organizational talent and discernment. In comparison with the Meau, they are greedy for money and put great weight on money and the value of money. Their respect for authority is less pronounced. The individual Akha, like the people as a whole, is less disciplined and less methodical. At the same time, the Akha are self-confident, shy only at first and then rather bold in their demeanor. They cling firmly to their traditions; the desire to improve their position in life is less pronounced, and they are at first distrustful when confronted with any innovation. Whereas the colonizer who is once successful in overcoming the mental barrier to the Meau has them completely in his hand and can then rely on them in every respect

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.

/13 cont'd/
241 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the
311 valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li."
This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the
175 Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure
144 blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of
175 other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the
144 family register of the Lin family:
● 178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had
162 some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname,
144 who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung
178

/14 cont'd/
162 district. This tendency for the Miao to become Chinese or Li is in-
144 deed unfavorable for an increase in the Miao population.
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/15/ Chapter II. Language

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English	Miao	English	Miao
Cardinal Numbers		Cardinal Numbers	
one	ă	twenty-one	nī sip jā
two	i	twenty-two	nī sip ngǐ
three	bo	twenty-three	ni sip tum
four	bā	thirty	tum sip
five	bă	forty	tā sip
six	kur	fifty	ngon sip
seven	njē	sixty	ngŭ sip
eight	z	seventy	kat sip
nine	dŏ	eighty	bid sip
ten	sip	ninety	shŭ sip
eleven	sip jā	one hundred	ă bā
twelve	sip ngǐ	two hundred	i bā
thirteen	sip tum	three hundred	tum bā
fourteen	sip tā	one thousand	á coon
fifteen	sip ngon	/16/ ten thousand	à tin
sixteen	sip ngŭ	one hundred thousand	à dū
seventeen	sip kat	a million	à bē
eighteen	sip bid		
nineteen	sip shŭ		
twenty	nī sip		

/125 cont'd/

H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 J78 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

/89 cont./

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cotton cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

/141 cont./

*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to [178] the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes [788] out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] [535] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full [292] dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

/168 cont./

*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [231] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some bystanders' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the [178] Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

[776] [556] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[787] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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A Ch'uan Miao man clothed in embroidered garments. Formerly both men and women wore such embroideries on festive occasions. The men now do so only in a few isolated localities, and the women are rapidly discarding this unique and attractive dress for unembroidered cotton clothing.

From a sketch by Mr. Graham Peck

[facing p. 13]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor. 618

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔɪʌu ma and the guest-husbands are called ndᵊʌu la. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb, 837

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials. 837 178

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along. 186 476

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [273] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men [276] and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

583 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao [178] at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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A Ch'uan Miao woman wearing her embroidered garments, taken in 1936. The embroideries are not nearly so elaborate as those worn by Ch'uan Miao women twenty years ago. Ch'uan Miao embroideries are rapidly disappearing.

A Ch'uan Miao woman in festive dress. This picture was taken in 1925. Since then such embroideries have been rapidly disappearing, but there is a collection of over four hundred pieces in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 32]

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not L
at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. M
Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups 563
in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive 669
measures.

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the L
cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special M
administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal 563
autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite inter- 636
mediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the popu- 609
lations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial
antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintain-
ing a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and
devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms 178
which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In 563
the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes
of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their
customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last repre-
sentatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of com-
munication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese
family.

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 000
369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page
376 is blank. --Translator/

39: Bernatzik--75 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 The day on which a child is born is an important day in
[842] the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

844 Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of
[556] some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and
[846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do
[178] this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition.

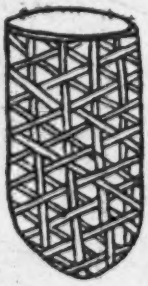
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, A [227] with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India. The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In



M ●178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

M [227] [285]

/353 cont./

178 time the old men die, the young people no longer know the
243 use of the plow, and so the custom begins to sink into oblivion,
407 even where it could still be used today."

In any case the described tradition of the Meau in Thailand indicates that the plow and its field economy were not subsequently seen and copied from the Chinese or Annamese by the Meau passing through, /354/ but rather had been used in former times. This is also confirmed by the reports of various authors who visited the Meau in Indochina and in their other areas of settlement. The conditions there are different from those in Thailand, and the intensive agriculture of the Meau there forms the economic basis for a much higher standard of living than the members of the same people could have in Thailand. The Meau in Indochina have in large part retained [184] not only the use of the plow, but in many instances they have also succeeded in going over to the cultivation of wet rice and even to terraced fields, which presuppose the use of the plow.

243 Abadie (1), for instance, writes: "The Meau also cultivate
[178]

1. Page 159.

mountain rice, but, like the Man, in increasingly greater proportions they are practicing wet-rice cultivation, which is easier and more productive." The author also shows illustrations of such large-scale fields with wet rice (Illustrations 135 and 428 on Plate 41 of his work) and then continues (p. 151): "The Meau who cultivate irrigated rice fields engage in this work along the high mountain valleys. Though the absolute altitude of these rice fields is relatively high, [361] the Meau do not live near them. The minute the daily work is finished, they again ascend to their villages, which always lie near the summits of the mountains."

/354 cont./

178 243 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-

2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around [314] them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] [417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

/366 cont./

231 sure-footed. These horses are never fattened; they are fed with a little grass, bamboo leaves, and a few handfuls of maize. As a rule, they are kept in a small shed which is [342] attached to the house." In an enumeration /367/ of the domestic animals of the Meau that Lajonquière (1) makes, he

1. II, p. 310.

[492] also mentions horses: "They raise horses, cattle, and sometimes buffalo as work animals. Many families keep a mare. They raise pigs, goats, and poultry. The work animals and those for slaughtering, as well as the poultry, are of a special breed and very beautiful. Moreover, they have a special long-haired breed of dogs and ordinary cats. Many have beehives."

[184] The raising of buffalo mentioned by the author named is practiced, although relatively seldom, by the Meau in Thailand. It serves chiefly as a way to make money; the Meau in Thailand use the buffalo themselves only in exceptional cases, slaughtering [492] them or utilizing them as riding or pack animals. The description that Savina (2) gives shows clearly that the buffalo gen-

2. II, p. 186.

erally play a rather subordinate role among the Meau: "The buffalo are never provided for. During the day they roam in the mountains, and in the evening they often come home if they are not too far away. Occasionally they are given a bundle of hay so that they will not become completely wild. When it rains or is cold at night, they walk around the house and rub against the walls."

[184] With regard to all three of the last-named kinds of animals, however, they usually cannot be kept at all in the mountains of Farther India on account of the steepness of the slopes. There, the breeding of cattle, horses, and buffalo as [178] pack animals is disappearing, like the use of the plow, and man must again bear the loads alone, as in the times before the domestication of domestic animals.

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Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from out- 101 side areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

101 "There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or [161] more families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104] /* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are 101 very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 175 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[187] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/73 cont'd/

533 And a home without a cow is lost.
539 Tenth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
831 You should not stay idle when you see others learn to write,
/74/ Someday should you get involved in a lawsuit,
You'll know the difficulty of getting someone to write for you on a blank sheet of paper.
Eleventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
[181] Don't curse and utter foul words to your parents.
You are indebted to your parents for raising you.
Otherwise, your life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Twelfth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When the immortals come to fetch you to the king of the wheel,
You will be referred to the renowned king to receive judgment;
He may decided that you are to be reborn in your youth.

The following songs are frequently sung during such occasions as when a man and woman meet in a rendezvous, or when they bid each other farewell, feeling lost and sorrowful on seeing the loved one depart.

539 I. Seeing off my flower,
831 As the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky—
The dark clouds are escorting the moon, and in a little while will escort you,
Back to your melancholy land and melancholy home.
Farewell!

II. First farewell to my precious flower who will soon be returning home,
Like the clouds I see leaving the sky.
Looking at the clouds leaving the sky, how sad my humble heart is!
I am hiding my sadness at parting from my love.
Second farewell to my precious flower, from the dragon's noble land,

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
648 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

/120 cont'd/

181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

/122 cont'd/

H 181 273 276 [148] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

H M 171 157 181

(3)

H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

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Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

●181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is [181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example, [526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu [534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in [292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a [782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments [656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened [186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey [184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

576 one another's left shoulder and asking "*Dieh zao nioh gioh?*"—"Are you well?" An adult greets children by rubbing or patting his or her head. The form of farewell is (the host) "Go slowly, go slowly" (the parting guest) "Sit slowly, sit slowly". They are wonderfully hospitable and guests are expected to eat to satisfy. How often the traveller sees them stuff away basin after basin of maize until he fears there will be a terrible accident! People will go short themselves so that visitors be generously treated. Should a guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and cooked—it is not always meticulously clean—and upon the departure of the guest a leg of the animal is always given to him. A non-observance of this custom would be a serious breach of good manners, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor. Hospitality is as characteristic of them as of the Arab, and a Miao will borrow food to entertain a guest. Though poor, thriftless and no lovers of fighting, they are simple and generous, honest and lovable. One of the child races of the world, they are as old as the Chinese, and when Moses led the children of Israel through the wilderness, the Miao were hunting wild beasts on their beloved hills and at the close of day their bards would sing a Miao version of the Creation, the Flood, and the Re-population of the World; and story-tellers would narrate quaint legends which have been handed down to this generation. Here is one. Would not Kipling have enjoyed it?

574 181

773 539 Long, long ago, instead of there being only one

an enlightened person among the Miao. His re- 797
ligious fervor, however, was a little too ex- 792
cessive, and it disqualified him as a true lead-
er of his people. He preached among them for
more than twenty years with great success, but
since he and his foreign associates had left the
church, no one succeeded them as a full time
preacher. The church school has been closed
down. There are only two American doctors in
the hospital, having charge at the same time of
the church, but they have no time for preaching.
So the faith of the Miao and I in Protestant
Christianity is also on the decline.

Besides the Catholic Church and the China Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists have recently established a church in An-shun to spread the Christian principles but rather on a small scale. At present the work is carried on by a young man of the Hua Miao tribe, named Tang Chen-ying, with about thirty members equally divided among the Chinese and Miao-I, and a church school of over ten Miao children.

The Miao and I in An-shun are largely un- 771
educated and superstitious, believing strongly 181
in ghosts and evil spirits. All their daily and farm activities, trading, sickness, marriage and funeral events are subject to the influences of the spirits.

The following are some examples:

(1) Spiritual Media. The names for spiri- 791
tual media in An-shun are the same in the Miao-I language as in the Chinese. The men are known as Kwei-shih or Tuan-kung; the women, Mi-la or Mi-pu. Their duty is to sacrifice to the spirits to invoke their aid and to provide a medium between the spiritual and the human worlds. As such they are respected by the people. All ancestor worship and funeral events have to be presided over by the Kwei-shih. Every

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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There is a strong sentiment against marrying daughters into families that live far away or in desolate places on high mountains. The common belief that the Miao love to live on the high and rugged mountains and are unwilling to live on the rich and level plains is as great a mistake as historians ever made. The Miao live on the high and rugged mountains because they are a defeated people and have been forced to do so. The Ch'uan Miao name for heaven is "Ntsə ni lʌu Gʌu bi" or "the ancient level country of God." It is a land where there are no more steep mountains to climb.

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Before the bride leaves her home, a meal is provided by her parents for her and for those who escort her. In the wedding procession there are generally one or more old women, relatives of the bride, a male relative or friend who manages the procession, the brothers of the bride and other friends who choose to go along. If it is a long distance to the groom's home, a meal is provided to be eaten by the way. In the bridal procession are generally carried such clothing, boxes, chests of drawers or other objects that have been given as bridal presents by her parents to the bride. The manager carries with him a bamboo tree with roots which symbolizes the large number of descendants of the couple. It is also supposed to have magic power to help the family thus to prosper. Sometimes a branch of a tea tree is also carried. Some plant the bamboo tree and others hang it up on the wall of the house. The *liu shêng* is not used at weddings for its notes are thought to be too sad for such occasions.

On arriving at the home of the groom, the brothers of the bride generally escort her into the house as a protection from demons. If she has no brothers, first cousins will do and lacking these, other male relatives may be invited to act as brothers. When entering the house the bride covers her face with a black and a white cloth. Her older brother goes in front and she holds onto his belt. Behind her an older or younger brother holds an umbrella over her as protection from demons.

Sometimes the bride and her companions enter the home and walk around in a circle three times. At other times, the Chinese custom of kowtowing three times to parents, relatives, and friends is followed. Tea is soon offered to the guests. According to an old custom that is no longer observed, the meat of a particular kind of bird and fish were provided at wedding feasts. There is always a wedding feast for the relatives and friends. One of the male relatives later counts before all the clothing, chests of drawers, and other things that have been sent along by the bride's parents. When her relatives and friends finally depart, the groom and his relatives go through a form of detaining her by force. This shows that

[4 cont.]

101 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classi-
184 fication the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

181 3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very
[147] sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in
[276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

[5 cont.]

181 609 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of
262 rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more
[243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice."
[482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat
264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are
262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Laotians AM8
Miao AE5

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language or religion, cannot follow the subtlety of Western religious concepts. They have a passion for taking things *au pied de la lettre*. Being told that the basic commandment of Christianity as well as Buddhism is 'thou shalt not kill', they cannot swallow such reservations as capital punishment and 'the just war'; while casuistry repels them. Moreover, a bonze, the spiritual leader of the country people among whom he lives and works, occupies by virtue of his rigorous fulfilment of the principles of his religion, a position in their esteem accorded in the West, say, to a boxing champion. The Laotians have come to associate the prestige of sanctity with certain abstinences and uncomfortable practices. The bonze gives an example of utter renunciation which is awe-inspiring by comparison with the minor self-abnegations of the villagers. The Laotians, therefore, although tolerant in the extreme, are not impressed by the worth of a would-be spiritual leader who presents himself to them loaded with material possessions. And this negative attitude deepens into a certain aversion if, as usually happens, the holy men of the West spend most of their time hunting in a country where animals must be allowed to die of old age. I fear that where the austere Dominicans, and the Jesuits failed, there is little hope for the Evangelists.

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However, the missionary was far from despondent. There were Meos in the mountains not far from Vientiane, and just as in the plateaux of Viet-Nam the Moïs had not rejected the Gospel, so here the primitive peoples of the mountains seemed promising material for evangelization. There would be no risk of jeopardizing conversion by hunting, among such hearty amateurs of open-air sports as the Meos, and if the missionary had more of this world's goods than they – well, that was a sure sign that his *ai* (or spirit), was stronger, and it would be a good thing to imitate him. Before the Meos could trouble themselves with renunciatory religions they would have to create a comfortable and abundant civilization for themselves. There was no chance of becoming sated with prosperity at the top of their mountains.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Sham-Thai AL3

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

Besides the Meos' predilection for mountain tops they have other claims to distinction. They are utterly independent and quite fearless. Their passion for freedom compels them to live in the smallest of villages and, apart from such rare events as the invasion of 1860, they will not tolerate chiefs or leaders. If forcibly brought to lower altitudes they are soon taken ill and die. They are normally pacific, but if compelled to fight are apt to eat the livers of slain enemies. M 181

The Meos are the only people in Indo-China who are not in the slightest concerned with evil spirits, although they admit their existence. Their complete indifference to all the ghouls and devils that plague the races surrounding them has invested them with enormous prestige, which they are careful to cultivate. They like to encourage the belief, prevalent among the Thais, that they are were-wolves and can turn into tigers at wish. They have no funerary cults but celebrate a funeral – or any other event providing the slightest excuse – with orgies of drinking. Husbands and wives keep their own property. Children are given the greatest degree of freedom; and sexual promiscuity before marriage – even with strangers – is general. 'Sacred groves' exist – there is a celebrated one at Dong-Van in Tonkin – to which Meo girls resort, and offer themselves freely to all comers. It is said that large-scale maps, upon which the locations of such groves have been scrupulously plotted, are the prized possessions of most French garrisons in Tonkin. Besides breeding fine, white dogs, they are experts at taming monkeys and birds, particularly a kind of minah which they teach a wide repertoire of imitative sounds. The Meos will only part with their animals for an enormous price – payable in solid silver which they immediately convert into massive jewellery. M 771 M 836 M 231 435

But the first village beyond Muong Kassy, perched on a bare hill-top and reached laboriously up a long winding path, proved not to belong to Meos but the 'black' Thais – so called from the distinctive dress of their women. It was like climbing up to an eagle's eyrie and finding crows in possession. A rare species of crow though. Check- ST 361

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5

249 But this family[1] was in its workaday clothes, as its head was very anxious to explain to Dupont. They had been away a week, working in their opium-poppy fields, and now they were on their way home for a flying visit. Dupont asked about a dog, and the head of the family invited us to come up and see for ourselves, as he had no idea who was home and who wasn't.

311 It was a long, slow climb up to the village, although the Meos, as
361 they skipped along by our side, seemed in no way to notice the slope, nor their huge burdens. The coarse grass — usual legacy of Meo occupation — was replaced here by a noxious thorny scrub. For miles, in all directions from the village, nothing would grow but this ultimate of austere vegetations. This village was at the last stage before it would have to be moved. The fields under cultivation were now so far away that the villagers lived dispersed in temporary shelters where they worked. Very soon they would be too far from the village to return at all and it would be moved, ten or fifteen miles, always south; leaving behind the prairie grass and scrub. It only wanted the Mans to arrive here from Tonkin — the Mans cultivate on Meo lines between 1000 and 3000 feet — to reproduce eventually in Laos the denuded wilderness of southern China.

342 The Meo village consisted of nothing but a few most decrepit
181 hovels. They were the lowest and the most barbarous examples of human dwellings that it would be possible to find. Why should the Meos be the most elegantly dressed and the worst housed people in the country? They are superb at the few handicrafts they undertake, but they just can't be bothered about how they are sheltered or how they sleep. There is no compulsion; no household genie — like those of the Mois — demanding high standards of order and cleanliness in the house; no canons of taste and refinement spreading slowly downwards from an idly exquisite aristocracy, since all Meos are kept hard at work; no spirit of bourgeois emulation, since this is total democracy, with no betters to imitate. The Meos have only themselves to please, and the result is anarchy.

In the hovel we were taken to, the contents of a thousand school-

[1] [i.e., a Meo family. -- Analyst]

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Laotians AM8

boy's pockets lay strewn about; the lengths of string, the broken penknives, the buttons, the mirror glass, the tins, the bottles and the burned out lamp bulbs. Here was accumulated the jackdaw harvesting, the valuable glittering rubbish which was all a Meo wanted of civilization, and which he was free to take, while leaving the civilization itself severely alone. What foolish, generous people, these town-dwellers were! M 342 181

Our host's wife, a child of fifteen, was lying with her baby on a heap of rags in the corner. The baby was sick, he said, but the only thing necessary was to keep it away from the light – and air – as much as possible. Most Meo babies die in their first two years, and one wonders what would have happened by now to the fertile land of Indo-China, if they didn't. M 758 165

There was a gun in the corner – a muzzle-loader of the kind it takes a Meo two years to make. They are copied from the guns first supplied by the Jesuits to the Chinese, but are turned out by an endlessly laborious process involving boring out a solid bar by twirling a white hot iron in it. It was enormously long, like an old-fashioned Arab stove-pipe gun, and when Dupont took notice of it the Meo offered to show it to him in use. We went outside and he loaded it with powder and shot he made himself. This process took about five minutes. Before pressing the trigger he warned us to stand well away because of the muzzle blast. The target was a small banana-leaf, skewered against a bank at twenty paces. There was a tremendous bang when he fired, but the leaf remained intact. He blamed this on the maize-spirit which we had just drunk, and was quite delighted when Dupont, giving a demonstration with his American light carbine, also missed. M 411 177

There were no dogs at all at this village. They were all down at the poppy fields with their owners, the Meo said. 000

Luang Prabang lies at the end of a long, curling descent from the mountains and through smoking bamboo groves, on the banks of the Mékong. It is built into a tongue of land formed by the con- L 361

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot o
a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

● 181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maiz is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/393 cont./

A 411 [283] [824] [415] cord is usually wound with a strip of bast in the center, because the most wear and tear is there. The arrows (Fig. 325), often poisoned at the tip, are made of bamboo throughout (Ill. 35)[2] and feathered with the same material. They are kept and carried around in quivers (Ill. 30[2] and Fig. 326) of wood or likewise bamboo.

The accuracy of the crossbow marksmen is considerable. I saw a little squirrel fall at the first shot at a distance of 20 meters. The penetrating power of the crossbow of the Akha is A [224] also very great. Stags and does are regularly killed even without poisoned arrows, and the Akha are able to slay even tigers with their crossbow, but they prefer to avoid these large cats. /Figs. 321-326 appear here. /

/394/

Chapter 20

Military Affairs and War

M 181 721 The Meau are a warlike people who, at the risk of their lives and property, resist any subjugation and courageously face the enemy in defiance of death. Savina (1) describes them:

1. II, p. 232.

"Mild and timid in peace, they are wild and cruel in war."

M 648 M 701 [702] [562] In fact, it was only their infinitely superior greater strength of numbers that enabled the Chinese to subjugate the Meau. Every Meau who is able to carry a weapon is subject to military service, as well as boys as soon as they are able to handle the men's crossbow. Children and women, on the other hand, are excluded from active military service, though history has recorded instances of outstanding personal contributions in war by Meau women. Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ also mentions them: "Many a woman has become famous in war..."

1 [see cat 116, p270 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p249 - "]

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/458 cont./

A M 161 Thus, in recapitulation, it can be said that the number of the Akha and Meau living today, as well as the actual demographic movement, lie completely in obscurity. The Akha, too, may represent a considerable contingent of population, but it can hardly be assumed that it is a matter of anywhere near as mighty a bulk of population as the Meau. From my own observations I can say that in the case of both tribes it is a matter of thoroughly healthy people. As a consequence A M [163] [165] of the average number of children, from eight to twelve among the Akha and seven among the Meau, a strong increase of the population is to be presumed, in spite of high infant mortality, wherever there are no limiting factors, such as sickness (see the chapter, "Medicine"), crop failure, warlike events, or special laws of the political rulers of the country, which, of course, decisively influence the natural increase. /Ills. 86-91 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/459/ Chapter 31

Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners

M 181 461 The Meau are a typical mountain people. They are by nature healthy, honest, sincere, not at all treacherous, and, a above all, industrious. This is necessary in order to master the hard daily work that is to be done year in and year out. One M [124] seldom sees adults sit around idly. Among the Meau, whenever I summoned my informants for linguistic studies, they provided themselves beforehand with the necessary material for at least making string or rope during our conversations. They then worked mechanically while I conversed with them. These M 181 157 conversations and my observations of their daily life gave me a good opportunity to discover that the burden of everyday life had not made them morose. On the contrary, they are cheerful, merry, and, at the same time, very conscientious.

/459 cont./

181 648 In the literature the character of the Meau is judged very differently. They come out the worst in the Chinese sources, which is understandable if one considers the fact that in four thousand years of struggles the Meau have not yet been completely subjugated and assimilated. Thus, the oldest part of the Schu-djin, which supplements the Bamboo Annals, characterizes them as follows: "These Meau are really stupid, silly, conceited, and without respect! Insolent and stubborn, they do not walk the path of righteousness and they destroy virtue!..."

181 674 The authors of other nationalities, however, especially Europeans, come to totally different conclusions, and many authors stress above all, besides many other good qualities, the honesty of the Meau. Thus, Savina (1) emphasizes: "Theft is

1. II, p. 232.

extremely rare." Since not all of the peoples neighboring the Meau can boast of such honesty, the members of these peoples positively search for an explanation of this, to them, very inexplicable phenomenon, and /460/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) writes

1. Page 170.

that the Meau have, "as a result of a strange character trait, an aversion to petty thefts." If they "wished to steal, this had to be done on a large scale. Forming bands /Platten/ and companies, they pillaged and, if necessary, did not shrink from murder." Actually, however, the "pillaging expeditions" [921] assumed by the author were a matter of war actions in the eyes of the Meau and had nothing at all to do with crime!

181 Marabail (2) gives the following characterization: "The

2. Page 463.

Meau is likable, honest, industrious, warlike, and intelligent. [191] He learns foreign languages quickly." I, too, was often able

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /460 cont./
181 to observe this talent for languages. The Meau usually speaks
[191] at least one and usually two or more foreign languages in addition to his mother tongue. To possess knowledge is regarded among the Meau as wise; a person without knowledge is stupid, as they say. It was often expressed: one who masters life,
M [46] knows how to do the work in the house and in the fields properly,
[555] is wise. The desire for the best performance is already shown by this attitude, and likewise by the competitive games of the children (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work").

M 181 648 Almost all the authors mention the indomitable desire for freedom of the Meau, which is already apparent from their historical traditions and the organization of their army, as well as their aversion to being ruled by members of other peoples. Abadie (3) asserts: "It is necessary to mention the repugnance

3. Page 163.

with which the Meau suffer their subordination under a Thai chief. Even if this is limited merely to trifling matters which only rarely affect the life of the Meau..." Savina (4) also

4. II, p. 232.

emphasizes this desire for independence, and Lajonquière (5)

5. II, p. 302.

gives a brief outline characterization: "The 'Meau' is regarded as an intelligent and skillful worker. The characteristic trait of his moral attitude is his deep love of freedom. At the slightest punishment or limitation, he sets out with all his belongings to seek a corner where he will find freedom. He is courageous and daring, keeps his word, and is open in his speech."

A M 147 Moreover, I found the Meau physically strong, hardened, and capable of great resistance against hunger, thirst, and all physical exertion. The women, however, sometimes appear

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A
M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the A·kha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

/461 cont./

577 aforementioned honesty which condemns lying to such an extent that it is not resorted to even if, in giving testimony, a father could thereby save his son, as I have already discussed in detail in the chapter, "Law and /462/ the Administration of Justice." Considering their urge for freedom, the Meau can otherwise be 181 153 designated as thoroughly disciplined.

Moreover, they have both presence of mind and the 648 ability to make decisions, and are also very enterprising. While I was staying in northern Thailand in 1937, a group of about 100 Meau including men, women, and children quite unexpectedly [166] appeared in the Thailand city of Lampang. They indicated that they wanted to seek out new residence sites farther to the south. They were allowed to camp at the railway station, and after a week railway coaches were put at their disposal, and they were actually transported to the southwest where they were allotted new dwelling space in the mountains there. If one considers what it means for the Meau to descend into the hated valleys and, in addition, to venture into the city of a Thai people, one will be convinced that such enterprise and determination are not readily found among any of the other mountain peoples of Farther India.

181 The Meau face the tasks of life quite methodically, and 153 accordingly Savina (1) characterizes them: "Accustomed to

1. II, p. 185.

disentangling everything alone, a Meau never falls into difficulties." Marabail (2) comes to the following conclusion: "Whereas

2. Page 463.

the Man (Yau) is full of imagination and religion, the Meau is a materialist..."

/462 cont./

181 [153] Their reaction to new impressions is remarkably quick, according to my observations, and stands in marked contrast to that of primitive peoples, as well as to that of the neighboring high-culture peoples, such as the Schan /Shan/ or Lao. In any case, it is established that in the case of the Meau there is no question at all of "primitives." Von Eickstedt (3), too, confirms

3. II, p. 57.

this: "These are no 'primitives.' On the contrary, they are a [177] dislodged tribe with a unique culture definitely from China, but not typically Chinese, driven out by the true Chinese and most strongly influenced by them. These people have their own language and their own tradition."

152 148 It was interesting to observe the behavior of the Meau who accompanied us into the cities of northern Thailand. Toward the Lao and Thai, they were by no means servile, but only modest, and yet proud /463/ and reserved. Impressed, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 184.

describes this pride of the Meau, which, interwoven with an episode, he depicts: "Once when we were traveling with some Meau and rested for a moment in a village of the Thai, whose inhabitants had a dispute with the Meau, great thirst tormented us. The Meau, however, preferred to walk another four kilometers rather than ask the Thai for a glass of water." How very 152 much the Meau, as true mountain people, suffer from homesickness when circumstances force them to leave their mountains was obvious even during the few days that they spent with me in the valleys. It is again Savina (2) who has also recorded this trait.

2. II, p. 177.

He tells of several Meau in a prison who would not eat and grew visibly emaciated. When asked the reason, they all answered: "We are thinking too much of our homes." A few days later, they were released and regained new strength immediately.

T 177 563 /497 cont./

At any rate, a Europeanization, that is to say, the assimilation of the culture of the mountain peoples to the European full-culture, carries great dangers with it. A forced cultural change progressing too rapidly in time /498/ destroys the natural development, destroys the unique culture of peoples, and causes severe psychic shocks. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the peoples who later perhaps become assimilated will always be docile pupils of the colonizers, if they do not merge into their nationality, and whether, on the contrary, serious political complications will not arise in the future. I have already referred to these problems in detail in my Völkerkunde, Vol. I, "Aufgaben der Kolonialethnologie/ Problems of Colonial Ethnology/." For a critical examination of the question as to whether the mountain peoples could fit into an organized state in our sense, a brief characterization is essential, in which I shall apply a yardstick corresponding to the European peoples.

T 177 563 M 177 [181]

The special abilities of the Meau are described in detail in the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge...," etc. It should nevertheless be recalled here that these people are distinguished by an especially clear mind and a discriminating intellect. The Meau think logically and act deliberately, possess a quick talent for comprehension and critical judgment. Persistence and industriousness at mental and physical work are remarkable. Of particular importance for the colonizer is their willingness to accept innovations once they have recognized them, and their striving for all kinds of improvements. Their manual skill and the indefatigable energy with which hardships and deprivations are endured are also to be stressed here. Their ability to make decisions is probably in every respect foremost among all the mountain peoples.

M [181]

Their urge for independence, their fearlessness bordering on defiance of death, their glowing love of freedom, which has been strengthened through thousands of years of fighting against powerful oppressors and has given them the reputation of feared warriors, will perhaps make difficulties for the colonizer.

It must also be pointed out that the culture of these people has undergone a shrinking process. The relatively low material culture and the return to hoe culture with the burning of clearings

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of /
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/221 cont./

182 538 773 Especially among a people as mentally alert and of such high standing as the Meau, one can probably see in this fact an indication that we have here an economically-conditioned cultural loss. Poetry, like every free artistic activity, requires not only mental ability, but also security in the basic conditions of life. That the mental ability in any case is present among the Meau is attested to, in addition to the communications from Savina, by both the mental development of the children and, above all, the spiritual culture which both the Meau and the Akha have developed. People who need all their strength in order merely, with the hardest work, to avoid starvation, however, cannot possibly have the energy required for poetic invention. Traditional lore maintains itself longer, but it, too, disappears if there is not sufficient time and leisure to cultivate it.

773 [184] Nevertheless, among the Meau in Thailand I was able to record a number of legends which often are identical to a great extent with the corresponding myths and tales that other authors have recorded among the Meau in Tonkin. Accordingly, I am presenting the recorded material in the grouping most useful for comparative purposes. Concerning /222/ the origin of the human race, the following was reported to me:

In the beginning the earth was flooded by the ocean. When the water had gradually created its own pathways and earth became visible, a pair of siblings was living there. The brother impregnated the sister, and she gave birth to a gourd, which instead of seeds contained germ cells from which, in the course of time, human beings developed.

539 Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) also describe this episode,

1. II, p. 314.

2. Page 168.

but these authors state that the Meau have knowledge of the Deluge and the siblings were the only survivors of this natural catastrophe. Savina (3) also described the creation of human beings:

3. II, p. 244.

/76 cont./

A 857 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 189 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide
[562] to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

/97 cont./

A 582 Among the Akha, the marriage age for both sexes is between the sixteenth and twentieth year.

e) Courtship and Betrothal

M 583 183 For a Meau boy there are several ways to marry a girl. A common way taken is probably the one whereby a boy loves a girl, she bears a child, and later the parents of both give their consent. This way does not conform to the demands of "public opinion" and is therefore not customary among respectable families. M 584 A second way is to go out looking for a wife. The young man visits the various villages and selects a girl. Then he goes to his father or to the head of his large /extended/ M [787] family and asks for his advice. The ancestors are queried about it by way of an ordeal (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). If the outcome of the ordeal is unfavorable, the young man drops the idea, but if the result is auspicious, he visits the girl's village again and asks her whether she consents to the proposed M [836] marriage. If the girl agrees, she leaves her parents' home in great secrecy and sleeps with the young man in the house of his parents. The next day, the young man's parents visit the parents of the bride in order to inform them of the fact, and M [574] they send them a pig. The latter for their part also now slaughter one and invite the relatives of the bridal couple to a feast. The two animals are eaten, rice liquor is copiously served, and the day for the wedding is set.

It often happens, however, that the girl refuses to leave her parents' house without their consent, that is to say, secretly. In this case, the young man /98/ asks his parents to visit the parents of the bride and ask for the girl. If the bride's parents give their consent, then everything is in order and the wedding day can be set. If the bride's parents do not give their permission, however, it is up to the girl to make the decision. M [836] She can still decide to spend a night secretly with the boy in his parents' home or simply to have intercourse with him until

/21/

192 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao
807 language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in
171 other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but
193 sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ǐ but sip ngi. This is a notable
171 difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say "blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue," "mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind of syntax.

191 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in
184 Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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[131
361]
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M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17). If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women. Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air. If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after the bamboo covering has been removed before going down. Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

[784] [55?] [354] [778] M 342 [353] [556] [251] [231] 514 M 251 M [213] M 241 171 352

Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area consists of land routes and waterways. The most important waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth, extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang, another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

M 487 C 487

/77 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
292 at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
[531] and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[764] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

292 /88 cont./
[764] festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).
291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan, regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua [184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts. When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western [126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of [292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

/89 cont./

291

Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

2:Ling & Ruey-310 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/202/

CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is [181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example, [526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu [534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in [292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a [782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments [656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened [186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey [184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

/202 cont./

*535 t'iao ku /lit. "to harmonize drums"/. The section on the
●184 Hung Miao in Kuei-chou T'ung-chih states: "To sing and dance to the beatings of the drum is called t'iao ku." Thus it may be seen that the drum dance is common among the Hung Miao in both Hunan and Kweichow, but it has not yet been found among other tribes in the southwest. It is suspected that this dance may belong to the Hung Miao alone. The histories
175 of ancient dynasties contain the names of dances of the tribes
184 of the southwest. The "Nan Man Chuan /Section on the Southern Tribes/" in the Hou Han Shu /History of the Later Han
*535 Dynasty/ refers to the pa-yü dance, (1) the "Hsi-nan Chü I

1. Hou Han Shu, Vol. 116, "Lieh Chuan /Biographies/," No. 76, "Nan Man Chuan," states: "They like to sing and dance. Emperor Kao Tsung saw them, and said, 'This is the song of Prince Wu when he subdued Chou.' He ordered his musicians to learn it. This is the pa-yü dance."

Chuan /Section on the Tribes of the Southwest/" in the Sung Shih /History of the Sung Dynasty/, has a reference to the shui-ch'ü /lit. "water tune"/ dance, (2) and there are references

2. Sung Shih, Vol. 496, "Lieh Chuan," No. 225, "Hsi-nan Chu I Chuan," states: "The first year of the Chih Tao reign period /995/, Lung Kuang-chin led the Tsang-k'o tribes of the southwest to come to bring tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsung asked them

M 175 /203/
● 184
*535

to perform a native dance.
One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
which sounded like gnats. After
a good while some tens of them,
turning side by side, danced.
They called it the shui-ch'ü."

to the ch'ü-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty (1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

M [113]

1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya,
Vol. I, sections on the
T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the Pe Miao, have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known. Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to describe the singing and dancing. However good the description, it is only a simulation. The Li Shan annotation on the phase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums," sets in order all the phrases. On reading it one gets a better understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance. The ancient Hsin ch'eng An-lo-kung Tz'u says: 'The p'an drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven P'an Dance/, Chang Heng says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

M 174 *535
C 535
C [175]

[3 cont.] With such a large population in
101 Kweichow, there are apt to be many ethnic varieties of the
184 Miao-I, whose names are generally given by the Chinese and tacitly acknowledged by the Miao-I themselves. Most of these tribes live in high mountains and deep valleys and are isolated one from the other with the result that there are notable differences in locations, languages and customs. Thus they are often classified according to the colors of their costumes and other characteristics.

For instance, there are, according to the colors of the clothes the Ch'ing [blue or green] Miao, the Hê [black] Miao, the Pê [white] Miao and the Hung [red] Miao. Those who are differentiated according to the areas they live in are known as the Kao-p'o [high slope] Miao, the P'ing-ti [level ground] Miao, the Yueh-pien [boundary] Miao, the Shan [mountain] Miao, the Pa [embankment] Miao, the Tung [east] Miao, the Hsi [west] Miao, and the Ch'ien [bamboo grove] Miao. Those distinguished by the names of places in which they live are the Shui-hsi Miao, the Chia-ch'ê Miao, the Kun-tang Miao, the Ch'ê-chai Miao, the Hung-chou Miao, the P'ing-fa Miao, the Ch'ing-chiang-he Miao, the Kê-meng-ku-yang Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Tzu-chiang Miao and the Hsi-chi Miao. Those distinguished by the flower designs of their clothes are the Hua [flower] Miao, the Ta-hua [big flower] Miao, the Hsiao-hua [small flower] Miao, and the Hua-i [flowery dress] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their skirts are the Chang-ch'ün [long skirt] Miao, the Ai-ch'ün [short skirt] Miao, and the T'uan-ch'ün [circular skirt] Miao. Those distinguished by their trades are the Ta-t'ieh [blacksmith] Miao and the Tz'u-ku [water-plant?] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their ornaments are the Ku-hsün Miao, the Chen-tou Miao, the Tieh-tung Miao, the Chien-ting Miao, the Hê-chüeh Miao, and so on, the list being [4] inexhaustible.

According to the Pai-Miao-t'u [One Hundred Miao Pictures], sold in the secondhand bookstores in Kweiyang, there are 124 different Miao groups in all strange and quaint manners. The first 82 groups belong to Kweichow and the rest to Yunnan. Among those 82 groups, nine are Ch'i-lao, six are Chung-chia, five are Lung-chia, and two are Lolo. The others being all different, I

[i.e., about 4,000,000 in the author's estimation.—Analyst]

[4 cont.]

101 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classi-
184 fication the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very
181 [147] sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in
[276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

12: Wu and Ch'en--38 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

[31 cont.]

000 other, then the many millions of Miao-I people can be made into a powerful new force to assume special responsibilities in the war of defense and national reconstruction.

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[77]

The Life of Women among the Sui-chia

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

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There is no doubt that Kweichow is the center of the Miao-I people. As to the exact number of these people estimates vary from 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 to as high as 5,000,000 or 6,000,000. The final figure probably has to await the outcome of a more accurate census in the future. Among these many million people the spoken languages, customs, styles of clothing, and cultures in general are markedly different. They themselves recognize these differences although they all belong to the same Miao ethnic group. Because of the differences in their costumes and locations the Chinese call them by different names. Currently, there are more than a hundred groups of them, such as the Hê Miao, the Ch'ing Miao the Pê Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Sheng Miao, the Kao-pu Miao, the Chung-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chen-chia, the Sui-chia, the Ch'i-tou and the Mu-lao. There is a central area in the distribution of each Miao group. From the point of view of anthropology and linguistics they may be classified in the same ethnic group, but judged by their living conditions they have marked differences. The following is a brief account of the life of women among the Sui-chia.

12: Wu and Ch'en--71 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[130]

The Ancestral Myth of the Sheng Miao

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Who are the Sheng Miao?

101 The Sheng (wild) Miao and the Shu (assimilated) Miao are
● 184 two antithetical terms, with which the early scholars distinguished the various Miao tribes. These two names are self-explanatory. The Sheng Miao are those Miao who live in the wild and distant mountains without any intercourse with the Chinese. Their nature is wild and cannot be disciplined; their foods are hard and uncooked. The Shu Miao, on the other hand, reside in the
[177] nearby mountains, where they learn to speak the Chinese language and trade with the Chinese. They plant and cultivate the land in almost the same way as the Chinese. Originally, before the Miao were civilized they were all vaguely called the Sheng Miao. But after the lapse of a great deal of time, the Chinese population in the Miao areas increased and their relations with the Miao became closer so that a part of the Miao who were assimilated by the Chinese became known as the Shu Miao. The other part of the Miao who were backward and unassimilated continued to be called Sheng Miao. The "Man-chuan" [Record of the Savages] in the Kweichow T'ung-chih [Kweichow Gazetteer] says: "Those Miao who have t'u-ssu [headmen] are the Shu Miao, and those without them are the Sheng Miao." This division is based upon the fact whether they are ruled by native chieftains or not. Again, according to Hu Ting's "Miao-Man pu-lo k'ao" [Studies in the Miao and Man Tribes] in Li-p'ing-fu chih [Gazetteer of Li-p'ing Prefecture]: "As to the Miao ..... those who live near the fu [prefecture] and hsien [county] areas are the Shu Miao; they pay taxes and contribute labor more or less like the Chinese. Those not living in these places are the Sheng Miao, who however greatly outnumber the Shu Miao." Later, as the Miao society progressed, the
101 Shu Miao gradually outnumbered the Sheng Miao, who were confined to certain remote areas. Regarding the various Miao

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a
few differences in language, costumes and customs between them,
[184] but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The
area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive,
and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province
all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of
Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according
to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the
Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i
Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and
the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most
backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being
the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded
by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the
other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu,"
meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng
Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and
have always been an independent community, so the Chinese
call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long
and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang,
surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves,
forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two en-
trances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like
sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due
to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot
be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated
account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200
[sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the high-
est peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the
total population about 10,000. The write. has visited altogether
— 361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu,
Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-
wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little
[184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature,
142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the
[147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well
[163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate
[165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare
[143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every oppor-
273 tunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts
[164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he
147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have
24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not
36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage-
157 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

/32 cont./

[illegible].

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children; no limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and [582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child [428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qualified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but [851] are received into the family community with the same ceremony as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights for this child from its former family.

597 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among

184

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this, [595] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named, must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these statements.

/98 cont./

584 marriage./99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find [648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage 584 promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary 608 assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men 614 participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always 686 decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 184 584 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thǒ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yǒ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[264] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings

585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/101 cont./

184 584 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ

2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps out-
[574] side the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food
[201] and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."
[114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 574 585 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great

2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife.
[583] This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

/102 cont./

184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

114 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,
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1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 Dhuratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The
585
[584]

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

/103 cont./

184 585 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when appropriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the relatives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's [583] parents demand 'ngŏn sin sot,' the money which is required for the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals .... [426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 426 This extending of credit for the purchase price is confirmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II, p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by [114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 184 595 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to

4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile.

/104/

114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
584

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other.
[533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

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Miao AE5

M /104 cont./
184 mouth organ, last throughout the afternoon. The vendors of
584 alcohol and cakes do a thriving business while the young men and girls become more closely acquainted and lay the basis for a future union... During the days which follow this festival
M 184 583 most of the official marriage proposals are made."

Lajonquière (4) describes a custom which is likewise un-

4. II, p. 315.

known among the Meau of Thailand: "The 'Notice von Quan-Ba' says that as soon as the marriage is arranged the young man serves for two years in the house of his future /105/ father-in-law and that the marriage is finally settled only at the end of this period, after both parties have had a chance to become acquainted with each other."

A 584 [301] Among the Akha there are two kinds of betrothal. The most common kind is the silent betrothal; the young people simply agree to marry. In this case the young man gives the girl one or several silver arm-rings, depending on his means, and the girl gives him a small gift in return. Such betrothals can also be broken off without much ado; the party breaking off the betrothal gives the gifts back to the other party, who, however, keeps the gifts given to him.

In the case of a public betrothal, however, the father of the bridegroom asks the bride's father for his daughter's hand. In general it is the young man who initiates this marriage offer, requesting his father to undertake the proposal. It also happens, however, that a father seeks to obtain the hand of a girl for his son without obtaining the consent of the son in advance. In each of the two cases the bride's father asks his daughter. If she accepts the proposal, the go-between, that is, the father of the young man, is given a bottle of alcohol. This means that the betrothal is concluded and cannot simply be dissolved without the agreement of the other party. If one party breaks
A [686] off the betrothal, the father of the other party has to be paid a large pig and 11 pieces of silver (ticals) as an indemnity from

/116 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
[583] price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same
[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),
[184]

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride-price is not repaid.

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70), flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

[See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782] New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
769 voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
[526] munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
[241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
[776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/221 cont./

182 Especially among a people as mentally alert and of such
538 high standing as the Meau, one can probably see in this fact an
indication that we have here an economically-conditioned
773 cultural loss. Poetry, like every free artistic activity, requires
not only mental ability, but also security in the basic conditions
of life. That the mental ability in any case is present among
the Meau is attested to, in addition to the communications from
Savina, by both the mental development of the children and,
above all, the spiritual culture which both the Meau and the Akha
have developed. People who need all their strength in order
merely, with the hardest work, to avoid starvation, however,
cannot possibly have the energy required for poetic invention.
Traditional lore maintains itself longer, but it, too, disappears
if there is not sufficient time and leisure to cultivate it.

773 Nevertheless, among the Meau in Thailand I was able to
[184] record a number of legends which often are identical to a great
extent with the corresponding myths and tales that other authors
have recorded among the Meau in Tonkin. Accordingly, I am
presenting the recorded material in the grouping most useful for
comparative purposes. Concerning /222/ the origin of the
human race, the following was reported to me:

In the beginning the earth was flooded by the ocean. When the water had gradually created its own pathways and earth became visible, a pair of siblings was living there. The brother impregnated the sister, and she gave birth to a gourd, which instead of seeds contained germ cells from which, in the course of time, human beings developed.

539 Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) also describe this episode,

1. II, p. 314.

2. Page 168

but these authors state that the Meau have knowledge of the Deluge and the siblings were the only survivors of this natural catastrophe. Savina (3) also described the creation of human beings:

3. II, p. 244.

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/239/

Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
[634] Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
[622] herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
[596] family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
[184] since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

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In case of malicious nonpayment, which in practice almost never occurs, the creditor turns to the village chief, who will make use of his powers. If even his efforts are unsuccessful, the creditor has the right to kill the debtor.

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Limitation of debts is unknown, but repayment in installments is customary. If a Meau debtor lives in a village other than the one where the creditor lives or moves to a different village, a sort of promissory note is made out. It consists of a piece of wood into which a notch is cut for the value of each ten pieces of silver. Thereupon the stick is split lengthwise in such a way that the halved notches remain on each of the sides of the stick. The creditor keeps one half of the stick; the debtor takes the other half with him. This practical custom seems to be very widespread among the Meau and not limited to Thailand. In any case Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in similar fashion on the

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1. Page 172.

Meau in Tonkin.

If a creditor wants repayment from the debtor, he need not seek him out himself, but can ask someone else to demand the amount for him. He then gives the half of the stick to the messenger as identification. Upon presentation, the debtor is obliged to pay the messenger, identified by the half of the stick, the amount shown on the stick, beginning at the date agreed upon, provided that this half agrees with the one that remained with the debtor. On the other hand, if only partial payment is made, the old debt-stick is destroyed and a new one prepared showing the residual amount, and this is handled in the same way as the first. The messenger is then given a half of the stick to take back.

A
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The situation regarding property among the Akha differs considerably from that among the Meau. Uncultivated land belongs to no one; it is considered as unrestricted, as are hunting and fishing. Accordingly, the land may be taken into possession by any tribesman without further inquiry by merely beginning to clear and cultivate it. It is left entirely up to him to choose the land and the extent of the land. Since, however, land is usually

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428 596 [184] Among the Meau in Tonkin, somewhat different legal conceptions seem to prevail, for Lajonquière (1) writes: "Cash,

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

furniture, produce, and animals are distributed only after the death of the last parent (mother or father), for among the Meau the mother remains the head of the family /245/ after the death of her husband, and she is the owner of all his possessions until her death."

Abadie (1), too, describes customs which are likewise different from those which I found: "When the mother dies, the possessions in movable goods (money, implements, animals, and harvested produce) are distributed among the male children. The oldest son or the son who remains in the parental house becomes head of the family and is given the paternal property, on which other children may also live in accordance with special arrangements."

Dhuraratsadorn (2) also reports explicitly: "Even if the

2. Page 169.

deceased has left behind many sons and daughters, only the eldest son, as the successor of the family, inherits."

Among the Meau in Thailand, as has been said, the family unit continues to exist after the death of the great chief under the new head, and, to be sure, as long as wives of the deceased are still living. It is only after the death of the last of these wives that the married sons under the age of thirty make themselves independent and build their own homes for themselves and their wives. Since, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Dissolution of Marriage," [589] younger widows usually remarry, whereas the widows already old and their children remain in the house of the deceased, it may easily happen that, after the death of these widows, minor children, that is, unmarried sons and daughters, survive. The

/273 cont./

342 Caption for Fig. 70 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

[353] Key to symbols:

A = storage lofts
B = supporting posts
C = ridge post
H = crossbeam of roof
J = roof beam
K = longitudinal roof beam
L = ladder to the storage loft

/274/

[322] The boards of the house wall (Ill. 106), roughly hewn with the ax, are about three to four centimeters thick and between 15 and 35 centimeters wide. They are /Fig. 71 appears here/ not joined to one another tightly, but rather show narrower or wider spaces, through which air and light can enter the windowless room. The boards are thrust into the loamy ground and tied on the inside and outside to a lower and an upper crossbeam, which in turn are fastened to the supporting posts driven firmly into the ground (Fig. 71; further, the chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 117). Lajonquière (1), in connection with the

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1. II, p. 306.

description of the Meau houses in Tonkin, mentions, besides walls "made of planks nowhere fitting together," which he calls the "ordinary type," also walls made of pounded earth, which occur only in "the most complete type of house." Abadie (2),

2. Page 156.

[556] too, mentions that the houses of the rich have walls of pounded earth or mud, and describes their erection as follows: "The pounded earth is prepared in two ways. The earth, kneaded with water, is dried in the sun in a form in the shape of a parallelepiped and, depending on the thickness of the wall, is put side by side in double or triple layers. In the second case the moistened earth is tamped down between two boards, the space

[SEE Cat 116, P 706 - ANALYST]

/274 cont./

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] [177] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only repsent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

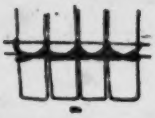

Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the
[251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.
[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which
[see oat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
[" " " p665 - "]

/275 cont./

342 184 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/ north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] [789] [411] [283] [531] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

/305 cont./

353 knives, wooden spoons, a grater, small baskets with spices and
352 fruits, vegetables and dried roots, a gourd dipper, a wooden
415 ladle for dipping, and the like. For storing porcelain dishes there are also special hanging baskets with tightly plaited sides and a loosely plaited cover (Fig. 131). Also, a low table for parking things on (Figs. 117 and 132) stands on the other side of the hearth, and next to it there is a bamboo container for the chopsticks (Fig. 133).

352 From the storage loft a large wooden hook hangs down,
353 which has to bear the weight of the heavy water kettle. Also, small hooks carved out of wood and some made of deer-horn, as well as branch-whorls (Figs. 134, 135, and 136), hang on the walls and are used to hang up various pots, baskets, and utensils (see also Fig. 117).

Whereas such devices for putting away and hanging up utensils and the aforementioned wall boards and shelves are present in abundance, chests and cupboards are completely
•[184] lacking among the Meau who have settled in Thailand.

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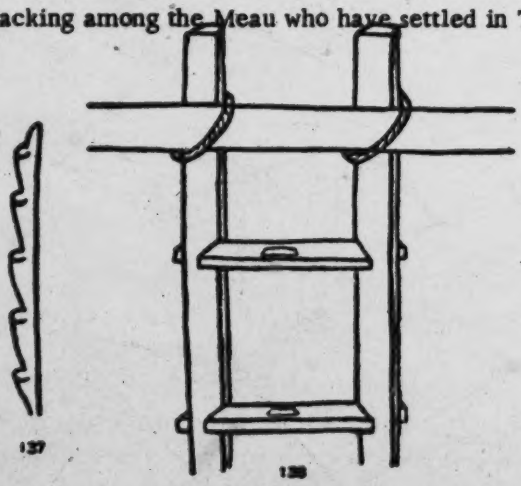

Figs. 137-138. Ladders of the Meau.
Fig. 137. Notched tree-trunk, about 1/20 nat. size.
Fig. 138. Ladder with steps, 1/6 nat. size.

/320 cont./

291 531 especially artistic. On the dark-blue background there are yellow squares, and in them red squares set on the points are sewed. Similarly, all the other red parts of the pattern, as well as the narrow, white and colored stripes, are strips of material sewed on. Pattern 3 of Colored Plate IV is also produced in the same manner; only it should also be mentioned here that four lines in white silk, crossing one another, are embroidered on the black squares of cloth that are sewed on. [868] This embroidery in stripes is extremely laborious work. As soon as the young girl has learned it from her mother, she [294] starts on the embroidery of her future festive attire and often works on it for many years during all her free time. It must also be pointed out that the sailor collar is often worn reversed so that the beautiful embroidery is not visible. I noticed this among almost all the women of the Black Meau and trace it back to their thriftiness, which perhaps prompts them to protect the beautiful embroidery from the sun and rain.

184 291 531 The pleated skirt reaching only to the knees is very becoming to the women. It consists of a strip of material six meters long, which is closely pleated and, by means of a binding holding the pleats together, to which narrow bands are fastened, is tied open in front around the middle. The skirt of the Black or Flowery Meau has three different longitudinal stripes (Ills. 58 and 61).[1] The upper one is plain blue, and the lower one is likewise dark blue, but with a strip of colorful cross-stitch embroidery sewed on (Colored Plate II, No. 5); the middle stripe is batik work (chapter, "Art," Figs. 8-13). The colorful strip of embroidery sewed on the rear edge of the skirt (Colored Plate III, Nos. 4 and 6) is provided according to the taste of the wearer, with the most varied /321/ cross-stitch patterns. One sees young girls embroidering on it [294] whenever they have a minute of time (Ill. 87).[2]

[1] [See Cat 116, PP 447 + 449- ANALYST]
[2] [" " " P 620 - "]

/321 cont./

291 The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but
●184 is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made
[101] of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue
531 apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit
482 the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and
531 Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not
[552] it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important
[292] piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/321 cont./

291 is wound a black and white checked turban-cloth, usually
531 purchased. Then comes a similar, /322/ but usually larger-
checked cloth, and then a fourth, which resembles the second
one, and, finally, a black and white, small-checked band
about 80 centimeters long is put crosswise over this whole
structure of cloth and pinned fast. The turban tassel (Colored
Plate II, No. 10) is then fastened over the forehead. It con-
[301] sists of a silver coin pierced four times, on which hang little
chains of small, white and colored glass beads with red wool
tassels at the end (Ill. 60). Instead of the checked crossband, a
narrow, embroidered band is often placed over the turban.
[184] White and Black Meau wear the same type of turban. One
very commonly, however, sees women and girls without a
head covering, especially at work.

291 Whereas Savina (1) remarks that the women wear leggings
[184]

1. II, p. 211.

only on trips, among the Meau visited by us the leggings
represent a regularly worn and important article of clothing.
The workday legging (Colored Plate II, No. 7) consists of a
dark-blue strip of cloth 60 centimeters long, which is put
around the leg and is tied below the knee and above the ankle.
It is not tight on the leg. The leggings of the festive attire
292 (Colored Plate II, No. 8) consist of a white strip of cloth six
to seven meters long, which is wound around the leg from the
bottom upward in narrow spirals and is tied on top with a narrow
black band (Ill. 58). Depending on the length of the strip
used, these leggings are sometimes rather bulky. The clothing
of the women on festive days thus is distinguished from the
everyday clothing only by the richness of the embroidery, the
size of the turban, and the wound leggings.

/323 cont./

292 Against rain, the men wear coarsely plaited rain hats made of straw.

The men's clothing of the Meau does not differ from the 291 clothing of the boys. As Lajonquière (1) remarks, men's
● 184

1. II, p. 307.

[177] clothing is the same among all the tribes. Only the tribes that live in close contact with the Chinese are said to resemble them more and more in dress.

Another author, Abadie (2), also mentions fur-lined vests

2. Page 153.

such as the cold continental climate of Yunnan probably requires, but not that of Indochina or Thailand. The statements of other authors, such as Lajonquière (3) and Savina (4), show that the

3. II.

4. II, p. 211.

clothing of the Meau otherwise, even in other countries, does not essentially differ from that described here. /324/

I could not find footgear anywhere among the Meau in Thailand. Other authors, too, mention this. It is also stated, [177] however, (1) that some Meau have adopted the Chinese custom

1. Abadie, p. 153.

[824] of wearing sandals with soles made of rattan fibers or bamboo or even Chinese slippers made of canvas. Sandals plaited out of bamboo fibers are also mentioned. One author (2) reports

2. Savina, II, p. 211.

[554] that among the various Meau tribes in Tonkin the clothing of

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[1] [see cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]
[3] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--460 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

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AKha A04
MiaoAE5

/339/

Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

[184] With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the
[114 184] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how-
[262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer,
[312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the
[241] rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain
[278] trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of
278 men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools.
[278] It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60
[285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the
[857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At
[165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to
[136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets,
[227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

/353 cont./

178 time the old men die, the young people no longer know the
243 use of the plow, and so the custom begins to sink into oblivion,
407 even where it could still be used today."

In any case the described tradition of the Meau in Thailand indicates that the plow and its field economy were not subsequently seen and copied from the Chinese or Annamese by the Meau passing through, /354/ but rather had been used in former times. This is also confirmed by the reports of various authors who visited the Meau in Indochina and in their other areas of settlement. The conditions there are different from those in Thailand, and the intensive agriculture of the Meau there forms the economic basis for a much higher standard of living than the members of the same people could have in Thailand. The Meau in Indochina have in large part retained [184] not only the use of the plow, but in many instances they have also succeeded in going over to the cultivation of wet rice and even to terraced fields, which presuppose the use of the plow.

243 Abadie (1), for instance, writes: "The Meau also cultivate
[178]

1. Page 159.

mountain rice, but, like the Man, in increasingly greater proportions they are practicing wet-rice cultivation, which is easier and more productive." The author also shows illustrations of such large-scale fields with wet rice (Illustrations 135 and 428 on Plate 41 of his work) and then continues (p. 151): "The Meau who cultivate irrigated rice fields engage in this work along the high mountain valleys. Though the absolute altitude of these rice fields is relatively high, [361] the Meau do not live near them. The minute the daily work is finished, they again ascend to their villages, which always lie near the summits of the mountains."

/355 cont./

243 the first two or three violent thundershowers, the seeding is begun. If the large /extended/ family has many members, the freshly cleared land, which may have large dimensions, is subdivided many times into fields of half a hectare to three hectares, each planted with one certain kind of seed. If, however, it is a matter of a family with fewer members, all the seeds are mixed together, and the mixture is sowed for higgledy-piggledy growth.

224 As soon as a field is laid out and the seed is sown, a
243 great number of game and bird traps are set up everywhere. Particularly popular is a kind of self-firing trap for wild pigs and deer, for which a crossbow with poisoned arrows is used. To be sure, they make entering the field very dangerous for anybody who is not familiar with the locality. Moreover, instead of fences which would keep off wild animals, traps are set on compulsory game-trails, in which all game from the pheasant to the wild pig is caught or falls victim to baited snaring devices. The animals caught represent an important
[262] contribution to the diet of the Meau, and this is the reason why the fields are not protected by fences from intrusion and possible devastation by animals. Where no traps can be set or if /356/ whole herds of game visit the fields, the young men lie in ambush and in the moonlight capture a rich booty with their poisoned arrows.

243 Savina (1) describes the arrangement of the rice fields
[184]

1. II, p. 216.

among the Meau in Indochina somewhat differently: "In the first month, when the New Year's festivals are over, the Meau put their fields in order. If the fields are far away, they stay there for eight to ten days. The men fell the trees with axes, and the women and children cut the grass with knives. In the second month the fields are set afire. Then maize is sowed. When the maize is in bloom, nights are spent in the fields in order to drive off the bears and the monkeys. When the maize
[251] is harvested, it is brought to the house. The seed ears are

/359 cont./

244 On the average, these yam fields are productive equally as long as the rice fields.

5. Cucumbers. Two types of them are sowed at the same time as the rice. As a rule, the procedure is simply to mix the [243] rice seed with the cucumber seeds so that it is put in the little seed-holes with them. Cucumbers are important for the Meau because they can be harvested as early as two or at most three months after sowing, hence at a time when the Meau have the least amount of food on hand, since the old harvest has been used up by then, but the new products are not yet ripe. In accordance with their cultivation together with the rice, cucumbers are cultivated in one field only as long as it is productive for rice cultivation.

6. Radishes of only a single type are known and customarily [243] cultivated among the Meau. Radish seeds, too, are mixed with the rice and hence cultivated simultaneously with it. Usually [262] they are eaten raw by the workers in the fields.

7. Beans. Four kinds of beans are planted at the same time as the rice but in special fields. For this a small hole is punched with the digging stick, two seed beans are put into it, and the planting hole is closed by a step with the heel as one walks on. Bean fields, which remain productive for two years, receive no further care; bean poles are unknown.

243 8. Maize, which is the principal food crop of the Meau in [184] Tonkin, on which Lajonquière (1) reports, is in only eighth

1. II, p. 309.

place in northern Thailand. It is cultivated in three types [244] and in general together with gourds in special fields. At the end of April at the earliest and the beginning of June at the latest, small holes are punched with the digging stick at intervals of half a meter. In them, besides three or four kernels of maize, two or three gourd seeds are always slipped [244] in, and the hole is closed. For the earliest types of maize the harvest begins as early as three months after sowing, which makes maize just as important as the likewise early ripening

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the 241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [245] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II, p. 185.
114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
● 184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.
[1] [see cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

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/362 cont./

M 407 184 describes it as a "plow of simple construction with an iron shoe." So far as can be learned from the vague statements of the other authors, the other agricultural implements are identical with those of the Meau in Thailand.

A 241 243 The Akha in Thailand, like the Meau, practice hoe cultivation with fallow periods of eight to ten years, which the cultivation of rice for generally two years on the same field requires in their Thailand /Figs. 267-275 appear here/ /363/ area of settlement. Otherwise their agriculture is subject to the same climatic and geographical conditions as that of the A [407] Meau. They likewise do not use any plow, but, in contrast to the Meau, according to what is known up to now about the Akha, they did not know anything about it in former times. The terrace arrangement is also absent, so only the cultivation of mountain rice comes into consideration.

A 243 [787] When the Akha want to lay out a field and for this purpose look for a new site in the virgin forest, they, like the Meau, are bound by omens in making their decisions (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, A [596] [782] Interpretation of Omens"). If they are favorable, the head of the large /extended/ family decides on a place that meets his desires. Among the Akha, even before beginning the clearing of such a rice field, the offerings for the spirits begin. As we have already learned in the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits," offerings are made to the various spirits in solemn fashion on definite occasions. Besides the close connection of the Akha with the spirits, these festivities show the great significance of rice cultivation.

Clearing begins in the same way as among the Meau, except that the Akha let the cut wood dry until shortly before the rainy season and then usually burn only once.

The fields of the Akha are smaller throughout than those of the Meau; their surface area varies between one and five hectares and therefore only amounts to the total size of a M [241] subdivision of a field clearing of the Meau. Whereas the latter subsequently try to give their property the rounded-off appearance of a unit, the fields of the Akha are very irregular in shape.

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/366 cont./

231 sure-footed. These horses are never fattened; they are fed with a little grass, bamboo leaves, and a few handfuls of
[342] maize. As a rule, they are kept in a small shed which is attached to the house." In an enumeration /367/ of the domestic animals of the Meau that Lajonquière (1) makes, he

1. II, p. 310.

[492] also mentions horses: "They raise horses, cattle, and sometimes buffalo as work animals. Many families keep a mare. They raise pigs, goats, and poultry. The work animals and those for slaughtering, as well as the poultry, are of a special breed and very beautiful. Moreover, they have a special long-haired breed of dogs and ordinary cats. Many have beehives."

[184] The raising of buffalo mentioned by the author named is practiced, although relatively seldom, by the Meau in Thailand. It serves chiefly as a way to make money; the Meau in Thailand
[492] use the buffalo themselves only in exceptional cases, slaughtering them or utilizing them as riding or pack animals. The description that Savina (2) gives shows clearly that the buffalo gen-

2. II, p. 186.

erally play a rather subordinate role among the Meau: "The buffalo are never provided for. During the day they roam in the mountains, and in the evening they often come home if they are not too far away. Occasionally they are given a bundle of hay so that they will not become completely wild. When it rains or is cold at night, they walk around the house and rub against the walls."

[184] With regard to all three of the last-named kinds of animals, however, they usually cannot be kept at all in the mountains of Farther India on account of the steepness of the
[178] slopes. There, the breeding of cattle, horses, and buffalo as pack animals is disappearing, like the use of the plow, and man must again bear the loads alone, as in the times before the domestication of domestic animals.

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 290.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

/380 cont./

272 With the exception of water, non-alcoholic beverages remain unknown among the Meau in Thailand.

273 /381/ Therefore the enjoyment of alcohol plays all the greater a role, especially at the time of the major celebrations. To be sure, since beer-making, such as is customary among the Moi peoples of Indochina, is unknown, the more alcohol is obtained by the process of distillation. The raw product among the Meau is preferably maize. It is mixed with yeast and buried in the ground half a meter deep, when it remains for five days. A certain amount of water is added to the substance thus produced, and the whole is put on the fire in the distilling apparatus (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 169) which condenses the escaping alcohol, and the product is collected in a gourd bottle. The distillate is clear as water and has a somewhat earthy taste, but is otherwise similar to the European slivovitz.

[184] According to observations by Abadie (1) and the descrip-

1. Page 161.

tion by Lajonquière (2), the preparation of alcohol in Tonkin

2. II, p. 303.

seems to be similar: "The Meau consume great quantities of alcohol made of fermented grain, sometimes distilled alcohol... The Meau produce alcohol by putting grain, primarily maize, which has been steamed and mixed with yeast, in large earthenware jugs which they seal hermetically during the fermentation. It is then drunk, when needed, with the help of a bamboo tube which is dipped into the liquid." This use of the sucking tube [415] and of the mighty earthenware jugs is characteristic of the "Moi [184] peoples" of Indochina, but is unfamiliar to the Meau of northern [177] Thailand. Presumably the Meau in Indochina have borrowed this from the Moi peoples.

Miao AE5

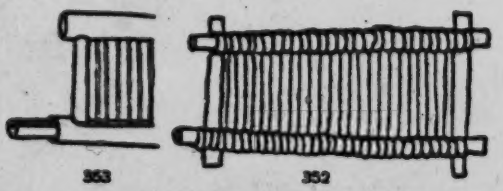
/403 cont./

283 which are called kǒulǐ, but then sticks about as thick as a finger are stuck in the ground in two rows one to two meters apart, and the yarn is now wound between them in skeins ready for weaving.

286 The yarn thus prepared is woven on horizontal looms (Ill. 88)[1] into strips of material 37 centimeters wide (Ill. 89).[2]

The weaver's comb of the loom has either a frame made of two wooden sticks between which the thin, flexible cross-strips of bamboo are held and tied fast (Fig. 352), or the frame consists of bamboo tubes with iron bands (Fig. 353), into which /404/ the cross-sticks are inserted. The threads are then drawn between these narrow cross-sticks.

Besides these looms, the Meau also use weaving boards to make narrower bands.



Figs. 352-353. Weaver's Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 352, of wood with bamboo cross-strips; Fig. 353, of bamboo with iron cross-strips.

Concerning this work, we also have some reports by Lajonquière (1), which in part are confirmed by Abadie:

1. II, p. 309.

"The common spinning material is hemp. It is harvested in the lowlands, wound on spools, and combed with coarse combs. The women spin it by hand... They weave their own cloth and dye it in the same manner as the Tho." Savina (2) describes

[248] [283] [171] [184]

2. II, p. 211.

the procedures in Indochina somewhat differently: "When the

1 [see cat. 116, p621 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p622 - "]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
[171] the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put
[413] on the still undyed material by the women with a special instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /422 cont./

On the other hand, carts, sedan chairs, and hammocks
492 are unknown. Occasionally cattle are also used as riding ani-
[493] mals, but these animals play a subordinate role. The conditions
[184] in Indochina are similar, according to a description by Abadie (1).

1. Page 160.

A Among the Akha, the use of domestic animals as pack
492 animals is even less frequent than among the Meau. Goods are
482 transported almost exclusively by porters who use carrying baskets with shoulder boards and forehead straps (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 374).

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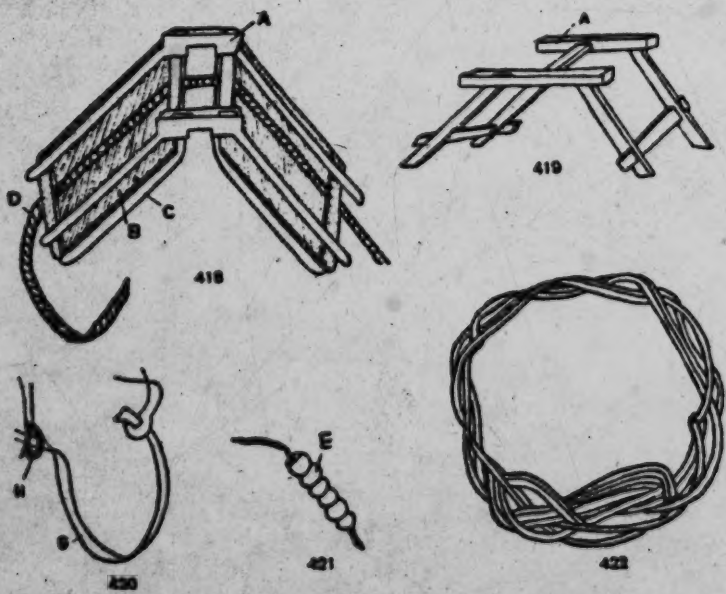
[283]



Figs. 418-422. Packsaddle of the Meau.

Fig. 418. Packsaddle for cattle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 419. Wooden frame of the packsaddle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 420. Hide strap, 1/15 nat. size. Fig. 421. Tail strap, 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 422. Stirrup, 1/5 nat. size.

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/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and
[184] Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
439 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)
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1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which
[323] was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [326] knowledge of pottery!

[323] The author continues his observations with a desctiption [184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

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/453 cont./

Witek (7) tries to find distinguishing marks for the in-

7. Page 45.

dividual tribes /454/ of the Meau and mentions, for instance, the differences in the clothing of the White and Black Meau or refers to the skin color or the "barbarity" (in contrast to the "refinement") as distinguishing features. Moreover, he quotes Liétard, who for his part draws on social stratification for the differentiation. Other authors, too, have sought to determine the number of Meau tribes both generally and for their narrower area of study. Maurice Abadie (1), for instance, says that there

1. Page 150.

are more than 50 different Meau tribes, but in his smaller area of study, Tonkin, only five tribes. Lajonquière (2) states: "The

2. II, p. 301.

Meau are said to be divided into 70 tribes in their narrower homeland. In Tonkin, however, we can find only a far smaller number of tribes." The missionary, P. Proux, whom Schotter refers to as an authority, speaks of 30 different tribes in Kweichow, and a Chinese author, of 39.

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Scott (3), on the other hand, comes to the conclusion

3. II, p. 598.

●184 that there are three principal tribes of the Meau, which are called the Red, the White, and the Black Meau by the Chinese. The differences are said to lie in the clothing and in the language. This difference in language in turn is disputed by Savina (4), who divides the Meau into six large and four or five

4. II, p. 187.

/454 cont./

101 small tribes, about a dozen in all. Then he goes on to say:
162 "We are far from the 40 or more tribes which some like to
291 enumerate." According to him, the tribes differ only in the
184 color and form of the clothing, to the peculiarity of which the names White, Black, Yellow, Green, Striped Meau, and Meau With Horns are to be traced back. The name of the last-named tribe is said to be derived from the horn-shaped hairdo. Otherwise, each tribe is said to have special customs and a language only somewhat divergent. Seidenfaden (5), too, says that the

5. II, p. 101.

Meau tribes differ from one another principally in the attire of the women.

101 If some authors report a strikingly large number of Meau
162 tribes, there can be no doubt that they included other mountain
114 peoples, for example, the Yau, Lisu, and perhaps the Lolo tribes, with the Meau. This problem, however, cannot be finally settled until ethnographic fieldwork, for Kweichow at any rate, is completed, at least in broad outlines, /455/ for the investigation of the mountain peoples of South China has not yet gone beyond the first beginnings.

101 According to my own experience, in the case of the vari-
162 ous Meau tribes it is only a matter -- at least in Thailand -- of
291 very slight differences in the clothing of local groups, which
184 cannot by any means be regarded as independent tribes. Moreover, tribal names seem to have developed from nicknames which were given to individual Meau sibs. Such nicknames cannot, of course, be given the value of a true tribal designation.

In Thailand I myself had the opportunity to investigate three of the so-called Meau tribes, the White, the Black, and the Flowery Meau. My Lao informants tried to explain the name of the Black Meau by the lack of cleanliness of these families in particular. This did not correspond with the facts, however, inasmuch as the cleanliness among all the Meau tribes known to me leaves much to be desired, and the "White Meau" do not distinguish themselves in any way by special cleanliness. At

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/455 cont./

M 101 162 291 184 [582]

any rate, it turned out that the "Black" and the "Flowery Meau" are identical with the "White Meau" and actually differ only in that the women of the one Meau wear dark-blue skirts with stylized floral patterns in batik work, while those of the other Meau wear white skirts. Neither in the language nor in any racial or cultural element did further differences come to light. For judging the matter it seems to me to be especially decisive that the tribal endogamy which is otherwise strictly observed in practice does not apply between these three Meau tribes; thus, Black and White Meau may freely intermarry.

A 131 162 [167]

The Akha, too, like the Meau, reached the region inhabited by them today only in the course of their wandering. Among them, too, their continuous migratory movement obstructs any demographic coverage. With respect to Burma, the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1) of the year 1900 stated that the

1. Vol. I, p. 588.

Akha belonged among the most numerous and most widespread mountain peoples of Kengtung. This supposedly could be stated positively for the eastern uplands. At any rate, they were supposed to be a people more numerous than most of their neighbors. Telford (2) /456/ considers them the numerically strongest

2. Page 90.

mountain people in the state of Kengtung and states that their homeland, like that of the Katschin /Kachin/ and Lahu, was China. Consequently, they are of "Mongolian origin."

The census of the state of Kengtung gives for the year 1931 12,968 Akha (6,484 houses). It is certain that only a part of that portion of the people living in Kengtung is included in this figure. The official Burma Census Rep. (1) of the same year

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 183.

gives 40,407 Akha for Burma as against 34,265 individuals in

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
648 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [425] [958] [276] [185] [614] [730] The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

M 185 eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See out 116, P450- ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 185 858 /81/ One blacksmith was trying to educate his son to become an even better man at the same trade. One mother wanted her daughter to develop into a good batik designer. Another father wanted his son "to be made into a brave and industrious man"; a third father wished him to be "capable and clever." As was said, among the Meau the ideal factor always came before the material one. Only once did I receive the answer: "May he become clever and rich." In the case of girls, little value was placed upon intelligence and beauty; it was hoped that they would best master women's work and become industrious women who would have many children.

A 185 858 The Akha are much more materialistic than the Meau. They, too, love their children tenderly, and what was said about the Meau in this respect generally also applies to them. Nevertheless, when I also questioned as many Akha as possible, they often replied that children were needed since they could help with the work, an answer which, as was pointed out, I received only once from my Meau informants. Accordingly, materialistic considerations are always in the foreground in the plans for the future of the children among the Akha. Among them the mothers usually declared that they wished their sons to become so industrious and skillful that they would be able to support a family well. The idea of security was thus the foremost consideration in these replies, as well as in the ones which I shall not specifically quote. In only one case did an Akha father wish that his son would become a good physician, "because health is the most important thing in life." Despite their obviously happy youth, the adult Meau talk of it only rarely, the Akha almost never. Men might perhaps describe how they obtained their first gun or how they shot their first muntjac and the like, and women remember as an impressive moment of their childhood how they cooked alone for the first time or how the mother explained batik work or the use of the loom to them.

A M 159 868

/340 cont./

221 224 [461] Hunting is done by the Meau in all seasons of the year, but especially after the harvest has been brought in and the field work completed, for then they have leisure, whereas the period of field work must be put to good use in order to plant and harvest on time. Nevertheless, I have seen it happen that the passion for hunting induced the Meau to drop their extremely important field work in order to track down a stray elephant bull.

185 224 There are no closed seasons. Literally everything that comes within shooting range of the hunter, male animals as well as females, gravid animals as well as the young, is shot. Thus, it is not at all surprising that /341/ within a short time after the founding of a village the game in the immediate vicinity, and soon in a wider area, is exhausted.

224 The Meau do not practice either hunting drives or communal hunts, but rather only individual hunting. Disguising the hunter in animal skins or masks to deceive the prey is unknown to them. It must be mentioned, however, that in the dense forest area that is available to them in northern Thailand a disguise would be obstructive and unnecessary.

For the individual hunting generally practiced among the Meau, two or three men usually set out together. The hunters, however, do not separate, as in communal hunting, but remain together in order to spring to the aid of one another in case of need. Since in the dense primeval forest a shot can be fired only at close range and the effectiveness of the Meau weapons is very limited in comparison with our hunting guns, it must therefore be assumed that the hunter will be attacked by every large animal that he shoots. The precaution of not going hunting alone is therefore absolutely mandatory, for often enough the companions are lifesavers in that they try to divert the pursuer from their fellow-hunter.

I was repeatedly able to confirm that the Meau know how to meet the dangers associated with this type of hunting. For example, in the company of Meau warriors I came across tree trunks with deep holes in them in three different places in the primeval forest. These were trees behind which the Meau

39: Bernatzik--477 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5
Akha A04

/351 cont./

c) Fishing

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[484]
[185]

The Meau, as passionate and successful as fishermen as they are as hunters, make long fishing expeditions and travel for days in order to reach water that is rich in fish. Since, however, corresponding to their attitude in hunting, they kill the spawn only a centimeter long as well as the largest, ravenous fish, observe no closed season, and do not provide for breeding, it is easy to understand that the brooks and rivers in the vicinity of their villages are as empty of fish as the forests are poor in game.

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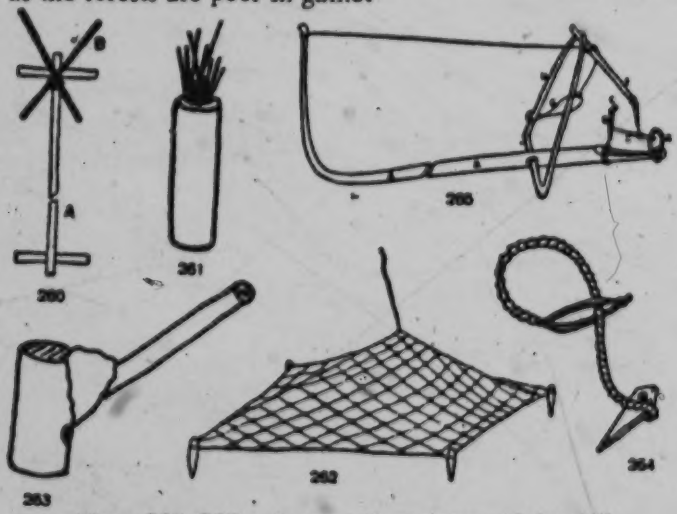

Figs. 260-265. Snaring Equipment of the Akha.

Figs. 260-261. Lime twigs: Fig. 260, twigs set up, 1/60 nat size; Fig. 261, supply quiver with lime sticks, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 262. Fixed net for catching birds, 1/37 nat. size. Fig. 263. Decoy whistle for birds, 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 264. Snaring noose for large mammals, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 265. Bird trap of bamboo, 1/12 nat. size.

2:Ling & Ruey-310 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/202/

CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is [181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example, [526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu [534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in [292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a [782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments [656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened [186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey [184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor. 618

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔɜʌu Ma· and the guest-husbands are called ndˢʌu la·. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb, 837

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials. 837 178

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along. 186 476

[163 cont.]

186 631 648 It is fitting, however, to point out the repugnance with which the "Méo" accept being subordinated to "Thai" chiefs, even though this subordination is of the lightest kind and applies only to rare acts of ordinary living: the payment of taxes, the furnishing of labor details, and so on. In this repugnance must be seen only a manifestation of the spirit of independence with which the "Méo" are so deeply imbued.

631 648 In other communes, by contrast (Pha-Long, and so on), the "ly-truong" are of the "Méo" race and they hold the administrative authority over "Thai" and "Man" groupings settled upon the territory of these communes.

175 There is not now in Tonkin a "Méo" chief above the rank of "ly-truong." However, legend preserves the memory of a personage by the name of Sioung, calling himself the "King of the Méo," who established himself in the region of Yen Minh about the year 1860, an epoch corresponding to the second violent invasion of the "Méo," spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

This King Sioung showed himself to be most bloodthirsty in the war he carried on for some ten years against the "Thai" of the regions of Quan-Ba, Yen-Minh, and Dongvan, and was killed by myrmidons in the pay of his father-in-law (1).

1. Also it is fitting to indicate a movement of insurrection fomented in 1911 among the "Méo" of Dong Quong by a chief who took the name of Sioung. This revolt was quickly suppressed. During the war of 1914-1918, an uprising of the "Méo" of Upper Laos caused the dispatch of an expeditionary column, which re-established order.

631 648 There still exists in our time, in the Chinese region contiguous to the Thanthuy sector, a personage improperly called "King of the Méo," who is none other than a "Méo" chief invested by the Chinese

Miao AE5

/90 cont./

833 scratching, biting the eyelashes, nose-rubbing, in brief, the elements that play such a significant role among some inhabitants of the South Seas.

In contrast to the complicated overtures, the sexual act itself is simple and almost primitive. This is all the more strange in view of the fact that, unlike other peoples, there are no religious prohibitions to compel limitations in this respect, and otherwise the Meau are very imaginative. Nevertheless, they definitely reject all variations, in which, as is known, their Chinese neighbors are so unrivaled. The woman always lies on her back with her legs extended or slightly bent; the man lies on top of her, body against body, and their cheeks touch. Other positions are in part unknown and in part rejected. The Meau say of the Yau, who prefer the reverse position of [186] the woman: "They copulate like dogs, this is not good for human beings." -- After the ejaculation both partners sleep a while, and then the girl gets up softly and prepares a meal for her friend from provisions that she has brought along; they eat, and the love play begins anew.

836 The settlement of love intrigues is interesting and characteristic of the attitude of the Meau. If it becomes known that a girl has several lovers, the latter ask her jointly whose love she enjoyed first. The others then withdraw without protest, and a young man would never think of competing with another for his girl.

577 As long as sexual intercourse does not result in pregnancy
836 no one thinks of marriage. An attempt is made, only for the sake of public opinion, to keep all love affairs secret. In such matters no one will censure a lie, which is otherwise so strictly condemned by the Meau. Now, the villages of the Meau in northern Thailand are small, moreover, the members of the village community are subject to the marriage prohibition, since most of them are related by blood or belong to the sib. Hence, the young men must often walk for hours or days to reach their beloved. If a young man then returns home dead-tired and his father, as is unlikely, should ask him where

Akha A04
Miao AE9

/139 cont./

A among both peoples good singers always find special approval
M among the girls. It should also be pointed out that /140/ a
533 pronounced love for one's native village runs through many of
832 the love songs, which would not be expected among either the
[621] Meau or Akha, since both, as seminomadic peoples, often
[186] change their habitation sites. One might assume, therefore, that no special attachment to their villages would develop, but since the opposite is the case, it seems to indicate that the nomadic inclination of these peoples is only a secondary development (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "Causes of the Migrations").

M The most impressive are the love songs of the Meau,
539 which sometimes betray a really lyrical feeling:
832 "I came to your village in order to love you, but you would not even speak to me; this has made my heart sick with pain."

"I am a strong young man. Oh, why will you not hold my hand?" (Here the singer complains that the girl came to the rendezvous, but now is unwilling to surrender.)

"I visited you in your house, but you did not love me, so I am leaving."

"Now I have come to you, and if you will only stroke my neck, I shall be happy for several years, even if you do not grant me anything else."

"Speak only two words, and I shall be happy for a long time" (the "two words" mean a confirmation of love in return).

"I came to your house; why did you not offer me a cold drink?" (Girls present a "cold drink," that is, water, to the
M friend toward whom they are favorably inclined. Liquor is
[273] regarded as a very obvious invitation.)

"I came to your house, in front of which there is a tree with three fruits. Eat only one fruit, the others are poisonous!" (The singer has heard that his sweetheart has two other friends and warns her.)

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/21/

192 807 171 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but 193 171 sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ǐ but sip ngi. This is a notable difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say "blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue," "mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind of syntax.

191 184 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

/22/

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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361

1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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M /123 cont'd/
648 economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and
439 the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

H
M In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought
177 about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading
191 position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest
H way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both
M
[97] the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

(4)

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M We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems
648 exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chin ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[523] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Haiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

776 551 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo [754] ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less frameless.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/448 cont./

A M 114 197 Recapitulating, it must be stated that neither the language of the Meau or that of the Akha has been investigated scientifically. An urgent task for the linguistics of Farther India is to concern itself with the basic problems involved.

/449/ Chapter 29

Writing

M 114 212 A [212] Whereas there is no information concerning any writing of the Akha, and the Akha groups studied by me had no letters at all, the information available concerning the writing of the Meau is rather contradictory.

Lajonquière (1), Abadie (2), and Dhuraratsadorn (3)

1. II, p. 321.

2. Page 151.

3. Page 171.

regard the Meau as complete illiterates. It is said that there are only very few Meau who know a few and at that Chinese characters, which they pronounce with Chinese phonetics. It is M [191] reported of other Meau in China that they write and speak Chinese (4).

4. Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 42.

M [175] In any case, these authors say nothing about the Meau having a writing of their own. In contrast to this, Seidenfaden (5)

5. II, p. 195.

/459 cont./

181 In the literature the character of the Meau is judged
648 very differently. They come out the worst in the Chinese sources, which is understandable if one considers the fact that in four thousand years of struggles the Meau have not yet been completely subjugated and assimilated. Thus, the oldest part of the Schu-djin, which supplements the Bamboo Annals, characterizes them as follows: "These Meau are really stupid, silly, conceited, and without respect! Insolent and stubborn, they do not walk the path of righteousness and they destroy virtue!..."

181 The authors of other nationalities, however, especially
674 Europeans, come to totally different conclusions, and many authors stress above all, besides many other good qualities, the honesty of the Meau. Thus, Savina (1) emphasizes: "Theft is

1. II, p. 232.

extremely rare." Since not all of the peoples neighboring the Meau can boast of such honesty, the members of these peoples positively search for an explanation of this, to them, very inexplicable phenomenon, and /460/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) writes

1. Page 170.

that the Meau have, "as a result of a strange character trait, an aversion to petty thefts." If they "wished to steal, this had to be done on a large scale. Forming bands /Platten/ and companies, they pillaged and, if necessary, did not shrink from murder." Actually, however, the "pillaging expeditions"
[921] assumed by the author were a matter of war actions in the eyes of the Meau and had nothing at all to do with crime!

181 Marabail (2) gives the following characterization: "The

2. Page 463.

Meau is likable, honest, industrious, warlike, and intelligent.
[191] He learns foreign languages quickly." I, too, was often able

Miao AE5
Akha A04

M /460 cont./
181 to observe this talent for languages. The Meau usually speaks
[191] at least one and usually two or more foreign languages in addition to his mother tongue. To possess knowledge is regarded among the Meau as wise; a person without knowledge is stupid, as they say. It was often expressed: one who masters life, M [461] knows how to do the work in the house and in the fields properly, [555] is wise. The desire for the best performance is already shown by this attitude, and likewise by the competitive games of the children (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, M "Children at Play and Work").

181 Almost all the authors mention the indomitable desire 648 for freedom of the Meau, which is already apparent from their historical traditions and the organization of their army, as well as their aversion to being ruled by members of other peoples. Abadie (3) asserts: "It is necessary to mention the repugnance

3. Page 163.

with which the Meau suffer their subordination under a Thai chief. Even if this is limited merely to trifling matters which only rarely affect the life of the Meau..." Savina (4) also

4. II, p. 232.

emphasizes this desire for independence, and Lajonquière (5)

5. II, p. 302.

gives a brief outline characterization: "The 'Meau' is regarded as an intelligent and skillful worker. The characteristic trait of his moral attitude is his deep love of freedom. At the slightest punishment or limitation, he sets out with all his belongings to seek a corner where he will find freedom. He is courageous and daring, keeps his word, and is open in his speech."

A Moreover, I found the Meau physically strong, hardened, M and capable of great resistance against hunger, thirst, and all 147 physical exertion. The women, however, sometimes appear

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A 152 648 /473 cont./ of it back to their villages, the Akha, unbusinesslike despite their covetousness, squandered their earnings.

A 574 123 Another characteristic contrast in relation to the Meau was striking. The extremely hospitable Meau, as was pointed out, showed real gratitude for the board and lodging that we provided for them in the city, whereas the Akha, though they had charged me as much as possible for everything in their villages, now viewed it as their manifest right to live as guests at my expense. In one respect, however, the members of the two mountain peoples were alike, namely, in their homesickness for their mountains, which was openly expressed, though they stayed in the city for only a few days and were offered so much that was new and stimulating there.

A 152

A 181 556 555 Whereas the Meau value ability in itself, among the Akha the material possessions are of primary significance in evaluating a person. Among them the one who has much money and adornment is regarded as wise. /474/ It was also stressed several times that a person is wise and clever if he knows how to speak well, for the Akha are much more fluent in speech than the Meau. Among the latter, the women are superior in expressing themselves, whereas among the Akha the men surpass the women considerably.

A M [156] [191]

A 123 574 609 622 Their fluency of speech, as well as their mistrustful reserve, was in evidence on the occasion of the first greeting in front of an Akha village. In accordance with the custom, we waited at one of the entrance gates until we were given permission to enter the village. If the visitor is of high social position, the guest is received by the chief himself in solemn fashion. When we visited a large Akha village at the foot of the Doy Tung, we experienced such a reception, which I described in my journal as follows: "We stopped in front of the six large gate-arches decorated with carvings, through which no stranger may pass without the express approval of the chief. Three old men, the chief of the village among them, solemnly approached us in greeting, squatted on the ground, and offered us rice, salt, and water in a flower-decorated bowl. They offered us a welcoming drink in small bowls full of rice liquor.

A [273]

/5/

	The Miao Tribes		The Yao Tribes in Kwangsi Province			
	Kwangsi	Hainan	Lan-tien	Red Head	P'an Ku	Long Hai
one	chŭ	à	a	i	nŏm	i
two	hwŏ	ĭ	i	au	i-(nŏm)	ăŏ
three	bei	bo	bo	be	buo	bu
four	saw	bā	bie	djia	bie	djua
five	jei	bà	bia	biu	bia	bia
six	dŭ	kŭr	djio	dsŭ	djio	du
seven	shen	njē	nje	thang	sjê	sang
eight	i	z	jet	yu	chet	jo
nine	yōu	dŏ	ndu	dsŭ	duo	dsŭ
ten	shu	sip	shap	dsŭ	ds'ep	dsŭ
nose		bŭ-jong	bu-djong	bi-biau pa-	bu-kot	
eye		ngwie		djan-many pa-	me'-dsing	ge-mang
ear		blom	mo-nom		mo-nom	ge-mia
mouth		jet	djet		dsui	
/6/ hand		bŭ	bu	go-po-be	bu-du	bi
foot		tou	thou	go-dau	dsau-de	do
son	dà	sā		dung	don	dung-djing
daughter	dăr pie	sā-sar			thié	
dog		clō		du-djé	dju	dsja
sheep	li	jon	yong	du-yang	yung	du-ang
pig	mēi	dung	dŭng		dung	
house		ber	biau	lu-bi	piau	bia
bunch		dung	dang		dang	dong-yo

/6 cont'd/

yellow		vung	wang	fan	wiang	guan
sun		gong-nog	mo-neu			
ox	lo	ngong	ngong	du-wó	ngong	wau
moon		ngàr	la		tha	hlo
eat		en	ning	nong	njien	nang
drink		hop	hop	hu	hop	hu
sleep		fěi	fei	foi	bu	ba

/7/ If, outside the physical type, language is a comparatively reliable standard for the classification of the races of man, we may then say, in accordance with the chart given above, that the Miao of Hainan are of the same people as the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi rather than the Miao of Kwangsi. (Concerning the physical type of the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi, Mr. Fei Hsiao-t'ung has apparently made a scientific investigation, the results of which have not yet been published.) It is said that the name of the "Lan-tien" Yao of Kwangsi was derived from lan-tien /"blue indigo"/, which was the chief product of the region. The lan-tien is a plant, Polygonum tinctorium, which the Yao pick to make dye. With regard to this industry, the Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi /see above/ has given a detailed study (pp. 13-14). During my last field trip to the Miao village of Ang-ch'i in Ta-chi, I saw a Miao woman making dye from a plant. I regret that at the time I did not notice whether this plant was the lan-tien. The Miao women of Hainan, in any case, are skilled in dyeing. This fact may be considered as contributory evidence.

If the aforesaid conclusion is in accord with the facts, then we can also deduce from which part of Kwangsi the Hainan Miao came. We are still not certain about the distribution of the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi either in the past or the present. However, according to the Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi, it is a fact that there are at present Lan-tien Yao in Ling-yün district. If we may make the tentative deduction that the Lan-tien Yao have

1: Wang--16 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/14 cont'd/

162 144 178 district. This tendency for the Miao to become Chinese or Li is indeed unfavorable for an increase in the Miao population.

/15/ Chapter II. Language

192 802

English	Miao	English	Miao
Cardinal Numbers		Cardinal Numbers	
one	ǎ	twenty-one	nī sip jā
two	i	twenty-two	nī sip ngǐ
three	bo	twenty-three	ni sip tum
four	bā	thirty	tum sip
five	bǎ	forty	tā sip
six	kur	fifty	ngon sip
seven	njē	sixty	ngǔ sip
eight	z	seventy	kat sip
nine	dǒ	eighty	bid sip
ten	sip	ninety	shǔ sip
eleven	sip jā	one hundred	ǎ bā
twelve	sip ngǐ	two hundred	i bā
thirteen	sip tum	three hundred	tum bā
fourteen	sip tā	one thousand	á coon
fifteen	sip ngon	/16/ten thousand	à tin
sixteen	sip ngǔ	one hundred thousand	à dū
seventeen	sip kat	a million	à bē
eighteen	sip bid		
nineteen	sip shǔ		
twenty	nī sip		

/16 cont'd/

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802

English	Miao
Ordinal Numbers	
first	dē it
second	dē ngǐ
third	dē tum
Time	
today	nǐ noy
yesterday	com bō
day before yesterday	ngûr noy
tomorrow	tung deo
day after tomorrow	ngū deo
day	gong-noy
night	ngim
Parts of the Body	
head	bě
eye	ngwǐe
ear	blom
nose	bǔ-jong
mouth	jet
hair	bā

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192

English	Miao
tooth	yà
tongue	bǐd
heart	tim
back	cā-tun-cun
belly	yoū
hand	bǔ
finger	bū-ndō-kin
leg	tou-tswie
foot	tou
Human Relationships	
person	moon
man	moon-fà
woman	moon-ou
child	moon-sa
/17/ boy	moon-ton-kin
girl	moon-sà-kin
father	fà
mother	jǐ
son	sā
daughter	sā-sàr
elder brother	kō
younger brother	zū
elder sister	or

/17 cont'd/

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192

English	Miao	English	Miao
younger sister	mǔ	elder first cousin on father's side	kō
old man	kō-moon	younger first cousin on father's side	zū
old woman	ko-bǔ	father's sister	má
paternal grandfather	kong	mother's married sister	mǔ
paternal grandmother	kō	wife's father	sin-shà-fà
paternal grandfather's elder brother	bě	wife's mother	sin-shà-jǐ
paternal grandfather's elder brother's wife	chǔ	son-in-law	lung
paternal grandfather's younger brother	jū-sop	husband's father	fà
paternal grandfather's younger brother's wife	tī	husband's mother	jí
father's elder brother	bě	daughter-in-law	jim
father's elder brother's wife	chǔ	/18/	
father's younger brother	jū-sop	husband	moon fà
father's younger brother's wife	tī	wife	moon ou
husband's elder brother's wife	zū	maternal grandfather	kong
husband's younger brother's wife	tī	maternal grandmother	kō
brother's son	sā ton	sister's son	ngoy ting
192 brother's daughter	sā tī	**Household Furnishings, etc.**	
		village	ngung
		market	shaw
		field	ngin
		well	tin
		house	ber
		door	king
		table	tom

/18 cont'd/

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English	Miao
chair	ēr
stool	dung
bed	tsau
lamp	tung
Animals	
ox	ngong
horse	mǎ
sheep	jon
pig	dung
dog	clō
cat	mou
rat	dō-kin
chicken	chei
duck	up
goose	ngàr
fly	bom-gīm
ant	sep-blou-long
snake	noun
bee	dong
fish	bū
Plants	
tree	ngoung
/19/	
flower	fung
grass	wa
vegetable	gā
bamboo	lou
leaf	non

English	Miao
Weather	
clouds	bun
wind	jou
rain	bon
hot	kim
cold	num
Colors	
black	kyà
red	tī
green	kyà-ti
yellow	vung
Adjectives	
few	mō-dong
good	gong
bad	mà-gong
big	lō
small	kin
long	dou
short	mà-ning
old	kō
young	gon
beautiful	quī
ugly	tou
Time (2)	
year	ngung
month	ngàr
morning	kon dom
evening	kon gim

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English	Miao
Positive and Negative	
yes	zā
no	mozā
Short Sentences	
I see	yà wong
you see	moy wong
I hear	yà nom
you hear	moy nom
I smell	yà hom
you smell	moy hom
I eat	yà en
you eat	moy en
I drink	yà hop
you drink	moy hop
I speak	yà kong wa
you speak	moy kong wa
I take	yà yao
you take	moy yao
he runs	mein ning
he comes	mein dei
he comes in	mein yā dà
he goes out	mein sat ning
he goes up	mein tou ning
he comes down	mein yur ning
he gets up	mein qur
he sits down	mein et
I sleep	yà fei
you sleep	moy fei

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192 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao
807 language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in
171 other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but
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191 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in
184 Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2) — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai (Illus. 7),[1] [433] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cont. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

/127 cont./

121 771 Joseph Needham, translated into Chinese by Li An-che, Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao yü Shen-hua, page 1, The Commercial Press.

According to the report

114 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of
771 today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation Bureau's Chinese translation, page 259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept
771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been
177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

776 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese,
771 "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/.
[177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have supernatural power; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits,
[192] or gods, they are all called "kuei," [kuey] in the Miao language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

194 final consonants other than "*n*" and "*ng*." They have, however, some initial sounds which are not found in Chinese, among which may be noted the "*Ll*" of the Welsh among the Heh Miao and also among the I-chia. This initial sound in some of the Miao dialects changes to "*Kl*" and "*Bl*."

The Chung-chia, besides the final "*n*" and "*ng*," have also as finals *k*, *m*, *p*, and *t*. The Heh Miao have eight tones, and some of the other dialects probably as many, though we have heard of some which have only four. The Chung-chia have six tones. How many the I-chia and Keh-lao have we are not able to say. The student has to study these languages some time before he can decide how many tones they use. Of course, all these people utter all the various tones correctly for their own dialects, but are quite unable to say how many tones there are. There are, moreover, in some of these tones such fine gradations of pitch and inflexion that only the practised ear can distinguish between them.

197 The various dialects spoken by the Miao
192 tribes differ considerably, so much so that a Heh Miao from the south-east cannot understand anything of the dialect spoken by a Heh Miao of the west. If, however, the vocabularies

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

of these two most dissimilar dialects are compared, it is easily seen that they are both variations of a common speech. Naturally these variations are most marked in cases where the tribes are most widely separated geographically. But the differences of dialect in tribes which are only thirty or forty miles apart are sometimes very great. In some of these cases it is very often the commonest words which show the greatest changes; for instance, the pronouns, the negatives, and such common words as the verbs "to be" and "to have." This striking difference of speech among people who must at one time have spoken the same language suggests that they have not only been separated geographically, but have also been apart for long periods of time.

The Heh Miao call themselves *mp'eo* or *de mp'eo*. *De* is merely a personal prefix. This word or sound *mp'eo* also means embroidery. The Heh Miao women, and the women of most of the other Miao tribes, wear a good deal of embroidery in their costume. The amount of embroidery on the clothing of a Heh Miao young woman is astonishing. It takes them years to do the embroidery on the jacket and skirt in which they hope to be married, and one of the commonest sights in a Heh Miao village

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Shan-Thai AL3

APPENDIX I

M
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L
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Sh
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THE following lists of words will enable those who are interested in comparative philology to form some opinion of the languages spoken by the non-Chinese peoples of Kweichow Province.

System of orthography used in writing down the following vocabularies :—

a like *a* in *father*.
e like *e* in *led*.
eh like *u* in *murder*.
ö like *eh* or like the same letter in German.
i like *ea* in *tea*; when followed by a final consonant like *i* in *sit*.
o like *o* in *so*; when followed by a final consonant like *o* in *hot*.
u like *oo* in *too*; when followed by a final consonant like *u* in *sung*.
ï is hardly a vowel sound. Pronounce the English word *its* without the *i* and that is what *tsï* is like. Pronounce *its* without the *it* and that is what *sï* is like.
ai like *i* in *tight*.
ao like *ow* in *loud*.
ei like *ai* in *laid*.
eo a blend of *e* and *o*.
aeo a blend of *a* and *eo*.
wa like *wa* in *waft*.
wei like the English *way*.
wo like *wa* in *war*.
b like *b* or *p* in English unaspirated.
d like *d* or *t* in English unaspirated.
f, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, sh, v, y, w, these are pronounced like the same letters in English.

Note.—' is the sign of an aspirate, thus f' is *f* aspirated.
c like a very hard sharp *k*; there is something like a click in it in Miao.
ch like *ch* in *chin* aspirated.
g soft like *g* in *gin* unaspirated.
ǵ hard like *g* in gate
nd nasal sound before *d*.
nt nasal sound before *t* aspirated.
mb sound of *m* before *b*.
mp sound of *m* before *p* aspirated.
ng like *ng* in *sing*. Also used as an initial sound.
ny like *n* before the *y* sound.
p like *p* in English aspirated.
t like *t* in English aspirated.
kk a strongly aspirated guttural.
ll like the Welsh *ll*.
bl, br, dr, gl, kl, pl, pr—these are pronounced the same as in English.
z a rough initial sound, not an aspirate; it is indescribable, and must be heard to be appreciated.
The final consonants *m, p, t, k* are pronounced the same as in English, but much more lightly.
The *r* in Chung-chia has a suggestion of *th* in it. It is never trilled.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
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Note.—The Chinese given is the Chinese of Kweiyang, capital of Kweichow Province, and is written according to the system of orthography given above.

The Keh-lao are from Anshunfu.
The No-su or Lo-lo are from Anshunfu.
The Chung-chia are from Kweiyang.
The Heh Miao are from P'anghai Tsingpinghsien.
The Ya-chio Miao are from Tatang in Tingfanchow.
The Hua Miao are from Anshunfu.

[TABLE

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
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L 192
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APPENDIX

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'lo Miao.	Hua Miao.
one	i	si	dai	ndiao, yit	et	ndiu, yit	i	i	i
two	er	so	nyi	suong, nyi	song	ruong	nu	o	ao
three	san	da	se	sam	sam	ram	ba, bie	bie	be
four	si	bu	lli	si	si	rei, ri	llao	bleo	bleo
five	wu	mbu	ngwu	za	ha	ha	gia	bzi	bsi
six	lu	nang	chio	rok	hok	yok	dieo	dsü	dseo
seven	chi	shi	shi	dsat	chet	sat	shiung	sau	shiang
eight	ba	vieo	heh	bieh	bet	be, bet	ia	yi	yi
nine	gio	su	kö	ku	kao	giu	gio	gia	gia
ten	si	beo	tsö	chip, ship	sib	ship	gieo	ku	ku
hundred	be	gin	hu	bak	...	bak	ba	ba	ba
thousand	chien	du	du	riang	...	shien	se	chie	tsai
myriad	uan	vang	mi	van	...	uan	vie	ua	vang
is	si	dso	ngeo	shi, dai	...	shi	diau	ieh	iao
have	yu	ngen	dso	li	...	mei	mai	nieo	ma
this	dse ko	...	...	kai ni	...	kai ni	lai nung	du na	lo na
that	na ko	...	...	kai ndi	...	kai dei	lai ai	du ü	lo i
which?	na ko	...	...	kai laeo kai ma	...	kai ma kai re	lai dou, dai shi	de shi	giao a dsi
here	dse li	...	...	gi ni	...	gi ni	hang nung	cau na	cao na
there	na li	...	...	gi ndi	...	...	hang ai	cau ü	cao i
where?	na li	...	...	gi laeo	...	...	hang don	...	...
want	iao	mai	le	ao	ao	ao	eo	ia	ia
come	lai	mo	li	mai	mai	mai	lou	lu	lao

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911) AE5 Miao AE5
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Show-Miao AL3
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English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'lo Miao.	Hua Miao.
go	k'ü	vu	yö	bai	bai	bai	mung	mu	mu
make, do	dso	...	...	ko	...	ko	ai	a	a
look	k'an	...	...	yang	...	shiu	nge	r'a	mao
see	gien	...	...	ran, yö	...	yen	bang	bu	bao
word	hua	...	...	zao	...	ua	s'ei	lü	lo
speak	so	...	...	nao, kang	...	kang	gieo, cang	a lü	c'o lo
hear	tin	...	...	nyi	...	nyi	ntang	do gia	nao
laugh	shiao	...	...	riu	ro, rai	yu	dio	dsu	dsao
walk	dseo	bai	sö	bai	...	biai	he	mu	siü
weep	k'u	...	ngö	dai	...	dai	kang	ca	ca
strike	da	...	ndu	duai, di	...	da	duei	du	deo
fear	pa	...	gi	lao	...	lao	sh'i	r'i	ntsai
calico	bu	bö	mi	bang, ruok	...	bang	shi	ndo	ndeo
black	he	lang	nao	uan	...	nam	deo	klü	klo
white	be	ru	tu	zao	hkao	hao	llu	kli	klaeo
red	hung	llo	ne	nding	döng	nding	shiao	li	lai
blue	lan	le	wo	wung	...	muong	le	bra	so na
yellow	huang	nyi	sa	ien	...	hen	f'ie	cau	klang
hot	re	lieh	tsu	rao, riam	...	rik	sh'fo	tsu	ko
cold	len	ka yin	ia, wya	giang, dsa	...	yiam	sei	sie	dsai
high	kao	vieh	chium	sang	sung	rang	hi	r'e	suai
low	ngai	kua	chio ne	dam	dam	dam	ka, nga	lü	ngei
large	da	dso	zwo	ndum	dong	lao	ll'io	llu	lliao
small	shiao	nga	tseh	nai	noi	ning	nieo, yieo	iu	yieo
many	do	ai	nu	lai	lai	lai	nao	ndo	ndeo

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Shan-Thai AL3

APPENDIX

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few	sao	di	no	siu	...	riu	siu	shi	dsaeo
good	hao	a	nio	ndi	di	ndi	zeo	re	rung
bad	bu hao	a au	ma nio	mi ndi	mi di	mbo ndi	a zeo	meh re	dsï rung
heavy	dsung	k'en	li	nak	nak	nak	ntiung	ntiau	niang
light	chin	kao	lo	mbao	bao	mbao	f'a	chi	sï
no, not	bu, mu	...	ma	mi	mi	mi, mbo	a	meh	dsï, ma
eat	tsï	ka	ru	ken	kin	ken	nang	ndö	ñao
rice, cooked	fan	me	ro	zao	hkao	...	ka	ntu	nao
drink	ho	ren	ndo	ken, söt	...	ken	heo	hu	fu
tea	tsa	mi	gi du	dsei	...	tsa	giang	g'i	mblung
water	suei	u	i	ram	nam	ram	eo	eh, eo	kle
whisky	giu	ba	ndsï	lao	lao	lao	giu	gi	giaeo
fire	ho	bai	mdo	vi	fai	fei	du	di	daeo
horse	ma	niao	mnei	ma	ma	ma	ma	mi	neu
ox	niu	nieh	nyi	dsö	...	dseo	liao	iu	nio
buffalo	niu	wu	hu nyi	vai	...	uai	niang	nguei	diu
goat	iang	mieh	tsai	iung	...	yung	li	iau	tsï
dog	keo	mu	chei	ma	ma	ma	lia	kle	kle
pig	dsu	ma	va	mu	mu	mu	ba	ba	ba
fowl	gi	cai	za	kai	kai	kai	cei	ci	cai
duck	ia	ber	mbö	pit	pet	bit	ka	u	ao
egg	dan	dang	ndo	kai	khai	giai	kei	ce	...
flesh	reo	a	hu	no	nua	no	ngi	ngi	ngai
house, home	gia	ko	heh	ran	...	ran	gie	bre	be
door	men	nge	hen ku	du	...	do	diu	dsö	dsung
head	teo	ka	a nku	kao	...	giao	c'o	ho	hu

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Shan-Thai AE 3

English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'lo Miao.	Hua Miao.
ear	er	rao	le bo tsu	re	...	reo	niei	bre	mbi
eye	yen	dao	na du	da	da	ngui	mai	mü	ma
hair	fa	ma sang	hu tseh	ben	...	bium	lliang	blo	bleo
hand	seo	mao	la	vung	...	fong	biei	di	de
foot	gio	cau	chi ba	din	din	din	lao	ce	daeo
tooth	ia	bang	dsa ma	van	fan	heo	mpi	nti	nai
heart	shin	lu	neh ma	dsö	chai	ram	lliu	bli	suai
silver	yin	nyin	tu	ngan	ngon	ngan	nyi	nyi	nyai
copper	tung	nge	gi ne	luong	...	luong	deo	deh	dung
iron	tie	ging	hö	va	...	fa	ll'eo	llu	ll'eo
salt	yen	nyö	tsu	ku	...	giu	shie	re	ndse
buy	mai	...	sö	dsö	su	dseo	mai	mi	ma
sell	mai	...	...	kai	khai	kai	mai	mi	ma
road	lu	ken	niö	ran	...	uan	kei	ke	ke
street	kai	kai	...	kai	...	kai	ca	ke	kai
marked	tsang	k'ö	gi kao	gei	...	heo	shiang	ki	k'ü
river	{ho giang}	ndei	yi	da	...	da	ntiang	...	nai
hill	{bo san}	dse	mbe	bo	...	bo	bao, biei	bie	dao
sun	'rh	kuei	me tso	uan	van	nguan	ntai	ntü	no
moon	yue	ma do	hu bo	ndin	...	ndin	ll'a	lli	lli
heaven	tien	vlei	me ko	mben	men	mben	vai	lü dü	ndo
earth	di	du	mi chi	da, ndan	...	ndan	da	bu de	la dei
year	nien	...	ko	bi	bi	bei	ntieo	sö	sung

Lolo AE 4
Shan-Miao AL 3
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APPENDIX

man (homo)	ren	...	uo tso	uen	...	uen	nai	ni	...
I	ngo	...	...	ku	kha	ku	vai	ku	ko
thou	ni	...	...	meng	mung	mung	mung	yi	ke
he	ta	...	...	di	...	dei	nih	ni	ni
mine	ngo di	...	...	kai, ku	...	kai ku	vai bie	ku bie	ko di
thine	ni di	...	...	kai mung	...	kai mung	meng bie	yi bie	ke di
his	ta di	...	...	kai di	...	kai dei	nih bie	ni bie	ni di
who?	na i ko	...	sa io	vang laeo	...	bu re	dai shi	deh shi	giao a dai
wind	feng	...	mi hi	rum	lom	röm	giang	gia	gia
rain	ü	...	mu hu	uen	...	uen	nung	nŏ	nang
stone	si	...	lo mu	rin	hin	yin	zei	re	re
demon	kuei	...	vi	vang	...	fang	llie	klau	klang
snake	se	...	bu sa	ngö	ngu	dang	ne	na	nang
give	kei	...	...	zaeo	...	rong	bai, diao	ceh	bo
skin	pi	...	nyi ko	nang	nang	nang	li	di	daeo
die	si	...	shi	dai	dai	dai	da	da	da
long	tsang	...	seh	rai	...	rai	da	die	nde
short	duan	...	nde	din	...	din	ka, lai	lü	lo
near	gin	...	no de	kaeo	...	giaeo	zei	re	re
far	yuen	...	vö	kai	...	giai	dou	ce	kle
hard	ngen	...	k a	nduong	...	ndong	diu, ka	dau cu	daeo
soft	ruan	...	no	uen	...	uen	mai	mri	pa
tree	su, ma,	...	seh deh	vai	...	fai	deo	ha	dung
clothes	i	...	to uo	bu	...	bu	u	bŭ le	tsao
shoes	hai	...	sa shi	zai	...	hai	ha	k'o	k'u
weary	lei	...	ta	nai	...	me	kau zwo	c'e	kla

7; Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

AMONG THE TRIBES

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English.	Chinese.	Keh-lao.	No-su or Lo-lo.	Kweichow Chung-chia.	Siamese.	Kwangsi Chung-chia.	Heh Miao.	Ya-ch'io Miao.	Hua Miao.
rope	so	...	dsa	dsak	...	dsak	lla	lla	lla
bowl	uan	...	lo di	dsa	...	uan	di kang	di	ndi
walnut	he tao	...	seh meh	dsao	...	he dao	he dao	chi, shi	klaeo
chestnut	ban li	...	meh dso	mai, bak	...	ban li	cao	la	ming
peach	tao	...	seh gio	dao	...	lak ma	llang	kla	kla
persimmon	si hua	...	seh ba	ndai	...	...	mi	mi	nai
pear	li	...	seh ndu	li	...	...	ra	ra	ra
bridge	chiao	...	ngu	giu	...	gio	gieo	lla	lla
root	ken	...	seh tse	ra	rak	rak	giung	giau	giang
father	fu, tie	...	a ba	iei, diei	...	yei, dei	ba	...	...
mother	mu, ma	...	a ma	iai, miei	...	me	mi	a nyi	nai
know	dsi, shiao de	...	...	ro	ru	ro	bang	bŏ	bu
child	er	...	...	lek	luk	lak	dai	dŭ	do
little pig	dsu dsai	...	...	lek mu	luk mu	...	...	...	do ba
rat	hao, su	...	...	nu	nu	neo	ne	bra	a bia
sleep	suei	...	...	lap	lab	...	bie llai	bö glö	klangklo
field	tien	...	...	na	na	uai lap	li	lie	llai
behind	heo	...	...	lang	lang	na	keo	...	cang
lunatic	feng dai	...	...	bak	ba	...	...	...	vŭklang
divide	fen	...	...	ban	ban	...	fai	...	fai
we	ngo men	...	...	rao	rao	rao	bie	bie	be
ye, you	ni men	...	...	su	su	...	mie	mi	ne
they	ta men	...	...	sao di	...	...	nih dau	bo ki	...

Lob AE 4
Shan-Thai AE3

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

APPENDIX II

M
192
L
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Si
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The lists of words given below are from different Lo-lo or No-su peoples in Kweichow and Yunnan. As I did not take down these words myself, I am not sure about the value of all the consonants, vowels, and diphthongs used. However, for the purposes of comparative philology, the words will serve as well as most lists of words, as writers seldom explain the system of orthography they use in writing them.

The Weining and Chaotung No-su lists were sent me by Mr. Hicks. Weiningchow is in the north-west of Kweichow Province, and Chaotung is three or four days north of Weining, in the province of Yunnan.

The Li-su, La-ka, and Kang-i lists were sent me by Mr. Nicholls. These people, who belong to the No-su race, are to be found in Wutingchow, about five days north of Yunnanfu, and northward up to the Chinsha-chiang or River of Golden Sands, as the Yangtze River is called in that region.

The few Si-fan words were taken down by Mr. C. Baber at Tso-ta-ti, probably in Szechwan.

[TABLE

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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Si
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English.	Weining No-su.	Chao-tung No-su.	Li-su.	La-ka.	Kang-i.	Si-fan.
one	t'a	ki	ch'i	t'a	ta	tu
two	ni	ni	ne	ne	ne	nu
three	sö	so	so	sa	sa	si
four	lli	bre	le	lle	lle	jro
five	ngu	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngei
six	ch'ö	ch'io	ch'o	ch'o	ch'u	ch'u
seven	shi	shi	she	she	she	shun
eight	hö	hö	hei	hei	he	jih
nine	chü	ku	ke	ku	ker	ngo
ten	ts'eo	ts'e	ts'e	tsei	ts'ai	ch'i ch'i
hundred	ho	ha	ho	ho	u	...
thousand	tu	tu	tu	sa	...	...
want / wish	lü	nge	le	nga	ngo	...
come	li	la	lao	lei	lei	...
go	leo	dev leo	ye	le	ye	...
make	tseo	tse	pei	pei	pei	...
see	ni	e	miao	na	ngo	...
word	hing	hi	ta pu	ta che	...	...
speak	nto hing	nde hi	...	che	nchi	...
hear	no	nya	ta no	ta no	...	...
laugh	tai	ri	ver	nguo ye	...	...
walk	seo	si, ia	ye	ta le	ye	...
weep	nü	e	nger	ngu	...	...
strike	ntu	ntu	te	tu	...	...
fear	chieh	ni ia	chiu	chiu	chu	...
calico	mi mi	mu mu	me	p'o	p'u ho	...
black	na	nie	nei	na	na	...
white	t'u	t'u	p'iu	t u	t'u	...
red	neo	ne	ne	nei	nei	...
blue	iö	o	p'e	vu wu	pa pa ya	...
yellow	shö	shi	she	sho	sha sha-yang	...
hot	tso	ts'a	ts'o	ts'o	ts'u	...
cold	ch'i	nyie	chei	chia ke	cha nke	...
high	ch'io mu	a mu	me	ch'a mu	...	...
low	ch'io nai	e mu	nge	ch'e ne	...	...
large	rö	a	ver	wo	...	...
small	mpa	i tsi	yere	neur	...	...
many	nu	na	miu	no	...	...
few	nö	nu	nga niu	ch'e ts'e	...	...
good	tsu	tsu	tse	to	tso	...
bad	ma tsu	ma tsu	te	he	...	...
heavy	li	a lu	le	le	...	...

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

APPENDIX

M 192

L 192

Si 192

English.	Weining No-su.	Chao-tung No-su.	Li-su.	La-ka.	Kang-i.	Si-fan.
light	lo	le	la	la	...	...
no, not	ma	ma	ma	ma	...	...
eat	tsu	tsa	chong	tso	...	...
rice, cooked	chia	kue	tso	a me	...	...
drink	to	te	ta	ye ta	...	...
tea	chi tu	chī tu	lo ve	lo chie	...	...
water	i	rī	a chie	ye	...	...
whisky	nyi	nyi	chī pè	chī	...	...
fire	mi tie	to	to	mo to	...	...
horse	mu	mu	mu	mu	...	...
ox	nü	nü	ne	ne	...	...
buffalo	o nü	o nü	o ne	o ne	...	...
goat	ch'i	ch'ie	a ch'i	chi'i	...	...
dog	ch'i	ch'i	a nu	ch'e	...	...
pig	ba	bie	vare	va	...	...
fowl	a	ie	yere	ya	...	...
duck	pe	ö	a	e	...	...
egg	nto	o	fu	llo	...	...
flesh	fu	ha	ho	ho	...	...
house, home	hi	ie	a k'e	a ke	...	...
door	ko keo	nga k'e	a tu	a ko	...	...
head	ko	u	o te	o ka	...	...
ear	lo po	na pu	no pa	no pa	...	...
eye	na tu	nie tu	mare tu	na tu	...	...
hair	mi	mu	u tse	o ts'e	...	...
hand	la	lie	lai	la pa	...	...
foot	t'u ch'i	ta chī	ch'e	ch'e pa	...	...
tooth	djö	drī	seh	nie pu	...	...
heart	nei	nie	ne mo	ne mo	...	...
silver	t'u	t'u	piu	t'u	...	...
copper	...	dii	che	che	...	...
iron	sie pie	hu	her	sie	...	...
salt	ts'u	ts'a	tso	tso	...	...
sun	nie dji	ni dji	a me ne	mu ch'e	...	...
moon	lo po	lo po	shiu pu	nao po	...	...
heaven	mü	mü	me ka	mu ka	...	...
earth	mi	ni	me nare	me ch'e	...	...
demon	ts'o pu	lie djie	nei	vare	...	...
hill	pie	pu	tare po	pare ta	...	...
tree	chie	chi	shi che	shi tse	...	...
rain	ho	ha	ho	ho	...	...

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 长寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

COMPARISON OF VOCABULARIES OF SOME WEST CHINA ETHNIC GROUPS

English	*Chinese*	*No-su or Lolo*	*Heh Miao*	*Ya-ch'io Miao*	*Hua Miao*	*Ch'uan Miao*
one	i	dai	i	i	i	i
two	er	nyi	au	o	ao	ao
three	sān	se	ba, bie	bie	be	be
four	sī	lli	llao	bleo	bleo	bleo
five	wu	ngwu	gia	bzī	bsī	tsī, tsuei
six	lu	chio	dieo	dsū	dseo	deo
seven	ch'i	shi	shiung	sau	shiang	shiang
eight	ba	heh	ia	yi	yi	yi
nine	gio (giu)	kō	gio	gia	gia	gia
ten	sī	tsō	gieo	ku	ku	keo (geo)
hundred	be	hu	ba	ba	ba	ba
thousand	chien	du	s'e	chie	tsai	ts'a
ten thousand	uan	mi	vie	ua	vang	vang
is	sī	ngeo	diau	ieh	iao	iao
have	yu	dso	mai	nieo	ma	ma
want	iao	le	eo	ia	ia	ia
come	lai	li	lou	lu	lao	lo
go	k'ü	yō	mung	mu	mu	mo
make, do	dso		ai	a	a	a
word	hua		s'ei	iū	lo	lo
speak	so		gieo, cang	a lū	c'o lo	a lo
walk	dseo	sō	he	mu	siū	mo
fear	p'a	gi	sh'i	rī	ntsai	nt'sai
large	da	zwo	ll'io	llu	lliao	lo
small	shiao	tseh	nieu, yieo	iu	yieo	iu
good	hao	nio	zeo	re	rung	rong
eat rice, cooked	ts'i	ru	nang	ndō	nao	nao
ox, cow	niu	nyi	liao	iu	nio	nio
man, or human being	ren	uo tso	nai	ni		nun

192

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

194 and is the most common and difficult to distinguish.[16]

The Chinese language in West China has four tones with five in some localities but in some parts of Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi the language spoken has eight or nine tones. There are Ch'uan Miao legends which indicate that they came to Szechwan from Kwangtung or Kwangsi.

193 During recent centuries, the Ch'uan Miao language, like
177 their customs, has been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Take, for instance, the comparative and the superlative of adjectives and adverbs. To make the comparative the word
192 xau is spoken before the positive. To make the superlative the word xʌn is spoken after the comparative.

Thus:

positive		*comparative*			*superlative.*		
ʒ'ɔ̃	good	xao	ʒ'ɔ̃	better	ʒ'ɔ̃	xʌn	best
ʃʌu	poor	xao	ʃʌu	poorer	ʃʌu	xʌn	poorest
ju·	small	xao	ju·	smaller	ju·	xʌn	smallest
lo·	large	xao	lo·	larger	lo·	xʌn	largest

The word xao is evidently the Chinese word xao 好, *hào* for food which may be used in Chinese in the sense of very and the word xʌn is the Chinese word xʌn 很, *hên* for both the pronunciation and the tones are exactly the same in the Ch'uan Miao and in the Chinese languages. It is significant that the Ch'uan Miao cannot express the comparative and the superlative without the use of Chinese words.

There is a goodly nucleus of Ch'uan Miao words that
192 are non-Chinese and which are to be found in various Miao dialects in Kweichow, Yunnan and even in Tongkin. There
177 are also many words that are evidently of Chinese origin. The Chinese word for chair is i^3 *tzu*^{3} 椅子. The Ch'uan Miao word is i^2 tzŭ^3 ʒ'i tsə or i· tsə. The Chinese word for man in Szechwan is zʌn 人 and the Ch'uan Miao word is nʌn. A very common Ch'uan Miao word for love is nia and the Chinese is *ngai* 愛 (*ai*). Occasionally a Chinese word that has been adopted is given a slightly different pronunciation and a different tone.

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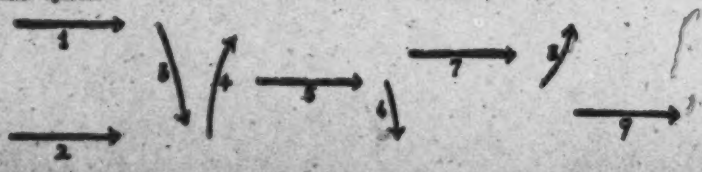
194 16. The following diagram may help to distinguish Ch'uan Miao tones.



39: Bernatzik--49(A) E-5 (1936-1937)1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

Kinship Terms of the Peoples of Farther India

/Between pp. 34 and 35/ (own findings)

Translation	MẸ̄ĀŬ	ĀKMĀ
1. Birth	yŭn yǭā	
2. Birth of a boy	yŭn yǭā	
3. Birth of a girl	yŭn yǭā	
4. Birth of twins	yŭn yǭā tsāy (= twins)	
5. Childhood	nyū lā	
6. Maturity	nyū rŏn kō	
7. Maturity of a boy		
8. Maturity of a girl		
9. Man	nyū flǭā	hādsīdā
10. Woman	lōū	ābū
11. Father	tsē	ādā
12. Mother	nā	āmā
13. Brother		āyīsā
14. Younger brother	nyū kū	ānī
15. Older brother	tī lōū	būdǭ
16. Sister		
17. Older sister	pū nyān	yāmī āyū
18. Younger sister	kū mǭā	dūmā
19. Husband	kā yēū	nā mīsā
20. Wife	kā pū	nā ābū
21. Son	nyū tū	ālī
22. Daughter	nīn tsāy	ābū
23. Paternal grandfather	nyāū	ābǭ
24. Paternal grandmother	nā	āpī
25. Maternal grandfather	nā	ābǭ
26. Maternal grandmother	pū	āpī
27. Father's brother a)*	tī lōū	āō
28. Father's brother b)**	nyū kū	āyǭ

A M 192

A M 601

*a) = when older.

**b) = when younger than the person concerned, e.g., father's brother a) is the older brother of the father, and father's brother b) is the younger brother of the father.

39:Bernatzik--56 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 34 and 35/

Translation	MEAU	ĀKHĀ
61. Son of daughter	nyü hü	ôpá
62. Daughter of daughter	ntsây hü	ômá
63. Father of wife	pê tsê	ômá
64. Mother of wife	tây tsân	ômá
65. Brother of wife a)	tê tçü	aô
66. Brother of wife b)	pê tsan	ôsá
67. Sister of wife a)	pan yân	ôtsú
68. Sister of wife b)	nê sçîa	tsîma
69. Husband of wife's sister a)	tsü hçê yî	aô
70. Husband of wife's sister b)	tsê sçîa	ôtsá
71. Father of husband	tsê	ôcá
72. Mother of husband	nê	ômá
73. Brother of husband a)	tsê tçü?	aô
74. Brother of husband b)		ômyî
75. Sister of husband a)	pü nyân	aô
76. Sister of husband b)		ômyî
77. Husband of the hus. sis. a)	tây tê	aô
78. Husband of the hus. sis. b)	yân hê	ômyî
79. Family	tsê vü tsê tsân	myôpá
80. Large family /extended fam./		
81. Small fam. /nuclear fam./		
82. Member of the tribe	i pân	ômmá
83. Outsider	ívê	ômsôm
84. Old Man	hê tsü	ômê
85. Old Woman	nê pü tsü	ômi
86. Chief		yôpá
87. Great chief	tsân hçân	
88. Village chief	tsü pê	
89. Deputy chief	? tsân tây	
90. Friend	tê ü	ôsá
91 Enemy	hü tê nyê	mônçnê
92. European	tê tsü (tçü = white)	ômá

every old person is called grandfather or grandmother.

/For explanation of a) and b). see footnotes on first page of table./

A
M
601

A
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192

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[631]

/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lĕn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gĕ. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tóă, noon, nū tse ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kău, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next [264] day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, [517] can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

/445 cont./

114 197 would be made up of solely the languages of the Yau (Man) and the Meau. Since, however, no linguistic samples from the Yau were offered by either author, no position on this can be taken.

According to the samples of the languages of the Meau and the other peoples settled in Thailand, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Phi Tong Luang, Moken, White Karen, and finally the various Thai peoples, recorded by me, Savina's findings are essentially correct. For the time being, however, that means very little in view of our inadequate knowledge about the peoples of northern Burma and Assam. On this account, the conclusion drawn by Savina, that by reason of their language a very special exceptional position should be given to the Meau, also seems to me to be at least premature at the moment. On the other hand, the classification made by Major Davies and, probably following him, Lowis (5), according to which the Meau language is classi-

5. I, pp. 40 ff.

fied with the Mon-Khmer languages, is undoubtedly in error. [192] The comparative words offered by Davies do not mean much, since the Meau language certainly contains a multitude of loan-words from the language of the original inhabitants. The assertion by Marabail (6), who assumes that the syntax of the Meau lan-

6. Page 131.

guage is identical with that of the Yau (Man) language, likewise means little, /446/ since no proof at all is offered for it. I myself for the present classify the Meau language with the Siamo-Chinese language group of the Indochinese language family, which also corresponds with Credner's (1) provisional

1. II, p. 137.

classification.

/446 cont./

114 197 Of the older authors, Davies and Clarke published short vocabularies, as did Dhuraratsadom (2). By far the best and

2. Page 175.

most comprehensive are the French-Meau and Meau-French dictionaries which Savina compiled. A comparison of these dictionaries with the surveys of the other authors on the one hand and my own linguistic data on the other hand shows considerable differences in places, which leads one to conclude that there are certain differences in the Meau speech of the various regions. Undoubtedly the Meau of the individual regions have taken over [192] a greater number of expressions from the Chinese and from the languages of other neighbors as loanwords. Since, however, as was said, these neighboring languages in large part have not yet been studied, no definite statements can be made concerning this, and all the less so, to be sure, since the accounts of the authors in question here, with the exception of Savina's publications of this type, give the impression of being very incomplete. It seems as though these authors were not completely familiar with the matter; misunderstandings in their conversations with the Meau can easily be imagined. After all, I myself in working with the Meau have dealt for the first time with a tone language, and a comprehension of it is by no means easy for European ears.

[197] Under these circumstances it is very regrettable that the missionaries working in South China, who have had contacts with the Meau for centuries, have so far, to my knowledge, published nothing concerning this language and in fact, for the most part, give instruction in Manchu. We are therefore completely dependent on the observations and conclusions of individual authors. According to Von Eickstedt (3), the languages of the Meo and

3. II, p. 57.

Yau differ, to be sure, but are nevertheless closely related, at

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/446 cont./

M 114 197 any rate, more closely related to each other than, say, to the Chinese or Thai, though, undoubtedly, here, too, there are deeper connections. Usually, the linguists solved this dilemma by regarding the Meau-Man group as an independent group next to the Chinese, Thai, and Mon-Khmer.

M 114 193 /447/ Seidenfaden (1) goes into the grammatical structure

1. II, p. 198.

of the language in greater detail. According to him, the various nouns do not have any gender and are not declined by time, mode, or number. In a sentence, the subject comes before the verb and the object after it, the adjective after the substantive and the adverb after the verb to which it relates. More information concerning the language can be found in Savina's work (2)

M 114 192

2. II, pp. XIX-69.

and in his dictionaries already mentioned. Of special interest is his comparative word list, pp. 42 and 43, which gives expressions in the Meau, Man, Lolo, Thai, Annamese, Tibetan, Tatar, Malay, and Stieng. In this connection a reference should be made to my comparative word list of the kinship terms of the Meau, Akha, Lisu, Lahuna, Lahusi, Biet, Dŏeray /Jarai/, Radé /Radhe/, Karen, Lao, and South Thailand languages.

A 197 114 The language of the Akha has been provisionally classified by Lowis (3) in the "Lisu Subgroup" of the "Burman Group."

3. I, p. 85.

The Linguistic Survey of India (4) follows him and regards the

4. Pages 382 ff.

language of the Akha as related to the Lahu and Lihsaw (Lisu),

/467 cont./

426 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in
576 collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 As "please," the Meau use the word tǎu or tǎu mĕn yē,
576 which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tǒ tsę, but one usually says tǒ tsę̆ hǒ lǒ, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kŭ tsĭ ǒa. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lǎu ŭ̌ yŭ̌n; veneration = lǎu ŭ̌ lŭ̌ lę̄; contempt = hŭ yŭ; fear, horror = hŭĭ; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ŏŭ.

156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the
115 Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some
156 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is
622 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced
123 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

/21/

192 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao
807 language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in
171 other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but
193 sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ì but sip ngi. This is a notable
171 difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say "blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue," "mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind of syntax.

191 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in
184 Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family 123
with whom I lived would accept no money 421
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often 152
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either 194
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 193

[96]

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

194 this point — including "singing tones" simi-
193 lar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sen-
tence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

871 When a family can afford it one or more
177 boys — rarely a girl — receive some education. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

[10a]

from four to six being let into a piece of hollowed 534
wood, the handle of this forming the mouthpiece. The sound, which is something like that of bagpipes, is produced by brass reeds fixed into the tubes which are of different lengths. Tunes played on these instruments seem weird and monotonous to the Westerner but they play a dangerous part in the life of the young people. When, on moonlight nights, pipers come to the outskirts of a village the music is irresistible to the girls, who go out to the players, and after posture-like dancing and antiphonal singing spend the night in their company. It is not unheard of for a mother to encourage her own fourteen-year-old daughter to go out to these youths. Human nature can sink very low.

The Miao are yellow-skinned and broad-nosed; 141
they are of short stature and have straight black hair. Occasionally one meets with a boy or girl whose hair is reddish and such children are unpopular. Like the Chinese the Miao language is tonal and [193]
mono-syllabic; in every other respect it is entirely 194
different. Happily their language is more easily learnt than Chinese, though the tones are quite as confusing. As an illustration, take a word which we would spell with the letters D and A. Pronounced with what scholars would term an upper even tone "*da*" means "to drag", "to seize"; pronounced with an ascending tone "*da*" means "to kill", with a departing tone "to come", with a lower even tone "to die" or "to kick". It will be readily understood how bewildering such a language can be.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

the Black or Dark men, the aborigines of Hainan, is a problem which must be left for some missionary or traveller to solve.

As mentioned above, all the languages spoken in Kweichow are syllabic and tonic, but the Miao language appears to be more like the Chinese or, at all events, more like Mandarin Chinese than those spoken by the Keh-lao, Chung-chia, or I-chia. Naturally in all these languages there are words manifestly borrowed from the Chinese; but leaving out such words, there seem more resemblances between the Chinese and Miao words than between the Chinese and any of the others, or between Miao and any of the others.

Of the non-Chinese languages spoken in Kweichow we know Heh Miao and Chung-chia best, and it is worthy of note that in both of these, as a rule, the adjective comes after the noun, whereas in Chinese the adjective comes before the noun. There are also other marked peculiarities which differentiate these languages from the Chinese and from one another, but for the most part the syntax of all these languages is very much the same, that is to say, there are no conjugations, no declensions, and no inflexion of words. Like Mandarin Chinese, none of the Miao dialects we know have any

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

212 from them the art of writing their own language.

[193] The Miao language, like the Chinese, is syllabic, unencumbered with conjugations or other inflexions, and it would be very easy to represent Miao words by Chinese characters 871 which are not phonetic but ideographic. At the present time there are schools in the Miao villages where Chinese literature is taught. Probably from earliest times there have been some Miao, as there are now, who could read and write Chinese, and yet not one of them, as far as we know, ever attempted to put down their own words in writing. If such an attempt was ever made, it evidently met with no acceptance among the tribesmen, who remain to-day as illiterate as their ancestors in the days of Yao and Shuen.

872 When we opened a school at Panghai some 212 years ago, and offered to teach the scholars to write their own language in the Roman script, the parents would not consent, but wished their children to learn to read and write Chinese. Their way of looking at the matter is not hard to understand. What writing they have to do must be done for them in Chinese. Any Miao 212 who can read and write passably may easily make his living among his neighbours by doing

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 tirteenth day of the seventh moon and there is a similar family meal. The ancestors must be invited to come.

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It should be noted that these calendar festivals correspond very closely to those of the Chinese in West China and that the commemorating of and making of offerings to the deceased ancestors is the primary concern in all of them.

VII. THE LANGUAGE

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Among the sounds to be distinguished are the aspirate and the nonaspirate, the French *j*, the dental *t*, the nasal *n*, the Welsh *l* and an uvular *g*. An initial *n* or *m* before other consonants is more common than in most other languages. For instance, the word nts'ao means grass and mba means pig. One distinction of sound is nothing else than a stronger emphasis in pronouncing the word or sound. For instance, the word ma meaning have is pronounced with the ordinary stress but the words ma for buy and ma for sell must be pronounced with a greater stress of voice.

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Thus:

positive		*comparative*			*superlative*		
ʒoɔ	good	xao	ʒoɔ	better	ʒoɔ	xʌn	best
ʂʌu	poor	xao	ʂʌu	poorer	ʂʌu	xʌn	poorest
ju·	small	xao	ju·	smaller	ju·	xʌn	smallest
lo·	large	xao	lo·	larger	lo·	xʌn	largest

The word xao is evidently the Chinese word xao 好, *hao* for food which may be used in Chinese in the sense of very and the word xʌn is the Chinese word xʌn 很, *hên* for both the pronunciation and the tones are exactly the same in the Ch'uan Miao and in the Chinese languages. It is significant that the Ch'uan Miao cannot express the comparative and the superlative without the use of Chinese words.

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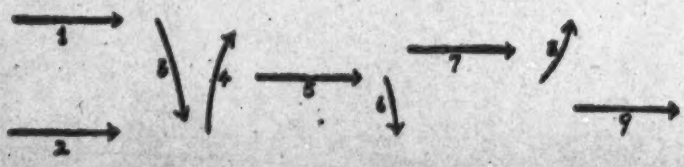

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a superhuman, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntzong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

A year is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194 [193]

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

/444 cont./

144 the following general conclusion: "From an anthropological
174 standpoint, the homeland and the linguistic relationships lead to the assumption that here it is a matter of another, second part of the Central Sinoids -- a second part besides the Thai -- which, in the eastern mountains of Central China, poured over or pushed out the older Mon-Khmer Paleo-Mongolians similar to the way that this happened in the western part through the Central Sinoid Thai."

/445/ Chapter 28

Language

193 The language of the Meau is a monosyllabic tone language with five different tones. The best expert on it, P. P. Savina (1),

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1. II, p. 168.

writes concerning the language of the Meau that it is spoken with the nose as well as with the mouth and that it differs from all other languages. Marabail (2), too, stresses the independence

2. Page 131.

of the "dialect" of the Meau. Savina emphasizes its dissimilarity in relation to the languages of the Lolo, Chinese, Annamese, Tho, and Yau /Yao/. Seidenfaden (3), on the other hand, doubts

3. II. p. 198.

the dissimilarity of the languages of the Meau and Yau, just as the Census of Burma (4), in direct opposition to Savina,

4. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 200.

classifies the Meau language with the "Man Group," which

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /446 cont./
114 any rate, more closely related to each other than, say, to the
197 Chinese or Thai, though, undoubtedly, here, too, there are deeper connections. Usually, the linguists solved this dilemma by regarding the Meau-Man group as an independent group next to the Chinese, Thai, and Mon-Khmer.

M /447/ Seidenfaden (1) goes into the grammatical structure
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193

1. II, p. 198.

of the language in greater detail. According to him, the various nouns do not have any gender and are not declined by time, mode, or number. In a sentence, the subject comes before the verb and the object after it, the adjective after the substantive and the adverb after the verb to which it relates. More information concerning the language can be found in Savina's work (2)
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114
192

2. II, pp. XIX-69.

and in his dictionaries already mentioned. Of special interest is his comparative word list, pp. 42 and 43, which gives expressions in the Meau, Man, Lolo, Thai, Annamese, Tibetan, Tatar, Malay, and Stieng. In this connection a reference should be made to my comparative word list of the kinship terms of the Meau, Akha, Lisu, Lahuna, Lahusi, Biet, Dŏeray /Jarai/, Radé /Radhe/, Karen, Lao, and South Thailand languages.

A The language of the Akha has been provisionally classi-
197 fied by Lowis (3) in the "Lisu Subgroup" of the "Burman Group."
114

3. I, p. 85.

The Linguistic Survey of India (4) follows him and regards the

4. Pages 382 ff.

language of the Akha as related to the Lahu and Lihsaw (Lisu),

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family 123
with whom I lived would accept no money 421
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated 152
arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 194 193

[96]

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

194 this point — including "singing tones" simi-
193 lar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sentence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

871 When a family can afford it one or more
177 boys — rarely a girl — receive some education. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

from four to six being let into a piece of hollowed 534
wood, the handle of this forming the mouthpiece. The sound, which is something like that of bagpipes, is produced by brass reeds fixed into the tubes which are of different lengths. Tunes played on these instruments seem weird and monotonous to the Westerner but they play a dangerous part in the life of the young people. When, on moonlight nights, pipers come to the outskirts of a village the music is irresistible to the girls, who go out to the players, and after posture-like dancing and antiphonal singing spend the night in their company. It is not unheard of for a mother to encourage her own fourteen-year-old daughter to go out to these youths. Human nature can sink very low.

The Miao are yellow-skinned and broad-nosed; 141
they are of short stature and have straight black hair. Occasionally one meets with a boy or girl whose hair is reddish and such children are unpopular. Like the Chinese the Miao language is tonal and [193]
mono-syllabic; in every other respect it is entirely 194
different. Happily their language is more easily learnt than Chinese, though the tones are quite as confusing. As an illustration, take a word which we would spell with the letters D and A. Pronounced with what scholars would term an upper even tone "*da*" means "to drag", "to seize"; pronounced with an ascending tone "*da*" means "to kill", with a departing tone "to come", with a lower even tone "to die" or "to kick". It will be readily understood how bewildering such a language can be.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

the Black or Dark men, the aborigines of Hainan, is a problem which must be left for some missionary or traveller to solve.

As mentioned above, all the languages spoken in Kweichow are syllabic and tonic, but the Miao language appears to be more like the Chinese or, at all events, more like Mandarin Chinese than those spoken by the Keh-lao, Chung-chia, or I-chia. Naturally in all these languages there are words manifestly borrowed from the Chinese; but leaving out such words, there seem more resemblances between the Chinese and Miao words than between the Chinese and any of the others, or between Miao and any of the others.

Of the non-Chinese languages spoken in Kweichow we know Heh Miao and Chung-chia best, and it is worthy of note that in both of these, as a rule, the adjective comes after the noun, whereas in Chinese the adjective comes before the noun. There are also other marked peculiarities which differentiate these languages from the Chinese and from one another, but for the most part the syntax of all these languages is very much the same, that is to say, there are no conjugations, no declensions, and no inflexion of words. Like Mandarin Chinese, none of the Miao dialects we know have any

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

194 final consonants other than "*n*" and "*ng*." They have, however, some initial sounds which are not found in Chinese, among which may be noted the "*Ll*" of the Welsh among the Heh Miao and also among the I-chia. This initial sound in some of the Miao dialects changes to "*Kl*" and "*Bl*."

The Chung-chia, besides the final "*n*" and "*ng*," have also as finals *k*, *m*, *p*, and *t*. The Heh Miao have eight tones, and some of the other dialects probably as many, though we have heard of some which have only four. The Chung-chia have six tones. How many the I-chia and Keh-lao have we are not able to say. The student has to study these languages some time before he can decide how many tones they use. Of course, all these people utter all the various tones correctly for their own dialects, but are quite unable to say how many tones there are. There are, moreover, in some of these tones such fine gradations of pitch and inflexion that only the practised ear can distinguish between them.

197 192 The various dialects spoken by the Miao tribes differ considerably, so much so that a Heh Miao from the south-east cannot understand anything of the dialect spoken by a Heh Miao of the west. If, however, the vocabularies

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1938) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO 川苗

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

194

In the following article, THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO, and in the translations of Ch'uan Miao memorial ceremonies and the ceremonies of the exorcist, I have used the International Phonetic Script for Ch'uan Miao terms and the Wade system of romanization for the Chinese. For the convenience of the reader, a phonetic table is here given.*

CONSONANTS

b	as in bit.
d	as in dig.
d_3	as in judge but without aspiration.
d^z	is d plus a slight z sound
f	as in fat.
g	as in go.
G	an uvular g.
ŋ	ng as in king.
h	as in hat.
X	rough h as in the Scotch word *loch* and the German word *nach*.
j	as y in young.
ʒ	is the French j, bordering toward the English fricative (for which r is used in this table of sounds.)
ʒ̇	is a strong palatalized French j.
k	as in kind.
l	as in law.
ll	Welsh unvoiced ll plus voice l.
m̥	as in man.
n	as in new.

*NOTE—I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor J. E. Moncrieff of West China Union University and to Dr. Serge Elisseeff, Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute for assistance in distinguishing the Ch'uan Miao sounds and in making out these tables.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

194

p as in pin.

r which in strict phonetic script is J, the ordinary fricative (untrilled) initial r of southern English and American speech.

s as in sit.

ʃ as in shut.

t as in tin.

T a dental t sometimes written t̪.

tʃ as ch in child, weakly aspirated.

v as in vow.

z as in zone.

w as in wit, well.

' is used to indicate an especially strong aspirate.

- underscording is used to indicate a weaker aspirate.

VOWELS

i as in pique.

i· as in imp.

as in end.

a as a in hat.

a: as a in shah.

ɔ as o in hot.

ɔ· as au in haul.

u as in put.

u· as oo in pool.

o· a pure close long o.

ʌ as u in nut.

y is umlaut u (ü) of the German language.

ə very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilation. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in French. It is sometimes written ɪ in the romanization of Chinese sounds.

ã is nasal a.

õ is nasal o.

ai as i in bite.

ao as o in how with a pure o ending.

au as o in how with an open u ending.

ei as in eight.

ou as o in go (with a u ending).

ʌn as the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo (China Inland Mission).

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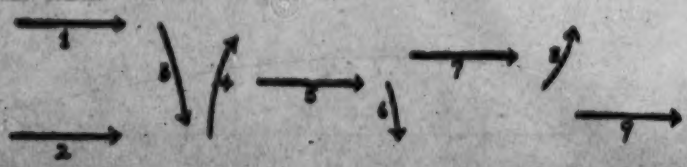

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Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

A year is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

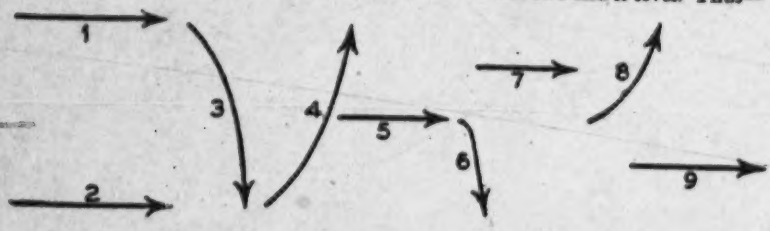
GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194 [193]

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

194 corresponds to the Chinese aspirate and is indicated by the mark '. In the little aspirate the entire word is pronounced with a strong emphasis as with italicized words in English and is indicated here by underscoring and in Pollard's Miao script by the sign '.

The tones are very important, for the same sound in a different tone is an entirely different word with a different meaning. While the Chinese in I-Pin have five tones, the Ch'uan Miao have nine tones. The range of the tones is about an octave, and the first five tones correspond to those found in I-Pin. The sixth tone begins at five and goes downward. The seventh tone is halfway between one and five and, like one, five, and two, is "level." The eighth begins at five and goes upward, and the ninth tone is halfway between five and two and is level. Thus—



PHONETIC TABLE

Consonants

b as in bite.
d as in dig.
dʒ as in judge, but without aspiration.
dʲ is d plus a slight z sound.
f as in fat.
g as in go.
G is an uvular g.
Ŋ is ng as in king.
h as in hat.
X is rough h as in the Scotch word *loch* and the German word nach.
j is y as in young.
k as in kind.
l as in law.
ll is Welch voiced ll plus voiced l.
m as in man.
n as in new.
ŋ as ni in onion, uttered as one word.
p as in pin.
r which in strict phonetic script is ɹ, the ordinary fricative (untrilled), the initial r of southern English and American speech.
s as in sin.
ʃ as in shut, but nearer the ordinary s except before i and j.
t as in tin.
T is a dental t sometimes written t̲.
θ as in hath.
tʃ as ch in child, weakly aspirated.
tʃʰ as ch in child, strong aspirated.
v as in vow.
ʒ is the French j bordering on the English fricative r (for which r is used in this table of sounds). Sometimes there is a slight uvular r sound following this ʒ.
ʒ̊ is a strong palatalized French j.
w as in wit.
' is used to indicate a strong aspirate.
— indicates the weak aspirate, which in the Pollard script is indicated by '.

Vowels

i as in pique.
i· as in imp.
e as in end.
æ as in hat.
a· as in shab
ɔ as in hot.
ɔ· as in haul.
u as in put.
u· as in pool.
o· as pure close long o.
ʌ as in nut.
y is umlaut u (u) as in the German language.
ə inverted e, very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilation. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in the French. It is sometimes written ĭ in the romanization of Chinese sounds.
ã is nasal a.
õ is nasal o.
ai as i in bite.
ao as ow in how with a pure o ending.
au as ow in how with an open u ending.
ei as in eight.
ou as o in go with a u ending.
Au as the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo (China Inland Mission).

/62 cont'd/

779 Hundreds of birds bowed in front of it.
539 The goddess of jade protected her from behind.
When a Taoist priest passed by, he would repeat the name of Buddha;
When a Buddhist priest passed by, he would burn some incense.
When an old man of sixty passed by, he would say mournfully:
"What a pity that one so bright died young!"
When an old woman of sixty passed by, she might say sadly:
"What a pity one so bright did not live long!"
When a young fellow of eighteen passed by, he would murmur:
"Why am I not so lucky as to court a clever girl like her?"
When a young girl of eighteen passed by, she might say with grief,
"Why did such a clever girl have to be buried so young ?"
Men and women are kindly advised hereby,
If you have children, think early of their futures.
Should your neighbor to the east have a son, his marriage must not wait long!
Should your neighbor to the west have a daughter, must she not be married while young?
One must not follow the example of Sister Chiu of the T'ang family,
Without a husband, she died like a blossoming /rose/.
Chiu-niang is now here in person to bless those in front of the altar.
You, Chiu-niang, give your blessing to whoever is leading the horse.

779
●195 The Taoist books of the Miao are mostly written in this poetic style with seven words in each line. They have nothing to do with the preaching of Taoism. This aspect is /63/ worthy of study.
793 Both the civilian and military Taoist priests use wooden seals in-
795 scribed with different symbols. The civilian Taoist priests have two rectangular seals of the same size, (See illustration). The military Taoist priests also have two wooden seals, one of which is inscribed with symbols similar to those of the civilian Taoist priests.

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (III, 69 and
273 70),[1] flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

1 [See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/4 cont'd/

217 Ch'u P'ing reign period /190-94 A.D./, be allowed to go to the
175 provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Ch'ao-chou, Hu-kuang, and Hupei, traveling on roads and waterways and living in the high mountains by wood while wood-cutting and cultivating, cutting and planting.

This is the due document to act as proof in perpetuity.

This certificate was filed for reference on the 16th day of the fifth month in the fifth year of Ch'u P'ing.

217 It is still a mystery where and when they had gained this "certificate," which up to the present is still carefully kept by them as their most precious treasure. From the description in the last paragraph, we are sure that the Miao of Hainan not only had direct relationship with the Miao (?) of Kwangsi but also had the same origin as the other Miao tribes (?) in different regions throughout South China.

173 From what has been said above, there is no doubt that the Miao of Hainan migrated from Kwangsi during the Ming period. However, I am very doubtful that the Miao of Hainan are actually the same as
● 197 the Miao of Kwangsi, because from the linguistic point of view, the languages spoken by them are very different. On the contrary, the spoken language of the Miao people of Hainan is very similar to that of the Yao people; particularly it is similar to, and almost identical with, the dialect spoken by the Lan-tien ("blue indigo") Yao tribes living in the Ling-yün area. The chart which follows may be helpful for reference. (Note: The vocabulary of the Miao of Hainan shown in the following chart is in my own romanization. The romanization of the vocabulary of the different Yao peoples of Kwangsi is based upon Kuang-hsi Lin-yün Yao-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi/, jointly compiled by Yen Fu-li and Shang Cheng-tsu. The romanization of the words of the Miao of Kwangsi province is based upon Liu Hsi-fan's Ling-piao Chi Man /The Aborigines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi/. In Liu's book, however, Chinese phonetic symbols are used. For the sake of uniformity I have used romanization in the present writing.)

/5/

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192

	The Miao Tribes		The Yao Tribes in Kwangsi Province			
	Kwangsi	Hainan	Lan-tien	Red Head	P'an Ku	Long Hai
one	chŭ	à	a	i	nŏm	i
two	hwŏ	ĭ	i	au	i-(nŏm)	aö
three	bei	bo	bo	be	buo	bu
four	saw	bā	bie	djia	bie	djua
five	jei	bà	bia	biu	bia	bia
six	dŭ	kûr	djio	dsŭ	djio	du
seven	shen	njē	nje	thang	sjê	sang
eight	i	z	jet	yu	chet	jo
197 nine	yōu	dŏ	ndu	dsŭ	duo	dsŭ
192 ten	shu	sip	shap	dsŭ	ds'ep	dsŭ
nose		bŭ-jong	bu-djong	bi-pa-biau	bu-kot	
eye		ngwie		djan-pa-many	me'-dsing	ge-mang
ear		blom	mo-nom		mo-nom	ge-mia
mouth		jet	djet		dsui	
/6/ hand		bŭ	bu	go-po-be	buo-du	ba
foot		tou	thou	go-dau	dsau-de	do
son	dȧ	sā		dung	don	dung-djing
daughter	dăr pĭe	sā-sȧr			thié	
dog		clō		du-djé	djuo	dsja
sheep	li	jon	yong	du-yang	yung	du-ang
pig	mēi	dung	dŭng		dung	
house		ber	biau	lu-bi	piau	bia
bunch		dung	dang		dang	doⁿg-yo

/6 cont'd/

147 yellow		vung	wang	fan	wiang	guan
192 sun		gong-nog	mo-neu			
ox	lo	ngong	ngong	du-wó	ngong	wau
moon		ngar	la		tha	hlo
eat		en	ning	nong	njien	nang
drink		hop	hop	hu	hop	hu
sleep		fei	fei	foi	bu	ba

197 171 /7/ If, outside the physical type, language is a comparatively reliable standard for the classification of the races of man, we may then say, in accordance with the chart given above, that the Miao of Hainan are of the same people as the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi rather than the Miao of Kwangsi. (Concerning the physical type of the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi, Mr. Fei Hsiao-t'ung has apparently made a scientific investigation, the results of which have not yet been published.) It is said that the name of the "Lan-tien" Yao of Kwangsi was derived from lan-tien /"blue indigo"/, which was the chief product of the region. The lan-tien is a plant, Polygonum tinctorium, which the Yao pick to make dye. With regard to this industry, the Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi /see above/ has given a detailed study (pp. [384] 13-14). During my last field trip to the Miao village of Ang-ch'i in Ta-chi, I saw a Miao woman making dye from a plant. I regret that at the time I did not notice whether this plant was the lan-tien. The Miao women of Hainan, in any case, are skilled in dyeing. This fact may be considered as contributory evidence.

171 If the aforesaid conclusion is in accord with the facts, then we can also deduce from which part of Kwangsi the Hainan Miao came. We are still not certain about the distribution of the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi either in the past or the present. However, according to the Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi, it is a fact that there are at present Lan-tien Yao in Ling-yün district. If we may make the tentative deduction that the Lan-tien Yao have

/16 cont./

M
*101
C
563

Miao, P'ing Fa Miao, He Chung Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Chung Chia, He Min Tzu, Pe Tou Tzu, Pe Lung Chia, Pe Chung Chia, T'u Ch'i Lao, Ya Ch'üeh Miao, Hu Lu Miao, Hung Chou Miao, Hsi Ch'i Miao, Ch'e Chai Miao, Sheng Miao, He Chüeh Miao, He Lou Miao, Tuan Ch'ün Miao, Chien Ting Miao, Lang Tz'u Miao, Lo Han Miao, Liu Tung I Jen, Ch'ing Chung Chia, and Ku Lin Miao.

them, /17/ many of different names belong to the same group. Furthermore, as the non-Chinese tribes in Kweichow in general are called Miao, there is also a difference between the broad and the narrow senses of the term. In the narrow sense the term Miao refers to the real Miao tribe. There has been very little scientific study made of the tribes in Kweichow, and there are insufficient data to make an accurate classification of them. According to S.R. Clarke, they may be classified into four main tribes according to their languages, namely, the Ch'i Lao, the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia. (1) The Ch'i

M
*101
● 197
C
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M
[113]

1. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, pp. 1-15.

Lao has been hitherto regarded as a subgroup of the pure Miao, but according to Terrien de Lacouperie's view, the Ch'i Lao are the remnants of the Ka Lun (Karen) in Burma, because of the similarity in language and in grammar between them. (2)

M
[113]

2. Terrien de Lacouperie, The Cradle of the Shan Race, p. 48.

/17 cont./

M *101 •197 C 563

However, using language as a basis, Lowis maintains that the Karen are the predecessors of the Shan tribe (Pre-Shan). (3)

3. C.C. Lowis, The Tribes of Burma, p. 16.

The writers have used the 76 words of the Ch'i Lao language as recorded by S.R. Clarke to make a comparison with the languages of the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia, and have found a 40 per cent similarity between the Ch'i Lao and the Chung Chia languages.. However, the two tribes have lived together for a long time, mutually assimilating each other, so that we cannot assume on the basis of the partial similarity in languages that they are of the same origin. We know that although the list of names of the peoples of southwest China is long, they may be divided into four groups: the Miao-Yao, the Tibeto-Burman, the Thai-Shan, and the Mon-Khmer. The tribes in Kweichow cannot fall outside these four groups. The Miao belong to the Miao-Yao group, the Chung Chia to the Thai-Shan group, the Lolo to the Tibeto-Burman group. Whether the Ch'i Lao belong to the Miao-Yao or to the Thai-Shan group remains an unsettled question for lack of sufficient data. The Ch'i Lao were the earliest tribe to reside in Kweichow and might be called the natives. They covered a rather extensive area. The Kweichow T'ung Chih says: "There are many kinds of Ch'i Lao, found everywhere." But they have repeatedly been assimilated by other tribes in later times, and their population now is very small. The migration of the Miao tribes into Kweichow probably began before the Ch'in and Han periods. They came out of Szechwan and first arrived in the northeast of Kweichow, gradually moving southeastward. The Miao in Kweichow sometimes also call themselves the aborigines, but when the Ch'i Lao and the Miao are found together in the same locality, the latter are considered to be "guests" and the former the "hosts." The Lolo migrated to northwestern Kweichow

M *101 C 563

M [167]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family 123
with whom I lived would accept no money 421
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often 152
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either 194
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 193

[96]

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

the Black or Dark men, the aborigines of Hainan, is a problem which must be left for some missionary or traveller to solve.

As mentioned above, all the languages spoken in Kweichow are syllabic and tonic, but the Miao language appears to be more like the Chinese or, at all events, more like Mandarin Chinese than those spoken by the Keh-lao, Chung-chia, or I-chia. Naturally in all these languages there are words manifestly borrowed from the Chinese; but leaving out such words, there seem more resemblances between the Chinese and Miao words than between the Chinese and any of the others, or between Miao and any of the others.

Of the non-Chinese languages spoken in Kweichow we know Heh Miao and Chung-chia best, and it is worthy of note that in both of these, as a rule, the adjective comes after the noun, whereas in Chinese the adjective comes before the noun. There are also other marked peculiarities which differentiate these languages from the Chinese and from one another, but for the most part the syntax of all these languages is very much the same, that is to say, there are no conjugations, no declensions, and no inflexion of words. Like Mandarin Chinese, none of the Miao dialects we know have any

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

194 final consonants other than "*n*" and "*ng*." They have, however, some initial sounds which are not found in Chinese, among which may be noted the "*Ll*" of the Welsh among the Heh Miao and also among the I-chia. This initial sound in some of the Miao dialects changes to "*Kl*" and "*Bl*."

The Chung-chia, besides the final "*n*" and "*ng*," have also as finals *k*, *m*, *p*, and *t*. The Heh Miao have eight tones, and some of the other dialects probably as many, though we have heard of some which have only four. The Chung-chia have six tones. How many the I-chia and Keh-lao have we are not able to say. The student has to study these languages some time before he can decide how many tones they use. Of course, all these people utter all the various tones correctly for their own dialects, but are quite unable to say how many tones there are. There are, moreover, in some of these tones such fine gradations of pitch and inflexion that only the practised ear can distinguish between them.

197 192 The various dialects spoken by the Miao tribes differ considerably, so much so that a Heh Miao from the south-east cannot understand anything of the dialect spoken by a Heh Miao of the west. If, however, the vocabularies

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

of these two most dissimilar dialects are compared, it is easily seen that they are both variations of a common speech. Naturally these variations are most marked in cases where the tribes are most widely separated geographically. But the differences of dialect in tribes which are only thirty or forty miles apart are sometimes very great. In some of these cases it is very often the commonest words which show the greatest changes; for instance, the pronouns, the negatives, and such common words as the verbs "to be" and "to have." This striking difference of speech among people who must at one time have spoken the same language suggests that they have not only been separated geographically, but have also been apart for long periods of time.

The Heh Miao call themselves *mp'eo* or *de mp'eo*. *De* is merely a personal prefix. This word or sound *mp'eo* also means embroidery. The Heh Miao women, and the women of most of the other Miao tribes, wear a good deal of embroidery in their costume. The amount of embroidery on the clothing of a Heh Miao young woman is astonishing. It takes them years to do the embroidery on the jacket and skirt in which they hope to be married, and one of the commonest sights in a Heh Miao village

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

123 of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

133 South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an
487 altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

161 This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They
131 are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

142 These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

192 Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar
[197] sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

1k Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

Some Ch'wan Miao Characteristics.—The Ch'wan Miao are a very isolated, segregated, financially poor group of people almost certainly with no European contacts. They live in the mountains at an elevation of about 3,000 feet. They are mainly an agricultural people, although they are also pastoral and some are hunters. They travel entirely on foot. Their crops are mainly maize and rice. They eat very little meat (mostly mutton) and few vegetables; their chief diet is maize and/or rice. 105

The Ch'wan Miao have been permeated very considerably by the culture of the Chinese and the grade of that culture is not low. Given equal advantages the Miao are as intellectual as the Chinese. Some students, under great handicaps, have persevered and graduated from our University. 177

They have a distinct unwritten language, which differs markedly from the Chinese. Many of the males are bilingual. Their folklore, songs and music are distinct from those of the Chinese. They have a peculiar bamboo wind-instrument; it consists of a body of a bamboo tube 6–8 inches long by 3 inches in diameter. To the centre of 197 534

[P. 67a]

1k Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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[P. 67a]

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

/22 cont./

173 This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom
[115] I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tšu tšī, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/
[648] In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands in China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nyǎ lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

174 The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been re-
[131] ported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan actually are Meau and not perhaps Yau. It is significant, at
[197] any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

39; Bernatzik--32 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /23 cont./
174 to Stübel, on the other hand, their clothing is identical with
[197] that of the Meau of Kwangsi.

Summarizing, it may be said with Von Eickstedt that the
M Meau come from the high-mountain steppes where Tibet,
174 Mongolia, and Old China converge, perhaps even from Siberia.
131 The majority of the Meau today live in two large, compact
[101] groups, separated from one another, in Kweichow; vast numbers of them are also settled in the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Szechwan, and especially in Yunnan. Considerable groups have also occupied Tonkin as far as the Annamese Cordillera, and others entered Thailand, where they reached the central cordillera at 16° 15' north latitude. /24/ During the past decades advance units of these people have also entered Burma. On the other hand, it has not been unequivocally determined whether Meau are actually found among the mountain peoples of the island of Hainan; if this should be the case, however, they would not have reached the island in the course of a natural migration, but would have been settled there forcibly by the Chinese. In accordance with geographical and population-political possibilities, the migratory movement necessarily always proceeded from the north to the south and has not yet ceased even today.

M A great number of Meau, perhaps even the larger half,
174 were forced by the most severe political pressure to give up their allegiance to tribal customs and, with the loss of their cultural and ethnic identity, have been absorbed by the neighboring tribes. Undoubtedly the Chinese especially have absorbed much Meau blood. The culture of the ancient Meau was presumably an element which, among others, formed the foundation for the building of the Chinese high culture.

A As for the original homeland of the Akha, Davies (1) and
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1. Page 395.

the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (2), as well as Heine-Geldern (3),

2. Part I, p. 590.

/444 cont./

144 the following general conclusion: "From an anthropological
174 standpoint, the homeland and the linguistic relationships lead to the assumption that here it is a matter of another, second part of the Central Sinoids -- a second part besides the Thai -- which, in the eastern mountains of Central China, poured over or pushed out the older Mon-Khmer Paleo-Mongolians similar to the way that this happened in the western part through the Central Sinoid Thai."

/445/ Chapter 28

Language

193 The language of the Meau is a monosyllabic tone language with five different tones. The best expert on it, P. P. Savina (1),

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1. II, p. 168.

writes concerning the language of the Meau that it is spoken with the nose as well as with the mouth and that it differs from all other languages. Maraball (2), too, stresses the independence

2. Page 131.

of the "dialect" of the Meau. Savina emphasizes its dissimilarity in relation to the languages of the Lolo, Chinese, Annamese, Tho, and Yau /Yao/. Seidenfaden (3), on the other hand, doubts

3. II. p. 198.

the dissimilarity of the languages of the Meau and Yau, just as the Census of Burma (4), in direct opposition to Savina,

4. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 200.

classifies the Meau language with the "Man Group," which

/445 cont./

114 would be made up of solely the languages of the Yau (Man) and
the Meau. Since, however, no linguistic samples from the Yau
● 197 were offered by either author, no position on this can be taken.

According to the samples of the languages of the Meau and the other peoples settled in Thailand, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Phi Tong Luang, Moken, White Karen, and finally the various Thai peoples, recorded by me, Savina's findings are essentially correct. For the time being, however, that means very little in view of our inadequate knowledge about the peoples of northern Burma and Assam. On this account, the conclusion drawn by Savina, that by reason of their language a very special exceptional position should be given to the Meau, also seems to me to be at least premature at the moment. On the other hand, the classification made by Major Davies and, probably following him, Lowis (5), according to which the Meau language is classi-

5. I, pp. 40 ff.

fied with the Mon-Khmer languages, is undoubtedly in error.
[192] The comparative words offered by Davies do not mean much,
since the Meau language certainly contains a multitude of loan-
words from the language of the original inhabitants. The assertion
by Marabail (6), who assumes that the syntax of the Meau lan-

6. Page 131.

guage is identical with that of the Yau (Man) language, likewise means little, /446/ since no proof at all is offered for it. I myself for the present classify the Meau language with the Siamo-Chinese language group of the Indochinese language family, which also corresponds with Credner's (1) provisional

1. II, p. 137.

classification.

/446 cont./

114 ●197 Of the older authors, Davies and Clarke published short vocabularies, as did Dhuraratsadorn (2). By far the best and

2. Page 175.

most comprehensive are the French-Meau and Meau-French dictionaries which Savina compiled. A comparison of these dictionaries with the surveys of the other authors on the one hand and my own linguistic data on the other hand shows considerable differences in places, which leads one to conclude that there are certain differences in the Meau speech of the various regions. Undoubtedly the Meau of the individual regions have taken over [192] a greater number of expressions from the Chinese and from the languages of other neighbors as loanwords. Since, however, as was said, these neighboring languages in large part have not yet been studied, no definite statements can be made concerning this, and all the less so, to be sure, since the accounts of the authors in question here, with the exception of Savina's publications of this type, give the impression of being very incomplete. It seems as though these authors were not completely familiar with the matter; misunderstandings in their conversations with the Meau can easily be imagined. After all, I myself in working with the Meau have dealt for the first time with a tone language, and a comprehension of it is by no means easy for European ears.

[197] Under these circumstances it is very regrettable that the missionaries working in South China, who have had contacts with the Meau for centuries, have so far, to my knowledge, published nothing concerning this language and in fact, for the most part, give instruction in Manchu. We are therefore completely dependent on the observations and conclusions of individual authors. According to Von Eickstedt (3), the languages of the Meo and

3. II, p. 57.

Yau differ, to be sure, but are nevertheless closely related, at

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /446 cont./
114 any rate, more closely related to each other than, say, to the
197 Chinese or Thai, though, undoubtedly, here, too, there are deeper connections. Usually, the linguists solved this dilemma by regarding the Meau-Man group as an independent group next to the Chinese, Thai, and Mon-Khmer.

M /447/ Seidenfaden (1) goes into the grammatical structure
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1. II, p. 198.

of the language in greater detail. According to him, the various nouns do not have any gender and are not declined by time, mode, or number. In a sentence, the subject comes before the verb and the object after it, the adjective after the substantive and the adverb after the verb to which it relates. More information concerning the language can be found in Savina's work (2)
M
114
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2. II, pp. XIX-69.

and in his dictionaries already mentioned. Of special interest is his comparative word list, pp. 42 and 43, which gives expressions in the Meau, Man, Lolo, Thai, Annamese, Tibetan, Tatar, Malay, and Stieng. In this connection a reference should be made to my comparative word list of the kinship terms of the Meau, Akha, Lisu, Lahuna, Lahusi, Biet, Dšeray /Jarai/, Radé /Radhe/, Karen, Lao, and South Thailand languages.

A The language of the Akha has been provisionally classi-
197 fied by Lowis (3) in the "Lisu Subgroup" of the "Burman Group."
114

3. I, p. 85.

The Linguistic Survey of India (4) follows him and regards the

4. Pages 382 ff.

language of the Akha as related to the Lahu and Lihsaw (Lisu).

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/448 cont./

A M 114 197 Recapitulating, it must be stated that neither the language of the Meau or that of the Akha has been investigated scientifically. An urgent task for the linguistics of Farther India is to concern itself with the basic problems involved.

/449/

Chapter 29

Writing

M 114 212 A [212] Whereas there is no information concerning any writing of the Akha, and the Akha groups studied by me had no letters at all, the information available concerning the writing of the Meau is rather contradictory.

Lajonquière (1), Abadie (2), and Dhuraratsadorn (3)

1. II, p. 321.

2. Page 151.

3. Page 171.

regard the Meau as complete illiterates. It is said that there are only very few Meau who know a few and at that Chinese characters, which they pronounce with Chinese phonetics. It is reported of other Meau in China that they write and speak Chinese (4).

M [191]

4. Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 42.

M [175] In any case, these authors say nothing about the Meau having a writing of their own. In contrast to this, Seidenfaden (5)

5. II, p. 195.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/479 cont./

M 114 174 A [114] such as clothing and settlements, are always dealt with, but everything else is almost totally ignored. I therefore strove to record all the cultural elements of the Meau, as well as those of their neighbors, the Akha, within my area of investigation, in order to create, at long last, an unobjectionable basis for research. It is shown from these elements presented by me in the present work that the Meau culture is by no means to be regarded as homogeneous culture, but rather as a mixed one. The various cultural influences correspond to the migration routes known from the history of the Meau. Cultural goods from Mongolia and Siberia and such of Tibetan /480/ origin are frequently mixed with Chinese elements. In judging the latter, caution is required, because the early Chinese also absorbed cultural possessions of the Meau; therefore elements that today are regarded as Chinese in origin may conversely stem from the Meau. The anthropology confirms the cultural picture. It is regrettable that, despite various existing studies, the language of the Meau, like that of the Akha, has not been unequivocally classified by comparative linguists and therefore could only partially be drawn upon for proof. The works of other authors also supplement my observations. Koppers (1) and Shirokogoroff,

A M [197]

1. Pages 304 ff.

for instance, indicate cultural connections with the Tungus. Eberhard (2) rejects a uniform Meau culture and speaks of a

2. II, pp. 271 and 274.

mixed culture in which elements of the Chuang and Yau predominate. He also mentions Tibetan influences. On the other hand, I cannot agree with his proposal to regard the Meau as originally Yau who have strongly interbred with the Chuang and are only secondarily overlaid with Wuman, as well as viewing the Fan as alleged ancestors of the Meau, since the old Chinese sources, which he used as evidence, are too unreliable for the reasons already discussed, but above all the

[151 cont.]

757 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
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[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now
it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders
mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the
trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter
vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for
barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and
some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually,
when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than
that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparent-
ly thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to
light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering
trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and
the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed,
we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On in-
quiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not
want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know
how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction
from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way
we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began
everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which,
according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering
the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pre-
tended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's
home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o
/"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs
and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and
thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

/101 cont./

184 584 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ

2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps out-
[574] side the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food
[201] and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."
[114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 574 585 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great

2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife.
[583] This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's [731] march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and [312] makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr. /

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

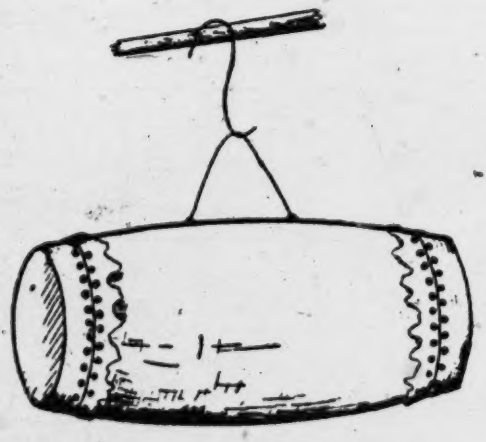
/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[12] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/36 cont'd/

622
534
202



This is the large drum being preserved in the home of the chia-ch'ang. The drum is made of deer skin and each drum has two drum sticks.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are still being made. There are sometimes contests to see who can sing the largest number of them. When anything important happens, a song may be composed and it is sung and taught to others. If some some good deed is done, the person that is benefitted may write a song and thus spread the knowledge of it abroad and to future generations. If an injustice is done, this is an efficient way of punishing the offender and of securing revenge. 533

There is nothing that could be called band music, although at funerals and other ceremonies the jointed bugles, called in Chinese *sa la tzŭ*, and brass gongs are used, and the ceremonial drum is accompanied in funeral and memorial ceremonies by the *liu shêng*. The mouth harp, made of brass or of bamboo, is played by lovers when they are sitting side by side and making love to each other. Tree leaves are used for making love when the lovers are far apart, for the noise is much louder and they are thought to be very efficient in winning the feminine heart, as the following proverb shows: 534

blo꞉ tɡə gwa· bo· tɡə Ta·
blo꞉ tɡə ndᵃao bo· tɡə hnao.

which means:

If the tree leaf does not resound, the wife will not come.

If the tree leaf does not sound forth, the wife will not hear.

With both the mouth harp and the tree leaf the music is accompanied by audible words.[10]

Of special interest is the *liu shêng* 六笙, called by the Ch'uan Miao gaign or gʌn. It consists of a piece of wood two feet or more in length, hollow inside, and larger at the bottom than near the top. The upper portion is about an inch in diameter and the base is from two to three inches in diameter. Into holes in the larger part of this wood are inserted six bamboo tubes of unequal lengths in which there are brass reeds. The six notes made by means of these tubes are all harmonious so that two or more can be sounded at one time. The result, in the hands of a skillful musician, is beautiful music. Only men and boys play the *liu shêng* and the player always accompanies the music with dancing, so that the result is not unlike that of a Scotchman playing his bagpipes.

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10. Warning of the approach of robbers is sometimes given by means of tree leaf music which can be heard ten *li* distant. The speaker does not actually pronounce words. He or she makes the same tones with the same emphasis as if speaking the words or sentences and it is easily understood by another Ch'uan Miao. 262

[23 cont.]

582 with the Chinese who live among them. Many of the Chinese speak the Miao language and are even influenced by the Miao in certain habits and customs, but intermarriages are extremely rare. Actually this is not only true of the Miao and the Chinese, but also of the different Miao groups. For instance at Chou-ch'i in the Lu-shan area there are 4,000 Short-skirt Hê Miao, about 200 to 300 Chinese, and less than 100 Mu-lao Miao. For marriage, these few Mu-lao Miao have to seek contacts in other Mu-lao villages very far away and never for a moment would they think of intermarrying the Short-skirt Hê Miao on the spot.

4. Funeral

764 [777] When a Short-skirt Hê Miao dies his family decides on a lucky day to invite three or four relatives to specially wail aloud for him. The corpse is placed on a temporary scaffold about five feet from the ground on the left side of the hall and covered with sheets of coarse native cloth of about six feet long and two feet wide. The married daughters as a rule each present a sheet. [24] The unmarried daughters at home also collectively present one, though in some rich families everyone gives a sheet. These different colored sheets are used to line the coffin at the time of interment. When the corpse is being moved out of the house, the family members all wear hemp cloth on their heads and weep aloud around the body. At the same time they despatch messengers to announce the bereave-
[202] ment to relatives living far away. In case the deceased is a man, they fire hunting rifles at the gate, or in the case of a woman, firecrackers so that those relatives within earshot may be apprised. The little table in front of the corpse is complete with spirit tablet, incense and candles, four bowls of glutinous rice, twelve cups of wine, a pig's heart and stomach, and other offerings. A priest is engaged to "open the way." He wields a dagger and a bunch of straw, uttering magic words and brandishing, at the same time, the dagger and straw, in an effort to drive away evil spirits that may obstruct the way.

[198 cont.]

535 527 584 go-between to arrange the match. Therefore, young men and women everywhere try to make as many new clothes as possible to be worn on this occasion. The dancers sometimes change their clothes a few times a day. In short, the custom of the flower dance has prevailed for a long time. Some dance with the hope of acquiring children while others, among the illusive shadows and to the tune of scintillating music, look secretly but intently for his or her future mate. For the unmarried men and women the purpose of the flower dance is to seek a partner in life.

535 527 443 (II) The Market Dance. The market dance is also an important annual event with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in this area. The dance is similar to the flower dance, except that it does not require a flower tree and that it has no fixed date and place. It is held generally after the transplantation of young rice-plants in the fourth or fifth month, or after the ripening of the crop in the seventh or eighth month. It is held at the market fair, but the announcement is made at a previous [202] fair by the host (or promoter, who is generally a Chinese) with two men, one beating a gong, and the other balancing a bamboo pole on his shoulder, on which is tied a belt with flower designs. This belt is presented as a souvenir by the girl to the boy when they talk love at the dance. When the two men circle around the fair once the crowd would know that the next one would be a market dance. On that occasion bands of men and women from all parts would come with new clothes as for the flower dance, men playing so-na and lu-sheng, and talking all the way. Arriving at the fair they would perch on the high mounds or stay in the low open ground outside the market place, playing musical instruments and singing songs. Young men and women take this opportunity to meet new friends or [199] renew old acquaintances. [243] The old people believe that the market dance in the fourth month, when the buckwheat and other grains flower, can encourage the yielding of more crops, and the market dance in the seventh month can bring about firmer and larger seeds. The market dance is known proverbially as the "grain dance," a name which clearly reveals its superstitious origin.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 888 [596] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

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A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

A M [782] [775]

M 764 775 Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of

1. Page 461.

Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

M [789]

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [752] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's [202] celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute
of the Meau. 1/9
nat. size. Fig. 28,
from above. Fig. 29,
side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/394 cont./

702 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns
868 as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the
701 region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn kŏăn) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

726 Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the
[202] tă lĕn tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the
[714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war.
[251] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which
[484] will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

/470 cont./

177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the [824] Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

● 202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of [721] war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re- [675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeters /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [554] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/156 cont./

(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ɕi˥ zoŋ˩] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be [203] [602] sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother/chiu-mu; is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress [292] [493] [843] (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

/68 cont./

A is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can
M there be any thought of influences coming from Europe.
524 Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the fre-
526 quent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect
171 a common origin.

There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha
A and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are some-
M times arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks,
541 as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples.
171 Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often
[525] lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these fights.

A. Children begin to perform work at the age of four among
M both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect fire-
857 wood (Ill. 38), which they carry home in their own small wood
561 /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields,
[252] carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93), and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard
A the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers,
M a particularly important task in a country where there is neither
[203] mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys, both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having complained about work that was too hard.

A Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games,
M there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but
837 rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing
561 children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in
461 the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[See cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]
[" " ", p 643- "]

/115 cont./

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h) Old Age and Death

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M [789]

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yam, spinning, weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[241] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)
[248]

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /242/ ... /
426 In case of malicious nonpayment, which in practice al-
[622] most never occurs, the creditor turns to the village chief, who
[686] will make use of his powers. If even his efforts are unsuccessful, the creditor has the right to kill the debtor.

Limitation of debts is unknown, but repayment in install-
M ments is customary. If a Meau debtor lives in a village other
426 than the one where the creditor lives or moves to a different
675 village, a sort of promissory note is made out. It consists of a
[211] piece of wood into which a notch is cut for the value of each ten pieces of silver. Thereupon the stick is split lengthwise in such a way that the halved notches remain on each of the sides of the stick. The creditor keeps one half of the stick; the debtor
M takes the other half with him. This practical custom seems to
[184] be very widespread among the Meau and not limited to Thailand. In any case Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in similar fashion on the

1. Page 172.

Meau in Tonkin.

If a creditor wants repayment from the debtor, he need not seek him out himself, but can ask someone else to demand the amount for him. He then gives the half of the stick to the messenger as identification. Upon presentation, the debtor is obliged to pay the messenger, identified by the half of the stick, the amount shown on the stick, beginning at the date agreed upon, provided that this half agrees with the one that remained with the debtor. On the other hand, if only partial payment is made, the old debt-stick is destroyed and a new one prepared showing the residual amount, and this is handled in the same way as the first. The messenger is then given a half of the stick to take back.

A The situation regarding property among the Akha differs
423 considerably from that among the Meau. Uncultivated land belongs to no one; it is considered as unrestricted, as are hunting and fishing. Accordingly, the land may be taken into possession
A by any tribesman without further inquiry by merely beginning to
[596] clear and cultivate it. It is left entirely up to him to choose the
[614] land and the extent of the land. Since, however, land is usually

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/430/

A M 802

The numbers are called:	Among the Meau in Thailand:	Among the Akha:
1 000	ły kyźu	ɤ̃ mɯ̃
10 000	kõõ kyźu	ɤ̃ ɔ̃
100 000	pźu kyźu	ɤ̃ lõu
many	mɔ̃ mɔ̃n dau	yźu yõ

In the case of numbers higher than twenty, various aids are used for further counting. Rice kernels, for instance, may represent the tens and maize the hundreds, for which I have given a practical example in the description of the division of the estate after the death of a family head (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Right of Succession").

A M [211] On the other hand, other counting aids, such as knotted cords and the like, are unknown, as are notched sticks, which serve exclusively as a promissory note, and, to be sure, only among the Meau, but not among the Akha (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law"). Savina (1) reports differently

M [211]

1. II, p. 322.

concerning the Meau in Tonkin: His entire mathematical knowledge is restricted to the counting of notches in a piece of wood, in order to fix the most important events of his life. There are notches for births, deaths, marriages, drought, rain, and the harvest."

Neither the Akha nor the Meau have any special expressions for quantitative concepts such as threescore, dozen, or the like, but rather pronounce all numbers, even the highest. In this connection, the Akha know how to count up to about 100,000, the Meau far higher.

A M 803 868 Among both mountain peoples, I was unable to find any special arithmetical method or system. Also, no arithmetical instruction is given; the appropriate knowledge like all other knowledge, is picked up in daily life.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

583 583 [590] The young people are married at seventeen or eighteen, and it seems to make no difference whether the young couple live with the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or set up housekeeping in their own home. The wedding is usually held at the groom's home, two or three young girls and a young man or two from his village going for the bride and escorting her back. The bride wears no distinctive dress except a peculiar headdress under her kerchief, and an embroidered girdle of undyed cloth. She also carries two small towels of this same material thrown over her shoulders, and one to cover her face. According to their custom, the bride and groom sit on the same bench and eat and drink together, and then declare their allegiance to the family by serving tea to the parents or in some other simple way.

771 [797] The Miao in their heathen state apparently worshipped any and all gods in an effort to appease them but with little definite idea or set ritual. Idols do not seem to be in evidence in their houses, and being a roving people, they have no temples. They have within the last few years become interested in the Gospel and whole villages have become Christian, much as has been the case in the mass movement, so-called, in India. They are a simple people, highly emotional and temperamentally religious, which is often true of hill peoples. Thus certain emotional phases of religion immediately become paramount in their eyes, and without careful teaching they are liable to be led astray on these points.

797 [2,2] The Miao have no written language of their own, but pick up Chinese character with amazing rapidity. The Christian villages each put up a chapel at their own expense, meet every morning for prayer before they go to their work, and every evening for a short service and an hour or so of study. When a Chinese evangelist or a missionary comes to the village, they study until midnight, when they are sent home in self-defence by the teachers—and at 2 a.m. they are up pounding rice, so that we wonder when they sleep. They are a wonderfully interesting people, these "Children of the Forest," as they style themselves, and it is a rare privilege to be among them and come to know them.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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devotion to Christ fascinated me. I have listened to him preach the Gospel in brilliant Chinese and then go into our Stone-Gateway Chapel and in Miao sway an audience of a thousand tribesmen. He would discuss plans and schemes with Miao deacons, comfort and encourage mothers and then romp like a boy with Miao children who, when he said good-bye, would sit by the wayside and cry as though their little hearts would break. I longed to become like him. "Flowers of God's heart" he used to call the kiddies, and woe betide any one who caused one of these to stumble.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the White Teacher was confronted was that the Miao possessed no written characters. Pollard solved the problem by providing phonetic signs to represent Miao sounds and by adapting the system employed in shorthand of vocalising consonants. This system of writing came to be known as "The Pollard Script", and since it was quickly and easily learned by the Miao, they became proud of having their language in a written form which they could call their own. Pollard used the script for the translation of passages of scripture, hymns and simple Christian doctrines, and afterwards primers were prepared. Later the Gospel of St. Mark and other Gospels were translated and put into circulation and no one will ever be able to calculate the enormous influence which the light-giving Word has exerted on the Miao. Before the Pollard script, books and a library were unknown. The great majority of these tribesmen had never handled even a sheet of

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5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

writing paper or a pen. They had heard that once upon a time there were books; a tribal legend described how long, long ago the Miao lived on the north side of the Yangtze River, but the conquering Chinese came and drove them from their land and homes. Coming to the river and possessing no boats they debated what should be done with the books and in the end they strapped them to their shoulders and swam across, but the water ran so swiftly and the river was so wide, that the books were washed away and fishes swallowed them. This was the story. When the British and Foreign Bible Society sent the first Gospels and these were distributed the legend grew—the-once-upon-a-time lost books had been found, found in the white man's country, and they told the incomparable story that Jesus loved the Miao. Only the imagination can conceive what this meant to those hillmen; some of whom travelled for days to view the books. The establishment of schools brought light and understanding to the minds of both boys and girls; fathers would undertake all the work in their fields so that a son might be free to study; and mothers carrying supplies to their boys at school would trudge weary miles over hills and mountains.

On September 15th, 1915, Samuel Pollard, the greatest missionary who ever worked in South-West China, passed into eternal rest. For eleven years he had lived day and night for his Miao who, when he died, said to his lifelong chum, Frank Dymond: "He is ours, let us bury him; we will

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER III

MIAO LEGENDS

Black Miao legends—The Creation—The Flood—The earth repeopled—Hua Miao legend of Flood—Ya-ch'io legend of Flood—Fu-hsi—P'an-ku—Yao and Shuen's Flood.

THE Miao have no written language. This is a very remarkable fact if we bear in mind that the Chinese have cultivated literature for nearly four thousand years, while the Miao have been their neighbours, and some of them near neighbours, for all this length of time. The two races, though often contending, have not always been in arms one against another; there has always been some, and generally a good deal of intercourse between them. Their average intelligence is not equal to that of the Chinese, but some of them are equal to the average Chinese. They are not by any means savages or wild people, and they have unquestionably learned many things from the Chinese, and yet they never learned

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

212 from them the art of writing their own language.

[193] The Miao language, like the Chinese, is syllabic, unencumbered with conjugations or other inflexions, and it would be very easy to represent Miao words by Chinese characters 871 which are not phonetic but ideographic. At the present time there are schools in the Miao villages where Chinese literature is taught. Probably from earliest times there have been some Miao, as there are now, who could read and write Chinese, and yet not one of them, as far as we know, ever attempted to put down their own words in writing. If such an attempt was ever made, it evidently met with no acceptance among the tribesmen, who remain to-day as illiterate as their ancestors in the days of Yao and Shuen.

872 When we opened a school at Panghai some 212 years ago, and offered to teach the scholars to write their own language in the Roman script, the parents would not consent, but wished their children to learn to read and write Chinese. Their way of looking at the matter is not hard to understand. What writing they have to do must be done for them in Chinese. Any Miao 212 who can read and write passably may easily make his living among his neighbours by doing

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

their reading and writing for them. All proclamations and official notifications, all pleas and counter-pleas in law cases have to be written in Chinese. When a Miao headman receives a dispatch from the magistrate, he has to find some one to read it for him and write his reply. All their contracts, mortgages, and deeds of sale or rental are written in Chinese, and not one in a hundred of them when he buys a piece of land is able to read the deed of sale when it is written.

A man once explained to me how it happens that they have no written language. He said that many years ago the Miao were living in the neighbourhood of the Chinese, and the Chinese were too crafty for them, so they determined to move westward and live by themselves. At that time they knew a few characters, but evidently knew very little else. After travelling for many days they came to a vast sheet of water, and, having no boats, were unable to proceed. As some of them stood perplexed at the edge of the water, they noticed some water-spiders moving about on the surface of it, and they said one to another, "If these little things can walk on the water, why cannot we?" Thereupon they tried to walk on the surface of the water, which nearly cost them

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

212 173 their lives. Before they managed to get back again on the bank, they swallowed a great deal of water, and with the water they swallowed all the characters they knew, and have been without characters ever since! This may be regarded as an historical romance with a basis of fact. They did move west away from the Chinese, and the sheet of water was doubtless the Tungting Lake. But are we to gather from it that there was a time when they had some characters, but have since forgotten them?

538 If the Miao have no literature, they have plenty of legends handed down from earlier times. Who composed these legends no one knows; they are taught by the older people to the girls and boys. Many of them are in verse, five syllables to a line, the stanzas being of unequal length, one stanza interrogative and one responsive. These are sung or recited at their festivals by two persons or two groups, generally one group of young men and one group of young women, one group interrogating and the other responding. Among these legends, which I have written down from the dictation of my Heh Miao teacher, is a story of the Creation and a story of the Flood. The story of Creation commences:

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü lao* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written
871 language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[30 cont.]

6. General Living Conditions

511 Due to limited space we cannot discuss all the phases of their living conditions. In sum, the Short-skirt Hê Miao are still passing through a phase of village economy. The necessities of life, except salt which is obtained from the Chinese, are all produced in the village. The area they occupy is quite fertile. Not long ago they produced a great deal of opium though they themselves are rarely addicted to it. They are, however, surrounded on four sides by the Chinese, and an extension of their cultivated acreage is therefore practically impossible. But their population has greatly increased in the course of centuries and in proportion the per family acreage under cultivation has greatly decreased. Although some few of them may be large landowners, the majority of the Hê Miao can maintain only the barest economic subsistence. Their continuous toil all year round yields merely a pittance, barely enough to ward off starvation. This kind of rigid economy [31] [161] together with the prevalence of smallpox increases the rate of mortality in recent years to such an extent that it follows closely the maximum birthrate, and thus manages to bring their population rate to a standstill: more people are being born, but more also are dying.

[212] They have no written language, their knowledge is limited, and their living standard is far below the standard of modern life. 648 Because of the backwardness of their civilization they are held in contempt by the Chinese. Due to repeated conflicts in the past between the Chinese and the Miao-I, a great deal of misunderstanding, suspicion and prejudice still exists between the two groups. Fortunately, there are no unified spoken language customs and habits among the various Miao-I groups, and so among their many millions of people there is yet no apparent consolidation of a minority group movement to oppose the 000 Chinese. If our government authorities can undertake the development of their educational standards on the one hand and the elimination of misunderstanding and racial prejudices on the

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before 769 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that [231] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their [773] tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.—Analyst]

86: Robequain--248 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE5 Mi
57
2120

Hospitable people, the Meo of Thanh Hoa have remained timid and extremely superstitious. They can neither read nor write, they stammer out the Thai language for their commercial transactions, and only their leader knows Annamese at all well. They all fled frightened into the rẫy when I wanted to photograph them before the door of their house. They used to live on the calcareous Mộc plateau which stretches out of the frontier chain of North Thanh Hoá beyond the Mai Châu gorge in the province of So'n La. Their leader told me that he was born at Chiềng Ly (?), three days' march from the market of Su Yut (2). They

Mi
167

2. On the Black River.

did not enter the province all at once, but by groups between 1900 and 1905. Some of the first-comers have already emigrated southwest into Hua Phan and the mountains surrounding M. Poun, Xiềng Mène and Sam Teu, and they will all probably end up by moving in this direction. Coming down Phú Nghi through M. Pung, I encountered several abandoned Mèo houses, entanglements of bamboo now invaded by brush, where a pipe still brought in a trickle of /236/ clear water, and where the decortication mill, too heavy for a distant exodus, still lay on the ground. Neither do the Mèo hesitate to leave their ancestors' tombs on these sheer slopes, little barricaded buttes on which they have placed tiny, derisory effigies -- bottles of brandy, bamboo pails and wooden spoons. The Mèo leader, who had only been settled three years in the house where he received me, already found that his rẫy were too far off and talked of leaving soon.

Indeed, there is nothing to induce the Mèo to settle permanently in these western cantons of Thanh Hoá. Any kind of irrigated crop is impossible on the narrow hills which taper off into sheer slopes, and even the lower edges of their rẫy strike those of the Thai coming up from the valleys. No doubt they appear as implacable destroyers of the forest, but it is the only way they can live (1).

1. Moreover, they are not responsible for the vast extents of thatch grass which, striped with black at the end of the dry season by the paths of fires, cover the sides of Phú Nghi. These patches are the result of a comparatively early deforestation which the Thai themselves impute to their ancestors.

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

/165 cont./

326 spirits of the smithy, the chief spirit, dă lŭ pán, which literally
776 means "to know great fire," and his two assistant spirits, lŭ lŭ pan and san lu pan, and asks these three spirits to help him and to see to it that the iron neither cracks nor becomes overheated. Da lu pan, the chief spirit of the smithy spirits, also taught the Meau /166/ other useful things, especially technical skills. These spirits of the smithy are of the male sex. The smiths
[782] make sacrifices to them on the altar in their houses and believe that they actually live there. Before the Meau begins his work at the forge, he lights an incense candle for each of the three spirits, that is, three candles altogether, and asks dă lŭ pán and his two assistant spirits to follow him to the smithy. After that it is believed that the three spirits actually accompany the smith to the workshop and return to the dwelling after the work is done. No explanation could be given when I objected that there must be vast numbers of such spirits, since there are many Meau smiths and dă lŭ pán with his two assistant spirits lives in the house of every one of them.

756 The teacher-spirit of the medicine man is called yŭ wăn
776 sŭ fŭ. The curer makes offerings to him, with whom no assistant
[782] spirits are associated, on the altar which he has erected in his house, before he begins to treat a sick person. Two incense candles are lighted for this sacrificial act.

The shamans, too, follow a teacher-spirit, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsŭ. They are also helped by three pairs of assistant spirits: tă fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé.

776 Other good spirits live in the clouds. Human beings do not know how many of them, who are called sĕn šĕn, there are. In one Meau village I met a woman who was convinced that she had the special good-will of these cloud spirits, for which reason
[782] she had erected in her house a special altar for them, on which she regularly offered sacrifices to the sĕn šĕn. This woman
[212] believed that the cloud spirits had taught her to write! How easy it was to determine that she had seen Chinese characters among itinerant Haw traders. Upon my request she scribbled on paper fanciful characters, whose meaning, of course, she was unable to explain to me.

39: Bernatzik--606 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/448 cont./

A M 114 197 Recapitulating, it must be stated that neither the language of the Meau or that of the Akha has been investigated scientifically. An urgent task for the linguistics of Farther India is to concern itself with the basic problems involved.

/449/ Chapter 29

Writing

M 114 ●212 A [212] Whereas there is no information concerning any writing of the Akha, and the Akha groups studied by me had no letters at all, the information available concerning the writing of the Meau is rather contradictory.

Lajonquière (1), Abadie (2), and Dhuraratsadorn (3)

1. II, p. 321.

2. Page 151.

3. Page 171.

regard the Meau as complete illiterates. It is said that there are only very few Meau who know a few and at that Chinese characters, which they pronounce with Chinese phonetics. It is reported of other Meau in China that they write and speak Chinese (4).

M [191]

4. Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 42.

M [175] In any case, these authors say nothing about the Meau having a writing of their own. In contrast to this, Seidenfaden (5)

5. II, p. 195.

/449 cont./

114 mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages
212 of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years
[175] 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

/450/ Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven
175 out of their original homeland and in places were completely
648 destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an
[163] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and
[842]

/512 cont./

648 place the same author (2) mentions: "If a few Meau in Pakha

2. II, p. 318.

tend to the graves and decorate them on festive days, this is an imitation of Chinese customs." Von Eickstedt (3), too, reports

3. Manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift, p. 3.

on the methods of peaceful penetration used by the Chinese when they could not reach their goal by force.

In the Yü Chu-luan there is a report of a Meau tribe whose members "consider themselves Chinese." A /513/ Chinese source (Ch Hch-'kfsch (1)) writes of the Han Meau that

1. II, Ch. 8, p. 16.

they marry Chinese and are strongly Sinicized, and the same source designates the Sung-Chia Meau as "descendants of Chinese who intermarried with natives" (2).

2. II, Ch. 10, pp. 42 ff.

Especially interesting and a perfect example of the fact that the Chinese carry out a successful Sinicization policy even in foreign countries is the observation that Lajonquière (3) made

3. II, p. 314.

on this in Indochina, in regions that are under the administration of the French colonial office: "A short time ago, some Meau chiefs of the Dongvan region are said to have founded schools. [212] As far as we are concerned, we have never met a Meau who was able to write, and we have always heard concerning them that they do not study since not even one letter of the alphabet can ever enter their heads. They therefore have the custom, in

39: Bernatzik--692 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5
Burma AP1

M 648 [212]

/513 cont./

groups of some significance, of keeping a Chinese skilled at writing, who, as secretary, maintains contact with the administration." Abadie (4) confirms this observation.

4. Page 152.

Thus, the Chinese demonstrate the effort either to destroy the foreign peoples of lower culture under their domination, in order to gain possession of the living spaces settled by the mountain peoples, or to make them economically dependent, in order to obtain cheap labor, or to assimilate them. In no case are methods to preserve foreign nationalities put into effect. That the Chinese have had success with their procedures is shown by the disappearance of the mountain peoples in large areas of North and Southwest China which were formerly their preferred habitation areas (see the chapter, "History").

2. The Conditions in Burma

B 563

One part of the mountain peoples pushed out of China immigrated to Burma via Yunnan. Here the uninhabited heights could be settled with relatively little disturbance, since the ruling people, the Schan /Shan/, lived in the valleys. Thus the mountain peoples who immigrated were nominally under the princes of the Schan, but otherwise were completely independent. Even when Burma came under British domination, no difficulties arose. Since the rule of the Schan princes /514/ from then on was in name only, the will of the British colonial officials prevailed. These were all experienced men, usually army officers who had transferred to the colonial service. It was very disadvantageous for the peoples under them, however, that these officials were changed too often and because of that were almost never in a position to learn the language, let alone to study the practices and customs of the mountain peoples. In spite of these decidedly unfavorable factors, however, the administrative results in Burma were not unfavorable from the standpoint of the mountain peoples.

/3 cont'd/

101 burn incense and candles at their altars and temples; nor were the
175 Chinese allowed to associate with them. Chinese peasants were not to take their women by force as wives. /The original text is: "...were not to take their t'ien-tzu...." T'ien-tzu literally means "son of heaven." It probably is a miswriting of nü-tzu which means woman.—Tr./ Any violaters of this rule were to be sent to the government to be tried and sentenced. The certificate indicated that the mountain people had their own boundaries and should not farm in the Chinese peasants' fields or ponds. They had their own region of secluded cliffs, mountains, and peaks. Monkeys were their companions and birds were their neighbors. They hunted on the mountains and made their living by cutting wood and planting. The Chinese were not allowed to cause trouble to them. Those who did were to be sent to be tried and sentenced by the officials at the district courts. The certificate conferred on our imperial ancestors was originally issued to the descendants of our ancestor P'an. Each law-abiding mountain person received a copy of it. They were not to feed the Imperial treasury. They were to watch over the mountain fields. Their bird guns, bows, and crossbows were to be used only for hunting wild boars, horses, and deer. Since they are law-abiding, when they move or pass through the various districts, they must be allowed to pass freely by the collectors of transit tolls. This was the certificate issued to our ancestors, and here is a copy. To whom it may concern.

It is certified as above.

217 /4/ The honorable titles of those in the Royal Court who recom-
175 mended this certificate are as follows:

Recommended by the Department of Certification of Documents of the Royal Court

Recommended by the President of the Board of Civil Appointment

Recommended by the President of the Board of War

Recommended by the President of the Board of Public Works

Recommended by the President of the Board of Rites

Recommended by the President of the Board of Punishments

Recommended by the President of the Board of Finance

It is hereby recommended that the descendants of our imperial ancestor P'an, in accordance with this imperial certificate of the

/4 cont'd/

217 Ch'u P'ing reign period /190-94 A.D./, be allowed to go to the
175 provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Ch'ao-chou, Hu-kuang, and Hupei, traveling on roads and waterways and living in the high mountains by wood while wood-cutting and cultivating, cutting and planting.

This is the due document to act as proof in perpetuity.

This certificate was filed for reference on the 16th day of the fifth month in the fifth year of Ch'u P'ing.

217 It is still a mystery where and when they had gained this "certificate," which up to the present is still carefully kept by them as their most precious treasure. From the description in the last paragraph, we are sure that the Miao of Hainan not only had direct relationship with the Miao (?) of Kwangsi but also had the same origin as the other Miao tribes (?) in different regions throughout South China.

173 From what has been said above, there is no doubt that the Miao of Hainan migrated from Kwangsi during the Ming period. However, I am very doubtful that the Miao of Hainan are actually the same as
197 the Miao of Kwangsi, because from the linguistic point of view, the languages spoken by them are very different. On the contrary, the spoken language of the Miao people of Hainan is very similar to that of the Yao people; particularly it is similar to, and almost identical with, the dialect spoken by the Lan-tien ("blue indigo") Yao tribes living in the Ling-yün area. The chart which follows may be helpful for reference. (Note: The vocabulary of the Miao of Hainan shown in the following chart is in my own romanization. The romanization of the vocabulary of the different Yao peoples of Kwangsi is based upon Kuang-hsi Lin-yün Yao-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi/, jointly compiled by Yen Fu-li and Shang Cheng-tsu. The romanization of the words of the Miao of Kwangsi province is based upon Liu Hsi-fan's Ling-piao Chi Man /The Aborigines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi/. In Liu's book, however, Chinese phonetic symbols are used. For the sake of uniformity I have used romanization in the present writing.)

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably
163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate
171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his
165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time
622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with
217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/132 cont'd/

622 217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we 122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

/1 cont'd/

101 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao
175 troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains
[411 and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the
278] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people
[291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like
[481] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where
[521] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned
[524] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are
[754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] *Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243 "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this
166 kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/9 cont'd/

131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

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Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[232] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

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587 auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung,
601 Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different. /

Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng; Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

602 With this kind of family register, although a family has increased and scattered to different places, the relationship of the family members is maintained without interruption. Consequently, those of the same surname related by blood are forever connected and the awareness of the kin group is very deeply rooted. There were a number of Miao who were able to tell us in great detail about the localities from which they had migrated and distant localities in which they still had many cousins living. The Miao headman, Mr. Wang Fu-shou of Pao-ch'a village in Ta-ch'i, frequently called me lao-tsung /"venerable kinsman"/. /The author, Wang Hsing-jui, has the same surname. / This was an expression of a feeling of kin group relationship. Since the kin group consciousness still exists, it is very natural that the feelings of the people of the same surname thus extend even to those not closely related.

[22] 61 Since their livelihood is chiefly dependent upon farming on the mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

/54 cont./

241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer
refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence
there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
[243] various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The
inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years
of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary
to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land
to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its
fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it
the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the
recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao
fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then
set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the
field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and
burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields
which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is
called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of
cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buck-
wheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the har-
vesting in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
[221] fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in
August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous
and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are
found in small number only in the small basins in the moun-
tains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the
rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water
from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30)
are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

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221 Hunting is done by the Meau in all seasons of the year, but
224 especially after the harvest has been brought in and the field
[461] work completed, for then they have leisure, whereas the period of field work must be put to good use in order to plant and harvest on time. Nevertheless, I have seen it happen that the passion for hunting induced the Meau to drop their extremely important field work in order to track down a stray elephant bull.

185 There are no closed seasons. Literally everything that
224 comes within shooting range of the hunter, male animals as well as females, gravid animals as well as the young, is shot. Thus, it is not at all surprising that /341/ within a short time after the founding of a village the game in the immediate vicinity, and soon in a wider area, is exhausted.

224 The Meau do not practice either hunting drives or communal hunts, but rather only individual hunting. Disguising the hunter in animal skins or masks to deceive the prey is unknown to them. It must be mentioned, however, that in the dense forest area that is available to them in northern Thailand a disguise would be obstructive and unnecessary.

For the individual hunting generally practiced among the Meau, two or three men usually set out together. The hunters, however, do not separate, as in communal hunting, but remain together in order to spring to the aid of one another in case of need. Since in the dense primeval forest a shot can be fired only at close range and the effectiveness of the Meau weapons is very limited in comparison with our hunting guns, it must therefore be assumed that the hunter will be attacked by every large animal that he shoots. The precaution of not going hunting alone is therefore absolutely mandatory, for often enough the companions are lifesavers in that they try to divert the pursuer from their fellow-hunter.

I was repeatedly able to confirm that the Meau know how to meet the dangers associated with this type of hunting. For example, in the company of Meau warriors I came across tree trunks with deep holes in them in three different places in the primeval forest. These were trees behind which the Meau

39: Bernatzik--479 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools.
[278] It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60
[285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the
[857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At
[165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to
[136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets,
[227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

Miao AE5

/431 cont./

805 114 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a [527] division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97).[1] For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at [825] night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up [221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use [824] any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that [825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1 [see Cat 116, p 663 - ANALYST]

/118 cont'd/

648 by influential Li leaders. Hence, even at the present time, almost without exception all Miao land is rented from the Li (a small part also belongs to Chinese merchants who have made their for-
648 tunes in the Li area). From the economic point of view, there-
466 fore, the relationship between the Li and the Miao has been the relationship between landlords and tenants. The Miao have to pay a certain amount of annual rent to the Li leaders (landlords); sometimes they even have to contribute personal service without compensation. They have to make a contribution toward running the Li schools and t'uans equal to that of the Li participants, but they are not allowed to participate in their administration. Moreover, the ownership of the land belongs to the Li, who can take the land back from their Miao tenants at any time should the latter
648 be disobedient. /119/ During last year's call to "develop Hainan," many shrewd Li leaders declared that they would take the mountain lands back from the Miao to cultivate themselves. Some also took forest preservation as a pretext and forbade the Miao to burn the mountains. When this news reached the Miao community, they were scared to death and did not know what to do about it. Among these unreasonable arrangements, the most cruel one is that the mountains are rented to the Miao tenants, but they are forbidden to enjoy any of the mountain products other than the crops that they
[223] cultivate. Some Miao pick some of the mountain products, such as edible fungus from trees and rattan, which they may bring out to barter with the Chinese. If they are caught on the way to market by the Li, all the commodities they carry with them are usually confiscated, and in addition they are heavily fined. Commodities subject to confiscation even include the animal skins which the Miao might have hunted in the mountains. Under such circumstances, the Li leaders and the Chinese landlord-merchants usually cooperate because their interests are identical. When I was in the Li area, I personally saw how these /Chinese/ merchants expressed their anti-Miao feeling. One can imagine how hard Miao life is. When I had just arrived in the Miao area, they all approached me with countless complaints about how they were badly treated by other peoples and how hard their livelihood was. They begged me

/76 cont./

252 The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered
[222] and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked
[415] rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they
252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half
262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several
[556] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

39: Bernatzik--460 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

[p 459 is blank]

AKha A04
MiaoAE5

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Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

/186 cont./

756 the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks
[764] concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves
[787] supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my
[114] own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is
789 the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both
224 among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or
223 the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the
756 weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted [411] with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[1] with which effective poisoned 411 arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306- [326] 308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair 262 or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [see out 116, pp576, 643, +530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

/343 cont./

224 [177] Pitfalls are not set up by the Meau. To be sure, some Meau hunters are familiar with this hunting method from the Lao, but it is not used, as was explained to me, because of the fear that human beings might fall in. The Meau do know a method of catching tigers, however, which is in a way reminiscent of pitfalls. At a point where the customary path of the tiger leads across a brook, a tree trunk cut in the middle is laid across the watercourse. Under the breaking point thus prepared, pointed posts are put in the brook and screened, and the tiger, plunging down, is impaled on them. During our stay the Meau actually succeeded in capturing a big cat in this manner.

The catching of mammals in nets is unknown, but the Meau are very skillfull in setting self-firing traps with a crossbow built in (see the section, "Agriculture," in this chapter), as well as nooses, which, in long rows, always with one noose beside another, are set so as to be invisible in the grass (Figs. 254-256). In association with bait or decoy-whistles (Fig. 257), the hunters then succeed in catching the [223] representatives of the gallinaceous birds, which are especially numerous in Thailand, in the noose or in the snare that has been set (Ill. 80[1] and Fig. 258). Larger animals up to the size of a deer are caught by the Meau in plate-traps. These consist of a foot board, /344/ which, when stepped upon, pulls up a flexible branch to which the noose is attached and thereby drawn together.

The construction of such deer traps is shown in Fig. 259. When the game steps on the boards fastened on one side over a pit and screened with leaves, the small board e and the crossbar d fall down, which releases the string J and the liana L, and the branch M /Figs. 254-259 appear here/ /345/ snaps upward. Through this the noose H, which was also connected with the liana and was placed over the foot boards, draws together around the leg of the animal. The snaring line is tied fast to a peg driven into the ground so that the captured game cannot escape. In setting the trap, the branch is bent down so low by means of block and tackle that the small board

[1] [see cat 116, p595- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--466 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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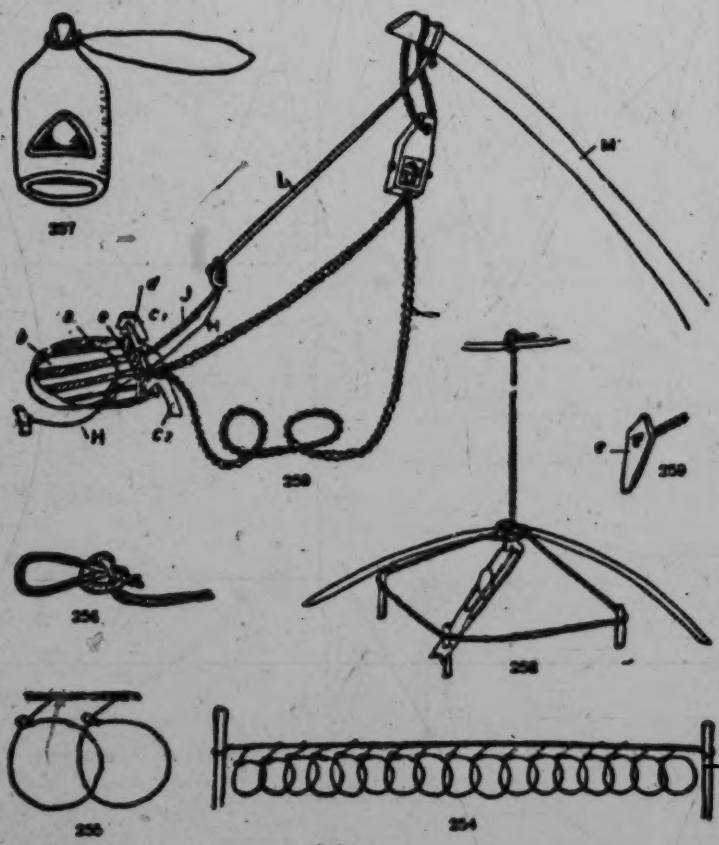
Figs. 254-259. Snaring Equipment of the Meau.

Figs. 254-256. Snaring nooses in a row arrangement: Fig. 254, complete picture, 1/20 nat. size; Fig. 255, arrangement of the nooses; Fig. 256, noose



[534]

knot. Fig. 257. Decoy whistle for bird-hunting, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 258. Bird trap, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 259. Deer trap, 1/15 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--595 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 442/

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Ill. 80. Meau hunter setting a snare to catch wild birds.

39: Bernatzik--725 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VII cont./

534 Ills. 75-77. Musical instruments.

Ill. 75. The mouth organ of the Meau, which differs in size and construction from the instruments of the other mountain peoples of Farther India (cf. Ill. 25). The instrument is carefully carved out of wood and mounted with silver rings. The inserted flutes are made of bamboo. As among the Akha, the instrument is played exclusively by men and usually simultaneously with dancing. The mouth organ is of greatest significance for the Meau as a sacral musical instrument.

[562] [535]

Ill. 76. Simple rod-flute of the Meau, made of bamboo, with one blow hole and six finger holes on the upper side and one finger hole on the under side. The latter is kept shut during the playing.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp. The instrument consists of a brass or bronze plate, the center of which is cut out to form a tongue. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the thumb of the right hand; the oral cavity forms the sounding board. A change in the size of the oral cavity produces a change of pitch.

Ills. 78-80 and 91-96. Means of subsistence.

411 Ill. 78. Flintlock gun, the chief weapon in war and for hunting, which the Meau make themselves, as well as the black gunpowder. The gun does not have a butt like the European gun, but merely a pistol stock. Lead or iron bullets are used. Although accuracy and penetrating power are slight, measured by European weapons, the Meau kill even big game with their guns.

Ill. 79. Crossbow. Next to the flintlock guns, the crossbow is the most important weapon of the Meau. Nevertheless, it is of less importance than among the Akha, who have almost no guns, and is usually used only for hunting birds and small game. With poisoned arrows, however, even large game and pachyderms are killed.

[223] [224]

223 Ill. 80. As passionate hunters, the Meau are masters at setting traps. The illustration shows a hunter who is setting a snare to catch wild birds. As soon as the bird touches the trigger stick, the noose jerks upward and the booty is caught in it.

/1 cont'd/

101 175 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains [411 and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the 279] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people [291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like [481] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where [221] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned [524] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are [754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] */Former title of a lieutenant colonel.--Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the [224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale. [242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the [171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn [231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 41 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [415 281] powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /287 If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 171 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases. The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers, or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Different from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance" would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

241

THIS SHOWS THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF TIMBER. THE MIAOS BURN THE GRASS AND FOLIAGE TO SOW THE UPLAND RICE.

at best. They are truly "the eternal pioneers," and one old-young woman told me she had moved *twelve* times in her life of forty-odd years.

231 Their few pigs they cannot afford to eat except at
241 wedding feasts, but sell them to the Hainanese traders.
262 Chickens and ducks they eat occasionally, and also prepare the salted eggs. They raise very few greens but occasionally will buy them from a neighbouring Loi village. Corn is raised a great deal—a small variety of maize that does very well on the hillsides. The heart of a certain variety of palm tree is a common food, and in times of famine roots of trees and brakes, bark, anything, must be used to stay the pangs of hunger. A well-to-do family may own a few cows, but they have a curious custom which they often follow, of giving their cows to the neighbouring Lois to care for. The calves of course revert to the original owner, but the Lois use the animals to work their rice fields and to haul the great logs of hardwood to the rivers.

224 Bears are found in the mountains, and the Miao prepare
262 pitfalls and traps for them, shooting them when they have been thus captured. A species of small antelope makes very good eating. Wild boar are also often captured, and likewise

3. Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

the porcupine, whose flesh is eaten, and whose shiny black and white quills, often a foot long, have various uses. The flying squirrel is a rarer victim, as only the poisoned dart shot from the crossbow by a skilled hunter is quick enough to strike it. Jungle fowl of all sorts are used for food. 224 262

The fishing is usually done on a large scale. If a youngster goes a-fishing, his outfit is a piece of bamboo and a piece of hemp string with a noose on the end, where he nooses his catch. But when the rivers are low a whole village or perhaps several villages will join in a common fishing expedition. Some of the men dam the river, others go to the forest and come back laden with the bark of a certain tree and a certain vine. These barks are pounded in mortars until well macerated, mixed, and pounds and pounds of the "medicine" are poured into the river above the dam. The mixture kills or stupifies the fish, which rise to the top of the water and are easily secured. The catch often amounts to a thousand-odd pounds of fish, not to mention crabs and eels and other creatures. The fish are cleaned immediately and the people eat them without fear although they say that a chicken or duck that eats the entrails will sometimes die from the poison. The fish not wanted for immediate consumption are salted down with a variety of pooped rice and kept for future use. This method may injure the small fish in the river—undoubtedly it does injure them in the immediate vicinity of the catching—but does not have any serious effect on the total supply, apparently. 226 824 227 226 [251]

The costume worn by the men differs very little from that worn by an ordinary Chinese labourer except in the way the coat fastens, as it laps a little to the left and fastens slantingly down the front. The costume worn by the women however, is the distinguishing feature of the people, and is a very attractive outfit in its blue and red with touches of other colours on the head kerchief. For a grown woman, the costume consists of a kerchief, a coat and a short skirt, both dark blue, and dark blue puttees. A narrow red silk girdle, about an inch wide, woven by the women themselves and ending in long fringe, is worn around the hips. The same style of tie, only about a quarter of an inch wide, fastens each puttee just below the knee. The material for the clothing is bought from the traders, and is a coarse, heavy, unbleached cotton cloth. The women dye the goods with indigo and set the colour with pigs blood. The coat is made quite like a Chinese woman's coat, but reaching to the knees and not lapping so far over to the side. A piece of turkey red cotton is embroidered and put on as a narrow collar band; the bottoms of the rather loose sleeves are edged the same 291

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds.
342 The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment, since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten only on special occasions.[5] 262

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street. 241 [361]

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained. 231 [224]

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden 241 4121

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7] 712

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home. 788 765

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time. 224

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese. 463

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house. 462

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, [illegible]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [573] [276] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

583 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao [178] at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
317 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
439 against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

/147 cont./

M 534 231 177 piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A M 533 The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Sometimes they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they

30

31

M 534 [531]

Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

A M 533 [224] hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here./ The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

/168 cont./

If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is followed before laying out a new rice field.

In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pĕ dŏ. Savina (1)

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

/186 cont./

756 the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks
[764] concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves
[787] supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited ~~and~~ my
[114] own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is
789 the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both
224 among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or
223 the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the
756 weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens
that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great num-
ber is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself
and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails,
since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
787 careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the
sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above,
since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield
from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the
midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior
[825] and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may
be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may
still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake
[776] appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the
825 "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird
dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occu-
pants will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are
825 familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless
wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a
wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable
role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it be-
lieves that he cannot expect to bag any game.

/190 cont./

224 787 825 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 825 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly [821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there 754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although 829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the [756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

[763] [171] In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

439 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages 787 in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

123 Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could ●224 not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, [787] whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [321] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

/193 cont./

123 go hunting together, and immediately Tsin Tsai was again
224 favorably disposed toward me. We would set out to hunt ele-
[322] phants, gaur, and other big game which, with his primitive guns,
[411] he was able to kill only at the risk of his life. His passion for hunting was so great that, even at the time of the harvest, he would drop everything in order to accept my invitation. Needless to say, Tsin Tsai also knew how to handle the crossbow, the
[411] most important and favorite weapon of the Meau, or poisoned arrows, with which any game can be brought down. My high-power rifle, /194/ however, aroused general admiration, and Tsin Tsai in particular could not get his fill of looking at it; he repeatedly picked it up and stroked it lovingly.

The Meau are familiar with the habits of game to a remarkable degree, naturally far more so than we Europeans. Just as I always deferred to the natives while hunting in the tropics, here, too I followed the instructions of the bold Meau hunters. They know the weather and the wind directions in relation to the haunts of the game; they are familiar with the scarce sources of salt in the primeval forest, which are regularly visited by all the wild animals; they know whether and at what time of the day or night the various species of animals seek out the waterholes or the salt licks; they deduce from the tracks of a wounded animal when it will take cover; in a word, they know the answers to all the questions that are involved in success for a hunter in the primeval forest.

123 Chief Tsin Tsai in particular was able to answer the most
224 incredible questions. After a short time I myself relied com-
787 pletely upon what he said. In order to be able to judge the extent of the knowledge possessed by this excellent hunter, I constantly posed new and more difficult questions, which nevertheless were always answered. When I tried, as far as possible, to verify his statements, I soon, to my surprise, found contradictions and inaccuracies. Finally, however, this inexplicable situation was clarified for me, when I discovered Tsin Tsai engaged in having my questions answered by the spirits by means of oracles! Apparently the spirits were less well informed about the living habits of the animals than the living Meau were!

/194 cont./

123 224 787 As far as I was concerned, the situation was difficult if not actually perilous if I wanted to remain on good terms with the Meau. I could not contradict the spirits and had to follow their orders, which were transmitted to me through the mouth of the chief. Hence it was of utmost importance for me to become thoroughly familiar with the pertinent customs of the Meau. One day Tsin Tsai asked me to accompany him on a gaur hunt. A Meau had wounded a splendid old gaur, but was afraid, and very justifiably so, as I soon discovered, to track down this solitary beast in the difficult terrain. Therefore, /195/ he stopped the pursuit, returned to the village, and reported the facts to the chief. A few hours later, we, the chief, my interpreter, and I, were standing at the spot of the shooting. We had no difficulty in finding the path of flight of the heavy animal. We followed it until it led into an impenetrable thicket, which, as dense secondary growth, covered a rice field abandoned some six years earlier.

With our chopping knives we laboriously started cutting our way through the thicket and could not see two meters ahead. Added to that, the wind changed direction every few minutes. Under these circumstances tracking down an old, as well as wounded, solitary animal was tantamount to suicide. To judge by the trail which led up a steep hillside, it was highly improbable that the animal had died, but, on the other hand, reasonably certain that sooner or later we would be attacked by the wounded buffalo, without being able to parry such an attack by the wounded animal even halfway successfully at this short distance without having the shot pass out of the animal's body.

From the viewpoint of the hunter, Tsin Tsai had evidently committed an error, which surprised me. I drew his attention to the dangers that surrounded us. Tsin Tsai calmly confirmed my observations, but nevertheless held the opinion that, in spite of everything, no danger could threaten us, and, indeed, we were certain to be successful, for he had consulted the spirits by means [782] of the oracle and had even sacrificed a pig to them before we set out, and all the omens had been favorable! Naturally, I could not call the spirits liars, much less question their power. On the

/195 cont./

123 other hand. I had no desire to pursue such a hopeless affair for
224 which I was not responsible. Only strategy could help. Amiably
987 I turned to Tsin Tsai: "Your spirits were right. I, too, however, questioned my hunting spirit. He told me that he would have to go up into the clouds and therefore could not assist me. He advises me therefore to stop the pursuit." The chief understood this immediately. The hunt was immediately called off, and without protest we were able to start back, for Tsin Tsai had no intention of exposing me to danger.

/196/ Another time -- but by no means always -- I was successful in using my influence to overcome bothersome hindrances which the oracle made for us. One day, I could not do any ethnographic fieldwork because my informants were not available. I therefore wanted to go hunting with a Meau, who for his part was very much in favor of my proposal. Beforehand, however, he wanted to consult the oracle as to whether the undertaking planned should be done at this time. Naturally, I feared difficulties again, but I quickly found a way out. I reminded the Meau that he had just laid out the oracle a few days before and that the spirits had told him that we would kill the gaur which I now wished to hunt. The spirits would certainly be annoyed by his asking again. Fortunately that satisfied my Meau; he gave up the oracle and set out with me.

I myself, however, tried to obtain answers through the oracle of the Meau, in order to familiarize myself in every way with their ideas. In one case I wanted to know whether I would have a chance to shoot a certain old bull elephant whose haunt was known to me and to the chief. The chief lighted a fire, burned three pieces of the spirit-money which he carried with him, whittled three small bamboo sticks, and held them between the thumb and index finger of his right hand. Then he drew them through the fire several times, held them up toward the sky, and, while these preparations were going on, began conjuring the great Father-Mother spirit. He informed him that
[782] he had sacrificed spirit-money and asked for answers to the following questions: Whether the bull elephant was occupying its usual haunt at the present time, whether I would be able to shoot it,

/196 cont./

123 and whether, after the shot, we would be able to get the booty.
224 With each question, Tsin Tsai pointed to one of the sticks in
787 order to communicate to the spirit in this way the significance of each stick. He then bent each stick with his thumb nail at intervals of about three centimeters, until he finally held all of them in his hand in the manner shown in Ill. 98[1] as triangles and scrutinized them carefully. The position of the upper side of the first stick which stood for the haunt of the bull elephant, was horizontal, which indicated the unchanged position, that is, the unchanged /197/ haunt of the bull. If the point of this side had been turned away from the sacrificer, it would have meant that the bull had moved away. The point of the second stick, which was supposed to answer the question regarding the shot, was turned toward the sacrificer, which meant an affirmative answer. The reverse position would have indicated that I would not have a chance to shoot. The upper side of the third stick was likewise turned toward the sacrificer, thus this question, too, was answered affirmatively, and we could therefore count on seizing the game.

We eagerly set out on the hunt. We actually found the bull in its haunt, and we stalked it until we were about 20 paces from it. Through the bush I repeatedly saw the outlines of the enormous gray mass. Only once, however, for a fraction of a second would I have been able to fire a fatal shot. Under these circumstances I could not make up my mind to follow the advice of the chief, who actually trembling with buck fever, demanded, with reference to the predicted outcome, that I shoot at the bull through the tangle of vegetation. The giant animal escaped unharmed when the wind turned for a moment and carried our scent to him. Thus at the last moment I failed to put the oracle to a definite test, but it seemed wiser to me to trust my hunter's instinct.

On another occasion we discovered a salt spring in the primeval forest, which, of course, was the meeting place for much game. After I had shot a fine gaur, however, the rest of the game seemed to have been blown away. Tsin Tsai decided to consult the high Father-Mother spirit about our further hunting prospects and set up his stick oracle, conducting his ceremonial performance in the same way as previously described. This

1 [See cat 116, p 663 - ANALYST]

/197 cont./

123 224 787

time he used seven sticks since he directed the following seven questions to the great Father-Mother spirit: whether we had a chance 1. to shoot tigers, 2. elephants, 3. buffalo, 4. deer; 5. whether the old bull elephant that we had pursued in vain into the thicket several days ago still remained at the same location, 6. whether a splendid old gaur that traveled alone and stayed in the thickets of abandoned rice fields in the vicinity of our Meau village could be slain by us; 7. my interpreter asked whether his wife and his newborn baby /198/ were doing well. As may be seen, the questions were posed in such a way that the answer had to be either yes or no.

Tsin Tsai now took the sticks one by one, bent them with his thumbnail ten or eleven times at intervals of about three centimeters, and left one side of each stick about ten centimeters long without bending. Then he took all the sticks into his left hand and folded them into triangles. Once again the answers given us by the great Father-Mother spirit were shown by the position of the upper side of the triangle and the tips. A horizontal position meant "situation unchanged"; if the tip of the triangle was directed toward the conjurer, it was taken as affirmative; if it was turned away from him, it was taken as negative.

Again we examined the oracle sticks and learned from them the following answers: Tigers, elephants, and buffalo have moved far away. Deer have remained and can be hunted since the other omens are not unfavorable. The old bull elephant: likewise "situation unchanged." He has therefore returned and is again occupying his station from which we pursued it in vain some days previously. The interpreter's question was also answered: his wife and child were doing well. The chief added that the wife was sleeping badly because she was worried about her husband. His son was thinking of him -- my informants put it in a rather charming way: "His soul is hopping to the father."

The answers to all six of the questions posed by me coincided fully with my own assumptions. Hence I had no objections to complying with them. This time, too, however, I could not test their correctness, for, although we did shoot deer, we did not have time to wait for the return of other big game, and I

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/198 cont./

M 123 224 787 could not take the time to check whether or not they were actually to be found in their haunts. Moreover, such an attempt would very obviously have shown distrust of the oracle. Much later we learned that the interpreter's wife had actually been worried about her husband. We had stayed in the primeval forest area much longer than was originally intended and had all been given up for lost.

A 756 The Akha, too, believe that there are human beings who are born with supernatural faculties, but, in contrast to the /199/ Meau, know far fewer people of this kind. Accordingly, the latter are regarded as much more powerful than they are among the Meau. These people are the chief shamans, called tŭmō. Every tŭmō stands over many villages, and if one remembers that the villages of the Akha embrace several hundred houses, the importance of the tŭmō becomes obvious.

A [634] [621]

A [622] The ordinary shaman is called bŭbā among the Akha. This office often coincides with that of the chief. Aside from this, however, the bŭbā plays a comparatively larger role than the tŭmō, because in every village there lives a bŭbā, who is far more intimately connected with his village community than the tŭmō is with the villages under him.

A 756 778 [776] Both the tŭmō and the bŭbā are mediators between the spirits and human beings. The bŭbā has to offer the regular sacrifices to the spirits, and furthermore, above all, he has to take care of the spirit of the swing and the guardian spirit. Accordingly, he is in charge of the management and upkeep of the sacral gates. Also, the wooden idols beside the sacral gates (Ill. 48)[1] are carved at his command by men of the village chosen by him, who also decorate the gates newly erected every year, while the old gates gradually disintegrate. This custom made it easy for us to ascertain how many years previously a village had been founded. One need only count the number of gates at the entrance to the village.

A [174]

1 [See cat 116, p333 - ANALYST]

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's [731] march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and [312] makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will [285] later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

[p. 459 is blank]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

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Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted [411] with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 411 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[1] with which effective poisoned arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306- [326] 308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair 262 or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [see cat 116, pp 576, 643, +530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

/340 cont./

221 Hunting is done by the Meau in all seasons of the year, but
224 especially after the harvest has been brought in and the field
[461] work completed, for then they have leisure, whereas the period of field work must be put to good use in order to plant and harvest on time. Nevertheless, I have seen it happen that the passion for hunting induced the Meau to drop their extremely important field work in order to track down a stray elephant bull.

185 There are no closed seasons. Literally everything that
224 comes within shooting range of the hunter, male animals as well as females, gravid animals as well as the young, is shot. Thus, it is not at all surprising that /341/ within a short time after the founding of a village the game in the immediate vicinity, and soon in a wider area, is exhausted.

224 The Meau do not practice either hunting drives or communal hunts, but rather only individual hunting. Disguising the hunter in animal skins or masks to deceive the prey is unknown to them. It must be mentioned, however, that in the dense forest area that is available to them in northern Thailand a disguise would be obstructive and unnecessary.

For the individual hunting generally practiced among the Meau, two or three men usually set out together. The hunters, however, do not separate, as in communal hunting, but remain together in order to spring to the aid of one another in case of need. Since in the dense primeval forest a shot can be fired only at close range and the effectiveness of the Meau weapons is very limited in comparison with our hunting guns, it must therefore be assumed that the hunter will be attacked by every large animal that he shoots. The precaution of not going hunting alone is therefore absolutely mandatory, for often enough the companions are lifesavers in that they try to divert the pursuer from their fellow-hunter.

I was repeatedly able to confirm that the Meau know how to meet the dangers associated with this type of hunting. For example, in the company of Meau warriors I came across tree trunks with deep holes in them in three different places in the primeval forest. These were trees behind which the Meau

/341 cont./

224 accompanying me had sought refuge weeks and months ago when they were attacked by wounded gaur. The hunters had succeeded in escaping behind the tree trunk, but the horns of the raging wild oxen had penetrated into the trunks to a depth of ten centimeters.

Despite all their courage, stalking is seldom successful, since the density of the forest permits shots at only a few meters' distance, but the hunter betrays his presence to the animal at more than 100 meters by the noise which he cannot avoid making. Under these circumstances lying in ambush at the haunts or watering places of game is much more promising. For the big cats that have seized a head of livestock, the Meau build themselves a high place near the carcass for an ambush. If the hunters, however, succeed /342/ in finding a [135] salt spring such as sometimes occurs in northern Thailand, the Meau are often able to bag considerable game by this [136] method. Here the Meau successfully hunt even gaur, tigers, and the Indian rhinoceros, a few specimens of which lead a hidden existence there.

Elephant hunting is usually practiced among the Meau by stalking, since the pachyderms are not very sensitive to noise. [237] For this, however, the hunters smear fresh elephant dung all over themselves, since they maintain that with this masking scent they are able to approach the pachyderms, even in an adverse wind, up to a distance of only 15 steps. Although I could not decide in favor of this method myself, I believe that this assertion is quite possible.

In their ambush the Meau often use all kinds of lures about five centimeters and more in size (Fig. 257), in order to attract the game. In this connection a tree fruit is used as a vibrating pellet in the bamboo body of the instrument. During the rutting season the call of the female animal is imitated with blades of grass and leaves, which are clamped between the two thumbs, in order to attract the male muntjac. Similar methods are used for deer and many other game animals. Small beasts of prey are lured by means of the sound of a dying

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking fire rms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [439] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [439] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns [435] of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great importance. My informant had this to thank for being able to [595] buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/343 cont./

224 [177] Pitfalls are not set up by the Meau. To be sure, some Meau hunters are familiar with this hunting method from the Lao, but it is not used, as was explained to me, because of the fear that human beings might fall in. The Meau do know a method of catching tigers, however, which is in a way reminiscent of pitfalls. At a point where the customary path of the tiger leads across a brook, a tree trunk cut in the middle is laid across the watercourse. Under the breaking point thus prepared, pointed posts are put in the brook and screened, and the tiger, plunging down, is impaled on them. During our stay the Meau actually succeeded in capturing a big cat in this manner.

The catching of mammals in nets is unknown, but the Meau are very skillfull in setting self-firing traps with a crossbow built in (see the section, "Agriculture," in this chapter), as well as nooses, which, in long rows, always with one noose beside another, are set so as to be invisible in the grass (Figs. 254-256). In association with bait or decoy-whistles (Fig. 257), the hunters then succeed in catching the [223] representatives of the gallinaceous birds, which are especially numerous in Thailand, in the noose or in the snare that has been set (Ill. 80[1] and Fig. 258). Larger animals up to the size of a deer are caught by the Meau in plate-traps. These consist of a foot board, /344/ which, when stepped upon, pulls up a flexible branch to which the noose is attached and thereby drawn together.

The construction of such deer traps is shown in Fig. 259. When the game steps on the boards fastened on one side over a pit and screened with leaves, the small board e and the crossbar d fall down, which releases the string J and the liana L, and the branch M /Figs. 254-259 appear here/ /345/ snaps upward. Through this the noose H, which was also connected with the liana and was placed over the foot boards, draws together around the leg of the animal. The snaring line is tied fast to a peg driven into the ground so that the captured game cannot escape. In setting the trap, the branch is bent down so low by means of block and tackle that the small board

1 [see cat 116, p595- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--466 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AES

223
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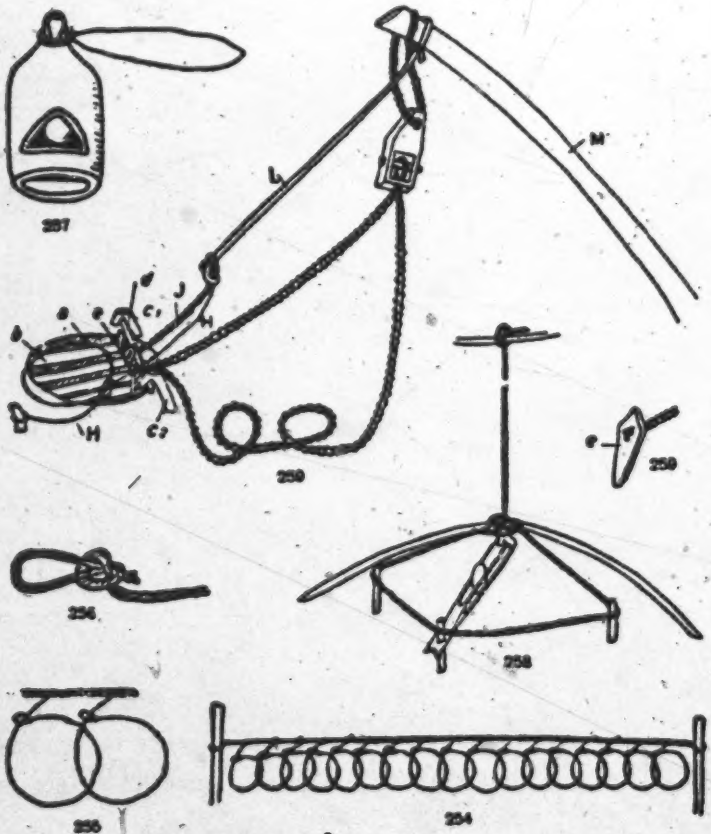
Figs. 254-259. Snaring Equipment of the Meau.

Figs. 254-256. Snaring nooses in a row arrangement: Fig. 254, complete picture, 1/20 nat. size; Fig. 255, arrangement of the nooses; Fig. 256, noose



[534]

knot. Fig. 257. Decoy whistle for bird-hunting, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 258. Bird trap, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 259. Deer trap, 1/15 nat. size.

/345 cont./

224 e can be wedged between the crossbar d and a foot board. After the trap has been set, the block and tackle are removed.

As an example of the behavior of the Meau hunter while stalking game in the forest, I give in the following a description from my journal: "Scouts had reported to us that a powerful lone bull elephant with mighty tusks had taken cover not far from the village. Early in the morning I set out with the chief. We climbed a steep slope and then stood at the edge of a gorge, from the bottom of which came the sound of the breaking of branches. The large mammal stood below, which made the face of the Meau light up happily. He bent forward, remained there for some time, then climbed a tree, changed his observation post several more times, and finally, from the direction of the sound, decided that the elephant was on the opposite mountain slope.

Since in order to reach him, we would have had to wind through the deep gorge in between and it was already late in the afternoon, there was no prospect of reaching the bull still 224 that same day. The chief therefore proposed that we spend the 484 night on the spot in order to be able to take up the chase at dawn, since he figured that he would be able to determine the location of the elephant from where we were. The Meau [342] therefore put up a small windscreen, large enough to protect us, if necessary, against a storm. He closed off three sides of it with leaves of the fan palm, their stems thrust into the ground, in order, as he put it, to prevent the warmth from escaping. He then covered the ground with a layer of leaves [513] about ten centimeters high, which was an excellent bed, for it was soft and kept off the dampness of the ground. At the open side of the windscreen he lighted a fire. These tasks took him about 30 minutes.

"Then he began to prepare the evening meal. He searched for water, and after only a few minutes he returned [824] with bamboo-water. In /346/ these regions one can find [272] water stored up in the hollow spaces of certain species of bamboo, even during the dry season. To get the water, such [415] bamboos are cut between the partitioning walls, the liquid [252] that flows out is caught in a bamboo vessel. A thick green [824] bamboo also provided a vessel in which the rice was then cooked. The green

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
[264] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[574] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[262] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/347 cont./

224 as well, which was to consist of the cold remains of breakfast.
484 At the end of this morning meal, too, the opium pipe could
not be dispensed with. Then the provisions were carefully
[264] wrapped in green leaves. At every handling of the food, the
[276] Meau saw to it that not one rice kernel was lost. All his
movements were uncannily quick and executed methodically,
and in scarcely forty minutes from the time we got up we
were ready to set out.

224 "We now had the strenuous task of climbing down the
steep slope and soon came across the elephant's tracks,
which the Meau, went far forward like a sleuth-hound,
followed. In places we crossed rocky terrain, and the tracks
of the pachyderm were then no longer visible to my European
hunter's eyes. This was not the case for the Meau, who lay
down flat on the ground and, from barely discernible signs,
such as a small overturned stone a bent blade of grass, recog-
nized the trail, even though it had sometimes been crossed
by muntjac or deer.

"All of a sudden, in the densest of forest thickets, we
stumbled upon the haunt of an old gaur bull, which, as the
tracks showed, did not leave his hiding place of about one
hundred square meters. Straining all his senses, the Meau
crept forward soundlessly and in a whisper bade me to watch
out, since in this area we might easily be attacked by the
buffalo at very close range. After considerable effort we
reached the bottom of the valley, crossed the brook flowing
in a torrent here, and began the ascent. Laboriously and
step by step we had to fight our way straight up through the
densest underbrush of thorns and ilex. In a short time I was
bathed in sweat and, with pulses pounding, had to rest, especially
since I was hampered by my long gun. The Meau, however,
was impatient and pushed on relentlessly. When he saw that
I had reached the end of my strength, he offered to take my
gun and my rucksack and thus laden nevertheless struck out
at such a pace that I had to put on the brake again and again.

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Miao AE5

M 224 /347 cont./

"I was glad when we reached the spot where the elephant had spent the night. I threw myself on the ground in order to regain my strength, but the Meau immediately set about /348/ attentively investigating the terrain. In the midst of the densest primeval forest 36 banana plants had been uprooted. The elephant had eaten part of their shafts. Mighty trees were broken down and their bark scraped off. With his tusks the pachyderm had dug out deep pits, and at several places he had worked himself up an incline of almost 45 degrees with the help of his powerful tusks. The Meau accurately estimated the length of the tusks by the depth of the pits here.

"Hour after hour the tracks, running in all directions, were followed, and we were always thinking that now we must come upon the animal, especially since the droppings were still warm. The tracks still went on, however, and after a another hour we had to confirm that the droppings were cold. That meant that the game was now moving away from us without delay. Under these circumstances we had no further chance of approaching the bull in this terrain, which could be traversed by human beings only with the greatest difficulty, and therefore abandoned the pursuit."

A 224 The Akha, like the Meau, are endowed with all the attributes that are included in the concept of good hunters. They, too, are animated by a true passion for hunting, which enables them to perform extraordinary physical accomplishments while hunting. Because of this it is likewise possible for the Akha, as was previously described in the case of the Meau, A [731] [262] to change in times of crop failures from field produce to hunting booty for the bulk of their nutrition, in spite of all the difficulties associated with hunting in these dense mountainous forests.

A /348 cont./

224 A difficulty for successful hunting is added among the
[326] Akha, because they do not make the customary flintlock
[439] guns themselves, as the Meau do, but must obtain them from
[411] neighboring tribes. These weapons are therefore very rare
[231] among the Akha, and one generally sees only the crossbow in
use (Ill. 30).[1] On the other hand, the Akha have hunting dogs
M at their disposal, which, on the contrary, are not used among
[231] the Meau in Thailand, while falcons or other animals trained to
[224] hunt are unknown to both tribes.

Hunting big game is not practiced by the Akha as a rule. They limit themselves to animals up to the size of a deer,
A such as muntjac, wild /349/ pigs, monkeys, and, above all,
223 deer. Various birds are to be added, but vultures, ravens,
[262] or hornbills are not hunted, since they are not eaten.

They also know how to catch live parakeets, small parrots, and wild doves very skillfully with lime twigs and decoys (Ill. 31[2] and Figs. 260 and 261). In order to catch them with lime twigs, a wooden frame (Fig. 260, A) is erected on the house roof and to its upper end are fastened crosswise two
A wooden crosspieces smeared with lime (B). The birdlime re-
[314] quired is made from the juice of a rubber-type liana. It is pounded in a mortar with a mallet until it changes into a viscous lime whose most valuable property is its invariable consistency and stickiness.

A Among the Akha, too, no animal that they know how to
224 overcome is spared, and they hunt in all seasons without
[185] observing any closed seasons. Accordingly, what has been said about the Meau also applies for the Akha: a short time after a village is established, its surroundings is "cleared," even though involuntarily, of game.

Whereas the Meau exclusively practice the individual hunting described, communal hunts and hunting drives take place as a rule among the Akha. Since the external picture of the hunting grounds is the same for both tribes, might not this difference ultimately be traced back to the use or non-use of hunting dogs, as well as to the fact that the Akha do not hunt dangerous big game. The Akha, too, use no clothing

[1] [See cat 116, p 249 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 250 - "]

/355 cont./

243 the first two or three violent thundershowers, the seeding is begun. If the large /extended/ family has many members, the freshly cleared land, which may have large dimensions, is subdivided many times into fields of half a hectare to three hectares, each planted with one certain kind of seed. If, however, it is a matter of a family with fewer members, all the seeds are mixed together, and the mixture is sowed for higgledy-piggledy growth.

224 243 As soon as a field is laid out and the seed is sown, a great number of game and bird traps are set up everywhere. Particularly popular is a kind of self-firing trap for wild pigs and deer, for which a crossbow with poisoned arrows is used. To be sure, they make entering the field very dangerous for anybody who is not familiar with the locality. Moreover, instead of fences which would keep off wild animals, traps are set on compulsory game-trails, in which all game from the pheasant to the wild pig is caught or falls victim to baited snaring devices. The animals caught represent an important [262] contribution to the diet of the Meau, and this is the reason why the fields are not protected by fences from intrusion and possible devastation by animals. Where no traps can be set or if /356/ whole herds of game visit the fields, the young men lie in ambush and in the moonlight capture a rich booty with their poisoned arrows.

243 [184] Savina (1) describes the arrangement of the rice fields

1. II. p. 216.

among the Meau in Indochina somewhat differently: "In the first month, when the New Year's festivals are over, the Meau put their fields in order. If the fields are far away, they stay there for eight to ten days. The men fell the trees with axes, and the women and children cut the grass with knives. In the second month the fields are set afire. Then maize is sowed. When the maize is in bloom, nights are spent in the fields in order to drive off the bears and the monkeys. When the maize [251] is harvested, it is brought to the house. The seed ears are

/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [326] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide- [439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93), which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

[See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

/468 cont./

115 156 622 123 "Chief Tsin Tsai is a wonderful fellow. When he sits cross-legged on the ground, his long back hair knotted, the long tobacco pipe in his hand, his high forehead furrowed in thought, tensing the muscles of his lean jaws, /469/ stroking his sparse beard which hangs down from his strongly projecting zygomatic arches, he is so remarkably the typical representative of his industrious people, and yet he towers above their average. Not for a moment is he idle or unoccupied. Now he plaits a basket; scarcely finished, he cuts up a piece of game and distributes the meat, and now he sharpens his knife on a stone and goes into the bush for a few minutes. There he digs up some edible roots and brings them to us as a welcome supplement to our monotonous diet in the camp and visits my husband at his work in order to propose a hunting trip together. As soon [224] [787] as my husband has consented, he goes into his house to lay out a stick oracle and ask the spirits in which direction he must turn in order to have success, what kind of booty he can expect, and more of the same. During this time his people have come back from the fields. They quietly wait for the oracle and then turn to the chief with a series of questions. Quietly and decisively the latter now gives his orders and then is off on the hunt."

A few pages further in her journal my wife returns to the chief: "It is a pleasure to watch Tsin Tsai at work. He is friendly and helpful, offers us every service, carries the hand luggage, and regards no work as 'beneath his dignity.' Moreover, he is clever, circumspect, and prudent; he sizes up the situation immediately and is able to differentiate between the essential and the nonessential. He answers questions with brief, logical, and sensible replies. If one asks him for advice, he always supplements his information with detailed reasoning. To be sure, in matters dealing with hunting, he always judges for us on the basis of his own experiences, so that sometimes differences result. He maintains, for instance, that, after a shot, tigers come along to search for wounded game, whereas our experience was that they immediately disappeared, never to be seen again. Moreover, wild animals were generally much more timid than he expected, probably because there were more of us than he was accustomed to.

39: Bernatzik--725 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VII cont./

534 Ills. 75-77. Musical instruments.

Ill. 75. The mouth organ of the Meau, which differs in size and construction from the instruments of the other mountain peoples of Farther India (cf. Ill. 25). The instrument is carefully carved out of wood and mounted with silver rings. The inserted flutes are made of bamboo. As among the Akha, the instrument is played exclusively by men and usually simultaneously with dancing. The mouth organ is of greatest significance for the Meau as a sacral musical instrument.

[562] [535]

Ill. 76. Simple rod-flute of the Meau, made of bamboo, with one blow hole and six finger holes on the upper side and one finger hole on the under side. The latter is kept shut during the playing.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp. The instrument consists of a brass or bronze plate, the center of which is cut out to form a tongue. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the thumb of the right hand; the oral cavity forms the sounding board. A change in the size of the oral cavity produces a change of pitch.

Ills. 78-80 and 91-96. Means of subsistence.

411 Ill. 78. Flintlock gun, the chief weapon in war and for hunting, which the Meau make themselves, as well as the black gunpowder. The gun does not have a butt like the European gun, but merely a pistol stock. Lead or iron bullets are used. Although accuracy and penetrating power are slight, measured by European weapons, the Meau kill even big game with their guns.

Ill. 79. Crossbow. Next to the flintlock guns, the crossbow is the most important weapon of the Meau. Nevertheless, it is of less importance than among the Akha, who have almost no guns, and is usually used only for hunting birds and small game. With poisoned arrows, however, even large game and pachyderms are killed.

[223] [224]

223 Ill. 80. As passionate hunters, the Meau are masters at setting traps. The illustration shows a hunter who is setting a snare to catch wild birds. As soon as the bird touches the trigger stick, the noose jerks upward and the booty is caught in it.

/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. 231 511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated 556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, [227] tun, sǎr co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

/27 cont'd/

226 here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

463 Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-
462 developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets,
[285 boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for
322] domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for
[339] rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time
[342] with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

286 The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area
386 /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from
286 the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/131 cont'd/

000 This allayed their suspicion. We then took out our phonograph and
126 turned it on, which attracted swarms of Miao to gather around us.
Upon our request to look at the Miao scripts, which Headman Lu kept,
122 he let us peruse a number of them, among which were some very
treasured ones, depicting the origin and history of the Miao people.
511 Headman Lu talked to us at length about the hardships of the Miao;
their indescribable and hard-to-imagine low living conditions brought
forth our deepest sympathy. There were 12 families in this village,
under the family names of Lu, Teng, and P'an. Their main occupa-
tion was farming on lands rented from the Li people.

000 Limited by our schedule, we decided to cancel our trip to Pao-
ch'a village. We left Ang-chi at five-thirty to return to Ta-ch'i.
The[illegible]ve us a warm farewell, asking us to return to their village
again. Upon our return, we found that Mr. Wang Chao-i had come
back from Pao-t'ing, and we had supper together, during which he
talked at length about his experiences in the Li area. His stories
fascinated us and sounded like fabulous legends.

Second month, twenty-third day. (Tuesday)

● 226 After breakfast we went to Wen-hua River to watch the Li carry
on their collective fishing. The two banks of the river were crowded
with men and women, about 60 or 70, each carrying fishing gear.
The stream was rather narrow, and the depth of the water was hardly
up to the knee. First, a section of the stream was selected, and then
large stones and rocks were put in the water to block the flow from
upstream, and small ditches were dug on the lower part of the stream
in order to half empty out the water. Then the poison was poured in.
When the fish touched this poison, they were immediately knocked
out and floated on the surface of the water. The Miao then rushed to
catch them with their nets. Today, the job was rather poorly done
because the water from upstream had not been dammed completely
enough to prevent the flow downward, thus preventing the emptying
out of the fishing area. Since the poison could not have its full effect
in the water, /132/ only a small amount of fish was killed and caught.

/139/

000 At Ta-ch'i we opened our box of medicines at Mr. Wang's house, but could not find any drug for dysentery. Mr. Wang's workmen 278 told us about a herb, used frequently by the Miao and said to be a kind of miracle drug to cure dysentery for the Miao. I suggested to Yüan-chiung that he should try it, as it might not do him any harm. He instantly resisted the idea and said he preferred death to taking the Miao drug. As we were put in such a predicament, with no medical facilities of any kind around this place, a thought suddenly struck me. As a child I had seen countrymen in my native place mix honey with tea to cure dysentery. Mr. Wang happened to have honey in his house, and we had brought along several kinds of tea with us. I mixed some and let Yüan-chiung drink it. Its effect is yet to be seen.

000 When we were at Ang-chi, though it was a filthy place, I was able to amuse myself by talking with the Miao. Back at Mr. Wang's house, it was like living in a castle; the place was much more comfortable, but I felt overcome with loneliness.

Third month, sixth day, (Saturday)

Originally I had thought that we should start for Pao-t'ing today, if Yüan-chiung was not any better. But after taking the drink of 278 honey in tea that I gave him yesterday, he has felt an immediate 164 effect. His dysentery has become much less frequent, and his spirits are much higher. As a complete cure seems in sight, we are glad to be able to cancel our previous plans.

After breakfast at ten o'clock, we set out for Wen-hua trading center, intending to take a closer look at the trading conditions of 226 the Miao and Li. At Wen-hua ten or more boys were making fish bombs, which they threw into the river to explode among the fish. We bought some 20 firecrackers for ourselves and asked the children to make a fish bomb for us. With it we caught about half a catty of fish, and we brought them back for supper.

243 The Li in the neighborhood were busy sowing and planting rice, and during the day we walked about the fields and talked with them.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, [262] and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [443] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [439] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown [226] into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp
248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching
[262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and
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[439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo
[227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair.
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/69 cont./

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[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases. The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers, or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Different from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance" would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life,

2:Ling & Rney--102 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 38. Fish pond.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

the porcupine, whose flesh is eaten, and whose shiny black and white quills, often a foot long, have various uses. The flying squirrel is a rarer victim, as only the poisoned dart shot from the crossbow by a skilled hunter is quick enough to strike it. Jungle fowl of all sorts are used for food. 224 262

The fishing is usually done on a large scale. If a youngster goes a-fishing, his outfit is a piece of bamboo and a piece of hemp string with a noose on the end, where he nooses his catch. But when the rivers are low a whole village or perhaps several villages will join in a common fishing expedition. Some of the men dam the river, others go to the forest and come back laden with the bark of a certain tree and a certain vine. These barks are pounded in mortars until well macerated, mixed, and pounds and pounds of the "medicine" are poured into the river above the dam. The mixture kills or stupifies the fish, which rise to the top of the water and are easily secured. The catch often amounts to a thousand-odd pounds of fish, not to mention crabs and eels and other creatures. The fish are cleaned immediately and the people eat them without fear although they say that a chicken or duck that eats the entrails will sometimes die from the poison. The fish not wanted for immediate consumption are salted down with a variety of pooped rice and kept for future use. This method may injure the small fish in the river—undoubtedly it does injure them in the immediate vicinity of the catching—but does not have any serious effect on the total supply, apparently. 226 824 227 226 [251]

The costume worn by the men differs very little from that worn by an ordinary Chinese labourer except in the way the coat fastens, as it laps a little to the left and fastens slantingly down the front. The costume worn by the women however, is the distinguishing feature of the people, and is a very attractive outfit in its blue and red with touches of other colours on the head kerchief. For a grown woman, the costume consists of a kerchief, a coat and a short skirt, both dark blue, and dark blue puttees. A narrow red silk girdle, about an inch wide, woven by the women themselves and ending in long fringe, is worn around the hips. The same style of tie, only about a quarter of an inch wide, fastens each puttee just below the knee. The material for the clothing is bought from the traders, and is a coarse, heavy, unbleached cotton cloth. The women dye the goods with indigo and set the colour with pigs blood. The coat is made quite like a Chinese woman's coat, but reaching to the knees and not lapping so far over to the side. A piece of turkey red cotton is embroidered and put on as a narrow collar band; the bottoms of the rather loose sleeves are edged the same 291

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
317 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
439 against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

226 The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
262 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

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/351 cont./

c) Fishing

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The Meau, as passionate and successful as fishermen as they are as hunters, make long fishing expeditions and travel for days in order to reach water that is rich in fish. Since, however, corresponding to their attitude in hunting, they kill the spawn only a centimeter long as well as the largest, ravenous fish, observe no closed season, and do not provide for breeding, it is easy to understand that the brooks and rivers in the vicinity of their villages are as empty of fish as the forests are poor in game.

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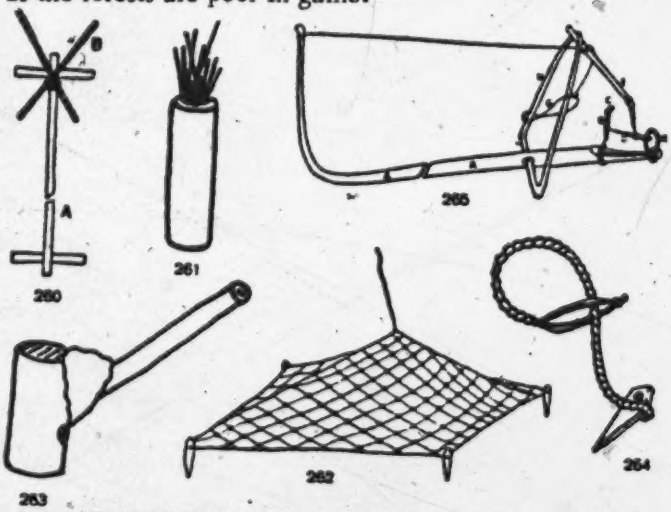

Figs. 260-265. Snaring Equipment of the Akha.

Figs. 260-261. Lime twigs: Fig. 260, twigs set up, 1/60 nat size; Fig. 261, supply quiver with lime sticks, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 262. Fixed net for catching birds, 1/37 nat. size. Fig. 263. Decoy whistle for birds, 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 264. Snaring noose for large mammals, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 265. Bird trap of bamboo, 1/12 nat. size.

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the
[114] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the
[184] authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how-
[262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer,
[312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the
[241] rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the
[278] fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of
278 men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools.
[278] It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60
[285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the
[857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At
[165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to
[136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets,
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/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. 231 511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated 556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, [227] tun, sâr co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

/69 cont./

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3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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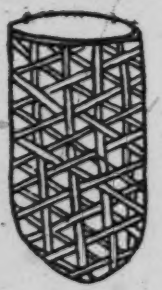
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, A [227] with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India. The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In



M 178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

M [227] [285]

Miao AE5

/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during [243] the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or 286 crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kŭń.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

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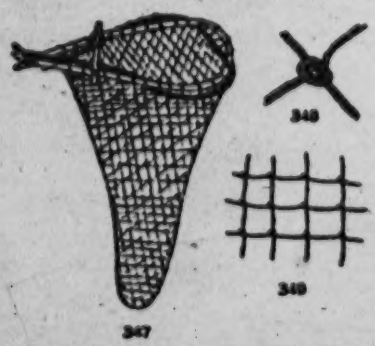

Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size.
[227] [286] The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the upper or lower leg (Ill. 64). 1 Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

1 [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]

/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [415 powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao 28] people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small 171 groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, [227] tun, sàr co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

/132 cont'd/
622 217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we 122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

/38 cont./

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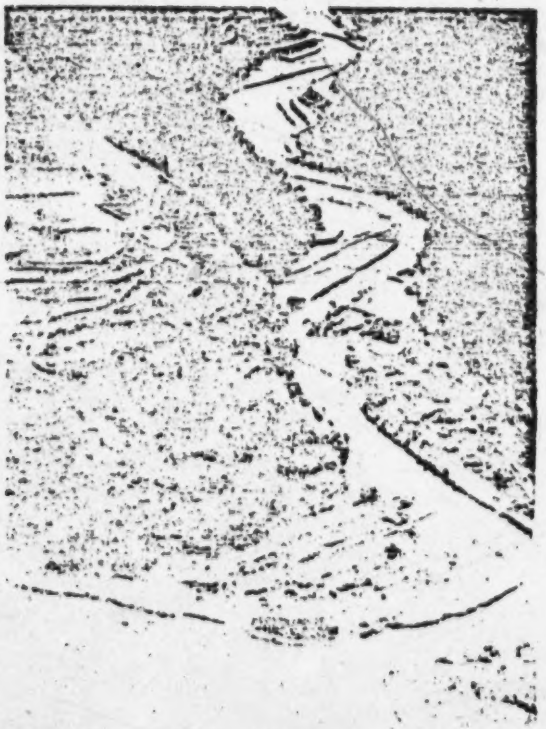

Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353
[778] Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
782 room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
769 in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
354 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
000 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
342 partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[353] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[556] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[251] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
[231] for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
M ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
251 storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[813] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
487 consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
487 comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

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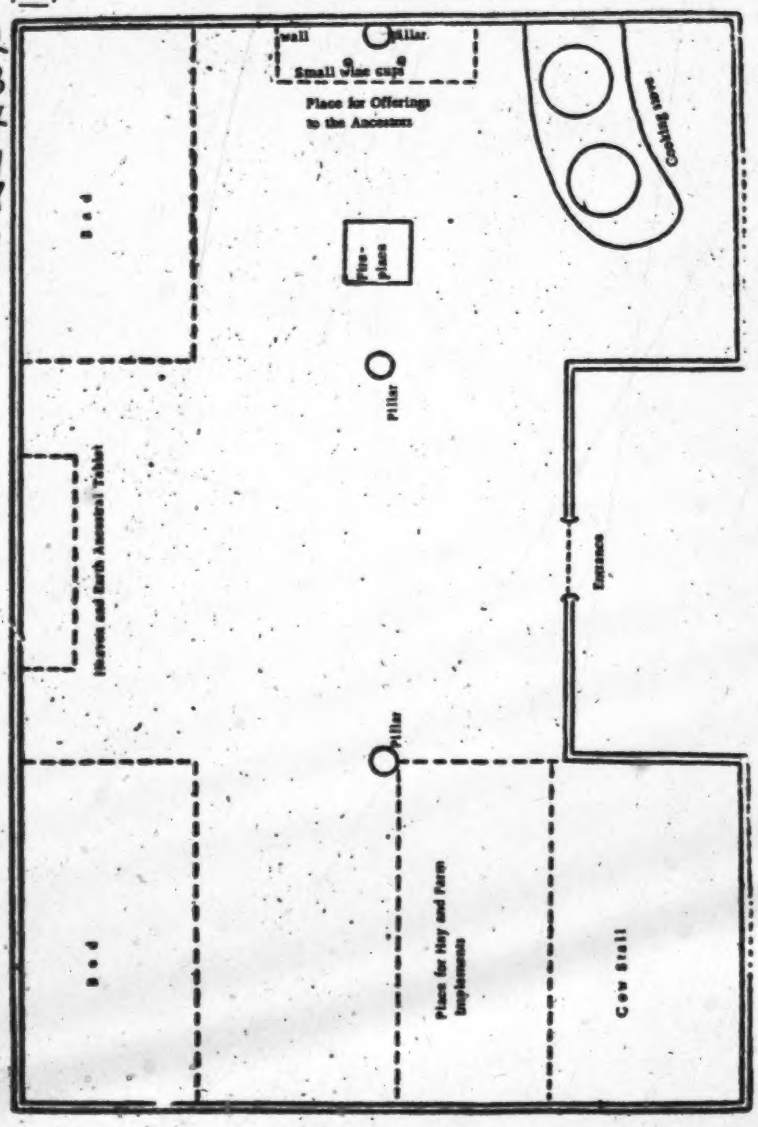

Illustration 18. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lung family among the Miao

2:Ling & Ruey--69 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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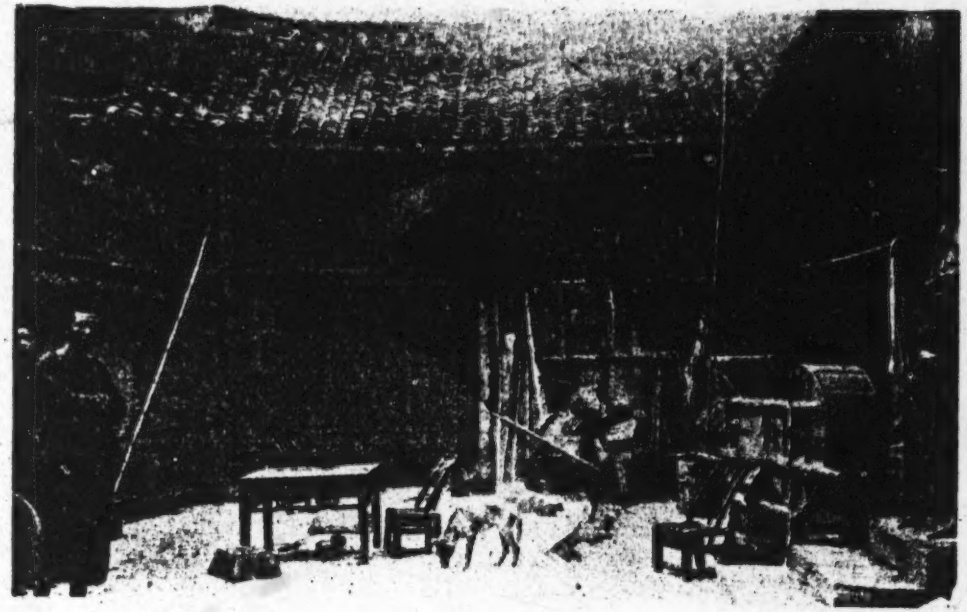


Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp
248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching
[262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and
[231] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan
[439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo
[227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair.
[171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi-
[825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain
[227] at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./

226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[492] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
[262] Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[241] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

/72 cont./ They reared the

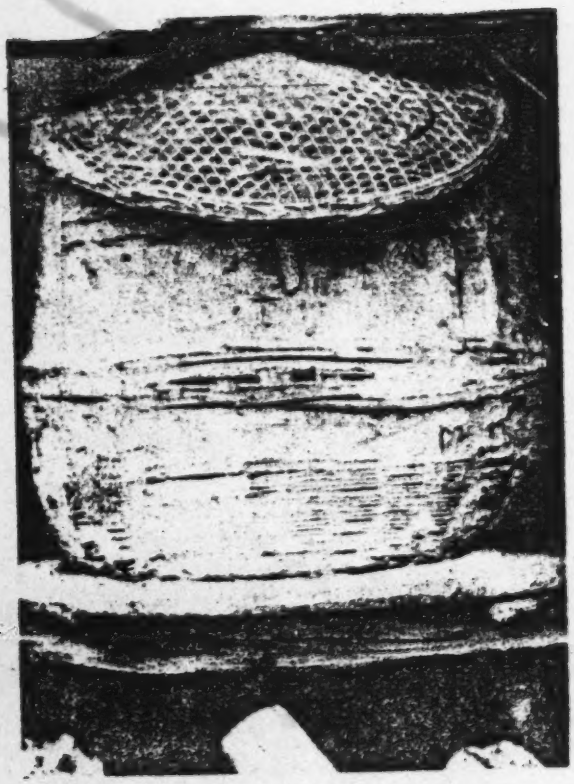
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
[237] wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[335] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

2:Ling & Ruey--105 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5



Illus. 39. A honeycomb.

/140 cont./

755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
[787] to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kuem ɲiei/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously
842 ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[787] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
[776] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to
[231] send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

2: Ling & Ruey--211 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/between pp. 142 and 143./

*782
●231

Illus. 63. Bludgeoning the Ox.

/149 cont./

*782 787 and women, old and young, in their affairs, and about the family's wealth, crops, and animals, etc. In accordance with the questions asked, I consider the chiao evidence. The yin chiao indicates danger; the yang chiao indicates peace and security; the sheng chiao indicates good luck. Now that the questions *782 to the kuei have been asked, there is only the burning of the paper money. After the paper is burned, it becomes money: he who gets a lot shares a lot; he who receives little, shares little."

The fourth part consists of sending the kuei away [son kuei]. The layout for sending the kuei away is the same as that for invoking them, except that on the table there are added 12 bowls of meat and 12 piles of pa-pa, while the number of bowls of wine remain the same. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bell in his right hand and chiao in his left hand, utters the following incantation:

"All ye kuei gather here to receive sacrifices in meat and wine, 12 bowls of meat, 12 piles of meat. The wine and meat are all spread before you. The kan lo kuei are fond of this wine and meat. Please help yourselves. After helping yourselves, please protect this family, big and small. May they be at peace and without trouble; may they not lose money or rice and *782 not experience lawsuits; may the cattle not have an epidemic and, while eating grass, may they not fall ●231 into a pit; while drinking water, may they not fall into the river; while going up the mountain to plow, may they be safe. Protect the pigs, dogs, chickens, and ducks when let loose outside so that at night they may return home by themselves and grow without fodder. May one of them be a thousand or a hundred. May eagles fail to catch the fowls. May the host not fall *782 when he treads on a welter of stones while walking. May the house not be lost by fire. When the host goes

/155 cont./

775 *782 life are now all cast away. The sins cannot be cast away in the house, or left to your sons and grandsons, or to the village. All your enmities in the world are also cast away! Guard the host in peace and without troubles."

On finishing the foregoing part of the incantation, the helpers immediately burn the paper money, and the sorcerer-priest continues:

> "Wine, meat, and rice have all been offered to you to consume, paper money has been burned; and we ask you to take and use them! Everything is over; now please turn around and go back."

After this the sorcerer-priest and the host eat the meat and drink the wine together.

(13) The Kuei of the Five Grains

243 *782 [231] [776] Whenever the harvest of the five grains is not abundant, or the six kinds of domestic animals do not increase, the Miao will sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains, in Miao called [lio¹ non¹]. The kuei invoked are called [mp'a¹ no¹ kuen³ mi³] and [ni¹ no¹ kuen³ non¹]. The time of the sacrifice is in broad daylight at any time, and the place is in the right corner inside the main house. A table is set up, and on it are spread five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice, arranged in three rows. The wax is also on the table, and the bamboo /156/ tube is placed behind the table. The Miao sorcerer beats the bamboo tube with the right hand and utters an incantation as follows:

> "The host's last year's harvest was not abundant; the five grains formed ears, but produced no grain. Further, they were eaten by locusts. The old year has gone by, the new year has arrived. Now that we have come to the first and second month, an auspicious day has been selected to sacrifice to the kuei. I have been asked to come here, so I

/163 cont. /
*782 the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.
[776] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts [787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

[776] The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five [751] wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not in- [231] creasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these [249] they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of [731] sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

/168 cont./

*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [291] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some bystanders' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

[178] As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

[776] [550] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[787] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

241

THIS SHOWS THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF TIMBER. THE MIAOS BURN THE GRASS AND FOLIAGE TO SOW THE UPLAND RICE.

at best. They are truly "the eternal pioneers," and one old-young woman told me she had moved *twelve* times in her life of forty-odd years.

231 241 262 Their few pigs they cannot afford to eat except at wedding feasts, but sell them to the Hainanese traders. Chickens and ducks they eat occasionally, and also prepare the salted eggs. They raise very few greens but occasionally will buy them from a neighbouring Loi village. Corn is raised a great deal—a small variety of maize that does very well on the hillsides. The heart of a certain variety of palm tree is a common food, and in times of famine roots of trees and brakes, bark, anything, must be used to stay the pangs of hunger. A well-to-do family may own a few cows, but they have a curious custom which they often follow, of giving their cows to the neighbouring Lois to care for. The calves of course revert to the original owner, but the Lois use the animals to work their rice fields and to haul the great logs of hardwood to the rivers.

221 262 Bears are found in the mountains, and the Miao prepare pitfalls and traps for them, shooting them when they have been thus captured. A species of small antelope makes very good eating. Wild boar are also often captured, and likewise

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The villages of
Sze-nan and San-kioh both are important lumber centers. 313

Tigers are reported in the northeastern part of the province. There are also said to be wolves, wild boars, white pheasants, and giant salamanders. I have seen wild cats in the hills and rabbits for sale in the market at Kweiyang. There are many domestic animals, including "yellow cows," water buffalo, pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and chickens. The first two are used as draft animals, for plowing. There are no full-sized horses, but ponies and small mules are used as pack animals. 136 231

In mineral wealth Kweichow is considered to have greater possibilities than any other province of China. Coal is common and may be had for merely scratching the surface. The richest mercury mines in the world are in Kweichow. It is the only mineral exported, although from the iron in Wei-ning cooking vessels are manufactured which are sold all over Yünnan, as well as Kweichow. In addition, there are gold, silver, copper, and nitrate of potash in sufficient quantities to warrant mining them. 135

The province should also be of great interest to botanists. I met in Kweiyang an Austrian who had collected over three hundred species of plants. As I went to market from the mountain village in which I was living to Lung-li I would count the flowering plants I saw. There were never fewer than thirty in blossom, many times more than fifty. At times the hills would be rosy with azaleas, at other times blue with bluebells of several kinds, while during their season more than a hundred white lilies would be in view at certain points. Hedges of wild roses border some of the paths. There are wild fruit trees, berries, and flowering vines. Nearly every flowering plant we grow with much care in our gardens is found wild on the Kweichow mountains. 137

4.Mikiney B-8 (1966-7)1967 AES 2Hao AES

241 Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more
•231 fuel, or grass for the animals. The water
245 buffalo were taken out night and morning for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.[8] Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

243 The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice from sheaves were

[8] One-tenth of a *tou* (see note 7, p. 35), or 31.6 cubic inches.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 412

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter-jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds.
342 The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment, since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 are also called TΛu TΛu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老瓦寨 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoɔ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包谷飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine. [278]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木坪. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten only on special occasions.[5] 262

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street. 241 [361]

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained. 231 [224]

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden 241 412

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron 40
or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on homemade wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 586
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the He Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their [294] time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver orna- [301] ments in all styles and colors to attract attention.

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in 361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of [231] one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[183]

796 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must at-
[461] tend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after
769 the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar
796 calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I
[262] eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "hanging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for
796 sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-
231 huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before 769 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that ●[231] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their [773] tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.—Analyst]

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

Besides the Meos' predilection for mountain tops they have other claims to distinction. They are utterly independent and quite fearless. Their passion for freedom compels them to live in the smallest of villages and, apart from such rare events as the invasion of 1860, they will not tolerate chiefs or leaders. If forcibly brought to lower altitudes they are soon taken ill and die. They are normally pacific, but if compelled to fight are apt to eat the livers of slain enemies. M 181

The Meos are the only people in Indo-China who are not in the slightest concerned with evil spirits, although they admit their existence. Their complete indifference to all the ghouls and devils that plague the races surrounding them has invested them with enormous prestige, which they are careful to cultivate. They like to encourage the belief, prevalent among the Thais, that they are were-wolves and can turn into tigers at wish. They have no funerary cults but celebrate a funeral – or any other event providing the slightest excuse – with orgies of drinking. Husbands and wives keep their own property. Children are given the greatest degree of freedom; and sexual promiscuity before marriage – even with strangers – is general. 'Sacred groves' exist – there is a celebrated one at Dong-Van in Tonkin – to which Meo girls resort, and offer themselves freely to all comers. It is said that large-scale maps, upon which the locations of such groves have been scrupulously plotted, are the prized possessions of most French garrisons in Tonkin. Besides breeding fine, white dogs, they are experts at taming monkeys and birds, particularly a kind of minah which they teach a wide repertoire of imitative sounds. The Meos will only part with their animals for an enormous price – payable in solid silver which they immediately convert into massive jewellery. M 771 M 836 M 231 435

But the first village beyond Muong Kassy, perched on a bare hill-top and reached laboriously up a long winding path, proved not to belong to Meos but the 'black' Thais – so called from the distinctive dress of their women. It was like climbing up to an eagle's eyrie and finding crows in possession. A rare species of crow though. Check- ST 361

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

Mi 342
Mi [354]
Mi [778]

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

Mi 445
Mi 401
Mi 312

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

Mi 343
Mi 231

86: Robequain--247 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AES

pens made of bamboo. Mèo women excel in raising these pigs, which are of a special variety. They know how to dose the maize and leave it whole or break it up into particles of varying size according as it is to be used to feed a male shut in its narrow pen, a female with a litter, a pregnant female, or the young pigs which come and go freely in the house like the chickens. A few Mèo of Thanh Hoá -- the wealthiest ones -- also have a horse to ride to market, and buffalo. But the latter wander about over the mountains and are hardly ever slaughtered except for funerals.

Mi 231

Like the Man, the Mèo of the province cultivate only rẫy, and change their site every two, three or four years. On the hills and even slopes they sow rice broadcast in the third and fourth months and harvest it in the ninth and tenth months. I have seen some with superb, well-filled husks and enormous grains (3). Elsewhere, in /235/ the

Mi 241

3. The Mèo grow chiefly common rice, and little of the glutinous kind, in contrast to the Thai. On the other hand, the latter do not sow their mountain rice broadcast, but place it in holes.

basins, they alternate maize which is sowed in holes and grows and ripens from the second to the eighth month (1) with opium which is

1. In the Thai rẫy of the same region, situated at a lower altitude, maize is harvested in the sixth month.

sowed broadcast in the eighth month. Besides maize and rice which form the basis of their food supply, the Mèo grow a few batatas, some cassava and some sugar cane.

The women busy themselves with hemp, with which they weave nearly all the cloth the family needs. From this material dyed blue or left white, they make their peculiar and rather funny clothing, the upper part of which is like that of a sailor and the lower part like that of a dancer -- a little jacket with a sailor collar and narrow sleeves, and a skirt which comes down only to the knee but which has so many pleats that it becomes very heavy. The women also wear long leggings and high turbans, and on holidays the collars and skirts of their garments are brightened with white on blue designs and with a childish mass of tricolored materials.

Mi 287 291

Hospitable people, the Mèo of Thanh Hoá have remained timid

000

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by large

[158 cont.]

231 logs with the floor slightly raised by means of logs laid horizontally
343 on the ground. (Photo 116, Plate 27.) Naturally, this pen for the animals is no more frequently cleaned than is the inside of the house, with the result that the liquid manure and the excrement soon form nauseous seas which it is necessary to cross painfully in order to reach the house.

The "Méo" have excellent little horses (average height — about
231 1.20 meters, like the Chinese or Tonkinese horses) sturdy, sensible, very handy, and very sure-footed. These horses are never groomed, are fed with a little grass (a special grass called "ma-tsao" or horse's grass), with bamboo leaves and a few handfuls of maize. They gen-
[343] erally are tied under a little lean-to resting against the house.

The "Méo-" have a special breed of white dogs, with silky and very thick hair of medium length.

The fowls (hens, guinea hens, ducks, and so on) roam at
[343] liberty around the house during the day and roost at night in a coop usually located above or near to the stable. The wildcats, which
[136] are numerous in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, frequently do frightful slaughter among the "Méo" poultry.

In view of their spirit of independence, the "Méo" most often
361 live off by themselves, in groups of five or six cabins, and only very seldom form sizeable settlements. However, in the region of Pha-Long — Pakha, where the "Méo" group forms the majority of the population, several "Méo" villages exist which number from twenty to thirty cabins. Be that as it may, the "Méo" village is always perched very near to the summits of the mountains, at the foot of the crags; difficult mule-trails with very abrupt slopes permit access to these villages; still the climb on foot is infinitely preferable to the trip on horseback.

("Méo" houses appear in the following photographs: 346, Plate 36; 347, Plate 41; 445, Plate 38; 135, Plate 43. The last three show villages.)

In the hamlets and villages of the "Méo," the houses are built
361 according to the inclination of the occupants, without thought of
364 alignment or of streets, the enclosures for the animals close to the dwelling houses. Despite the open air and the sun which bathe the

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
● 231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

[169 cont.]

M 524 in a vertical direction, and each of its ends may lift themselves up to a height double that of the post. A youngster takes his place (astraddle or on his stomach) at each end of the pole, to which a rather rapid movement of horizontal rotation is given, combined with a vertical movement. These movements are induced by each one of the youngsters, who in his turn pushes against the ground. (Photo 168, Plate 42, shows one of these turning seesaws.) Some M [536] [231] "Méo" are strolling entertainers and train performing monkeys. (Photo 385, Plate 42.)

We have found, in a rather large number of "Méo" homes, the M 231 [170] blackbirds known by the name of "mandarin blackbirds." They are slightly larger than our blackbirds. The beak is big and yellow; they have a hood and a little collar of yellow skin. Their ability to imitate is certainly surprising, for, not content with whistling like ordinary blackbirds, they imitate perfectly all the noises they hear: wails of the newborn, whinnying of horses, baying of dogs, coughs, gurglings of the water pipe, gratings of doors, and so on. These birds sell for very high prices.

[171] [Blank page in original text.]

[172] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

[173] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

L 101 131 161 The "Lolo," who form sizeable groupings in the provinces in the south of China, are represented in Tonkinese territory by only a few tribes, very unequally distributed along the frontier, from Baolac to near Phongtho, the total number of individuals in them scarcely exceeding 12,000.

L 131 361 The densest settlements are found in the region of Baolac, which contain the majority of the group, whose villages are more or

155: Abadie--240 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina/
M100 AE5

291
342
[231]
[854]
[482]

[162]

103. "Peu-Méo" Women.

105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.

419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.
(Pakha)

155: Abadie--243 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[168]

764

199. "Méo" funeral. Digging the Grave.

198. "Méo" Funeral. The Interment.

524

342
231

168. "Méo" Revolving Seesaw.

385. Performing Monkey Trained by a "Méo."

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] [775] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/74 cont./

A 881 [883] [291] of sexual enjoyment, all their thoughts are now concentrated upon sexual life, which is enjoyed to the full. The only difference as compared to the earlier state is a purely external feature in the clothing. In place of the children's caps, the girls now wear the bamboo covering and the boys the turban as a sign of maturity (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Fig. 228 and Fig. 229 and Colored Pl. I, Nos. 7 and 8).

A M 881 Otherwise, puberty does not bring about any change in the way of life among either the Akha or Meau. They perform their duties in the same manner as before (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"), are not secluded, and speak little about their past childhood.

5. Attitude toward Animals

A M 231 Although the same conditions seem to prevail among both peoples, there are basic differences between the Meau and the Akha in their attitude toward animals.

M 231 857 The children of both peoples come into contact with animals a good deal. In general, the children of the Meau love animals very much and like to spend their time with the domesticated animals. Only the pigs are definitely /75/ disliked. This is explained by the fact that the children of both peoples have to tend the pigs, and carrying their food is heavy work that is sometimes almost beyond the strength of the children (Ill. 44).[1] Dogs, on the other hand, are especially well liked. The children play tussle, and frolic about with them, and sometimes the children amuse themselves by exchanging roles with the dogs. Then the child plays the part of the dog, and the dog, whose hair is combed up like that of a child, represents the child. They talk to them, and until they are seven or eight, the children believe that the dog understands every word. They like to have the dog join various games in which parts are played; he will represent a cow or bull, is saddled, and the like. Compared with the importance of the dog, that of the other animals caught for play, such as mice, birds, butterflies, small beetles, is very little. The insects caught are allowed to fly around within the range of a

1 [See cat. 116, p296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " , p120- "]

/75 cont./

M thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the
231 children are very skilled manually, these animals usually
[857] suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals,
[516] have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)
[114]
[177]

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A Among the Akha the relationship between man and ani-
231 mal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with
[157] animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly
A harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau,
M eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only
[262] rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly
A observed that they tortured the animals without interference
[857] on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

[See cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [752] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphemalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's [202] celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute
of the Meau. 1/9
nat. size. Fig. 28,
from above, Fig. 29,
side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/147 cont./

M 534 231 177

piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A M 533

The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Sometimes they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they

30

31

M 534 [531]

Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

A M 533 [224]

hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here./ The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

A /152 cont./
123 rang out in the distance. As we discovered later, it was fire-
535 works which the Akha had acquired from the Chinese. Mean-
[541] while the sound of mouth organs was heard drifting toward us;
[177] the noise grew louder and seemed to come closer, and we were quickly on our feet.

Shortly thereafter the first group of the festive throng arrived. It was several dozen young men, accompanied by a number of boys. In their gala costumes, richly hung with silver (Ill. 12), they posted themselves beside our tent and began to dance, while some of them started a huge fire. The flickering, crackling fire cast eerie shadows, which the blazing flames dispelled, on the figures stamping and leaping to the sound of their mouth organs. Over us arched the firmament with the twinkling tropical starry sky. It was one of the most beautiful and rewarding moments we were privileged to experience on this expedition. After a few hours the fire gradually died down, and the tired dancers returned to their village.

A These dances of the Akha, however, are usually danced
527 following a celebration, occasions that are presented in abundance
[535] because of the special liking of the Akha for celebrations. When the full moon shines at harvest time the sound of the mouth organs and the singing of the beautifully adorned girls with their reddened lips and cheeks resound the whole night through. The
M turn of the year is celebrated among both the Meau and Akha
[527] with festivals that last for days, but other occasions also are often presented for breaking the monotony of /153/ /Ill. 26-29 appear here on unnumbered pages/ work with a festival in honor of the spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Deities and Spirits") or of a distinguished guest. We, too, had the opportunity to participate as guests in several celebrations
A of the Akha along the Doy Tung in northern Thailand. In the
[123] following I shall give the description of one of these celebrations from the entries in my wife's journal:

A "At day a pig is slaughtered. Many men hold the loudly
M squealing animal, while one of them cuts its throat. Whereas
[23] the Meau always see to it that the spirits receive their share,
[782] the Akha do not concern themselves about this in the least.
A They drive a strong pole into the dead animal at the anus and
[252] out through the snout. Without any sacrificial ceremony and

[see cat 116, P 37- ANALYST]

[TEXT continues on P214]

/167 cont./

776 know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither
[829] fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient
times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought
[773] them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank, even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231 There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created
776 by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so
[775] much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits. In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a
[782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation of a guardian spirit.

1 [See cat. 116, p 666 - ANALYST]

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the [114 775] Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pě dŏ. Savina (1)

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in- [931] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore espe- [825] cially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals [224] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[973] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception [626] as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

/182 cont./

755 All those present tensely watch the horn oracle, which
787 finally indicates a favorable outcome. Then Chief Tsin Tsai
[782] steps forward with the sick son and the eldest son, all three kneel down on the ground before the shaman, facing the altar, fold their hands in prayer in the manner of devout Catholics, and beseech the spirits to come and to help. Now the two sons step back, and the chief picks up the gong and begins to beat it. In the meantime, the shaman covers his face with the black cloth so as to be able to see the spirits as soon as they appear. With his left hand he reaches for the magic rattle (see the chapter, "Art," Fig. 31), sits down on the bench in front of the altar, stamps with both feet, simultaneously to the rhythm of the gong beats, and, in the same rhythm, strikes the back of his right hand on his right knee and the magic rattle on his left knee, all the while moving the upper part of his body backward and forward rattling sounds, like "brrr" and "krrr," are heard uninterruptedly along with his, and in the midst of it his conjurations in a half-sung, half-spoken cadence. Then his motions slow down, and his words are more clearly pronounced, while the eyes of everyone present hang on the shaman's lips, for through him the spirits announce their orders and revelations.

After about ten minutes the chief stops beating the gong, but the shaman continues his actions. His words shape themselves into an order: "The soul of Lü has traveled beyond the clouds; evil spirits are holding it, preventing its return. Sacrifice a pig."

755 The eldest son immediately fetches a small pig and puts
782 the sacrificial /183/ animal upon a second bench behind the shaman. Other members of the family hold the animal firmly
● [231] by the snout. The eldest son cuts its throat, and someone catches the blood spurting from the veins in a bowl. The chief dips spirit-money (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50) into the blood and burns it with the pious words: "Spirits, I offer you my pig. Enjoy
755 eating it and help my son get well!" He then takes the spirit-sword (Fig. 55) and with it draws a line on the ground, which clearly includes the place of sacrifice in the altar area and

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782] New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
[769] voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
[526] munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
[241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
[776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/207 cont./

782 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the
231 slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau
[778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value
[439] of the animal (Ill. 103).[1] Gold paper, which the Meau do not make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny
[435] shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial
782 hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
[776] this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their chil-
dren, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[846] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[164] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
[626] birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/215 cont./

A 782 [778] [241] to him there (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter). On certain occasions each year sacrifices are regularly offered to a number of spirits, as has already been reported in the section referred to.

A 782 796 [769] Among the Akha, too, the New Year's festival has great importance with regard to sacrifices, since at this festival, which, as among the Meau, lasts four days, sacrifices are likewise made to the ancestors and all of the spirits in accordance with their significance. Telford (1) has found similar conditions among the Akha in Kengtung: "The New Year's festival lasts four days. The people eat rice cakes and chickens and drink tea and liquor. Part of this is offered to the spirits, for the core of this festival is the feeding of the ancestral souls."

A [778] 1. Page 109.

A [769]

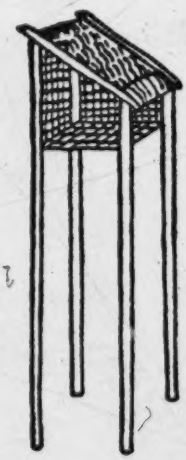


Fig. 56
Little sacrificial house of the Akha. 1/40 nat. size.

Aside from the fixed times, among the Akha -- as among the Meau -- sacrifices are offered whenever special occasions require it, such as sickness, misfortune, death, and birth, but also in case of a violation of a taboo and similar occurrences. Sacrifices are primarily offered by the shamans, but also by the village elders, the family fathers, and, substituting for them, their wives.

A [688]

A M 782 [231] /216/ Both tribes use food, meat or whole animals, field products, and alcohol, as sacrifices. The pig is the most important sacrificial animal, followed by chickens and dogs. Pieces of the meat of all the other animals eaten are to be sure, similarly sacrificed, as are those of every other food, which is shared with the ancestors and spirits, but these animals are not associated with the cult. Savina (1) reports that the Meau in

A M [764] [114]

1. II, p. 200.

39: Bernatzik--310 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very un-
[364] satisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is
[296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by
[312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects
364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good
164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child
[165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the
[356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for
[514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces
[231] of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau
[361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

/268 cont./ If needed,

342 sleeping rooms, too, are often built on. The basic form of the houses and the roofs is always the same, however. A pigsty [573] and a chicken coop also belong to each house, whereas cattle [417] are usually kept by only a few families.

[231] Cleanliness is a relative idea. In comparison with the scrupulously clean houses of the Lao, the dwellings of the Meau 356 certainly leave much to be desired. At many houses the refuse lies in front of the door for days before it is removed. In other places one sees the women busy at sweeping the house and washing the dishes regularly. Even on important festive days the appearance of the house and yard does not change much. One recognizes by the old rotten trash covered with soot and dirt until it is beyond recognition, which often fills up the houses, that the Meau women /269/ feel no need to create order. To be sure, each move of the village provides an opportunity for 364 it, and this must suffice. There are no toilets. Places outside the village are sought at random and are well known by the dogs and pigs, since they devour all the excrement with amazing thoroughness and thus perform valuable sanitary service.

342 The ground plan, sketch, cross-section, and drawing of the framework of the chief's house (Figs. 63, 64, 65, and 66) and of the dwelling house (Figs. 67, 68, 69 and 70) with their respective legends indicate the size, construction, and shape of the dwellings without anything more, so I have only a little to add.

[Figures appear on pp 371-377, Text continues on p 378]

/270 cont./

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622
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[231]

Caption for Fig. 63 cont.

M = heavy clay pots with cooked pig-fodder, which is scooped out for use
N = hanging shelf for kitchen utensils
P = larger hearth for cooking
Q = smaller hearth for cooking
R = parking bench
S = family dining table
T 1 to T 4 = sitting benches
U = stairs, tree trunk with notches
X = raised entrance foundation
Z = built-on dye-trough
E 1 = main entrance door
E 2 = secondary entrance door.

Fig. 64 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, sketch.

Key to symbols:

A = board wall
B = board fastened in front of the wall
C = supporting posts which support the projecting roof
D = elevated forepart
E = main entrance
F = tree trunk with notches as stairs to the entrance E
G = chicken coop
H = longitudinal bamboo poles tied to the roof truss, which hold down the leaf covering on the ridge
K = roof riders of wood rest on the leaf covering and are fastened to the roof truss
L = hip roof on both sides of the house.

/278 cont./

2. Granaries

343 Whereas the dwellings of the Meau are always built on the ground, the granaries rest on piles up to two meters high, in order to protect the field produce from the humidity and from the unwelcome intrusion of mice, rats, pigs, and from the other domestic animals. There are open granaries, which usually are several meters long and three to /279/ four meters high and consist of merely a /Fig. 79 appears here/ platform covered by a leaf-roof. Field produce is stored here as long as it still needs drying. During the rainy season, however, granaries which are closed off by four board-walls and built very solidly are used. They have only one small doorlike opening, through which one has to creep in order to store ears of maize, sheaves of grain, millet, or tubers in it (Fig. 79).

3. Stables

231 Although special shelters are always built for chickens and
343 pigs, these domestic animals usually stay in the dwelling during the day or in its immediate vicinity. The pigs lie in the living room under a bench or table or at the hearth, as they please, /Figs. 80-82 appear here/ /280/ while the chickens busily search for food in all the nooks and corners. No scrap is scorned.
[417] Chicken coops in the form of large boxes (Figs. 80 and 81) are usually lodged at the house wall. They are made of boards joined together and are closed with a suitable piece of wood (Fig. 80, A). There are also, however, chicken houses resting on piles (Fig. 82).

231 The pigpens are put together with stout wooden sticks and are
343 of various sizes, according to the wealth of the owner /Figs. 83
417 and 84 appear here/ (Fig. 83). There are large troughs for fodder
[550] inside the pens (Fig. 84). At night the cattle are housed in hurdle-like stables. In them, on an underlayer of boards that is raised about 15 centimeters and rests on stones, and under a gabled roof covered with palm leaves, they are well-protected from dampness. The hurdle is enclosed on the sides with a

Miao AE5
Akha A04

M /280 cont./
231 lattice of wooden beams. On the front side some of these beams
343 can be pushed aside in order to let the cattle in or out. Similar
417 hurdles are customary among our mountain peasants.
Lajonquière (1) describes the quarters of the domestic animals in

1. II, p. 305.

almost the same way, and furthermore Abadie (2) and

2. Page 158.

Fig. 83. Pigpen of the Meau. 1/60 natural size.

Fig. 84. Trough for pig fodder. 1/36 nat. size.

Savina (3), too.

3. II, p. 186.

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4. Smithies

The smithy (Figs. 85 and 86) is a small structure built in the fashion of the dwelling, which consists of a workroom open at the sides and a second room enclosed with leaf-walls (E).
M [325] The workroom is enclosed by only a few wooden beams (D) and, appropriately for the steep terrain, is on a platform. In it

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/283 cont./

M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.

Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [353] M [513] M [231]

Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M 883 [243] M [836] [533]

The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

A 361 166 [241] [623]

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231] [411] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 411 As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[1] with which effective poisoned arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306-[326] 308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 262 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [See art 116, pp 576, 643, + 530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A /348 cont./

224 A difficulty for successful hunting is added among the
[326] Akha, because they do not make the customary flintlock
[439] guns themselves, as the Meau do, but must obtain them from
[411] neighboring tribes. These weapons are therefore very rare
[231] among the Akha, and one generally sees only the crossbow in use (Ill. 30).[1] On the other hand, the Akha have hunting dogs at their disposal, which, on the contrary, are not used among
M the Meau in Thailand, while falcons or other animals trained to
[231] hunt are unknown to both tribes.
[224]

Hunting big game is not practiced by the Akha as a rule. They limit themselves to animals up to the size of a deer,
A such as muntjac, wild /349/ pigs, monkeys, and, above all,
223 deer. Various birds are to be added, but vultures, ravens,
[262] or hornbills are not hunted, since they are not eaten.

They also know how to catch live parakeets, small parrots, and wild doves very skillfully with lime twigs and decoys (Ill. 31[2] and Figs. 260 and 261). In order to catch them with lime twigs, a wooden frame (Fig. 260, A) is erected on the house roof and to its upper end are fastened crosswise two
A wooden crosspieces smeared with lime (B). The birdlime re-
[314] quired is made from the juice of a rubber-type liana. It is pounded in a mortar with a mallet until it changes into a viscous lime whose most valuable property is its invariable consistency and stickiness.

A Among the Akha, too, no animal that they know how to
224 overcome is spared, and they hunt in all seasons without
[185] observing any closed seasons. Accordingly, what has been said about the Meau also applies for the Akha: a short time after a village is established, its surroundings is "cleared," even though involuntarily, of game.

Whereas the Meau exclusively practice the individual hunting described, communal hunts and hunting drives take place as a rule among the Akha. Since the external picture of the hunting grounds is the same for both tribes, might not this difference ultimately be traced back to the use of non-use of hunting dogs, as well as to the fact that the Akha do not hunt dangerous big game. The Akha, too, use no clothing

1 [See cat 116, P249 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , P250 - "]

39: Bernatzik--495 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/365 cont./

e) Animal Husbandry

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[262]
[782]

The Meau are good livestock raisers. The main emphasis is on the raising of pigs, because the animals are regarded not only as food, but also as the most important sacrificial animals. The Meau raise only a very primitive breed similar to the wild pig, which is crossed with the latter, since the domestic pigs run about freely in the villages and their surroundings during the day. At night, however, they are put in pens built especially for them.

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[417]
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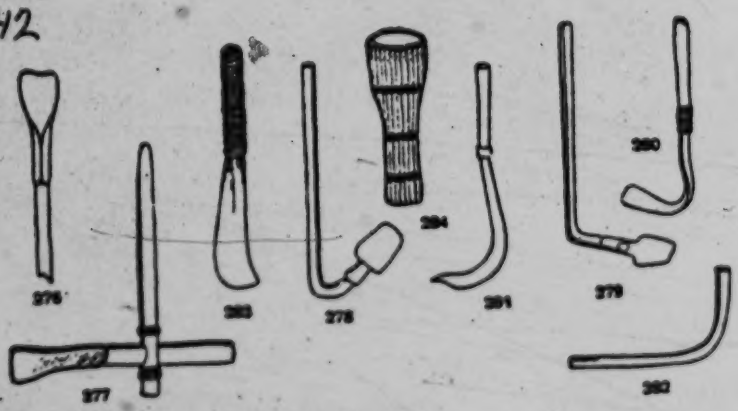

Figs. 276-284. Agricultural Equipment of the Akha.

Fig. 276. Digging stick, 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 277. Ax, 1/14 nat. size. Figs. 278-279. Field hoe, 1/28 nat size. Fig. 280. Weeding rake, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 281. Sickle, 1/12 nat. size. Fig. 282. Threshing flail of hard wood, oval in cross-section, 1/80 nat. size. Fig. 283. Jungle knife, 1/19 nat. size. Fig. 284. Sheath of bamboo, 1/18 nat. size.

A
[243]

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/366 cont./

231 sure-footed. These horses are never fattened; they are fed with a little grass, bamboo leaves, and a few handfuls of
[342] maize. As a rule, they are kept in a small shed which is attached to the house." In an enumeration /367/ of the domestic animals of the Meau that Lajonquière (1) makes, he

1. II, p. 310.

[492] also mentions horses: "They raise horses, cattle, and sometimes buffalo as work animals. Many families keep a mare. They raise pigs, goats, and poultry. The work animals and those for slaughtering, as well as the poultry, are of a special breed and very beautiful. Moreover, they have a special long-haired breed of dogs and ordinary cats. Many have beehives."

[184] The raising of buffalo mentioned by the author named is practiced, although relatively seldom, by the Meau in Thailand. It serves chiefly as a way to make money; the Meau in Thailand
[492] use the buffalo themselves only in exceptional cases, slaughtering them or utilizing them as riding or pack animals. The description that Savina (2) gives shows clearly that the buffalo gen-

2. II, p. 186.

erally play a rather subordinate role among the Meau: "The buffalo are never provided for. During the day they roam in the mountains, and in the evening they often come home if they are not too far away. Occasionally they are given a bundle of hay so that they will not become completely wild. When it rains or is cold at night, they walk around the house and rub against the walls."

[184] With regard to all three of the last-named kinds of animals, however, they usually cannot be kept at all in the mountains of Farther India on account of the steepness of the
[178] slopes. There, the breeding of cattle, horses, and buffalo as pack animals is disappearing, like the use of the plow, and man must again bear the loads alone, as in the times before the domestication of domestic animals.

/367 cont./

•231 The dogs kept in northern Thailand to guard the houses differ completely from the breed of dog that Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ described in his enumeration of the domestic animals of the Meau and from the animals described by Abadie (3) as having white, silky, longish, and very thick

3. Page 158.

fur. Innumerable barking dogs, red, black, and more rarely white in color, which resemble the Chinese chow, but are slenderer in body build and somewhat weaker, are found here. They feed on scraps and all kinds of refuse and, as has been mentioned, regard human feces as precious delicacies. For the Meau dogs are also animals to be killed in order to create a guardian spirit, as has /368/ been described in detail in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). The meat of dogs is not [262] eaten any more than is that of the numerous cats that watch for mice in the houses, granaries, and stables.

Chickens are also very important. They are present in every household and are identical with the small wild fowl, the original form of our domestic chicken. They, too, are put in special coops during the night by the Meau (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Figs. 80-82) and are regularly fed twice a day. At harvest time they are taken in special carrying baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 338 and 339) to the harvested fields, in which abundant feed is still to be found. Abadie (1) gives a similar description about Indo-

1. Page 158.

china: "The poultry (chickens, turkeys, ducks, etc.) roam about freely during the day and sleep in a chicken coop which is usually above or next to the stable. Tiger cats, which are [136] common in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, often kill hecatombs of the poultry of the Meau."

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

/369 cont./

231 "On the other hand, they do sell pigs. Few peoples
[432] raise as many pigs as the Meau. They are seen everywhere. In every family there is a pig that is petted and favored by everyone."

I could learn no more about property marks on animals
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[171] tice bee-keeping, I could not find it among the Meau. Other authors, too -- with the exception of Lajonquière (1), who

1. II, p. 310.

mentions them in his enumeration of the domestic animals -- report nothing about this, and the raising of silkworms seems to be just as little known among the Meau of all the regions mentioned. I, too, was unable to find it anywhere.

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AKha A04
Miao AE5

/369 cont./

M 232 [463] In every village several men are masters at the art of castration and are paid by the others to practice this occupation. /370/ I had an opportunity to watch the castration of a cock, which did not last longer than four minutes. The Meau opened the body cavity of the animal three fingers above the anus, pulled out the reproductive glands with two fingers which he stuck deep into the opening, tied them up, and then simply tore them off. Then, with needle and thread, he first sewed the musculature and then the outer skin, and the cock was immediately actively running about again and looking for food. The amazing thing was that during the entire operation he had remained completely still.

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A 231 What has been said about the animal husbandry of the Meau generally applies among the Akha. The sequence followed for the domestic animals described, according to their significance for the Meau, is the same for the Akha; nevertheless there are a few differences. Among the Akha, too, the raising of pigs comes first; the fodder for these animals (Ill. 44) [1] is even prepared on special cooking places among them. On the other hand, during the night they, like the cattle, are not shut up in special pens, but stay under the dwellings, which stand on piles. During the day, they roam about freely (Ill. 46) [2] and, together with the dogs, burrow in the heaps of refuse which are present beside every house. Among the Akha, no differently than among the Meau, dogs as well as pigs devour the feces of human beings with special likings.

A [342] [364] The Akha raise cattle for meat, the Meau more rarely. [262] Like the latter, they use the animals as pack animals in regions that permit it. Strangely enough, the Akha, too, drink no [491] milk, though I did not find a corresponding taboo, as among the [272] Meau. Nevertheless, the obvious presumption is that among them, too, it is a matter of a forgotten prohibition of cultic origin, which has become a habit.

1 [See Cat 116, p 296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 332- "]

/373 cont./

252 Meat is either roasted over a fire or boiled in water in
[251] large or small pieces, and is also smoked without salt or salted and dried in the sun. Furthermore it may be fried in fat or oil. Cooking pits, as well as the use of hot stones for cooking, are unknown.

262 As fat, lard is used primarily, but also the fat from hunt-
[252] ing booty. It is added to the meat and to the vegetables during the cooking, but relatively little is taken for that.

The main emphasis in the daily diet, however, is not on meat, but rather on vegetable dishes, an observation that Lajonquière (1) also makes: "Meat and poultry are not part of

1. II, p. 302.

the daily diet, which is composed almost exclusively of maize, vegetables, and beans. It is used, however, on festive occasions." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 159.

Today rice stands in first place among the Meau. It is
243 first threshed with a wooden cudgel, and then the chaff is separated from the kernels by throwing the grain to be threshed from large flat baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 343) into the air when there is as much side-wind as possible so that the chaff is carried away by it while the rice kernels fall back into the flat baskets. Finally the clinging leaves covering them are removed in a rice mortar, and the grain is ground in a mill which makes it possible to grind the rice into a coarser or finer flour as desired (chapter, "House Furnishings," Figs. 140-142).

262 The importance of rice as the principal foodstuff is shown by the many dishes prepared from it, a few of which will be described in the following. If the rice is to be prepared without
252 any additional ingredients, it is first cooked for several minutes in plenty of water and then everything is poured on a plaited strainer under which a gourd bowl is placed to catch the starchy
[231] [272] rice-water, which is drunk or fed to the animals. The rice

/399 cont./

285 482 Fig. 333 = back-basket, most common shape, various kinds of plaiting, with leather straps, wide plaited bands, or twisted strings as carrying straps. Type of plaiting, Fig. 334: every cross-strip consists of three overlapping bamboo strips one centimeter wide. A narrow strip is interwoven vertically. Type of plaiting, Fig. 335: between /Figs. 333-337 appear here/ every cross-strip two centimeters wide there is an equally wide space. Very narrow vertical strips of split rattan, only four millimeters wide.

Fig. 336 = a very common, strong form of the carrying baskets, which are also used as harvest baskets. Vertical strips of cane three centimeters wide are attached over a tight inner wall plaited with bamboo strips four millimeters wide (Figs. 336 and 337) by means of some crosscords. Carrying straps of strips of hide (Ill. 93).

285 /400/ Figs. 338 and 339: chicken baskets, loosely [231] plaited with narrow bamboo strips. Cover and door tied on.

Fig. 340 = flat basket, used as a strainer.

Outer edge (Fig. 341) of tight plaiting of bamboo strips three millimeters wide, plaited loosely within (Fig. 342) with the same material. /Figs. 338-342 appear here./

[243] Fig. 343 = large, flat rice-basket for separating the grain from the chaff. Hulled rice is shaken in it and the chaff blown away. Inner plaiting (Fig. 344) like the plaiting pattern of mats, except for wider bamboo strips about 13 millimeters wide.

[415] Fig. 345 = large supply-basket. Plaiting (Fig. 346) of bamboo strips three centimeters wide. Loosely plaited, vertical walls. There is every size of such baskets. /Figs. 343-346 appear here./

To be mentioned here also are the hanging baskets for the storing of dishes, as is described under Fig. 131 in the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils."

39: Bernatzik--540 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao RE5

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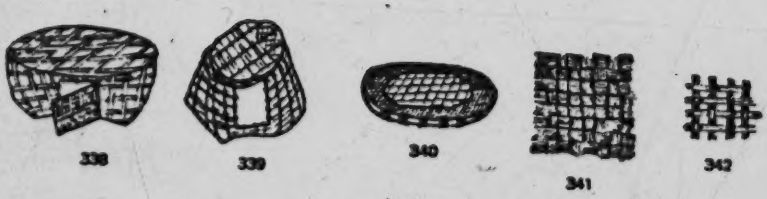

[231] Figs. 338-339. Meau Baskets for Carrying Chickens, 1/22 nat. size.

[415] Figs. 340-342. Plaited Strainer of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

Fig. 341, outer plaiting, and Fig. 342, inner plaiting.

[243] Figs. 343-344. Flat Rice-basket of the Meau, about 1/12 nat. size.
Fig. 344. Pattern of the interior plaiting.

[415] Figs. 345-346. Supply Basket of the Meau, 1/133 nat. size.
Fig. 346. Sample of plaiting.

39: Bernatzik--566 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/421/

A 487 [361] [464] The paths in the territory of the Akha are wide and kept in good condition, as is shown by Ill. 31.[1] The difference lies in the fact that among the Akha the villages are very populous and their paths are therefore more frequented. Moreover, every village settlement of the Akha has a much greater labor force at its disposal than the villages of the Meau.

M 482 The primary means of communication among the Meau is porters who transport loads on their backs on carriers (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 178-180) or in baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 330, 333, and 336), which are carried, in the fashion of our rucksacks, without a forehead strap (Ill. 93).[2] Wherever M 492 the nature of the terrain permits, the Meau also use, as has already been discussed in the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry," small reddish-brown cattle or small horses as /Figs. 418-422 appear here/ /422/ pack animals, which for this are provided with a special packsaddle (Ill. 81)[3] which is the same for both breeds.

The packsaddle (Figs. 418 and 419) consists of a wooden frame (A), on which a board (B) is mounted. Under the board is fastened a straw-filled cushion (C), which lies on the crupper M of the animal. This packsaddle is fastened on by means of a [283] strong strap (D), about five centimeters wide and plaited out of fiber cords, around the body of the animal. In addition, a hide strap (Fig. 420, G) with iron buckles (H), which is fastened to the packsaddle, leads around the chest of the animal, and a cord with wooden balls strung on it (Fig. 421, E), which come under the tail of the animal, runs around its hind quarters.

M In regions where it is possible to breed horses, the Meau [231] also know how to ride. They use stirrups of iron, such as the [171] Chinese use, but also homemade ones, which are plaited out of [285] rattan (Fig. 422).

1 [see cat. 116, p250- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p643- "]
3 [" " " p596- "]

/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lūn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gē. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tŏă, noon, nū tse ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kŭu, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next [264] day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women [517] settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

/433 cont./

M 512 If there is no fieldwork to be done, the men do not get up until the third crowing of the cocks, that is, about six o'clock. Even so, the women have arisen earlier, ground the rice, cooked breakfast, and prepared some food to be taken along. After the breakfast together, the men set out for the forest in order to hunt, fish, or to prepare firewood or timber and do not return until shortly before nightfall. On such days the women devote their time to housework. Then cloth is woven, yarn is spun and dyed, batik patterns are drawn with the wax pen, and the children and domestic animals cared for. When the men M [231] [252] return at dusk, there follows the same daily care of the animals, the preparation of the grain for the following day, and finally the fading sounds of the evening rest.

A 805 In the same manner as the Meau, the Akha reckon by days, which they call tǐná. Thirty days likewise represent the month, called bǎlǎ; twelve months, which are likewise reckoned by moons, are the year, tǐkō. It begins, however, at a somewhat earlier time than that of the Meau, namely, four A [796] days before the new moon in December, and for the Akha, too, this is the great holiday season of the year. They, too, occasionally postpone the festivities for practical reasons. For example, the Akha who had had their dwelling site on the Doy A Tung Mountain in northern Thailand felt themselves obliged [361] to move it at once because of the measures directed against [796] them by the Thailand government. For this reason /434/ they postponed their New Year's celebration for one month in order, as they said, to offer the great sacrifices to their spirits on the spot where they intended to erect their new village. This is all the more understandable if one remembers the important A [776] role that lǒká, the guardian spirit, plays among them, to whom a new gate at the village entrance is erected every year (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits").

A /436 cont./
512 baskets and mats. About eight o'clock the morning meal is
[264] finally ready, is eaten together by the family, and only then does the actual work of the day begin.

A During the period of the work in the fields, the younger
[887] people leave the house in order to go to the fields; only the old people, the grandparents, remain behind to watch over the
A houses. The Akha, too, take food with them to the fields
[264] and eat it cold during a pause at midday. Sometimes, however, the women, too, stay at home and do the domestic tasks, spinning, weaving, dyeing, and caring for the children and domestic animals, as among the Meau.

During the period after the harvest, the men may go hunting or the occupants of the house may go fishing together.
A In these cases, too, the cooked food for midday is taken along.
[264] They always return home at sunset, and often even later during the
[312] period of the fieldwork. Here water must now be fetched and
[252] the rice hulled by the women, but the men help them with this (Ill. 39)[1] as with the cooking and then the evening meal is eaten.
[276] Later, the old people sit together and smoke tobacco and opium,
[883] while the young people leave the houses, visit one another, and go on romantic adventures. Around ten o'clock, however, everybody is usually already in bed and asleep, for the days are filled with hard and strenuous work. At the time of the festi-
A vals, on the other hand, the entertainment often lasts through
[527] most of the nights and the sound of the mouth organs does not die away until dawn.

/437/ Chapter 26

Men's Work and Women's Work

M Besides a whole number of tasks that are performed to-
462 gether by both sexes, various tasks among the Meau are reserved for the one or the other sex. The strictly observed division of
M labor begins in childhood. Exclusively men's work is the follow-
[231] ing: hunting, climbing trees, making planks and posts, felling

1 [see cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning,
[241] weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[248] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

[241] Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[231] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest. Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

39: Bernatzik--596 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947

A01 Thailand

/Between pp. 442 and 443/ Miao AE5

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Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox among the Meau.

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Ill. 82. Meau smith in his workshop.

39: Bernatzik--666 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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Ill. 101. Creating a guardian spirit among the Meau. The throat of a newborn dog is cut.

39: Bernatzik--704 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 522/

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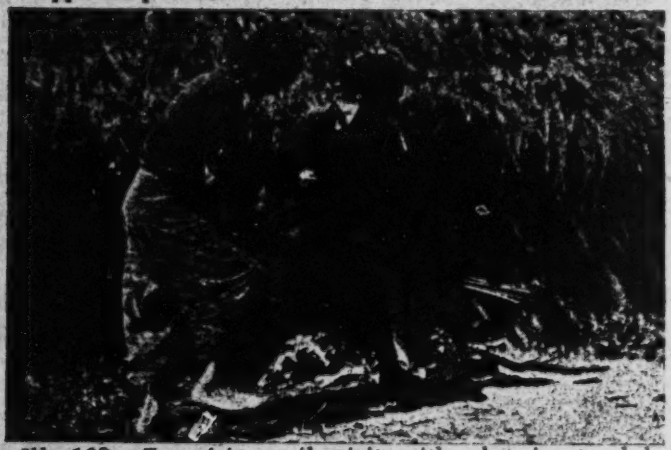

Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits with a burning torch by the shaman of the Meau (right) and his assistant.

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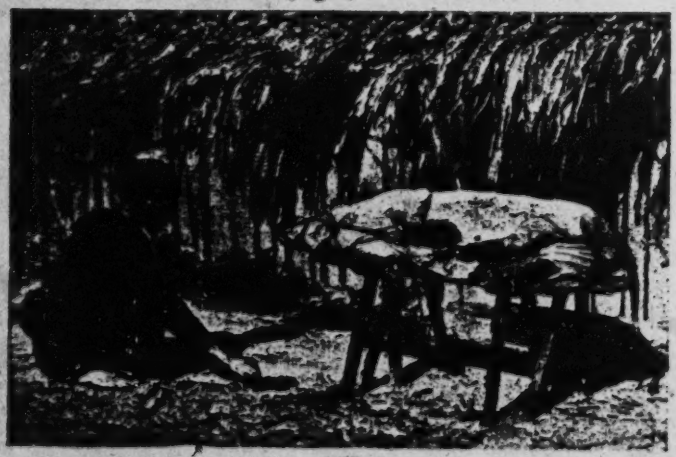

Ill. 103. Before the slaughtering, the pig is purchased from the spirits by the Meau by burning spirit-money under the snout of the animal.

39: Bernatzik--726 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself. [415]

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

/IX cont./

231 776 789 [775] Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 789 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 782 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 243 482 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.

/X/

342 [415] Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.

353 [264] [354] Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 [264] [352] Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/369 cont./

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1. II, p. 310.

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[262] [49] [272]

1 [See cat 116, p 296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 332 - "]

/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. 231 511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated 556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, [227] tun, sǎr co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or
hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron 10
or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed
that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when
there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently
explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong
or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem
yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth
bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like 292
that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which
is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese
people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The
best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat
the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments,
and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries.
This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[171] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
[438] though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia[v]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien[v]] and a body [ko[v]-ʔ'ieŋ[v]/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pe[v] ts'ə[v]]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ[v] ɲo[v]] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ[v] ndu[v]]. When there is a
[824] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
* [782] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated
[237] above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

[162 cont.]

534 They construct a musical instrument of an entirely special model called "sen," a sort of "pipe of Pan," formed of a tube which swells out very much in its lower portion. Into this swollen section are fitted six or eight reed pipes of varying lengths, pierced with holes and set at right angles to the large tube. The player obtains continuous sounds by successive aspirations and expirations. The scale is rather extended, as it provides from twelve to sixteen notes and numerous cords. The player of the "sen" dances while playing. (See photo 155, Plate 40.) The "sen" of the "Méo" very much re-
[171] sembles the Laotian "ken."

The "Méo" also make tambourines, copper cymbals, a sort of
[237] bagpipe with a nasal sound, produced by a goatskin sack of voluminous dimensions, and a small guitar with a long neck, made from a turtle's shell covered with a tight stretched snake's skin.

In the area which gave them birth, the "Méo" were, without
631 doubt, formed into groupings placed under the orders of chiefs of
648 their race and preserving a certain independence in relation to the neighboring Chinese authorities. In the matter of the tribes who have immigrated into Tonkin, they have had to place themselves little by little under the authority of local native functionaries and of the commandants of sectors, spheres, and provinces.

In accordance with the importance of their groupings, these tribes are organized into communes (region of Dong-Van) placed under the authority of a "toung-tcha" (corresponding to "ly-truong Thai") in direct contact with the chiefs of canton ("quan-châu") or with the commandants of sectors. These communes are subdivided into quarters commanded by a "ping-t'éou" who has under his orders a certain number of "siao-phay," the latter having, in general, authority over the groups of hamlets or villages built in the same valley or on the same slope of a mountain chain. [163] In the regions where the "Méo" population is too scattered to form a distinct commune, the "Méo" have only some "siao-phay" and sometimes a "ping-t'éou" placed administratively under the authority of the "pho-ly" or of the "ly-truong" of the "Thai" race.

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] A M [177] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When M 114 533 538 Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

[1] [See ord 116, p 124 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
171 Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instru-
171 ment, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
533 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
534 form (Ill. 75) among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral in-
[778] strument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as
[562] women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

[See cat. 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/181 cont./

755
787

The shaman stands with the gong between the altar and the bench for about five minutes and beats it, and then turns to the door of the house and repeats the procedure in order to ward off the evil spirits. From a small wooden box brought with him, he takes a black cloth, ceremoniously unties his turban, winds it again, and fastens this cloth to it, but for the time being he throws it back over the turban so that his face remains free. Later on, it is to cover the shaman's face, for only in this way can he see the spirits.

Meanwhile, however, he takes two oracle /Ordal, literally "ordeal," but used in the sense of "oracle" /horns from the same wooden box that held the cloth. They are usually the [237] tips of gaur horns or the ends of deer antlers cut in half lengthwise. The shaman sits down on the bench, bends forward toward the altar and throws the oracle horns to the ground, studies their position (Ill. 99),[1] picks them up again, and throws them again until the backs of both are uppermost. This indicates that the invoked spirit is willing to appear. Every other variation in the position of the oracle horns also has its meaning:

If the inner sides of both oracle horns are uppermost: the spirit is already present.

If the inner side of the left horn and the outer side of the right one are uppermost: an evil spirit has come along and must first be driven away before the conjuration of the good spirit may begin.

/182/ If the inner side of the right horn and the outerside of the left one are uppermost, it means: an evil spirit is more powerful than the good one who would be willing to help the shaman, and therefore he cannot help the patient.

In this most unfavorable situation, the shaman throws the oracle horns once again in order to ask whether the catastrophe cannot be averted. If now the inner sides of both oracle horns are uppermost, it might still be possible for him to cure the patient. If the unfavorable omen is repeated, however, all efforts are in vain, and the sick person will die.

1 [see cat 116, p664 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A 757 276 /235 cont./

The Akha know only a few medicaments. They consist of herbs and the bark and leaves of certain trees; opium also plays an important part. Telford's statements (2) agree with my ob-

2. Page 201.

servations: "The Kaw have no medicines of their own. They cure almost every illness with opium. Cauterization and blood-letting are also known. The insane are locked up in a cage in the forest. Souls that have run away are called back into the bodies."

A 734 755 177

It is understandable that the Akha eagerly adopt curative methods from neighboring tribes. Several Akha villages that I visited had borrowed the blowing of the injured spot, along with the associated magical rites, from the Lahu and other magical healing procedures from the Lao and the Schan /Shan/.

M 757 M [237]

It was interesting to note that the Meau, among others, also use medicines which formerly played a major role in our European folk medicine. One of them, for example, is bear fat, which, mixed with rice, the Meau give internally as a remedy for worms or externally as an ointment for rheumatism.

For stomach pains they give a laxative that is obtained from the extract of the diced roots of a plant, ňŏ kĕn.

The roots of a grapevine-like plant, tsŏ kŏ tŏ nŭm, either dried or fresh, are ground on stones with water and used as a diaphoretic for fever and headaches. The roots of a leafy plant /236/ called tsĭ mŏ nŭn are used in the same way. As another medication the dry wood of a certain tree is used; it is suitable only after the bark has fallen off and the wood appears almost black. This remedy, too, is ground with water. Water thus prepared from the three plants just mentioned is mixed in equal parts and produces the medicine mĕn toŭ yŭ, which is drunk.

/341 cont./

224 accompanying me had sought refuge weeks and months ago when they were attacked by wounded gaur. The hunters had succeeded in escaping behind the tree trunk, but the horns of the raging wild oxen had penetrated into the trunks to a depth of ten centimeters.

Despite all their courage, stalking is seldom successful, since the density of the forest permits shots at only a few meters' distance, but the hunter betrays his presence to the animal at more than 100 meters by the noise which he cannot avoid making. Under these circumstances lying in ambush at the haunts or watering places of game is much more promising. For the big cats that have seized a head of livestock, the Meau build themselves a high place near the carcass for an ambush. If the hunters, however, succeed /342/ in finding a [135] salt spring such as sometimes occurs in northern Thailand, the Meau are often able to bag considerable game by this [136] method. Here the Meau successfully hunt even gaur, tigers, and the Indian rhinoceros, a few specimens of which lead a hidden existence there.

Elephant hunting is usually practiced among the Meau by stalking, since the pachyderms are not very sensitive to noise. [237] For this, however, the hunters smear fresh elephant dung all over themselves, since they maintain that with this masking scent they are able to approach the pachyderms, even in an adverse wind, up to a distance of only 15 steps. Although I could not decide in favor of this method myself, I believe that this assertion is quite possible.

In their ambush the Meau often use all kinds of lures about five centimeters and more in size (Fig. 257), in order to attract the game. In this connection a tree fruit is used as a vibrating pellet in the bamboo body of the instrument. During the rutting season the call of the female animal is imitated with blades of grass and leaves, which are clamped between the two thumbs, in order to attract the male muntjac. Similar methods are used for deer and many other game animals. Small beasts of prey are lured by means of the sound of a dying

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/369 cont./

M 232 [463] In every village several men are masters at the art of castration and are paid by the others to practice this occupation. /370/ I had an opportunity to watch the castration of a cock, which did not last longer than four minutes. The Meau opened the body cavity of the animal three fingers above the anus, pulled out the reproductive glands with two fingers which he stuck deep into the opening, tied them up, and then simply tore them off. Then, with needle and thread, he first sewed the musculature and then the outer skin, and the cock was immediately actively running about again and looking for food. The amazing thing was that during the entire operation he had remained completely still.

M 237 231 262 Taking blood from living animals is unknown to the Meau in Thailand. On the other hand, the blood that flows from the opened neck artery during slaughtering is collected and consumed as food.

A 231 What has been said about the animal husbandry of the Meau generally applies among the Akha. The sequence followed for the domestic animals described, according to their significance for the Meau, is the same for the Akha; nevertheless there are a few differences. Among the Akha, too, the raising of pigs comes first; the fodder for these animals (Ill. 44)[1] is even prepared on special cooking places among them. On the other hand, during the night they, like the cattle, are not shut up in special pens, but stay under the dwellings, which stand on piles. During the day, they roam about freely (Ill. 46)[2] and, together with the dogs, burrow in the heaps of refuse which are present beside every house. Among the Akha, no differently than among the Meau, dogs as well as pigs devour the feces of human beings with special likings.

A [342] [364] The Akha raise cattle for meat, the Meau more rarely. Like the latter, they use the animals as pack animals in regions that permit it. Strangely enough, the Akha, too, drink no milk, though I did not find a corresponding taboo, as among the Meau. Nevertheless, the obvious presumption is that among them, too, it is a matter of a forgotten prohibition of cultic origin, which has become a habit.

[262] [492] [272]

1 [See cat 116, p 296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 332 - "]

/389 cont./

411 loaded. One presses the whole down firmly with a plug of scraped bamboo and immediately before firing the shot lets two more of these lead cylinders serving as bullets slide loosely into the barrel. The shot is released by the lock which is [237] glued with beeswax to the pistol stock (a) and secured there with rings of iron or sheet silver (g). The cocked lock is shown in Fig. 307; the way it operates is explained by Fig. 308.

In shooting, the trigger (e) is pressed to the left. The pressure overcomes the force of the counterspring (a); the full cock (f) is released. As a result, the cocking spring (k) presses against the hammer (b), in the upper end of which a flint is clamped (b 1). The hammer flies forward; the flint hits the snap (c), which springs back and lays open the powder pan (Pf). The touchhole (z) runs into the powder pan and connects it with the interior of the barrel. Through the striking of the flint on the snap, a spark is produced which sets fire to the powder in the pan. The explosion instantly runs through the touchhole, ignites the propellant in the interior of the barrel, and the bullets are hurled out of the barrel (i).

It was astonishing for me to observe the relatively great efficiency. At a distance of 120 meters the marksman with each shot hit a target 20 centimeters long and 15 centimeters wide, piercing a board of soft wood two centimeters thick.

389 The Meau even produce for themselves the black powder for the guns, made out of charcoal, sulphur, and saltpeter. [237] Bat excrement serves to provide the latter. A bamboo tube is split into halves and /390/ /Figs. 309-314 appear here/ the overlapping pieces are put on the ground. The spaces in between are covered with banana leaves and the vessel is filled with old /Fig. 315 appears here/ bat excrement and with the earth that lay underneath it. Then water is poured on it, and the liquid is allowed to run off slowly, is collected in a suitable vessel, and is dried by evaporation in iron pans. To one part of the saltpeter thus obtained, one takes half a part of charcoal and a twelfth part of the sulphur purchased [439] from the Chinese traders, beats up the mixture with the addition of some water, and kneads it vigorously in order to obtain a uniform blend. This moist paste of powder is placed in an

39: Bernatzik--528 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

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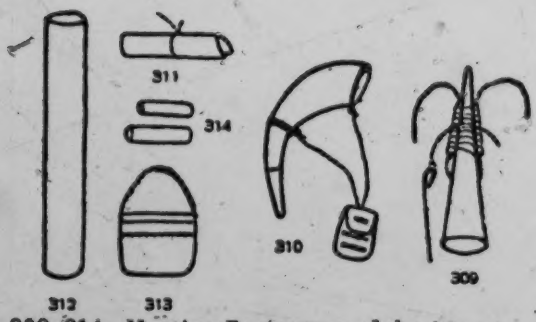

Figs. 309-314. Hunting Equipment of the Meau.

Figs. 309-311. Powder containers: Fig. 309, copper powder-horn, on which hangs the iron needle for cutting through the powder channel, 1/5 nat. size; Fig. 310, powder horn (goat horn) set with copper bands and with copper rings for the attachment of the carrying cord, end piece can be removed, 1/13 nat. size; Fig. 311, bamboo container for gunpowder, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 312. Ramrod of iron, 1/22 nat. size. Fig. 313. Cloth bullet-pouch, 1/20 nat. size, is also visible in Fig. 310, hung on the powder horn. Fig. 314. Iron bullets, about 1/2-1/8 nat. size.

[237]

Fig. 315

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389

Wooden peg of the Meau for pounding gunpowder, 1/18 nat. size.

/401 cont./

283 string is produced from the thinner one. Heavy cord is obtained by twisting in rattan fibers by means of a wooden fork.
[237] The Meau twist strong ropes out of strips of skin, those of bearskin being regarded as the strongest.

/402/ In addition to the twisting process, braid-like ropes,
[492] bands and wide belts for the saddles of the pack animals are also plaited. For this purpose the Meau use three to twelve threads each time. This plaiting is done solely with the hands
[412] and without any tool; only in the making of straps are iron awls used for preliminary piercing.

286 The ancient Chinese literature (1) already mentions re-

1. North China Br., 1859, p. 264; Ch Hch kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 38.

peatedly that the Meau are good spinners, weavers, and dyers. For the manufacture of the cloth for clothing, the Meau primarily use hemp, rarely cotton. They sow hemp (mǎń) in their
248 rice and poppy fields. Lajonquière (2) likewise mentions hemp

2. II, p. 311.

in Indochina and writes that the Meau there cultivate it at the same time as maize and harvest it six to seven months after the sowing. The fibers of banana leaves, on the other hand, were never used, according to my observations and findings. And
[114] since I could find nothing about this anywhere else, a mistake by Seidenfaden, who reported on it, must be assumed. Cotton is cultivated in special fields and is used in a fashion similar to that among the Akha (see pp. 441 f.).

The hemp seed is set out with the planting stick among the Meau in northern Thailand; the period of cultivation falls between the end of April and the beginning of May; the harvest is about three months later. The stalks are cut with the sickle, the leaves are removed, and then the stalks are placed in water
[283] so that they will rot. Afterward they are dried, and the woody

Miao AE5

/402 cont./

283 [248] parts are removed by breaking the stalks /Figs. 350-351 appear here/ and taking out the tough cellular tissue. By this means a coarse yellowish spinning material is obtained. Its fibers are twisted together with the fingers of the right hand (Fig. 351) and spun into long threads. At the same time, the fingers of the left hand hold a ring wound with bamboo, into which a small stick is jammed (Fig. 350). Through quick movements of the left hand, that is to say, of the ring, the spun thread is wound on the small stick.

/403/ The women work with this spinning ring even when [512] they are going somewhere, carrying the required spinning material in their aprons. For the further work, several of the spun threads are twisted together with the help of a special spinning apparatus (Ill. 90)[1] and wound on large spindles. Next the yarn is boiled in water to which much potash was added, and then the thread is carefully rinsed in fresh water and unwound in order to test whether it holds together throughout. Now the yarn is wound up anew and boiled again in a lye of wood ashes, and the rinsing process and the testing are repeated, as is the winding up of the yarn again; to the water for the third boiling, however, no [237] /Figs. 352-353 appear here/ potash is added, but rather beeswax. After this third and last boiling process, the yarn is not rinsed any more, but only wrung out and placed on straw, which was spread out on boards beforehand, to dry. Here, during the drying, it is frequently moved back and forth, so that the wax is uniformly distributed in the yarn. The dried, waxed yarn is first wound on spools shaped like windmills.

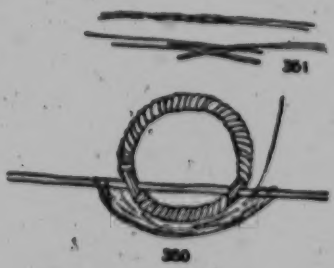

Fig. 350. Spinning Ring of the Meau, 1/3 nat. size.

Fig. 351. Sample of spinning.

[1] [see cat 116, p 622 - ANALYST]

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants.
[413] In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure,
[171] for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails
[531] or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

/407 cont./

325 The bellows (Fig. 362), which consists of a wooden cylinder (a) made of boards joined together and sealed with wax, to which an air pipe (b) is attached. Fitted into the hollow space of the cylinder is a piston (Fig. 363, c) consisting [237] of two wooden disks, between which chicken feathers are pasted as packing. By means of an iron rod with a handle (d) the piston is /408/ pushed back and forth in the cylinder. When the iron rod is pulled out, the opening (e) of the cylinder, which has a small bamboo disk fastened to one end, is closed off on the inside through air pressure. Thus, no air can escape from the cylinder, but with the return thrust goes toward the fire in the air pipe terminating in a clay part (Fig. 364). Since the air pipe is not put at the end, but in the middle of the cylinder, stronger compression is sacrificed, to be sure, but the air supply is not thereby interrupted, since it continues with both thrusts of the piston. /Figs. 362-372 appear here./

The anvils (Figs. 366 and 367), of which there are usually several in various shapes and sizes in a smithy. The supporting pegs are of wood, the upper part of iron.

[285] The annealing basket (Fig. 368) is a piece of cylindrical basketwork that terminates in a funnel-shaped opening at the top. It is filled with wet clay and serves for cooling off the hot metal.

[415] As a casting mold one uses a small calabash, into which four small wooden sticks /409/ are put in the fashion shown in the drawing, Fig. 369. A cloth moistened with cold water is put over the sticks (Fig. 370). The liquid metal is poured from the crucible into the middle between the wooden sticks. When cold, it has the desired bar shape.

[413] The sledge hammer (Fig. 371), in various sizes, is flat on one side and has a chisel-like edge on the other. The wooden handles are simple and straight, though of various lengths.

[413] The blacksmith's tongs (Fig. 373) come in various sizes; they are made in two parts.

/12 cont'd/

161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-shâ, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/13 cont'd/
244 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the
311 valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li."
This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the
175 Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure
144 blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of
175 other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the
144 family register of the Lin family:
178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had
162 some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname,
144 who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung
178

/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

● 241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
●241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and banana
245 may be seen occasionally.

/72 cont'd/

Bringing in the Crops Song

539
241

Bringing our grain crops home,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti* are with us as we bring our crops home,

* Shen Nung was a legendary emperor
who is the supposed teacher of husbandry.
T'u-ti is a term for a local divinity.

Escorting us all the way home to their shelter.
Safely placed in the granaries, these crops will draw the envy
of the emperor.
Thank you,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti,
For escorting and protecting the crops all the way home.
When the emperor bestows his attention on us, we'll think of
you.
From the palace in the capital, a messenger will be sent us,
And much glittering gold will accompany him.
The tenure of a hsiu /title of government office/ is only three
years,
But riches and honor come to an official.
For all this we will be much indebted to you,
And your kindness will be borne in the mind of the emperor
forever.

533
539 (2) Songs connected with social activities, such as the one cited in Chapter IV; "The Song of the Old Villager."

533
539
631 (3) Songs related to love between the sexes. For example, when an unmarried man and woman happen to run into each other in the street, the following is frequently sung:

First admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
Show how you feel according to your heart's desire.
What you desire is seen by others,

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai [433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
342 partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[353] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[556] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[251] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
[231] for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
M ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
251 storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[813] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
●241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

2:Ling & Ruey--80 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/54/

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made
114 clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by
177 side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line
[439] separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts. Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

241 Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we
[114] had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/: "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

/54 cont./

241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer
refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence
[243] there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The
inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years
of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary
to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land
to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its
fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it
the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the
recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao
fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then
set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the
field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and
burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields
which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is
called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of
cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buck-
wheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the har-
vesting in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
[221] fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in
August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous
and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are
found in small number only in the small basins in the moun-
tains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the
rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water
from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30)
are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

/61 cont./

731 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [262] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/69 cont./

226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[492] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
[262] Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[241] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases. The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers, or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Different from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance" would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life,

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

241

THIS SHOWS THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF TIMBER. THE MIAOS BURN THE GRASS AND FOLIAGE TO SOW THE UPLAND RICE.

at best. They are truly "the eternal pioneers," and one old-young woman told me she had moved *twelve* times in her life of forty-odd years.

231 Their few pigs they cannot afford to eat except at
241 wedding feasts, but sell them to the Hainanese traders. Chickens and ducks they eat occasionally, and also prepare
262 the salted eggs. They raise very few greens but occasionally will buy them from a neighbouring Loi village. Corn is raised a great deal—a small variety of maize that does very well on the hillsides. The heart of a certain variety of palm tree is a common food, and in times of famine roofs of trees and brakes, bark, anything, must be used to stay the pangs of hunger. A well-to-do family may own a few cows, but they have a curious custom which they often follow, of giving their cows to the neighbouring Lois to care for. The calves of course revert to the original owner, but the Lois use the animals to work their rice fields and to haul the great logs of hardwood to the rivers.

224 Bears are found in the mountains, and the Miao prepare
261 pitfalls and traps for them, shooting them when they have been thus captured. A species of small antelope makes very good eating. Wild boar are also often captured, and likewise

Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member.

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-tsai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed. 292

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family. 241

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*. For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children. 805 996 241 527

*See p. [illegible]

4.Mickey E-5 (1949-?) 1947 AES Miao AES

805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
537 embroidered and entertained young men from
541 other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, matching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or
[764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[2] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-[illegible]ng Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring
243 appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AE5 Misc AE5

243 very widely scattered near to and far from the
805 village, so that when the plants were ready for
241 transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

241 This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and
243 seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) con-
805 tinued for more than a month. During that
594 time the young people, both married and single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

241 During the third month (the second half of
312 April and the first half of May, 1942) there was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

241 312 for flooding the fields. There were days of rain followed by rainy nights so that at least part of the day was sunny. They continued the preparation of fields and the carrying of fertilizer and began the harvest of rape, wheat, beans and peas.

241 For rape the whole plant was cut near the ground and the sheaves set, heads down, in the fields or along the beams of a barn or house. The seeds were later knocked out against the inside of a large, square wooden box in the field or on a threshing floor. For wheat each head was snapped off and thrown into a basket on a woman's back, to be dumped into the baskets on the carrying pole and taken to a mat on the threshing floor to be flailed. I helped twice with the reaping of wheat. Bean and pea plants were pulled up by the roots, bundled up, and hung up on the rafters to dry. When they were thoroughly dry the dirt was pounded off with a large wooden mallet, which could also be used to beat out the pulse. Or a flail was used. They were then sieved and winnowed in large, flat bamboo trays.

[335] One day fully half of the men of the village, under the direction of one of the older ones, were working together reroofing a house, while the young people went back and forth with their loads of fertilizer and empty baskets. However, the chief activity at this time was the preparation of fields into which rice, now several inches high, was transplanted later. Most of the fertilizer was carried to prepared fields, but some to fields not yet wholly cleared of other crops.

On the first of the fourth month I saw the members of our household working together to prepare a field which had been cleared of beans and rape. Two young men, one a member of the household, a relative who was something of a hired man, and one from another household, were plowing, the plows being drawn by water buffalo. The second nephew together with his wife formed one "team" and the son and his wife another to bring up water from the pond, along which this long field stretched, and pour it onto the field. They had attached ropes with sticks in them to the handles and to a point near the bottom of each bucket on each side, to hold by, so that they might together swing

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the bucket (regularly used for carrying water) down into the pond, up and over the bank (fig. 15, *e*). They got into a very nice rhythm. I had seen the second nephew turning a bean mill once, but aside from this that was the only real work I had seen either of these men do. The nephew seemed to be ashamed of it, too, for he stopped abruptly when he thought I was going to take his picture. However, evidently today everyone had to work. A younger boy was fishing and the other children playing nearby, so that it was quite a family party. 241

By the beginning of the fourth month (May 15, 1942) rice plants were ready for transplanting. Fields nearly to Lung-li, which is at a lower altitude, had already had plants set out in them (fig. 15, *a*). On the fourth of the month of the year I lived with them (May 18, 1942) our household again was first. They made quite an occasion of setting out the plants in a large square field, beyond the low hills and right beside a good-sized Chung-chia village. Very early the women of the family, with the exception of the old man's two wives, together with the women and girls of other households, bundled together the rice plants from one of the seed beds and piled them into their carrying baskets (fig. 16, *e*) — the same ones which had been used earlier to carry straw and manure. Two men were plowing and two harrowing in the flooded field when the long line of women approached and began tossing the bundles into the field. Before the plowing and harrowing were entirely finished the setting out of plants had begun. With Mo-mei setting the pace, each woman took a strip the width of the field, then turned and worked the length of it. They went home for a long lunch period about two o'clock. Afterward not all of them returned, but the work was finished well before dark. The usual good meal, featuring bean curd, was served. The family nonchalantly appropriated my bowls and chopsticks to use with theirs. 243 574

They were now in the midst of the busiest season of the year, for the harvest of wheat and its accompanying crops of broad beans, rape, and peas came just when the rice was ready for transplanting. One day I helped a widow (the chief shamaness of the village) 241

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 with her two grandchildren, a boy of twelve and a girl of ten, who were reaping wheat. Some had been taken from the field. Now she was cutting the stalks about four inches from the ground. I helped the children lay the stalks together so that a number of heads could be struck off together, and to pick up what fell to the ground. At noon the boy went home with a load of wheat heads and returned with a basket of rice mixed with wheat, a dish of pickled green vegetable, and the necessary bowls and chopsticks. The women led us to a spring on the floor of the valley where we could get cold water to drink with our meal. I doubted the wisdom of drinking from a spring so near newly fertilized rice fields, but it was a very hot day. We brought a bowl of water back to the field so that the woman could sharpen her sickle on a small piece of stone she carried in a bamboo holder. We worked until well after sunset.

Although there was a good breeze, these days were very hot and everyone hoped for rain so that the fields could have a good flooding. Some of the fields from which the crops had been harvested were planted to maize and long beans. More fields which had crops in them were later planted to rice. By the middle of the fourth month (end of May, 1942) some former wheat fields were already planted to maize and soy beans, well up and requiring cultivation. Others were being plowed as they were cleared. In general, all fields that could be sufficiently flooded were given over to rice, the rest to maize, beans, tobacco, red chillies, and millet.

241 462 After the day in which sixteen women worked together to set out plants in the one large field, there were a few other occasions when a large group worked in the same field or adjacent ones (fig. 15, *a*). But in general women from several small households worked together in bundling up the rice plants (one man worked in one group), reaping wheat, transplanting, and so on, or each family took care of its own fields. While younger women were busy in the fields the older women in our household beat out pulse, flailed wheat and winnowed it, sunned rice, and kept an eye on the children when they were not playing away from home.

312
241

About this time, when the people had just about given up hope of rain in time for preparing the fields and transplanting rice, the rain came in a flood. (Beginning of June) It poured one whole night and there were hard showers and storms on the next day. It rained for two nights following, also. This was just the kind of a rain needed to make upland fields ready for plowing and harrowing and to flood the lower ones. Our family had spent three days just before this in a second bout of bucketing water from the pond into the large field. Again men of the family and related households plowed and men and women formed teams for lifting water. Others were transplanting rice into fields of deep mud with no water on top. It was a time of many activities – harvesting, sunning, flailing, and winnowing of wheat, bringing in plants of rape, beans and peas. Both wheat and rape featured the markets in Lung-li and Kou-ch'ang. Rape is used to make the oil burned in lamps.

Another rain a week later lasted two days. I went to Lung-li to market on the first day and had the exciting experience of racing the storm home successfully. The hard rain of this day and night filled the rice fields and flooded even some that were rather well upland. The buffalo bullfighting meadow became a little pond. Almost all of the wheat and its accompanying crops (literally that, for they were planted together in various combinations) were in before this hard rain, and only a few wheat fields had straw still standing in them. Most of them had been made ready for other crops. Also, nearly all the seed beds had been stripped of their fine stand of rice plants and made into fields with even rows, like the others. It was almost time for the village to take a little breathing spell.

The men worked as steadily as the women, for the fields for rice had to be plowed and harrowed at least twice, some three times — after the wheat was harvested, when they were flooded, and again just before the plants were set out. It was common to see men plowing or harrowing at one end of a field, or in an adjacent one, just before the women moved in with their bundles of plants. I saw women carrying the plow and harrow to the field, but only two harrowing. I saw a few men bun-

4.24Hathay E-8 (1969-72)567 AE5 M4ao AE5

312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the fields, but no men setting out plants.

241 I once tried my hand at helping and did
243 fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they
[164] were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 By the end of the first week of the fifth
243 month (end of June) the transplanting of rice
312 was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

used the mattock, and as they worked they fertilized the plants with night soil and wood ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family also used some lime mixed with manure, which was left over from several loads carried to another village eighteen *li*[3] away. Toward the end of the fifth month several young men had taken out the pile in the room back of the kitchen in the new house and mixed it with manure, after which some of the village girls and women of our household carried it. It must have been promised for a certain day, for the trip was made in a drenching rain which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, was a member of this group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken toward the transplanting of rice in different localities and among different people in one locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near Kunming men bundled up the plants and transported them, while only women were allowed to set them out. I was told that this was a custom borrowed from the non-Chinese there, who believed that the women insured fertility. Here the women did all of it, with only a few men helping with either bundling or setting out. In both cases the men did the plowing and most of the harrowing. In the one Chinese family in this village and those between the valley and Lung-li I saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used up, so now and then the women went to get more. Often it was much mixed with dried grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass for the animals, which were kept in the stables, were brought in. Women and children took water buffalo out once or twice a day for a soaking in the large pond and for feeding upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultivation was the main task for all women, who took time out only to nurse a boil or catch up on washing and mending. The men went to market a great deal, most of them carrying wood in one form or another — planks, pieces of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles. They seemed able, with what they could find

[3] A measure of length reckoned at six paces or

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

to sell from time to time, just to get through nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope. 241 [283]

It was after the middle of the seventh month (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel—grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke and burned quickly. 374

Rice harvest began about the first of the eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods 243 512

about 1890 feet (.36 mile).

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more
231 fuel, or grass for the animals. The water
buffalo were taken out night and morning
245 for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.[6] Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

243 The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice, from sheaves were

[6] One-tenth of a *tou* (see note 7, p. 35), or 31.6 cubic inches.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made. 243 [252]

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more. 241

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain. 241 512

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"[7] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the 527

[7] These weigh twenty-four *ellis* (: pounds), or 32 pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

year began. During this period there was 527
time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went 521
from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth 574
month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls 584
went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the 241
slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of 252
fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The tech- 241
nique of farming was identical with that of 462
Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

[35b]

241 462 with the exception of the fact that the Miao women seemed to do a greater proportion of the out-of-door work. That is, in a well-to-do Miao household the women worked just as hard as those in the poorer ones, but in a well-to-do Chinese family the women spent most of their time at home. The work of women will be discussed more in detail under Division of Labor.

241 412 The implements used were as follows: for breaking up and cultivation of the ground — plows, harrows, and mattocks. The plow (fig. 13, *d*) had an iron share like two overlapping shingles and one upright piece through the beam. The end of the beam was the handle. The harrow was two beams with iron spikes on the under side and a transverse piece at either end, the whole forming a rectangle with projecting ends. The mattock had a long, wooden handle and a blade of iron about six inches wide at the edge. The harness was a slightly bent wooden beam laid across the neck of the animal with a heavy rope from it under its neck and two light ropes to the implement. As the man plowed or harrowed he guided the animal by another cord attached to one side of the yoke. The plow had to be lifted a little when turning corners. In use the harrow was weighted with a large stone. For reaping, gathering grass, and gathering fuel the sickle was used. It had a short wooden handle and an iron blade, originally with a straight cutting edge and rounded outer edge, but with much sharpening becoming a crescent. The men had a wooden holder of the shape as shown in figure 10 which they fastened with a straw cord about the waist to the small of the back. The handle of the sickle was thrust into the hole in the top of this with the blade up. A little bamboo basket for the whetting stone was worn at the belt in front. For beating out the grain they used a square wooden box, four feet each way and two deep, an upturned stone, a flail, bamboo baskets, and a bamboo mat. The beater took up a bundle of rice and beat out the grain on the inside of the box or against the upturned stone set on the mat. Or the sheaves were laid end to end and flailed. The flail was two lengths of bamboo or sticks fastened to a short piece in such a way that the worker could hold one length in her hands and swing the

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241 other under, back, over and down (fig. 16, *d*).
412 Two worked together sometimes, but not necessarily in rhythm. The woven baskets were shallow, with handles on the top of the
241 rim through which a carrying pole was thrust
415 and secured by wooden pegs. The bamboo
[285] mats in twilled pattern were as large as sixteen by nine feet. A two-inch bamboo pole was fastened to either end to help keep it flat while in use and then easily rolled up for storage.

FIG. 10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views.

Two types of basket had a great variety of uses. In a loosely woven one fertilizer was carried to the fields and bundles of rice plants taken from seed beds to fields (fig. 16, *e*). In closely woven ones grain and other crops were brought in (fig. 16, *e*, *f*). When grain was to be sunned it was brought out in these baskets to the mats on the threshing floor and at night it was carried back in them. In this case the worker usually used only one at a time and someone had to help her swing it up to one shoulder, where she held it by putting that hand on her hip. She steadied it with the other hand. In them grain and other produce were taken to market.

Bamboo scoops were used to lift the grain from mats to baskets and a piece of wood with one straight side and a long handle to push the grain around so that all might get the sun evenly. The grain was first spread evenly on the mat and the bits of straw, sticks, etc., swept out with the broom of twigs. This was done several times. After a while the grain was all swept to the edges to allow the center to dry thoroughly and then to the center to allow the edges of the mat to dry. After this the mat was folded over the pile until it was possible to get several people together to put the grain into the baskets and
241 carry it to loft or granary. For more careful
412 cutting of rice straw the women had a knife blade set in one side of a more or less fancy shaped piece of wood or bamboo. This could

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also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark. 241 412

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make 241 412 463 563

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water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 462

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462 only
352 Rarely did a man do any of the cooking. Butchering was done by men, but the preservation of meat and the preparation of dishes from meats was usually taken care of by women. They dried beef by placing the pieces on sticks across the opening in the stove from which a large cooking bowl had been removed and keeping a fire going under it. They cured pork and made sausage. Meat was smoked simply by hanging the pieces up over the floor firepit.

462
241 With the help of an older man now and then, women took full charge of kitchen gardens, from whence came vegetables used by the household for their own food or taken to market, and green stuff for the feeding of animals. They prepared the mash for cattle and ponies as well as the swill for pigs, and fed them. They also did most of the work in other fields after the plowing and harrowing were finished. If the ground was broken up not with the plow but the mattock, they did that, too. And cultivation from the sowing of the seed (the casting of rice into the seed beds excepted), through weeding, fertilizing, and transplanting to reaping was largely the work of women.

They gathered most of the firewood and other fuel, much of the grass for animals and for the raincapes they themselves made, and carried most of the water from springs for household use. They did their share of the cleaning of stables and carrying the straw and manure to the fields. They carried all the night soil from cesspools and applied it as fertilizer. If the pond was low enough in the spring, they got down into the thigh-deep mud and dug for the water chestnut known as *tzu ku*. Men, women, boys, and girls made a picnic of wading waist deep in the pond and "feeling" for fish and large snails, for food.

They bundled up the rice plants in the seed beds, transported them, and set them out. They reaped wheat and its attendant crops, flailed out the grain, winnowed and sunned it, dried the plants of rape, beans and peas, beat out the seeds and pulse. They cut the rice plants, both ordinary rice with the sickle and glutinous rice with a knife, helped to beat it out and transport the grain and straw, sunned, cleaned, winnowed, and hulled the grain, and

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442 from the straw of glutinous rice made san-
241 dals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it,
462 stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, sep-
283 arated the strands, and from them made the
386 two grades of thread — one for sewing and
mending and one for weaving into cloth. They
291 gathered and dried nutgalls and from them
prepared a dye, by which they dyed white
cloth bought in piece in the market an even,
almost black blue. They made all the cloth-
ing for themselves and their families and their
bedding. They wove the straw comforter,
too. Girls and younger women made the em-
broidery on the overpiece, front apron, and
turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older
women made hemp thread and did the weav-
ing of cloth for the back apron and bands for
the baby pad. It was the older women who
wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

286 Three types of loom were used. First there
was that described in the making of the belt.
Second, there was the vertical loom used for
the weaving of straw comforters. This had
two beams, one high and one near the floor,
from which the warp ropes of twisted straw
went back and forth. Two of the poles sup-
porting the rafters served as uprights. The
weft was similar to the warp, except that
straw ends were left sticking out so that the
result was smooth on one side and had a nap
on the other. The weft was sent through by
hand, in and out, over and under successive
threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet.
The third was used for the weaving of hemp
cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of
two by fours about eight feet long and three
wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides
and, a little lower down, across the ends, also
one about two feet from one end. The upper
pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at
each end. Into this frame was set another,
lighter one, going into the upper horizontal
pieces at the back, but down into the bracing
piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace
about a foot above the main frame, across the
front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights
of this second frame, a board was put across
for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end
the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended. 462 846

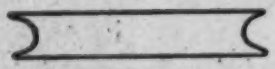

FIG. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there. 462

Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewod, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the beating out of grain in the field 462 241 [313]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
with the carrying out of grain and carrying
● 241 it in again at night, when it had been sunned
on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste
252 was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
stone for a building's foundation, transport,
342 bark and trim the logs, and from them make
planks and beams. They fitted them together
412 according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
even to carrying a baby on the back while
855 plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
gent than the mothers, and the children en-
622 joyed being with them. Contacts with the
outside world, other than a certain amount of
875 buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

442 It has already been noted that men and
241 women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai. Kou-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary
175 defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these
262 that this book is mainly concerned. All are
[241] agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 are also called TΛu TΛu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老鴉寨 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoɔ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包穀飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine. [278]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木坪. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten or on special occasions.[5] 262

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street. 241 [361]

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained. 231 [224]

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden 241 412

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

341 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through
412 which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only
[311] by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

712 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tzŭ* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer homes the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

10: Graham E-5 (192'-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 463 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan 353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron ko or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on homemade wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 334
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 596
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

[13 cont.]

871 corrupt and did untold harm. Since the coming of the mission-
797 aries to the Miao area, churches and schools were established,
871 and those who were converted to the Christian religion were given an education. Today there are quite a few Miao who have received a higher education with the help of the church. However, it is regrettable that under the influence of the church, the religious element is too strong. In the 14th year
871 of the Republic [sic. It should probably be the 24th year of
648 the Republic, or 1935.] when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as head of the government came to Kweichow, he saw with his own eyes the low cultural level of the Miao-I and planned to assimilate them through education. The next year the government issued an order to encourage Miao-I education and appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose. In the same year the Provincial Rural Normal School was established at Ch'ing-yen, but its students were not all children of the Miao-I, sixty or seventy percent being Chinese who pretended to be Miao-I. Again, in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] when General Yang Sen was stationed at An-shun he promoted Miao education through his army by establishing three elementary schools with some good results. But not long afterwards his troops were transferred to the front and his education program was abandoned. Aside from these attempts, the provincial
872 government established an elementary school in each of the
648 twelve hsien at Kweiyang, Huang-p'ing, Li-po, T'ai-kung, Wei-ning, An-nan, Kuan-ling, Tan-chiang, Shui-ch'eng, Ting-fan, Lo-tien and Pa-chai, where the Miao-I congregate. In other hsien areas there are short-term elementary schools that also admit Miao-I children. The educational system for the Miao-I in Kweichow is rudimentary at best and with the extensive distribution of the Miao-I over a wide area the work is like extinguishing a wagonful of burning fuel with a cup of water -- not at all effective or enough.

241 3) Occupations. The Miao-I people, being retarded in cultural development, have just entered the stage of agricultural community, and so their chief occupation is farming. [14] Those Miao-I living in the northwest of the province have high

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] [286] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[181 cont.]
796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and fire-crackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

[182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
241 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after
796 breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the
796 Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
[648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

pens made of bamboo. Mèo women excel in raising these pigs, which are of a special variety. They know how to dose the maize and leave it whole or break it up into particles of varying size according as it is to be used to feed a male shut in its narrow pen, a female with a litter, a pregnant female, or the young pigs which come and go freely in the house like the chickens. A few Mèo of Thanh Hoá -- the wealthiest ones -- also have a horse to ride to market, and buffalo. But the latter wander about over the mountains and are hardly ever slaughtered except for funerals. Mi 231

Like the Man, the Mèo of the province cultivate only rẫy, and change their site every two, three or four years. On the hills and even slopes they sow rice broadcast in the third and fourth months and harvest it in the ninth and tenth months. I have seen some with superb, well-filled husks and enormous grains (3). Elsewhere, in /235/ the Mi 241

3. The Mèo grow chiefly common rice, and little of the glutinous kind, in contrast to the Thai. On the other hand, the latter do not sow their mountain rice broadcast, but place it in holes.

basins, they alternate maize which is sowed in holes and grows and ripens from the second to the eighth month (1) with opium which is

1. In the Thai rẫy of the same region, situated at a lower altitude, maize is harvested in the sixth month.

sowed broadcast in the eighth month. Besides maize and rice which form the basis of their food supply, the Mèo grow a few batatas, some cassava and some sugar cane.

The women busy themselves with hemp, with which they weave nearly all the cloth the family needs. From this material dyed blue or left white, they make their peculiar and rather funny clothing, the upper part of which is like that of a sailor and the lower part like that of a dancer -- a little jacket with a sailor collar and narrow sleeves, and a skirt which comes down only to the knee but which has so many pleats that it becomes very heavy. The women also wear long leggings and high turbans, and on holidays the collars and skirts of their garments are brightened with white on blue designs and with a childish mass of tricolored materials. Mi 287 291

Hospitable people, the Mèo of Thanh Hoá have remained timid 000

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have ● 24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

131 idea of covering them or closing up the gable where glacial air poured
342 in.

132 In the rear of the cabin is found a little corridor which separates
342 it from the earthen wall hewn into the mountain. The front is provided with a narrow veranda where horses are stabled in stalls enclosed by round logs.

342 The interior of the house, which rests directly on packed
356 earth, is usually divided into three compartments. In the first is the
352 kitchen where the women habitually work. The cooking-ranges are of clay and are very large. They serve not only for cooking food for the family, but also to prepare the vegetable pastes which make up food for the farmyard animals. The household implements and the various agricultural tools are likewise kept in this room.

The one in the middle is the reception room, where the men gather after work around a great fire lighted in the middle of the room in a square bed of clay. Above this hearth is suspended a bamboo framework on which crops are placed to dry.

The third room contains sleeping compartments, simply small booths, separated from one another by partitions of bamboo or planks. Their sole furniture is a cot. The interior appearance of these dark holes is not at all tempting. In the greatest disorder one may see padded quilts losing their cotton through numerous rips and other belongings of questionable cleanliness.

343 /134/ In front of the house, the pig sty, very well cared for, is suspended above the slope by oaken beams and planks. Next to it, also hung above the void, is located a little shed which serves as a storage place for rice and maize.

352 The house is not without furniture like the Tho cabins. There
241 are tables, benches, cots of wood, all kinds of household utensils or tools, and even musical instruments. All around the Meo plant fruit trees and cultivate beds of vegetables here and there.

342 The type of dwelling which we have just described has nothing
352 which cannot be changed. Poor people and newly weds who are still getting settled simply build a thatched cottage whose sidewalls are made of corn stalks not too tightly joined together, whose spaces freely permit passage of the winter's cold north wind. When evening comes they simply throw a few armfuls of corn stalks into a corner and pass the night on this thinly padded couch.

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
604 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Man race. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the seo phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock, which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
412 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activat
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe
[241] culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets; Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏňň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese [177] and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [726] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great number is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails, since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
787 careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above, since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
[825] to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
[776] that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
825 omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occupants will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
825 the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes that he cannot expect to bag any game.

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782 New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
769 voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
526 munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
[241 and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer
has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184 arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
[776 The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

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/209 cont./

484 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having
782 its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moder-
782 ate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means
114 for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-
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1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau
[796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time
[776] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the
[241]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
241 other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

782 Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by
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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

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241 423 596 Through the labor performed on the land, it thereby passes into the possession of the head of the large /extended/ family. Every large family cultivates its land collectively; there is no distribution of the land among the individual small families of the family union. Just as a large family often cultivates several fields at the same time, it also frequently happens that several large families jointly cultivate only one large field. It depends on the number of individuals in a large family. If several large families, each with few members, jointly cultivate the soil, the land is divided into corresponding sections, each of which is tilled by one large family. Since the fields remain productive for only a short time, a later redistribution is unnecessary.

423 Wild fruits, plants, or trees belong to the person who collects or uses them.

422 [423] [596] Among the Meau only the house itself belongs to the head of the large family, whereas the furnishings are the joint property of all the occupants. This is true of the kitchen equipment, the domestic animals, saddles, bridles, and the like. On the other hand, clothing, weapons, and personal ornaments are the property of the individuals, who usually obtained these objects as gifts, for example, from the head of the large family or the partner of a love affair, and, in the case of children, from their parents, or they made them themselves, such as weapons, traps, and so forth. Similarly, the equipment that the wife has brought into the marriage, such as clothing and the dowry in general, remains her personal property. [431]

The Meau have no special marks of ownership; hence such distinguishing marks are used neither on personal property nor on the domestic animals of the large family.

426 The legal conditions are definite for every form of loan, whether it is money, that is, silver, or field produce, animals, etc. that is involved. Loans are granted and handed over in the presence of three witnesses. No interest has to be paid for a loan up to one year; for a longer period, regardless of whether it is paid back in two years or in ten, interest has to be paid once, amounting to one-third of the value received. For example, if a person has borrowed 21 baskets of rice, 28 baskets are

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Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is A M the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the [241] soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in [262] northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal A insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that M are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural [648] Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

M 166 361 The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing [731] arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, [756] "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, [623] as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish [622] of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing [103] (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] [574] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore represents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] [351] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 712 We did not come across any fortified villages among the Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

1/1 [See cat 116, p707- ANALYST]

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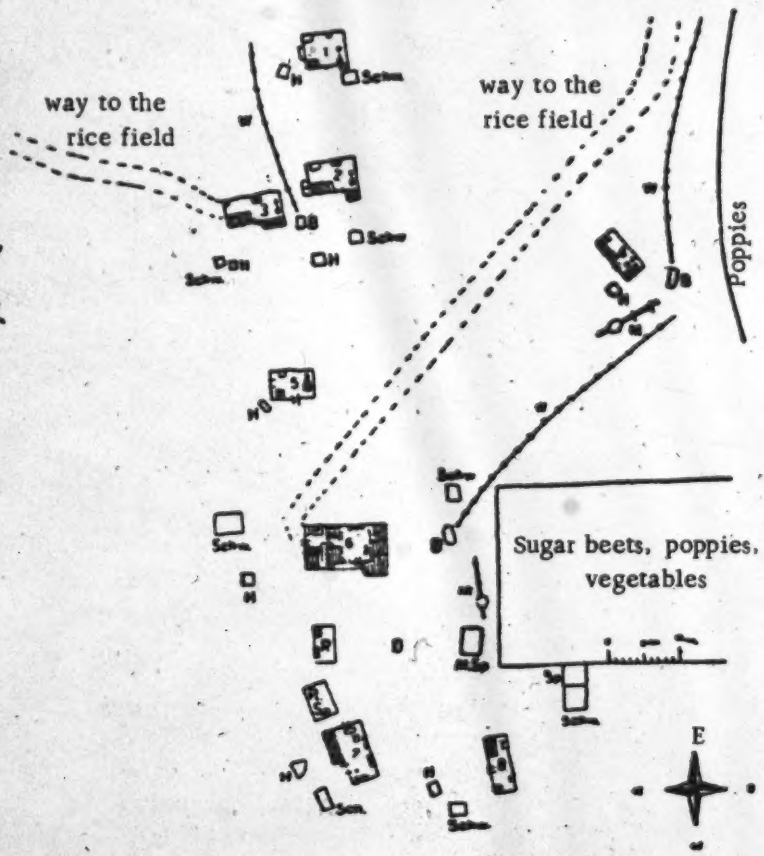

Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⫯—○ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
□ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the [114] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the [184] authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how- [262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer, [312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the [241] fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain [278] trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of 278 men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
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2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

●241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in
[596] the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning
[782] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible
[787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around
[314] them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally
[243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau
[343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1]
[417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of
[423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

/356 cont./

243 stored on the platform over the hearth. In the second month
[251] the Meau put rice seed in water in their houses. After eight to ten days, when the rice germinates, it is taken to small rice fields. In the third month the large rice fields are laid out. The men make dams for the water. In the fourth month, the rice plants are transplanted to these large fields; in the sixth month the rice blooms, and in the ninth month it is harvested. It is threshed at night."

●241 If the Meau lay out separate fields, the following plants, which I enumerate in the sequence of their periods of cultivation, are planted and sowed: sugar cane, yams, rice, and at the same time cucumbers, radishes, and beans, and finally maize, poppies, leafy vegetables, tobacco, and onions. Furthermore, sesame, buckwheat, and sorghum are cultivated.
251 After the harvest, all the field produce is conveyed by the Meau to their village and put in the dwelling. Special storage houses are set up only if the harvest was very rich. The store of seed is carefully cleaned and piled up on a shelf over the fireplace so that the smoke will keep off insects and harmful germs.

241 Depending on the fertility of the soil, rice fields bear
[243] from one to three years. There are poppy fields, however,
[249] such as I myself came across, that still produced a satisfactory yield even after twenty years of utilization. If a field becomes exhausted, it is allowed to lie fallow until the forest trees that subsequently grow have suppressed the weeds.

/357/ The reason for abandoning a field is generally the exhaustion of the unfertilized soil. The growth of weeds, however, a reason for abandoning fields which is cited by other authors, plays only a minor role among the Meau in Thailand. It is considerably less tiresome to clean the weeds out of a field than to clear tall virgin forest with primitive tools. All the plants mentioned are cultivated in accordance with established agricultural customs.

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the ●241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [245] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

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/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still

●241 3. II, p. 185.

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114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small

243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.

412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The

407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among

184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.

[1] [see cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

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/362 cont./

M 407 184 describes it as a "plow of simple construction with an iron shoe." So far as can be learned from the vague statements of the other authors, the other agricultural implements are identical with those of the Meau in Thailand.

A 241 243 The Akha in Thailand, like the Meau, practice hoe cultivation with fallow periods of eight to ten years, which the cultivation of rice for generally two years on the same field requires in their Thailand /Figs. 267-275 appear here/ /363/ area of settlement. Otherwise their agriculture is subject to the same climatic and geographical conditions as that of the A [407] Meau. They likewise do not use any plow, but, in contrast to the Meau, according to what is known up to now about the Akha, they did not know anything about it in former times. The terrace arrangement is also absent, so only the cultivation of mountain rice comes into consideration.

A 243 [787] When the Akha want to lay out a field and for this purpose look for a new site in the virgin forest, they, like the Meau, are bound by omens in making their decisions (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, A [596] [782] Interpretation of Omens"). If they are favorable, the head of the large /extended/ family decides on a place that meets his desires. Among the Akha, even before beginning the clearing of such a rice field, the offerings for the spirits begin. As we have already learned in the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits," offerings are made to the various spirits in solemn fashion on definite occasions. Besides the close connection of the Akha with the spirits, these festivities show the great significance of rice cultivation.

Clearing begins in the same way as among the Meau, except that the Akha let the cut wood dry until shortly before the rainy season and then usually burn only once.

The fields of the Akha are smaller throughout than those of the Meau; their surface area varies between one and five hectares and therefore only amounts to the total size of a M subdivision of a field clearing of the Meau. Whereas the [241] latter subsequently try to give their property the rounded-off appearance of a unit, the fields of the Akha are very irregular in shape.

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning, weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[241] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)
[248]

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

[132 cont.]

443 Even today they do not have a single market fair within the area and this shows how circumscribed is the sphere of their economic activity. Their only means of livelihood is agriculture. Almost 243 all the fields are terraced according to natural topography, rising from the bottom of the slope to the top in several hundred layers. The shape of the field is long and narrow, producing rice, wheat, corn and barley. These terraced fields are not fertile [242] and the Sheng Miao do not know how to apply fertilizer. Further- [132] more, the temperature in the whole area is very low, and a plentiful harvest is not possible. The proverb says that "when the soil is barren, the people must be poor." Although the 511 Sheng Miao toil all year round in the hard struggle for survival, they can only eke out a bare existence. Being in direct contact with them, the writer could watch at close quarters their extremely miserable conditions, which are pitiable indeed. Because of their ignorance they do not know how to save or to improve the method of production. In case of famine they cannot escape starvation, [133] which is the most important reason for the decrease in their population.

In our study of the Miao culture we find it varies with dif- 105 ferent ethnic units and localities, each having its peculiar traits. The distinguishing features of the Sheng Miao, who differ a great deal from the other tribes, are as follows:

1. Ignorant and straightforward, they are easily duped. They are ready to proclaim themselves "kings" and to create disturbances.

2. The men are black in complexion, red-eyed, dishevelled, and tall and big in stature.

3. Up to this day not a single one of them can talk fluent Chinese.

4. There are peculiar styles of costumes for men and women.

5. Their staple food is glutinous rice, supplemented by raw meat, raw blood, bees, locusts, centipedes, earthworms, tree worms, sand worms, water worms, mountain rats and lizards.

6. The women are fond of smoking leaf tobacco.

/VIII cont./

286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

Ill. 89. The weaver is making preparations for the woof. The shuttle is carved out of wood. The inserted bobbin, around which the hemp thread is wound, is made of bamboo. The stick that separates the two layers of thread is made out of the same material.

283 Ill. 90. Spinning machine. With its help, four threads, which the woman doing the spinning holds in her left hand, are twisted together. By means of the little stick in her right hand, she prevents the threads from becoming tangled. She turns the flywheel with both feet.

Ills. 91-96. The harvest.

262 [244] Ill. 91. The ripe squash at the edge of the fields of mountain rice are gathered. The juicy, tart meat of the raw fruit is especially tasty in the great heat.

243 Ill. 92. The stalks of the mountain rice are cut individually, with the help of the small crescent-shaped harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear and then bundled. The straw is left standing in the fields and rots.

Ill. 93. Bringing in the harvest. Each member of the family loads himself with as many bundles of ears in carriers and baskets as he can carry. Then there is a walk for hours over the narrow mountain paths to the village. The men carry in their hands the crossbows with arrows in place ready to shoot.

[484]

/IX/

252 256 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects

/IX cont./

252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
[221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243] "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice...." They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this
[166] kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas
245 may be seen occasionally.

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000 At Ta-ch'i we opened our box of medicines at Mr. Wang's house, but could not find any drug for dysentery. Mr. Wang's workmen 278 told us about a herb, used frequently by the Miao and said to be a kind of miracle drug to cure dysentery for the Miao. I suggested to Yüan-chiung that he should try it, as it might not do him any harm. He instantly resisted the idea and said he preferred death to taking the Miao drug. As we were put in such a predicament, with no medical facilities of any kind around this place, a thought suddenly struck me. As a child I had seen countrymen in my native place mix honey with tea to cure dysentery. Mr. Wang happened to have honey in his house, and we had brought along several kinds of tea with us. I mixed some and let Yüan-chiung drink it. Its effect is yet to be seen.

000 When we were at Ang-chi, though it was a filthy place, I was able to amuse myself by talking with the Miao. Back at Mr. Wang's house, it was like living in a castle; the place was much more comfortable, but I felt overcome with loneliness.

Third month, sixth day. (Saturday)

Originally I had thought that we should start for Pao-t'ing today, if Yüan-chiung was not any better. But after taking the drink of 278 honey in tea that I gave him yesterday, he has felt an immediate 164 effect. His dysentery has become much less frequent, and his spirits are much higher. As a complete cure seems in sight, we are glad to be able to cancel our previous plans.

After breakfast at ten o'clock, we set out for Wen-hua trading center, intending to take a closer look at the trading conditions of 226 the Miao and Li. At Wen-hua ten or more boys were making fish bombs, which they threw into the river to explode among the fish. We bought some 20 firecrackers for ourselves and asked the children to make a fish bomb for us. With it we caught about half a catty of fish, and we brought them back for supper.

●243 The Li in the neighborhood were busy sowing and planting rice, and during the day we walked about the fields and talked with them.

/54 cont./

241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer
refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence
there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
[243] various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The
inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years
of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary
to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land
to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its
fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it
the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the
recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao
fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then
set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the
field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and
burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields
which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is
called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of
cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buck-
wheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the har-
vesting in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
[221] fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in
August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous
and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are
found in small number only in the small basins in the moun-
tains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the
rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water
from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30)
are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

/55 cont./

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[171]

1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I, 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao area involve considerable labor. On a slope where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up in tiers, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

[332]
[333]

[731]
[784]

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty. /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

2:Ling & Ruey--84 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 27. Wet rice fields in Ya-pao-chai, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--85 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/57/

Illus. 28. Terraced fields near Lao-tung-chai, Feng-huang.

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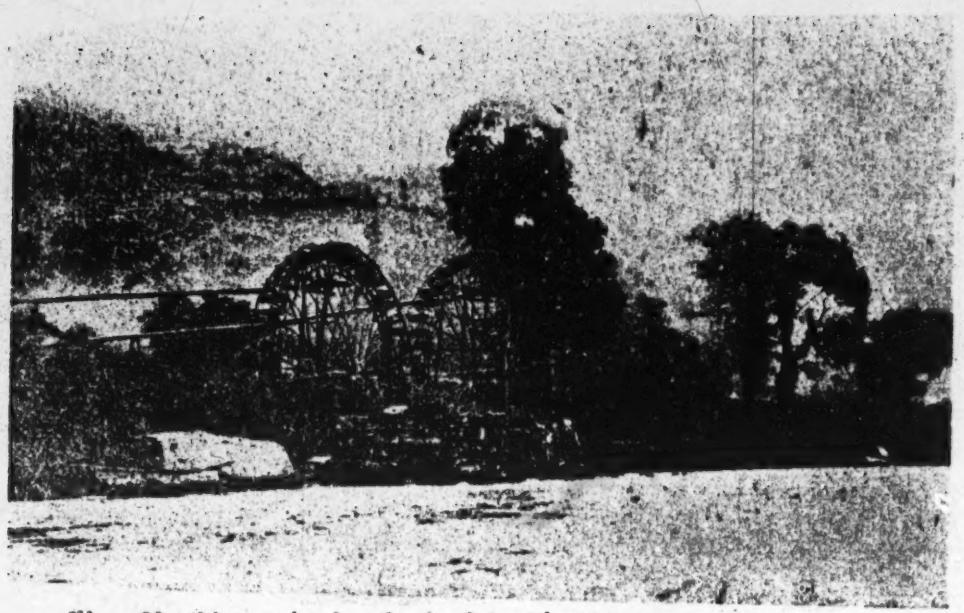
Illus. 29. Terraced fields near Ta-lung-tung, Yung-sui.

/59/



Illus. 30. Water wheel on bank of the T'o Chiang.

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Illus. 31. Water mill on bank of the T'ung Ho.

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land 243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung 245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees 245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar [805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance [482] bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the [312] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place [258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the [439] seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are [252] burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

/155 cont./

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life are now all cast away. The sins cannot be cast away in the house, or left to your sons and grandsons, or to the village. All your enmities in the world are also cast away! Guard the host in peace and without troubles."

On finishing the foregoing part of the incantation, the helpers immediately burn the paper money, and the sorcerer-priest continues:

"Wine, meat, and rice have all been offered to you to consume, paper money has been burned; and we ask you to take and use them! Everything is over; now please turn around and go back."

After this the sorcerer-priest and the host eat the meat and drink the wine together.

(13) The Kuei of the Five Grains

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[231]
[776]

Whenever the harvest of the five grains is not abundant, or the six kinds of domestic animals do not increase, the Miao will sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains, in Miao called [lio˧ non˧˥]. The kuei invoked are called [mp'a˧˥ no˧ kuen˩˧ mi˩˧] and [pi˧ no˧ kuen˩˧ non˧˥]. The time of the sacrifice is in broad daylight at any time, and the place is in the right corner inside the main house. A table is set up, and on it are spread five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice, arranged in three rows. The wax is also on the table, and the bamboo /156/ tube is placed behind the table. The Miao sorcerer beats the bamboo tube with the right hand and utters an incantation as follows:

"The host's last year's harvest was not abundant; the five grains formed ears, but produced no grain. Further, they were eaten by locusts. The old year has gone by, the new year has arrived. Now that we have come to the first and second month, an auspicious day has been selected to sacrifice to the kuei. I have been asked to come here, so I

/156 cont./

•243 *782

have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the chiao, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the chiao in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

"Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[787] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the chiao, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The yang chiao and the sheng chiao are auspicious. The yin chiao is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 [946] [755] Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

/163 cont./
*782 the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.
[174] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts
[787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

[774] The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five
[751] wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not in-
[231] creasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these
[243] they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth
[931] grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

4:Michay E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
527 thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
541 embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, matching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or
[764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[9] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains
243 to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

4:Mishey E-5 (1900-7)2047 AES Miao AES

243 very widely scattered near to and far from the
563 village, so that when the plants were ready for
241 transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

241 This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and
243 seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) con-
805 tinued for more than a month. During that
594 time the young people, both married and single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

241 During the third month (the second half of
312 April and the first half of May, 1942) there was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

4:Michay E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the bucket (regularly used for carrying water) 241
down into the pond, up and over the bank (fig. 15, *e*). They got into a very nice rhythm. I had seen the second nephew turning a bean mill once, but aside from this that was the only real work I had seen either of these men do. The nephew seemed to be ashamed of it, too, for he stopped abruptly when he thought I was going to take his picture. However, evidently today everyone had to work. A younger boy was fishing and the other children playing nearby, so that it was quite a family party.

By the beginning of the fourth month 243
(May 15, 1942) rice plants were ready for 574
transplanting. Fields nearly to Lung-li, which is at a lower altitude, had already had plants set out in them (fig. 15, *a*). On the fourth of the month of the year I lived with them (May 18, 1942) our household again was first. They made quite an occasion of setting out the plants in a large square field, beyond the low hills and right beside a good-sized Chung-chia village. Very early the women of the family, with the exception of the old men's two wives, together with the women and girls of other households, bundled together the rice plants from one of the seed beds and piled them into their carrying baskets (fig. 16, *e*)—the same ones which had been used earlier to carry straw and manure. Two men were plowing and two harrowing in the flooded field when the long line of women approached and began tossing the bundles into the field. Before the plowing and harrowing were entirely finished the setting out of plants had begun. With Mo-mei setting the pace, each woman took a strip the width of the field, then turned and worked the length of it. They went home for a long lunch period about two o'clock. Afterward not all of them returned, but the work was finished well before dark. The usual good meal, featuring bean curd, was served. The family nonchalantly appropriated my bowls and chopsticks to use with theirs.

They were now in the midst of the busiest 241
season of the year, for the harvest of wheat and its accompanying crops of broad beans, rape, and peas came just when the rice was ready for transplanting. One day I helped a widow (the chief shamaness of the village)

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-73)1967 AE5 Miss AE5

312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the fields, but no men setting out plants.

241 243 I once tried my hand at helping and did fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too. [164]

374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 243 312 By the end of the first week of the fifth month (end of June) the transplanting of rice was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

used the mattock, and as they worked they 312
fertilized the plants with night soil and wood 241
ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family 243
also used some lime mixed with manure, which
was left over from several loads carried to
another village eighteen *li* [3] away. Toward the
end of the fifth month several young men
had taken out the pile in the room back of
the kitchen in the new house and mixed it
with manure, after which some of the village
girls and women of our household carried it.
It must have been promised for a certain day,
for the trip was made in a drenching rain
which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei,
the oldest daughter, was a member of this
group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken 243
toward the transplanting of rice in different 462
localities and among different people in one
locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near
Kunming men bundled up the plants and
transported them, while only women were
allowed to set them out. I was told that this
was a custom borrowed from the non-Chinese there, who believed that the women insured fertility. Here the women did all of it, with only a few men helping with either bundling or setting out. In both cases the men did the plowing and most of the harrowing. In the one Chinese family in this village and those between the valley and Lung-li I saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used up, so now and then the women went to get more. Often it was much mixed with dried grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass for the animals, which were kept in the stables, were brought in. Women and children took water buffalo out once or twice a day for a soaking in the large pond and for feeding upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultivation was the main task for all women, who took time out only to nurse a boil or catch up on washing and mending. The men went to market a great deal, most of them carrying wood in one form or another — planks, pieces of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles. They seemed able, with what they could find 241

[3] A measure of length equivalent to six miles or

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

to sell from time to time, just to get through nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope. 241 [283]

It was after the middle of the seventh month (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel — grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke, and burned quickly. 374

Rice harvest began about the first of the eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods 243 512

about 1890 feet (.36 mile).

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243 of work, they all stopped and rested. Some
512 lay down and slept on the ground; some
older women laid stacks down on the ground
and sat on them to talk and smoke; the
younger women and girls got out their embroidery and worked on it. For about two hours at noon they went home to eat their lunch.

243 Women and children were also busy at
home spreading out the grain on the mats,
252 sweeping out bits of stalk, and so on, spreading it again so that it could all get the sun, carrying it in again at night in the baskets, and rolling up and stacking the mats. Some of it was bought by dealers who made a price on uncut grain, some carried to market and sold there. There were two kinds of rice — *ta mi*[4] and *lo mi*.[5] In some cases a row or two of *lo mi* was planted on the edge of fields of other rice; in some cases the whole field was of it only. It brought a better price than the other and was used for the New Year cakes, at the festival of Tuan Yang, for the colored balls at Hsiao Mang, and for several other festivals. A fine dish of fat pork slices rolled in parched *lo mi* was often served at special meals.

243 When *lo mi* was planted in a field with
other rice it was not cut with it, but later the stalks were carefully cut with a small knife blade set into one side of a wooden holder, and the sheaves were brought in and stored first in the hall below and then in the loft. Early in the morning we would form a sort of relay team, of which the old lady in the hall below saw to it that they were tied securely, several children and I carried them up the ladder, one boy stood on a bench and received them as they were handed up, then tossed them onto the platform above the main hall, whose ceiling is higher than that of the side rooms, and a woman stacked the sheaves there. At one time the main hall, a half *chien* room adjoining, and one *chien* of the loft were full of grain beaten out and waiting to be sunned dry. In time this all got sunned, sent to market, or stored in a granary or another part of the loft.

[4] Ordinary rice.
[5] Glutinous variety, white or black.

Anthony B-8 (1888-1938) ARS Miss ARS

241 Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more
231 fuel, or grass for the animals. The water
buffalo were taken out night and morning
245 for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.* Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

243 The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice from sheaves were

*One-tenth of a tou (see note 7, p. 35), or 31.6 cubic inches.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made. 243 [252]

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more. 241

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain. 241 512

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"[1] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the 527

[1] These weigh twenty-four *chin* (12 pounds), or 32 pounds.

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-71)067 ABS 16180 AES
Peabody Museum Papers

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[88a]

[For captions, see p. 88b.--Analyst]

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

• 243

a, Family and friends setting out the rice plants. *b*, Man plowing, wife spreading night soil. *c*, Women setting out rice plants. *d*, Girls bundling plants in the field. *e*, Women bringing up water with bucket from the pond.

Peabody E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

243

[For captions, see p. 89b. -- Analyst]

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

243

[968]

a, Man on the dike casting rice into the flooded seed beds. *b*, Woman hulling rice, showing rice-hulling machine. *c*, Woman cleaning rice (background), person behind pouring rice from basket into hopper, and in foreground a person pouring rice on a mat. *d*, Woman flailing grain on a threshing floor. *e*, People going through the village bearing rice plants from the seed beds to permanent fields. *f*, Preparing paddy for market by filling baskets and bags, showing grain-cleaning machine, baskets, and mats.

[5 cont.]

181 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by
609 the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of
262 rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more
[243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice."
[482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat
264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are
262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

[132 cont.]

443 Even today they do not have a single market fair within the area and this shows how circumscribed is the sphere of their economic activity. Their only means of livelihood is agriculture. Almost 243 all the fields are terraced according to natural topography, rising from the bottom of the slope to the top in several hundred layers. The shape of the field is long and narrow, producing rice, wheat, corn and barley. These terraced fields are not fertile [242] and the Sheng Miao do not know how to apply fertilizer. Further- [132] more, the temperature in the whole area is very low, and a plentiful harvest is not possible. The proverb says that "when the soil is barren, the people must be poor." Although the 511 Sheng Miao toil all year round in the hard struggle for survival, they can only eke out a bare existence. Being in direct contact with them, the writer could watch at close quarters their extremely miserable conditions, which are pitiable indeed. Because of their ignorance they do not know how to save or to improve the method of production. In case of famine they cannot escape starvation, [133] which is the most important reason for the decrease in their population.

105 In our study of the Miao culture we find it varies with different ethnic units and localities, each having its peculiar traits. The distinguishing features of the Sheng Miao, who differ a great deal from the other tribes, are as follows:

1. Ignorant and straightforward, they are easily duped. They are ready to proclaim themselves "kings" and to create disturbances.

2. The men are black in complexion, red-eyed, dishevelled, and tall and big in stature.

3. Up to this day not a single one of them can talk fluent Chinese.

4. There are peculiar styles of costumes for men and women.

5. Their staple food is glutinous rice, supplemented by raw meat, raw blood, bees, locusts, centipedes, earthworms, tree worms, sand worms, water worms, mountain rats and lizards.

6. The women are fond of smoking leaf tobacco.

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

[198 cont.]

535 527 584 go-between to arrange the match. Therefore, young men and women everywhere try to make as many new clothes as possible to be worn on this occasion. The dancers sometimes change their clothes a few times a day. In short, the custom of the flower dance has prevailed for a long time. Some dance with the hope of acquiring children while others, among the illusive shadows and to the tune of scintillating music, look secretly but intently for his or her future mate. For the unmarried men and women the purpose of the flower dance is to seek a partner in life.

535 527 443 (II) The Market Dance. The market dance is also an important annual event with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in this area. The dance is similar to the flower dance, except that it does not require a flower tree and that it has no fixed date and place. It is held generally after the transplantation of young rice-plants in the fourth or fifth month, or after the ripening of the crop in the seventh or eighth month. It is held at the market fair, but the announcement is made at a previous [202] fair by the host (or promoter, who is generally a Chinese) with two men, one beating a gong, and the other balancing a bamboo pole on his shoulder, on which is tied a belt with flower designs. This belt is presented as a souvenir by the girl to the boy when they talk love at the dance. When the two men circle around the fair once the crowd would know that the next one would be a market dance. On that occasion bands of men and women from all parts would come with new clothes as for the flower dance, men playing so-na and lu-sheng, and talking all the way. Arriving at the fair they would perch on the high mounds or stay in the low open ground outside the market place, playing musical instruments and singing songs. Young men and women take this opportunity to meet new friends or [199] renew old acquaintances. The old people believe that the market dance in the fourth month, [243] when the buckwheat and other grains flower, can encourage the yielding of more crops, and the market dance in the seventh month can bring about firmer and larger seeds. The market dance is known proverbially as the "grain dance," a name which clearly reveals its superstitious origin.

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
262 or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form
[252] of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes,
[252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

155: Abadie--244 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina

Miao AE5

[172]

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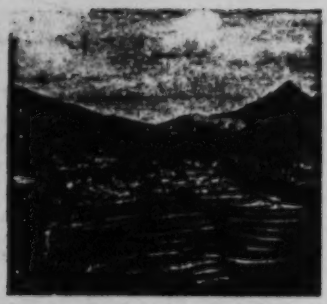
361



135. "Méo" Village with Terraced Rice Fields.

293. Pha-Long (Country of the "Méo," "Nung," and "Pa-y").

[283]

428. Hillsides Laid out in Irrigated Rice Fields by the "Méo" of Pakha.

128. "Méo" Method of Reeling off Hemp.

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
412 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activat
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage, and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

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b) Music and Musical Instruments

A M 533 The basic music is the same among both peoples; both peoples know singing and the use of musical instruments.

Singing

Singing plays an important role among the Meau as well as among the Akha; both sexes sing on various occasions. I found no confirmation for the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn that the Meau make music only in connection with burials. To be sure, the Akha enjoy singing even more than the Meau, for whom singing while working in the rice fields is prohibited by M [243] [784] a taboo (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), whereas the Akha sing unhindered and by preference at just such work.

Among both peoples there are a few traditional songs of old whose texts are unalterable. The dance songs of the Akha girls belong to this group. The great majority of song texts, however, are improvised and depend on the situation and the singer. There are, for instance, many variations of the songs with which the mother sings her child to sleep. Hopes, wishes, and admonitions are woven into these lullabies of the Meau in M [854] which are repeated innumerable times and always to the same melody:

M [539] "Sleep well, my child, I shall cover you to keep you warm and go into the rice field to get fodder for our animals."

"Sleep, my girl, and do not cry, otherwise the dogs and the pigs will bite you."

"Sleep well, my boy, and do not play with knives and do not lose your covering."

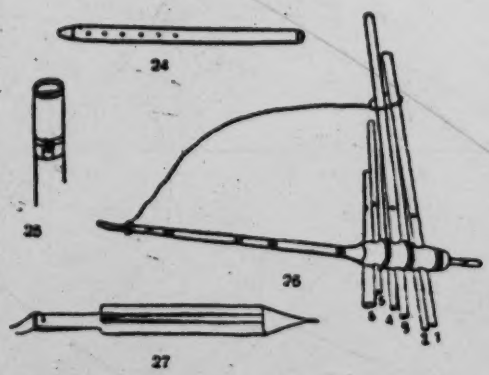
"Sleep, my child, I shall go into the rice field and cut sugar cane for you and bring you good food."

A M 533 832 Singing is very important for lovers; it gives them a chance to express the intensity of their emotions, knowledge, mental ability, ready wit, and humor. It is significant that

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His
[114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs
[562] with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau
[533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages
[463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area.
533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the
[243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nǎ thu pen do nǎ thu /169/ pę̆ dǒ. Savina (1)

[114 775]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in- [931] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore espe- [825] cially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high [224] Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[993] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conceptions as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They pre- [626] sume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens
that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great num-
ber is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself
and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails,
since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
787 careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the
sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above,
since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield
from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the
midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior
[825] and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may
be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may
still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake
appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
[776] that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the
"shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
825 omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird
dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occu-
pants will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are
familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
825 the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless
wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a
wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes that he cannot expect to bag any game.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other
[769] prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/207 cont./

782 231 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau [778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value of the animal (Ill. 103).[1] Gold paper, which the Meau do not [439] make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny [435] shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 782 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

1 [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/282/ . . . / 5. Rice-field Huts

243 342 The rice-field huts (Figs. 87 and 88) are occupied only during the period of field cultivation and the harvest by those members of the family /Figs. 87-88 appear here/ /283/ to whom these tasks are assigned. The huts lie on the steep slope in the midst of the fields and, despite their simplicity, have all

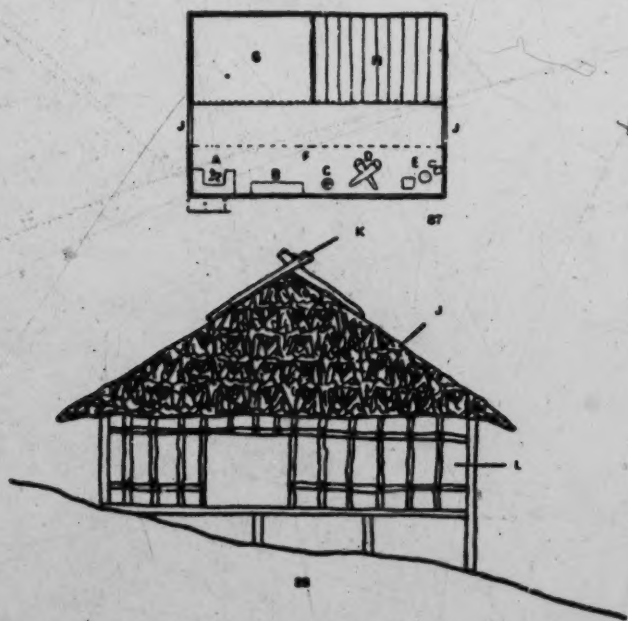


Fig. 87 (above). Rice-field hut of the Meau, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

A = small fireplace for cooking
B = hanging shelf for cooking utensils
C = large gourd-bottle
D = large fireplace for heating
E = rice baskets, harvesting baskets, gourd bottles, knives, bamboo vessels with supplies of fat and the like
F = over F, storage loft for harvest products
G = elevated platform on which, at harvest time, the sheaves of rice lie piled high
H = elevated platform covered with mats, as bedroom.

[513]

(cont.)

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/283 cont./

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342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.
Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering
K = roof rider of wood
L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

M [353] the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often M [513] finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, M [231] for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M 883 Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, [243] feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, M when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by [836] young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no [533] one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

A 361 The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. 166 What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to [241] [623] move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

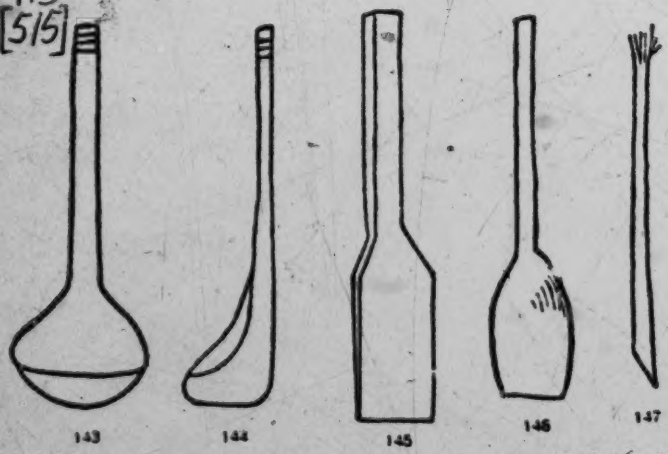
/306 cont./

412 252 [243] [244] 256

The household and kitchen implements of the Meau are very numerous. As was mentioned, all the grain and leguminous products are husked in the foot-operated mortar built into the cooking area (Fig. 139). /Figs. 140-142 appear here./

/307/ For grinding the kernels of grain and maize the large mill shown in Ill. 94 and Fig. 140 is used. The lower-millstone half (Fig. 141) is immovable and is provided with an axle (A), which is fitted into the opening (S) of the upper stone (Fig. 142). Both millstone halves are provided with grooves (R), which run in various directions. The upper eccentric millstone (Fig. 142) is connected with a horizontal pole. When this is swung forward and backward, the movable-millstone half turns. In this, on the top, a hole (0) is chiseled out, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether one lengthens or shortens the

415 [515]



Figs. 143-146. Dippers and Ladles of the Meau. Fig. 143. Bamboo dipper. Fig. 144. Side view of the same, 1/5 nat. size. Figs. 145 and 146. Wooden stirring ladles, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 147. Toothpick, 1/3 nat. size.

1 [see cat 116, p644 - ANALYST]

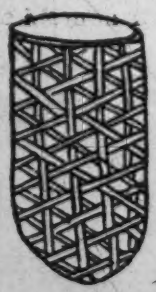
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, A [227] with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India. The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In



M 178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

M [227] [285]

/353 cont./

178 time the old men die, the young people no longer know the
243 use of the plow, and so the custom begins to sink into oblivion,
407 even where it could still be used today."

In any case the described tradition of the Meau in Thailand indicates that the plow and its field economy were not subsequently seen and copied from the Chinese or Annamese by the Meau passing through, /354/ but rather had been used in former times. This is also confirmed by the reports of various authors who visited the Meau in Indochina and in their other areas of settlement. The conditions there are different from those in Thailand, and the intensive agriculture of the Meau there forms the economic basis for a much higher standard of living than the members of the same people could have in Thailand. The Meau in Indochina have in large part retained [184] not only the use of the plow, but in many instances they have also succeeded in going over to the cultivation of wet rice and even to terraced fields, which presuppose the use of the plow.

243 Abadie (1), for instance, writes: "The Meau also cultivate
[178]

1. Page 159.

mountain rice, but, like the Man, in increasingly greater proportions they are practicing wet-rice cultivation, which is easier and more productive." The author also shows illustrations of such large-scale fields with wet rice (Illustrations 135 and 428 on Plate 41 of his work) and then continues (p. 151): "The Meau who cultivate irrigated rice fields engage in this work along the high mountain valleys. Though the absolute altitude of these rice fields is relatively high, [361] the Meau do not live near them. The minute the daily work is finished, they again ascend to their villages, which always lie near the summits of the mountains."

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-

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2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in
[596] the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning
[782] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible
[787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around
[314] them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally
[243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau
[343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1]
[417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of
[423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

/355 cont./

243 the first two or three violent thundershowers, the seeding is begun. If the large /extended/ family has many members, the freshly cleared land, which may have large dimensions, is subdivided many times into fields of half a hectare to three hectares, each planted with one certain kind of seed. If, however, it is a matter of a family with fewer members, all the seeds are mixed together, and the mixture is sowed for higgledy-piggledy growth.

224 243 As soon as a field is laid out and the seed is sown, a great number of game and bird traps are set up everywhere. Particularly popular is a kind of self-firing trap for wild pigs and deer, for which a crossbow with poisoned arrows is used. To be sure, they make entering the field very dangerous for anybody who is not familiar with the locality. Moreover, instead of fences which would keep off wild animals, traps are set on compulsory game-trails, in which all game from the pheasant to the wild pig is caught or falls victim to baited snaring devices. The animals caught represent an important [262] contribution to the diet of the Meau, and this is the reason why the fields are not protected by fences from intrusion and possible devastation by animals. Where no traps can be set or if /356/ whole herds of game visit the fields, the young men lie in ambush and in the moonlight capture a rich booty with their poisoned arrows.

243 [184] Savina (1) describes the arrangement of the rice fields

1. II, p. 216.

among the Meau in Indochina somewhat differently: "In the first month, when the New Year's festivals are over, the Meau put their fields in order. If the fields are far away, they stay there for eight to ten days. The men fell the trees with axes, and the women and children cut the grass with knives. In the second month the fields are set afire. Then maize is sowed. When the maize is in bloom, nights are spent in the fields in order to drive off the bears and the monkeys. When the maize [251] is harvested, it is brought to the house. The seed ears are

/356 cont./

243 [251] stored on the platform over the hearth. In the second month the Meau put rice seed in water in their houses. After eight to ten days, when the rice germinates, it is taken to small rice fields. In the third month the large rice fields are laid out. The men make dams for the water. In the fourth month, the rice plants are transplanted to these large fields; in the sixth month the rice blooms, and in the ninth month it is harvested. It is threshed at night."

241 If the Meau lay out separate fields, the following plants, which I enumerate in the sequence of their periods of cultivation, are planted and sowed: sugar cane, yams, rice, and at the same time cucumbers, radishes, and beans, and finally maize, poppies, leafy vegetables, tobacco, and onions. Furthermore, sesame, buckwheat, and sorghum are cultivated.

251 After the harvest, all the field produce is conveyed by the Meau to their village and put in the dwelling. Special storage houses are set up only if the harvest was very rich. The store of seed is carefully cleaned and piled up on a shelf over the fireplace so that the smoke will keep off insects and harmful germs.

241 [243] [249] Depending on the fertility of the soil, rice fields bear from one to three years. There are poppy fields, however, such as I myself came across, that still produced a satisfactory yield even after twenty years of utilization. If a field becomes exhausted, it is allowed to lie fallow until the forest trees that subsequently grow have suppressed the weeds.

/357/ The reason for abandoning a field is generally the exhaustion of the unfertilized soil. The growth of weeds, however, a reason for abandoning fields which is cited by other authors, plays only a minor role among the Meau in Thailand. It is considerably less tiresome to clean the weeds out of a field than to clear tall virgin forest with primitive tools. All the plants mentioned are cultivated in accordance with established agricultural customs.

/357 cont./

243 [262] 1. Rice. It is by far the most important cultivated plant of the Meau in Thailand and actually represents the basis of their diet. Seven different kinds are planted, four of which are glutinous rice and three are so-called white (Chinese) rice. The individual kinds are distinguished by the time until they ripen and also by the size of the grains and ears. All seven kinds belong among the types classified under the concept of mountain rice, which are not cultivated in Europe at all. They grow, independent of artificial irrigation, on cleared slopes. Classified as glutinous rice are the kinds that, when cooked, form a sticky, gelatinous substance, which does not appeal very much to the taste of Europeans. The "white rice," on the other hand, consists of types similar to those available commercially among us in Europe. The Meau have presumably [177] received these different kinds of rice from the Chinese.

The Meau in Thailand begin to plant rice between the end of May and the beginning of June, with the harvest, depending on the type, three to five months later. At the beginning of the rainy season, after the appropriate ceremonies have been performed (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"), cultivation begins. With the digging stick (Fig. 267), one person punches holes in the ground about five centimeters deep and 50 centimeters apart. He is followed by a second one, who lets eight to ten grains of rice fall into each hole, which, however, are not covered with earth, but rather the rain is supposed to do this. The Meau maintain that otherwise the rice would not get sufficient water for their first development.

At the harvest, the rice is cut individually, high on the stalk (Ill. 92),[1] with a special crescent-shaped knife (Fig. 268), put in bundles, and left lying in this fashion in the fields until it is dry. Then it is gathered together in the field hut and, in part, hulled right in the field /358/ in a special mortar which is operated with a suitable lever (Ill. 96).[2] This rice, as well as the bundles of ears, is then carried into the village (Ill. 93).[3] The rice straw remains standing in the field, rots, and thus forms a fraction of the fertilization so necessary to the soil.

1 [see cat 116, p642- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p645- " "]
3 [" " " p643- " "]

/359 cont./

244 On the average, these yam fields are productive equally as long as the rice fields.

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1. II, p. 309.

place in northern Thailand. It is cultivated in three types [244] and in general together with gourds in special fields. At the end of April at the earliest and the beginning of June at the latest, small holes are punched with the digging stick at intervals of half a meter. In them, besides three or four kernels of maize, two or three gourd seeds are always slipped [244] in, and the hole is closed. For the earliest types of maize the harvest begins as early as three months after sowing, which makes maize just as important as the likewise early ripening

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2. II, p. 310.

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1. II, p. 310.

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2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II. p. 185.
114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.
[1] [See cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

/373 cont./

257 Meat is either roasted over a fire or boiled in water in
[251] large or small pieces, and is also smoked without salt or salted and dried in the sun. Furthermore it may be fried in fat or oil. Cooking pits, as well as the use of hot stones for cooking, are unknown.

262 As fat, lard is used primarily, but also the fat from hunt-
[252] ing booty. It is added to the meat and to the vegetables during the cooking, but relatively little is taken for that.

The main emphasis in the daily diet, however, is not on meat, but rather on vegetable dishes, an observation that Lajonquière (1) also makes: "Meat and poultry are not part of

1. II, p. 302.

the daily diet, which is composed almost exclusively of maize, vegetables, and beans. It is used, however, on festive occasions." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 159.

Today rice stands in first place among the Meau. It is
243 first threshed with a wooden cudgel, and then the chaff is separated from the kernels by throwing the grain to be threshed from large flat baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 343) into the air when there is as much side-wind as possible so that the chaff is carried away by it while the rice kernels fall back into the flat baskets. Finally the clinging leaves covering them are removed in a rice mortar, and the grain is ground in a mill which makes it possible to grind the rice into a coarser or finer flour as desired (chapter, "House Furnishings," Figs. 140-142).

262 The importance of rice as the principal foodstuff is shown by the many dishes prepared from it, a few of which will be described in the following. If the rice is to be prepared without
252 any additional ingredients, it is first cooked for several minutes in plenty of water and then everything is poured on a plaited strainer under which a gourd bowl is placed to catch the starchy
[231] rice-water, which is drunk or fed to the animals. The rice
[272]

Miao AE5

/399 cont./

285 482 Fig. 333 = back-basket, most common shape, various kinds of plaiting, with leather straps, wide plaited bands, or twisted strings as carrying straps. Type of plaiting, Fig. 334: every cross-strip consists of three overlapping bamboo strips one centimeter wide. A narrow strip is interwoven vertically. Type of plaiting, Fig. 335: between /Figs. 333-337 appear here/ every cross-strip two centimeters wide there is an equally wide space. Very narrow vertical strips of split rattan, only four millimeters wide.

Fig. 336 = a very common, strong form of the carrying baskets, which are also used as harvest baskets. Vertical strips of cane three centimeters wide are attached over a tight inner wall plaited with bamboo strips four millimeters wide (Figs. 336 and 337) by means of some crosscords. Carrying straps of strips of hide (Ill. 93).[1]

285 [231] /400/ Figs. 338 and 339: chicken baskets, loosely plaited with narrow bamboo strips. Cover and door tied on.

Fig. 340 = flat basket, used as a strainer.

Outer edge (Fig. 341) of tight plaiting of bamboo strips three millimeters wide, plaited loosely within (Fig. 342) with the same material. /Figs. 338-342 appear here./

[243] Fig. 343 = large, flat rice-basket for separating the grain from the chaff. Hulled rice is shaken in it and the chaff blown away. Inner plaiting (Fig. 344) like the plaiting pattern of mats, except for wider bamboo strips about 13 millimeters wide.

[415] Fig. 345 = large supply-basket. Plaiting (Fig. 346) of bamboo strips three centimeters wide. Loosely plaited, vertical walls. There is every size of such baskets. /Figs. 343-346 appear here./

To be mentioned here also are the hanging baskets for the storing of dishes, as is described under Fig. 131 in the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils."

39: Bernatzik--540 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

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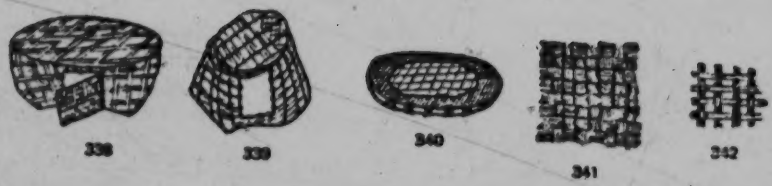

[231] Figs. 338-339. Meau Baskets for Carrying Chickens, 1/22 nat. size.

[415] Figs. 340-342. Plaited Strainer of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

Fig. 341. outer plaiting, and Fig. 342, inner plaiting.

[243] Figs. 343-344. Flat Rice-basket of the Meau, about 1/12 nat. size.
Fig. 344. Pattern of the interior plaiting.

[415] Figs. 345-346. Supply Basket of the Meau, 1/133 nat. size.
Fig. 346. Sample of plaiting.

Miao AE5

/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during [243] the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

286 The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kuǎ.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

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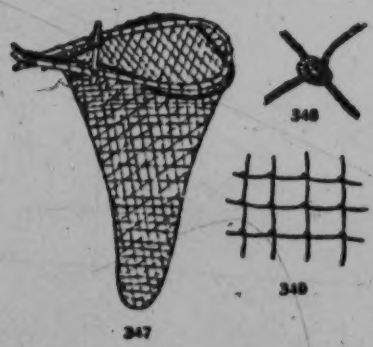

Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the

[227] Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau
[286] for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size.
The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

upper or lower leg (Ill. 64).[1] Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

[1] [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--642 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 474/

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Ill. 92. Each stalk of the mountain rice is cut separately by the Meau, with the help of the harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear.

Ill. 93. Meau family bringing in the harvest.

39: Bernatzik--643 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 474 and 475/

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39: Bernatzik--645 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 475/

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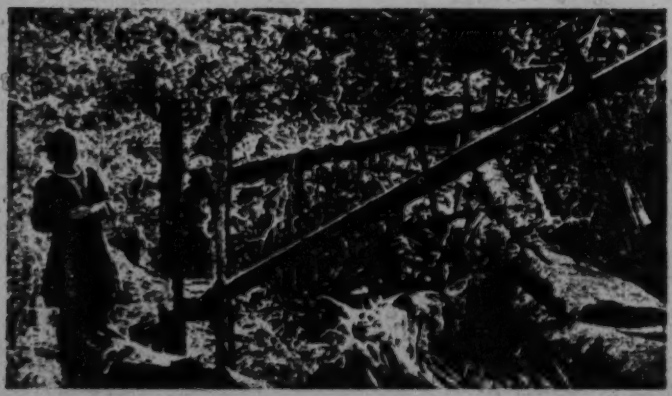
Ill. 95. Rice harvesting knife of the Meau with crescent-shaped wooden handle and inserted metal blade.

243



Ill. 96. Device for hulling rice on a rice field of the Meau.

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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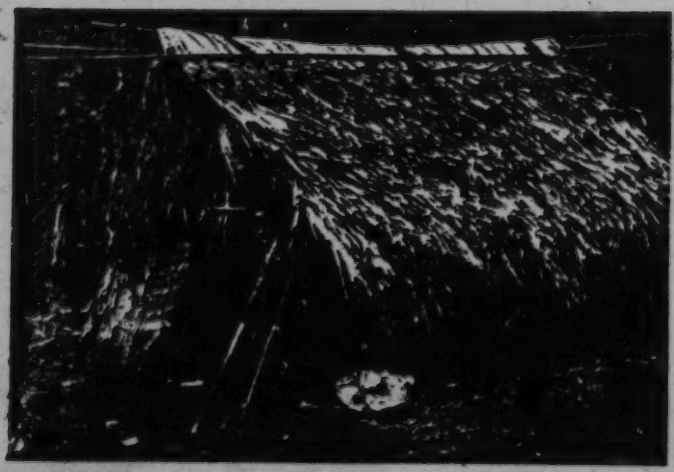
Ill. 104. Work hut on a Meau rice-field.

342



Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau with walls and doors of halved bamboo.

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas
245 may be seen occasionally.

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

248 The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

231 The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

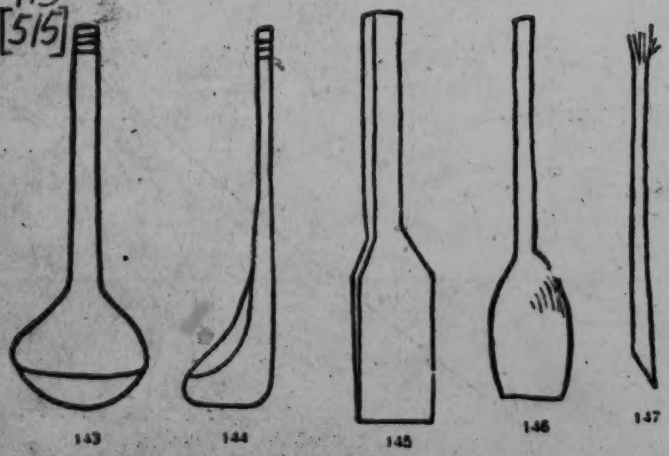
/306 cont./

412 252 [243] [244] 256

The household and kitchen implements of the Meau are very numerous. As was mentioned, all the grain and leguminous products are husked in the foot-operated mortar built into the cooking area (Fig. 139). /Figs. 140-142 appear here./

/307/ For grinding the kernels of grain and maize the large mill shown in Ill. 94 and Fig. 140 is used. The lower-millstone half (Fig. 141) is immovable and is provided with an axle (A), which is fitted into the opening (S) of the upper stone (Fig. 142). Both millstone halves are provided with grooves (R), which run in various directions. The upper eccentric millstone (Fig. 142) is connected with a horizontal pole. When this is swung forward and backward, the movable-millstone half turns. In this, on the top, a hole (0) is chiseled out, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether one lengthens or shortens the

415 [515]



Figs. 143-146. Dippers and Ladles of the Meau. Fig. 143. Bamboo dipper. Fig. 144. Side view of the same, 1/5 nat. size. Figs. 145 and 146. Wooden stirring ladles, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 147. Toothpick, 1/3 nat. size.

1 [see cat 116, p644 - ANALYST]

/358 cont./

249 2. Poppies. The Meau cultivate three different types, which are recognizable by the color of their flowers. Accordingly, one distinguishes white, red, and purple poppies. At the end of June they are sowed in soil which has been loosened with digging sticks. Tobacco, spinach-like vegetables, or [244] onions also grow in the poppy fields at the same time, which further increases the great importance of the poppy fields for 249 the Meau. Six months after the sowing of the poppies the 276 making of opium begins. For this the nearly ripe poppy heads are slit (Ill. 73)[1] with a three-bladed knife (chapter, "Food and Stimulants," Fig. 289). A whitish juice, the opium, oozes out and is carefully collected. After it has been properly [439] treated, it represents the most valuable article of trade of the 249 Meau. After the opium harvest comes that of the now ripened [262] poppies, which are particularly valued as food on account of their high oil content. Moreover, poppy fields, as was said, can be laid out on old, harvested maize fields, so that the least amount of land is required for their cultivation. If one adds to that the fact that mixed poppy fields remain productive for ten to twenty years, depending on the fertility of the soil, it may be said that they, next to the rice fields, certainly constitute the most important agricultural production area of the Meau.

3. Sugar Cane. Early in May the Meau set out six types, which ripen at different times. Furrows about 17 to 18 centimeters deep are made with the hoe (Figs. 269 and 270) 90 centimeters apart, and the shoots are set out with the help of a setting peg at uniform intervals of about 30 centimeters. At the earliest, harvesting commences eight months after the ensuing cultivation. These sugar-cane beds are productive for three years on the average and then lie fallow.

244 4. Yams. As soon as the cultivation of sugar cane is ended, four different types of this potato-like tuber is planted. For this purpose small pits are dug about 80 centimeters apart, the /359/ pieces of the seed tubers, cut up according to the bud-eyes, are put in, and the pit is covered. The harvest of the early ripening types begins as early as four months later.

1 [see cat 116, p573 - ANALYST]

/359 cont./

244 On the average, these yam fields are productive equally as long as the rice fields.

5. Cucumbers. Two types of them are sowed at the same time as the rice. As a rule, the procedure is simply to mix the [243] rice seed with the cucumber seeds so that it is put in the little seed-holes with them. Cucumbers are important for the Meau because they can be harvested as early as two or at most three months after sowing, hence at a time when the Meau have the least amount of food on hand, since the old harvest has been used up by then, but the new products are not yet ripe. In accordance with their cultivation together with the rice, cucumbers are cultivated in one field only as long as it is productive for rice cultivation.

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1. II, p. 216.

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2. II, p. 310.

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2. Page 309.

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/VIII cont./

286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

Ill. 89. The weaver is making preparations for the woof. The shuttle is carved out of wood. The inserted bobbin, around which the hemp thread is wound, is made of bamboo. The stick that separates the two layers of thread is made out of the same material.

283 Ill. 90. Spinning machine. With its help, four threads, which the woman doing the spinning holds in her left hand, are twisted together. By means of the little stick in her right hand, she prevents the threads from becoming tangled. She turns the flywheel with both feet.

Ills. 91-96. The harvest.

262 Ill. 91. The ripe squash at the edge of the fields of mountain
[244] rice are gathered. The juicy, tart meat of the raw fruit is especially tasty in the great heat.

243 Ill. 92. The stalks of the mountain rice are cut individually, with the help of the small crescent-shaped harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear and then bundled. The straw is left standing in the fields and rots.

Ill. 93. Bringing in the harvest. Each member of the family loads himself with as many bundles of ears in carriers and baskets as he can carry. Then there is a walk for
[484] hours over the narrow mountain paths to the village. The men carry in their hands the crossbows with arrows in place ready to shoot.

/IX/

252 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half
256 is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas
245 may be seen occasionally.

/61 cont./

931 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land 243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung 245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees 245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar [805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in [482] groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the [412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place [258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the [439] outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the [252] seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

2:Ling & Ruey--91 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/62/

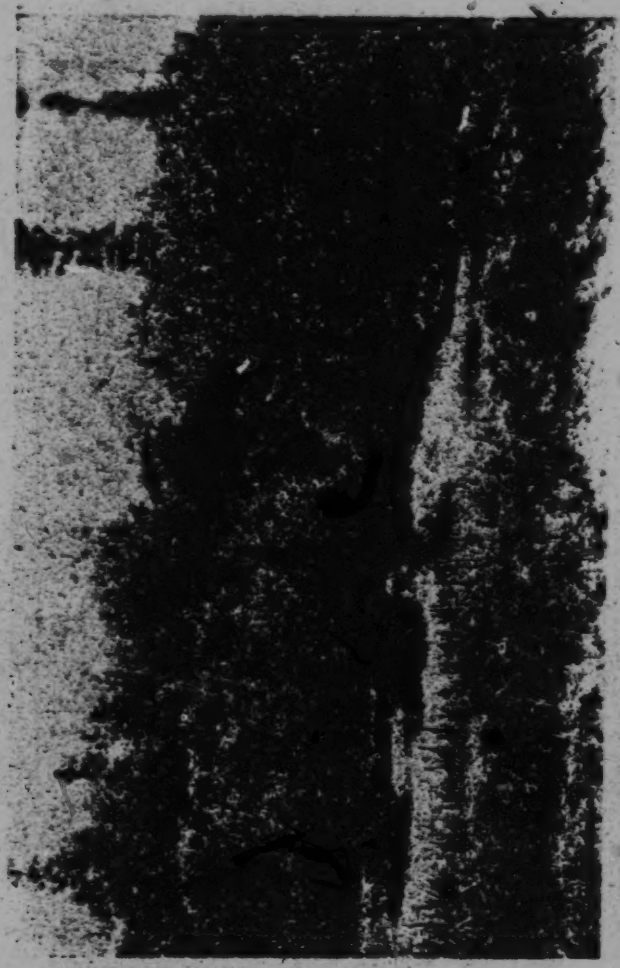
245

Illus. 32. Tung trees.

2:Ling & Ruey--92 Ł-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/63/

245



Illus. 33. Tea plants.

2:Ling & Ruey--93 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/64/

•245

Illus. 34. Pine trees.

2:Ling & Ruey--94 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/65/

313
245

Illus. 35. Pine logs.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, [262] and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [443] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [439] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp 248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching [262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and [231] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan [439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo [227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair. [171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi- [825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces [227] of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./

226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[492] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
[262] Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[241] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Kweichow is considered the poorest agri- 311
cultural province in all China. Much of the
soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give [134]
but little space for farms, which are therefore
usually small and cultivated by simple methods. Cultivation is confined chiefly to upland plains, the few open valleys and terraced hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of soil, slope, and water. The total area of cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at five per cent. At one time the chief crop was opium, but the Chinese Government has tried to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One geographer lists in order of second importance maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo, wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cotton, hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans, wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may be said that rice is grown wherever possible and there forms the staple food. In the poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot be grown, the people depend upon maize, barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one crop of rice grown and the harvest is in September or October. Winter crops commonly include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape. There is a variety of excellent vegetables grown through the year. Fruits of the prov- 245
ince include peaches, pears, apricots, persimmons, oranges, and lemons. There are also large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, including a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, 137
pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves are thought to remain in Kweichow. The bambo trees are of several species, some suitable for construction and the making of articles of common household use and huge rain hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in 288
the northern part of the province has industries for the making of a kind of cheap silk cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native umbrellas, and cotton goods. The villages of

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more
231 fuel, or grass for the animals. The water
buffalo were taken out night and morning
245 for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.[8] Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

243 The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice from sheaves were

[8] One-tenth of a *tou* (see note 7, p. 35), or 31.6 cubic inches.

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
462 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activate
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the 241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [245] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II, p. 185.
114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.

[1] [See cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water,
are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos,
[245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or
fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole
series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as
spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
[135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders
(see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

252 Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
[262] which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the
sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in
the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans
until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried
[251] in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks
where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsuǎ) are made, three kinds of
which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

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/22 cont./

(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; The Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

M
[167]

From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp 248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching [262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and [231] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan [439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo [227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair. [171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi- [825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces [227] of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

248 The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

[160 cont.]

415 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
482 often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo"
[492] of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women
[854] place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

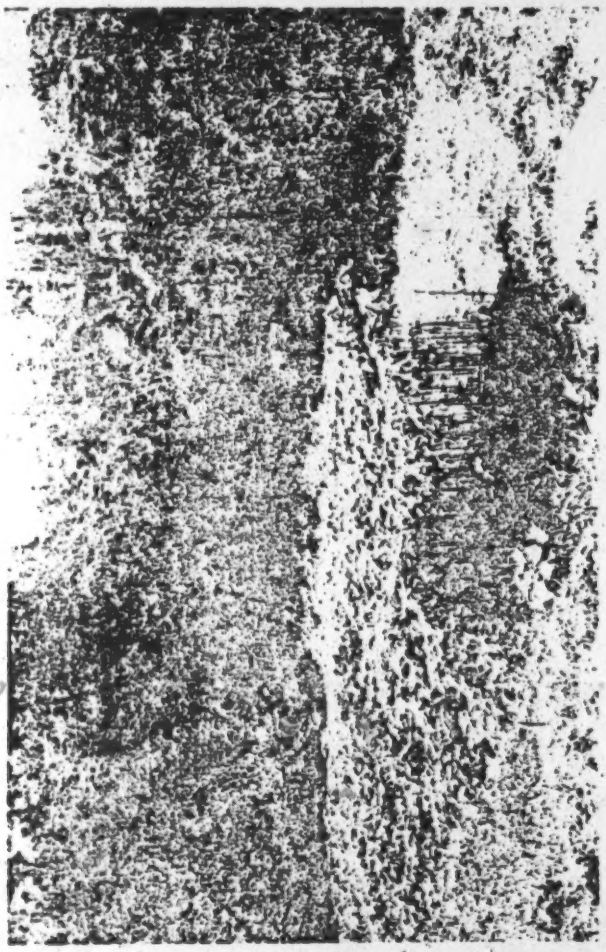
Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

2:Ling & Ruey--101 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/70/

248



Illus. 37. Hemp plants.

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finall some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
412 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activat
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/317 cont./

A 415 For preparing the food, many kinds of carved wooden vessels and troughs of wood (Fig. 205) or bamboo (Fig. 206) are used. /Figs. 201-208 appear here./ /318/ Gourd dippers and bowls, wooden ladles, knives, rice baskets and other baskets, bamboo containers, and so on are not lacking anywhere.

A [312] The bamboo containers for fetching water (Fig. 207) are closed at the top and the bottom; the water is poured by means of a gourd dipper (Fig. 208) into a hole cut into the upper edge. In this way the water remains clean and cannot easily be spilled when carried. Many typical household and kitchen utensils are almost exactly like those of the Meau.

A [171]

A 482 I did not see carrying frames among the Akha; they are replaced by carrying baskets with a shoulder board and forehead band (Fig. 374; see the chapter, "Handicrafts").

A 354 For lighting the house, iron lamps with oil as fuel, and also pine chips, are used. The household equipment is especially rich in artistically plaited articles, such as are described in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

[372] 285

A 356 As was pointed out, the dwellings and granaries of the Akha give the impression of being clean and well tended. The floor of the dwelling and the platform are swept twice a day with the grass brooms that are also common among the Meau (Fig. 175), with which one simply sends the sweepings under the house through the seams and cracks. The food remains, too, are thus conveyed directly to the pigs and chickens.

[412] [171] [231]

/319/

Chapter 15

Clothing and Ornaments

M 294 The Meau women are very skilled in sewing and embroidery and, with much taste for color combinations, make the attractive and also practical clothing for men, women, and children.

M 291 The clothing of the Meau is absolutely uniform in cut and differs only in the diversity of the embroidery and appliquéd designs.

[248] Every family plants the required hemp and cotton and weaves its own cloth. The strips of fabric which are made into clothing

[596] [286] [294]

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II, p. 185.
114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.

[1] [See cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

/401 cont./

283 string is produced from the thinner one. Heavy cord is obtained by twisting in rattan fibers by means of a wooden fork. The Meau twist strong ropes out of strips of skin, those of [237] bearskin being regarded as the strongest.

/402/ In addition to the twisting process, braid-like ropes, [492] bands and wide belts for the saddles of the pack animals are also plaited. For this purpose the Meau use three to twelve threads each time. This plaiting is done solely with the hands [412] and without any tool; only in the making of straps are iron awls used for preliminary piercing.

286 The ancient Chinese literature (1) already mentions re-

1. North China Br., 1859, p. 264; Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 38.

peatedly that the Meau are good spinners, weavers, and dyers. For the manufacture of the cloth for clothing, the Meau primarily use hemp, rarely cotton. They sow hemp (mǎń) in their ●248 rice and poppy fields. Lajonquière (2) likewise mentions hemp

2. II, p. 311.

in Indochina and writes that the Meau there cultivate it at the same time as maize and harvest it six to seven months after the sowing. The fibers of banana leaves, on the other hand, were never used, according to my observations and findings. And [114] since I could find nothing about this anywhere else, a mistake by Seidenfaden, who reported on it, must be assumed. Cotton is cultivated in special fields and is used in a fashion similar to that among the Akha (see pp. 441 f.).

The hemp seed is set out with the planting stick among the Meau in northern Thailand; the period of cultivation falls between the end of April and the beginning of May; the harvest is about three months later. The stalks are cut with the sickle, the leaves are removed, and then the stalks are placed in water [283] so that they will rot. Afterward they are dried, and the woody

Miao AE5

/402 cont./

283 parts are removed by breaking the stalks /Figs. 350-351 appear here/ and taking out the tough cellular tissue. By this means a [248] coarse yellowish spinning material is obtained. Its fibers are twisted together with the fingers of the right hand (Fig. 351) and spun into long threads. At the same time, the fingers of the left hand hold a ring wound with bamboo, into which a small stick is jammed (Fig. 350). Through quick movements of the left hand, that is to say, of the ring, the spun thread is wound on the small stick.

/403/ The women work with this spinning ring even when [512] they are going somewhere, carrying the required spinning material in their aprons. For the further work, several of the spun threads are twisted together with the help of a special spinning apparatus (Ill. 90)[1] and wound on large spindles. Next the yarn is boiled in water to which much potash was added, and then the thread is carefully rinsed in fresh water and unwound in order to test whether it holds together throughout. Now the yarn is wound up anew and boiled again in a lye of wood ashes, and the rinsing process and the testing are repeated, as is the winding up of the yarn again; to the water for the third boiling, however, no [237] /Figs. 352-353 appear here/ potash is added, but rather beeswax. After this third and last boiling process, the yarn is not rinsed any more, but only wrung out and placed on straw, which was spread out on boards beforehand, to dry. Here, during the drying, it is frequently moved back and forth, so that the wax is uniformly distributed in the yarn. The dried, waxed yarn is first wound on spools shaped like windmills,

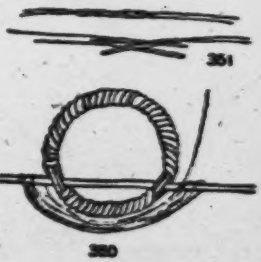


Fig. 350. Spinning Ring of the Meau, 1/3 nat. size.

Fig. 351. Sample of spinning.

[1] [see cat 116, p 622 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

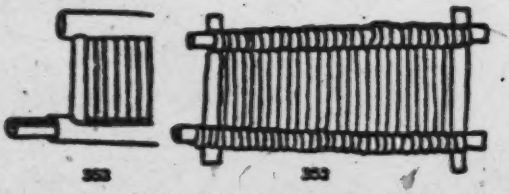
/403 cont./

283 which are called kǒulǐ, but then sticks about as thick as a finger are stuck in the ground in two rows one to two meters apart, and the yarn is now wound between them in skeins ready for weaving.

286 The yarn thus prepared is woven on horizontal looms (Ill. 88)[1] into strips of material 37 centimeters wide (Ill. 89).[2]

The weaver's comb of the loom has either a frame made of two wooden sticks between which the thin, flexible cross-strips of bamboo are held and tied fast (Fig. 352), or the frame consists of bamboo tubes with iron bands (Fig. 353), into which /404/ the cross-sticks are inserted. The threads are then drawn between these narrow cross-sticks.

Besides these looms, the Meau also use weaving boards to make narrower bands.



Figs. 352-353. Weaver's Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 352, of wood with bamboo cross-strips; Fig. 353, of bamboo with iron cross-strips.

Concerning this work, we also have some reports by Lajonquière (1), which in part are confirmed by Abadie:

1. II, p. 309.

"The common spinning material is hemp. It is harvested in the lowlands, wound on spools, and combed with coarse combs. The women spin it by hand... They weave their own cloth and dye it in the same manner as the Tho." Savina (2) describes

[248] [283] [171] [184]

2. II. p. 211.

the procedures in Indochina somewhat differently: "When the

[1] [see col. 116, p 621 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 622 - "]

/437 cont./

462 large trees; building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning, weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[241] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)
[248]

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, [262] and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [443] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [439] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/66 cont./

000 386 leaves. After the picking, they cut the leaves into small pieces of about 40 kung fen, tie them in arm-thick bundles, and place them in a large earthenware jar filled with pure spring water, where they are completely submerged. After three days the jar of clear water becomes dark green in color. The indigo bundles are then removed, and lime water is added to the jar. The ratio is a bowl of lime water to a tan /picul/ of indigo water. The lime is first dissolved in water: the solution is kept and the residue discarded. After being mixed with the lime water the indigo water /67/ is stirred with a stick to blend it. The precipitation is indigo.

249 Although wild indigo grows everywhere, its output in the end is not large. Furthermore, the Miao, men and women, all [314] wear blue cotton clothes. The supply of wild indigo naturally [291] is not enough to meet the demand and domestic indigo has to be cultivated (Illus. 36). It is planted in the second and third months and harvested in the ninth and tenth months before the frost. The output of domestic indigo is larger than that of wild indigo. The Miao usually dig a hole about two kung ch'ih [386] deep for making indigo. The process is the same as that for wild indigo.

The Miao also plant sugar cane in the low-lying places in deep valleys. The land for this crop must have fine soil and dry. On the periphery as well as in the center of the field several ditches are dug for draining water in case of rain. To plant sugar cane, they cut the cane into short lengths of about three or four nodes, planting three or four of them together. When they grow up they become a cluster. The clusters are about half a kung ch'ih apart. At planting time the sections are put into the earth, with the top ends slightly slanting, which are also covered with earth. After half a month, when the sprouts come out, light fertilizer is added. When they grow to a height of half a kung ch'ih, fertilizer is again put on. In all they are fertilized four or five times, and each time the earth is weeded and the soil loosened. Four or five days after the first frost in the ninth or tenth month the crop may be

249 /67 cont./
harvested. After harvest the canes are tied up, 50 to a bundle,
249 and stored in earth pits about one kung ch'ih deep. The pits
251 are first lined with cane leaves, on which the sugar cane are laid in rows. More leaves are laid on top and then covered with dirt. Ventilation tubes are stuck in to ensure a free flow of air in order to prevent decay. On market day, the canes
[443] are carried to market for sale.

The Miao area also produces native tobacco. Beginning
249 with the tenth and eleventh months the Miao nurse tobacco
[343] seedlings. Above the seedbed a thatched shelter with a slanting roof is erected to protect the seedlings from frost and snow. After they sprout they are watered and fertilized with ashes, manure, or tung paste. Transplanting takes place in the following spring in the third and fourth months. Fields for tobacco cultivation have to be plowed very early to reduce insect pests,
[825] according to the Miao. The insect called t'u ch'a erh only eats tobacco plant roots. Tobacco seedlings are transplanted in rows, by first crushing the earth into powder by hand, then burying the roots of the seedling in the earth and pressing the earth tight around the plant. If the earth is dry, then it should be watered at the root and the stem. After three or five days some mild fertilizer may be applied. Insect pests are the worst enemy of tobacco. Besides the t'u ch'a erh, which eats the
[825] roots, green hoppers eat the leaves. So, in tobacco growing a great deal of labor is spent in catching insects, which has to be done in the early morning, for later the t'u ch'a erh dig through the earth and it is difficult to find them. The tobacco plant is never allowed to grow too high, and has to be clipped from time to time to ensure the growth of more full and firm leaves. During harvest time the tobacco leaves are cut down leaf by leaf, /Illustration 36 on p. 68/ /69/ and stacked up for one or two nights. Then they are tied up with straw ropes and hung up to dry in the sun, being taken indoors at night. If a good color is wanted, then in good weather they should be exposed outside overnight to absorb the dew. The resulting color will be a beautiful, golden yellow.

2:Ling & Ruey--98 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/68/

249

Illus. 36. Native indigo.

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

was held firm by projecting rods which rested 286
on a board across the frame. From the yarn beam the warp proceeded across the horizontal bar of the lighter frame, through two heddles of the frame variety made of bamboo rods with hemp thread between them, which were suspended from a roller laid across the lighter frame or through holes pierced in it, by straw rope and vine tendrils. They were a little wider than the piece of cloth used in the back apron, and the threads were about a foot long. From the lower ends similar ropes led to the fronts of two pedals. Other ropes of the same kind led from the backs of the pedals to the horizontal brace at the back of the main frame. From the heddles the warp proceeded to a reed, also suspended from the lighter frame, thence to the cloth beam set in slots in uprights in the longitudinal brace of the main frame, its longitudinal pieces and projecting above. The cloth beam was then held firm by straw rope tied around it and the frame behind the upright on one side. There were laze-rods set in just behind the front board.

Shed and countershed were formed by depressing first one pedal and then the other. The weft was shot through by hand, wound on bamboo shuttles of the shape as shown in figure 11. The weft was beaten up with the reed. Most of the warp thread was rolled on the yarn beam, but some extended beyond and lay in a basket. The reed was made of two pieces of wood, between which could be set and fastened a removable frame like that of the heddles, but without eyes in the thread which stretched between. The weaver took hold of two vertical bars as she beat up the weft. The contrivance was suspended by ropes attached to those bars.

Women also cooked the paste and beans 462
and shaped the glutinous rice cakes, distilled 252
rice wine, ground the beans and made bean 249.
curd, including that mixed with pig's blood at the lunar New Year. They helped cut tobacco in the fields, cutting the leaves from the stalk in such a way as to leave a piece of it for a hook by which they fastened it into a rope of straw made as they went. These ropes were festooned across the fronts of the houses to dry, after which it was ready to smoke in their long-stemmed pipes.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

249 But this family[1] was in its workaday clothes, as its head was very anxious to explain to Dupont. They had been away a week, working in their opium-poppy fields, and now they were on their way home for a flying visit. Dupont asked about a dog, and the head of the family invited us to come up and see for ourselves, as he had no idea who was home and who wasn't.

311 It was a long, slow climb up to the village, although the Meos, as
361 they skipped along by our side, seemed in no way to notice the slope, nor their huge burdens. The coarse grass – usual legacy of Meo occupation – was replaced here by a noxious thorny scrub. For miles, in all directions from the village, nothing would grow but this ultimate of austere vegetations. This village was at the last stage before it would have to be moved. The fields under cultivation were now so far away that the villagers lived dispersed in temporary shelters where they worked. Very soon they would be too far from the village to return at all and it would be moved, ten or fifteen miles, always south; leaving behind the prairie grass and scrub. It only wanted the Mans to arrive here from Tonkin – the Mans cultivate on Meo lines between 1000 and 3000 feet – to reproduce eventually in Laos the denuded wilderness of southern China.

342 The Meo village consisted of nothing but a few most decrepit
181 hovels. They were the lowest and the most barbarous examples of human dwellings that it would be possible to find. Why should the Meos be the most elegantly dressed and the worst housed people in the country? They are superb at the few handicrafts they undertake, but they just can't be bothered about how they are sheltered or how they sleep. There is no compulsion; no household genie – like those of the Mois – demanding high standards of order and cleanliness in the house; no canons of taste and refinement spreading slowly downwards from an idly exquisite aristocracy, since all Meos are kept hard at work; no spirit of bourgeois emulation, since this is total democracy, with no betters to imitate. The Meos have only themselves to please, and the result is anarchy.

In the hovel we were taken to, the contents of a thousand school-

[1] [i.e., a Meo family. -- Analyst]

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
262 or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form
[252] of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes,
[252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

●[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

[166]

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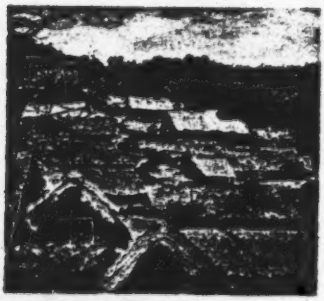
361

90. Frontier Post of Pha-Long ("Méo" Country).

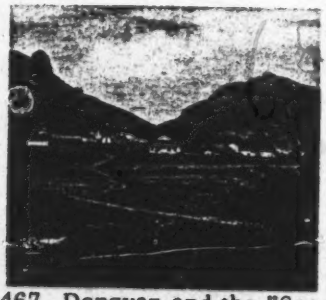


347. Ho-to-tchay ("Méo" Village).

249

133

184. Opium Field Cultivated by the "Méo" on the Soil of Irrigated Rice Fields.



467. Dongvan and the "Sacred Wood."

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
412 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activat
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

/356 cont./

243 stored on the platform over the hearth. In the second month
[251] the Meau put rice seed in water in their houses. After eight to ten days, when the rice germinates, it is taken to small rice fields. In the third month the large rice fields are laid out. The men make dams for the water. In the fourth month, the rice plants are transplanted to these large fields; in the sixth month the rice blooms, and in the ninth month it is harvested. It is threshed at night."

241 If the Meau lay out separate fields, the following plants, which I enumerate in the sequence of their periods of cultivation, are planted and sowed: sugar cane, yams, rice, and at the same time cucumbers, radishes, and beans, and finally maize, poppies, leafy vegetables, tobacco, and onions. Furthermore, sesame, buckwheat, and sorghum are cultivated.

251 After the harvest, all the field produce is conveyed by the Meau to their village and put in the dwelling. Special storage houses are set up only if the harvest was very rich. The store of seed is carefully cleaned and piled up on a shelf over the fireplace so that the smoke will keep off insects and harmful germs.

241 Depending on the fertility of the soil, rice fields bear
[243] from one to three years. There are poppy fields, however,
[249] such as I myself came across, that still produced a satisfactory yield even after twenty years of utilization. If a field becomes exhausted, it is allowed to lie fallow until the forest trees that subsequently grow have suppressed the weeds.

/357/ The reason for abandoning a field is generally the exhaustion of the unfertilized soil. The growth of weeds, however, a reason for abandoning fields which is cited by other authors, plays only a minor role among the Meau in Thailand. It is considerably less tiresome to clean the weeds out of a field than to clear tall virgin forest with primitive tools. All the plants mentioned are cultivated in accordance with established agricultural customs.

/358 cont./

249 2. Poppies. The Meau cultivate three different types, which are recognizable by the color of their flowers. Accordingly, one distinguishes white, red, and purple poppies. At the end of June they are sowed in soil which has been loosened with digging sticks. Tobacco, spinach-like vegetables, or [244] onions also grow in the poppy fields at the same time, which further increases the great importance of the poppy fields for 249 the Meau. Six months after the sowing of the poppies the 276 making of opium begins. For this the nearly ripe poppy heads are slit (Ill. 73)[1] with a three-bladed knife (chapter, "Food and Stimulants," Fig. 289). A whitish juice, the opium, oozes out and is carefully collected. After it has been properly [439] treated, it represents the most valuable article of trade of the 249 Meau. After the opium harvest comes that of the now ripened [262] poppies, which are particularly valued as food on account of their high oil content. Moreover, poppy fields, as was said, can be laid out on old, harvested maize fields, so that the least amount of land is required for their cultivation. If one adds to that the fact that mixed poppy fields remain productive for ten to twenty years, depending on the fertility of the soil, it may be said that they, next to the rice fields, certainly constitute the most important agricultural production area of the Meau.

3. Sugar Cane. Early in May the Meau set out six types, which ripen at different times. Furrows about 17 to 18 centimeters deep are made with the hoe (Figs. 269 and 270) 90 centimeters apart, and the shoots are set out with the help of a setting peg at uniform intervals of about 30 centimeters. At the earliest, harvesting commences eight months after the ensuing cultivation. These sugar-cane beds are productive for three years on the average and then lie fallow.

244 4. Yams. As soon as the cultivation of sugar cane is ended, four different types of this potato-like tuber is planted. For this purpose small pits are dug about 80 centimeters apart, the /359/ pieces of the seed tubers, cut up according to the bud-eyes, are put in, and the pit is covered. The harvest of the early ripening types begins as early as four months later.

1 [see cat 116, p573 - ANALYST]

/359 cont./

243 cucumbers in /360/ helping to bridge the most difficult periods in the nutrition of the Meau. For maize, rotation of the fields must take place after each year; as a rule, maize is followed in the next year by poppies of various types.

244 9. Leafy Vegetables. This is a matter of spinach-like plants of many kinds which are cultivated at the same time as the poppies. Their special importance for the Meau lies in their early initial harvest. It can begin as early as two weeks after sowing, whereas the principal harvest does not come to its final conclusion until months later, at the same time as that of the poppies.

249 10. Tobacco in two types is sowed, in the same way as the green vegetables, together with the poppies. The tobacco is harvested five months after cultivation.

244 11. Onions of two types, one white and one red, are known to the Meau. They are set in the poppy fields when the fine seed of the latter has already sprouted.

12. Sesame, from the seeds of which oil is obtained, is set out only after the cultivation of the rice and is harvested four months later. The sesame fields remain productive equally as long as the rice fields and finally lie fallow equally as long.

243 13. Buckwheat, to be sure, is likewise important for the Meau in Thailand, but it does not by far have the significance that Savina (1) gives it by putting it directly after rice and

1. II, p. 216.

maize. It stands out in that area even more impressively according to Lajonquière (2), who even speaks of two buckwheat

2. II, p. 310.

harvests a year, the first of which takes place in the fourth month, the second in the twelfth.

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the 241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [245] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/379 cont./

b) Stimulants

276 The Meau are passionate tobacco smokers, whereas snuff or the chewing of tobacco is unknown. Both kinds of tobacco
● 249 known to the Meau are at times mixed with the seeds of poppies and sowed with them at the end of May. The one kind, lŏ yŭm bĕ klĕ, is a low, weak plant with narrow, long leaves. The tobacco obtained from it, however, is considerably stronger than that from the second kind, called lŏ yŭm kŭ fŏ. Tobacco is harvested about six months after planting. The plant is cut off just above the root, the stalk with the lower leaves left on it is discarded, and the leaves that have been picked off are sorted. Those from the middle height of the stalk give a different quality of tobacco than those from the upper third. Now the leaves are dried and then put out in the dew for a night to moisten them. Then they are tightly piled on top of one another, rolled up together, and packed in green banana leaves, which are tied together. Then the tobacco undergoes a kind of /380/ fermentation process and, thus preserved, keeps up to two years. Immediately before use, it is cut up into small
276 pieces with a knife on a board (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 160).

Some of this cut tobacco, which is now ready for use is carried /Figs. 285-288 appear here/ by every Meau in a spe-
[415] cial little box of bamboo or wood provided with a cover (Fig. 285), in order to have it at hand for his pipe (Figs. 286 and 287). In addition, water pipes of bamboo are used (Fig. 288), which Lajonquière (1) confirms for Tonkin as well. The author also

1. II, p. 303.

informs us that the bowls of the "ordinary pipes" are made of stone, wood, or copper, while the generally long stem is made of porcelain.

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
[171] the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put
[413] on the still undyed material by the women with a special instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[784] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
342 partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[353] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[556] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[251] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
[231] for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
M ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
251 storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[213] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
487 consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
487 comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

249 /67 cont./
harvested. After harvest the canes are tied up, 50 to a bundle,
249 and stored in earth pits about one kung ch'ih deep. The pits
251 are first lined with cane leaves, on which the sugar cane are
laid in rows. More leaves are laid on top and then covered
with dirt. Ventilation tubes are stuck in to ensure a free flow
of air in order to prevent decay. On market day, the canes
[443] are carried to market for sale.

The Miao area also produces native tobacco. Beginning
249 with the tenth and eleventh months the Miao nurse tobacco
[343] seedlings. Above the seed bed a thatched shelter with a slanting roof is erected to protect the seedlings from frost and snow. After they sprout they are watered and fertilized with ashes, manure, or tung paste. Transplanting takes place in the following spring in the third and fourth months. Fields for tobacco cultivation have to be plowed very early to reduce insect pests,
[825] according to the Miao. The insect called t'u ch'a erh only eats tobacco plant roots. Tobacco seedlings are transplanted in rows, by first crushing the earth into powder by hand, then burying the roots of the seedling in the earth and pressing the earth tight around the plant. If the earth is dry, then it should be watered at the root and the stem. After three or five days some mild fertilizer may be applied. Insect pests are the worst enemy of tobacco. Besides the t'u ch'a erh, which eats the
[825] roots, green hoppers eat the leaves. So, in tobacco growing a great deal of labor is spent in catching insects, which has to be done in the early morning, for later the t'u ch'a erh dig through the earth and it is difficult to find them. The tobacco plant is never allowed to grow too high, and has to be clipped from time to time to ensure the growth of more full and firm leaves. During harvest time the tobacco leaves are cut down leaf by leaf, /Illustration 36 on p. 68/ /69/ and stacked up for one or two nights. Then they are tied up with straw ropes and hung up to dry in the sun, being taken indoors at night. If a good color is wanted, then in good weather they should be exposed outside overnight to absorb the dew. The resulting color will be a beautiful, golden yellow.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

the porcupine, whose flesh is eaten, and whose shiny black and white quills, often a foot long, have various uses. The flying squirrel is a rarer victim, as only the poisoned dart shot from the crossbow by a skilled hunter is quick enough to strike it. Jungle fowl of all sorts are used for food. 224 262

The fishing is usually done on a large scale. If a youngster goes a-fishing, his outfit is a piece of bamboo and a piece of hemp string with a noose on the end, where he nooses his catch. But when the rivers are low a whole village or perhaps several villages will join in a common fishing expedition. Some of the men dam the river, others go to the forest and come back laden with the bark of a certain tree and a certain vine. These barks are pounded in mortars until well macerated, mixed, and pounds and pounds of the "medicine" are poured into the river above the dam. The mixture kills or stupifies the fish, which rise to the top of the water and are easily secured. The catch often amounts to a thousand-odd pounds of fish, not to mention crabs and eels and other creatures. The fish are cleaned immediately and the people eat them without fear although they say that a chicken or duck that eats the entrails will sometimes die from the poison. The fish not wanted for immediate consumption are salted down with a variety of pooped rice and kept for future use. This method may injure the small fish in the river—undoubtedly it does injure them in the immediate vicinity of the catching—but does not have any serious effect on the total supply, apparently. 226 824 227 226 [251]

The costume worn by the men differs very little from that worn by an ordinary Chinese labourer except in the way the coat fastens, as it laps a little to the left and fastens slantingly down the front. The costume worn by the women however, is the distinguishing feature of the people, and is a very attractive outfit in its blue and red with touches of other colours on the head kerchief. For a grown woman, the costume consists of a kerchief, a coat and a short skirt, both dark blue, and dark blue puttees. A narrow red silk girdle, about an inch wide, woven by the women themselves and ending in long fringe, is worn around the hips. The same style of tie, only about a quarter of an inch wide, fastens each puttee just below the knee. The material for the clothing is bought from the traders, and is a coarse, heavy, unbleached cotton cloth. The women dye the goods with indigo and set the colour with pigs blood. The coat is made quite like a Chinese woman's coat, but reaching to the knees and not lapping so far over to the side. A piece of turkey red cotton is embroidered and put on as a narrow collar band; the bottoms of the rather loose sleeves are edged the same 291

39: Bernatzik--361 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

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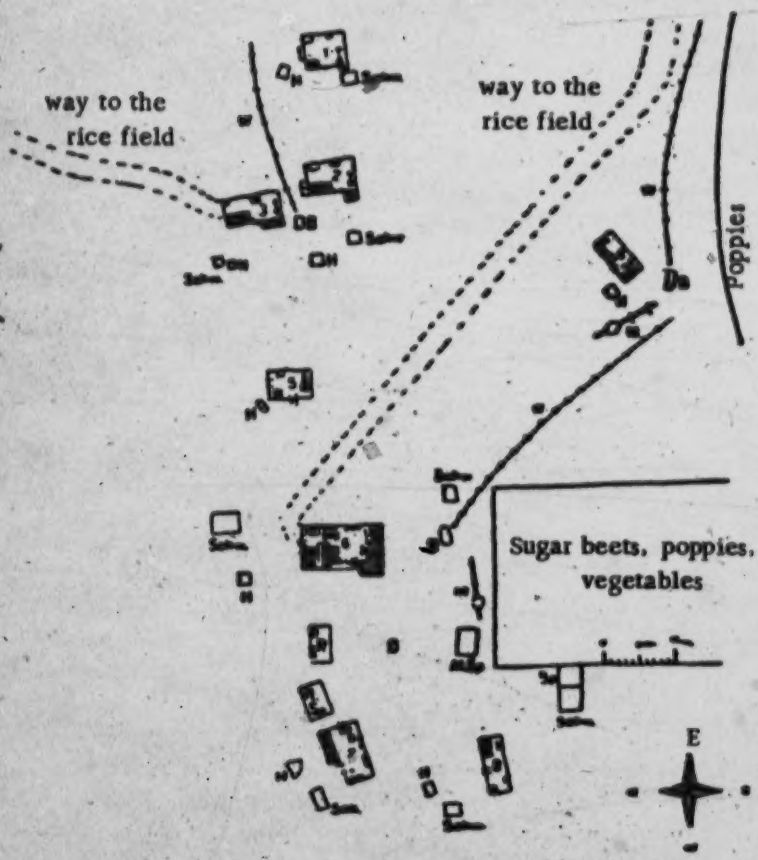


Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

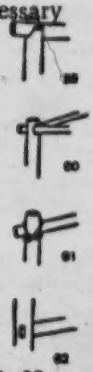
Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊢O = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
◻ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of
352 his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
353 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

[1] [see cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

/274 cont./

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] [177] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only repsent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

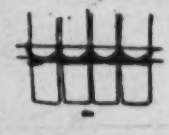


Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).[1]

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the
[251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).[2]

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.
[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

1 [see next 116, p706- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p665- "]

/303 cont./

353 The arrangements of every house include the altar and
778 the sacrificial and cult equipment which were described in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (Figs. 41-54).

354 For heating the house the previously mentioned hearth fire and the open fireplaces serve. After the onset of darkness, both are the chief sources of light. There are also, however, special iron lamps (Figs. 127 and 128), in which oil is used
[824] as fuel. Torches made of resinous pine shavings are also in use and stand ready /Figs. 127-128 appear here/ to be used, especially at night out in the open. On the other hand, incense candles and fat-lamps (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 51) are used exclusively for cult purposes.

127

128

Figs. 127-128. Iron lamps of the Meau.

Fig. 127. Hanging lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.
Fig. 128. Standing lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.

353 There are many kinds of devices for putting up or
352 hanging household equipment. Over the open fireplace in every house of the Meau hang large shelves (Fig. 129) which are fastened to the beams of the storage
[251] loft. They are used chiefly for smoking meat and other foostuffs, but /304/ also for storing seeds, such as ears of maize and the like (Ill. 100). Next to the

/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106)[1] and pans are
439 used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and represent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese
412 dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be
515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables
252 are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice, strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots
[251] of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants. Other cooking
412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden
415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets
252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers
[273] to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

[1] [See cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p421]

415 /309 cont./
[412] alcohol, purchased earthenware pots in all sizes, and the various
[252] bamboo vessels which stand leaning against the wall near the
[273] hearth or hang on the wall and serve for the storing of the food-
[251] stuffs used daily. They are usually carefully closed with leaves and contain fat, salted vegetables, salt, and other spices. Water stands available in long bamboo containers. These pieces of bamboo, freed of the partitioning walls, represent indispensable
[312] vessels used in many ways (Ill. 105).[1] For carrying water, several
[482] are often bound together and carried on the back or in carrying baskets. Abadie (1) reports in similar fashion.

1. Page 160.

412 For sweeping out their dwellings, brooms (Fig. 175) are used, which are made out of tough grasses tied together in bundles. A clothes roller (Figs. 176 and 177) consists of a
412 wooden roller (A) similar to our rolling pin, around which the
296 washed clothes (B) are put while still wet. Then a heavy stone (C) is rocked in a seesaw motion on the clothes wrapped around it, by means of which they are freed of the remaining water and are smoothed.

482 For carrying firewood and other heavy loads, the Meau use special carrying frames (Figs. 178 and 179), which are carried on the back in the manner used in our Alpine countries. These carrying frames come in different sizes for men, women, and children (Ill. 104).[2]

One half of this wooden frame is provided with a tight plaiting of narrow /310/ /Figs. 156-165 appear here/ bamboo strips (Fig. 180). Broad carrying straps of leather (C) are attached to the inside of the wooden frame (A). The two ends of the carrying frame are connected by means of a forked branch (D) and a tightly /311/ /Figs. 166-177 appear here/ twisted rope attached to it. Between this and the plaited wall of the carrying frame (B) the load is now stowed and fastened by means of the rope (Ill. 93).[3]

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , " "]
3 [" " " , p643 - "]

/355 cont./

243 the first two or three violent thundershowers, the seeding is begun. If the large /extended/ family has many members, the freshly cleared land, which may have large dimensions, is subdivided many times into fields of half a hectare to three hectares, each planted with one certain kind of seed. If, however, it is a matter of a family with fewer members, all the seeds are mixed together, and the mixture is sowed for higgledy-piggledy growth.

224 As soon as a field is laid out and the seed is sown, a
243 great number of game and bird traps are set up everywhere. Particularly popular is a kind of self-firing trap for wild pigs and deer, for which a crossbow with poisoned arrows is used. To be sure, they make entering the field very dangerous for anybody who is not familiar with the locality. Moreover, instead of fences which would keep off wild animals, traps are set on compulsory game-trails, in which all game from the pheasant to the wild pig is caught or falls victim to baited snaring devices. The animals caught represent an important
[262] contribution to the diet of the Meau, and this is the reason why the fields are not protected by fences from intrusion and possible devastation by animals. Where no traps can be set or if /356/ whole herds of game visit the fields, the young men lie in ambush and in the moonlight capture a rich booty with their poisoned arrows.

243 Savina (1) describes the arrangement of the rice fields
[184]

1, II, p. 216.

among the Meau in Indochina somewhat differently: "In the first month, when the New Year's festivals are over, the Meau put their fields in order. If the fields are far away, they stay there for eight to ten days. The men fell the trees with axes, and the women and children cut the grass with knives. In the second month the fields are set afire. Then maize is sowed. When the maize is in bloom, nights are spent in the fields in order to drive off the bears and the monkeys. When the maize
[251] is harvested, it is brought to the house. The seed ears are

/356 cont./

243 stored on the platform over the hearth. In the second month
[251] the Meau put rice seed in water in their houses. After eight to ten days, when the rice germinates, it is taken to small rice fields. In the third month the large rice fields are laid out. The men make dams for the water. In the fourth month, the rice plants are transplanted to these large fields; in the sixth month the rice blooms, and in the ninth month it is harvested. It is threshed at night."

241 If the Meau lay out separate fields, the following plants, which I enumerate in the sequence of their periods of cultivation, are planted and sowed: sugar cane, yams, rice, and at the same time cucumbers, radishes, and beans, and finally maize, poppies, leafy vegetables, tobacco, and onions. Furthermore, sesame, buckwheat, and sorghum are cultivated.
251 After the harvest, all the field produce is conveyed by the Meau to their village and put in the dwelling. Special storage houses are set up only if the harvest was very rich. The store of seed is carefully cleaned and piled up on a shelf over the fireplace so that the smoke will keep off insects and harmful germs.

241 Depending on the fertility of the soil, rice fields bear
[243] from one to three years. There are poppy fields, however,
[249] such as I myself came across, that still produced a satisfactory yield even after twenty years of utilization. If a field becomes exhausted, it is allowed to lie fallow until the forest trees that subsequently grow have suppressed the weeds.

/357/ The reason for abandoning a field is generally the exhaustion of the unfertilized soil. The growth of weeds, however, a reason for abandoning fields which is cited by other authors, plays only a minor role among the Meau in Thailand. It is considerably less tiresome to clean the weeds out of a field than to clear tall virgin forest with primitive tools. All the plants mentioned are cultivated in accordance with established agricultural customs.

/373 cont./

252 Meat is either roasted over a fire or boiled in water in
[251] large or small pieces, and is also smoked without salt or salted and dried in the sun. Furthermore it may be fried in fat or oil. Cooking pits, as well as the use of hot stones for cooking, are unknown.

262 As fat, lard is used primarily, but also the fat from hunt-
[252] ing booty. It is added to the meat and to the vegetables during the cooking, but relatively little is taken for that.

The main emphasis in the daily diet, however, is not on meat, but rather on vegetable dishes, an observation that Lajonquière (1) also makes: "Meat and poultry are not part of

1. II, p. 302.

the daily diet, which is composed almost exclusively of maize, vegetables, and beans. It is used, however, on festive occasions." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 159.

Today rice stands in first place among the Meau. It is
243 first threshed with a wooden cudgel, and then the chaff is separated from the kernels by throwing the grain to be threshed from large flat baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 343) into the air when there is as much side-wind as possible so that the chaff is carried away by it while the rice kernels fall back into the flat baskets. Finally the clinging leaves covering them are removed in a rice mortar, and the grain is ground in a mill which makes it possible to grind the rice into a coarser or finer flour as desired (chapter, "House Furnishings," Figs. 140-142).

262 The importance of rice as the principal foodstuff is shown by the many dishes prepared from it, a few of which will be described in the following. If the rice is to be prepared without
252 any additional ingredients, it is first cooked for several minutes in plenty of water and then everything is poured on a plaited strainer under which a gourd bowl is placed to catch the starchy
[23] rice-water, which is drunk or fed to the animals. The rice
[272]

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water,
are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos,
[245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or
fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole
series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as
spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[135] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[171] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders
[439] (see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
252 which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the
[262] sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in
the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans
until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried
[251] in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks
where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsua) are made, three kinds of
which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/375 cont./

252 2. Rice is cooked and steamed until it is soft, and then it is beaten with sticks until a firm mush is produced. This dough is again shaped into small loaves which are either roasted at the open fire, fried in fat, or at least warmed up.

3. Ripe or almost ripe maize is ground, mixed with yeast, and kneaded into a dough. Now one lets the mass rest for half a day so that the yeast can work and finally proceeds exactly as in the first case.

252 /376/ The daily food, called ki šǒu, is made out of
262 steamed rice to which some meat which was first browned in oil and then cooked in water is sometimes added. Green
[263] vegetables and salt are also added to this "one-dish" meal. If the green vegetables are omitted, the dish is called kiń kā.

hǒŭ tǎu is the name for peeled and diced squash, which, with the addition of water, is prepared without any spices.

tšǒ kǒu is a mixture of green vegetables which one lets dry in the sun for half an hour, then pulverizes, and adds some salt and rice. The mass is put into bamboo flasks and
[251] stored. After six days it has become sour and is then ready.

gǎ kǔo mō chǎu is nothing but meat that has simply been cooked in salt water.

tšī ěn kā́ is another meat dish, for which the meat is salted in the raw state and then roasted over an open fire.

tšǎ pę̄ vā́ is a piquant dish. For it, liver, heart, and kidneys are cooked tender, cut into pieces, and mixed. The whole has fresh blood poured over it, and one also adds two varieties of onions and the pepper-like fruits of a forest plant.

tšǒu tǎu is made out of the thick skin of large game, even rhinoceros, elephants, and buffalo, the skin of the pachyderms being regarded as a special delicacy, whereas the skin of snakes, tigers, and panthers is not used. First of all the skin must lie in running water for days, until all the particles of meat have rotted off. Then a large fire is made, the skin is put into it with the hair side down, and then the hair is scraped off with a knife. This cleaned and scraped skin is now cooked for ten to twenty hours in large kettles until it is soft. Finally, it is cut into small pieces which are eaten either fried in oil or only accompanied with a spicy sauce.

/394 cont./

702 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns
868 as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the
701 region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn kŏăn) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

726 Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the
[202] tă lĕn tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the
[714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war.
[251] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which
[484] will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622

Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [263] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and 262 have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 252 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [415] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land 243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung 245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees 245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar [805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance [482] bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the [412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place [258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the [439] outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are [252] burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan,
Vol. 8. "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

252 [text continues on p. 106]

/74/

143

Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

•252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed [273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine. The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year, and is largely used for making wine. There are also these two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large- [439] ly sold to the Chinese, and the Miao themselves consume [262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork, pepper seeds, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

/75 cont./

262 pods, eggplant, bracken, etc. The recipes are briefly as follows:

●252 There are two ways of making sour fish, raw and cooked. To prepare sour cooked fish, a fish is cut open, cleaned, and dried by the fire in a pan until the scales become yellow. Then it is rubbed with salt and dried in the sun for a few days. It is next mixed with a certain amount of millet and put into a jar. On top of the fish is laid a layer of tung leaves, and the jar is also stopped up with tung leaves. The jar is turned upside down on the ground or in a basin of water which is added to from time to time. The idea is not to allow air to get in. After one month the fish may be taken out and fried. The making of sour raw fish is slightly different. After being split open and cleaned the fish is rubbed with salt, seasoned with spices, and placed in a jar. After four months it can be taken out and eaten either raw or fried in fat or oil.

The preparation of sour beef and pork is identical. The meat is washed with clear water and diced or cut into small pieces and then fried in a pan until it is half done. Some salt is added, and then the meat is dished out into a bowl to cool, mixed with chan rice and no rice powder, and put in a jar. After ten or more days it may be taken out and fried or boiled in water.

There are four kinds of sour peppers — green, red, chan, and no. The green peppers are washed and cooked a little in a pan. They should not be well done, for if well done they spoil easily. They are then taken out and left to dry in the sun. The stems are cut off, and the peppers placed in a jar and covered with tung leaves, and again the jar is stopped up with rice straw and stood inverted in a small basin. After a month they are ready to be eaten. The sour red peppers are made differently. Without cooking or drying in the sun they only cut off the stems, and then put them in a jar in the same way. After a month they may be taken out and fried to eat. According to the Miao this type of sour peppers taste best. The making of the sour chan and no peppers is the same. Either the green

/75 cont./

252 or the red pepper may be used. They are washed and cut fine and crushed with a pestle. For every four chin of peppers it is necessary to add one sheng of corn flour. After it has been mixed well, it is put into a jar. The rest of the method is the same as that stated above. After a month or two it may be taken out and fried and eaten. After being well fried, the pepper become powdery, whereas the no pepper ends up lumpy. They look and taste different.

/76/ Sour garlic and sour shallots /hu ts'ung/ are prepared in the same way. The garlic and shallots are washed and dried in the sun. They are washed once again, and after being dried in the shade, chopped fine with a knife and put in a jar. Sometimes corn flour is added. The rest of the recipe is as above. They may be eaten after a month or more has passed.

There are four kinds of sour root-vegetables: dried shreds, dried lumps, wet shreds, and wet lumps. The dry method consists of shredding the turnips, etc., or pounding them into small pieces, then drying them slightly in the sun, after which they are put in a jar. The wet root shreds and lumps are made entirely differently. The roots are cut into shreds or lumps and placed in a jar. Some already soured vegetables are added as agents, and then boiling rice water from rice being cooked is poured in. The jar is placed near the fireplace /huo t'ang/ or beside the stove to keep it warm. The mouth of the jar is sealed with paper and covered with either slate or a wooden board. The vegetables are done after one or two days.

Wet sour greens, wet sour taro and wet sour Chinese cabbage are made in just the same way as the wet sour turnips.

The sour pea and bean pods are made by cooking them a little so they are only half done. They are drained and dried in the sun. After cooling off overnight they may be placed in a jar.

The sour eggplant is made by chopping eggplant into shreds, drying these in the sun and cooling overnight, after which they may be eaten.

/76 cont./

252 The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered
[222] and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked
[415] rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they
252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half
262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several
[556] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/77 cont./

252
262

miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots *and worms were the delicacies.* The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

4:Michey E-8 (1960-7)1967 AES Misc AES

35 2 foreign clock, both broken. The usual seat was a small, rectangular stool about eight inches high, often lacking a leg or two. In some houses I saw a few sections of log, straw hassocks, or low, long benches. Sometimes a long, wide bench stood under the window. Beds were a wooden frame or box on four legs or supported by two sawhorses. In one house thick coffin boards laid on blocks of wood formed a bed. However, not all houses had beds or enough for all the family downstairs, so that some of them slept in the loft. Beds usually had a thick straw mattress, a straw mat, or both. A few had a mat of felt. There were comfortables of the Chinese type — a pad of cotton with a removable cover not quite as large as the pad on one side and large enough on the other to fold over and overlap the first piece, with mitered corners. Others were like a rug with a nap, woven of straw on a vertical loom. Hard, small, bolster-shaped pillows were stuffed with cotton and were for looks only.

352 Even where there was a built-up stove with
252 cooking bowls fitted into it, much of the
574 cooking was done in smaller bowls on an iron
264 hoop on three legs. On the inner side of the ring were three prongs toward the center to support the bowl. This set over the fire in the floor, which also provided heat. The big stove was used for cooking rice, when a large number were to be cooked for, to make bean curd, to distill wine, or to prepare the mash for animals. Even at feasts men and women often sat around separate floor fires and ate from dishes set on a board across the bowl or from the broth being cooked in it. At times when there were many guests, such as a wedding or funeral, the men usually ate indoors, the women at tables out-of-doors. At the New Year feasts in the house men and women ate together, as well as for the evening meal after the work of the day was done. For the fires there were iron tongs and in the ashes were set earthen pots for tea. Over the fire were suspended a square of interwoven bamboo used as a shelf, a piece of iron with several hooks, and pieces of pork or beef in loops of straw.

352 Other furniture included wooden cupboards for food or one built on the outside of the house with doors opening into the room, various baskets and jars, trays and bowls (set

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

262 people waded from one end of the pond to
252 the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about
252 dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was al-
574 ways on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

24 Children seemed always to have something
857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

261 market without some small treat for them.
857 Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

261 When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

252 For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yünnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

291 Clothing. The Cowrie Shell Miao men all wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of them could afford cloth shoes and therefore
292 wore straw sandals. For special occasions such as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear a new, long garment, belted in with a long blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth to form a large turban (fig. 18, *f*). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

[246]

4:Michey E-5 (1969-7)1967 AE5 Misc AE5

243 of work, they all stopped and rested. Some
512 lay down and slept on the ground; some
older women laid stacks down on the ground and sat on them to talk and smoke; the younger women and girls got out their embroidery and worked on it. For about two hours at noon they went home to eat their lunch.

243 Women and children were also busy at
home spreading out the grain on the mats,
252 sweeping out bits of stalk, and so on, spreading it again so that it could all get the sun, carrying it in again at night in the baskets, and rolling up and stacking the mats. Some of it was bought by dealers who made a price on uncut grain, some carried to market and sold there. There were two kinds of rice — *ta mi*[4] and *lo mi*.[5] In some cases a row or two of *lo mi* was planted on the edge of fields of other rice; in some cases the whole field was of it only. It brought a better price than the other and was used for the New Year cakes, at the festival of Tuan Yang, for the colored balls at Hsiao Mang, and for several other festivals. A fine dish of fat pork slices rolled in parched *lo mi* was often served at special meals.

243 When *lo mi* was planted in a field with
other rice it was not cut with it, but later the stalks were carefully cut with a small knife blade set into one side of a wooden holder, and the sheaves were brought in and stored first in the hall below and then in the loft. Early in the morning we would form a sort of relay team, of which the old lady in the hall below saw to it that they were tied securely, several children and I carried them up the ladder, one boy stood on a bench and received them as they were handed up, then tossed them onto the platform above the main hall, whose ceiling is higher than that of the side rooms, and a woman stacked the sheaves there. At one time the main hall, a half *chien* room adjoining, and one *chien* of the loft were full of grain beaten out and waiting to be sunned dry. In time this all got sunned, sent to market, or stored in a granary or another part of the loft.

[4] Ordinary rice.
[5] Glutinous variety, white or black.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made. 243 [253]

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more. 241

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for winning grain. 241 512

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"[7] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the 527

[7] These weigh twenty-four catties (16 pounds), or 32 pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

year began. During this period there was 527
time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went 521
from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth 574
month (November 13). On the third of the 584
tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the 241
slackest season of the year, there was still 252
much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The tech- 241
nique of farming was identical with that of 42
Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

[35b]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 Only
252 Rarely did a man do any of the cooking. Butchering was done by men, but the preservation of meat and the preparation of dishes from meats was usually taken care of by women. They dried beef by placing the pieces on sticks across the opening in the stove from which a large cooking bowl had been removed and keeping a fire going under it. They cured pork and made sausage. Meat was smoked simply by hanging the pieces up over the floor firepit.

462 With the help of an older man now and
241 then, women took full charge of kitchen gardens, from whence came vegetables used by the household for their own food or taken to market, and green stuff for the feeding of animals. They prepared the mash for cattle and ponies as well as the swill for pigs, and fed them. They also did most of the work in other fields after the plowing and harrowing were finished. If the ground was broken up not with the plow but the mattock, they did that, too. And cultivation from the sowing of the seed (the casting of rice into the seed beds excepted), through weeding, fertilizing, and transplanting to reaping was largely the work of women.

They gathered most of the firewood and other fuel, much of the grass for animals and for the raincapes they themselves made, and carried most of the water from springs for household use. They did their share of the cleaning of stables and carrying the straw and manure to the fields. They carried all the night soil from cesspools and applied it as fertilizer. If the pond was low enough in the spring, they got down into the thigh-deep mud and dug for the water chestnut known as *tzu ku*. Men, women, boys, and girls made a picnic of wading waist deep in the pond and "feeling" for fish and large snails, for food.

They bundled up the rice plants in the seed beds, transported them, and set them out. They reaped wheat and its attendant crops, flailed out the grain, winnowed and sunned it, dried the plants of rape, beans and peas, beat out the seeds and pulse. They cut the rice plants, both ordinary rice with the sickle and glutinous rice with a knife, helped to beat it out and transport the grain and straw, sunned, cleaned, winnowed, and hulled the grain, and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

was held firm by projecting rods which rested on a board across the frame. From the yarn beam the warp proceeded across the horizontal bar of the lighter frame, through two heddles of the frame variety made of bamboo rods with hemp thread between them, which were suspended from a roller laid across the lighter frame or through holes pierced in it, by straw rope and vine tendrils. They were a little wider than the piece of cloth used in the back apron, and the threads were about a foot long. From the lower ends similar ropes led to the fronts of two pedals. Other ropes of the same kind led from the backs of the pedals to the horizontal brace at the back of the main frame. From the heddles the warp proceeded to a reed, also suspended from the lighter frame, thence to the cloth beam set in slots in uprights in the longitudinal brace of the main frame, its longitudinal pieces and projecting above. The cloth beam was then held firm by straw rope tied around it and the frame behind the upright on one side. There were laze-rods set in just behind the front board. 286

Shed and countershed were formed by depressing first one pedal and then the other. The weft was shot through by hand, wound on bamboo shuttles of the shape as shown in figure 11. The weft was beaten up with the reed. Most of the warp thread was rolled on the yarn beam, but some extended beyond and lay in a basket. The reed was made of two pieces of wood, between which could be set and fastened a removable frame like that of the heddles, but without eyes in the thread which stretched between. The weaver took hold of two vertical bars as she beat up the weft. The contrivance was suspended by ropes attached to those bars.

Women also cooked the paste and beans and shaped the glutinous rice cakes, distilled rice wine, ground the beans and made bean curd, including that mixed with pig's blood at the lunar New Year. They helped cut tobacco in the fields, cutting the leaves from the stalk in such a way as to leave a piece of it for a hook by which they fastened it into a rope of straw made as they went. These ropes were festooned across the fronts of the houses to dry, after which it was ready to smoke in their long-stemmed pipes. 462 252 249

4:Michey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
622 gent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

RITES OF INTENSIFICATION[1]

CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS

796 527 **The Lunar New Year.** Preparations for the period of leisure and festivity of which the lunar New Year was the central point began soon after the rice harvest. Glutinous rice cakes, some stuffed with beans, some made of the black rice, some colored red, but almost all white, rice wine, bean curd, pork in various forms, and sometimes beef had to be made ready not only for the feasts of the first month, but also for weddings, bullfights, and all occasions known as "invitations to drink wine." Of the weddings I saw or knew about all took place between the sixth of the tenth month and the eighteenth of the second month. Bullfights took place on the second day of the second month and in the eighth and ninth months.

They had to bring in a large supply of fuel, also, not only for the first fifteen days of the first month, at least, when as little work was done as possible, but also for the large amount of cooking involved in the making of these special foods. As many had new clothes as could afford them. This called for the dyeing of pieces of white cloth to a very dark blue, the cutting and making of garments, the embroidering of aprons and overpieces, the weaving of belts, and the making of pads for the babies. Clothing and bedding were washed wholesale so that no one need think of that for two or three weeks after the New Year. The whole village was put in order.

796 252 527 For the glutinous rice cakes the hulled rice was boiled to a stiff paste, which was then put into a large stone mortar and pounded with large, wooden mallets on long handles until it was of the right consistency to shape. If beans were to be put inside, they were boiled with herbs or ginger and salt to season them and the paste wrapped around them. Some liked a thin shell of paste, some a thicker one. For the pounding of the paste two strong men were needed; women did the rest. Freshly made cakes could be eaten as they were, for

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 the cooking and pounding heated them and
they had not yet become stiff and hard. At
252 this stage they were also good cut in pieces
527 and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in
brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame
seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually
toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest
the air dry them out too much they were kept
in large jars full of water. When they formed
the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable
mixed with much red chillie was eaten with
the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice
were greatly prized because not much of this
grain was raised and it was sweeter than the
white. Red ones were liked because red is
the color of joy.

796 One morning I went into the kitchen and
found the old man's first wife and the second
273 nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden
527 cask with no top or bottom had been set,
large end down, in one of the large kettles
over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the
old lady's task to keep just the right fire going
under it. Sawdust was packed around the
lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been
put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl
with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam.
From a hole in one side of the cask ran a
length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen
jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth
to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was
a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This
equipment was owned by this household and
borrowed by others when there was occasion
to make a large supply. New wine was sweet
and had some rice in it. Later it became sour
or strong of alcohol.

796 Bean curd was made as follows: The soy
beans and water were dipped with a small
252 wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in
527 the upper of two millstones set on a wooden
frame at a convenient height. From between
the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a
trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796
252
527

anything added to cause it to curdle. The mill was turned in one of two ways: Either a wooden handle stuck up beside the upper millstone so that one operator had to lean over to turn it, or a curved beam rose from the rod in the side of this stone and had a handle at right angles to it, supported by a rope from the beam above. One or two persons pushed and pulled this around. I helped when they were making bean curd at the time of the second old lady's funeral. A hot fire of straw and grass was kept burning beneath one of the large bowls. Into it the operator of the mill poured the contents of the buckets of bean milk until it was full. When the milk had boiled up it was poured into a wicker tray or scoop with a cloth in it, set over a wooden cask. When the whey had gone through, hastened by some pressure on the cloth, the cloth was laid on a flat board and the curd cut into squares.

The killing of the New Year pig was the occasion of an offering to the household gods and a feast in which all the dishes contained pork. In our family it was killed a week before New Year's Day. The old man's brother from Yang-niu-ts'un and his son, who went to school in Lung-li, the old man from House 33, and his sons helped. When I arrived a small table was set on the steps before the door. In the center of it was a *sheng* measure of rice with lighted incense sticks set in it, and at each corner a rice bowl containing (1) wine, (2) bean curd, (3) chillies, and (4) salt. To one corner of the table were fastened two long bamboo poles, both of which had some strips of white paper and leaves at the top. One was split finely to make a holder in which a bowl was set. The pig killed was a large one, worth well over a thousand Chinese dollars. The blood had been allowed to drip into a tub, after which the carcass had been put on a wooden frame, and the bristles scraped off. The entrails had been taken out and were being washed. The animal had been cut squarely in two from snout to tail. The two parts of the pig were taken into the hall and set on boards on the floor. They were then weighed and the women took pieces to make the dishes of the feast. The one I attended was of the following dishes: pig's blood broth, carrots and pork, celery and pork, and a soup

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

of fat and lean pork, with a seasoning of chillies. All but the old man drank wine. I was invited to eat with the men and boys. The other women ate in the hall. After the feast the pig was cut up and the relatives went home with a big piece of it and two bunches of carrots. They gave me a piece of lean and a piece of fat.

796 252 527

The next day there was mist everywhere and it became colder and colder until there was ice all over the mountains, bending the bamboo down to the ground. It was thick enough on rice fields so that the children cut slabs of it and carried them about. There was also some snow. This weather pleased the people very much. They said it meant that the crops would be good this year. Mo-mei spent most of these days making a new long garment for her oldest cousin as she sat by my fire. Some of the other girls were there one day, and on another, one of the women from House 11 came.

796 527

The oldest nephew, Cheng-hsüan, and the son Cheng-hsiang spent most of the last day of the twelfth month writing appropriate New Year inscriptions in black on red or orange, and in white on blue paper. They got these formulae from a book of them. These strips of paper were pasted on the door frames and window frames, top and both sides. Red or orange indicated that the family was not in mourning, blue or white that it was. Those on blue paper Cheng-hsüan sent to his old home in Yang-niu-ts'un, as his mother had died during the year. (Cause of death: heart disease with edema.) That evening a feast was held in the big house at which the dishes were of pork — several of them — "long life noodles," bean curd, and a kind of spoon bread with egg in it. There were piles and piles of glutinous rice cakes laid out in the hall, and two young men were pounding more of the paste in a mortar. Some of the cakes had beans in them. I had given the family a large roll of firecrackers, half of which they set off at this time. The small boys scrambled for the paper cases. Incense sticks were set in at one side of the door sills of both the "new" and the "old" houses and the gate into the court.

The next morning they set off the rest of the roll of firecrackers and all had a special

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
252 pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
[124] then other things in turn. I sat until noon
with the old man and his second wife and
527 found them very ready to answer questions
about family history. The conversation led
into that channel in an interesting way. The
old man had been reading about Roosevelt in
the newspaper and asked me questions, being
most desirous of knowing whether there were
many people named Lo in the United States.
(The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and
he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo
his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual
527 place, but they had no visitors as yet. During
the day children went around from house to
house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
fires in the houses, the women about several
533 fires at certain points in the village and just
527 inside the wood. The same women usually
composed each group, but now and then one
would visit a group not her own. The girls
now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the
song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered
overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'
123

[2] See p. 8.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*. 796 782

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example. 796 782 252 [562]

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health. 796 782 527

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
262 or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form
● [252] of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes,
[252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
462 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activate
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

•252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/68 cont./

A is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can
M there be any thought of influences coming from Europe.
524 Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the fre-
526 quent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect
171 a common origin.

There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha
A and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are some-
M times arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks,
541 as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples.
171 Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often
[525] lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these fights.

A Children begin to perform work at the age of four among
M both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect fire-
857 wood (Ill. 38), which they carry home in their own small wood
561 /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields,
[252] carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93), and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard
A the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers,
M a particularly important task in a country where there is neither
[203] mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys, both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having complained about work that was too hard.

A Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games,
M there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but
857 rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing
561 children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in
461 the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[See cat. 116, p 272 - ANALYST]
[" " ", p 643 - "]

/183 cont./

755 separates it from the rest of the room. Then he holds the spirit-sword above the head of the patient. The whole procedure indicates that he is separating the good spirits from the evil ones, so that the good ones may remain within the boundary line, the evil ones outside it. The ailing Lü is also standing within the space of the good spirits.

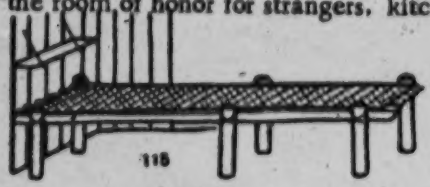
[252] Meanwhile the eldest son carries the sacrificial animal to the hearth, puts it into readied hot water, he scrapes off the bristles, divides it, puts one half aside as a honorarium for the shaman, and cooks the other half in an iron pot on the hearth. In the meantime, the chief sprinkles ashes over the blood of the sacrificial animal that has been spilled on the ground. Another command from the spirits is given through the shaman. In accordance with it, the eldest son digs a round hole about 20 centimeters deep in the floor of the room with his knife, puts a stone about 12 centimeters in diameter beside it, and lines the hole with four leaves of spirit-money. Before this little pit thus prepared, the patient stations himself behind the shaman with his face turned toward the altar; a leaf of spirit-money has been carefully placed under each of his feet. Chief Tsin Tsai picks up four additional leaves of spirit-money with his right hand, describes a circle in the air around the patient with them, and murmurs his wishes for recovery: "Lü, my son, you are standing here, you shall now feel better again, you shall recover. Your soul is going to have a fine abode in your body and will remain with you. Do not let it go away again." He carefully puts these papers in a pile behind the patient, then adds the two papers on which Lü was standing, arranges everything in layers in the small round hole in the ground, and burns it (Ill. 100). Scarcely have the leaves and the spirit-money crumbled to ashes when he quickly takes the prepared /184/ stone, puts it in the hole, and fills the remaining space with earth which he carefully stamps down, murmuring: "Soul of Lü, go there where the spirit-money lies!" At the same time the patient stands on this spot. Now the chief commands the soul to enter the patient's body and continues: "As the stone is held fast in the hole so shall you, soul, now be held fast in his body. Look, Lü is a good son, stay in his body. You will do well with him, much better than

/299 cont./

342 partitioning. The hearth is in the middle of the room opposite
513 a sleeping place which is reserved for the old people. The
[354] younger men, women and children sleep anywhere on the bare
[888] floor or on an underlayer of straw."

/300/ Only in the "most complete type" of Meau house could the author cited find a tripartite division of the rooms into "the room of honor for strangers, kitchen, and private

[352]



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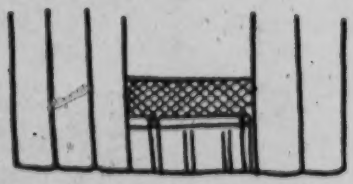


116

Fig. 115. Bed of the Meau.
About 1/38 nat. size.

Fig. 116. Entrance to the sleeping room of the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

rooms," the latter probably referring to the sleeping rooms.
/Fig. 117 appears here./

354 Every house of the Meau has a hearth for cooking and an
●252 open fireplace. The hearth for cooking (Fig. 117) is square and made of mud. The wood fire is maintained under the immovable hearth-plate, in which a depression is made for the cooking pots. If the family is very large, there may be two hearths (Fig. 118).

/305 cont./

417 Other important pieces of furniture are the ladders, which /Figs. 137-138 appear here/ /306/ lead to the storage lofts. They are either tree trunks provided with notches (Fig. 137) or ladders with steps (Fig. 138). /Fig. 139 appears here./

•252
412

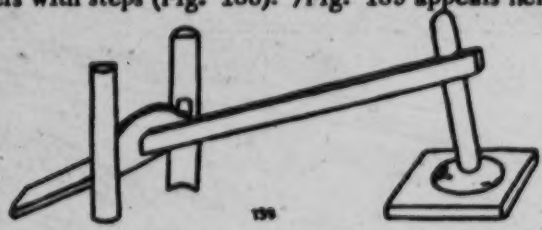


Fig. 139. Grain mortar of the Meau.
1/28 nat. size.

256

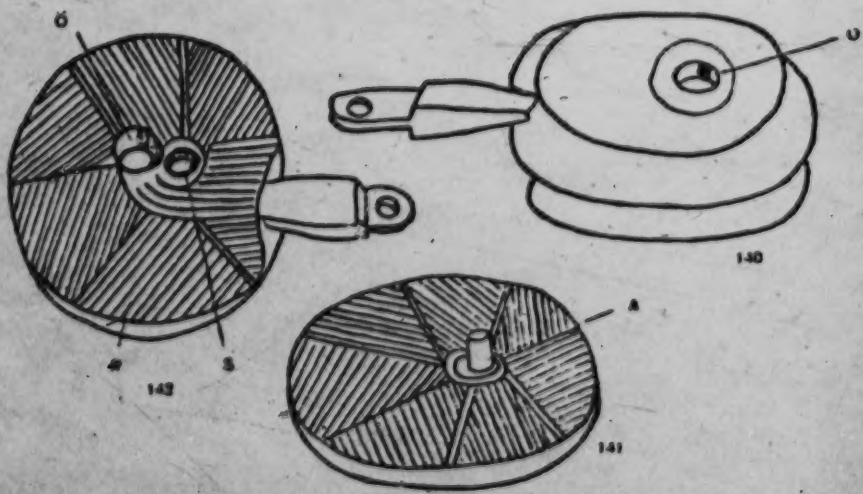


Fig. 140-142. Grain mill of the Meau. 1/10 nat. size.
Fig. 140. Millstones, joined. Fig. 141, lower, and Fig. 142, upper millstone. 0 = opening for pouring in the grain, R = grooves, S = hole for pivot A.

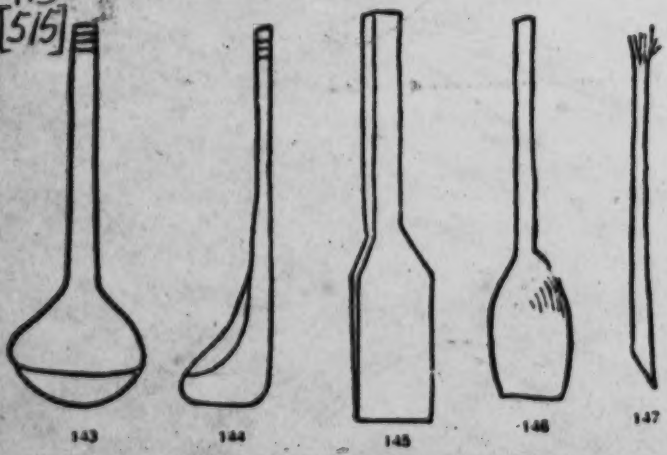
/306 cont./

412 252 [243] [244] 256

The household and kitchen implements of the Meau are very numerous. As was mentioned, all the grain and leguminous products are husked in the foot-operated mortar built into the cooking area (Fig. 139). /Figs. 140-142 appear here./

/307/ For grinding the kernels of grain and maize the large mill shown in Ill. 94 and Fig. 140 is used. The lower-millstone half (Fig. 141) is immovable and is provided with an axle (A), which is fitted into the opening (S) of the upper stone (Fig. 142). Both millstone halves are provided with grooves (R), which run in various directions. The upper eccentric millstone (Fig. 142) is connected with a horizontal pole. When this is swung forward and backward, the movable-millstone half turns. In this, on the top, a hole (O) is chiseled out, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether one lengthens or shortens the

415 [515]



Figs. 143-146. Dippers and Ladles of the Meau. Fig. 143. Bamboo dipper. Fig. 144. Side view of the same, 1/5 nat. size. Figs. 145 and 146. Wooden stirring ladles, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 147. Toothpick, 1/3 nat. size.

1 [See cat 116, p644 - ANALYST]

/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106)[1] and pans are
439 used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and represent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese
412 dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be
515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables
252 are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice,
[251] strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants". Other cooking
412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden
415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets
252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers
[273] to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

1 [See cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p421]

415 /309 cont./
[412] alcohol, purchased earthenware pots in all sizes, and the various
[252] bamboo vessels which stand leaning against the wall near the
[273] hearth or hang on the wall and serve for the storing of the food-
[251] stuffs used daily. They are usually carefully closed with leaves and contain fat, salted vegetables, salt, and other spices. Water stands available in long bamboo containers. These pieces of bamboo, freed of the partitioning walls, represent indispensable
[312] vessels used in many ways (Ill. 105).[1] For carrying water, several
[482] are often bound together and carried on the back or in carrying baskets. Abadie (1) reports in similar fashion.

1. Page 160.

412 For sweeping out their dwellings, brooms (Fig. 175) are used, which are made out of tough grasses tied together in bundles. A clothes roller (Figs. 176 and 177) consists of a
412 wooden roller (A) similar to our rolling pin, around which the
296 washed clothes (B) are put while still wet. Then a heavy stone (C) is rocked in a seesaw motion on the clothes wrapped around it, by means of which they are freed of the remaining water and are smoothed.

482 For carrying firewood and other heavy loads, the Meau use special carrying frames (Figs. 178 and 179), which are carried on the back in the manner used in our Alpine countries. These carrying frames come in different sizes for men, women, and children (Ill. 104).[2]

One half of this wooden frame is provided with a tight plaiting of narrow /310/ /Figs. 156-165 appear here/ bamboo strips (Fig. 180). Broad carrying straps of leather (C) are attached to the inside of the wooden frame (A). The two ends of the carrying frame are connected by means of a forked branch (D) and a tightly /311/ /Figs. 166-177 appear here/ twisted rope attached to it. Between this and the plaited wall of the carrying frame (B) the load is now stowed and fastened by means of the rope (Ill. 93).[3]

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , " "]
3 [" " " , p643 - "]

/345 cont./

224 e can be wedged between the crossbar d and a foot board. After the trap has been set, the block and tackle are removed.

As an example of the behavior of the Meau hunter while stalking game in the forest, I give in the following a description from my journal: "Scouts had reported to us that a powerful lone bull elephant with mighty tusks had taken cover not far from the village. Early in the morning I set out with the chief. We climbed a steep slope and then stood at the edge of a gorge, from the bottom of which came the sound of the breaking of branches. The large mammal stood below, which made the face of the Meau light up happily. He bent forward, remained there for some time, then climbed a tree, changed his observation post several more times, and finally, from the direction of the sound, decided that the elephant was on the opposite mountain slope.

Since in order to reach him, we would have had to wind through the deep gorge in between and it was already late in the afternoon, there was no prospect of reaching the bull still that same day. The chief therefore proposed that we spend the 224 night on the spot in order to be able to take up the chase at 484 dawn, since he figured that he would be able to determine the location of the elephant from where we were. The Meau [342] therefore put up a small windscreen, large enough to protect us, if necessary, against a storm. He closed off three sides of it with leaves of the fan palm, their stems thrust into the ground, in order, as he put it, to prevent the warmth from escaping. He then covered the ground with a layer of leaves [513] about ten centimeters high, which was an excellent bed, for it was soft and kept off the dampness of the ground. At the open side of the windscreen he lighted a fire. These tasks took him about 30 minutes.

"Then he began to prepare the evening meal. He [824] searched for water, and after only a few minutes he returned [272] with bamboo-water. In /346/ these regions one can find water stored up in the hollow spaces of certain species of bamboo, even during the dry season. To get the water, such [415] bamboos are cut between the partitioning walls, the liquid [252] that flows out is caught in a bamboo vessel. A thick green [824] bamboo also provided a vessel in which the rice was then cooked. The green

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
[264] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[574] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[262] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the 241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [245] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/372/

Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are [515] thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

/373 cont./

257 Meat is either roasted over a fire or boiled in water in large or small pieces, and is also smoked without salt or [251] salted and dried in the sun. Furthermore it may be fried in fat or oil. Cooking pits, as well as the use of hot stones for cooking, are unknown.

262 As fat, lard is used primarily, but also the fat from hunting booty. It is added to the meat and to the vegetables dur- [252] ing the cooking, but relatively little is taken for that.

The main emphasis in the daily diet, however, is not on meat, but rather on vegetable dishes, an observation that Lajonquière (1) also makes: "Meat and poultry are not part of

1. II, p. 302.

the daily diet, which is composed almost exclusively of maize, vegetables, and beans. It is used, however, on festive occasions." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 159.

Today rice stands in first place among the Meau. It is 243 first threshed with a wooden cudgel, and then the chaff is separated from the kernels by throwing the grain to be threshed from large flat baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 343) into the air when there is as much side-wind as possible so that the chaff is carried away by it while the rice kernels fall back into the flat baskets. Finally the clinging leaves covering them are removed in a rice mortar, and the grain is ground in a mill which makes it possible to grind the rice into a coarser or finer flour as desired (chapter, "House Furnishings," Figs. 140-142).

262 The importance of rice as the principal foodstuff is shown by the many dishes prepared from it, a few of which will be described in the following. If the rice is to be prepared without 252 any additional ingredients, it is first cooked for several minutes in plenty of water and then everything is poured on a plaited strainer under which a gourd bowl is placed to catch the starchy [231] rice-water, which is drunk or fed to the animals. The rice [272]

/373 cont./

252 remains in the strainer for later use. Before it is eaten, it is first put into a wooden steaming tube (chapter "House Furnishings," Fig. 153), in /374/ which it swells until it is done. For this purpose, plaiting is built into the lower part of the steaming tube as a strainer. The pot is filled with water up to the sieve, and the rice is poured on the sieve. The vessel is covered with a plaited lid and placed on the hearth in a water-filled iron vessel (for the vessels needed for the preparation of rice, see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils, Figs. 151-155).

[262] Ears of maize are eaten either raw in an unripe state or the ripe ears are broken off the stalk and allowed to dry. After that, with a special kernel remover (chapter, House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils, Fig. 168) the kernels are removed from the cob. Then the kernels are ground in the same mill that rice is ground in. Lajonquière (1), whose information

1. II, p. 302.

is confirmed by Abadie (2), reports on the use of maize in Tonkin:

2. Page 159.

"The maize is eaten either as porridge, like the buckwheat, or steamed or roasted."

Poppy seeds are either dried and then merely cooked tender and added to other food, or ground to a fine flour in the above-mentioned mill, seasoned with salt, and eaten as an accompaniment for rice.

Beans are both cooked tender as young green pods and then eaten, or one lets the pods mature and then eats the shelled beans cooked soft in water.

Tubers as well as wild roots are either roasted in the fire, cooked in water, or fried in fat.

The Meau cook a mint-flavored green vegetable in salted water. [262] Cucumbers are usually eaten by them raw in the fields, but they are also cooked and eaten as a vegetable.

262 /374 cont./

252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water, are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in [351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos, [245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties 263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by [317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand [135] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain [171] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders [439] (see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it, 252 which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the [262] sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks [251] where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsuǎ) are made, three kinds of which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/375 cont./

252 2. Rice is cooked and steamed until it is soft, and then it is beaten with sticks until a firm mush is produced. This dough is again shaped into small loaves which are either roasted at the open fire, fried in fat, or at least warmed up.

3. Ripe or almost ripe maize is ground, mixed with yeast, and kneaded into a dough. Now one lets the mass rest for half a day so that the yeast can work and finally proceeds exactly as in the first case.

252 262 [263] /376/ The daily food, called kǐ šǒu, is made out of steamed rice to which some meat which was first browned in oil and then cooked in water is sometimes added. Green vegetables and salt are also added to this "one-dish" meal. If the green vegetables are omitted, the dish is called kǐń kā́.

hǒŭ tǎu is the name for peeled and diced squash, which, with the addition of water, is prepared without any spices.

tšǒ kǒu is a mixture of green vegetables which one lets dry in the sun for half an hour, then pulverizes, and adds some salt and rice. The mass is put into bamboo flasks and [251] stored. After six days it has become sour and is then ready.

gǎ kǔo mǒ chǎu is nothing but meat that has simply been cooked in salt water.

tšī ěn kā́ is another meat dish, for which the meat is salted in the raw state and then roasted over an open fire.

tšǎ pę̄ vā́ is a piquant dish. For it, liver, heart, and kidneys are cooked tender, cut into pieces, and mixed. The whole has fresh blood poured over it, and one also adds two varieties of onions and the pepper-like fruits of a forest plant.

tšǒu tǎu is made out of the thick skin of large game, even rhinoceros, elephants, and buffalo, the skin of the pachyderms being regarded as a special delicacy, whereas the skin of snakes, tigers, and panthers is not used. First of all the skin must lie in running water for days, until all the particles of meat have rotted off. Then a large fire is made, the skin is put into it with the hair side down, and then the hair is scraped off with a knife. This cleaned and scraped skin is now cooked for ten to twenty hours in large kettles until it is soft. Finally, it is cut into small pieces which are eaten either fried in oil or only accompanied with a spicy sauce.

/376 cont./

252 262 The blood of slaughtered animals, either fresh or cooked, is happily eaten. Cooked, it is also added to other dishes.

A meatless dish consists of ground millet which is mixed with green vegetables and maize meal to form dumplings and cooked in water.

252 The eggs of all birds are eaten raw or cooked.

/377/ Without anything further, it is obvious from these descriptions that the preparation of the meals can indeed not be designated as primitive. It can be assumed that in the regions of Indochina, which are in every respect more favorable, the Meau will not practice simpler cooking, since more things in larger quantities are available to them. Nevertheless, Lajonquière (1) writes: "The preparation of food is primitive.

1. II, p. 303.

Rice, maize, and the other cereals are eaten cooked in salted water or made into mush. Vegetables are usually cooked in water, and meat is roasted in kettles. We shall always remember our first visit to the kitchen of the Lytruong of Pakha. There, whole quarters of buffalo were roasting and cooking in tremendous kettles, without any other ingredients than a few handfuls of salt, a little water, and their own fat. It was immense in quantity, but ignoble in preparation."

[114] [171] Aside from the fact that the author probably did not observe the preparation of food in detail, he is undoubtedly comparing Meau cooking with Chinese cooking, or with Annamese cooking, which is extensively influenced by the Chinese. In comparison with the excellent and highly sophisticated culinary art of these peoples, Meau cooking seems primitive indeed.

264 From Savina's description (2) we get an impression of

2. II, p. 192.

the everyday, very modest way of life of the Meau: "The Meau have two meals a day, one in the morning before going to the fields and one in the evening upon return. Often,

/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lŭn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gē. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tŏă, noon, nū tŭe ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kău, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next [264] day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, [517] can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

/433 cont./

M 512 If there is no fieldwork to be done, the men do not get up until the third crowing of the cocks, that is, about six o'clock. Even so, the women have arisen earlier, ground the rice, cooked breakfast, and prepared some food to be taken along. After the breakfast together, the men set out for the forest in order to hunt, fish, or to prepare firewood or timber and do not return until shortly before nightfall. On such days the women devote their time to housework. Then cloth is woven, yarn is spun and dyed, batik patterns are drawn with the wax pen, and the children and domestic animals cared for. When the men M [231] return at dusk, there follows the same daily care of the animals, [252] the preparation of the grain for the following day, and finally the fading sounds of the evening rest.

A 805 In the same manner as the Meau, the Akha reckon by days, which they call tǐnā. Thirty days likewise represent the month, called bǎlǎ; twelve months, which are likewise reckoned by moons, are the year, tǐkō. It begins, however, at a somewhat earlier time than that of the Meau, namely, four A days before the new moon in December, and for the Akha, too, [796] this is the great holiday season of the year. They, too, occasionally postpone the festivities for practical reasons. For example, the Akha who had had their dwelling site on the Doy A Tung Mountain in northern Thailand felt themselves obliged [361] to move it at once because of the measures directed against [796] them by the Thailand government. For this reason /434/ they postponed their New Year's celebration for one month in order, as they said, to offer the great sacrifices to their spirits on the spot where they intended to erect their new village. This is all the more understandable if one remembers the important A [776] role that lǒkā, the guardian spirit, plays among them, to whom a new gate at the village entrance is erected every year (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits").

39: Bematzik--644 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
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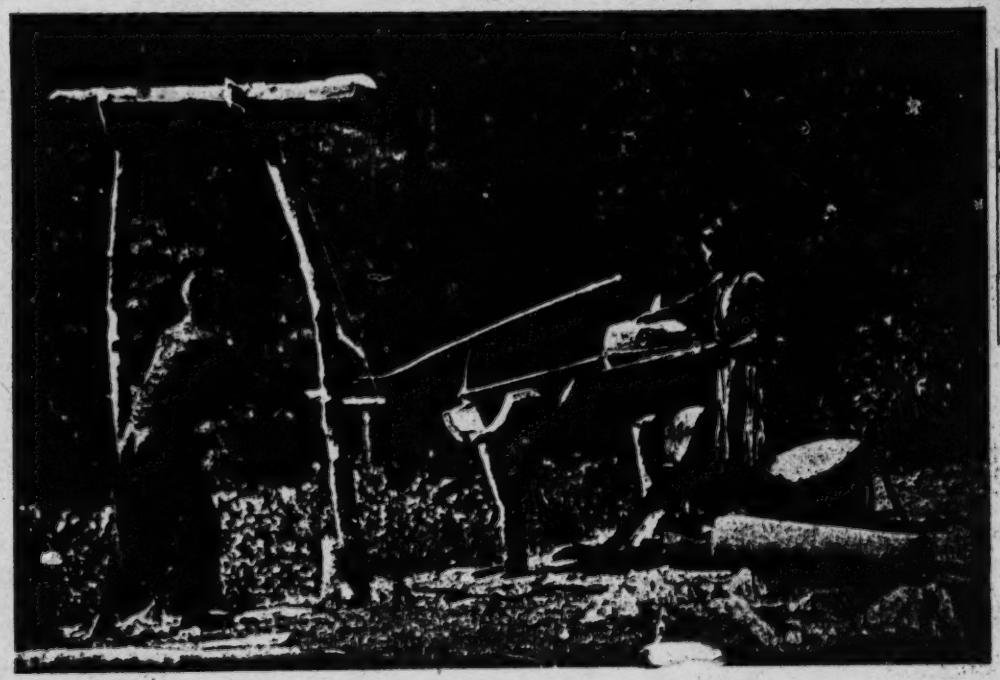

Ill. 94. Peculiar mill of the Meau.

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39: Bernatzik--727 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

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/VIII cont./

286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

Ill. 89. The weaver is making preparations for the woof. The shuttle is carved out of wood. The inserted bobbin, around which the hemp thread is wound, is made of bamboo. The stick that separates the two layers of thread is made out of the same material.

283 Ill. 90. Spinning machine. With its help, four threads, which the woman doing the spinning holds in her left hand, are twisted together. By means of the little stick in her right hand, she prevents the threads from becoming tangled. She turns the flywheel with both feet.

Ills. 91-96. The harvest.

262 Ill. 91. The ripe squash at the edge of the fields of mountain
[244] rice are gathered. The juicy, tart meat of the raw fruit is especially tasty in the great heat.

243 Ill. 92. The stalks of the mountain rice are cut individually, with the help of the small crescent-shaped harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear and then bundled. The straw is left standing in the fields and rots.

Ill. 93. Bringing in the harvest. Each member of the family loads himself with as many bundles of ears in carriers and baskets as he can carry. Then there is a walk for
[484] hours over the narrow mountain paths to the village. The men carry in their hands the crossbows with arrows in place ready to shoot.

/IX/

● 252 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half
256 is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects

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252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

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755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

39: Bernatzik--361 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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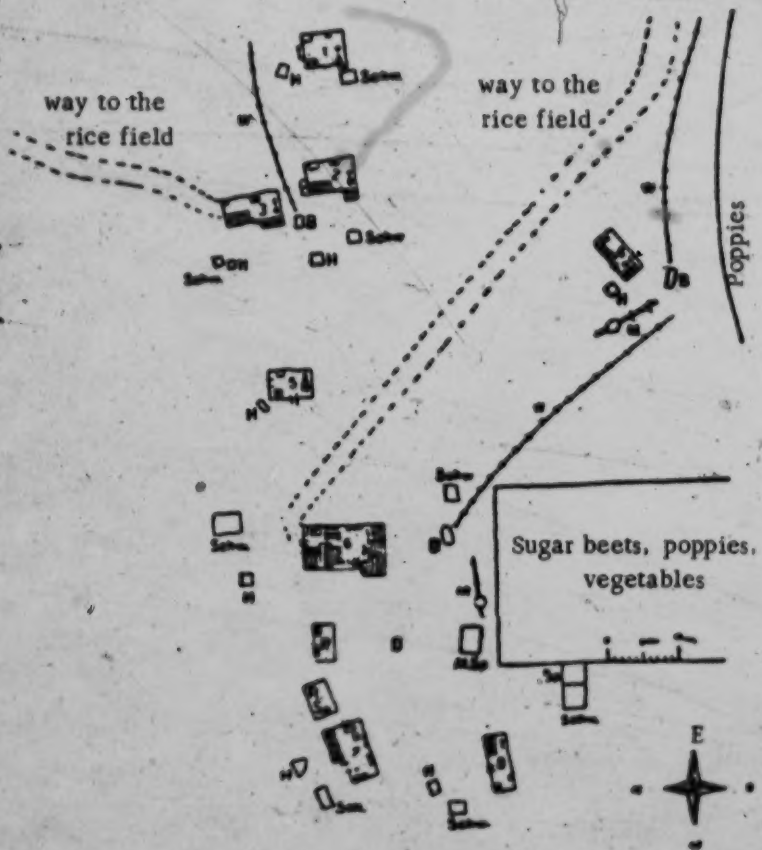

Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊢⊣○ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
□ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

/305 cont./

417 Other important pieces of furniture are the ladders, which /Figs. 137-138 appear here/ /306/ lead to the storage lofts. They are either tree trunks provided with notches (Fig. 137) or ladders with steps (Fig. 138). /Fig. 139 appears here./

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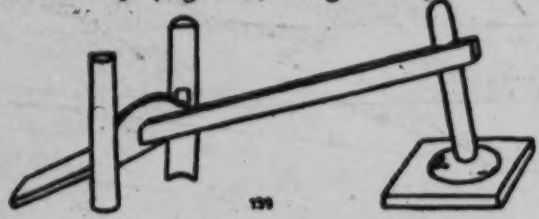

Fig. 139. Grain mortar of the Meau.
1/28 nat. size.

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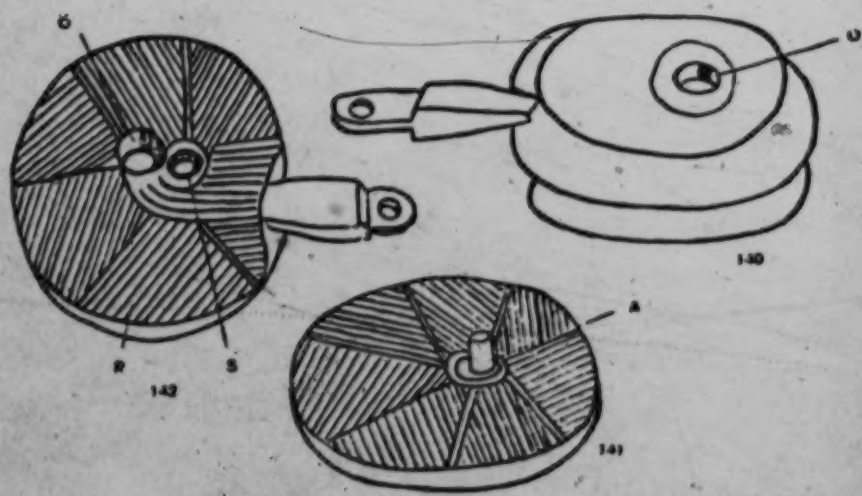


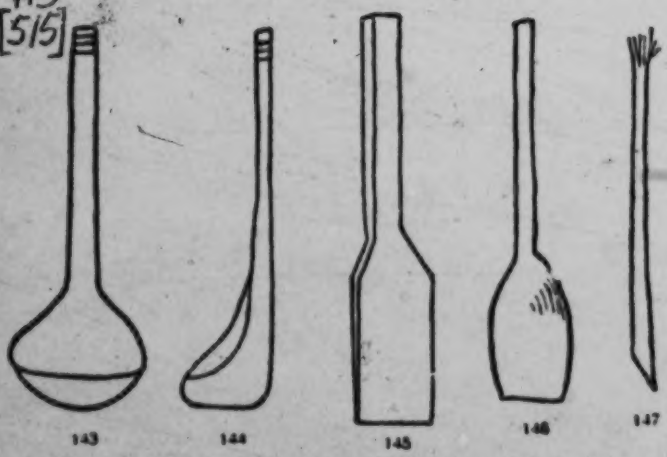
Fig. 140-142. Grain mill of the Meau. 1/10 nat. size.
Fig. 140. Millstones, joined. Fig. 141, lower, and Fig. 142, upper millstone. O = opening for pouring in the grain. R = grooves. S = hole for pivot A.

/306 cont./

412 252 [243] [244] The household and kitchen implements of the Meau are very numerous. As was mentioned, all the grain and leguminous products are husked in the foot-operated mortar built into the cooking area (Fig. 139). /Figs. 140-142 appear here./

256 /307/ For grinding the kernels of grain and maize the large mill shown in Ill. 94[1] and Fig. 140 is used. The lower-millstone half (Fig. 141) is immovable and is provided with an axle (A), which is fitted into the opening (S) of the upper stone (Fig. 142). Both millstone halves are provided with grooves (R), which run in various directions. The upper eccentric millstone (Fig. 142) is connected with a horizontal pole. When this is swung forward and backward, the movable-millstone half turns. In this, on the top, a hole (0) is chiseled out, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether one lengthens or shortens the

415 [515]



Figs. 143-146. Dippers and Ladles of the Meau. Fig. 143. Bamboo dipper. Fig. 144. Side view of the same, 1/5 nat. size. Figs. 145 and 146. Wooden stirring ladles, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 147. Toothpick, 1/3 nat. size.

1 [see cat 116, p644 - ANALYST]

/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106)[1] and pans are
439 used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and represent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese
412 dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be
515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables
252 are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice,
[251] strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants. Other cooking
412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden
415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets
252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped
[273] gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

[1] [See cat 116, p706- ANALYST]
[Text continues on p421]

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286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

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252 256 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects

39: Bernatzik--644 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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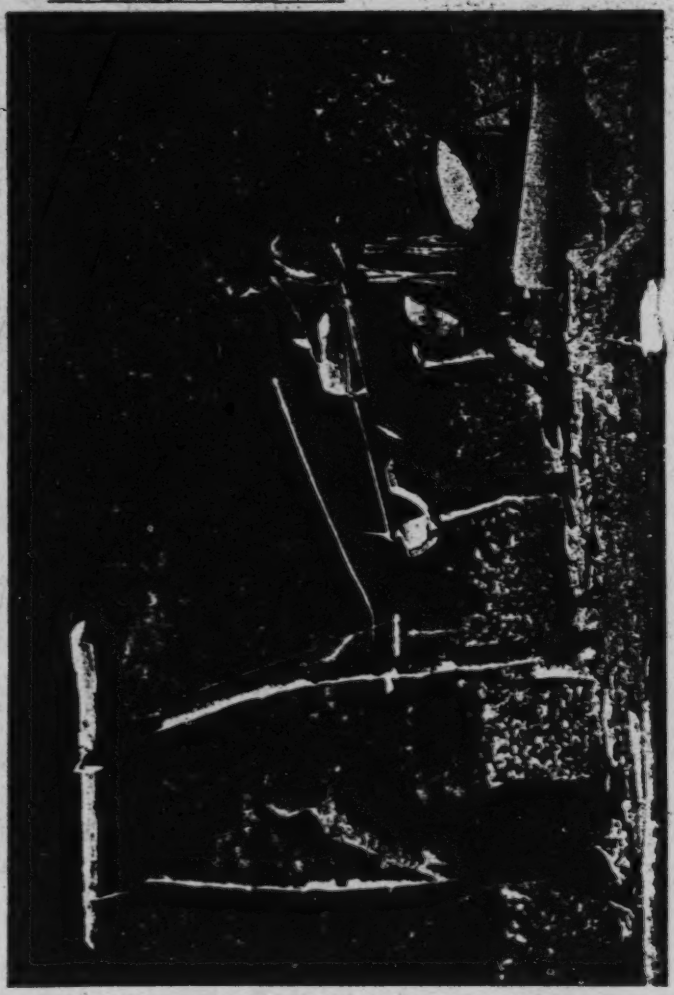

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Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The in-
[782] voked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

/61 cont./

731 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land 243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung 245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees 245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar [805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance [482] bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the [412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place [258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the [439] seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are [252] burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [262] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [236] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AE5 Misc AE5

262 people waded from one end of the pond to
252 the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about
252 dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was al-
574 ways on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

24 Children seemed always to have something
857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

4:Mickey E-8 (1940-?)1947 AES Miao AES

261 market without some small treat for them.
857 Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

261 When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

252 For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yünnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

291 **Clothing.** The Cowrie Shell Miao men all wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of them could afford cloth shoes and therefore
292 wore straw sandals. For special occasions such as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear a new, long garment, belted in with a long blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth to form a large turban (fig. 18, *f*). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

/209 cont./

484 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having
782 its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moder-
574 ate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so
782 that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means
114 for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-
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1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau
[796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time
[776] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the
[241]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
241 other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

782 Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by
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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[24] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
769 spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while [263] eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 262 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are 252 entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [416] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/66 cont'd/

795 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
793 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/133 cont'd/

dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were 262 difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

765 /134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and we joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

828 In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had a good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

765 To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and [262] bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

764 A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

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361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, 574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, [291] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/19 cont./

M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
M 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
[556] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[527] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

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M /19 cont./

*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
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2:Ling & Ruey--41 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung-jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [262] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in [258] the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

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314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp 248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching [262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and [231] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan [439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo [227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair. [171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi- [825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces [227] of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./

226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[492] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
[262] Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[241] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

252 [text continues on p. 106]

/74/

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Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed [273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine. The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year, and is largely used for making wine. There are also these two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large- [439] ly sold to the Chinese, and ~~the~~ Miao themselves consume [262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork, pepper seeds, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

/75 cont./

262 pods, eggplant, bracken, etc. The recipes are briefly as follows:

252 There are two ways of making sour fish, raw and cooked. To prepare sour cooked fish, a fish is cut open, cleaned, and dried by the fire in a pan until the scales become yellow. Then it is rubbed with salt and dried in the sun for a few days. It is next mixed with a certain amount of millet and put into a jar. On top of the fish is laid a layer of tung leaves, and the jar is also stopped up with tung leaves. The jar is turned upside down on the ground or in a basin of water which is added to from time to time. The idea is not to allow air to get in. After one month the fish may be taken out and fried. The making of sour raw fish is slightly different. After being split open and cleaned the fish is rubbed with salt, seasoned with spices, and placed in a jar. After four months it can be taken out and eaten either raw or fried in fat or oil.

The preparation of sour beef and pork is identical. The meat is washed with clear water and diced or cut into small pieces and then fried in a pan until it is half done. Some salt is added, and then the meat is dished out into a bowl to cool, mixed with chan rice and no rice powder, and put in a jar. After ten or more days it may be taken out and fried or boiled in water.

There are four kinds of sour peppers — green, red, chan, and no. The green peppers are washed and cooked a little in a pan. They should not be well done, for if well done they spoil easily. They are then taken out and left to dry in the sun. The stems are cut off, and the peppers placed in a jar and covered with tung leaves, and again the jar is stopped up with rice straw and stood inverted in a small basin. After a month they are ready to be eaten. The sour red peppers are made differently. Without cooking or drying in the sun they only cut off the stems, and then put them in a jar in the same way. After a month they may be taken out and fried to eat. According to the Miao this type of sour peppers taste best. The making of the sour chan and no peppers is the same. Either the green

/76 cont./

252 The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered
[222] and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked
[415] rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they
252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half
● 262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several
[556] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/77 cont./

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262

miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

/97 cont./

585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 533 men and women of the host family gather in another group. 585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights, but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain

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/194 cont./

1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted
Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
719 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shuts her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[829] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

241

THIS SHOWS THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF TIMBER. THE MIAOS BURN THE GRASS AND FOLIAGE TO SOW THE UPLAND RICE.

at best. They are truly "the eternal pioneers," and one old-young woman told me she had moved *twelve* times in her life of forty-odd years.

231 Their few pigs they cannot afford to eat except at
241 wedding feasts, but sell them to the Hainanese traders.
262 Chickens and ducks they eat occasionally, and also prepare the salted eggs. They raise very few greens but occasionally will buy them from a neighbouring Loi village. Corn is raised a great deal—a small variety of maize that does very well on the hillsides. The heart of a certain variety of palm tree is a common food, and in times of famine roofs of trees and brakes, bark, anything, must be used to stay the pangs of hunger. A well-to-do family may own a few cows, but they have a curious custom which they often follow, of giving their cows to the neighbouring Lois to care for. The calves of course revert to the original owner, but the Lois use the animals to work their rice fields and to haul the great logs of hardwood to the rivers.

224 Bears are found in the mountains, and the Miao prepare
261 pitfalls and traps for them, shooting them when they have been thus captured. A species of small antelope makes very good eating. Wild boar are also often captured, and likewise

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

the porcupine, whose flesh is eaten, and whose shiny black and white quills, often a foot long, have various uses. The flying squirrel is a rarer victim, as only the poisoned dart shot from the crossbow by a skilled hunter is quick enough to strike it. Jungle fowl of all sorts are used for food. 224 262

The fishing is usually done on a large scale. If a youngster goes a-fishing, his outfit is a piece of bamboo and a piece of hemp string with a noose on the end, where he nooses his catch. But when the rivers are low a whole village or perhaps several villages will join in a common fishing expedition. Some of the men dam the river, others go to the forest and come back laden with the bark of a certain tree and a certain vine. These barks are pounded in mortars until well macerated, mixed, and pounds and pounds of the "medicine" are poured into the river above the dam. The mixture kills or stupifies the fish, which rise to the top of the water and are easily secured. The catch often amounts to a thousand-odd pounds of fish, not to mention crabs and eels and other creatures. The fish are cleaned immediately and the people eat them without fear although they say that a chicken or duck that eats the entrails will sometimes die from the poison. The fish not wanted for immediate consumption are salted down with a variety of pooped rice and kept for future use. This method may injure the small fish in the river—undoubtedly it does injure them in the immediate vicinity of the catching—but does not have any serious effect on the total supply, apparently. 226 824 227 226 [251]

The costume worn by the men differs very little from that worn by an ordinary Chinese labourer except in the way the coat fastens, as it laps a little to the left and fastens slantingly down the front. The costume worn by the women however, is the distinguishing feature of the people, and is a very attractive cutfit in its blue and red with touches of other colours in the head kerchief. For a grown woman, the costume consists of a kerchief, a coat and a short skirt, both dark blue, and dark blue puttees. A narrow red silk girdle, about an inch wide, woven by the women themselves and ending in long fringe, is worn around the hips. The same style of tie, only about a quarter of an inch wide, fastens each puttee just below the knee. The material for the clothing is bought from the traders, and is a coarse, heavy, unbleached cotton cloth. The women dye the goods with indigo and set the colour with pigs blood. The coat is made quite like a Chinese woman's coat, but reaching to the knees and not lapping so far over to the side. A piece of turkey red cotton is embroidered and put on as a narrow collar band; the bottoms of the rather loose sleeves are edged the same 291

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

cleaning machines, flails—other baskets and trays were kept there (see fig. 13, *b-e*). During the rice harvest it was often piled full of grain until there had been enough sunny days to get it all sunned and stored or sold. When an adult died, the coffin was always set in this room with the foot toward the door. At the lunar New Year glutinous rice paste was pounded in a stone mortar and the cakes shaped in this room. Of course offerings were made here to ancestral spirits and to the gods of the household.

Food. The basis of their diet, like that of the Chinese in the district, was white rice. Except for a short time directly after a good rice harvest, this was mixed with beans or whole wheat flour in tiny balls. With it they ate cooked green vegetables from their own gardens, highly seasoned with salt and hot red or green chillies, fresh or dried. Their gardens had a succession of the following vegetables: turnips, celery, carrots, celery cabbage, spinach, white and sweet potatoes, lettuce root, rape, mustard, various kinds of beans and peas, maize, cucumbers, onions, garlic, leeks, and various other roots. In May, for instance, there were new potatoes, peas, and broad beans in the gardens and bamboo shoots in the thickets, in June green beans, rape leaves, and cabbage. Broth was made of dried beans and peas, and curd from soy beans. Nearly every family raised pigs. The pork was eaten both fresh and in the form of excellent smoked and cured meat and sausages. The blood was also mixed with bean curd and made into sausage. At rare intervals a cow was killed and the meat eaten fresh or dried. Now and then beef was brought into the village or bought in market. Of the bamboo two species were edible. In spring and fall bamboo shoots were much enjoyed. Potatoes were sliced very thin with the skins left on and fried. When corn was ripe it was eaten on the cob after being roasted in the hot ashes, or the kernels were mashed, wrapped in husks, boiled, and eaten from the husks. Persimmon and other pickles were made. If the water in the pond was not too deep in the spring, they dug for two kinds of water chestnut. Small fish were taken from the pond, either fished for with pole and line or caught in the hands as a large number of

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

262 people waded from one end of the pond to
252 the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about
252 dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was al-
574 ways on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

24 Children seemed always to have something
857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 175 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these that this book is mainly concerned. All are agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

262 [241]

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring
harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of
large numbers of the people. They can usually
afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt
purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this
becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people
fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a
Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers,
the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government,
and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour- [624]
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves
with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task.
The women have very much more work to do than
men. They weave the clothes, carry the water,
collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear
innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about
the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress.
A man wears sandals, which he himself has made,
short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a
loose-fitting upper garment which is between a
jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears
a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth.
The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and,
scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are also called TAu TAu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老瓦灘 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoɔ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包谷飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine.

Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木坪. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are 262
eaten or / on special occasions.[5]

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are 241
all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but [361]
I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street.

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water- 231
buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. [224]
Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained.

The farming implements do not differ from those of the 241
Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, 412
flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

778 Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves
782 in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals
[755] will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and
264 offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with
262 a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

[585] During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to
776 the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly
782 three. glaɔ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaɔ dʒy means original demon.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1754 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron ko or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, so 000

[5 cont.]

181 609 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of
● 262 rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more
[243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice."
[482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat
264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are
262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

[5 cont.] One difference is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the
[439] Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

1 [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

796 535 The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating [769] oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

[183]

196 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must at-
[461] tend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after
769 the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar
796 calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I
[262] eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "hanging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for
796 sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-
231 huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

M [186 cont.]
796 tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
M bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day
[777] all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

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[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S The southern border region of Kweichow province has a sub-
161 tropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

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/86 cont'd/

found between Miao and T'ou-jen weddings. The importance attached in ethnology to this people is well known. P.W. Koppers, "Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-right and Totemism in Old China/," p. 996: ...just as the original homogeneity of the Tungus and Tung-hu is so probable...it seems to me that the ancient connection between the Tungus (Proto-Tungus, Pre-Chinese) and Miao-tze has been demonstrated equally as plausibly /cited in German/. Anthropos, 1930.

Mi
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First, marriages[1] are almost always celebrated at about the same time, November, December, January. One marries young, between 15 and 20 years. Prognostications are necessary in order to be able to marry. The parents decide on the marriage of their children. The wedding meal is always twofold, i.e., taken in two places, at the home of the bridegroom's parents and at the home of the bride's. If the latter is to leave the paternal home to go to be the daughter-in-law in her bridegroom's home, the first meal is taken at her home. On the other hand, it is taken at the bridegroom's home if he is to go to be the son-in-law at the home of the bride's parents. Then there are also husband-sons-in-law. The dinner menu: corn meal, alcohol, pork if desired. The meal is served on tables improvised for the occasion, planks held up by stakes; the meat put on leaves is

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[262]

1 [marriages: Miao marriages --- Analyst]

/86 cont'd/ [MIAO]

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [583]

Mo [585 171]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

262 Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
[252] or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes,
[252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

[161 cont.]

Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
177 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
439 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other
294 groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
531 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
294 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather
868 primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
317 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
439 against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage, and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, A M [262] eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly A [857] observed that they tortured the animals without interference on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

On the other hand the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

[See cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured, there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved, and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
[846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[14] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
[626] birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.
[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers
[626] would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. A M [241] [262] The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers"). A M [648]

M 166 361 [731] [756] [623] [622] The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted [411] with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 411 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[2] with which effective poisoned [326] arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306-308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair 262 or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [see cat 116, pp576, 643, +530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
[264] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[574] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[262] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the
[114] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the
[184] authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how-
[262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer,
[312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the
[241] fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain
[278] trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of
278 men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/355 cont./

243 the first two or three violent thundershowers, the seeding is begun. If the large /extended/ family has many members, the freshly cleared land, which may have large dimensions, is subdivided many times into fields of half a hectare to three hectares, each planted with one certain kind of seed. If, however, it is a matter of a family with fewer members, all the seeds are mixed together, and the mixture is sowed for higgledy-piggledy growth.

224 243 As soon as a field is laid out and the seed is sown, a great number of game and bird traps are set up everywhere. Particularly popular is a kind of self-firing trap for wild pigs and deer, for which a crossbow with poisoned arrows is used. To be sure, they make entering the field very dangerous for anybody who is not familiar with the locality. Moreover, instead of fences which would keep off wild animals, traps are set on compulsory game-trails, in which all game from the pheasant to the wild pig is caught or falls victim to baited snaring devices. The animals caught represent an important [262] contribution to the diet of the Meau, and this is the reason why the fields are not protected by fences from intrusion and possible devastation by animals. Where no traps can be set or if /356/ whole herds of game visit the fields, the young men lie in ambush and in the moonlight capture a rich booty with their poisoned arrows.

243 Savina (1) describes the arrangement of the rice fields

[184] 1. II, p. 216.

among the Meau in Indochina somewhat differently: "In the first month, when the New Year's festivals are over, the Meau put their fields in order. If the fields are far away, they stay there for eight to ten days. The men fell the trees with axes, and the women and children cut the grass with knives. In the second month the fields are set afire. Then maize is sowed. When the maize is in bloom, nights are spent in the fields in order to drive off the bears and the monkeys. When the maize [251] is harvested, it is brought to the house. The seed ears are

/357 cont./

243 [262] 1. Rice. It is by far the most important cultivated plant of the Meau in Thailand and actually represents the basis of their diet. Seven different kinds are planted, four of which are glutinous rice and three are so-called white (Chinese) rice. The individual kinds are distinguished by the time until they ripen and also by the size of the grains and ears. All seven kinds belong among the types classified under the concept of mountain rice, which are not cultivated in Europe at all. They grow, independent of artificial irrigation, on cleared slopes. Classified as glutinous rice are the kinds that, when cooked, form a sticky, gelatinous substance, which does not appeal very much to the taste of Europeans. The "white rice," on the other hand, consists of types similar to those available [177] commercially among us in Europe. The Meau have presumably received these different kinds of rice from the Chinese.

The Meau in Thailand begin to plant rice between the end of May and the beginning of June, with the harvest, depending on the type, three to five months later. At the beginning of the rainy season, after the appropriate ceremonies have been performed (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"), cultivation begins. With the digging stick (Fig. 267), one person punches holes in the ground about five centimeters deep and 50 centimeters apart. He is followed by a second one, who lets eight to ten grains of rice fall into each hole, which, however, are not covered with earth, but rather the rain is supposed to do this. The Meau maintain that otherwise the rice would not get sufficient water for their first development.

At the harvest, the rice is cut individually, high on the stalk (Ill. 92),[1] with a special crescent-shaped knife (Fig. 268), put in bundles, and left lying in this fashion in the fields until it is dry. Then it is gathered together in the field hut and, in part, hulled right in the field /358/ in a special mortar which is operated with a suitable lever (Ill. 96).[2] This rice, as well as the bundles of ears, is then carried into the village (Ill. 93).[3] The rice straw remains standing in the field, rots, and thus forms a fraction of the fertilization so necessary to the soil.

1 [See Cat 116, p642- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p645- "]
3 [" " " p643- "]

/358 cont./

249 2. Poppies. The Meau cultivate three different types, which are recognizable by the color of their flowers. Accordingly, one distinguishes white, red, and purple poppies. At the end of June they are sowed in soil which has been loosened with digging sticks. Tobacco, spinach-like vegetables, or [244] onions also grow in the poppy fields at the same time, which further increases the great importance of the poppy fields for 249 the Meau. Six months after the sowing of the poppies the 276 making of opium begins. For this the nearly ripe poppy heads are slit (Ill. 73)[1] with a three-bladed knife (chapter, "Food and Stimulants," Fig. 289). A whitish juice, the opium, oozes out and is carefully collected. After it has been properly [439] treated, it represents the most valuable article of trade of the Meau. After the opium harvest comes that of the now ripened 249 poppies, which are particularly valued as food on account of [262] their high oil content. Moreover, poppy fields, as was said, can be laid out on old, harvested maize fields, so that the least amount of land is required for their cultivation. If one adds to that the fact that mixed poppy fields remain productive for ten to twenty years, depending on the fertility of the soil, it may be said that they, next to the rice fields, certainly constitute the most important agricultural production area of the Meau.

3. Sugar Cane. Early in May the Meau set out six types, which ripen at different times. Furrows about 17 to 18 centimeters deep are made with the hoe (Figs. 269 and 270) 90 centimeters apart, and the shoots are set out with the help of a setting peg at uniform intervals of about 30 centimeters. At the earliest, harvesting commences eight months after the ensuing cultivation. These sugar-cane beds are productive for three years on the average and then lie fallow.

244 4. Yams. As soon as the cultivation of sugar cane is ended, four different types of this potato-like tuber is planted. For this purpose small pits are dug about 80 centimeters apart, the /359/ pieces of the seed tubers, cut up according to the bud-eyes, are put in, and the pit is covered. The harvest of the early ripening types begins as early as four months later.

1 [see cat 116, p573 - ANALYST]

/359 cont./

244 On the average, these yam fields are productive equally as long as the rice fields.

5. Cucumbers. Two types of them are sowed at the same time as the rice. As a rule, the procedure is simply to mix the [243] rice seed with the cucumber seeds so that it is put in the little seed-holes with them. Cucumbers are important for the Meau because they can be harvested as early as two or at most three months after sowing, hence at a time when the Meau have the least amount of food on hand, since the old harvest has been used up by then, but the new products are not yet ripe. In accordance with their cultivation together with the rice, cucumbers are cultivated in one field only as long as it is productive for rice cultivation.

6. Radishes of only a single type are known and customarily [243] cultivated among the Meau. Radish seeds, too, are mixed with the rice and hence cultivated simultaneously with it. Usually [262] they are eaten raw by the workers in the fields.

7. Beans. Four kinds of beans are planted at the same time as the rice but in special fields. For this a small hole is punched with the digging stick, two seed beans are put into it, and the planting hole is closed by a step with the heel as one walks on. Bean fields, which remain productive for two years, receive no further care; bean poles are unknown.

243 8. Maize, which is the principal food crop of the Meau in [184] Tonkin, on which Lajonquière (1) reports, is in only eighth

1. II, p. 309.

place in northern Thailand. It is cultivated in three types [244] and in general together with gourds in special fields. At the end of April at the earliest and the beginning of June at the latest, small holes are punched with the digging stick at intervals of half a meter. In them, besides three or four kernels of maize, two or three gourd seeds are always slipped [244] in, and the hole is closed. For the earliest types of maize the harvest begins as early as three months after sowing, which makes maize just as important as the likewise early ripening

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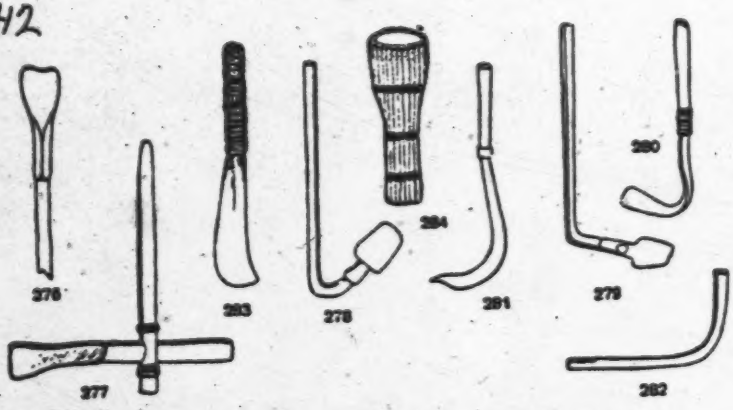
/385 cont./

e) Animal Husbandry

M 231 [262] [782] M [417] A 412

The Meau are good livestock raisers. The main emphasis is on the raising of pigs, because the animals are regarded not only as food, but also as the most important sacrificial animals. The Meau raise only a very primitive breed similar to the wild pig, which is crossed with the latter, since the domestic pigs run about freely in the villages and their surroundings during the day. At night, however, they are put in pens built especially for them.



Figs. 276-284. Agricultural Equipment of the Akha.

Fig. 276. Digging stick, 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 277. Ax, 1/14 nat. size. Figs. 278-279. Field hoe, 1/28 nat size. Fig. 280. Weeding rake, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 281. Sickle, 1/12 nat. size. Fig. 282. Threshing flail of hard wood, oval in cross-section, 1/80 nat. size. Fig. 283. Jungle knife, 1/19 nat. size. Fig. 284. Sheath of bamboo, 1/18 nat. size.

A [243]

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

[See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/367 cont./

231 The dogs kept in northern Thailand to guard the houses differ completely from the breed of dog that Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ described in his enumeration of the domestic animals of the Meau and from the animals described by Abadie (3) as having white, silky, longish, and very thick

3. Page 158.

fur. Innumerable barking dogs, red, black, and more rarely white in color, which resemble the Chinese chow, but are slenderer in body build and somewhat weaker, are found here. They feed on scraps and all kinds of refuse and, as has been mentioned, regard human feces as precious delicacies. For the Meau dogs are also animals to be killed in order to create a guardian spirit, as has /368/ been described in detail in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). The meat of dogs is not [262] eaten any more than is that of the numerous cats that watch for mice in the houses, granaries, and stables.

Chickens are also very important. They are present in every household and are identical with the small wild fowl, the original form of our domestic chicken. They, too, are put in special coops during the night by the Meau (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Figs. 80-82) and are regularly fed twice a day. At harvest time they are taken in special carrying baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 338 and 339) to the harvested fields, in which abundant feed is still to be found. Abadie (1) gives a similar description about Indo-

1. Page 158.

china: "The poultry (chickens, turkeys, ducks, etc.) roam about freely during the day and sleep in a chicken coop which is usually above or next to the stable. Tiger cats, which are [136] common in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, often kill hecatombs of the poultry of the Meau."

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

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/369 cont./

M 232 [463] In every village several men are masters at the art of castration and are paid by the others to practice this occupation. /370/ I had an opportunity to watch the castration of a cock, which did not last longer than four minutes. The Meau opened the body cavity of the animal three fingers above the anus, pulled out the reproductive glands with two fingers which he stuck deep into the opening, tied them up, and then simply tore them off. Then, with needle and thread, he first sewed the musculature and then the outer skin, and the cock was immediately actively running about again and looking for food. The amazing thing was that during the entire operation he had remained completely still.

M 237 231 262 Taking blood from living animals is unknown to the Meau in Thailand. On the other hand, the blood that flows from the opened neck artery during slaughtering is collected and consumed as food.

A 231 What has been said about the animal husbandry of the Meau generally applies among the Akha. The sequence followed for the domestic animals described, according to their significance for the Meau, is the same for the Akha; nevertheless there are a few differences. Among the Akha, too, the raising of pigs comes first; the fodder for these animals (Ill. 44) [1] is even prepared on special cooking places among them. On the other hand, during the night they, like the cattle, are not shut up in special pens, but stay under the dwellings, which stand on piles. During the day, they roam about freely (Ill. 46) [2] and, together with the dogs, burrow in the heaps of refuse which are present beside every house. Among the Akha, no differently than among the Meau, dogs as well as pigs devour the feces of human beings with special likings.

A [342] [364] The Akha raise cattle for meat, the Meau more rarely. Like the latter, they use the animals as pack animals in regions that permit it. Strangely enough, the Akha, too, drink no milk, though I did not find a corresponding taboo, as among the Meau. Nevertheless, the obvious presumption is that among them, too, it is a matter of a forgotten prohibition of cultic origin, which has become a habit.

[262] [492] [272]

1 [see cat 116, p 296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 332 - " "]

39: Bernatzik-503 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/372/

Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are [515] thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

/373 cont./

252 Meat is either roasted over a fire or boiled in water in large or small pieces, and is also smoked without salt or [251] salted and dried in the sun. Furthermore it may be fried in fat or oil. Cooking pits, as well as the use of hot stones for cooking, are unknown.

262 As fat, lard is used primarily, but also the fat from hunting booty. It is added to the meat and to the vegetables dur- [252] ing the cooking, but relatively little is taken for that.

The main emphasis in the daily diet, however, is not on meat, but rather on vegetable dishes, an observation that Lajonquière (1) also makes: "Meat and poultry are not part of

1. II, p. 302.

the daily diet, which is composed almost exclusively of maize, vegetables, and beans. It is used, however, on festive occasions." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 159.

Today rice stands in first place among the Meau. It is 243 first threshed with a wooden cudgel, and then the chaff is separated from the kernels by throwing the grain to be threshed from large flat baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 343) into the air when there is as much side-wind as possible so that the chaff is carried away by it while the rice kernels fall back into the flat baskets. Finally the clinging leaves covering them are removed in a rice mortar, and the grain is ground in a mill which makes it possible to grind the rice into a coarser or finer flour as desired (chapter, "House Furnishings," Figs. 140-142).

262 The importance of rice as the principal foodstuff is shown by the many dishes prepared from it, a few of which will be described in the following. If the rice is to be prepared without 252 any additional ingredients, it is first cooked for several minutes in plenty of water and then everything is poured on a plaited strainer under which a gourd bowl is placed to catch the starchy [231] rice-water, which is drunk or fed to the animals. The rice [272]

/373 cont./

252 remains in the strainer for later use. Before it is eaten, it is first put into a wooden steaming tube (chapter "House Furnishings," Fig. 153), in /374/ which it swells until it is done. For this purpose, plaiting is built into the lower part of the steaming tube as a strainer. The pot is filled with water up to the sieve, and the rice is poured on the sieve. The vessel is covered with a plaited lid and placed on the hearth in a water-filled iron vessel (for the vessels needed for the preparation of rice, see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils, Figs. 151-155).

[262] Ears of maize are eaten either raw in an unripe state or the ripe ears are broken off the stalk and allowed to dry. After that, with a special kernel remover (chapter, House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils, Fig. 168) the kernels are removed from the cob. Then the kernels are ground in the same mill that rice is ground in. Lajonquière (1), whose information

1. II, p. 302.

is confirmed by Abadie (2), reports on the use of maize in Tonkin:

2. Page 159.

"The maize is eaten either as porridge, like the buckwheat, or steamed or roasted."

Poppy seeds are either dried and then merely cooked tender and added to other food, or ground to a fine flour in the above-mentioned mill, seasoned with salt, and eaten as an accompaniment for rice.

Beans are both cooked tender as young green pods and then eaten, or one lets the pods mature and then eats the shelled beans cooked soft in water.

Tubers as well as wild roots are either roasted in the fire, cooked in water, or fried in fat.

The Meau cook a mint-flavored green vegetable in salted water. Cucumbers are usually eaten by them raw in the [262] fields, but they are also cooked and eaten as a vegetable.

262 /374 cont./

252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water, are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in [351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos, [245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties 263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by [317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the [135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand [171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain [439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders (see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

252 Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it, [262] which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks [251] where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsuǎ) are made, three kinds of which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/375 cont./

252 2. Rice is cooked and steamed until it is soft, and then it is beaten with sticks until a firm mush is produced. This dough is again shaped into small loaves which are either roasted at the open fire, fried in fat, or at least warmed up.

3. Ripe or almost ripe maize is ground, mixed with yeast, and kneaded into a dough. Now one lets the mass rest for half a day so that the yeast can work and finally proceeds exactly as in the first case.

252 /376/ The daily food, called ki šǒu, is made out of
262 steamed rice to which some meat which was first browned in
[263] oil and then cooked in water is sometimes added. Green vegetables and salt are also added to this "one-dish" meal. If the green vegetables are omitted, the dish is called kiń kā.

hǒŭ tǎu is the name for peeled and diced squash, which, with the addition of water, is prepared without any spices.

tšǒ kǒu is a mixture of green vegetables which one lets dry in the sun for half an hour, then pulverizes, and adds some salt and rice. The mass is put into bamboo flasks and
[251] stored. After six days it has become sour and is then ready.

gǎ kǔo mō chǎu is nothing but meat that has simply been cooked in salt water.

tšī ěn kā́ is another meat dish, for which the meat is salted in the raw state and then roasted over an open fire.

tšǎ pē vā́ is a piquant dish. For it, liver, heart, and kidneys are cooked tender, cut into pieces, and mixed. The whole has fresh blood poured over it, and one also adds two varieties of onions and the pepper-like fruits of a forest plant.

tšǒu tǎu is made out of the thick skin of large game, even rhinoceros, elephants, and buffalo, the skin of the pachyderms being regarded as a special delicacy, whereas the skin of snakes, tigers, and panthers is not used. First of all the skin must lie in running water for days, until all the particles of meat have rotted off. Then a large fire is made, the skin is put into it with the hair side down, and then the hair is scraped off with a knife. This cleaned and scraped skin is now cooked for ten to twenty hours in large kettles until it is soft. Finally, it is cut into small pieces which are eaten either fried in oil or only accompanied with a spicy sauce.

/376 cont./

252 The blood of slaughtered animals, either fresh or cooked,
262 is happily eaten. Cooked, it is also added to other dishes.

A meatless dish consists of ground millet which is mixed with green vegetables and maize meal to form dumplings and cooked in water.

252 The eggs of all birds are eaten raw or cooked.

/377/ Without anything further, it is obvious from these descriptions that the preparation of the meals can indeed not be designated as primitive. It can be assumed that in the regions of Indochina, which are in every respect more favorable, the Meau will not practice simpler cooking, since more things in larger quantities are available to them. Nevertheless, Lajonquière (1) writes: "The preparation of food is primitive.

1. II, p. 303.

Rice, maize, and the other cereals are eaten cooked in salted water or made into mush. Vegetables are usually cooked in water, and meat is roasted in kettles. We shall always remember our first visit to the kitchen of the Lytruong of Pakha. There, whole quarters of buffalo were roasting and cooking in tremendous kettles, without any other ingredients than a few handfuls of salt, a little water, and their own fat. It was immense in quantity, but ignoble in preparation."

Aside from the fact that the author probably did not ob-
[114] serve the preparation of food in detail, he is undoubtedly com-
[171] paring Meau cooking with Chinese cooking, or with Annamese cooking, which is extensively influenced by the Chinese. In comparison with the excellent and highly sophisticated culinary art of these peoples, Meau cooking seems primitive indeed.

264 From Savina's description (2) we get an impression of

2. II, p. 192.

the everyday, very modest way of life of the Meau: "The Meau have two meals a day, one in the morning before going to the fields and one in the evening upon return. Often,

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Miao AE5

/377 cont./

M 264 [262] [412] [574] [562]

however, they take something along in order to eat at noon. The meals consist of some coarse maize dough in a bucket, some beans, and some vegetables. Spoons or chopsticks are used. Only on festive occasions is meat eaten. Some pork is always smoked and saved for important guests."

Meals are eaten together, except when strangers are present as guests (Ill. 106, 107); even for the cold snack in the fields all sit down together.

A 262

No differently than the Meau, the Akha, too, in addition to their domestic animals and cultivated plants, use a great number of wild plants and all kinds of animals for food. Of the birds /378/ they disdain vultures and ravens, but not the hornbill. They also do not eat the numerous lizards ignored also by the Meau, as well as the larvae of flies, but on the other hand they do consume dogs, which are not eaten by the Meau.

A 252 [462]

The preparation of meals among the Akha is likewise clean, but it differs in several ways from Meau cooking, while being related to it in the principal features. Among the Akha, too, it is usually the women who prepare the food, but the men very frequently help.

As a rule, the Akha cut meat into small pieces and cook it in water; they also chop it up, season it with spices, and then consume it raw. Curdled blood or the entrails of animals are prepared and eaten in the same way. Cooking pits and heated stones are also unknown to the Akha. Besides lard and the suet of the hunting booty, and in addition to the fats, the seeds of a sesame-like, oily plant must be mentioned. They are used in connection with offerings and simply by adding these seeds to the rice before it is cooked (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo").

A [782]

A 252 [262]

The basic foodstuff among the Akha is likewise rice, which is eaten at every meal. First of all it is freed from the husks and cleaned, and then it is ready to be cooked. Among the Akha its preparation is different then among the Meau. They soak it in water overnight and then cook it in the same

[SEE cat 116, P706 - ANALYST]

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

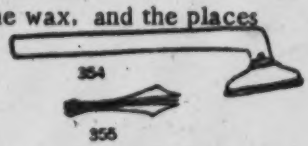


Fig. 354.
Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
[411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on
[262] the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their
[177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

39: Bernatzik--623 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 459/

142
262
291
302

Ill. 91. The tart meat of ripe squash tastes very good to the Meau boy.

39: Bernatzik--727 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/VIII cont./

286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

Ill. 89. The weaver is making preparations for the woof. The shuttle is carved out of wood. The inserted bobbin, around which the hemp thread is wound, is made of bamboo. The stick that separates the two layers of thread is made out of the same material.

283 Ill. 90. Spinning machine. With its help, four threads, which the woman doing the spinning holds in her left hand, are twisted together. By means of the little stick in her right hand, she prevents the threads from becoming tangled. She turns the flywheel with both feet.

Ills. 91-96. The harvest.

262 [244] Ill. 91. The ripe squash at the edge of the fields of mountain rice are gathered. The juicy, tart meat of the raw fruit is especially tasty in the great heat.

243 Ill. 92. The stalks of the mountain rice are cut individually, with the help of the small crescent-shaped harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear and then bundled. The straw is left standing in the fields and rots.

Ill. 93. Bringing in the harvest. Each member of the family loads himself with as many bundles of ears in carriers and baskets as he can carry. Then there is a walk for hours over the narrow mountain paths to the village. The men carry in their hands the crossbows with arrows in place ready to shoot.

[484]

/IX/

252 256 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [263] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 262 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are 252 entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [415] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/19 cont./

M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
M 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.
[167]

(2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
[556] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they
[527] hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

/76 cont./

252 [222] The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 [415] Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they 252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half 262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several [556] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14 strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each. The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot. [788] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers, next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part [769] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the [776] house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance. On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh. There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number of slices of cut-up beef. No beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao super- [263] stition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

1. See "Myths about the Flood, 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." 1/1

A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

1/1 [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special
291 characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the
[439] Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

1 [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[264] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[574] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
[262] the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water,
are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos,
[245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or
fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole
series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as
spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
[135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders
(see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

252 Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
[262] which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the
sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in
the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans
until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried
[251] in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks
where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsuǎ) are made, three kinds of
which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/375 cont./

252 2. Rice is cooked and steamed until it is soft, and then it is beaten with sticks until a firm mush is produced. This dough is again shaped into small loaves which are either roasted at the open fire, fried in fat, or at least warmed up.

3. Ripe or almost ripe maize is ground, mixed with yeast, and kneaded into a dough. Now one lets the mass rest for half a day so that the yeast can work and finally proceeds exactly as in the first case.

252 262 /376/ The daily food, called ki šǒu, is made out of steamed rice to which some meat which was first browned in oil and then cooked in water is sometimes added. Green [263] vegetables and salt are also added to this "one-dish" meal. If the green vegetables are omitted, the dish is called kiń kā.

hǒŭ tǎu is the name for peeled and diced squash, which, with the addition of water, is prepared without any spices.

tšǒ kǒu is a mixture of green vegetables which one lets dry in the sun for half an hour, then pulverizes, and adds some salt and rice. The mass is put into bamboo flasks and [251] stored. After six days it has become sour and is then ready.

gǎ kǔo mō chǎu is nothing but meat that has simply been cooked in salt water.

tší ěn kā is another meat dish, for which the meat is salted in the raw state and then roasted over an open fire.

tšǎ pě vā is a piquant dish. For it, liver, heart, and kidneys are cooked tender, cut into pieces, and mixed. The whole has fresh blood poured over it, and one also adds two varieties of onions and the pepper-like fruits of a forest plant.

tšǒu tau is made out of the thick skin of large game, even rhinoceros, elephants, and buffalo, the skin of the pachyderms being regarded as a special delicacy, whereas the skin of snakes, tigers, and panthers is not used. First of all the skin must lie in running water for days, until all the particles of meat have rotted off. Then a large fire is made, the skin is put into it with the hair side down, and then the hair is scraped off with a knife. This cleaned and scraped skin is now cooked for ten to twenty hours in large kettles until it is soft. Finally, it is cut into small pieces which are eaten either fried in oil or only accompanied with a spicy sauce.

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water 252

[text continues on p. 106]

/76 cont./

252 [222] The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 [415] Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they 252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half 262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several [556] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must entertain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered
[264] the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the
584 lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/97 cont./

585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 533 men and women of the host family gather in another group. 585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights, but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and 574 nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain 585

foreign clock, both broken. The usual seat was a small, rectangular stool about eight inches high, often lacking a leg or two. In some houses I saw a few sections of log, straw hassocks, or low, long benches. Sometimes a long, wide bench stood under the window. Beds were a wooden frame or box on four legs or supported by two sawhorses. In one house thick coffin boards laid on blocks of wood formed a bed. However, not all houses had beds or enough for all the family downstairs, so that some of them slept in the loft. Beds usually had a thick straw mattress, a straw mat, or both. A few had a mat of felt. There were comfortables of the Chinese type —a pad of cotton with a removable cover not quite as large as the pad on one side and large enough on the other to fold over and overlap the first piece, with mitered corners. Others were like a rug with a nap, woven of straw on a vertical loom. Hard, small, bolster-shaped pillows were stuffed with cotton and were for looks only.

Even where there was a built-up stove with cooking bowls fitted into it, much of the cooking was done in smaller bowls on an iron hoop on three legs. On the inner side of the ring were three prongs toward the center to support the bowl. This set over the fire in the floor, which also provided heat. The big stove was used for cooking rice, when a large number were to be cooked for, to make bean curd, to distill wine, or to prepare the mash for animals. Even at feasts men and women often sat around separate floor fires and ate from dishes set on a board across the bowl or from the broth being cooked in it. At times when there were many guests, such as a wedding or funeral, the men usually ate indoors, the women at tables out-of-doors. At the New Year feasts in the house men and women ate together, as well as for the evening meal after the work of the day was done. For the fires there were iron tongs and in the ashes were set earthen pots for tea. Over the fire were suspended a square of interwoven bamboo used as a shelf, a piece of iron with several hooks, and pieces of pork or beef in loops of straw.

Other furniture included wooden cupboards for food or one built on the outside of the house with doors opening into the room, various baskets and jars, trays and bowls (set

S. Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the .oor itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. glaŋ dʐy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʐy means original and that glaŋ dʐy means original demon.

[5 cont.]

181 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by
609 the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of
262 rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more
[243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice."
[482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat
● 264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are
262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thǒ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yǒ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[364] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings 585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/230 cont./

364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

[264]

2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

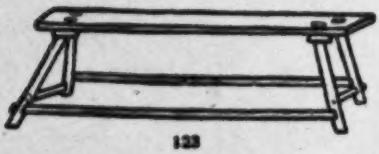
Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 205.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

/302 cont./

352 the customary squatting position on mats on the floor (Ill. 106).[1]
[511] Sometimes, too, only the adults are entitled to the table and
[516] bench, whereas the children eat their meals on the floor.
[264] Tables and benches (Ill. 107)[1] have strong slabs hewn out of one piece of wood, into which slanting wooden legs are inserted
[171] (Figs. 123 and 124). This furniture differs fundamentally from that of the Chinese and is almost identical with the tables and benches of our Alpine dwellers. Among the Meau, low wooden stools (Fig. 125) and stools to sit on, with /303/ plaited seats (Fig. 126), are in use, as they are among all the mountain peoples of Farther India.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Figs. 123-126. Furniture of the Meau.

Fig. 123. Table, 1/66 nat. size.

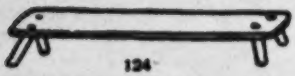
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Fig. 124. Bench for sitting, 1/34 nat. size.

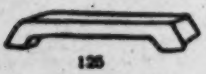
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Fig. 125. Stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

126

Fig. 126. Plaited stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

[1] [see cat 116, p 706 - ANALYST]

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[264] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
[574] the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
[262] European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
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[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/347 cont./

224 as well, which was to consist of the cold remains of breakfast.
484 At the end of this morning meal, too, the opium pipe could not be dispensed with. Then the provisions were carefully
[264] wrapped in green leaves. At every handling of the food, the
[276] Meau saw to it that not one rice kernel was lost. All his movements were uncannily quick and executed methodically, and in scarcely forty minutes from the time we got up we were ready to set out.

224 "We now had the strenuous task of climbing down the steep slope and soon came across the elephant's tracks, which the Meau, bent far forward like a sleuth-hound, followed. In places we crossed rocky terrain, and the tracks of the pachyderm were then no longer visible to my European hunter's eyes. This was not the case for the Meau, who lay down flat on the ground and, from barely discernible signs, such as a small overturned stone a bent blade of grass, recognized the trail, even though it had sometimes been crossed by muntjac or deer.

"All of a sudden, in the densest of forest thickets, we stumbled upon the haunt of an old gaur bull, which, as the tracks showed, did not leave his hiding place of about one hundred square meters. Straining all his senses, the Meau crept forward soundlessly and in a whisper bade me to watch out, since in this area we might easily be attacked by the buffalo at very close range. After considerable effort we reached the bottom of the valley, crossed the brook flowing in a torrent here, and began the ascent. Laboriously and step by step we had to fight our way straight up through the densest underbrush of thorns and ilex. In a short time I was bathed in sweat and, with pulses pounding, had to rest, especially since I was hampered by my long gun. The Meau, however, was impatient and pushed on relentlessly. When he saw that I had reached the end of my strength, he offered to take my gun and my rucksack and thus laden nevertheless struck out at such a pace that I had to put on the brake again and again.

/376 cont./

252 The blood of slaughtered animals, either fresh or cooked,
262 is happily eaten. Cooked, it is also added to other dishes.

A meatless dish consists of ground millet which is mixed with green vegetables and maize meal to form dumplings and cooked in water.

252 The eggs of all birds are eaten raw or cooked.

/377/ Without anything further, it is obvious from these descriptions that the preparation of the meals can indeed not be designated as primitive. It can be assumed that in the regions of Indochina, which are in every respect more favorable, the Meau will not practice simpler cooking, since more things in larger quantities are available to them. Nevertheless, Lajonquière (1) writes: "The preparation of food is primitive.

1. II, p. 303.

Rice, maize, and the other cereals are eaten cooked in salted water or made into mush. Vegetables are usually cooked in water, and meat is roasted in kettles. We shall always remember our first visit to the kitchen of the Lytruong of Pakha. There, whole quarters of buffalo were roasting and cooking in tremendous kettles, without any other ingredients than a few handfuls of salt, a little water, and their own fat. It was immense in quantity, but ignoble in preparation."

[114] [171] Aside from the fact that the author probably did not observe the preparation of food in detail, he is undoubtedly comparing Meau cooking with Chinese cooking, or with Annamese cooking, which is extensively influenced by the Chinese. In comparison with the excellent and highly sophisticated culinary art of these peoples, Meau cooking seems primitive indeed.

●264 From Savina's description (2) we get an impression of

2. II, p. 192.

the everyday, very modest way of life of the Meau: "The Meau have two meals a day, one in the morning before going to the fields and one in the evening upon return. Often,

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/377 cont./

M 264 [262] [412] [574] [562]

however, they take something along in order to eat at noon. The meals consist of some coarse maize dough in a bucket, some beans, and some vegetables. Spoons or chopsticks are used. Only on festive occasions is meat eaten. Some pork is always smoked and saved for important guests."

Meals are eaten together, except when strangers are present as guests (Ill. 106, 107): even for the cold snack in the fields all sit down together.

A 262

No differently than the Meau, the Akha, too, in addition to their domestic animals and cultivated plants, use a great number of wild plants and all kinds of animals for food. Of the birds /378/ they disdain vultures and ravens, but not the hornbill. They also do not eat the numerous lizards ignored also by the Meau, as well as the larvae of flies, but on the other hand they do consume dogs, which are not eaten by the Meau.

A 252 [462]

The preparation of meals among the Akha is likewise clean, but it differs in several ways from Meau cooking, while being related to it in the principal features. Among the Akha, too, it is usually the women who prepare the food, but the men very frequently help.

As a rule, the Akha cut meat into small pieces and cook it in water; they also chop it up, season it with spices, and then consume it raw. Curdled blood or the entrails of animals are prepared and eaten in the same way. Cooking pits and heated stones are also unknown to the Akha. Besides lard and the suet of the hunting booty, and in addition to the fats, the seeds of a sesame-like, oily plant must be mentioned. They are used in connection with offerings and simply by adding these seeds to the rice before it is cooked (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo").

A [782]

A 252 [262]

The basic foodstuff among the Akha is likewise rice, which is eaten at every meal. First of all it is freed from the husks and cleaned, and then it is ready to be cooked. Among the Akha its preparation is different then among the Meau. They soak it in water overnight and then cook it in the same

[See cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]

/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lūn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gē. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tóă, noon, nū tŭe ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kău, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find
[264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together
[887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work
[264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall.
[252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground
[231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables,
[264] and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women
[517] settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
[264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[832] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
[521] public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[602] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
[562] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for
[609] women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at
[125] all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before
the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward
us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their
presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant.
Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor
enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many
peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires
about the wife and children of the host. As has already been
pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
"Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
[562] case the women before the men, since that is regarded as im-
proper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left
over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only
then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series
of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female
against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
[832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man,
if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it.
This also applies to married women who therefore may pour
brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo
regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the
chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage
Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

576 [576] [554] Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

39: Bernatzik--706 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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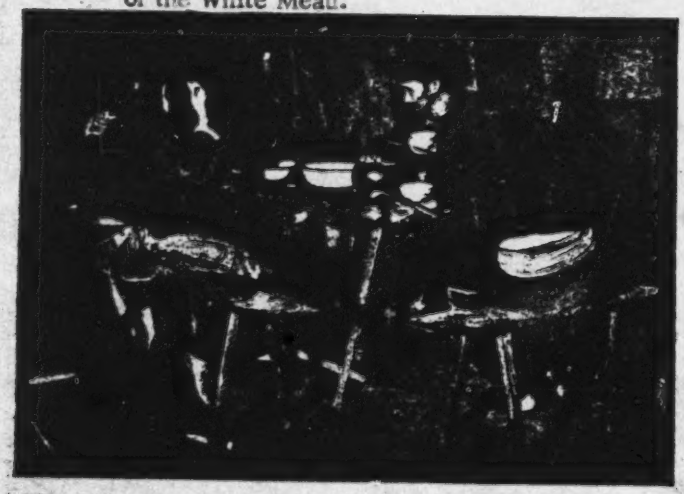
Ill. 106. Flashlight photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau.



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Ill. 107. Meau chief and family at a meal in his dwelling.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of 123
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit- 685
nesses had not told the truth at other points. 661

Another case was that of a Miao who had
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
leased so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and
could not be found to ask him to change his
mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next
hsien, and after his condition that some mer-
chant in the city go surety for her was met,
she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed
money from his brother. This brother later
brought suit for the return of some of the
loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the
day set, but the brother did not appear to re-
ceive it. Later the family who had received
the loan sued the brother for the expense to
which they had been put because of his failure
to come and receive the payment on the day
set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most 671
small matters were settled among themselves.
Much of the old man's time was taken up with
such cases. Sometimes others of the village
elders were called in for consultation. This
was according to the Chinese Government
system, though in effect this formed the vil-
lage government, or council. If matters could
not be settled by them, they were taken before
the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the
hsien magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific
economic institutions. Families formed eco-
nomic units, and as such carried on trade with
Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie
Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting
country kinfolk to gather before they re-
turned to their villages from market. The
shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as
well, and much of their trade was really a
form of family visits. In their shops, as well

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

/216 cont./

A M 782 764 114 Indochina slaughter six buffalo when a chief dies and two upon the death of a common man. Scott (2) reports that upon the death of

2. Page 275.

an Akha five buffalo are killed. Unfortunately, however, in all the cases it is not apparent whether these are sacrifices or merely roasted meat for the survivors and guests, or both.

M 114 ●266 782 A [782] Like the Meau, the Akha, too, do not know human sacrifice or the offering of human flesh. The statement in the old Chinese literature (3) that the Meau eat their slain enemies raw,

3. Album Gotha, No. 38.

as well as the general remark (4) that cannibalism occurs, prob-

4. Eberhard, II, p. 266.

ably has nothing to do with sacrifice or religion. In my opinion the Chinese authors simply wanted to impute to their mortal enemies a crime which is particularly wicked in the eyes of the Chinese.

A 825 178 [782] Among the Akha there is a noteworthy custom of taking the skull and lower jaw of certain animals taken while hunting, such as bear, muntjac, and wild pig, and fastening them for the house spirit in front of his little niche between the two rooms of the dwelling (see section, "Deities and Spirits," of the present chapter). In some places among the Akha one finds rows of monkeys' skulls nailed to the roofs. Today the Akha explain this custom as an attempt to beautify the dwelling of the house spirit and sometimes the house itself. The question was sometimes answered: "We do this because our ancestors did it." In other words, tradition was given as the reason for the custom. A [727] [174] Might this perhaps be a relic of a lost head-hunting cult? The taboo on killing the hornbill, which will be mentioned later, likewise points in this direction.

39: Bernatzik--503 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are [515] thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

/77 cont./

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262

> miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests 262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect. 574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There 272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine, 273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the [177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman 302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top [622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth [177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out [515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the
[439] Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

1 [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

248 The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

231 The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose honey is used in cake-making.

244 They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

/77 cont./

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262

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[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those
000

/49 cont./

M 853 [842] The suckling period lasts from three to four years, an observation also confirmed by Lajonquière (4). The ability to

4. II, p. 317.

conceive, however, cannot be decisively influenced by this, for I have frequently seen children three years old and older push aside a smaller sibling in order to get at the mother's breast.

/50/ Wet nurses are unknown. On a number of occasions I saw mothers who did not have enough milk desperately try to feed their children with all kinds of additional foods, especially rice and sugar. There was never any thought of using a wet nurse. Since the Meau do not drink animal milk (cf. the M [272] chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), such children die of starvation in all such cases.

A 842 527 Among the Akha, too, the birth of a child is awaited with joy, but a celebration of the birthday in later years is unknown.

A 844 Childbirth takes place, as among the Meau, in the dwelling, but on the bed itself. The husband, however, plays no role. Instead, the woman in labor is assisted by the mothers of the married couple. Other women are excluded, midwives are likewise unknown. While giving birth, the Akha woman squats in an erect position and is supported by the two older women. The umbilical cord, after it is tied, is severed with a bamboo knife.

A 844 846 [825] The afterbirth and the umbilical cord are buried under the bed of the woman in confinement, and, to be sure, under the head end of the woman. Once a day for ten days hot water is poured over the spot in order to prevent insects and especially termites from consuming what has been buried, for the Akha believe that, if this should happen, the newborn child would die.

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
[776] this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their chil-
dren, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
death. The child did sonn die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[846] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[164] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
[626] punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/226 cont./

272 539 574 One of my informants told me a legend that explains the origin of the prohibition against drinking milk. At the same time it shows how highly important hospitality is regarded among the Meau, since its neglect is punished so severely:

"In olden times there lived a Meau who had seven wives. The chief wife was a Meau, the first secondary wife, a Haw, that is to say, a Chinese, and the other secondary wives were all Meau. Each of these wives gave birth to a son. One day, an old man came and asked for milk. He first asked the chief wife, and then the other Meau wives, but they all refused him. Finally, he turned to the Haw wife, and she took pity on him and gave him milk. When he left, the /227/ old man said: 'Oh, you Haw woman, you have a good heart. Therefore you Haw people may eat and drink whatever you like. In the future, however, the Meau shall be forbidden to drink milk.'"

539 756 Concerning the origin of the shamans, I was able to learn various details, which Savina (1), however, has taken down in

1. II, p. 209.

greater detail and more fully among the Meau in Tonkin:

"There once lived two men, Ngionggi and Xigi. One day when they were on the seashore they saw an island in the middle of the waves. On this island a crane was sitting on a nest with eggs. The two men took these eggs, pierced and emptied them, and put them back in the nest. When the crane saw that they had been pierced, it filled them with a special substance and hatched them out after forty days. When Ngionggi and Xigi saw this, they took some of the substance, because they thought that they could arouse the dead with it. They tried it first on the corpses of an earthworm and an ant, which immediately came back to life. They then went into a village whose chief had just died, and they brought him back to life. Loaded with presents, they traveled on and everywhere they raised up the dead. One day they decided to return to their families. Their wives and children, however, had died a long time ago, and they were unable

/345 cont./

224 e can be wedged between the crossbar d and a foot board. After the trap has been set, the block and tackle are removed.

As an example of the behavior of the Meau hunter while stalking game in the forest, I give in the following a description from my journal: "Scouts had reported to us that a powerful lone bull elephant with mighty tusks had taken cover not far from the village. Early in the morning I set out with the chief. We climbed a steep slope and then stood at the edge of a gorge, from the bottom of which came the sound of the breaking of branches. The large mammal stood below, which made the face of the Meau light up happily. He bent forward, remained there for some time, then climbed a tree, changed his observation post several more times, and finally, from the direction of the sound, decided that the elephant was on the opposite mountain slope.

Since in order to reach him, we would have had to wind through the deep gorge in between and it was already late in the afternoon, there was no prospect of reaching the bull still
224 that same day. The chief therefore proposed that we spend the
484 night on the spot in order to be able to take up the chase at dawn, since he figured that he would be able to determine the location of the elephant from where we were. The Meau
[342] therefore put up a small windscreen, large enough to protect us, if necessary, against a storm. He closed off three sides of it with leaves of the fan palm, their stems thrust into the ground, in order, as he put it, to prevent the warmth from escaping. He then covered the ground with a layer of leaves
[513] about ten centimeters high, which was an excellent bed, for it was soft and kept off the dampness of the ground. At the open side of the windscreen he lighted a fire. These tasks took him about 30 minutes.

"Then he began to prepare the evening meal. He searched for water, and after only a few minutes he returned
[824] with bamboo-water. In /346/ these regions one can find
[272] water stored up in the hollow spaces of certain species of bamboo, even during the dry season. To get the water, such
[415] bamboos are cut between the partitioning walls, the liquid
[252] that flows out is caught in a bamboo vessel. A thick green
[824] bamboo also provided a vessel in which the rice was then cooked. The green

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/373 cont./

252 Meat is either roasted over a fire or boiled in water in
[251] large or small pieces, and is also smoked without salt or salted and dried in the sun. Furthermore it may be fried in fat or oil. Cooking pits, as well as the use of hot stones for cooking, are unknown.

262 As fat, lard is used primarily, but also the fat from hunt-
[252] ing booty. It is added to the meat and to the vegetables during the cooking, but relatively little is taken for that.

The main emphasis in the daily diet, however, is not on meat, but rather on vegetable dishes, an observation that Lajonquière (1) also makes: "Meat and poultry are not part of

1. II, p. 302.

the daily diet, which is composed almost exclusively of maize, vegetables, and beans. It is used, however, on festive occasions." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 159.

Today rice stands in first place among the Meau. It is
243 first threshed with a wooden cudgel, and then the chaff is separated from the kernels by throwing the grain to be threshed from large flat baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 343) into the air when there is as much side-wind as possible so that the chaff is carried away by it while the rice kernels fall back into the flat baskets. Finally the clinging leaves covering them are removed in a rice mortar, and the grain is ground in a mill which makes it possible to grind the rice into a coarser or finer flour as desired (chapter, "House Furnishings," Figs. 140-142).

262 The importance of rice as the principal foodstuff is shown by the many dishes prepared from it, a few of which will be described in the following. If the rice is to be prepared without
252 any additional ingredients, it is first cooked for several minutes in plenty of water and then everything is poured on a plaited strainer under which a gourd bowl is placed to catch the starchy
[231] rice-water, which is drunk or fed to the animals. The rice
[272]

/380 cont./

272 With the exception of water, non-alcoholic beverages remain unknown among the Meau in Thailand.

273 /381/ Therefore the enjoyment of alcohol plays all the greater a role, especially at the time of the major celebrations. To be sure, since beer-making, such as is customary among the Moi peoples of Indochina, is unknown, the more alcohol is obtained by the process of distillation. The raw product among the Meau is preferably maize. It is mixed with yeast and buried in the ground half a meter deep, when it remains for five days. A certain amount of water is added to the substance thus produced, and the whole is put on the fire in the distilling apparatus (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 169) which condenses the escaping alcohol, and the product is collected in a gourd bottle. The distillate is clear as water and has a somewhat earthy taste, but is otherwise similar to the European slivovitz.

[184] According to observations by Abadie (1) and the descrip-

1. Page 161.

tion by Lajonquière (2), the preparation of alcohol in Tonkin

2. II, p. 303.

seems to be similar: "The Meau consume great quantities of alcohol made of fermented grain, sometimes distilled alcohol... The Meau produce alcohol by putting grain, primarily maize, which has been steamed and mixed with yeast, in large earthenware jugs which they seal hermetically during the fermentation. It is then drunk, when needed, with the help of a bamboo tube which is dipped into the liquid." This use of the sucking tube [415] and of the mighty earthenware jugs is characteristic of the "Moi [184] peoples" of Indochina, but is unfamiliar to the Meau of northern [177] Thailand. Presumably the Meau in Indochina have borrowed this from the Moi peoples.

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

●273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
276 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

M /121 cont'd/
157 people. They must work hard so they can overcome nature and in-
461 crease their production. They must be frugal so they can make the most effective distribution of their hard-earned produce in order not to be anxious about starvation. All visitors who have been in Miao villages are surprised by how hard they work. The women usually get up before dawn to do their various domestic chores. Early morning is also the time for them to hull rice. The thumping of pestle and mortar occasionally wakes up the sleeping guests. After sunrise they separate and go up the mountain to cut wood or do some kind of farm work. The men work on the same schedule from sunrise to sunset. The busiest season for them is the period from the second to the fifth month. Within this period they have to cut wood, burn the mountains, and sow. Every type of work requires much physical strength. They usually make the best use of every inch of the land.
M
273 Their frugal life is equally praiseworthy. Though most of the men drink and smoke, they do so only to a certain extent. There are almost no drunkards in Miao society. Except on a few festive occasions, they seldom drink. Some of the women do drink, but none of them smoke. /122/ This is in sharp contrast with Li life. Furthermore, under the double oppression of both Li leaders and Chinese merchants, the Miao are an underprivileged people. For the sake of living they have to learn how to obey and be submissive and patient, but at all times they never give up fighting for a better life. Therefore, in personality they are firm of purpose.

H The Li are not like this. In the Li area, though level fields
13 are very rare, yet the endless mountain slopes are invaluable property
313 given by nature, full of lumber, rattan, wild animals, etc., free for exploitation. The slopes of the small mountains are the best land for raising grain. It is only necessary to start operations and then gather in the crops. Since their supply of foodstuff is com-
H paratively sure, their spending is also freer. It is of no use for them
181 to pile up their savings. "Be drunk while you have wine today";
273 let tomorrow take care of tomarrow. Furthermore, they can move
276 from place to place rather freely. From mountain to mountain, they need not worry about seeking a place to live. Hence drinking

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[648] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

/74/

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Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed [273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine. The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year, and is largely used for making wine. There are also these two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large- [439] ly sold to the Chinese, and the Miao themselves consume [262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork, pepper seeds, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

/77 cont./

252
262

miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

/184 cont./

*782 hostess are each asked to draw a ticket. The sorcerer-priest
842 then divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is ob-
*787 tained, he looks at the characters on the ticket to decide whether it is auspicious or inauspicious, disaster or good fortune. If the yin chiao or yang chiao is obtained, then the tickets are thrown back into the yin-yang bowl to be shaken again and drawn again. The characters written on the tickets are generally as follows: 1) five males, two females, 2) seven sons all united, 3) five sons will pass the examinations, 4) long life, wealth, honor, 5) sons and grandsons will fill the hall, 6) all requests will be granted, 7) the five grains will be fruitful, 8) the six domestic animals will increase, 9) the melon vines will spread continuously, 10) I alone will be denied, 11) whatever is sought is not granted, 12) what difficulties! When a ticket showing sons is obtained, the helper immediately gets a little No on a small chair to the right outside the door, names the No child, wraps it to make a bundle, and with both hands lifts it up and walks across the yin bridge to bring it to the hands of Mother No, and then carries it in his arms to the hostess. The host and the hostess both pay their respects to it and rise. The hostess carries the No child in her arms to the bed. The sorcerer-priest blows the horn facing out the door, /185/ and utters the incantation for locking and shutting the door. As he recites he gesticulates and after blowing once on the horn, he grasps a cane and lays it crosswise on the ground, utters an incantation, and divines. After he gets the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, he blows the horn. His helper gathers up the items on sacrifice, and after some more reciting by the sorcerer the ritual ends.

*782 The eleventh part[1] is Ch'üan Chiu /"pledging in wine"/.
●273 The sorcerer with his head wrapped in a red kerchief and wearing the willow towel on his back, sits in front of the Peach Spring cave and sings the magic words for pledging in wine. After singing two sentences, he beats the gong and drum seven or eight times. After one passage is sung, two helpers each brings up to the Peach Spring cave a small winnowing basket, which contains roasted corn, soy beans, and an item of silver jewelry as well as

1 [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

/185 cont./

*[182] two ch'ih of cloth, and sets it down, one to the right and one to the left of the cave. The sorcerer kneels left of the Peach Spring cave table, and the host kneels to the right, each holding in his hand a cup of wine. The caretaker of the altar, holding a pot of wine, stands beside the sorcerer-priest, ready to pour wine into the cups of the sorcerer and the host. On the table there are three wine cups, and the sorcerer-priest and the host drink to each other. The sorcerer sings out the names of the shen one by one, and pledges them with wine. As each name is sung out, the gong and drum must be struck several blows, and the sorcerer and host get up, lift the wine toward the cave, and bow once. The helpers offer the sacrificial items in the small winnowing baskets to the shen, while gong and drum are beaten several times. The caretaker of the altar pours wine into the cups held by the sorcerer-priest and the host. Altogether ten or more names of shen are sung out, and the same ritual also is performed ten or more times. But for the tenth shen, both the sorcerer-priest and the host must kneel down outside the door, and the helpers and the caretaker of the altar also must offer the sacrifices outside the door. After the ceremony is over, the sorcerer-priest and the host put their cups upside down on the table. The gong and drum are sounded several times, and the two pieces of cloth in the winnowing baskets are collected together. The sorcerer-priest then divines with the chiao, and when he gets the sheng chiao, the roasted corn and the beans are divided and eaten.

*[182] *[787]

The twelfth part is Hsia Ma Fan /"dismounting meal"/. The sorcerer-priest stands before the Peach Spring cave in his red clothes and red headkerchief and willow towel. He blows his horn, then changes it over to his left hand, and, taking a chiao-tzu in his right hand, raps the horn with it, at the same time uttering an incantation. After a passage he blows the horn, and taking the willow towel in his left hand and the ritual knife in his right, he utters the incantation for pledging with wine. Following this he dances with the willow towel, and then utters the incantation for divination. After a passage he divines with the chiao, and after the sheng chiao is obtained he continues

*[787]

4:Mickey E-5 (1900-?)1967 AE5 Misc AE5

262 people waded from one end of the pond to
252 the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about
252 dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was al-
574 ways on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

24 Children seemed always to have something
857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 the cooking and pounding heated them and
they had not yet become stiff and hard. At
252 this stage they were also good cut in pieces
and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in
527 brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame
seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually
toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest
the air dry them out too much they were kept
in large jars full of water. When they formed
the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable
mixed with much red chillie was eaten with
the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice
were greatly prized because not much of this
grain was raised and it was sweeter than the
white. Red ones were liked because red is
the color of joy.

796 One morning I went into the kitchen and
found the old man's first wife and the second
273 nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden
527 cask with no top or bottom had been set,
large end down, in one of the large kettles
over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the
old lady's task to keep just the right fire going
under it. Sawdust was packed around the
lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been
put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl
with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam.
From a hole in one side of the cask ran a
length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen
jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth
to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was
a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This
equipment was owned by this household and
borrowed by others when there was occasion
to make a large supply. New wine was sweet
and had some rice in it. Later it became sour
or strong of alcohol.

796 Bean curd was made as follows: The soy
beans and water were dipped with a small
252 wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in
527 the upper of two millstones set on a wooden
frame at a convenient height. From between
the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a
trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being dis-
579 tilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

836 The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House" where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

427 district they[1] In Weining- are most of them the tenants of the I-chia.

273 Drink is, we believe, in most cases the cause of their poverty and degradation. The love of whisky, which they make for themselves, is a prevailing vice among them all, men and women. Festivals, marriages, funerals, and sacrificial observances in reference to the dead, are all occasions for the reckless consumption of whisky. Chinese women at feasts sometimes drink more whisky than is good for them, but they have the good sense even then to stay indoors till the effects of it have passed away. We cannot remember that we ever saw an intoxicated Chinese woman. But Miao women glory in their shame, and are not infrequently seen hilariously, helplessly drunk, parading, or trying to parade, along the village street. Some of these drinking bouts, on the occasion of a marriage or funeral, go on for three days and nights, and the sounds of drunken songs and revelry are heard all over the village.

000 Morally most of them are below, and some of them immeasurably below, the Chinese. We know most about the Heh Miao and the Hua Miao, and these probably are the two extremes—the Heh Miao the best, and the Hua Miao and Ta-hua Miao of the west and north-west the

1 [ie., the Miao -- Analyst]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [573] [276] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

583 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao [178] at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gū leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the
[439] Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

[1] [From the Chinese.-Analyst]

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[185 cont.]

The Eighth Month. The fifteenth day of this month is the
796 mid-autumn festival. The local Chinese have the custom of
789 making offerings to the moon, which the Miao-I do not have. Before this date, however, some frolicsome fellows among them might steal a pumpkin from somebody's yard and on the eve of the fifteenth day would dress it up into the likeness of an infant, complete with garment and shoes, and wrap it inside a dress. While one man carries the pumpkin, another would walk behind, simulating baby talk or baby cry. They also carry with them different eatables and visit neighbors and relatives who do not have children. On arriving, they would set off firecrackers and then knock at the door to ask for entrance. The childless family, knowing the visit in advance, would prepare a feast to entertain the visitors in the hall. After entering the house, the visitors would take the pumpkin to an inner chamber and place it on a bed, imitating at the same time a child's crying. One visitor would then spit into the bed and exclaim: "The baby is wet!" On hearing this noise the owner of the house dashes into the room and invites the visitors to the feast. This performance is commonly known as "presenting the old pumpkin," and is regarded by childless couples as a good omen for childbearing. If in the future the recipient should actually give birth to a son, the pumpkin bearers would be treated to another feast.

The Ninth Month. The ninth day of the ninth month is
273 the Ch'ung-yang festival. On this day the Miao-I families within
796 the district all eat tz'u-pa and make wine, known as Ch'ung-yang wine. It is said that the wine made on this day is especially delicious in taste and can last for a whole year without becoming weak.

The Tenth Month. No festivals.
796 The Eleventh Month. No festivals.

[186] The Twelfth Month. The eighth day of this month is known as "La-pa," on which the Miao-I have the custom of competing for the first bucket of water. The bearers are all
[312] women, who rise early in the morning to go to the nearest well to draw the first bucketful of water to carry home. It is used to
[278] cook rice for the animals, to wash the women's hair, and to brew

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts 273 [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he 147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 241 carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 361 live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 157 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

317 The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
439 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

/33 cont./

A 597 Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase A [435] price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all.

M 608 Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is M [273] slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both go to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper M [776] that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is [782] burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded.

The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support M [428] each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled [837] to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other.

A 608 572 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends," without any special rights and duties.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/63 cont./

A M 524 game, it is played exclusively by men or boys. The original meaning of this game has been lost. Among the Lahu, however, where it has been preserved in thesame form, it is regarded as sacral, and the men play it because they /64/ believe that it gives the spirits special pleasure. Usually two boys or men participate in the top-game, one of whom throws his top with full force on a certain place, and the second tries not only to hit the top of the first player with his own and throw it off A M its course, but also to put his top in the place of the first one. [273] If he succeeds, the first player has to give something; among men this is usually a glass of liquor. Then they begin anew in reverse order. On rare occasions several players participate. In this case, the third player throws his top at that of the first player, if it has not already been thrown off course by the second player, otherwise at the one of the latter player, and so forth, until all have thrown their tops. The loser always has to give something to the winner. Thus, if the second player has succeeded in throwing the top of the first player off course, but then he himself is thrown off by the third player, the first must pay his obolus to the second, and the latter to the third.

M 526 The following games are usually played by groups of children from eight to twelve years of age.

nă nŏ nan tŭ is a game of the Meau children. They form a chain by joining hands. The leader of the chain now tries to catch the last member. If he succeeds, the captured child goes to the head of the row, and the game is continued. When only one child is left at the "tail" of the chain, he crouches down on all fours and puts three stones under him. The other children now try to take away these "eggs" which he has "layed." The first child must defend himself by dealing out kicks and blows in all directions. Each child who succeeds in seizing an "egg" is permitted to "lay his three eggs," and thus the game goes on.

M 524 nto tsă is a Meau game which is also a favorite among our boys. The children throw round pebbles at a small pit. The one who succeeds in hitting it gets the pebbles of his less skillful predecessors.

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bridegroom into the house of his parents. This often makes the [152] bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, [782] [769] informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/139 cont./

A among both peoples good singers always find special approval
M among the girls. It should also be pointed out that /140/ a
533 pronounced love for one's native village runs through many of
832 the love songs, which would not be expected among either the
[621] Meau or Akha, since both, as seminomadic peoples, often
[186] change their habitation sites. One might assume, therefore, that no special attachment to their villages would develop, but since the opposite is the case, it seems to indicate that the nomadic inclination of these peoples is only a secondary development (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "Causes of the Migrations").

M The most impressive are the love songs of the Meau,
539 which sometimes betray a really lyrical feeling:
832 "I came to your village in order to love you, but you would not even speak to me; this has made my heart sick with pain."

"I am a strong young man. Oh, why will you not hold my hand?" (Here the singer complains that the girl came to the rendezvous, but now is unwilling to surrender.)

"I visited you in your house, but you did not love me, so I am leaving."

"Now I have come to you, and if you will only stroke my neck, I shall be happy for several years, even if you do not grant me anything else."

"Speak only two words, and I shall be happy for a long time" (the "two words" mean a confirmation of love in return).

"I came to your house; why did you not offer me a cold drink?" (Girls present a "cold drink," that is, water, to the
M friend toward whom they are favorably inclined. Liquor is
[273] regarded as a very obvious invitation.)

"I came to your house, in front of which there is a tree with three fruits. Eat only one fruit, the others are poisonous!" (The singer has heard that his sweetheart has two other friends and warns her.)

/149 cont./

c) Dancing

A M 535 [171] In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /180/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

M 114 535 796 [764] The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

M [273] they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70),[1] flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

1 [See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846.

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106)[1] and pans are
439 used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and represent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese
412 dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be
515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables
252 are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice, strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots
[251] of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants. Other cooking
412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden
415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets
252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers
[273] to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

1 [see cat 116, p706- ANALYST]
[Text continues on p421]

415 /309 cont./

[412] alcohol, purchased earthenware pots in all sizes, and the various
[252] bamboo vessels which stand leaning against the wall near the
[273] hearth or hang on the wall and serve for the storing of the food-
[251] stuffs used daily. They are usually carefully closed with leaves and contain fat, salted vegetables, salt, and other spices. Water stands available in long bamboo containers. These pieces of bamboo, freed of the partitioning walls, represent indispensable
[312] vessels used in many ways (Ill. 105).[1] For carrying water, several
[482] are often bound together and carried on the back or in carrying baskets. Abadie (1) reports in similar fashion.

1. Page 160.

412 For sweeping out their dwellings, brooms (Fig. 175) are used, which are made out of tough grasses tied together in bundles. A clothes roller (Figs. 176 and 177) consists of a
412 wooden roller (A) similar to our rolling pin, around which the
296 washed clothes (B) are put while still wet. Then a heavy stone (C) is rocked in a seesaw motion on the clothes wrapped around it, by means of which they are freed of the remaining water and are smoothed.

482 For carrying firewood and other heavy loads, the Meau use special carrying frames (Figs. 178 and 179), which are carried on the back in the manner used in our Alpine countries. These carrying frames come in different sizes for men, women, and children (Ill. 104).[2]

One half of this wooden frame is provided with a tight plaiting of narrow /310/ /Figs. 156-165 appear here/ bamboo strips (Fig. 180). Broad carrying straps of leather (C) are attached to the inside of the wooden frame (A). The two ends of the carrying frame are connected by means of a forked branch (D) and a tightly /311/ /Figs. 166-177 appear here/ twisted rope attached to it. Between this and the plaited wall of the carrying frame (B) the load is now stowed and fastened by means of the rope (Ill. 93).[3]

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , " "]
3 [" " " , p643 - "]

39: Bernatzik--423 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 166-177. Kitchen Utensils of the Meau.

415

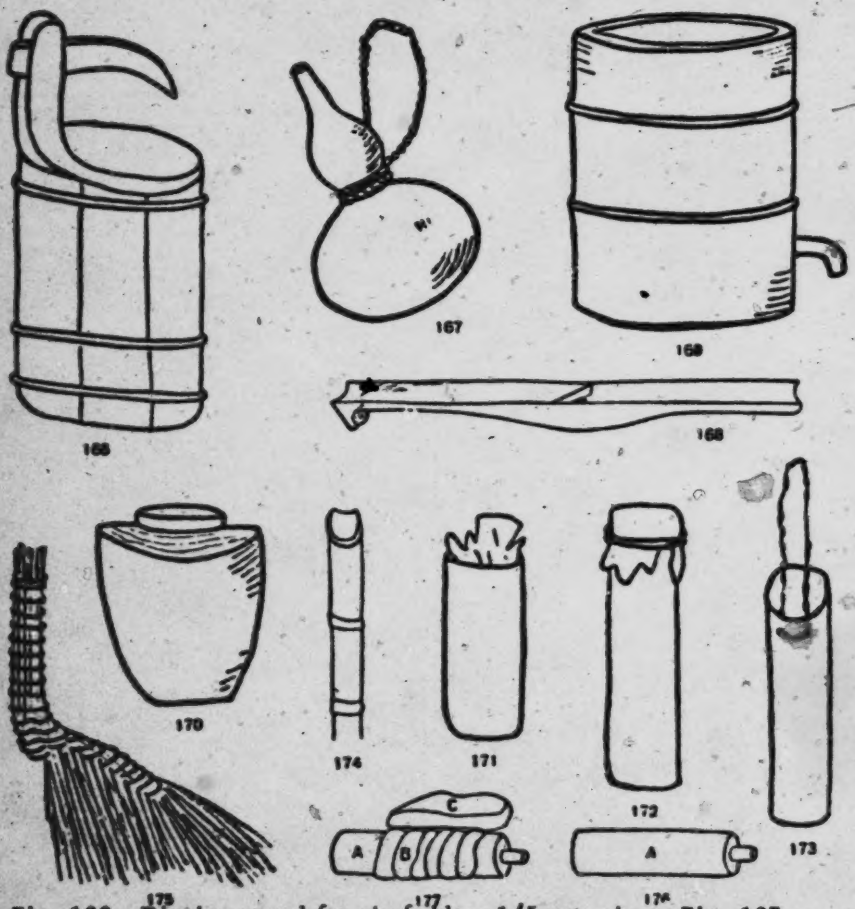


Fig. 166. Dipping vessel for pig fodder, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 167. Gourd bottle, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 168. Maize-sheller, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 169. Distillation vessel for making alcohol, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 170. Earthenware pot with grooves, 1/15 nat. size. Figs. 171-173. Bamboo vessels for foodstuffs, about 1/10 nat size. Fig. 174. Bamboo as water container, about 1/30 nat. size. Fib. 175. Broom, about 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 176. Clothes roller (mangle), empty, about 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 177. The same in use.

[412]
[273]

[412]
[296]

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/380 cont./

272 With the exception of water, non-alcoholic beverages remain unknown among the Meau in Thailand.

273 /381/ Therefore the enjoyment of alcohol plays all the greater a role, especially at the time of the major celebrations. To be sure, since beer-making, such as is customary among the Moi peoples of Indochina, is unknown, the more alcohol is obtained by the process of distillation. The raw product among the Meau is preferably maize. It is mixed with yeast and buried in the ground half a meter deep, when it remains for five days. A certain amount of water is added to the substance thus produced, and the whole is put on the fire in the distilling apparatus (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 169) which condenses the escaping alcohol, and the product is collected in a gourd bottle. The distillate is clear as water and has a somewhat earthy taste, but is otherwise similar to the European slivovitz.

[184] According to observations by Abadie (1) and the descrip-

1. Page 161.

tion by Lajonquière (2), the preparation of alcohol in Tonkin

2. II, p. 303.

seems to be similar: "The Meau consume great quantities of alcohol made of fermented grain, sometimes distilled alcohol... The Meau produce alcohol by putting grain, primarily maize, which has been steamed and mixed with yeast, in large earthenware jugs which they seal hermetically during the fermentation. It is then drunk, when needed, with the help of a bamboo tube which is dipped into the liquid." This use of the sucking tube [415] and of the mighty earthenware jugs is characteristic of the "Moi [184] peoples" of Indochina, but is unfamiliar to the Meau of northern [177] Thailand. Presumably the Meau in Indochina have borrowed this from the Moi peoples.

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

[184] As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
439 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)
114 writes

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which
[323] was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ~~ease~~ of importation."

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
[264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[832] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[521] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
[602] public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[562] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[609] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
[123] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for
women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at
all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before
the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward
us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their
presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant.
Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor
enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many
peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires
about the wife and children of the host. As has already been
pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
[562] "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
case the women before the men, since that is regarded as im-
proper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left
over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only
then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series
of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female
against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
[832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man,
if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it.
This also applies to married women who therefore may pour
brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo
regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the
chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage
Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [431] [276] neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[428] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of
276 two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordi-
621 narily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the
648 litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to the village for the second period of residence,
689 the first of February, 1942, I found that the old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in
648 prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone
123 to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

661 This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some
648 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed
123 by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

worst, of all the Miao tribes. We have lived much among the Heh Miao, and believe there are plenty of decent women among them. But there are no decent women among the Ta-hua Miao, or there were none until the missionaries went among them. The Ta-hua Miao of Wei-ning district and around Chaotung were, and in some cases are still, so bad that they could hardly be worse. This is describing their moral condition in very few words, but these are quite enough. The less said on this topic the better, and so we leave it.

The vice of opium smoking is not so prevalent among them as it is among the Chinese, but many of them grow, and some of them smoke, opium. During our own experience among them for fifteen years we have noticed the habit becoming more and more prevalent. In villages where fifteen years ago only one or two smoked surreptitiously, there are now houses where many of them go and smoke openly. In the elevated regions of the west, where opium cannot be grown, the habit is almost unknown, but elsewhere it is spreading among them.

Opium may not be a specific for all the ills that flesh is heir to, but it seldom fails to ease pain and give temporary relief, and among

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

276 people who have no medical science, with opium always at hand, it is easy to foresee what the state of matters will be in the course of time if things go on as they are. Fortunately, the Chinese Government seem determined to put an end to the cultivation of the poppy, and if they do put a stop to it, as we believe they will sooner or later, there will be an end to this vice among the Miao. Most of them are too poor to buy it for themselves, so cannot use it if they do not produce it.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [573] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men [276] and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

583 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao [178] at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gū leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[4 cont.]

101 184 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classification the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very 181 [147] sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in [276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

155: Abadie--172 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[159 contr]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

● 276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

/43 cont./

634 695 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly, as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished, [342] not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of [516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the [276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and [292] sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri- [782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [425] [758] [276] [185] [614] [736] The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M 185

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50). Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
755 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which
787 all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[941] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called táun yā. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yă yū and mā tlăn, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

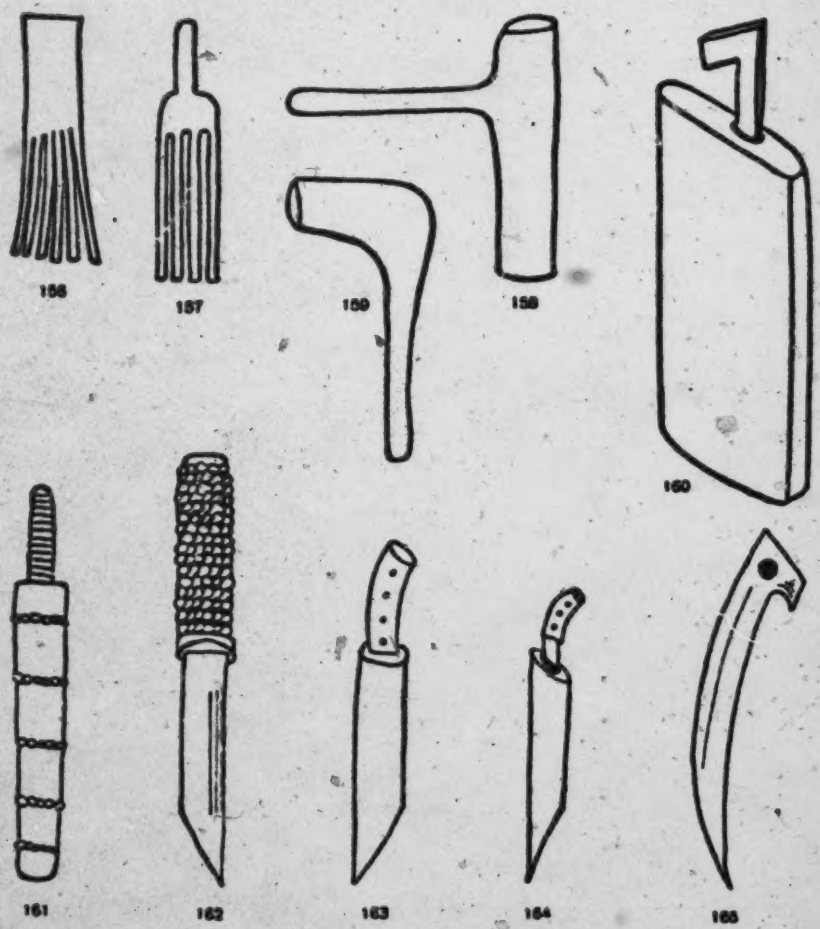
757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[847] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kā, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role;
177 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
278 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For
832 example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

39: Bernatzik--422 Σ-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 156-165. Kitchen Utensils of the Meau.

412



[413] Fig. 156. Wooden fork for making powder. Fig. 157. Wooden
[289] fork for making paper, both about 1/10 nat. size. Figs. 158
and 159. Wooden mallets for pounding dough, about 1/6 nat.
[297] size. Fig. 160. Cutting board for tobacco, 1/5 nat. size.
Figs. 161-164. Knives with iron blade, wooden handle, and
wooden sheath. Fig. 161 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 162 = 1/5 nat.
size. Fig. 163 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 164 = 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 165.
[289] Bone knife for making paper, 1/4 nat. size.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/312/

M 285 482 415 Especially numerous are the household inplements of plaited material; above all, the many shapes of the baskets are to be stressed. There are carrying baskets in all sizes, double-walled for heavy loads, loosely plaited for light loads (Ill. 93),[1] large supply-baskets for the storing of /Figs. 178-180 appear here/ food, clothing, and cloth, chicken baskets, small carrying baskets and carrying bags for traveling; moreover, mats for sleeping, for threshing of grain, for covering food, the wide fish-nets, basket weirs, flat rice-baskets and strainers; and also knotted bags and fish nets. All these articles are described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

M 128 276 412 /313/ The description of the various opium implements (Ill. 74),[2] which are numerous in every household, all the agricultural and smithy implements, and the work tools and cult objects, musical instruments, weapons, and so forth is contained in the appropriate chapters.

A 342 The division of the Akha house into cooking, living, and sleeping rooms is shown in the ground plan, /Fig. 91 (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). /Figs. 181-183 appear here./

A 354 [252] [562] The fireplaces of the Akha (Fig. 181) are square boxes which are filled with earth. They are sunk into the floor of the living room (chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Fig. 105, R). An iron tripod (Fig. 182) for the cooking pots stands on the ground surface, which is level with the floor. These fireplaces, one of which /314/ is for the men and the other for the women of the house, are used for heating the house as well as for cooking. Moreover, as has been mentioned, in each house there is a hearth for cooking the pig fodder (Fig. 183). This hearth consists of mound of stones which is enclosed on the outside with plaited bamboo. On this stone ring stands the iron basin under which the wood fire burns.

A [231]

A 372 Fire is made, as among the Meau, with flint and iron (Figs. 119-122, chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils"). Dry wood dust is used as tinder.

1 [SEC cat 116, p643 - ANALYST]
2 [" " , p573 - "]

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /326 cont./
301 Meau in Thailand (Ill. 57).[1] The dot of the question mark is formed by the button that holds the ornament in the hole in the ear lobe, while the curve hangs down to the chest (Figs. 219 and 220). The same author also saw ear pendants with a ring of jade among the Meau. These ear pendants are usually /Figs. 211-216 and 218-220 appear here/ /327/ purchased
M [439] from the Yau /Yao/ or Chinese, but are also made by the Meau themselves, faithfully following the traditional model. Children often wear small silver bells in their ears.

Solid rings of silver, copper, or iron are worn around the ankles by both sexes (Figs. 221-223). /Figs. 217 and 221-227 appear here./

/328/ The finger rings that I saw among women, men, and children were mostly simple, open silver hoops, but one also frequently sees beautiful homemade ornamental rings (Figs. 224 and 225).

M [177] Among the various silver objects still to be mentioned here
[413] are the scratching pins (Fig. 226), probably of Chinese origin,
[276] which one comes across everywhere. They are worn tied to the belt, along with small bells and a needle for serving up opium.

A 291 The clothing of the Akha maintains its characteristic note through the richness and the variety of the ornaments used.
[531] The patches, embroidery, and appendages of the articles of clothing and the body ornaments almost reach the limits of possibility, but nevertheless are used with so much taste that the clothing makes a thoroughly harmonious and very decorative impression (see Ills. 4 to 13 and Colored Plate I).[2] The basic elements, however, the dark-blue material and the cut, as well as the three-part division of the women's clothing into
A blouse, skirt, and leggings and the two-part division of the
[171] men's clothing into jacket and trousers, are the same as among
[286] the Meau and other mountain tribes of Farther India. The
[439] fabric is self-woven out of hemp or cotton and indigo (see
[294] the chapter, "Handicrafts") and even today is very seldom replaced by purchased goods. The clothing is sewed only by the women and apparently in abundant quantities, for among the Akha we never saw garments in use that were anywhere near as shabby or torn as among the Meau.

[1] [See Cat 116, p368 - ANALYST]
[2] [illegible] 12-14, 24-27 + 3/30 - ANALYST]

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
[264] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[574] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[262] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/347 cont./

224 as well, which was to consist of the cold remains of breakfast.
484 At the end of this morning meal, too, the opium pipe could not be dispensed with. Then the provisions were carefully
[264] wrapped in green leaves. At every handling of the food, the
[276] Meau saw to it that not one rice kernel was lost. All his movements were uncanhily quick and executed methodically, and in scarcely forty minutes from the time we got up we were ready to set out.

224 "We now had the strenuous task of climbing down the steep slope and soon came across the elephant's tracks, which the Meau, bent far forward like a sleuth-hound, followed. In places we crossed rocky terrain, and the tracks of the pachyderm were then no longer visible to my European hunter's eyes. This was not the case for the Meau, who lay down flat on the ground and, from barely discernible signs, such as a small overturned stone a bent blade of grass, recognized the trail, even though it had sometimes been crossed by muntjac or deer.

"All of a sudden, in the densest of forest thickets, we stumbled upon the haunt of an old gaur bull, which, as the tracks showed, did not leave his hiding place of about one hundred square meters. Straining all his senses, the Meau crept forward soundlessly and in a whisper bade me to watch out, since in this area we might easily be attacked by the buffalo at very close range. After considerable effort we reached the bottom of the valley, crossed the brook flowing in a torrent here, and began the ascent. Laboriously and step by step we had to fight our way straight up through the densest underbrush of thorns and ilex. In a short time I was bathed in sweat and, with pulses pounding, had to rest, especially since I was hampered by my long gun. The Meau, however, was impatient and pushed on relentlessly. When he saw that I had reached the end of my strength, he offered to take my gun and my rucksack and thus laden nevertheless struck out at such a pace that I had to put on the brake again and again.

/358 cont./

249 2. Poppies. The Meau cultivate three different types, which are recognizable by the color of their flowers. Accordingly, one distinguishes white, red, and purple poppies. At the end of June they are sowed in soil which has been loosened with digging sticks. Tobacco, spinach-like vegetables, or [244] onions also grow in the poppy fields at the same time, which further increases the great importance of the poppy fields for the Meau. Six months after the sowing of the poppies the 249 making of opium begins. For this the nearly ripe poppy heads 276 are slit (Ill. 73)[1] with a three-bladed knife (chapter, "Food and Stimulants," Fig. 289). A whitish juice, the opium, oozes out and is carefully collected. After it has been properly [439] treated, it represents the most valuable article of trade of the Meau. After the opium harvest comes that of the now ripened 249 poppies, which are particularly valued as food on account of [262] their high oil content. Moreover, poppy fields, as was said, can be laid out on old, harvested maize fields, so that the least amount of land is required for their cultivation. If one adds to that the fact that mixed poppy fields remain productive for ten to twenty years, depending on the fertility of the soil, it may be said that they, next to the rice fields, certainly constitute the most important agricultural production area of the Meau.

3. Sugar Cane. Early in May the Meau set out six types, which ripen at different times. Furrows about 17 to 18 centimeters deep are made with the hoe (Figs. 269 and 270) 90 centimeters apart, and the shoots are set out with the help of a setting peg at uniform intervals of about 30 centimeters. At the earliest, harvesting commences eight months after the ensuing cultivation. These sugar-cane beds are productive for three years on the average and then lie fallow.

244 4. Yams. As soon as the cultivation of sugar cane is ended, four different types of this potato-like tuber is planted. For this purpose small pits are dug about 80 centimeters apart, the /359/ pieces of the seed tubers, cut up according to the bud-eyes, are put in, and the pit is covered. The harvest of the early ripening types begins as early as four months later.

1 [see cat 116, p573 - ANALYST]

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand,
[184] so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

/379 cont./

b) Stimulants

276 The Meau are passionate tobacco smokers, whereas snuff or the chewing of tobacco is unknown. Both kinds of tobacco
249 known to the Meau are at times mixed with the seeds of poppies and sowed with them at the end of May. The one kind, lŏ yŭm bĕ klĕ, is a low, weak plant with narrow, long leaves. The tobacco obtained from it, however, is considerably stronger than that from the second kind, called lŏ yŭm kŭ fŏ. Tobacco is harvested about six months after planting. The plant is cut off just above the root, the stalk with the lower leaves left on it is discarded, and the leaves that have been picked off are sorted. Those from the middle height of the stalk give a different quality of tobacco than those from the upper third. Now the leaves are dried and then put out in the dew for a night to moisten them. Then they are tightly piled on top of one another, rolled up together, and packed in green banana leaves, which are tied together. Then the tobacco undergoes a kind of /380/ fermentation process and, thus preserved, keeps up to two years. Immediately before use, it is cut up into small
276 pieces with a knife on a board (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 160).

Some of this cut tobacco, which is now ready for use is carried /Figs. 285-288 appear here/ by every Meau in a spe-
[415] cial little box of bamboo or wood provided with a cover (Fig. 285), in order to have it at hand for his pipe (Figs. 286 and 287). In addition, water pipes of bamboo are used (Fig. 288), which Lajonquière (1) confirms for Tonkin as well. The author also

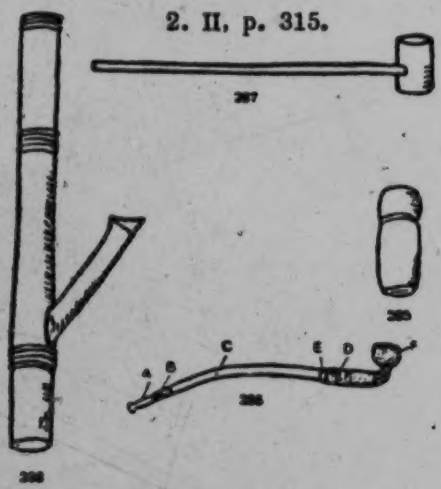
1. II, p. 303.

informs us that the bowls of the "ordinary pipes" are made of stone, wood, or copper, while the generally long stem is made of porcelain.

/380 cont./

276 [171] The Meau know of no other form of enjoyment of tobacco, such as the rolling of cigars or cigarettes, which is customary among the Lao and Schan /Shan/. Other plants, such as the hemplike ones, are not smoked either. Savina (2),

2. II, p. 315.



Figs. 285-288. Equipment for Tobacco-smoking among the Meau.

[415] Fig. 285. Tobacco box of bamboo, with cover, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 286. Tobacco pipe of the chief, about 1/7 nat. size: A = mouthpiece of porcelain; B = silver mounting; C = stem; D = brass; E = sealed with wax. Fig. 287. Tobacco pipe of bamboo, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 288. Water pipe of bamboo, 1/7 nat. size.

[857] however, reports that the Meau children in Tonkin smoke discarded hemp-stalks. It seems, however, that this is more of a game, rather than real enjoyment of the drug. The chewing of betel is unknown, which Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ confirms for Indochina.

/381 cont./

276 [439] Furthermore, opium plays a very important role, both as a stimulant and remedy and as an article of trade (see the chapter, "Trade"). When the poppy fruits are almost ripe, they [412] are slit with a special instrument, the poppy-slitting knife (Ill. 73 and Fig. 289). This consists of three iron blades tied together. The three sharp points of the combined blades are used to slit the capsule, from which a gummy juice flows out. By the next morning it has hardened and is now collected in gourd bowls with a scraper (Fig. 290). This substance is then pressed into bamboo vessels and left for two or three days, whereupon it exudes water. Now it is kneaded and pounded in mortars and rolled into cylinders, which are wrapped in paper. This produces the raw opium, the /382/ /Figs. 289-298 appear [439] here/ article of trade. For one pound the Meau receive 18 ticals [435] from the Chinese traders; the traders then make a profit of many hundred times this amount.

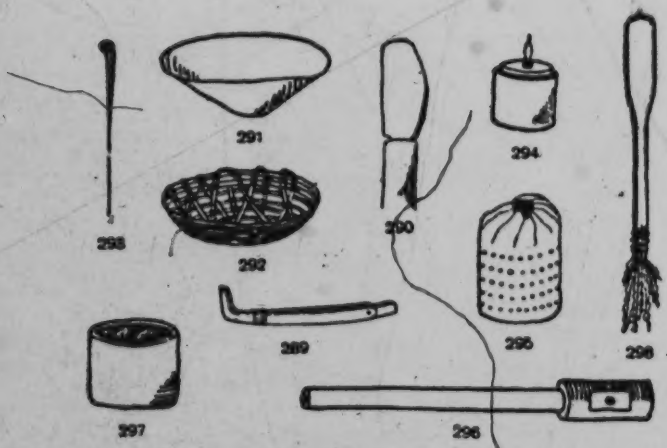
In order to make the ardently desired stimulant from this raw product, it is boiled three times in water in special copper kettles (Fig. 291). For the first cooking, one adds water to the opium in the amount of ten times the weight and cooks it until the opium mixes with the water and forms a homogeneous substance. Then the liquid is filtered through a double layer of bamboo paper (Fig. 192). To the extract obtained, fresh water is added in the amount of 50 per cent of its quantity, the filtered residue is likewise mixed in, and the whole is boiled anew and filtered again. The filtration residue is now thrown away, and [439] the liquid obtained is boiled until it forms a viscous mass which, for trading, may be boiled down until it is quite hard.

The drug is swallowed with water by the Meau, as well as smoked in Chinese fashion, but not chewed. Older men usually eat some opium in the morning but smoke a pipe in the evening. For this purpose the proper amount is /383/ speared on a needle (Fig. 293), then heated over a small lamp (Figs. 294 and 295) until it becomes soft (Ill. 74), and then stuck into the opium pipe (Fig. 296) which is smoked.

[See cat 116, p573- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--519 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

276
415
412



Figs. 289-298. Opium Apparatus of the Meau.

Fig. 289. Knife for slitting poppies, 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 290. Poppy scraper, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 291. Copper kettle, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 292. Plaited strainer with filter paper, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 293. Iron needle for putting the opium into the pipe, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 294. Opium lamp: a bamboo container, in it a brass vessel with a candle, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 295. Perforated iron cover, which is put over the opium lamp, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 296. Opium pipe of bamboo, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 297. Bamboo vessel for straining opium, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 298. Feather brush with wooden handle, for cleaning the opium kettle, 1/7 nat. size.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

M [562] [114]

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

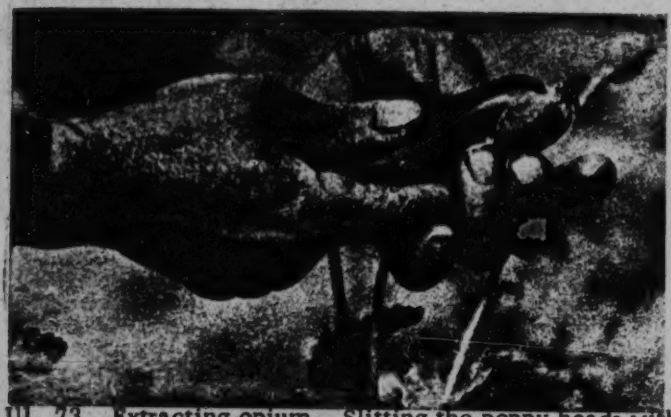
M [763] [757] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

39: Bernatzik--573 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 426./

276
413



Ill. 73. Extracting opium. Slitting the poppy heads with a three-bladed knife.

276
291
516

Ill. 74. Opium smoker.

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.

/1 cont'd/

101 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao
175 troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains
[411 and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the
● 27] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people
[29] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like
[48] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where
[21] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned
[324] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are
[754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] */Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [415 281] powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small 171 groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/139/

000 At Ta-ch'i we opened our box of medicines at Mr. Wang's house, but could not find any drug for dysentery. Mr. Wang's workmen 278 told us about a herb, used frequently by the Miao and said to be a kind of miracle drug to cure dysentery for the Miao. I suggested to Yüan-chiung that he should try it, as it might not do him any harm. He instantly resisted the idea and said he preferred death to taking the Miao drug. As we were put in such a predicament, with no medical facilities of any kind around this place, a thought suddenly struck me. As a child I had seen countrymen in my native place mix honey with tea to cure dysentery. Mr. Wang happened to have honey in his house, and we had brought along several kinds of tea with us. I mixed some and let Yüan-chiung drink it. Its effect is yet to be seen.

000 When we were at Ang-chi, though it was a filthy place, I was able to amuse myself by talking with the Miao. Back at Mr. Wang's house, it was like living in a castle; the place was much more comfortable, but I felt overcome with loneliness.

Third month, sixth day. (Saturday)

Originally I had thought that we should start for Pao-t'ing today, if Yüan-chiung was not any better. But after taking the drink of 278 honey in tea that I gave him yesterday, he has felt an immediate 164 effect. His dysentery has become much less frequent, and his spirits are much higher. As a complete cure seems in sight, we are glad to be able to cancel our previous plans.

After breakfast at ten o'clock, we set out for Wen-hua trading center, intending to take a closer look at the trading conditions of 226 the Miao and Li. At Wen-hua ten or more boys were making fish bombs, which they threw into the river to explode among the fish. We bought some 20 firecrackers for ourselves and asked the children to make a fish bomb for us. With it we caught about half a catty of fish, and we brought them back for supper.

243 The Li in the neighborhood were busy sowing and planting rice, and during the day we walked about the fields and talked with them.

/69 cont./

226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[232] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
[233] Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[234] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for
[24] fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eats
[556] eggs and the rich eats chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[987] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 are also called TΛu TΛu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老瓦潭 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoɔ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包穀飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine. [278]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木平. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

[185 cont.]

796 The Eighth Month. The fifteenth day of this month is the
789 mid-autumn festival. The local Chinese have the custom of making offerings to the moon, which the Miao-I do not have. Before this date, however, some frolicsome fellows among them might steal a pumpkin from somebody's yard and on the eve of the fifteenth day would dress it up into the likeness of an infant, complete with garment and shoes, and wrap it inside a dress. While one man carries the pumpkin, another would walk behind, simulating baby talk or baby cry. They also carry with them different eatables and visit neighbors and relatives who do not have children. On arriving, they would set off firecrackers and then knock at the door to ask for entrance. The childless family, knowing the visit in advance, would prepare a feast to entertain the visitors in the hall. After entering the house, the visitors would take the pumpkin to an inner chamber and place it on a bed, imitating at the same time a child's crying. One visitor would then spit into the bed and exclaim: "The baby is wet!" On hearing this noise the owner of the house dashes into the room and invites the visitors to the feast. This performance is commonly known as "presenting the old pumpkin," and is regarded by childless couples as a good omen for childbearing. If in the future the recipient should actually give birth to a son, the pumpkin bearers would be treated to another feast.

The Ninth Month. The ninth day of the ninth month is
273 the Ch'ung-yang festival. On this day the Miao-I families within
796 the district all eat tz'u-pa and make wine, known as Ch'ung-yang wine. It is said that the wine made on this day is especially delicious in taste and can last for a whole year without becoming weak.

796 The Tenth Month. No festivals.

The Eleventh Month. No festivals.

[186] The Twelfth Month. The eighth day of this month is known as "La-pa," on which the Miao-I have the custom of competing for the first bucket of water. The bearers are all
[312] women, who rise early in the morning to go to the nearest well to draw the first bucketful of water to carry home. It is used to
[219] cook rice for the animals, to wash the women's hair, and to brew

M [186 cont.]
79% tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
M bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day
[777] all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

M
[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S The southern border region of Kweichow province has a sub-
164 tropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yǎ. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, [824] as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the [276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.

[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult 845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines. [840] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kī, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The 752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd [827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax. [276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

177 In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role; 278 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous, almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For 832 example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/237 cont./

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.
832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious
ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
757 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
278 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
114 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test
the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not
forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to
medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than
the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine!
It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines
that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be
found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.

752 They are most skillful, however, in the treatment of bone fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing
[845] trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.

278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manufacture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of certain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

Akha A04
Mido AE5

M /238 cont./
278 to the description, which are tapped by means of four diagonal cuts placed opposite to one another, similar to the procedure for obtaining India rubber. The sap flowing out hardens in the air into a viscous rubber-like mass, which is collected. Now the same weight of water is added, and the sap is cooked with
M constant stirring, over an open fire. The substance thus obtained
[415] is poured into bamboo flasks which are sealed airtight. After cooling off, the mass becomes solid again. Before use it is warmed slightly and thereby again becomes liquid. Then one adds tobacco juice and ground pepper and dips in the arrow; dries the adhered portion over the fire, and repeats this procedure until the arrow points are thickly covered with the now black poisonous mass.

If well sealed in tubes, the poison keeps for years; applied to the arrow and kept over the hearth, as is customary, so that the smoke prevents the growth of putrefying bacteria, it remains effective for about a year.

A As an antidote the Meau and, probably in imitation of
M them, the Akha use cooking salt, which is rubbed into the wound
278 with good results. Moreover, the wounded person is given large
752 quantities of tea to drink and is made to sweat.

A The Akha who, as was already mentioned, depend almost
752 entirely on the neighboring peoples in their medications, are also
[177] far behind the Meau in the treatment of wounds or bone fractures.
[757] To be sure, they know how to set fractured bones in an emergency, but they cannot perform any kind of operation.

A The Akha in Thailand do not even make their arrow
278 poison; instead, they buy it from their neighbors, chiefly from
439 the Meau.
M
439

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the
[114] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the
[184] authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how-
[262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer,
[312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the
[241] rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the
[278] fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of
278 men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools. It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to [278] the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60 [285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the [857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At [165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to [136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets, [227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [415 powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao 28] people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small 171 groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds.
342 The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment, since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand,
[184] so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[434] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

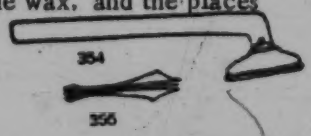


Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
[411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on
[262] the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are
[177] not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

[1] [see cat 116, p620- ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p597- "]

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
[237] wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[335] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

294 finer cloth, of which they also made blouses, was already dyed when bought.

283 Hemp thread was made as follows: The stalks were cut close to the ground and stripped of the leaves, which were put back on the hemp bed as fertilizer. The bark and fiber were stripped from the wands and the bark loosened and stripped from the fiber with a knife, one end of the strip being held with the toes and one with the left hand. The long fibers were hung in the sun to dry and bleach. They were then boiled and sunned again. For the cloth they made a coarse thread by twisting the split fibers with the fingers and then rolling them against the leg or thigh. The split fibers had previously been twisted in bunches into a darning ball shape, and as the thread was made it was wound in a figure eight around a loop of bamboo. From this it was made into skeins, which were boiled and then wound into balls like those of cord (fig. 18, *e*). When weaving was to be done the balls were set into a tub of water and reeled from it onto the shuttle.

301 For married women the better turban was put on as follows: The hair was braided in two braids to the front, being pieced out with thread if the hair was scanty. One of a pair of chopsticks was laid across the head above the forehead and these braids wound around to hold it securely in place. A piece of blue cloth was fitted lengthwise over the stick and fastened with a needle or two, or sewed. Over the stick was put another piece of blue cloth with the ends folded on top of the head, and a longer piece of white was wound around the head at the height of the base of the stick. Another white piece was wound around the head at the line — high forehead, tips of ears, nape of neck. Finally a longer strip of dark blue cloth was wound around the outside of the white, but higher in the back, and the ends were tucked in. The ends of the white cloth were pulled out to stand up like the ends of a bow. If the family was in mourning, the outer strip was white. For special occasions a second, usually bright blue strip was put on in such a way that about half an inch of the lowest white cloth showed below it.

302 Unmarried girls shaved the head except 882 for the crown and braided the hair from that

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miso AE5

to sell from time to time, just to get through nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope. 241 [283]

It was after the middle of the seventh month (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel—grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke, and burned quickly. 374

Rice harvest began about the first of the eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods 243 512

about ninety feet (.36 mile).

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

442 from the straw of glutinous rice made san-
241 dals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it,
442 stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, sep-
283 arated the strands, and from them made the
386 two grades of thread — one for sewing and
mending and one for weaving into cloth. They
291 gathered and dried nutgalls and from them
prepared a dye, by which they dyed white
cloth bought in piece in the market an even,
almost black blue. They made all the cloth-
ing for themselves and their families and their
bedding. They wove the straw comforter,
too. Girls and younger women made the em-
broidery on the overpiece, front apron, and
turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older
women made hemp thread and did the weav-
ing of cloth for the back apron and bands for
the baby pad. It was the older women who
wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

286 Three types of loom were used. First there
was that described in the making of the belt.
Second, there was the vertical loom used for
the weaving of straw comforters. This had
two beams, one high and one near the floor,
from which the warp ropes of twisted straw
went back and forth. Two of the poles sup-
porting the rafters served as uprights. The
weft was similar to the warp, except that
straw ends were left sticking out so that the
result was smooth on one side and had a nap
on the other. The weft was sent through by
hand, in and out, over and under successive
threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet.
The third was used for the weaving of hemp
cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of
two by fours about eight feet long and three
wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides
and, a little lower down, across the ends, also
one about two feet from one end. The upper
pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at
each end. Into this frame was set another,
lighter one, going into the upper horizontal
pieces at the back, but down into the bracing
piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace
about a foot above the main frame, across the
front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights
of this second frame, a board was put across
for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end
the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

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a, The *lu-sheng*. *b*, The *lu-sheng*, showing men dancing as they play the instrument. *c*. Old woman in ragged clothing. *d*, Two school boys before the shrine to the local deity at the south of the village. *e*, Woman winding bobbins from the ball in a tub of water, one of the priests is behind her. *f*, "Old Black" Miao, showing embroidery like that on the old woman's body at burial (see p. 56).

[916]

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[160 cont.]
415 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
482 often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo"
[492] of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women
[854] place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
● 283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

155: Abadie--244 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[172]

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135. "Méo" Village with Terraced Rice Fields

293. Pha-Long (Country of the "Méo," "Nung," and "Pa-y").

[288]

428. Hillsides Laid out in Irrigated Rice Fields by the "Méo" of Pakha.

128. "Méo" Method of Reeling off Hemp.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, [731] a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest [312] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/275 cont./

342 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm
184 leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/ north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or
[789] several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent
[411] evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber
[283] cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see
[531] the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

39: Bernatzik--470 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 346 and 347/

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Ill. 64. Meau boys learn how to make a rope.

/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [326] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide- [439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

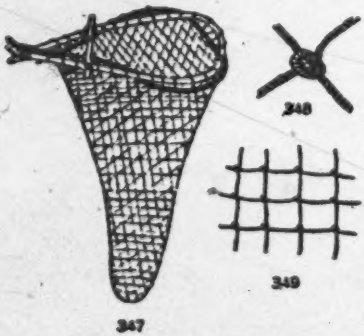
/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during [243] the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

286 The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kŭń.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

283



Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the

[227] Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau
[286] for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size.

The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

upper or lower leg (Ill. 64). 1 Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

1 [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]

/401 cont./

283 string is produced from the thinner one. Heavy cord is obtained by twisting in rattan fibers by means of a wooden fork.
[237] The Meau twist strong ropes out of strips of skin, those of bearskin being regarded as the strongest.

/402/ In addition to the twisting process, braid-like ropes,
[492] bands and wide belts for the saddles of the pack animals are also plaited. For this purpose the Meau use three to twelve threads each time. This plaiting is done solely with the hands
[412] and without any tool; only in the making of straps are iron awls used for preliminary piercing.

286 The ancient Chinese literature (1) already mentions re-

1. North China Br., 1859, p. 264; Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 38.

peatedly that the Meau are good spinners, weavers, and dyers. For the manufacture of the cloth for clothing, the Meau primarily use hemp, rarely cotton. They sow hemp (mǎń) in their
248 rice and poppy fields. Lajonquière (2) likewise mentions hemp

2. II, p. 311.

in Indochina and writes that the Meau there cultivate it at the same time as maize and harvest it six to seven months after the sowing. The fibers of banana leaves, on the other hand, were never used, according to my observations and findings. And
[114] since I could find nothing about this anywhere else, a mistake by Seidenfaden, who reported on it, must be assumed. Cotton is cultivated in special fields and is used in a fashion similar to that among the Akha (see pp. 441 f.).

The hemp seed is set out with the planting stick among the Meau in northern Thailand; the period of cultivation falls between the end of April and the beginning of May; the harvest is about three months later. The stalks are cut with the sickle, the leaves are removed, and then the stalks are placed in water
[283] so that they will rot. Afterward they are dried, and the woody

/402 cont./

283 [248] parts are removed by breaking the stalks /Figs. 350-351 appear here/ and taking out the tough cellular tissue. By this means a coarse yellowish spinning material is obtained. Its fibers are twisted together with the fingers of the right hand (Fig. 351) and spun into long threads. At the same time, the fingers of the left hand hold a ring wound with bamboo, into which a small stick is jammed (Fig. 350). Through quick movements of the left hand, that is to say, of the ring, the spun thread is wound on the small stick.

/403/ The women work with this spinning ring even when [512] they are going somewhere, carrying the required spinning material in their aprons. For the further work, several of the spun threads are twisted together with the help of a special spinning apparatus (Ill. 90)[1] and wound on large spindles. Next the yarn is boiled in water to which much potash was added, and then the thread is carefully rinsed in fresh water and unwound in order to test whether it holds together throughout. Now the yarn is wound up anew and boiled again in a lye of wood ashes, and the rinsing process and the testing are repeated, as is the winding up of the yarn again; to the water for the third boiling, however, no [237] /Figs. 352-353 appear here/ potash is added, but rather beeswax. After this third and last boiling process, the yarn is not rinsed any more, but only wrung out and placed on straw, which was spread out on boards beforehand, to dry. Here, during the drying, it is frequently moved back and forth, so that the wax is uniformly distributed in the yarn. The dried, waxed yarn is first wound on spools shaped like windmills,

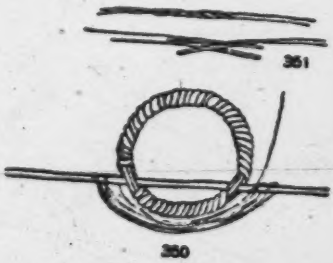


Fig. 350. Spinning Ring of the Meau, 1/3 nat. size.

Fig. 351. Sample of spinning.

1 [see cat 116, p 622 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

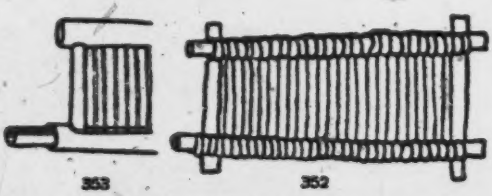
/403 cont./

283 which are called kǒulǐ, but then sticks about as thick as a finger are stuck in the ground in two rows one to two meters apart, and the yarn is now wound between them in skeins ready for weaving.

286 The yarn thus prepared is woven on horizontal looms (Ill. 88) into strips of material 37 centimeters wide (Ill. 89).

The weaver's comb of the loom has either a frame made of two wooden sticks between which the thin, flexible cross-strips of bamboo are held and tied fast (Fig. 352), or the frame consists of bamboo tubes with iron bands (Fig. 353), into which /404/ the cross-sticks are inserted. The threads are then drawn between these narrow cross-sticks.

Besides these looms, the Meau also use weaving boards to make narrower bands.



Figs. 352-353. Weaver's Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 352, of wood with bamboo cross-strips; Fig. 353, of bamboo with iron cross-strips.

Concerning this work, we also have some reports by Lajonquière (1), which in part are confirmed by Abadie:

1. II, p. 309.

"The common spinning material is hemp. It is harvested in the lowlands, wound on spools, and combed with coarse combs. The women spin it by hand... They weave their own cloth and dye it in the same manner as the Tho." Savina (2) describes

[248] [283] [171] [184]

2. II, p. 211.

the procedures in Indochina somewhat differently: "When the

1 [see cat 116, p621 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p622 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/421/

A 487 The paths in the territory of the Akha are wide and kept in good condition, as is shown by Ill. 31.[1] The difference [361] lies in the fact that among the Akha the villages are very populous and their paths are therefore more frequented. More- [464] over, every village settlement of the Akha has a much greater labor force at its disposal than the villages of the Meau.

M 482 The primary means of communication among the Meau is porters who transport loads on their backs on carriers (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 178-180) or in baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 330, 333, and 336), which are carried, in the fashion of our rucksacks, without a forehead strap (Ill. 93).[2] Wherever M 492 the nature of the terrain permits, the Meau also use, as has already been discussed in the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry," small reddish-brown cattle or small horses as /Figs. 418-422 appear here/ /422/ pack animals, which for this are provided with a special packsaddle (Ill. 81)[3] which is the same for both breeds.

The packsaddle (Figs. 418 and 419) consists of a wooden frame (A), on which a board (B) is mounted. Under the board is fastened a straw-filled cushion (C), which lies on the crupper M of the animal. This packsaddle is fastened on by means of a [283] strong strap (D), about five centimeters wide and plaited out of fiber cords, around the body of the animal. In addition, a hide strap (Fig. 420, G) with iron buckles (H), which is fastened to the packsaddle, leads around the chest of the animal, and a cord with wooden balls strung on it (Fig. 421, E), which come under the tail of the animal, runs around its hind quarters.

M In regions where it is possible to breed horses, the Meau [231] also know how to ride. They use stirrups of iron, such as the [171] Chinese use, but also homemade ones, which are plaited out of [285] rattan (Fig. 422).

1 [see cat. 116, p250- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p643- "]
3 [" " " p596- "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/422 cont./

M 492 [493] [184]

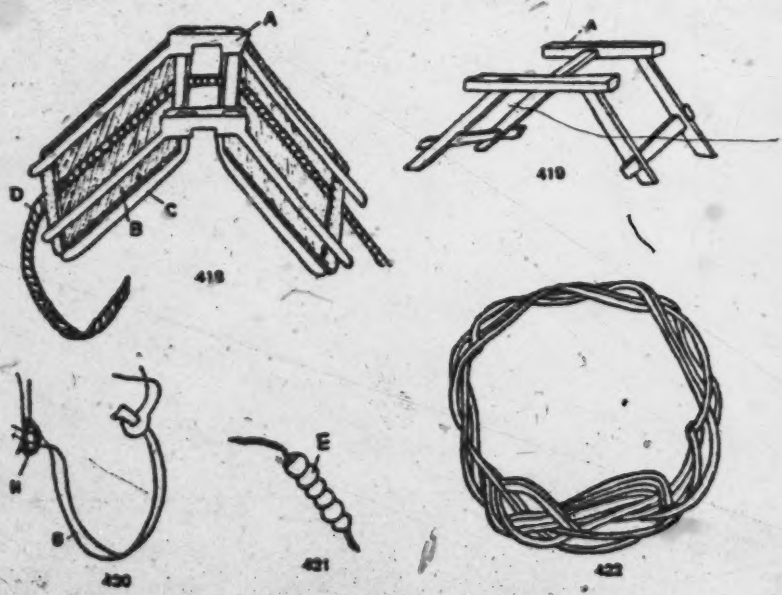
On the other hand, carts, sedan chairs, and hammocks are unknown. Occasionally cattle are also used as riding animals, but these animals play a subordinate role. The conditions in Indochina are similar, according to a description by Abadie (1).

1. Page 160.

A 492 482

Among the Akha, the use of domestic animals as pack animals is even less frequent than among the Meau. Goods are transported almost exclusively by porters who use carrying baskets with shoulder boards and forehead straps (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 374).

M 492 [283]



Figs. 418-422. Packsaddle of the Meau.

M [285]

Fig. 418. Packsaddle for cattle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 419. Wooden frame of the packsaddle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 420. Hide strap, 1/15 nat. size. Fig. 421. Tail strap, 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 422. Stirrup, 1/5 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--622 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 458 and 459/

286
291

Ill. 89. The woman weaver is preparing the woof.

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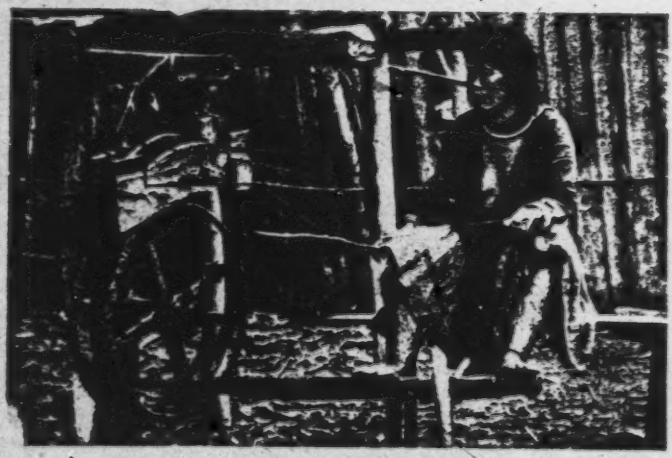

Ill. 90. With the help of this spinning machine the Meau woman is twisting four threads together.

Miao AE5

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]

/VIII cont./

286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

Ill. 89. The weaver is making preparations for the woof. The shuttle is carved out of wood. The inserted bobbin, around which the hemp thread is wound, is made of bamboo. The stick that separates the two layers of thread is made out of the same material.

283 Ill. 90. Spinning machine. With its help, four threads, which the woman doing the spinning holds in her left hand, are twisted together. By means of the little stick in her right hand, she prevents the threads from becoming tangled. She turns the flywheel with both feet.

Ills. 91-96. The harvest.

262 [244] Ill. 91. The ripe squash at the edge of the fields of mountain rice are gathered. The juicy, tart meat of the raw fruit is especially tasty in the great heat.

243 Ill. 92. The stalks of the mountain rice are cut individually, with the help of the small crescent-shaped harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear and then bundled. The straw is left standing in the fields and rots.

Ill. 93. Bringing in the harvest. Each member of the family loads himself with as many bundles of ears in carriers and baskets as he can carry. Then there is a walk for hours over the narrow mountain paths to the village. [484] The men carry in their hands the crossbows with arrows in place ready to shoot.

/IX/

252 256 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects

/27 cont'd/

here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets, boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/28 cont'd/

386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

437 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
438 similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
439 commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above. Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the
[443] Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district, one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third, they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of li away but many are a hundred li away. Since the Miao all live a simple life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a month at the most.

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[335] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

2:Ling & Ruey--105 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

[31]

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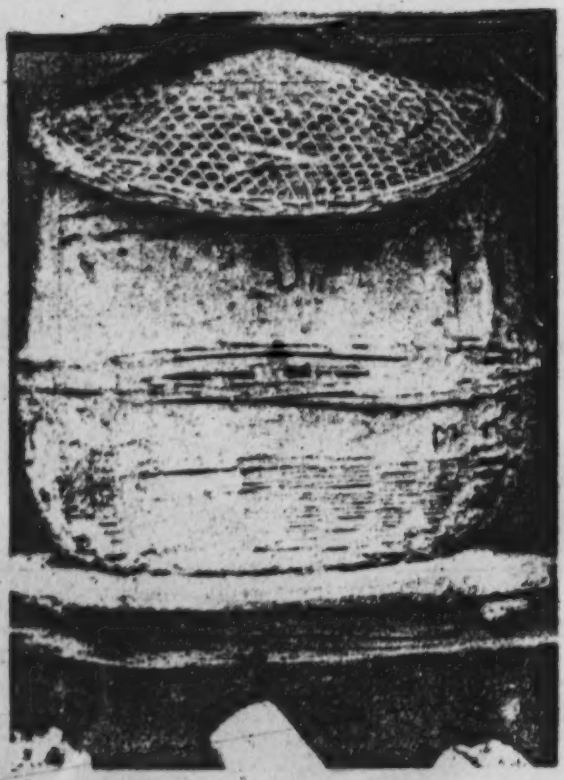

Illus. 39. A honeycomb.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 other under, back, over and down (fig. 16, *d*).
412 Two worked together sometimes, but not necessarily in rhythm. The woven baskets were shallow, with handles on the top of the
241 rim through which a carrying pole was thrust
415 and secured by wooden pegs. The bamboo mats in twilled pattern were as large as sixteen
[E85] by nine feet. A two-inch bamboo pole was fastened to either end to help keep it flat while in use and then easily rolled up for storage.

FIG. 10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views.

Two types of basket had a great variety of uses. In a loosely woven one fertilizer was carried to the fields and bundles of rice plants taken from seed beds to fields (fig. 16, *e*). In closely woven ones grain and other crops were brought in (fig. 16, *e*, *f*). When grain was to be sunned it was brought out in these baskets to the mats on the threshing floor and at night it was carried back in them. In this case the worker usually used only one at a time and someone had to help her swing it up to one shoulder, where she held it by putting that hand on her hip. She steadied it with the other hand. In them grain and other produce were taken to market.

Bamboo scoops were used to lift the grain from mats to baskets and a piece of wood with one straight side and a long handle to push the grain around so that all might get the sun evenly. The grain was first spread evenly on the mat and the bits of straw, sticks, etc., swept out with the broom of twigs. This was done several times. After a while the grain was all swept to the edges to allow the center to dry thoroughly and then to the center to allow the edges of the mat to dry. After this the mat was folded over the pile until it was possible to get several people together to put the grain into the baskets and
241 carry it to loft or granary. For more careful
412 cutting of rice straw the women had a knife blade set in one side of a more or less fancy shaped piece of wood or bamboo. This could

415 [160 cont.]
482 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
[492] often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo" of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies
[854] also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

155: Abadie--240 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
M100 AE5

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[231]
[854]
[482]

[162]

103. "Peu-Méo" Women.

105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.

419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.

(Pakha)

/260 cont./

166 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the
484 path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war,
[361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like,
[731] a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra-
[171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European
[481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest
[312] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look-
[283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will
[285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the
[224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

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M Especially numerous are the household inplements of
•285 plaited material; above all, the many shapes of the baskets are
482 to be stressed. There are carrying baskets in all sizes, double-
walled for heavy loads, loosely plaited for light loads (Ill. 93),[1]
415 large supply-baskets for the storing of /Figs. 178-180 appear here/
food, clothing, and cloth, chicken baskets, small carrying baskets and carrying bags for traveling; moreover, mats for sleeping, for threshing of grain, for covering food, the wide fish-nets, basket weirs, flat rice-baskets and strainers; and also knotted bags and fish nets. All these articles are described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

M /313/ The description of the various opium implements
128 (Ill. 74),[2] which are numerous in every household, all the
276 agricultural and smithy implements, and the work tools and
412 cult objects, musical instruments, weapons, and so forth is contained in the appropriate chapters.

A The division of the Akha house into cooking, living, and
342 sleeping rooms is shown in the ground plan, /Fig. 91 (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). /Figs. 181-183 appear here./

The fireplaces of the Akha (Fig. 181) are square boxes
A which are filled with earth. They are sunk into the floor of the
354 living room (chapter, "Settlement and House Construction,"
[252] Fig. 105, R). An iron tripod (Fig. 182) for the cooking pots
[562] stands on the ground surface, which is level with the floor. These fireplaces, one of which /314/ is for the men and the other for the women of the house, are used for heating the house as well
A as for cooking. Moreover, as has been mentioned, in each
[231] house there is a hearth for cooking the pig fodder (Fig. 183). This hearth consists of mound of stones which is enclosed on the outside with plaited bamboo. On this stone ring stands the iron basin under which the wood fire burns.

A Fire is made, as among the Meau, with flint and iron (Figs.
372 119-122, chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils"). Dry wood dust is used as tinder.

[1] [sec cat 116, p643 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p573 - "]

/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools.
[278] It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60
[285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the
[857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At
[165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to
[136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets,
[227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

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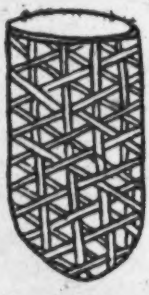
/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, A [227] with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India. The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In



M 178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

M [227] [285]

/398/ Chapter 21

Handicrafts

285 The Meau are very skilled at making plaited work and related manual skills. They plait only by hand without any kind of auxiliary implement. Rattan, bamboo, and tree bast serve as materials. We were able to find the following different baskets among the Meau: /Figs. 327-329 appear here./

Fig. 327 = very strong standing-basket for the storing of possessions (square bottom). There are various sizes of such baskets. They are extremely stable and durable and represent a popular article of trade. The basket has a tiltable cover and

[415]

Figs. 327-329. Standing Basket of the Meau, with Cover, 1/16 nat. size.

Fig. 328, edge-wrapping, and Fig. 329, sample of the plaiting of the above.

two carrying handles plaited on it. The strong edges consist of rattan and are wrapped with bamboo strips five millimeters wide (Fig. 328). The plaiting pattern (Fig. 329) is the same as that of the sleeping mats.

[482] Fig. 330 = light back-basket. Wide cross-strips of split bamboo are plaited in with narrow longitudinal strips in a loose weave, as is shown in the drawing. The basket is lined on the inside with palm leaves.

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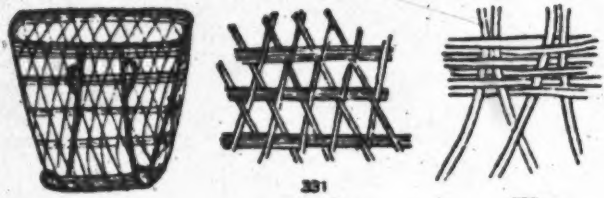
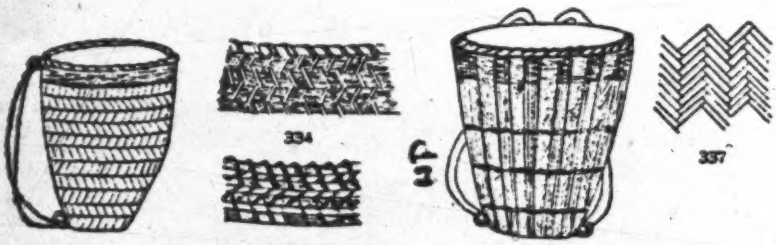


330 331 332

Figs. 330-332. Back-basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Figs. 331 and 332. Samples of plaiting of the above.



333 334 335 336 337

Figs. 333-335. Back-basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Figs. 334-335. Samples of plaiting of the above.

Fig. 336. Carrying and Harvest Basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Fig. 337. Plaiting of the interior wall.

Miao AES

/399 cont./

285 482 Fig. 333 = back-basket, most common shape, various kinds of plaiting, with leather straps, wide plaited bands, or twisted strings as carrying straps. Type of plaiting, Fig. 334: every cross-strip consists of three overlapping bamboo strips one centimeter wide. A narrow strip is interwoven vertically. Type of plaiting, Fig. 335: between /Figs. 333-337 appear here/ every cross-strip two centimeters wide there is an equally wide space. Very narrow vertical strips of split rattan, only four millimeters wide.

Fig. 336 = a very common, strong form of the carrying baskets, which are also used as harvest baskets. Vertical strips of cane three centimeters wide are attached over a tight inner wall plaited with bamboo strips four millimeters wide (Figs. 336 and 337) by means of some crosscords. Carrying straps of strips of hide (Ill. 93).

285 [231] /400/ Figs. 338 and 339: chicken baskets, loosely plaited with narrow bamboo strips. Cover and door tied on.

Fig. 340 = flat basket, used as a strainer.

Outer edge (Fig. 341) of tight plaiting of bamboo strips three millimeters wide, plaited loosely within (Fig. 342) with the same material. /Figs. 338-342 appear here./

[243] Fig. 343 = large, flat rice-basket for separating the grain from the chaff. Hulled rice is shaken in it and the chaff blown away. Inner plaiting (Fig. 344) like the plaiting pattern of mats, except for wider bamboo strips about 13 millimeters wide.

[415] Fig. 345 = large supply-basket. Plaiting (Fig. 346) of bamboo strips three centimeters wide. Loosely plaited, vertical walls. There is every size of such baskets. /Figs. 343-346 appear here./

To be mentioned here also are the hanging baskets for the storing of dishes, as is described under Fig. 131 in the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils."

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Miao AE5

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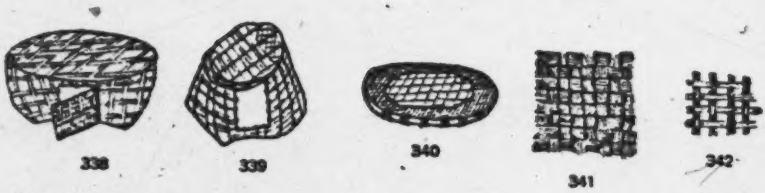

[231] Figs. 338-339. Meau Baskets for Carrying Chickens, 1/22 nat. size.

[415] Figs. 340-342. Plaited Strainer of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

Fig. 341, outer plaiting, and Fig. 342, inner plaiting.

[243] Figs. 343-344. Flat Rice-basket of the Meau, about 1/12 nat. size.
Fig. 344. Pattern of the interior plaiting.

[415] Figs. 345-346. Supply Basket of the Meau, 1/133 nat. size.
Fig. 346. Sample of plaiting.

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/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during [243] the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or 286 crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kŭń.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

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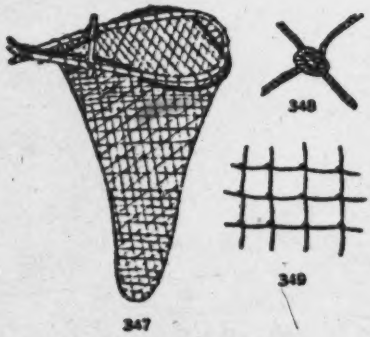

Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the

[227] Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau [286] for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size. The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

upper or lower leg (Ill. 64). 1 Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

1 [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]

/407 cont./

325 The bellows (Fig. 362), which consists of a wooden cylinder (a) made of boards joined together and sealed with wax, to which an air pipe (b) is attached. Fitted into the hollow space of the cylinder is a piston (Fig. 363, c) consisting [237] of two wooden disks, between which chicken feathers are pasted as packing. By means of an iron rod with a handle (d) the piston is /408/ pushed back and forth in the cylinder. When the iron rod is pulled out, the opening (e) of the cylinder, which has a small bamboo disk fastened to one end, is closed off on the inside through air pressure. Thus, no air can escape from the cylinder, but with the return thrust goes toward the fire in the air pipe terminating in a clay part (Fig. 364). Since the air pipe is not put at the end, but in the middle of the cylinder, stronger compression is sacrificed, to be sure, but the air supply is not thereby interrupted, since it continues with both thrusts of the piston. /Figs. 362-372 appear here./

The anvils (Figs. 366 and 367), of which there are usually several in various shapes and sizes in a smithy. The supporting pegs are of wood, the upper part of iron.

[285] The annealing basket (Fig. 368) is a piece of cylindrical basketwork that terminates in a funnel-shaped opening at the top. It is filled with wet clay and serves for cooling off the hot metal.

[415] As a casting mold one uses a small calabash, into which four small wooden sticks /409/ are put in the fashion shown in the drawing, Fig. 369. A cloth moistened with cold water is put over the sticks (Fig. 370). The liquid metal is poured from the crucible into the middle between the wooden sticks. When cold, it has the desired bar shape.

[413] The sledge hammer (Fig. 371), in various sizes, is flat on one side and has a chisel-like edge on the other. The wooden handles are simple and straight, though of various lengths.

[413] The blacksmith's tongs (Fig. 373) come in various sizes; they are made in two parts.

/409 cont./

325 [439] Iron is bought from Chinese traders, or from the Lao, Schan /Shan/, or Burmese, in the form customarily traded in northern Thailand, four-cornered, square bars four to five centimeters thick and 50 centimeters long. Silver, brass, copper, and lead also come from them. In order to obtain [177] silver, the Meau melt Chinese, Burmese, or Indochinese silver coins in the crucible (Fig. 365) of porous stone and pour the silver into the mold (Figs. 369 and 370) which was previously lined with cloth so that the molten metal will not stick to the walls. The silver coins are crushed before they are

Figs. 362-372. Forging Equipment of the Meau.

Fig. 362. Bellows, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 363. Piston of the bellows. Fig. 364. End of the pipe. Fig. 365. Smelting pot of stone, 1/6 nat. size. Figs. 366-367. Anvils, 1/35 [285] nat. size. Fig. 368. Annealing basket, 1/25 nat. size. [415] Fig. 369. Casting mold, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 370. Casting mold in use. Fig. 371. Sledge hammer, 1/6 nat. size. [413] Fig. 372. Blacksmith's tongs, 1/6 nat. size.

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/421/

A 487 The paths in the territory of the Akha are wide and kept in good condition, as is shown by Ill. 31.[1] The difference [361] lies in the fact that among the Akha the villages are very populous and their paths are therefore more frequented. More- [464] over, every village settlement of the Akha has a much greater labor force at its disposal than the villages of the Meau.

M 482 The primary means of communication among the Meau is porters who transport loads on their backs on carriers (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 178-180) or in baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 330, 333, and 336), which are carried, in the fashion of our rucksacks, without a forehead strap (Ill. 93).[2] Wherever M 492 the nature of the terrain permits, the Meau also use, as has already been discussed in the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry," small reddish-brown cattle or small horses as /Figs. 418-422 appear here/ /422/ pack animals, which for this are provided with a special packsaddle (Ill. 81)[3] which is the same for both breeds.

The packsaddle (Figs. 418 and 419) consists of a wooden frame (A), on which a board (B) is mounted. Under the board is fastened a straw-filled cushion (C), which lies on the crupper M of the animal. This packsaddle is fastened on by means of a [283] strong strap (D), about five centimeters wide and plaited out of fiber cords, around the body of the animal. In addition, a hide strap (Fig. 420, G) with iron buckles (H), which is fastened to the packsaddle, leads around the chest of the animal, and a cord with wooden balls strung on it (Fig. 421, E), which come under the tail of the animal, runs around its hind quarters.

M In regions where it is possible to breed horses, the Meau [231] also know how to ride. They use stirrups of iron, such as the [171] Chinese use, but also homemade ones, which are plaited out of [285] rattan (Fig. 422).

[1] [See cat. 116, p250- ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p643- "]
[3] [" " " p596- "]

39: Bernatzik--567 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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/422 cont./

M 492 [493] [184]

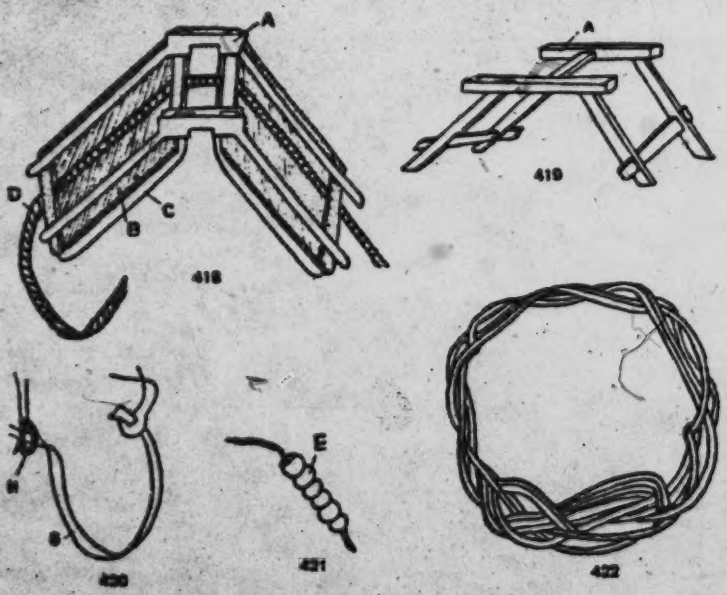
On the other hand, carts, sedan chairs, and hammocks are unknown. Occasionally cattle are also used as riding animals, but these animals play a subordinate role. The conditions in Indochina are similar, according to a description by Abadie (1).

1. Page 160.

A 492 482

Among the Akha, the use of domestic animals as pack animals is even less frequent than among the Meau. Goods are transported almost exclusively by porters who use carrying baskets with shoulder boards and forehead straps (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 374).

M 492 [283]



Figs. 418-422. Packsaddle of the Meau.

Fig. 418. Packsaddle for cattle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 419. Wooden frame of the packsaddle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 420. Hide strap, 1/15 nat. size. Fig. 421. Tail strap, 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 422. Stirrup, 1/5 nat. size.

M [285]

/27 cont'd/

226 here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

463 Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-
462 developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets,
[285 boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for
322] domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for
[439] rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time
[342] with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

286 The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area
356 /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from
286 the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/28 cont'd/

336 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

437 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
438 similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
439 commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above. Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the
[443] Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district, one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third, they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of li away but many are a hundred li away. Since the Miao all live a simple life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a month at the most.

172 cont.

They reared the silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when worshiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting. After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Although today a few have learned to do silversmithing, blacksmithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/89 cont./

291

Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cotton cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AE5 Misc AE5

442 241 from the straw of glutinous rice made sandals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it, 442 stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, sep- 283 arated the strands, and from them made the 386 two grades of thread — one for sewing and mending and one for weaving into cloth. They 291 gathered and dried nutgalls and from them prepared a dye, by which they dyed white cloth bought in piece in the market an even, almost black blue. They made all the clothing for themselves and their families and their bedding. They wove the straw comforter, too. Girls and younger women made the embroidery on the overpiece, front apron, and turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older women made hemp thread and did the weaving of cloth for the back apron and bands for the baby pad. It was the older women who wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

286 Three types of loom were used. First there was that described in the making of the belt. Second, there was the vertical loom used for the weaving of straw comforters. This had two beams, one high and one near the floor, from which the warp ropes of twisted straw went back and forth. Two of the poles supporting the rafters served as uprights. The weft was similar to the warp, except that straw ends were left sticking out so that the result was smooth on one side and had a nap on the other. The weft was sent through by hand, in and out, over and under successive threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet. The third was used for the weaving of hemp cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of two by fours about eight feet long and three wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides and, a little lower down, across the ends, also one about two feet from one end. The upper pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at each end. Into this frame was set another, lighter one, going into the upper horizontal pieces at the back, but down into the bracing piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace about a foot above the main frame, across the front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights of this second frame, a board was put across for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

was held firm by projecting rods which rested 286
on a board across the frame. From the yarn beam the warp proceeded across the horizontal bar of the lighter frame, through two heddles of the frame variety made of bamboo rods with hemp thread between them, which were suspended from a roller laid across the lighter frame or through holes pierced in it, by straw rope and vine tendrils. They were a little wider than the piece of cloth used in the back apron, and the threads were about a foot long. From the lower ends similar ropes led to the fronts of two pedals. Other ropes of the same kind led from the backs of the pedals to the horizontal brace at the back of the main frame. From the heddles the warp proceeded to a reed, also suspended from the lighter frame, thence to the cloth beam set in slots in uprights in the longitudinal brace of the main frame, its longitudinal pieces and projecting above. The cloth beam was then held firm by straw rope tied around it and the frame behind the upright on one side. There were laze-rods set in just behind the front board.

Shed and countershed were formed by depressing first one pedal and then the other. The weft was shot through by hand, wound on bamboo shuttles of the shape as shown in figure 11. The weft was beaten up with the reed. Most of the warp thread was rolled on the yarn beam, but some extended beyond and lay in a basket. The reed was made of two pieces of wood, between which could be set and fastened a removable frame like that of the heddles, but without eyes in the thread which stretched between. The weaver took hold of two vertical bars as she beat up the weft. The contrivance was suspended by ropes attached to those bars.

Women also cooked the paste and beans 462
and shaped the glutinous rice cakes, distilled 252
rice wine, ground the beans and made bean 249
curd, including that mixed with pig's blood
at the lunar New Year. They helped cut tobacco in the fields, cutting the leaves from the stalk in such a way as to leave a piece of it for a hook by which they fastened it into a rope of straw made as they went. These ropes were festooned across the fronts of the houses to dry, after which it was ready to smoke in their long-stemmed pipes.

low stools, not more than four inches high, and 352
close at hand is an article of furniture which serves as a table, though it would be flattering to call it by that name. Arranged by the side of the walls are a grain bin, a cistern or tub in which the drinking water is kept, a contrivance which serves as a bed, a large iron pan for cooking and other purposes, and innumerable odds and ends which to you would appear useless but to the owner are valued family possessions. On rudely contrived shelves or in a roughly made cupboard are several earthenware or wooden basins with primitive chopsticks and spoons. You will notice the loom, which is 286
as primitive as that used in the days of the Biblical Pharaohs. It will interest you and you will wish to examine the framework, the warp beam, lease rods, shed stick, heddle-rod, cloth beam and unfinished fabric. Happily it is not a fixture and can be moved outside the house, so that the weary housewife can weave in the sun. For the most part the articles enumerated, together with bundles of clothes, form the whole household possessions of a Miao family. The tragedy of these mud huts 342
is not so much the poverty as the ugliness and the absence of cleanliness. The missionary often has to sleep in a house such as this, and when his bed has been set against the dividing wall, if this has been made of wattle as it frequently is, some animal will push his head through a hole in the partition to have a look at the stranger.

Miao salute one another with great cordiality, 576
men greeting men, and women, women, by rubbing

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or
hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron to
or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donk y, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed
that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when
there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently
explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong
or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem
yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth
bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like 292
that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which
is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese
people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The
best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat
the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments,
and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries.
This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

86: Robequain--252 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE 5, Shan-Thai ALS
Muong AM 10

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The women are less quick to abandon the traditional material. However, evolution, no matter how slow, seems irresistible, and throughout all of Thanh Hoá as far as the Laotian frontier the long white or blue tunic with sleeves is now cut from foreign cloth. As the people come to live closer to the large markets, the decline in weaving becomes more apparent, and the blue tunic, which is often lined with white material, is purchased ready-made from the Annamese tailor. Even the turban and the jacket are made of the smooth, fine grained cloth which comes out of the factories shining with size. Already only half of the families in Điền Lư /240/ still carry on weaving. Women are more likely to retain skirts made of local material until such time as they have lost the art of colored embroidery and find the thinner cloth of the market more to their advantage. On the edge of the delta and in contact with the Annamese, the piece which the women abandon last is the "cạp quần," the band sewn to the body of the skirt and which is wrapped around the breasts (1). In eastern

1. Cf. above, /p. 99/.

Thạch Thành and the cantons of Tam Lọng (Thọ Xuân) and Hạ Thư'ờ'ng (Như' Xuân), which are peopled by recent immigrants, many of the women no longer weave, but the greater part of them continue to wear the "cạp quần," which they purchase from the more remote Mư'ờ'ng and Thai of Quảng Tế (Thạch Thành), Lang Chánh and Như' Lăng (Như' Xuân). However, the Annamese "cai yếm" appears among those who have evolved furthest, at first timidly and added to the "cạp quần," and then as a permanent replacement for it.

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As for silk material, the Mư'ờ'ng and Thai weave comparatively little of it. Many families and even many villages do not engage in silk production, and far from exporting it, they buy a certain quantity of material, and even silk thread, each year from the Thai and Laotians of Hua Phan. These will be transformed in a few houses into the cloth with gleaming stripes which is reserved for ceremonial skirts. Their cloth, however, is not as beautiful as that of Sam Nư'a.

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Whereas the Man women make all the articles of their original costume with imported material, the Mèo women still weave solid cloth on a loom analogous to the valley looms, but smaller in size. The cloth they make is not cotton, but hemp which they boil and bleach with lime and spin by hand (2).

2. Cf. Savina, (114), pp. 212-213.

[160 cont.]
415 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
482 often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo"
[492] of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies
[854] also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
462 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activate
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/317 cont./

A 415 For preparing the food, many kinds of carved wooden vessels and troughs of wood (Fig. 205) or bamboo (Fig. 206) are used. /Figs. 201-208 appear here./ /318/ Gourd dippers and bowls, wooden ladles, knives, rice baskets and other baskets, bamboo containers, and so on are not lacking anywhere.

A [312] The bamboo containers for fetching water (Fig. 207) are closed at the top and the bottom; the water is poured by means of a gourd dipper (Fig. 208) into a hole cut into the upper edge. In this way the water remains clean and cannot easily A [171] be spilled when carried. Many typical household and kitchen utensils are almost exactly like those of the Meau.

A 482 I did not see carrying frames among the Akha; they are replaced by carrying baskets with a shoulder board and forehead band (Fig. 374; see the chapter, "Handicrafts").

A 354 For lighting the house, iron lamps with oil as fuel, and also pine chips, are used. The household equipment is espe- [372] cially rich in artistically plaited articles, such as are described 285 in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

As was pointed out, the dwellings and granaries of the A Akha give the impression of being clean and well tended. 356 The floor of the dwelling and the platform are swept twice a [412] day with the grass brooms that are also common among the [171] Meau (Fig. 175), with which one simply sends the sweepings [23] under the house through the seams and cracks. The food remains, too, are thus conveyed directly to the pigs and chickens.

/319/

Chapter 15

Clothing and Ornaments

M 294 The Meau women are very skilled in sewing and embroidery and, with much taste for color combinations, make the attrac- M tive and also practical clothing for men, women, and children. 291 The clothing of the Meau is absolutely uniform in cut and differs [248] only in the diversity of the embroidery and appliquéd designs. [596] Every family plants the required hemp and cotton and weaves [286] its own cloth. The strips of fabric which are made into clothing [294]

/319 cont./

291 are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of
[286] the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye-
[294] trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts").
[386] The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often re-
[292] placed, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark-
[439] blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese
[294] traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-
produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread,
needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, al-
ways comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work
[292] clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has
[556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in
[531] the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in
the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as some-
times in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like
that of the adults.

291 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well
531 as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[1] consists of the
blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is
made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6),
has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts
are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist.
The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to
be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors.
Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse,
which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the
front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the
typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a
rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar
is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls
and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small
cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the
dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and
3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of
Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these
are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the
dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white
triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

1 [See cat 116, pp 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 492 - "]
3 [" " " pp 439, 563 - "]

Miao AE5

/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during [243] the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

286 The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kŭń.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

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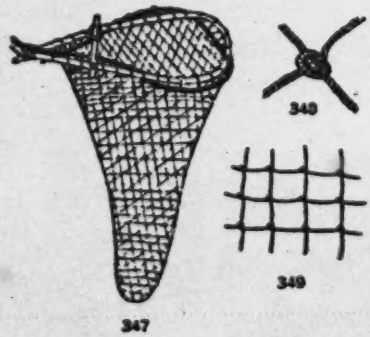

Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the

[227] Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau [286] for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size. The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

upper or lower leg (Ill. 64).[1] Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

[1] [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]

/401 cont./

283 string is produced from the thinner one. Heavy cord is obtained by twisting in rattan fibers by means of a wooden fork.
[237] The Meau twist strong ropes out of strips of skin, those of bearskin being regarded as the strongest.

/402/ In addition to the twisting process, braid-like ropes,
[492] bands and wide belts for the saddles of the pack animals are also plaited. For this purpose the Meau use three to twelve threads each time. This plaiting is done solely with the hands
[412] and without any tool; only in the making of straps are iron awls used for preliminary piercing.

• 286 The ancient Chinese literature (1) already mentions re-

1. North China Br., 1859, p. 264; Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 38.

peatedly that the Meau are good spinners, weavers, and dyers. For the manufacture of the cloth for clothing, the Meau primarily use hemp, rarely cotton. They sow hemp (mǎń) in their
248 rice and poppy fields. Lajonquière (2) likewise mentions hemp

2. II, p. 311.

in Indochina and writes that the Meau there cultivate it at the same time as maize and harvest it six to seven months after the sowing. The fibers of banana leaves, on the other hand, were never used, according to my observations and findings. And
[114] since I could find nothing about this anywhere else, a mistake by Seidenfaden, who reported on it, must be assumed. Cotton is cultivated in special fields and is used in a fashion similar to that among the Akha (see pp. 441 f.).

The hemp seed is set out with the planting stick among the Meau in northern Thailand; the period of cultivation falls between the end of April and the beginning of May; the harvest is about three months later. The stalks are cut with the sickle, the leaves are removed, and then the stalks are placed in water
[283] so that they will rot. Afterward they are dried, and the woody

Miao AE5

/403 cont./

283 which are called kǒulǐ, but then sticks about as thick as a finger are stuck in the ground in two rows one to two meters apart, and the yarn is now wound between them in skeins ready for weaving.

286 The yarn thus prepared is woven on horizontal looms (Ill. 88)[1] into strips of material 37 centimeters wide (Ill. 89).[2]

The weaver's comb of the loom has either a frame made of two wooden sticks between which the thin, flexible cross-strips of bamboo are held and tied fast (Fig. 352), or the frame consists of bamboo tubes with iron bands (Fig. 353), into which /404/ the cross-sticks are inserted. The threads are then drawn between these narrow cross-sticks.

Besides these looms, the Meau also use weaving boards to make narrower bands.

Figs. 352-353. Weaver's Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 352, of wood with bamboo cross-strips; Fig. 353, of bamboo with iron cross-strips.

Concerning this work, we also have some reports by Lajonquière (1), which in part are confirmed by Abadie:

1. II, p. 309.

"The common spinning material is hemp. It is harvested in
[248] the lowlands, wound on spools, and combed with coarse combs.
[283] The women spin it by hand... They weave their own cloth
[171] and dye it in the same manner as the Tho." Savina (2) describes
[184]

2. II, p. 211.

the procedures in Indochina somewhat differently: "When the

1 [see cat. 116, p 621 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 622 - "]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
[171] the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put on the still undyed material by the women with a special
[413] instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I
[114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern
[326] Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no
[323] knowledge of pottery!

The author continues his observations with a desctiption
[184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a
[314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these
[314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All
[596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure
[294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire...
[286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

39: Bernatzik--621 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 458 and 459/

286
291
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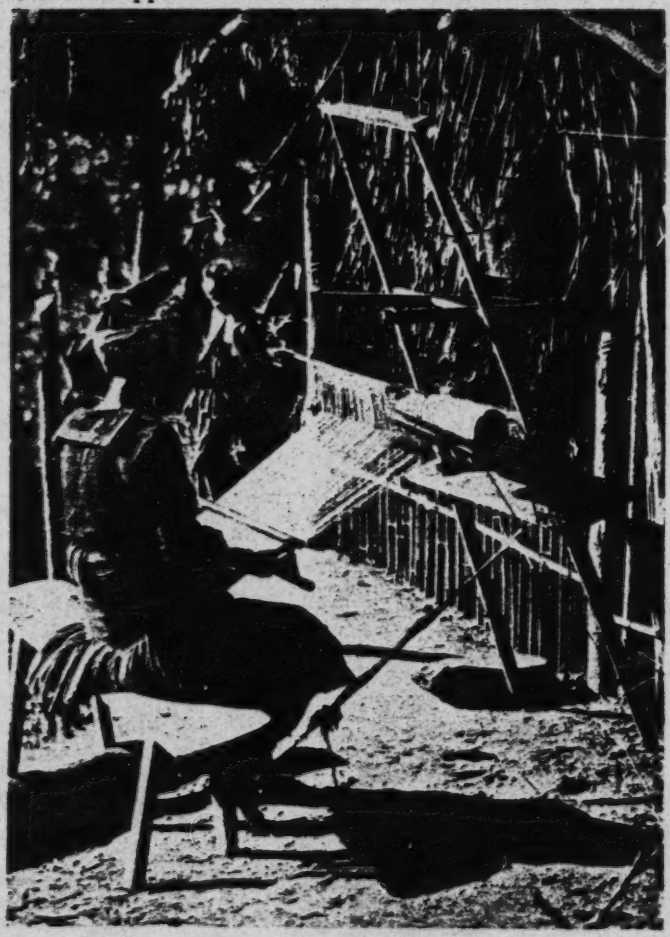

Ill. 88. Portable horizontal loom of the Meau, with foot device.

39: Bernatzik--622 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 458 and 459/

286
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Ill. 89. The woman weaver is preparing the woof.

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291
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Ill. 90. With the help of this spinning machine the Meau woman is twisting four threads together.

/VIII cont./

286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

Ill. 89. The weaver is making preparations for the woof. The shuttle is carved out of wood. The inserted bobbin, around which the hemp thread is wound, is made of bamboo. The stick that separates the two layers of thread is made out of the same material.

283 Ill. 90. Spinning machine. With its help, four threads, which the woman doing the spinning holds in her left hand, are twisted together. By means of the little stick in her right hand, she prevents the threads from becoming tangled. She turns the flywheel with both feet.

Ills. 91-96. The harvest.

262 [244] Ill. 91. The ripe squash at the edge of the fields of mountain rice are gathered. The juicy, tart meat of the raw fruit is especially tasty in the great heat.

243 Ill. 92. The stalks of the mountain rice are cut individually, with the help of the small crescent-shaped harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear and then bundled. The straw is left standing in the fields and rots.

Ill. 93. Bringing in the harvest. Each member of the family loads himself with as many bundles of ears in carriers and baskets as he can carry. Then there is a walk for hours over the narrow mountain paths to the village. The men carry in their hands the crossbows with arrows in place ready to shoot.

[484]

/IX/

252 256 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects

pens made of bamboo. Mèo women excel in raising these pigs, which are of a special variety. They know how to dose the maize and leave it whole or break it up into particles of varying size according as it is to be used to feed a male shut in its narrow pen, a female with a litter, a pregnant female, or the young pigs which come and go freely in the house like the chickens. A few Mèo of Thanh Hoá -- the wealthiest ones -- also have a horse to ride to market, and buffalo. But the latter wander about over the mountains and are hardly ever slaughtered except for funerals. Mi 231

Like the Man, the Mèo of the province cultivate only rẫy, and change their site every two, three or four years. On the hills and even slopes they sow rice broadcast in the third and fourth months and harvest it in the ninth and tenth months. I have seen some with superb, well-filled husks and enormous grains (3). Elsewhere, in /235/ the Mi 241

3. The Mèo grow chiefly common rice, and little of the glutinous kind, in contrast to the Thai. On the other hand, the latter do not sow their mountain rice broadcast, but place it in holes.

basins, they alternate maize which is sowed in holes and grows and ripens from the second to the eighth month (1) with opium which is

1. In the Thai rẫy of the same region, situated at a lower altitude, maize is harvested in the sixth month.

sowed broadcast in the eighth month. Besides maize and rice which form the basis of their food supply, the Mèo grow a few batatas, some cassava and some sugar cane.

The women busy themselves with hemp, with which they weave nearly all the cloth the family needs. From this material dyed blue or left white, they make their peculiar and rather funny clothing, the upper part of which is like that of a sailor and the lower part like that of a dancer -- a little jacket with a sailor collar and narrow sleeves, and a skirt which comes down only to the knee but which has so many pleats that it becomes very heavy. The women also wear long leggings and high turbans, and on holidays the collars and skirts of their garments are brightened with white on blue designs and with a childish mass of tricolored materials. Mi 287 291

Hospitable people, the Mèo of Thanh Hoá have remained timid 000

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Kweichow is considered the poorest agricultural province in all China. Much of the soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give but little space for farms, which are therefore usually small and cultivated by simple methods. Cultivation is confined chiefly to upland plains, the few open valleys and terraced hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of soil, slope, and water. The total area of cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at five per cent. At one time the chief crop was opium, but the Chinese Government has tried to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One geographer lists in order of second importance maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo, wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cotton, hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans, wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may be said that rice is grown wherever possible and there forms the staple food. In the poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot be grown, the people depend upon maize, barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one crop of rice grown and the harvest is in September or October. Winter crops commonly include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape. There is a variety of excellent vegetables grown through the year. Fruits of the province include peaches, pears, apricots, persimmons, oranges, and lemons. There are also large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, including a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves are thought to remain in Kweichow. The bambo trees are of several species, some suitable for construction and the making of articles of common household use and huge rain hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in the northern part of the province has industries for the making of a kind of cheap silk cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native umbrellas, and cotton goods. The villages of

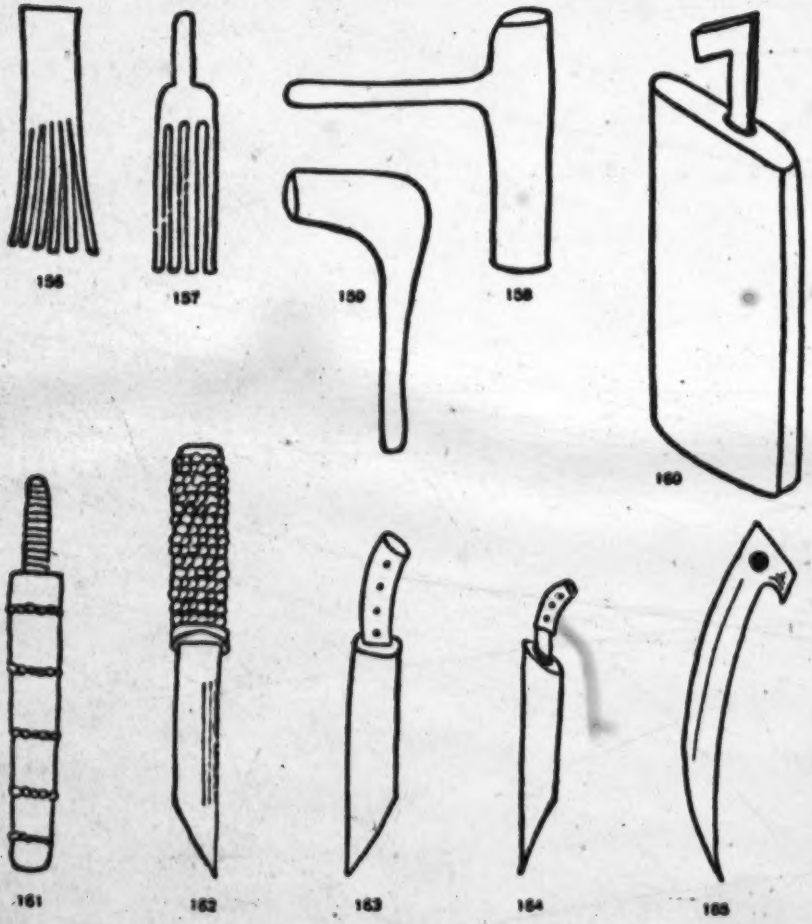
311 [134] 245 137 288

39: Bernatzik--422 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

Figs. 156-165. Kitchen Utensils of the Meau.

412



[413] Fig. 156. Wooden fork for making powder. Fig. 157. Wooden
[289] fork for making paper, both about 1/10 nat. size. Figs. 158
and 159. Wooden mallets for pounding dough, about 1/6 nat.
[274] size. Fig. 160. Cutting board for tobacco, 1/5 nat. size.
Figs. 161-164. Knives with iron blade, wooden handle, and
wooden sheath. Fig. 161 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 162 = 1/5 nat.
size. Fig. 163 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 164 = 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 165.
[289] Bone knife for making paper, 1/4 nat. size.

/410 cont./

321 Among other materials used for handicrafts bone and ivory must also be mentioned. Knives (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) and knife handles, are made out of them, and they are also used in crossbows. The chopsticks of the well-to-do are usu-
[412] [556] ally made of ivory.

●289 Finally, the making of paper is still to be mentioned. Young green bamboo is chopped up, after the outer covering and the pith are removed, into pieces about 15 centimeters long and five centimeters wide. A quantity of wood ashes equal to a fifth of the amount of bamboo /Fig. 373 appears here/ is added and, with the addition of water, is cooked for about twelve hours, during which the water that evaporates is replaced as needed. At the end of this period the bamboo mixture is soft. Then the substance is pounded in order to crush the wood fibers (Ill. 84).1 At the same time any large or hard particles of wood remaining are carefully removed, and the mass of fibers is further cooked in the same lye solution after liana bark pulverized between stones /411/ has been added. After the substance has reached the proper consistency, it is spread as evenly as possible (Ill. 85)1 on cotton cloth, which is stretched between wooden frames (Fig. 373), and dried in the sun. With a special bone knife (see the chapter,
[413] "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) the dried and therefore finished paper is carefully lifted off. As was described, it is punched by means of special punches before its use in sacral performances (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

[531]

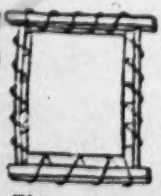


Fig. 373
Wooden Frame for Paper-making among the Meau.
1/60 nat. size.

1 [see cat. 116, p598-ANALYST]

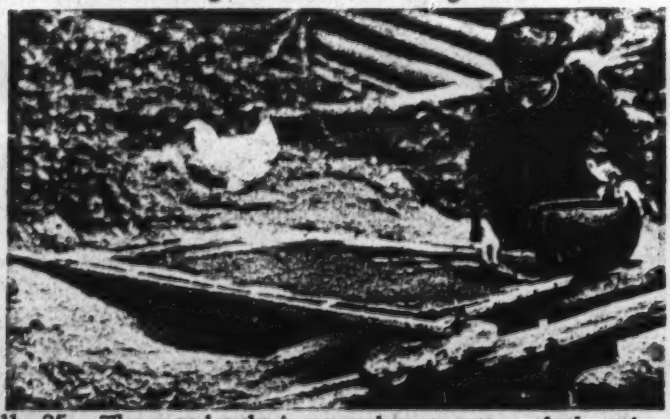
39: Bernatzik--598 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 443/

289
291
415
516

Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes among the Meau. Pulverizing the bamboo shavings.



Ill. 85. The wood pulp is poured on a cotton cloth and dried in the sun.

39: Bernatzik--726 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists [415] of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself.

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622

Miao AE5

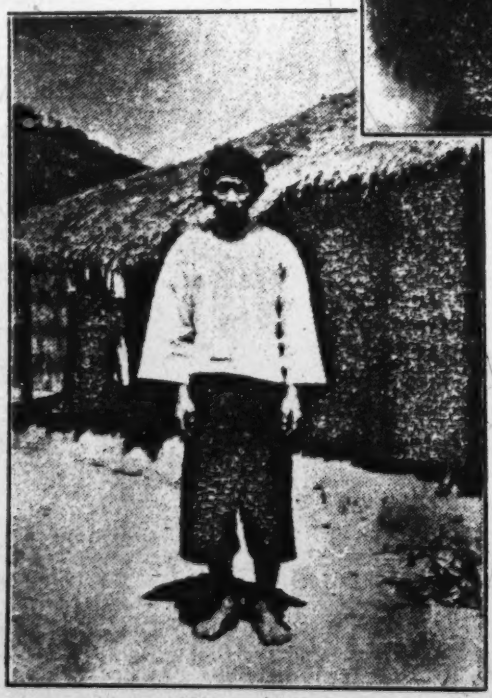
[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

1: Wang--iv S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/v/

291
142
293
301

A Miao Woman



A Miao Man

/1 cont'd/

101 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao
175 troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains
[411 and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the
278] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people
[59] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like
[48] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where
[221] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned
[324] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are
[754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] *Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
276 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

● 291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

000 We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, 574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, [291] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but 000 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/13 cont./

*101 name for the people who wore red belts, whom they called the
*175 Hung /"red"/ Miao. (1)

[113]

1. Yen Ju-yü in Miao Fang-pei Lan Feng-su K'ao /A Study of Miao Customs/ says: "Those who wear red belts are the Hung Miao." According to Torii Ryūzō in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao: Those who wear red clothes are the Hung Miao. Actually the present-day Hung Miao in western Hunan no longer wear red clothes nor red belts. Previously they might have had this custom, but today it is no longer practical.

[291]

*175 The spirit most venerated by the Hung Miao today is Pai
776 Ti T'ien Wang, who also is one of three brothers. According to the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih /Annals of Lu-ch'i Hsien/: "The boy found in the bamboo as recorded in the story of the southwest barbarians in Hou Han Shu grew up to be the Marquis Yeh Lang and was killed by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. His three sons were all respected by the southern barbarians, and among them the third was the bravest. Posterity regarded the Bamboo King, since he was not born of flesh and blood, as a spirit
[778] and built a temple in his honor. Today, the idol, San Lang, worshiped in the temples, has the fiercest appearance and is held most in awe by the Miao. It must be the spirit of the third son. The Yung-sui T'ing Chih also says: "Large T'ien Wang
[346] /heavenly king/ temples are found in all localities, of which the one at Ch'ao-shui-ch'i is the oldest. This is the Ch'ao-shui-c'hi of Wei-ch'eng. The present-day Ch'ao-shui-ch'i has

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

[273] (10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[167] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[291] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[714] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[411] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[648] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

M
*101 /20 cont./
CC in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[517] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
M Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
[291] numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
M with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
[527] women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[782] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[769] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[776] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

/66 cont./

000 leaves. After the picking, they cut the leaves into small pieces
386 of about 40 kung fen, tie them in arm-thick bundles, and place them in a large earthenware jar filled with pure spring water, where they are completely submerged. After three days the jar of clear water becomes dark green in color. The indigo bundles are then removed, and lime water is added to the jar. The ratio is a bowl of lime water to a tan /picul/ of indigo water. The lime is first dissolved in water: the solution is kept and the residue discarded. After being mixed with the lime water the indigo water /67/ is stirred with a stick to blend it. The precipitation is indigo.

249 Although wild indigo grows everywhere, its output in the
[314] end is not large. Furthermore, the Miao, men and women, all wear blue cotton clothes. The supply of wild indigo naturally
[291] is not enough to meet the demand and domestic indigo has to be cultivated (Illus. 36). It is planted in the second and third months and harvested in the ninth and tenth months before the frost. The output of domestic indigo is larger than that of wild indigo. The Miao usually dig a hole about two kung ch'ih
[386] deep for making indigo. The process is the same as that for wild indigo.

The Miao also plant sugar cane in the low-lying places in deep valleys. The land for this crop must have fine soil and dry. On the periphery as well as in the center of the field several ditches are dug for draining water in case of rain. To plant sugar cane, they cut the cane into short lengths of about three or four nodes, planting three or four of them together. When they grow up they become a cluster. The clusters are about half a kung ch'ih apart. At planting time the sections are put into the earth, with the top ends slightly slanting, which are also covered with earth. After half a month, when the sprouts come out, light fertilizer is added. When they grow to a height of half a kung ch'ih, fertilizer is again put on. In all they are fertilized four or five times, and each time the earth is weeded and the soil loosened. Four or five days after the first frost in the ninth or tenth month the crop may be

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[513] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Although today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/177 cont./

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miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those
000

/77 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
292 at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
[531] and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[764] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

2:Ling & Ruey--112 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 41. Miao male men's dress seen at a street market place in Ta-hsin-chiai, Feng-huang.

Illus.42. Miao women's dress seen at a street market place in Hsin-chai, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--113 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 43. Front view of a long gown of a Miao man of Sung-lin-shao, Meng-tzu, Yunnan. (2)

2:Ling & Ruey--114 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 44. Back view of a long gown of a Miao man of Sung-lin-shao, Meng-tzu, Yunnan. (1)

2:Ling & Ruey--121 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 52. A Kan-ch'eng Miao woman's vest.

2:Ling & Ruey--115 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AEt

Illus. 45. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (1)

Illus. 46. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (2)

2:Ling & Ruey--116 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 47. Miao women's personal adornment, Ta-hsin-chiai, Kan-ch'eng.

/88 cont./

292 [364] festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).

291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan, regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua [184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts. When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western [126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of [292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a
[574] double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that
302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's.
[585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by
[171] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/89 cont./

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

2:Ling & Ruey--125 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

2:Ling & Ruey--126 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 56. Women's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

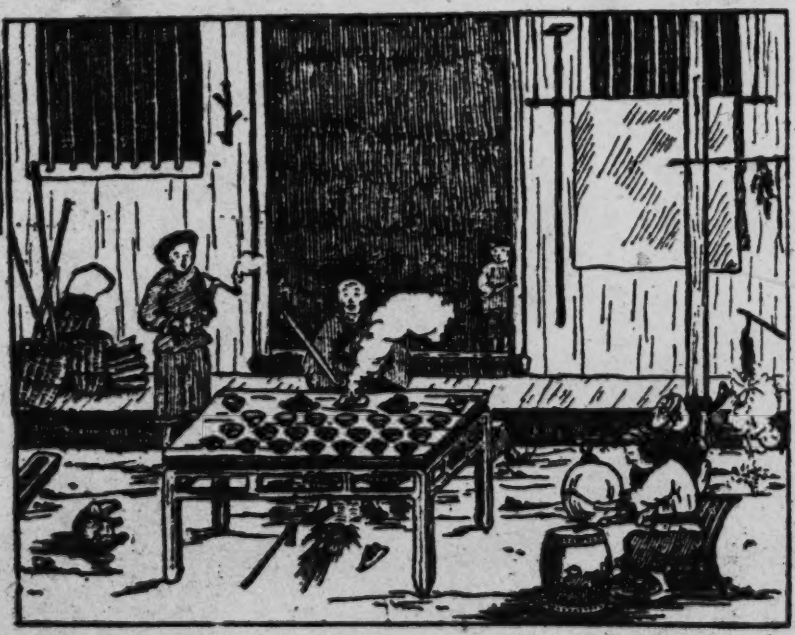
/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[515] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[531] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[556] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting,
fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
[304] at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced
by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver
rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were
wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[242] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race
horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver
hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or
four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver
comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver
chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore
no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were
also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on
not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men.
The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited
a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells,
and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and
even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This
description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing
Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places
as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/132 cont./

*782 they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and a bracelet. He utters an incantation, while attendants hold the [788] wine pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

[342] [352] [415] [412] [291]



Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

2: Ling & Ruey--198 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/134/

Illus. 60, Eating Pigs, B.

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2: Ling & Ruey--200 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 61. Eating Pigs, C.

/147 cont./

*782 and /Illus. 65 appears here/ /148/ rain clothes. The bamboo tube is in front of me, and the bell is wound with red and green strips of cloth. My patron saint is standing beside the smoke from the wax. My teacher stands beside the knife. I ascend on the smoke of the wax. Now I have reached the land of the spirits /shen/. I am already with the four kan lo kuei. If you have

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[351]
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[510]

Illus. 65. Ta Kan Lo, B.

/155 cont./

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of wine, the spade, the wooden board, the white cloth, all are ready here. Will the kuei please come to take them! [lio˥ tɕo˥ kuei˥ dɑ˥], [lio˥ ʂi˥ kuei˥ dɑ˥]!"

At this point he stops beating the bamboo frame, takes it away, and sets up the bowls of wine, meat, and cooked rice. The sorcerer-priest makes gestures while uttering an incantation at the same time:

"The helpers have set up the wine, meat, rice, and paper money, and invite the kuei to take them. The dead man has been dead for three days, but when his soul heard the sorcerer-priest's call, then he returned. He returned to his own local area, he returned to his own home. In the world you still have good sons and good grandsons to beg pardon for your sins. The former sins of your

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Illus. 66. Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering.

2:Ling & Ruey--318 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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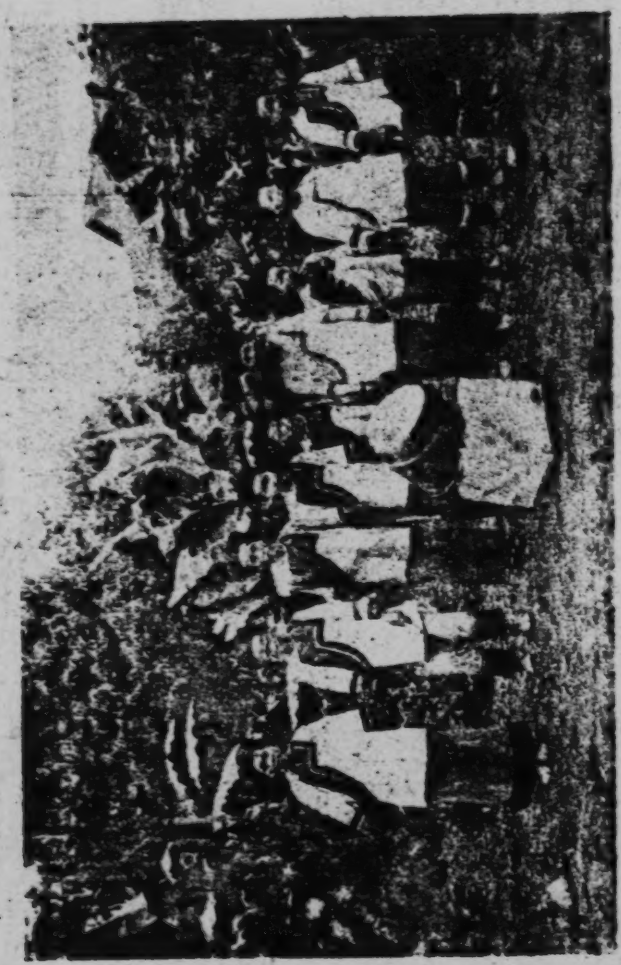

Illus. 80. Miao women's drum dance group at Kan-ch'eng.

2:Ling & Ruey--322 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 84. Woman's solo dance at Kan-ch'eng.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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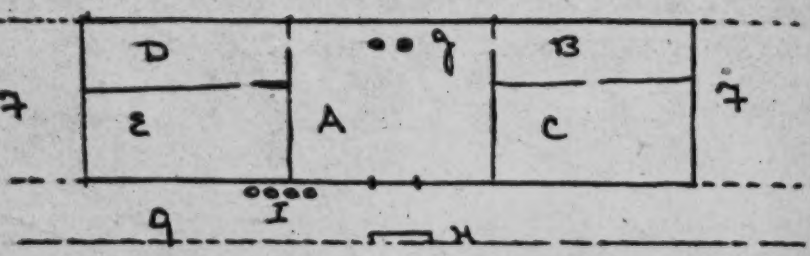

A—Living Room.
B—Parents' Room.
C—Rice Room.
D—Daughters' Room.
E—Sons' Room.
Used for various purposes.

F—Shelter for wood, etc.
G—Front verandah.
H—Pig trough.
I—Chicken coops.
J—Fire place.

I have seen one or two houses where there were three and four main entrances to the front verandah.

The utensils and implements used by the Miao are of the simplest. Rude iron hoes, heavy knives and the clumsy iron skillets are purchased from the Hainanese traders. Sometimes the skillets are lacking and the rice is steamed

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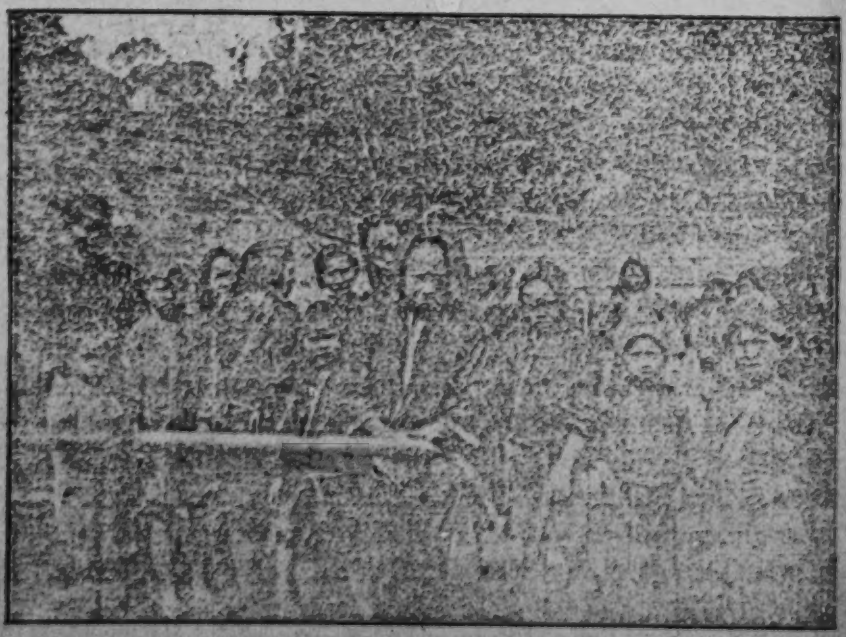

A Group of Miao Women and Children gathered round the pipe that carries the water to the village from a stream above.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

the porcupine, whose flesh is eaten, and whose shiny black and white quills, often a foot long, have various uses. The flying squirrel is a rarer victim, as only the poisoned dart shot from the crossbow by a skilled hunter is quick enough to strike it. Jungle fowl of all sorts are used for food. 224 262

The fishing is usually done on a large scale. If a youngster goes a-fishing, his outfit is a piece of bamboo and a piece of hemp string with a noose on the end, where he nooses his catch. But when the rivers are low a whole village or perhaps several villages will join in a common fishing expedition. Some of the men dam the river, others go to the forest and come back laden with the bark of a certain tree and a certain vine. These barks are pounded in mortars until well macerated, mixed, and pounds and pounds of the "medicine" are poured into the river above the dam. The mixture kills or stupifies the fish, which rise to the top of the water and are easily secured. The catch often amounts to a thousand-odd pounds of fish, not to mention crabs and eels and other creatures. The fish are cleaned immediately and the people eat them without fear although they say that a chicken or duck that eats the entrails will sometimes die from the poison. The fish not wanted for immediate consumption are salted down with a variety of pooped rice and kept for future use. This method may injure the small fish in the river—undoubtedly it does injure them in the immediate vicinity of the catching—but does not have any serious effect on the total supply, apparently. 226 824 227 226 [251]

The costume worn by the men differs very little from that worn by an ordinary Chinese labourer except in the way the coat fastens, as it laps a little to the left and fastens slantingly down the front. The costume worn by the women however, is the distinguishing feature of the people, and is a very attractive outfit in its blue and red with touches of other colours on the head kerchief. For a grown woman, the costume consists of a kerchief, a coat and a short skirt, both dark blue, and dark blue puttees. A narrow red silk girdle, about an inch wide, woven by the women themselves and ending in long fringe, is worn around the hips. The same style of tie, only about a quarter of an inch wide, fastens each puttee just below the knee. The material for the clothing is bought from the traders, and is a coarse, heavy, unbleached cotton cloth. The women dye the goods with indigo and set the colour with pigs blood. The coat is made quite like a Chinese woman's coat, but reaching to the knees and not lapping so far over to the side. A piece of turkey red cotton is embroidered and put on as a narrow collar band; the bottoms of the rather loose sleeves are edged the same 291

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

291 way, and pieces are also put on both sides of the coat where it fastens, for a distance of six or seven inches down from the collar. The side seams are open for about eight inches from the bottom of the coat and are edged with red.

291 The skirt is a double piece of the same goods, the fold coming at the bottom, and reaches to the knees. It is tied
531 around the hips with a tape. The skirt is not embroidered, but is elaborately stamped with figures of trees, bamboo, etc., in a distinct pattern. The method of stamping is very ingenious. A small piece of bamboo about eight inches long is whittled to a very narrow width in the centre for a distance of a quarter or an eighth of an inch, and the two ends then brought together and fastened, leaving the narrow piece straight across the bottom. Some beeswax is melted, and the woman dips her bamboo instrument in the wax and puts it quickly on the undyed goods. Dipping, dipping, dipping she puts her pattern on in perfect regularity, without any sort of guide, if she be skilful at it. Then the cloth is dyed, but the dye cannot penetrate the wax, which is later scalded off with boiling water, and the pattern is left, a very faint blue on the dark blue skirt.

The kerchief is embroidered with many symbolic designs. It too is the same dark blue cloth, a piece about fourteen inches square. With lighter blue thread and silk of all colours the cloth is almost covered with cross stitch and other forms of embroidery. The younger women and the girls make their's very gay, the older women not so much so. It is said that a woman working steadily takes a month to finish one kerchief, and a woman who must work too, will often need a year to finish one. So they are not easy to buy, even at the price of one dollar which we always give. The central motif is always worked out on the square as a basis, with the octagon and the isosceles right triangle as the natural variations in the figures. The swastika symbol is used a great deal. Birds, butterflies, silkworm moths, trees, flowers, horses, dogs, dragons, tortoises, Loi children and Hainanese children (two very different figures—and never a figure of a Miao child)—these are some of the symbols I managed to identify. The women speak very little Hainanese and I know no Miao so it was impossible to get all their meanings. The kerchief is worn with one point over the forehead and one down the back of the neck, the other two corners being brought around and tied in a knot at the back of the head. The younger girls wear the same costume as the women with the exception that they usually have pointed hoods, also embroidered, or sometimes hoods with the crown cut out to show the kerchief beneath. The babies wear little

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monogamous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the sun and rain from the child.

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[595]
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261 market without some small treat for them.
857 Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

261 When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

252 For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yünnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

291 **Clothing.** The Cowrie Shell Miao men all wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of them could afford cloth shoes and therefore
292 wore straw sandals. For special occasions such as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear a new, long garment, belted in with a long blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth to form a large turban (fig. 18, *f*). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

[246]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

der, knotted on the right hip, and a spray of silver leaves in his cap. A priest wore a long yellow or orange robe of cloth or thin silk, whose skirt was shirred onto the waist, and a fancy scarf about his head or a bamboo rain-hat. Both the chanter and the drummer at the ritual in connection with "opening the way" and burial for the dead, and the priests in the procession which opened a bullfight wore this costume. 292

Some of the very little girls wore the tribal costume only on special occasions, but the older girls and women wore it constantly. For everyday they were barefoot or wore straw sandals of their own making. In the winter they wound the legs with cloth from ankle to knee. The remainder of the costume consisted of long, wide trousers of dark blue cloth, a front apron of finer dark blue cloth embroidered in white, which had to be two and a half feet long, and a back apron one and a half feet long of hemp cloth dyed dark blue, a blue blouse made on straight lines but worn folded surplice to the right, and belted in with the strings from the aprons and from an embroidered overpiece on the blouse (fig. 8, *a*, *b*), and a woven belt an arm-span long. On the head they wore a turban, which was sometimes just a length of cloth wound around, sometimes a carefully constructed one. Of course for the roughest work they wore their oldest, patched, faded, tattered clothes (see fig. 19, *c*). Unless they had lost them or given them to a daughter, the women and girls wore silver hooks like an inverted question mark in their ears (fig. 19, *c*), and the girls wore, also, heavy silver bracelets, silver neck loops and rings, and a Chinese thimble. 291 301

For the hemp apron they raised the hemp and processed it, made the thread, dyed it, and wove the cloth themselves. All other cloth, except the bands used to hold the pad about a baby spreadeagled on the back, which was also woven of hemp thread, and both cotton and silk thread were bought in the markets. They made hemp thread for mending and sewing. Of the heavier cotton they liked to buy white in the piece and dye it a very dark, almost black blue; but they also bought it already dyed. They used nutgalls (五倍子) mixed with earth as a dye. The 294

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth.

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide.

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

442 from the straw of glutinous rice made san-
241 dals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it,
462 stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, sep-
283 arated the strands, and from them made the
386 two grades of thread — one for sewing and
mending and one for weaving into cloth. They
291 gathered and dried nutgalls and from them
prepared a dye, by which they dyed white cloth bought in piece in the market an even, almost black blue. They made all the clothing for themselves and their families and their bedding. They wove the straw comforter, too. Girls and younger women made the embroidery on the overpiece, front apron, and turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older women made hemp thread and did the weaving of cloth for the back apron and bands for the baby pad. It was the older women who wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

286 Three types of loom were used: First there was that described in the making of the belt. Second, there was the vertical loom used for the weaving of straw comforters. This had two beams, one high and one near the floor, from which the warp ropes of twisted straw went back and forth. Two of the poles supporting the rafters served as uprights. The weft was similar to the warp, except that straw ends were left sticking out so that the result was smooth on one side and had a nap on the other. The weft was sent through by hand, in and out, over and under successive threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet. The third was used for the weaving of hemp cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of two by fours about eight feet long and three wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides and, a little lower down, across the ends, also one about two feet from one end. The upper pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at each end. Into this frame was set another, lighter one, going into the upper horizontal pieces at the back, but down into the bracing piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace about a foot above the main frame, across the front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights of this second frame, a board was put across for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

ing school, and the engineers' corps of the railway being built through the town from Kwangsi to Kweiyang. To it the people of the surrounding contryside, including at least three groups of Miao and the Chung-chia, went to market. It was also the seat of the *hsien* government and contained a middle school, postal and telegraph offices, and a co-operative bank, with all of which the non-Chinese, as well as the Chinese, had some dealings. A few of the more well-to-do families sent one of their boys to the middle school. Cases which could not be settled in the village or by the *lien pao* official, who was also a Chinese, were of necessity brought to the *hsien* court, as well as cases which involved both Miao and Chinese.

The market was held in an open space reserved for it just inside the east gate of the city. There were permanent sheds under which merchants who made the rounds of such markets displayed their stocks of cloth, notions, and articles manufactured elsewhere. Other sections of the grounds were reserved for eggs and poultry, sandal straw, farm implements, brown sugar cakes, fruits and vegetables, dishes and cooking utensils, pigs, tobacco, chillies, food stalls, articles of wood and bamboo, meat, firewood, grain, and the thin strips of sulfur-tipped wood used for carrying fire. The main market for wood was just outside the city gate.

People within a radius of perhaps ten miles and including Chinese, Chung-chia, and three, sometimes four, groups of Miao, attended this market to buy and sell. One group of Miao came from the mountains twenty-four miles to the south with charcoal. Each group had a distinctive costume worn by the women. That of Chung-chia women consisted of long, narrow trousers with a woven band of color at the ankles, a knee-length blouse in old Chinese style, a straight apron attached to the collar of the blouse with a silver chain and tied with embroidered strings in the back, and a tight skull cap. The women of one group of Miao wore dark blue trousers to below the knee, a skirt of many pleats of dark blue, bordered with a wide band of white, a blue blouse worn surplice and having a large sailor collar. Their legs were wound in many long strips of blue cloth. About the waist

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

they wore a long, woven belt of straw and over the blouse an overpiece of straw. Their abundant hair was made into a large knot in the back. Around it and the head they wound a dark blue cloth turban. These were the charcoal burners. The women of another group who called themselves Lao Hei Miao wore long trousers, two aprons similar to those of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with no embroidering on the front one, a blouse worn surplice, an overpiece of the same type as that of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with much coarser stitches, no color, and no cowries, and a turban of a length of blue cloth wound around the head. 443 291

Kou-ch'ang and Hsin-ch'ang, the market village a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un, were typical market villages with the one main street widening out in the center to form a square. The main shops of the village lined the sides of this square. On market days itinerant merchants set up their stalls under awnings and local people and tribesmen spread their produce on mats on the ground.

The Cowrie Shell Miao took to market grain (rice, wheat, glutinous rice, millet), wood in various forms (planks, bamboo poles, firewood, poles, brushwood), fresh vegetables from gardens and fields, bamboo shoots, water chestnuts, sunflower seeds, nuts, rape seed, dried peas and beans, eggs, poultry, pigs and pork, grass raincapes, straw for sandals, and chaff. In the markets they bought cloth, thread — cotton and silk — salt, sugar, and such things as tobacco, red chillies, and fat pork for rendering out lard if their own supply had run low. The Chung-chia in the vicinity made wide white cloth, dried bean curd cakes, and straw sandals. The local Chinese (i.e., from Ting-shui-pa) sold straw sandals, tea, and hemp. The Cowrie Shell Miao made hemp cloth only for special uses of their own and straw sandals only for their own use. They had no extra hemp to sell, but did take to market sheaves of glutinous rice straw. 443 439

There were no shops whatever in the village. Now and then a peddlar of crockery, vegetable oil, charcoal, or notions came through the village. The transaction then was usually one of barter, the women paying in rice and eggs. At other times Chinese money and measurements were used. The silver orna-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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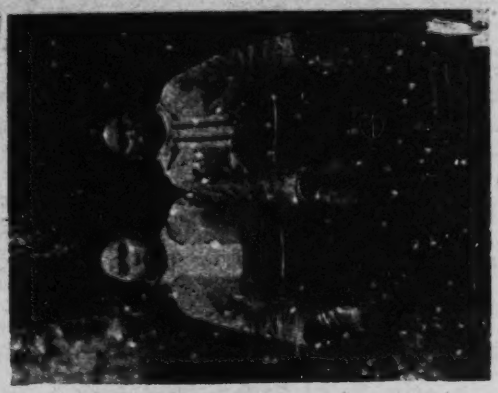
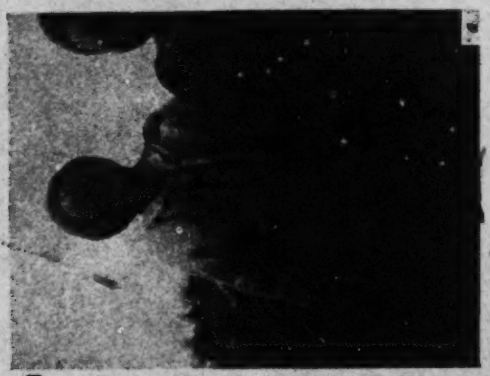




[For captions, see p. 92b.
--Analyst]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

a, Two jolly village girls. *b*, Girl in village. *c*, Girls wearing everyday working clothes. *d*, "Old Black" Miao girls at market. *e*, Three little cousins standing before the entrance to a house in Yang-niu-ts'un—Mo-mei in background. *f*, Four brothers of a family in Yang-niu-ts'un.

[926]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

as the Miao cook fastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring
harvest ripens, potatoes fotm the staple food of
large numbers of the people. They can usually
afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt
purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this
becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people
fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a
Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers,
the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government,
and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour-
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves [624]
with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task.
The women have very much more work to do than
men. They weave the clothes, carry the water,
collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear
innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about
the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress.
A man wears sandals, which he himself has made,
short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a
loose-fitting upper garment which is between a
jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears
a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth.
The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and,
scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must [834] be recorded that though married women expose their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women 292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after 302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after 301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men, as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear- 292 rings, and on gala occasions every one, man or woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and harmonises beautifully with the mountains on which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary to be presented with a gala gown. English friends are highly amused when they are told that such a gown was grown in a village garden. Like Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet, the woollen texture is made from wool sheared from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is obtained from plants and roots gathered on the hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music. 534 The musical instrument par excellence is the *ggeb* which is played by the young men, who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A *ggeb* is made of bamboo pipes,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

include every sort of non-Chinese people, and is therefore misleading. As far as our observation goes, the Chinese who live in those regions make no mistake about the different races, and call them by their proper Chinese names. Many of the Miao men, as already mentioned, dress much the same as the Chinese peasants, but the women of all the tribes wear a costume peculiar to themselves, and it is from these differences that the Chinese name them. Thus, the women of the *Heh* or "Black Miao" wear a dark chocolate-coloured embroidered costume; the men of that tribe also often wear calico of a dark-brown or chocolate colour. For this reason the Chinese call them Black Miao. The *Ya-ch'io*, or "Magpie Miao," are so called because the dark-blue and white costume of their women suggests the magpie. There are the *Hua* or "Parti-coloured Miao," the *Peh* or "White Miao," and so on. Some few of them, however, are otherwise named, as the *Sa*, or "Shrimp Miao," because they catch and sell fresh-water shrimps. There are also the *Shui-hsi-Miao*, "West of the water Miao," the water here referred to doubtless being the river flowing between Anshunfu and Tating.

The most numerous and most important of these tribes are the Heh Miao in the south-

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

of these two most dissimilar dialects are compared, it is easily seen that they are both variations of a common speech. Naturally these variations are most marked in cases where the tribes are most widely separated geographically. But the differences of dialect in tribes which are only thirty or forty miles apart are sometimes very great. In some of these cases it is very often the commonest words which show the greatest changes; for instance, the pronouns, the negatives, and such common words as the verbs "to be" and "to have." This striking difference of speech among people who must at one time have spoken the same language suggests that they have not only been separated geographically, but have also been apart for long periods of time.

The Heh Miao call themselves *mp'eo* or *de mp'eo*. *De* is merely a personal prefix. This word or sound *mp'eo* also means embroidery. The Heh Miao women, and the women of most of the other Miao tribes, wear a good deal of embroidery in their costume. The amount of embroidery on the clothing of a Heh Miao young woman is astonishing. It takes them years to do the embroidery on the jacket and skirt in which they hope to be married, and one of the commonest sights in a Heh Miao village

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

291 531 is a group of young girls, sitting round the door of one of the houses, laughing and chatting and doing their embroidery. When the costumes are finished, they are worn on gala days before they are married and on festive occasions for years afterwards. I have asked my teacher and others if they call themselves *mp'eo* because of the embroidery their women wear, but none of them was able to say why they call themselves by that name.

101 The Ya-chio Miao of Tatung, who live about one hundred miles distant from the nearest Heh Miao, call themselves *mp'ü*, which is the same word and means "embroidery" also with them. They also were not able to tell me why they are so named. The Hua Miao call themselves *hmung* and *hmung-a-lü*. The Shui-hsi Miao and Peh Miao also call themselves *hmung*, and some of the other Miao call themselves *hmao*. Now all these words *mp'ü*, *mp'eo*, *hmao*, *hmung* are doubtless the same word, but whether *hmao* and *hmung* also mean embroidery or not in those dialects we are not at present able to say.

173 As these people have no literature, they can say very little that is trustworthy about their own origin and history. The Heh Miao say they came from Kiangsi province, and that is where the Chinese place the San Miao in the

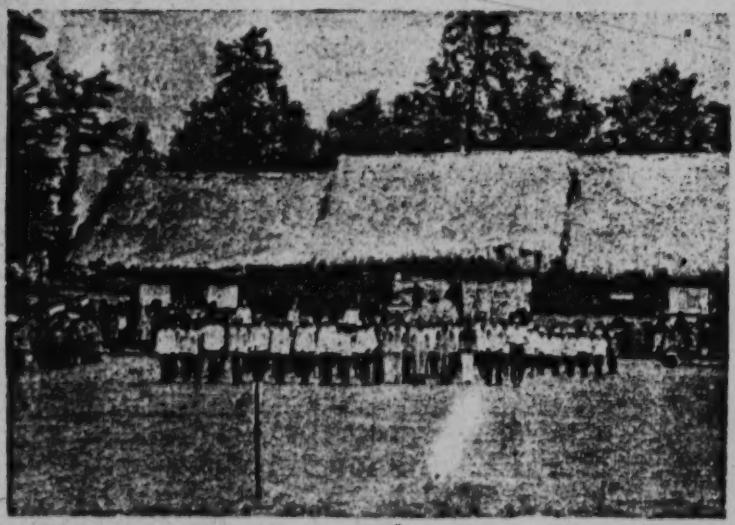
8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[292] [177] The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

291 562

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5



Picture of Ch'uan Miao pupils of four schools in parade in front of the Ch'uan Miao school house at Wang Wu Chiai.

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A Ch'uan Miao family on the Szechwan-Yunnan border. The two boys are students in a Ch'uan Miao school.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 36]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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Ch'uan Miao aborigine children.

Photo by David C. Graham, 1934.

Ch'uan Miao girls in northern Yunnan wearing embroidered clothing.

A view in the Ch'uan Miao region on the Szechwan-Yunnan border.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[Facing p. 40]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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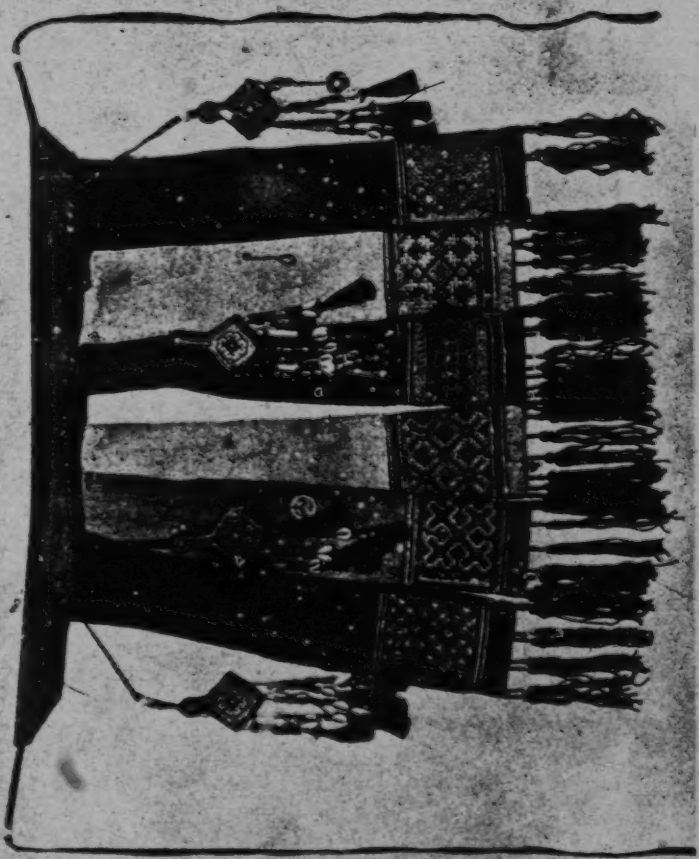

Ch'uan Miao embroidered pendants worn by the women suspended from the belt. In the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

[facing p. 48]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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Ch'uan Miao women's embroidered hat bands and pendants worn suspended from the belt. *In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

[facing p. 52]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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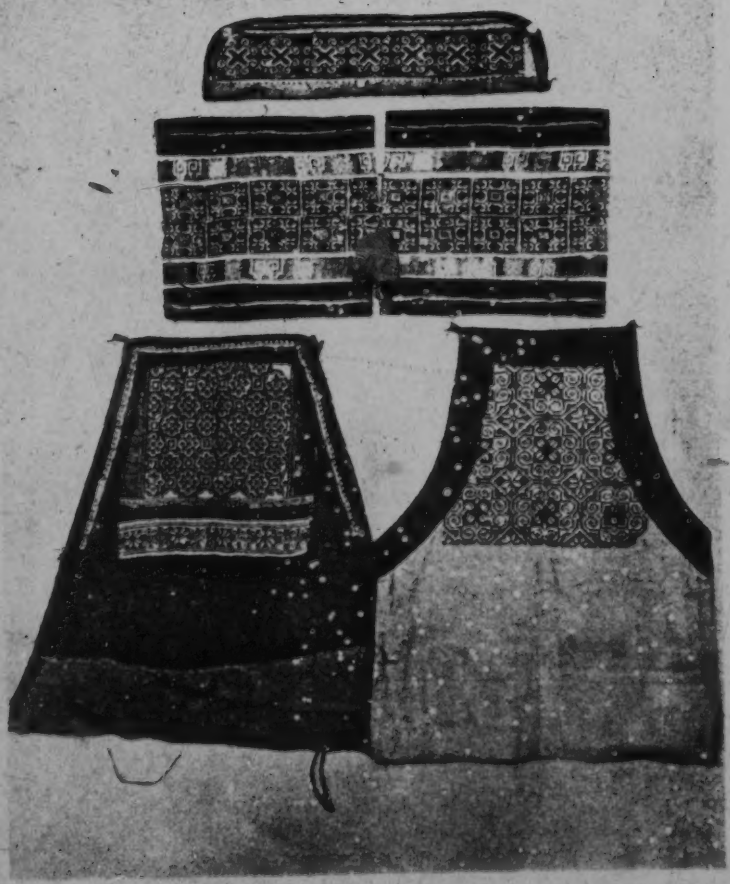

Ch'uan Miao embroidered neckband, sleeves, and breast covers.
In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology

[facing p. 56]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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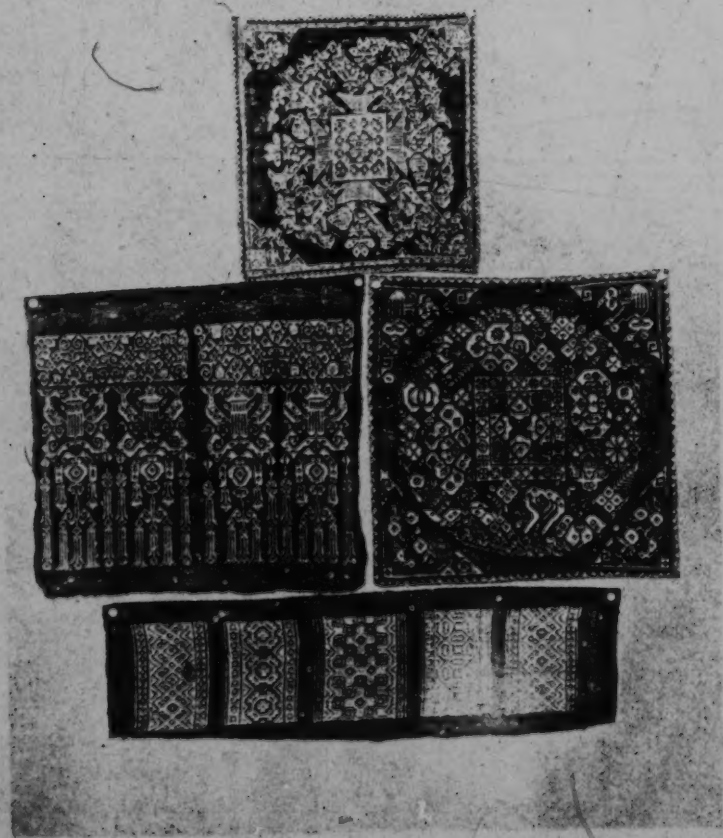

Ch'uan Miao embroidery—a halbard, two handkerchiefs, and an apron cloth—In the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology*

[facing p. 60]

11: Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938 AE5 Miao AE5

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FIG. 1. SIX CH'WAN MIAO WOMEN IN FRONT OF THE CHIEFTAIN'S HOUSE.

FIG. 2. ADULT FEMALE.

FIGS. 3, 4. ADULT MALES. NOTE THE RELATIVE ABSENCE OF THE EYEFOLD.

FIG. 2.

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FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA.

[facing p. 65]

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[291] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the
[439] Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

[1] [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the Hê Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their [294] time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver orna- [301] ments in all styles and colors to attract attention.

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in 361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied [231] houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

[16 cont.]

131 Miao [short-skirt Miao] is a branch of the Hê Miao, distributed
101 over a very extensive area in southeast Kweichow at Hsia-chiang, Yung-chiang, Chien-ho T'ai-kung, Tan-chiang, Pa-chai, Lu-shan and Ma-chiang. They total about 40,000 to
[161] 50,000 people. Although they have among them more or less the same costumes, customs and language, their cultural levels vary to a large extent. The present article deals only with those Short-Skirt Hê Miao who are located in the region contiguous to Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Pa-chai and Tan-chiang, and may not be representative of the entire group.

2. Costumes

[17] A common method to distinguish the various tribal
101 291 groups among the Miao in Kweichow is by the style of their women's dresses, because the men's are generally similar to those of the Chinese farmers. The women's costumes, however, still retain their original native style. The so-called Ch'ing Miao [blue Miao], Hê Miao [black Miao], and Pê Miao [white Miao] are distinguished by the colors of their womenfolks' clothes, which are either predominantly blue, black, or white. The
291 Short-skirt Miao is one group of the Hê Miao, their women's clothes being uniformly black. They are called the Short-skirts because their skirts are shorter than those worn by the other groups. In fact, aside from the length of the skirt, the other parts of their costumes are quite different too. To describe,
302 we start from the head. First of all, they never use make-up, but their hair is always well-trimmed and shiny. They often
[515] wash their hair by the river bank and afterwards apply tea-seed oil to give it a glossy finish. They comb their hair backwards first and leave a bang of about two to three inches falling down on the forehead in the shape of a small black umbrella. On the crown the hair is coiled up in a chignon and fastened by a small wooden comb three inches long, rather like the headgear of a Japanese woman.

[17 cont.]

The upper garment of a Short-skirt Hê Miao woman is also
29 different from that of the other Miao. It resembles the mandarin jacket of the Chinese, reaching only to the hips, round-collared and buttoned in the middle, with large sleeves. Although there are five to seven pairs of bean-size lead buttons, actually only the first pair can be buttoned, the other pairs being loose, with only buttons but no loops. So during work a belt is tied around the waist. They do not wear panties. The skirt measures only one foot and two inches in length and is not fastened to the waist but below the waistline. It has inumerable pleats, from over five hundred to as many as a thousand. Therefore a skirt requires at least twenty feet of material. Both the front and rear parts of the skirt are covered with a piece of black cloth about six or seven inches in width and one or two inches longer than the skirt. The rear piece has an embroidered band of four inches at the hem. They never wear stockings. While working at home, in the field or on the river bank they are always barefoot. On formal occasions they wind strips of black cloth around their legs, from the ankles [18] up to the thighs. Each strip of leg band measures about twenty-four feet, and as it winds up layer on layer, it gives a swollen appearance. The straw sandals for men and women are made differently. The women's footwear resembles the Japanese wooden clogs, with a forklike rope attachment that enters in between the big toe and the rest of the toes, so that the rear and the back of the foot require no other attachments.

The costumes described above are for everyday wear. The
[291] Miao in this area are comparatively well-to-do. An average family is able to add a suit or two of new clothes for each member every year, and so even their ordinary clothes are clean and in good repair. Dirty and disorderly dresses are rarely seen. On festive occasions the men wear new clothes and the women, specially made embroidered clothes in brilliant designs. The
[294] work on the embroideries begins during a girl's teen-age and continues for several years before it is completed. Ordinarily
30 the women do not use much jewelry. They do not wear earrings, neither do they have holes in the ears. They do wear one or

86: Robequain--247 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AES

pens made of bamboo. Mèo women excel in raising these pigs, which are of a special variety. They know how to dose the maize and leave it whole or break it up into particles of varying size according as it is to be used to feed a male shut in its narrow pen, a female with a litter, a pregnant female, or the young pigs which come and go freely in the house like the chickens. A few Mèo of Thanh Hoá -- the wealthiest ones -- also have a horse to ride to market, and buffalo. But the latter wander about over the mountains and are hardly ever slaughtered except for funerals. Mi 231

Like the Man, the Mèo of the province cultivate only rẫy, and change their site every two, three or four years. On the hills and even slopes they sow rice broadcast in the third and fourth months and harvest it in the ninth and tenth months. I have seen some with superb, well-filled husks and enormous grains (3). Elsewhere, in /235/ the Mi 241

3. The Mèo grow chiefly common rice, and little of the glutinous kind, in contrast to the Thai. On the other hand, the latter do not sow their mountain rice broadcast, but place it in holes.

basins, they alternate maize which is sowed in holes and grows and ripens from the second to the eighth month (1) with opium which is

1. In the Thai rẫy of the same region, situated at a lower altitude, maize is harvested in the sixth month.

sowed broadcast in the eighth month. Besides maize and rice which form the basis of their food supply, the Mèo grow a few batatas, some cassava and some sugar cane.

The women busy themselves with hemp, with which they weave nearly all the cloth the family needs. From this material dyed blue or left white, they make their peculiar and rather funny clothing, the upper part of which is like that of a sailor and the lower part like that of a dancer -- a little jacket with a sailor collar and narrow sleeves, and a skirt which comes down only to the knee but which has so many pleats that it becomes very heavy. The women also wear long leggings and high turbans, and on holidays the collars and skirts of their garments are brightened with white on blue designs and with a childish mass of tricolored materials. Mi 287 291

Hospitable people, the Mèo of Thanh Hoá have remained timid 000

[152 cont.]

538 lot is otherwise so hard. Below are given two extracts from "Méo" songs, borrowed from the work of P. Marabail (op. cit., pp. 296 and 298):

539 892 1. Love song:

The Young Man. — One is born only once. As the bee and the butterfly go far off in search of flowers, so human creatures are obliged to make long journeys to seek out those beings with whom they should unite. In like fashion we two are of different villages and yet we are about to wed. It is Heaven that has so willed it, He who is just and is never mistaken.

The Young Woman. — No, we are like the reed and the plum tree, which are separated by long distances. Don't make fun of it in that way. But since you tell me of the example of the bees, we have only to follow it. Wait for me then this evening at nightfall and I shall take care not to miss the rendezvous.

2. Prayer:

May we have an abundant harvest of maize! May the 539 wind blow with moderation and the rain fall with regularity! Then 782 more than a hundred plants will give rich harvests. Thus the mandarins will have a tranquil people to rule. Oh, that these desires may be completely realized! Let us beat the drum to celebrate autumn.

The costume of the men scarcely varies from one tribe to an- 291 other (see photo 204, Plate 38, in which representatives of various "Méo" tribes of Upper Tonkin appear). It consists of a jacket which buttons [153] usually in front of the right shoulder as well as on the side, and goes down just below the hips, a long pantaloon falling to the feet and held up by a belt, a turban of variable size, wrapped in a haphazard fashion.

Among those tribes which are in direct contact with the Chinese, [177] the masculine costume approaches that of the Chinese, the jacket buttons in front by means of a variable number of braided loops and buttons and the turban is often replaced by a small skullcap.

The "Méo" usually go about barefooted. Some wear sandals with soles of rattan or bamboo fiber, or even the Chinese heelless

[153 cont.]

291 slipper with wide linen leg. In winter the well-to-do "Méo" wear a padded jacket and a sort of padded loincloth.

[302] The "Méo" shave the hair about their heads for a width of from three or four centimeters; the remaining hair, braided or not, is confined in a turban. Besides, it is not rare to meet a bare-headed "Méo."

[301] Many "Méo" men wear jewelry: rings, bracelets, or neck-laces of silver, copper, or sometimes of iron.

[765] Mourning is indicated by the wearing of a white turban. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42.)

The costume of the "Méo" women shows rather remarkable peculiarities in the various tribes. They even exceed, among the "Peu-Méo," the costume of the "Man-te-pan" in magnificence of embroidery and liveliness of colors.

Except among the "Méo-monng-cha," the cut of the feminine garments is almost uniform, as much for the working clothes as for the ceremonial costumes.

The "Peu-méo" women, whom the French commonly call "Méotes with the sailor collar" wear a working costume made up of the following pieces (photo 103, Plate 39).

A white bodice, full, and reaching down to the waist, where it is held in with the skirt by a wide belt. This bodice is folded over very low in front, leaving a considerable portion of the breast visible and giving the entire garment the appearance of a very low cut sailor's collar. This collar, as well as the lower part of the sleeves, is bordered with a band of colored material, of variable width (blue or red).

A white skirt, reaching down to just above the calf, and held in at the waist by the belt referred to above. This skirt, which is very wide, is of the "plissé-soleil" type. While walking, during [491] which the "Méo" women swing their hips very markedly, the pleats of the skirt gather now on the right, now on the left, following the movements of legs and torso.

An apron, in blue linen, simply fastened about the waist by a [154] cord. A rather voluminous turban of blue linen, but with an outside turn often made up of a band of material in white and blue squares.

[154 cont.]

292 The holiday turban of the "Peu-méo" women is a veritable monument, which is prepared ahead of time and is placed all at once on top of the ordinary turban. The upper part is formed of a sort of skullcap and of a wide circular red band bearing superb embroidered rosettes. Attached to this band are a dozen pieces of rectangular material, regularly spaced around the headdress, bearing the finest embroideries of the entire costume and ending in seven or eight small strings, on which [155] colored beads and pieces of glass are threaded. The costume is completed by the big white leggings, of linen wrappings, which we mentioned above. (See also photos 105, Plate 39; 424, Plate 37.)

291 The working costume of the "Hoa-Méo" women is practically like that of the "Peu-Méo," except that the bodice does not have the "sailor-collar" shape. (The holiday costume of the "Hoa-Méo" is shown on photo 37, Plate 36.) The jacket is buttoned on the right side. The collar and the front edge of the jacket are decorated with multicolored embroideries. The sleeves, which are long, bear from the neck to the wrist several circular bands of very lively colors (red, white, blue, green), separated by other very finely embroidered bands.

The skirt is of the "plissé-soleil" model and white to just below the hips. The designs which decorate the bottom are made by the marking process already described. The turban is rather voluminous, of white linen. It does not carry on top of it the enormous [301] "Peu-Méo" headdress, the large earrings, characteristic of the "Hoa-Méo," preventing the addition of such a headdress. The fat, wrapped legging of white linen is often worn by the "Hoa-Méo" women (photo 419, Plate 39), as well as by all the women of the various tribes of the group.

The costume of the "Moung-cha-méo" women is very different from the costumes already described. (See photo 52, Plate 14.)

The dark-blue bodice, very simple and very full, rather low-cut at the collar, reaches down just below the belt and is buttoned in front by means of two or three braided loops and buttons. The sleeves are formed of three wide circular bands, two in dark-blue material, the central band of light blue. The bottom of the sleeves is formed of a light-blue cuff decorated with little lines of white embroidery.

[155 cont.]

Opposite the shoulder, the top of the sleeve has first a circular
291 red band, three or four centimeters in width, followed by a wider
[531] green band, decorated with embroidery (varied rosettes and white lines).

The border of the jacket is furnished with narrow embroidered bands.

The skirt is long. It goes down to the ankles. The central section, at the height of the thighs, bears several horizontal bands (blues, reds, whites, and yellows) likewise decorated with embroidery. The apron, of dark blue, covers the front of the skirt.

The belt is very simple, often of red or green color, merely knotted about the waist, with two little ends which cross over and hang down in front.

The headdress of the "Moung-Cha-Méo" women has no turban.
[902] The hair is rolled in back of the head in a little chignon fastened by a wooden comb.

[156] The "Méo" women wear about the same jewelry as the
301 women of the other groups. Some of their jewelry is very characteristic, however. Thus, the "Peu-Méo" women, in addition to the rings and necklaces of the usual model, wear earrings of a special shape: A silver ring, hung from the lobe of the ear by a hook, holds five or six fine silver chains hanging down to the shoulder, each one carrying small silver plaques on which ornamental embossed designs are represented.

The earrings of the "Hoa-Méo" are yet more characteristic (photos 346, and 37, Plate 36). They are formed of two long silver branches in the shape of interrogation points. One end is fastened in the turban at the back of the head. The other end, furnished
[304] with a terminal button, passes through the earlobe (photo 346) or is attached to the lobe by means of a hook or a ring (photo 37). Sometimes the "Hoa-Méo" women wear earrings which hang down on the breast, which must be a veritable torment for the lobes, pulled about by so heavy a weight (photo 107, Plate 39).

In the description of the costumes, we have spoken only of
291 the working turbans and those used at great ceremonies. There still are turbans intermediate between these two categories, of which

[156 cont.]

291 photographs 105, Plate 39; 156 and 157, Plate 40; 424, Plate 37, show various specimens: blue turbans, turbans of mixed blue and white, blue turbans on top of which larger white turbans are bound, turbans of black-and-white squares, horned turbans, and so on. There is no really fixed style of turban and some latitude is allowed to the "Méo" women in the arrangement of their headdresses, except in the matter of the turbans for great ceremonies. Sometimes the
302 "Méo" women go about bareheaded, the hair rolled in a great pile on top of the head (photo 103, Plate 39, woman at left), or merely brought to the back of the head and fastened in a chignon. The hair is shaved for a width of three or four centimeters about the head, in the place where the turban rests.

Many of the "Méo" men and women wear a big hat of woven
291 rattan fiber in the shape of a truncated cone (photo 107, Plate 39; photo 198, Plate 42) of a model analogous to that of the "Man," but somewhat cruder and without the small spherical skullcap of the latter.

The "Méo" dwellings are generally rectangular in shape. The
342 walls are rarely of masonry (homes of the wealthy); most often they are of pisé or mud or even simply of rough planks.

The pisé is made in two ways: The moistened and kneaded
[339] earth is shaped, [157] by means of a mold, into parallelepipeds which are dried in the sun and are then placed one upon the other, for two or three rows of thickness, in such a way as to form the wall. In the second system, two large planks are so placed that the distance between them corresponds to the thickness which one wishes to give to the wall. Between these planks is packed slightly moistened earth, which is rammed down with large round logs. Then the planks are moved as the wall becomes higher, and are held in place by means of movable transverse members driven into the wall. The framework, formed of roughly squared logs, supports a roof of two sections, generally of straw and rarely of tiles. The roof extends some distance beyond the walls, in such a way as better to protect the latter from the rain.

342 The interior of the cabin is divided into several compartments:
353 In the center, the hall of honor, where strangers are received and

158: Diguet--128 G-3 (ca 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
MIAO AES

/page 128/

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534

Meo flutist

155: Abadie--237 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

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[415]
[482]

37. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman.

346. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman Carrying Water in two Bamboo Tubes Fastened Together.

155: Abadie -239 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[160]

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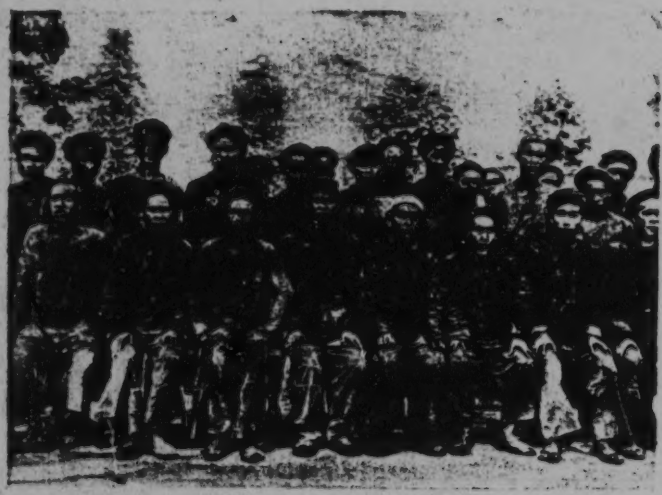

204. Group of "Méo" Notables. "Siao-phay" (Village Chiefs of Region of Pha-Long).

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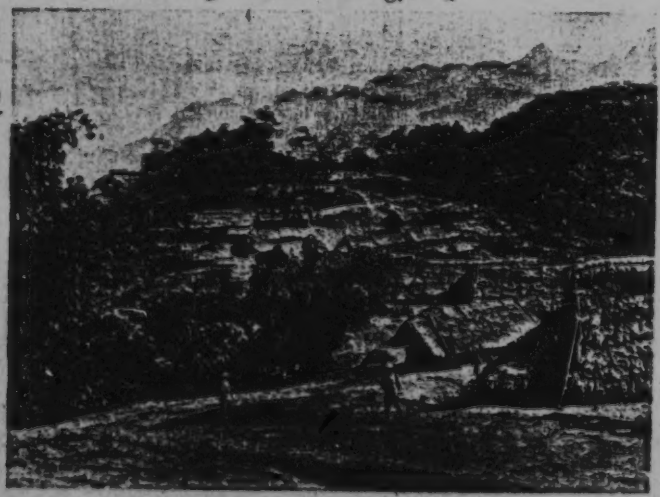

445. "Méo" Village (Region of Pha-Long).

155: Abadie--240 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
M100 AE5

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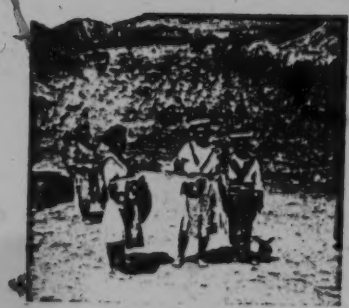
[854]
[482]

103. "Peu-Méo" Women.



105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.

419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.

(Pakha)

158: Diguet--133 G-3 (ca 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

Section 4

Costume

The men have their heads shaved around the periphery, and wrap around a white or blue turban. The rest of the hair is left long and rolled into a chignon on top of the head. When traveling, they wear the large hat customary in the high regions. Most of them have a broad silver necklace around the neck, open on the chest, with the two extremities flattened out into small plates bearing the imprint of several characters. They are joined together by a small chain on which a tooth-brush is sometimes hung. Men's clothing consists of a white or blue jacket, depending upon the ethnic type, ending at the belt and buttoning on the right side of the chest, and of trousers of the same cloth with a very wide and low seat, and with short legs reaching down just below the knee. What distinguishes it from the zouave style of trousers, is that it is not tied in around the leg. The Meo generally wear leggings. The Meo gun almost is part of the costume. Moreover it is like that of the Man in all respects, 291 301

/135/ In giving a description of women's clothing, it is necessary to distinguish among the different varieties. The White Meo woman (Mong Tlao in the Meo tongue) wears a skirt of coarse white material, pleated finely all around the waist like a dancer's tutu, and short enough to show the knees a bit. Her trunk is clothed in a blue bodice ending at the waist, folded across the bosom, and open to a low enough point to show the beginnings of the breasts. The characteristic of this jacket is the sailor collar which is its pretty accessory. This is white on a blue background, or blue on a white background. Rich costumes have three collars in different colors, worn one above the other. The sleeves are edged with a cuff of the color of the collar. A blue apron hanging below the skirt, a belt wrapped several times around the waist, and leggings, so big that they swell out the lower part of the leg, complete this garb. 291

Hair is shaved in front and knotted into a chignon on the top of the head. This is crowned with an enormous turban put on and taken off like a hat. It is made of several meters of black and white striped material, and is wound around so many times that it weighs as much as two kilograms. 302

Besides bracelets and rings of silver, the Meo women wear for jewelry a wide unbroken necklace and earrings in shape of a letter "S," which fall down on the front of the bosom. 301

291 The second type known in Tonkin is that of the Embroidered Meo, who are sometimes called Hoa Meo. They are subdivided into two groups, Red Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Len), and "Meo of the comb" (in the Meo tongue, Mong Soa). The costume of Embroidered Meo women consists of a short skirt embroidered in five colors, a jacket open on the bosom in the style described above but trimmed with embroidered borders and armbands, and without the sailor collar, a blue apron, and enormous leggings, which make the leg look like an elephant's foot.

The turban is rather characteristic. It is formed of a long string wound around the head, together with the hair hanging down, which is bound together and carefully gathered up on the head. The jewelry is similar to that of the White Meo women.

/136/ The third variety of the Meo ethnic group is the Black Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Du). Among them the women's costume consists of a skirt as pleated and short as that of the White Meo, but of black material, a dark blue jacket with a border of an insipid light blue and provided with double sleeves ending in light blue cuffs edged with white piping. This bodice comes to a point at the throat and reveals the upper part of the breast-covering which has horizontal embroidered stripes. It is held in at the waist by a light colored belt whose fringed ends fall down in back. A deep blue turban is knotted around the head rather irregularly. The leggings are not wrapped around the lower part of the leg. It is a kind of cylindrical gaiter of blue material which is put on like a stocking and is fastened by garters whose fringed ends are left hanging.

301 A wide necklace and the usual jewelry adorn this curious costume.

Section 5

Social Organization--The Family and the Tribe

593 The family is firmly established among the Meo. As among all the neighboring races, the authority of the father of the family is absolute within the home, and the wife is the first servant of her husband. She takes an active part in work in the fields, cares for her children, cooks for her household and for the animals, and still finds time to make all the articles of clothing for the entire household.

855 Children are brought up austerely. From their earliest years
857 they have to look out for the herds, then they are initiated into the

291

White Meo women

291

Embroidered Meo women

291
142

MEAO MEN AND WOMEN. PAYAP CIRCLE.

(Siam I, p. 137)

23; Graham G-S (ca. 1900-1920)1924 A01 Thailand
Miao AES

A 551 [553] /55 cont./

In addition to the name which every person receives at the time of admission into the family community, every man is given a second name by his father-in-law after the birth of his first child. Telford (3) /see footnote 3 above/ writes: "He is given part of the father's name."

Among the Akha, too, a definite distinction is made between names for boys and for girls, but unlike the situation among the Meau they do not have any special meaning and are merely names:

Boys' names are: tšǫ̆pá, tšǒníum, tšǫ̆nkǭ.

Girls' names are: minyu, tšopyǫ́, mǐná.

/56/ c) Children

M 855 [842]

The villages of the Meau and even more those of the Akha are teeming with children, which is not surprising in view of the fertility of these peoples. True, the hygienic conditions, especially in the villages of the Meau, are as unfavorable as can be imagined (cf. the chapter, "Medicine"), in striking contrast to the impression given by the well-fed, contented children.

As soon as the little ones begin to crawl and to walk and thus come in contact with soil, dust, and soot, they are permanently covered with a thick crust of dirt, so that their true skin color is no longer recognizable. Their little noses run, their hair is unkempt and dirty, the remains of food stick to their little fingers -- but all this does not prompt the mother to wash the child. Meau children are usually clothed only in faded rags which once were part of the clothing of adults (Ill. 67 and 68). Even the articles of clothing made especially for the child, however, are soon entirely in a state of neglect due to the liveliness of the children and the complete lack of repair and scarcely fulfill the purpose of covering the body. Only a festive day provides an occasion for every child to have new clothing, to be washed, and to be combed, but this only happens

M [515] [291]

M [291] [527]

[see cat. 116, p511- ANALYST]

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

M [778] [782] [413]

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood sculpture.

M [532] [114]

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though not universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

A [831]

A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

[1] [See cat 116, p 120 - ANALYST]

[2] [" " ", p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--240 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between 176 and 177/

Color Plate II

Clothing of the Meau

(Description, Vol. II, pp.432-436). About 1/15 nat. size.

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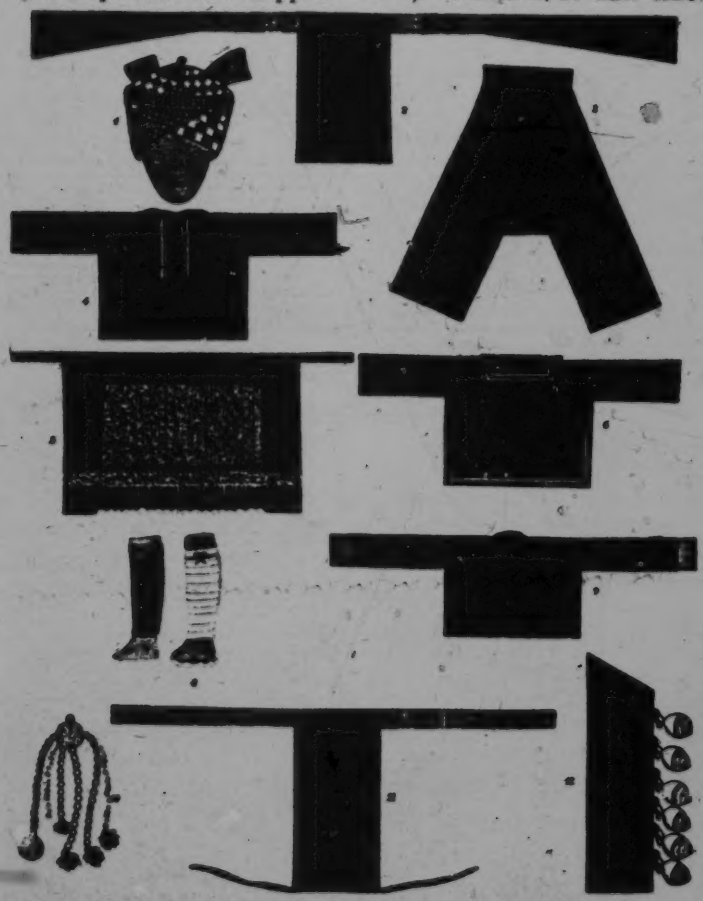

[301
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1. Women's turban. 2. Women's apron with embroidered bands. 3. Men's trousers. 4. Women's blouse from the front. 5. Pleated batik skirt from the front. 6. Women's blouse from the back. 7. Everyday leggings for women. 8. Wrap-around leggings for women's festive attire. 9. Men's jacket from the front. 10. Turban tassel for women. 11. Child-carrier with embroidered bands. 12. Side decoration of the men's jacket, with silver bells.

/230 cont./

364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

[264]

2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

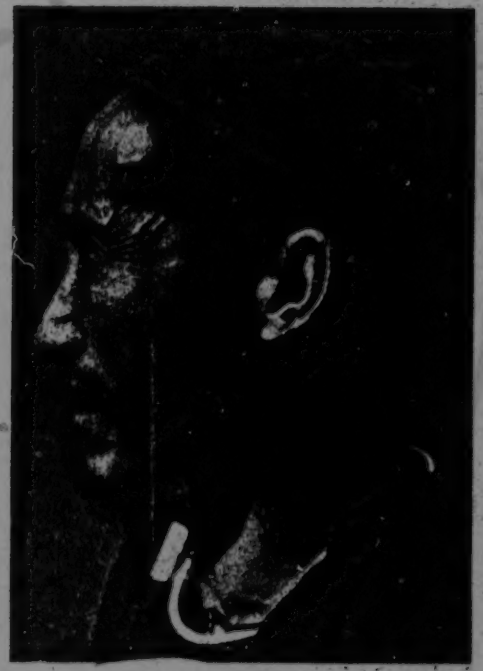
Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 206.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

38: Bernatzik--387 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 266 and 267./
Miao AE5

Ill. 55. Meau shaman of Delicate Sinoid type about 52 years old.



Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55.

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39: Bernatzik--368 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Opposite p. 267./ Miao AE5
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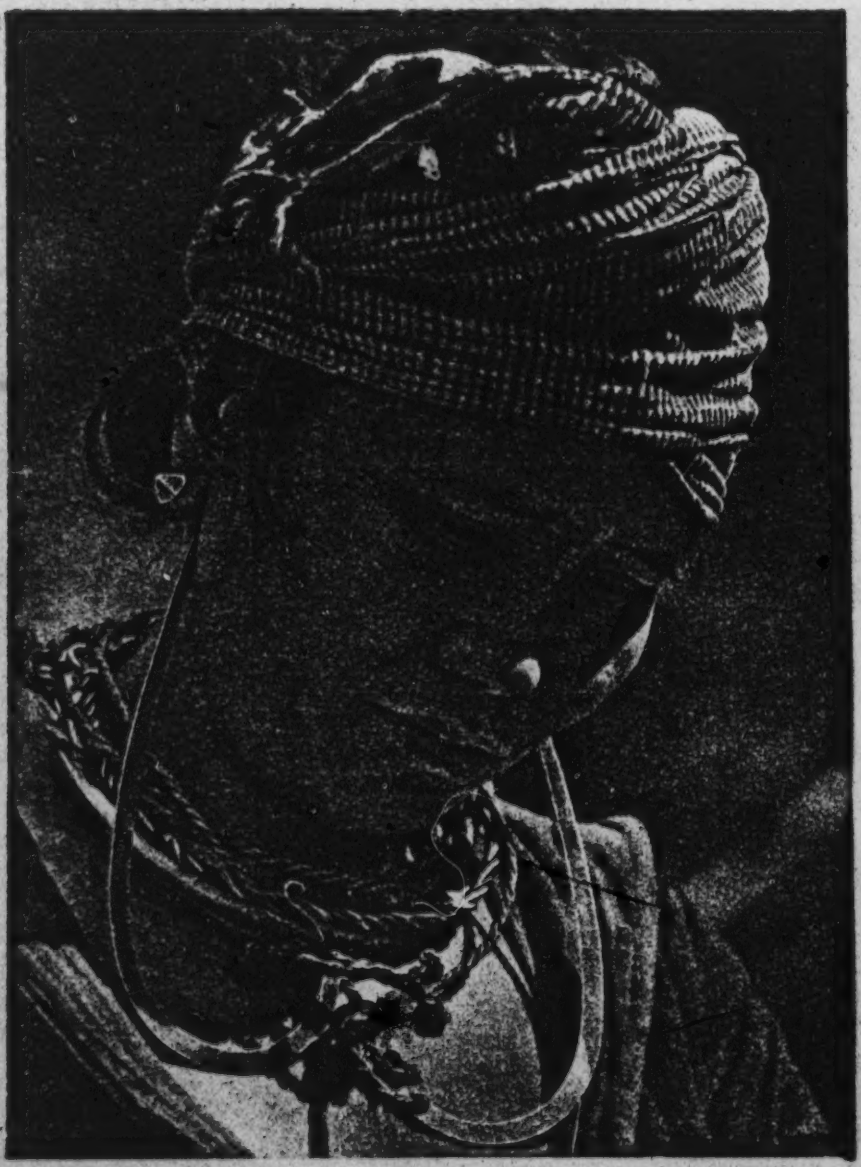

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old, with heavy, solid ear-pendants of silver.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/317 cont./

A 415 For preparing the food, many kinds of carved wooden vessels and troughs of wood (Fig. 205) or bamboo (Fig. 206) are used. /Figs. 201-208 appear here./ /318/ Gourd dippers and bowls, wooden ladles, knives, rice baskets and other baskets, bamboo containers, and so on are not lacking anywhere.

A [312] The bamboo containers for fetching water (Fig. 207) are closed at the top and the bottom; the water is poured by means of a gourd dipper (Fig. 208) into a hole cut into the upper edge. In this way the water remains clean and cannot easily A [171] be spilled when carried. Many typical household and kitchen utensils are almost exactly like those of the Meau.

A 482 I did not see carrying frames among the Akha; they are replaced by carrying baskets with a shoulder board and forehead band (Fig. 374; see the chapter, "Handicrafts").

A 354 For lighting the house, iron lamps with oil as fuel, and also pine chips, are used. The household equipment is espe- [372] cially rich in artistically plaited articles, such as are described 285 in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

As was pointed out, the dwellings and granaries of the A Akha give the impression of being clean and well tended. 356 The floor of the dwelling and the platform are swept twice a [412] day with the grass brooms that are also common among the [171] Meau (Fig. 175), with which one simply sends the sweepings [231] under the house through the seams and cracks. The food remains, too, are thus conveyed directly to the pigs and chickens.

/319/ Chapter 15

Clothing and Ornaments

M 294 The Meau women are very skilled in sewing and embroidery and, with much taste for color combinations, make the attrac- M tive and also practical clothing for men, women, and children. 291 The clothing of the Meau is absolutely uniform in cut and differs [248] only in the diversity of the embroidery and appliquéd designs. [596] Every family plants the required hemp and cotton and weaves [286] its own cloth. The strips of fabric which are made into clothing [294]

/319 cont./

291 are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of [286] the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye- [294] trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts"). [386] The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often re- [292] placed, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark- [439] blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese [294] traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread, needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, always comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work [292] clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has [556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in [531] the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as sometimes in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like that of the adults.

291 531 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[2] consists of the blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6), has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist. The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors. Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse, which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and 3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

[1] [See cat 116, PP 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " P 492 - "]
[3] [" " " PP 439, 563 - "]

/320 cont./

291 531 especially artistic. On the dark-blue background there are yellow squares, and in them red squares set on the points are sewed. Similarly, all the other red parts of the pattern, as well as the narrow, white and colored stripes, are strips of material sewed on. Pattern 3 of Colored Plate IV is also produced in the same manner; only it should also be mentioned here that four lines in white silk, crossing one another, are embroidered on the black squares of cloth that are sewed on. [868] [294] This embroidery in stripes is extremely laborious work. As soon as the young girl has learned it from her mother, she starts on the embroidery of her future festive attire and often works on it for many years during all her free time. It must also be pointed out that the sailor collar is often worn reversed so that the beautiful embroidery is not visible. I noticed this among almost all the women of the Black Meau and trace it back to their thriftiness, which perhaps prompts them to protect the beautiful embroidery from the sun and rain.

184 291 531 The pleated skirt reaching only to the knees is very becoming to the women. It consists of a strip of material six meters long, which is closely pleated and, by means of a binding holding the pleats together, to which narrow bands are fastened, is tied open in front around the middle. The skirt of the Black or Flowery Meau has three different longitudinal stripes (Ills. 58 and 61).[1] The upper one is plain blue, and the lower one is likewise dark blue, but with a strip of colorful cross-stitch embroidery sewed on (Colored Plate II, No. 5); the middle stripe is batik work (chapter, "Art," Figs. 8-13). The colorful strip of embroidery sewed on the rear edge of the skirt (Colored Plate III, Nos. 4 and 6) is provided according to the taste of the wearer, with the most varied /321/ cross-stitch patterns. [294] One sees young girls embroidering on it whenever they have a minute of time (Ill. 87).[2]

[1] [See cat 116, pp 447 + 449 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 620 - "]

/321 cont./

291 184 [101] The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 531 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 482 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 531 [552] [292] The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/321 cont./

291 531 is wound a black and white checked turban-cloth, usually purchased. Then comes a similar, /322/ but usually larger-checked cloth, and then a fourth, which resembles the second one, and, finally, a black and white, small-checked band about 80 centimeters long is put crosswise over this whole structure of cloth and pinned fast. The turban tassel (Colored Plate II, No. 10) is then fastened over the forehead. It con- [301] sists of a silver coin pierced four times, on which hang little chains of small, white and colored glass beads with red wool tassels at the end (Ill. 60). Instead of the checked crossband, a narrow, embroidered band is often placed over the turban. [184] White and Black Meau wear the same type of turban. One very commonly, however, sees women and girls without a head covering, especially at work.

291 [184] Whereas Savina (1) remarks that the women wear leggings

1. II, p. 211.

only on trips, among the Meau visited by us the leggings represent a regularly worn and important article of clothing. The workday legging (Colored Plate II, No. 7) consists of a dark-blue strip of cloth 60 centimeters long, which is put around the leg and is tied below the knee and above the ankle. It is not tight on the leg. The leggings of the festive attire 292 (Colored Plate II, No. 8) consist of a white strip of cloth six to seven meters long, which is wound around the leg from the bottom upward in narrow spirals and is tied on top with a narrow black band (Ill. 58). Depending on the length of the strip used, these leggings are sometimes rather bulky. The clothing of the women on festive days thus is distinguished from the everyday clothing only by the richness of the embroidery, the size of the turban, and the wound leggings.

/322 cont./

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79,[1] also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the [301] neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ [531] (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).[2]

The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [294] (Ill. 81).[3] In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [531] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of [439] purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark-[531] blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77),[4] and not wound high, as is customary among the women. In-[177] stead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese 292 caps (Ills. 55 and 56).[5] On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

[1] [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p706 - "]
[3] [" " " p596 - "]
[4] [" " " p575 - "]
[5] [see cat 116, p367 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--437 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 322 and 323/

Colored Plate III

Clothing of the Meau

((Description, Vol. II, pp. 433-436)

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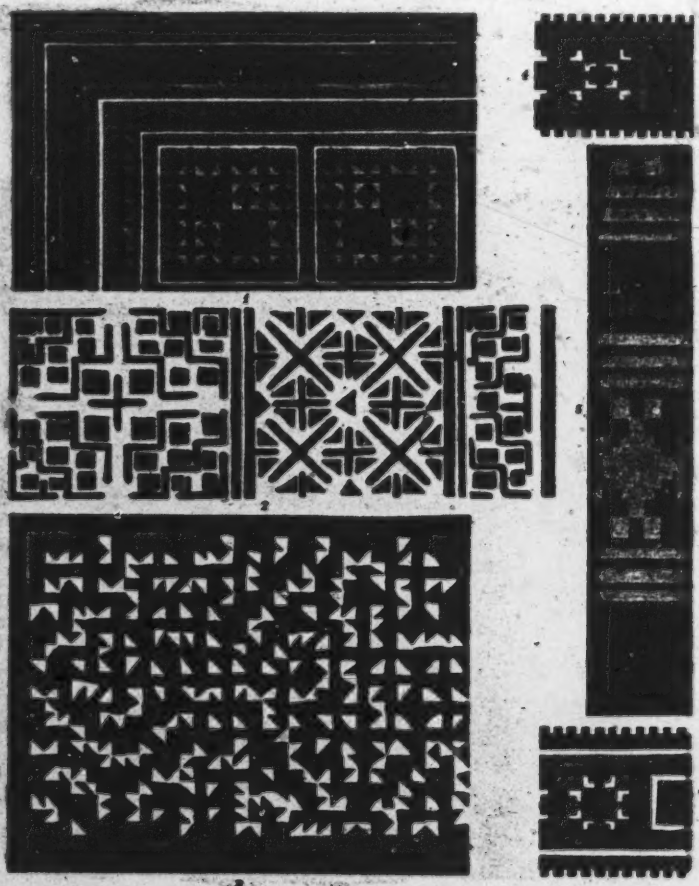

1 and 3. Women's collars with embroidery in appliqué technique (1 = about 1/3 nat. size; 3 = 9/20 nat. size). 2. Apron-band pattern, technique as on the women's collars (11/20 nat. size). 4 and 6. Cross-stitch pattern on the edges of the women's skirt (4 = 1/2 nat. size; 6 = 6/10 nat. size). 5. Cross-stitch pattern of the blue turban-cloth (nat. size).

/323 cont./

292 Against rain, the men wear coarsely plaited rain hats made of straw.

The men's clothing of the Meau does not differ from the 291 clothing of the boys. As Lajonquière (1) remarks, men's 184

1. II, p. 307.

[177] clothing is the same among all the tribes. Only the tribes that live in close contact with the Chinese are said to resemble them more and more in dress.

Another author, Abadie (2), also mentions fur-lined vests

2. Page 153.

such as the cold continental climate of Yunnan probably requires, but not that of Indochina or Thailand. The statements of other authors, such as Lajonquière (3) and Savina (4), show that the

3. II.

4. II, p. 211.

clothing of the Meau otherwise, even in other countries, does not essentially differ from that described here. /324/

I could not find footgear anywhere among the Meau in Thailand. Other authors, too, mention this. It is also stated, [177] however, (1) that some Meau have adopted the Chinese custom

1. Abadie, p. 153.

[824] of wearing sandals with soles made of rattan fibers or bamboo or even Chinese slippers made of canvas. Sandals plaited out of bamboo fibers are also mentioned. One author (2) reports

2. Savina, II, p. 211.

[554] that among the various Meau tribes in Tonkin the clothing of

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[1] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[1] [see cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]
[3] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--447 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 330./

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Ill. 58. The women's costume of the Meau consists of a large turban, a dark-blue jacket with a sailor collar, a wide pleated skirt, an apron, and wound leggings.

39: Bernatzik--450 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 331./

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Ill. 62. Family idyl of the Meau. Delousing as a pursuit while affectionately being together.

39: Bernatzik--469 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 346/

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Ill. 63. Meau father taking care of his two sons.

39: Bernatzik--448 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between 330 and 331./

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Ill. 59. The heavy hair of the Meau women is twisted and tied into a knot above the forehead. Often strands of false hair are added.

Ill. 60. The enormous turban of the Meau women consists of two to six cloths. Ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver.

Ill. 61. Meau girl ties the turban of a friend. The turban towers up in front because of the covered knot of hair above the forehead.

39: Bernatzik--449 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AES
/Between pp. 330 and 331./
291
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39: Bernatzik--47] E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 346 and 347/
Miao AES
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857

Ill. 65. A favorite game of Meau boys is modeling animal and human figures in clay.

39: Bernatzik--472 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 347/

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Ill. 66. Child-carrier of the Meau. The children are tied to their parents' backs by means of special cloths and are not put down even during work.

E-5

39: Bernatzik--511 /(1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 378/

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Ill. 67. Nine-year-old Meau girl at the drawing test.

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Ill. 68. Meau children make chains out of fragrant blossoms.

39: Bernatzik--563 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 418 and 419/

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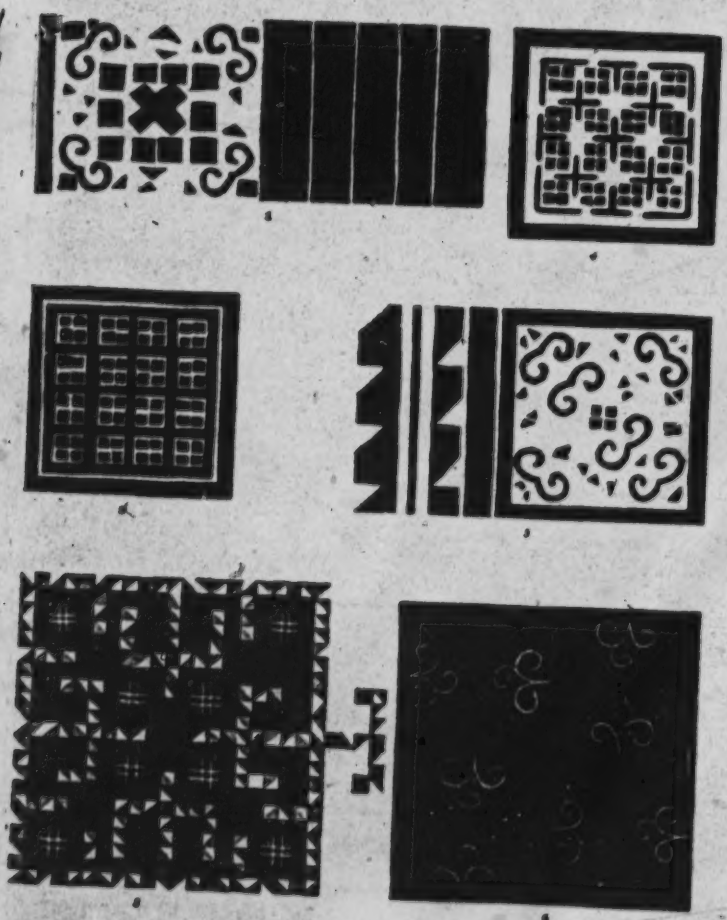

Colored Plate IV.
Clothing of the Meau
(Description, Vol. II, pp. 432-434).

1, 2, 4, 5, 6 = Apron-band patterns (1 = 11/15 nat. size, 2 = 4/5 nat. size, 4 = 5/6 nat. size, 5 = 5/6 nat. size, 6 = 7/8 nat. size). 3. Appliquéd embroidery on the collar of a woman's blouse (8/20 nat. size).

E-5
39: Bernatzik--512/(1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
/Between pp. 378 and 379/
Miao AES
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Ill. 69. Meau girls toss the cloth ball to boys from the neighboring village.

Ill. 70. A person who does not catch the ball must give up an article of clothing as a forfeit.

39: Bernatzik--513 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 378 and 379/

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Ill. 71. Meau girls playing the circle game.

39: Bernatzik--574 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 426 and 427/

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Ill. 75. Mouth organ of the Meau, made with a silver-mounted wooden body and six bamboo pipes.

39: Bernatzik--575 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 426 and 427/

Ill. 76. Rod flute of the Meau, made of bamboo. With a blowhole and six finger-holes.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp of the Meau, made out of a brass or bronze plate with a vibrating tongue.

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39: Bernatzik--573 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 426./

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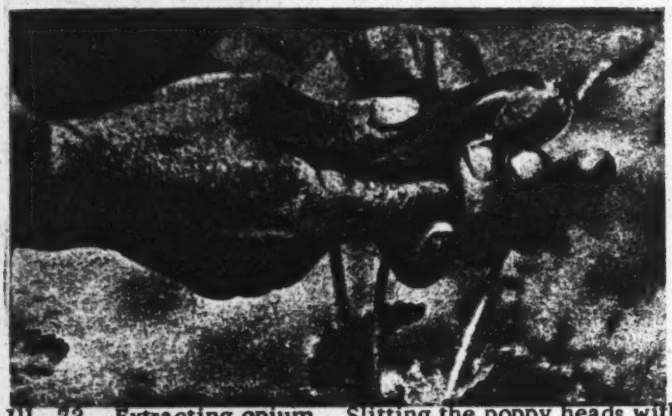

Ill. 73. Extracting opium. Slitting the poppy heads with a three-bladed knife.

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Ill. 74. Opium smoker.

39: Bernatzik--576 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 427/

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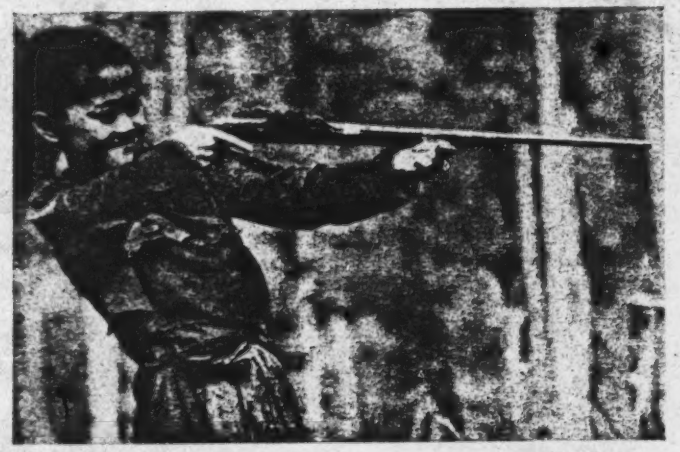

Ill. 78. Flintlock gun of the Meau, with pistol stock.

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Ill. 79. Meau boy with crossbow, which all mountain peoples know how to use expertly.

39: Bernatzik--595 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 442/

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Ill. 80. Meau hunter setting a snare to catch wild birds.

39: Bernatzik--596 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 442 and 443/ Miao AE5

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Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox among the Meau.

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Ill. 82. Meau smith in his workshop.

39: Bernatzik--597 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 442 and 443/

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Ill. 83. Meau with drill for woodworking.

39: Bernatzik--598 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 443/

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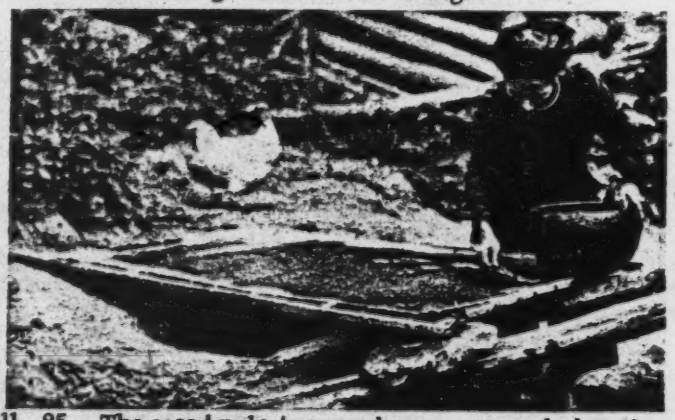
Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes among the Meau. Pulverizing the bamboo shavings.



Ill. 85. The wood pulp is poured on a cotton cloth and dried in the sun.

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/453 cont./

Witek (7) tries to find distinguishing marks for the in-

7. Page 45.

dividual tribes /454/ of the Meau and mentions, for instance, the differences in the clothing of the White and Black Meau or refers to the skin color or the "barbarity" (in contrast to the "refinement") as distinguishing features. Moreover, he quotes Liétard, who for his part draws on social stratification for the differentiation. Other authors, too, have sought to determine the number of Meau tribes both generally and for their narrower area of study. Maurice Abadie (1), for instance, says that there

1. Page 150.

are more than 50 different Meau tribes, but in his smaller area of study, Tonkin, only five tribes. Lajonquière (2) states: "The

2. II, p. 301.

Meau are said to be divided into 70 tribes in their narrower homeland. In Tonkin, however, we can find only a far smaller number of tribes." The missionary, P. Proux, whom Schotter refers to as an authority, speaks of 30 different tribes in Kweichow, and a Chinese author, of 39.

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Scott (3), on the other hand, comes to the conclusion

3. II, p. 598.

that there are three principal tribes of the Meau, which are called the Red, the White, and the Black Meau by the Chinese. The differences are said to lie in the clothing and in the language. This difference in language in turn is disputed by Savina (4), who divides the Meau into six large and four or five

4. II, p. 187.

/454 cont./

101 small tribes, about a dozen in all. Then he goes on to say:
162 "We are far from the 40 or more tribes which some like to
291 enumerate." According to him, the tribes differ only in the
184 color and form of the clothing, to the peculiarity of which the names White, Black, Yellow, Green, Striped Meau, and Meau With Horns are to be traced back. The name of the last-named tribe is said to be derived from the horn-shaped hairdo. Otherwise, each tribe is said to have special customs and a language only somewhat divergent. Seidenfaden (5), too, says that the

5. II, p. 101.

Meau tribes differ from one another principally in the attire of the women.

101 If some authors report a strikingly large number of Meau
162 tribes, there can be no doubt that they included other mountain
114 peoples, for example, the Yau, Lisu, and perhaps the Lolo tribes, with the Meau. This problem, however, cannot be finally settled until ethnographic fieldwork, for Kweichow at any rate, is completed, at least in broad outlines, /455/ for the investigation of the mountain peoples of South China has not yet gone beyond the first beginnings.

101 According to my own experience, in the case of the vari-
162 ous Meau tribes it is only a matter -- at least in Thailand -- of
291 very slight differences in the clothing of local groups, which
184 cannot by any means be regarded as independent tribes. Moreover, tribal names seem to have developed from nicknames which were given to individual Meau sibs. Such nicknames cannot, of course, be given the value of a true tribal designation.

In Thailand I myself had the opportunity to investigate three of the so-called Meau tribes, the White, the Black, and the Flowery Meau. My Lao informants tried to explain the name of the Black Meau by the lack of cleanliness of these families in particular. This did not correspond with the facts, however, inasmuch as the cleanliness among all the Meau tribes known to me leaves much to be desired, and the "White Meau" do not distinguish themselves in any way by special cleanliness. At

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/455 cont./

M 101 162 291 184 [582] any rate, it turned out that the "Black" and the "Flowery Meau" are identical with the "White Meau" and actually differ only in that the women of the one Meau wear dark-blue skirts with stylized floral patterns in batik work, while those of the other Meau wear white skirts. Neither in the language nor in any racial or cultural element did further differences come to light. For judging the matter it seems to me to be especially decisive that the tribal endogamy which is otherwise strictly observed in practice does not apply between these three Meau tribes; thus, Black and White Meau may freely intermarry.

A 131 162 [167] The Akha, too, like the Meau, reached the region inhabited by them today only in the course of their wandering. Among them, too, their continuous migratory movement obstructs any demographic coverage. With respect to Burma, the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1) of the year 1900 stated that the

1. Vol. I, p. 588.

Akha belonged among the most numerous and most widespread mountain peoples of Kengtung. This supposedly could be stated positively for the eastern uplands. At any rate, they were supposed to be a people more numerous than most of their neighbors. Telford (2) /456/ considers them the numerically strongest

2. Page 90.

mountain people in the state of Kengtung and states that their homeland, like that of the Katschin /Kachin/ and Lahu, was China. Consequently, they are of "Mongolian origin."

The census of the state of Kengtung gives for the year 1931 12,968 Akha (6,484 houses). It is certain that only a part of that portion of the people living in Kengtung is included in this figure. The official Burma Census Rep. (1) of the same year

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 183.

gives 40,407 Akha for Burma as against 34,265 individuals in

39: Bernatzik--620 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p.458/

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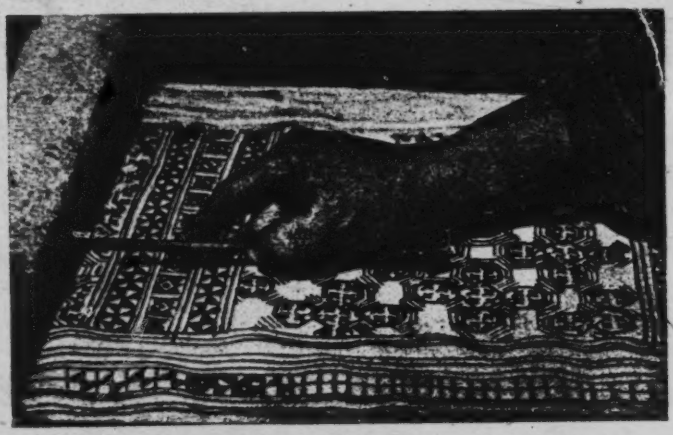

Ill. 86. Making batik work from hemp material among the Meau. The wax drawing is applied with a brass pen. [413]

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Ill. 87. Girl of the "Flowery" Meau sewing a new pleated skirt.

39: Bernatzik--621 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947

AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 458 and 459/

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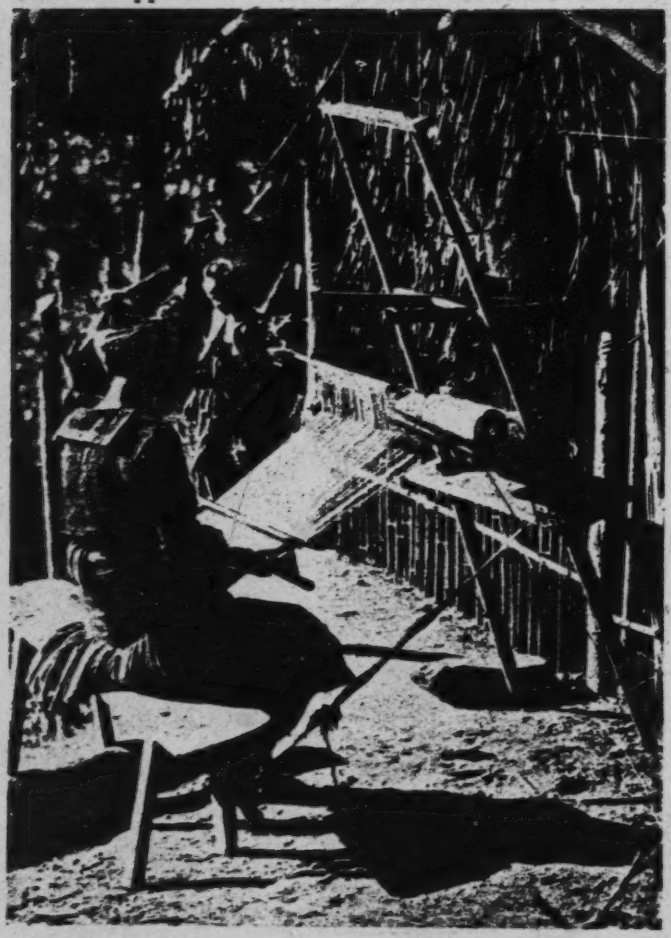

Ill. 88. Portable horizontal loom of the Meau, with foot device.

39: Bernatzik--622 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 458 and 459/

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Ill. 89. The woman weaver is preparing the woof.

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Ill. 90. With the help of this spinning machine the Meau woman is twisting four threads together.

39: Bernatzik--623 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 459/

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Ill. 91. The tart meat of ripe squash tastes very good to the Meau boy.

39: Bernatzik--642 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 474/

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Ill. 92. Each stalk of the mountain rice is cut separately by the Meau, with the help of the harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear.

39: Bernatzik--666 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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Ill. 101. Creating a guardian spirit among the Meau. The throat of a newborn dog is cut.

/V cont./

142 [144] Though the Mongolian fold is not pronounced, the Mongoloid affiliation is incontestable. The scantily developed beard hair is clearly visible here where no artificial interference has decreased it.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55. The veins stand out clearly under the thin yellow skin (No. 2 on the skin-color table). The ear lobe is better developed than among the other types. Moreover, the blue-black hair is finer and less shiny (cf. Ill. 54).

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old. The faces of the women are generally wider and the zygomatic arches project more than among the men. The skin of the face is still lighter. The lower part of the auricle is pierced, and the heavy silver ear-pendant has enlarged it into a large lobe. [304] [301]

291 Ills. 58-61. Clothing and ornaments.

Ills. 58. The women's costume consists of a turban, a dark-blue jacket with a sailor collar, a wide, batiked, pleated skirt, a long, narrow, dark-blue apron with wide bands, and white, wound leggings which, in the working costume, are replaced by plain dark-blue rags of cloth. Silver ornaments adorn ears, neck, wrists, and fingers. [301]

/VI/

291 302 Ill. 59. The thick, blue-black, shiny hair is twisted and tied in a knot above the forehead (cf. Ill. 87). It serves as a support for the huge turban (cf. Ill. 60). If the fullness of the natural hair is insufficient for achieving the desired bulk of the hair knot, false strands of hair are put in.

291 Ill. 60. The huge turban of the women, depending on the wealth of the owner and the occasion on which it is worn, consists of two to six cloths. The ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver and are made by the Meau smiths themselves. (Cf. Ill. 82.) 301

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] [462] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work.

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 [854] Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger

/47 cont'd/

585 Before the wedding someone is invited by both families to select an auspicious day for the wedding in accordance with the hour, day, month, and year of birth of both the girl and boy. Once the date is selected, both families then begin to prepare for the wedding. If the wedding is of the ch'ü-hsi type, the bridegroom's family comes to the bride's family to go to meet the bride. Otherwise, the bridegroom is received at the home of his wife.

123 At one time, the author attended a Miao wedding ceremony of the chao-chui type. The following account was written in accordance with what I saw that day. It may help the reader to understand the usual manner in which a Miao wedding is celebrated.

585 On the wedding day, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were very busy. All their relatives and friends gathered at their homes to offer congratulations. Cows and pigs were slaughtered. All day long, the bride's family particularly, was in a turmoil. Not until evening, however, did the principal part of the wedding ceremony begin. The bridegroom wore a long gown, a riding [292] jacket, socks, and shoes. His head was covered with a large pointed kerchief, which also covered most of his face, as if the bridegroom was very shy. He was carried out from his home on the back of a male go-between. Close behind them another man holding a wide open cloth umbrella to cover him followed step by step. They were preceded by another male go-between followed by a man who carried the wedding gifts. The wedding gifts consisted of wine and [43] tobacco leaves. The two go-betweens and the men who carried the umbrella and the wedding gifts were formally dressed in long gowns, riding jackets, socks, shoes, etc. After the bridegroom had come a few steps from out the door, the go-between at the front of the procession fired a few firecrackers and the procession paused. Not until they heard the explosion of the firecrackers set off by the bride's family did they continue to go ahead. (In this wedding, the two families happened to be close neighbors. The sound of the firecrackers could be heard from either side.) After they had walked halfway they stopped once more. In a moment two young girls sent ahead from the bride's family (called pan-niang, "bridesmaids")

/49 cont'd/

585 seated with the bridegroom in two rows facing each other. In a short time the bride was led out by a bridesmaid from the inner room and seated beside the bridegroom. Her head was also covered with a pointed kerchief which also covered half her face. After they were all seated, the bridesmaid and the go-betweens began offering wine to the bride and groom. After the wine they were offered the rice and pork liver. Then the go-betweens and the bridesmaid respectively took away the kerchiefs from the heads of both the bride and the bridegroom. As soon as their faces had been revealed, the couple immediately left their seats. The bridegroom hurried back to the small house and the bride to her room. The others, however, still continued to drink and sing for a long time before they dispersed. Later they gathered together in one of the side rooms. This time both men and women participated; they sang and drank till dawn.

The next morning the bride's family held a formal dinner in the side room to entertain all the guests. The bridegroom was led by one of the go-betweens to offer wine to each guest. At the same time one of the guests stood up and delivered a speech, the gist of which was advising the bridegroom to respect his elders, to work hard, to live a happy married life, to cooperate with his wife in the management of domestic affairs, etc. After listening to this advice, /50/ the bridegroom went into the main hall of the bride's house and offered wine to the elders and other members of the family. After this was done, he went directly to the bride's room but returned shortly to the small house to rest. What he did in the bride's room, I did not find out.

In the same afternoon the bride, escorted by a woman and followed by a young girl who carried a bundle of her clothes on her back, walked to the bridegroom's home. The bride was dressed as follows: Holding a oiled-paper umbrella, she wore a new dress and 592 293 a round cap but was barefoot. In the bridegroom's home the scissors, sickle, and charcoal were also set up in the same way as in the bride's home the day before. Before entering the house, the bride

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

[273] (10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[167] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[291] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[714] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[411] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[648] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

M 782 CC 563 M [167] *[101]

/21 cont./

(20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him. They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox, the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns, and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off the four legs of the ox and carry them home. The rest of the guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

M •[292]

M [574]

/77 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

292 Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
[531] at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[764] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

/83/

Illus. 48. Gayly dressed Miao women seen at Kao-yen-ho, Yung-sui.
(They had not brought along neck rings, hence they are not wearing any.)

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[531]

2:Ling & Ruey--118 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 49. A Kan-ch'eng Miao bride's garment (1).

2:Ling & Ruey--119 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
185/
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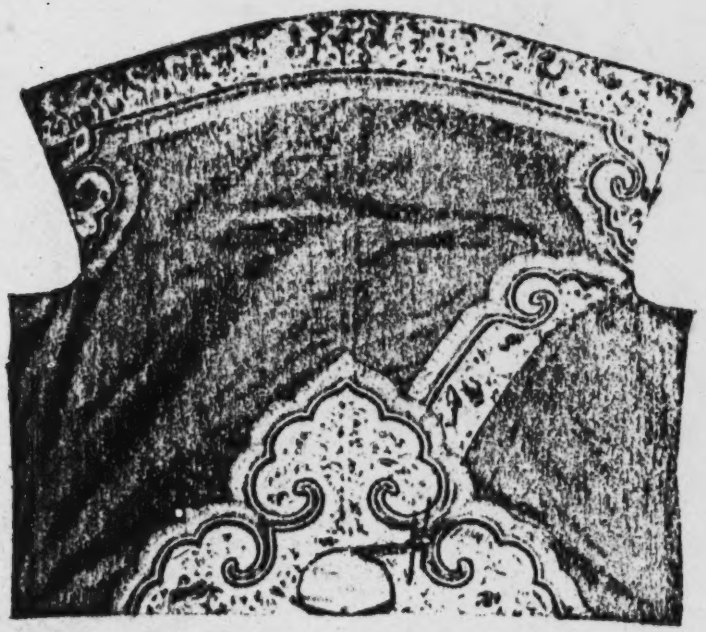
531



Illus. 50. A Kan-ch'eng Miao bride's garment (2).

2:Ling & Ruey--120 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

1861

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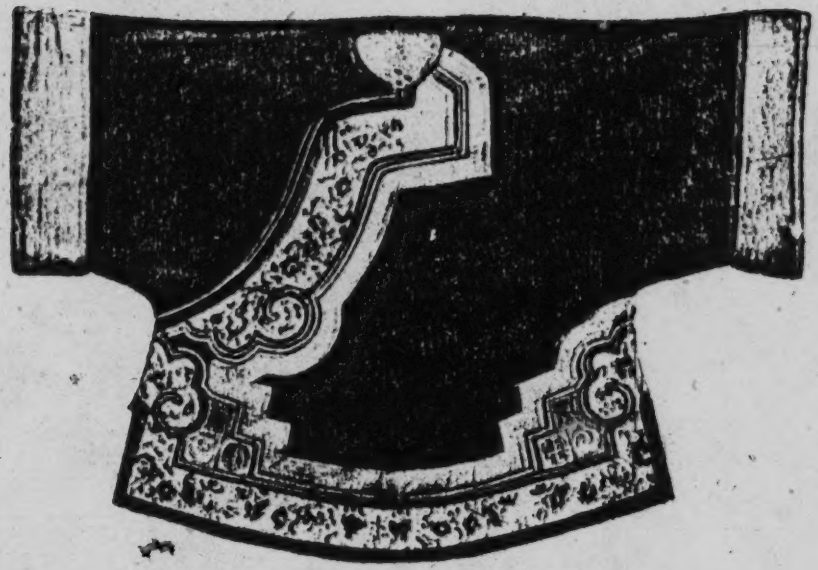

Illus. 51. A Kan-ch'eng bride's garment (3).

292 /88 cont./
[764] festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).
291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan, regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua [184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts. When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western [126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of [292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[304] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting, fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men. The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells, and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
684 they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
[837] as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[556] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/103 cont./

766 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight,
756 or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore, the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the
[775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard, hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force. Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a
• [292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead, then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he
[302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not washed for four months, during which period the mourner does
[302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or 60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also. For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her headband for three days.

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648]

1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pa˩ tɛ˧ ɕioŋ˩˧] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pa˩ tɛ˩ ʂa˩˧] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
752 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

/135 cont./

*782 wine and cooked rice. In addition meat is sliced, and seven slices strung together to make one string. In all, seven strings of meat are put on a platter. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation and divines with the chiao and sends off the kuei. This is the sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains.

[787] [776]

The tenth part is performed at noon, when two "Five-Flower pillars (1) are set up in an open area, and to each pillar is

1. Five-Flower pillars are made of pine shan wood about 3 chang long, on which are carved ornamental designs, which are smeared with red and white colors.

[531]

tied a pig. The hind legs of the pigs are bound together with hemp ropes. This rope must have been made by members of the lower generation. Moreover, a cock is tied to a small wooden pillar near the ornate pillars by means of a fine hemp string threaded through the beak. The sorcerer-priest stands under the eaves of the house, wearing a cap and long gown and holding in his hand a tree branch. The host wears a ceremonial hat and a red rug thrown over his body. He first picks up a bench and places it against one of the Five-Flower pillars, holding in his left hand a double-edged sword and a bamboo splint and flourishing the latter as if he were driving the pigs away. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation to send the pigs away, and after the incense and the paper are burned, the various members of the lower generation come out grasping weapons as in Illus. 61. They bow three times facing the interior of the house and three times facing the outside. Then they kill the pigs and the chicken.

[292]

The eleventh part is performed in front of the main house. A bamboo mat is spread on the ground and on it are placed the caps and clothes of the members of the lower generation. Behind the mat there is a bench, on which are placed a bowl of wine and a piece of water-buffalo meat. The sorcerer-priest stands outside the entrance, wearing a wide rain hat on his head and carrying a bamboo cage on his back, in which are clothes and other articles.

[292] [482]

/135 cont/

*782 [776] Wielding a wooden rod, he utters an incantation, telling of the source of the kuei of pigs. After the incantation he goes directly into the house and partakes of the wine and meat on the bench.

The twelfth part is performed late at night or in the fourth or fifth watch. The long door boards are put up as a table. /Illus. 61 appears on p. 136/ /137/ The two pairs of pigs from the Five-Flower pillars, which have been killed, cut up, and washed clean, are put on the table with the heads of the pigs facing the interior of the house. On the table are further laid out wine, meat, and sweet wine, nine bowls each, as well as a bowl of sour soup and a bowl of tea. There are also 12 bowls of cooked rice, on each of which is placed a string of lean and fat pork. The upper millstone, incense, rice /uncooked/ and li-shih are also there. There is no blowing and beating of instruments, only the sorcerer-priest's soft-voiced, gentle petition.

On the fourth day the thirteenth and the fourteenth parts are performed. The thirteenth takes place when the cock crows in the fifth watch. A member of the lower generation with a felt [292] rug thrown over his body and a straw hat on his head holds an ox horn containing wine in his left hand and a knife in his right hand, as well as grasping a string of seven slices of pork. He walks to a river bank or a well. He empties the wine from the horn and puts in clear water. While returning, he eats the seven slices of meat. Arriving at the gate, he imitates the crowing of the cock. After entering the house he sits down. On the table is laid a tray on which are set three cups of wine and three slices of meat. Under the tray is a jar, into which the water is emptied from the horn. The sorcerer-priest strikes the drum and utters an incantation. After the incantation the water carrier runs out the door, while the host throws ashes from used firewood on his body.

The fourteenth part is to send the kuei away and is performed in the early morning. The pigs' heads are cooked and cut into small slices or chunks, and are distributed in three trays, on each of which are placed three cups of wine. One tray is put at the foot of the middle pillar in the main house; one tray is placed on the floor of the front-half side room; and one

/141 cont./

*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to [178] the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes [788] out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] [535] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full [292] dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

/149 cont./

*782 out to trade, when he goes east may there be profit and when he goes west may there be profits, with profits from every direction. Thus may the host be completely protected. Again, I invoke protection for these helpers here. Without them these sacrifices to the kuei could not be made. The helpers must be here to enact them. When you have canes do not strike people, when you have ropes do not tie up people. Protect the sorcerer-priest! If I did not perform the ritual here, you would not be able to come here to enjoy /these things/. If my words are not correct, I ask your forgiveness. Pray rid me of disasters and calamities so that when I meet water I may not get wet, when I meet fire I may not get burned. Now, everything has been said."

[292] /150/ At this point the Miao sorcerer wraps a long strip of white cloth around his head with one end trailing on the ground, and continues his incantation:

[765] "The mourning kerchief that I wear is not mourning for my father and mother, not for my maternal uncle /niang chiu/ nor his daughters /tzu-mei, "sisters"/, not for my relatives through marriage, and not for the elders of the village, but for the host. My wearing this mourning does away with all his calamities. The sorcer-priest having worn this mourning, the host's family, men and women, big and small, will not die; moreover there will be no more calamities."

After reciting the above passage he again rings the bell and at the same time continues his incantation:

"Helpers, please raise your knives and chop off the kan lo poles and throw them out into the outer area. I shall collect the paper money, and I want you to burn it. Before burning, it is paper; after burning, it is money. He who gets much shares much; he who gets little shares little.

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(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ɕi¹ zoŋ⁴] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother/chiu-mu; [203] [602] is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress [292] [493] [843] (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

2: Ling & Ruey--234 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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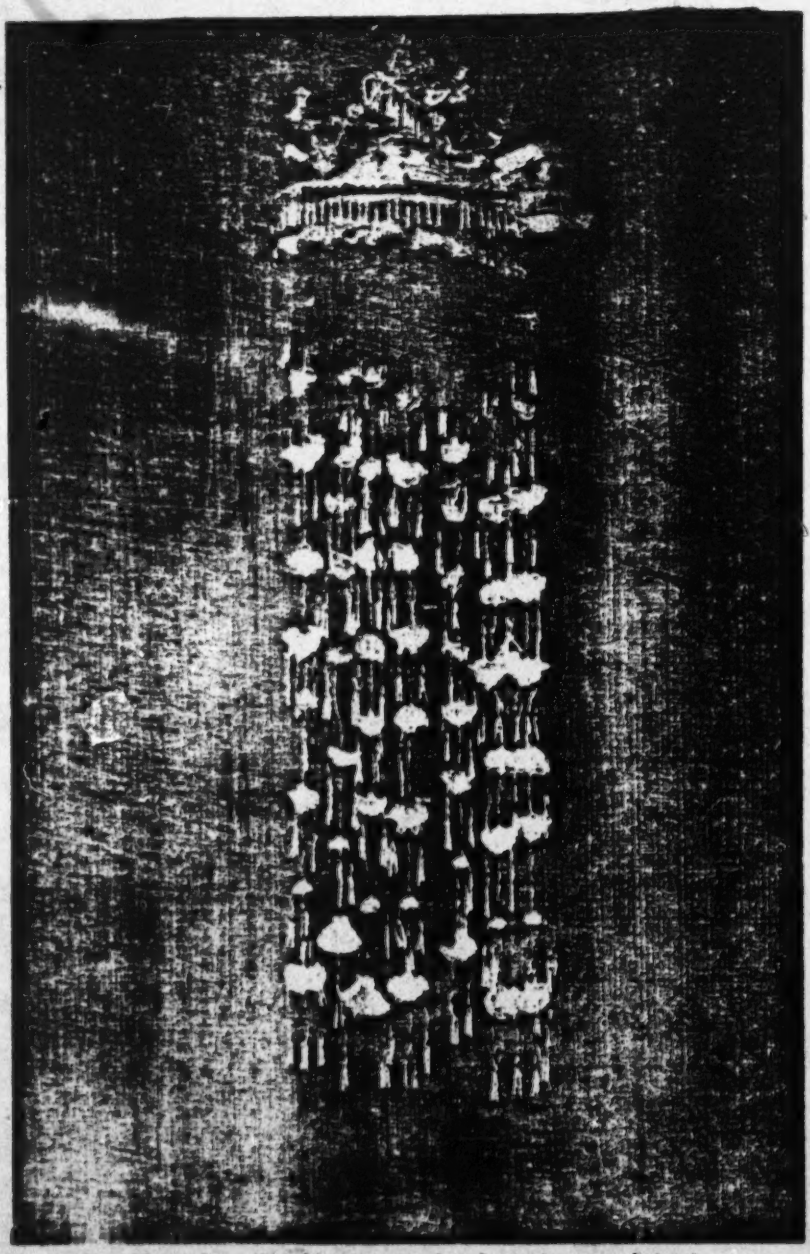

Illus. 67. The silver headdress worn by the mistress of the house in the ceremony of Welcoming the Dragon.

/157 cont./

*782 his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accom-
[292] panying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is
[843] allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests
[788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the
777 Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʐɨɤ˧ ɕio˥˧ ba˨˩
731 lon˨˩ ɲie˨˩]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss, they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'a˧˥
[776] tsu˥˧ lio˥˧ tɕɤ˥˧] and [ɲi˧˥ tsu˥˧ lio˥˧ ntɕ'i˥˧]. The time of this ceremony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar, On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

/164 cont./

*782 must be the third-grade sacrifice, and a few years later, if they wish to offer a sacrifice, then it is the fifth grade. After sacrificing the twelfth grade, then it starts all over again from the first grade. The number of tables used in the sacrifice is determined by the grade number. For example, the first grade requires one table, and the third grade requires three tables. When there are not enough tables, chairs or stools may be used as substitutes. Only at the twelfth-grade sacrifice must there be three sorcerer-priests present.

The first-grade sacrifice is performed with a table set up outdoors to the east of the house, and on it are placed five stacks of paper money; five bowls of wine; five pieces of tofu, each covered with a vegetable leaf; five piles of mi-pa; and one bowl of water, on which floats a spirit tablet /ling p'ai/. Behind the paper money there is a sheng measure containing rice, on which are placed the seal of the sorcerer-priest and a few coins, and a pair of candles and three sticks of incense stuck in. This is the setting of the upper altar. Under the table is a layer of rice straw, on which there are three bowls of wine, three piles of mi-pa, three stacks of paper money, a piece of tofu, again under a vegetable leaf. There is also a bowl of rice with one candle and one stick of incense stuck in. This is called the lower altar. In addition at the right or left of the table is a chair crosswise, and on it is a winnowing basket which contains a certain number of piles of mi-pa and a certain number of pieces of tofu, also covered with a leaf. Also there is a bowl of rice, in which is inserted a candle and a stick of incense and five stacks of paper money. This is called hsi-k'ung.

For the sacrifice to the Shen of the five wisdoms no animal food should be used. At the time of the sacrifice the host
[785] and the sorcerer-priest must bathe and fast and rinse out the mouth the previous day. When it is time to eat mi-pa they have to
[776] rinse the mouth again. This shen being from the east, the table has to be set up east of the house, and the sorcerer-priest, while performing the ceremony, also faces the east. The sacrifice is divided into two parts. The first part is the setting
[292] up of the altar. With his head wrapped in a red kerchief, and

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*182 holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and standing before the table, the sorcerer-priest utters the An-shen incantation. On [292] finishing the incantation he blows the ox horn, and his helpers beat drums and gongs. The sorcerer-priest changes into red clothes and dons ceremonial headgear, and makes gestures with [188] both hands toward the house and toward the open space, doing the three-step walk with his two feet forming a triangle. After this performance he takes a rest. The host collects the mi-pa and tofu from the three places and fries them in camellia oil. After being

Illus. 71. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, A.

/165 cont./

*782 cooked they are put back in their original places.

The second part of the ritual consists of tasting the cooked food. Wearing the red gown, the red kerchief around his head, [292] and the ceremonial headgear, his left shoulder covered with the willow towel and his right hand holding the ox horn, the sorcerer-priest stands before the altar (Illus. 71). First he makes a low bow with hands in front, and when the drums and gongs are sounded, he joins the cacophony by blowing the horn. On finishing blowing, he holds the horn in his left hand and one chiao-tzu in his right, and, rapping on the horn, he utters an incantation to invoke the shen. On completing the incantation, /Illus. 71 appears here/ /166/ he again utters the incantation for invoking the spirit. When finished he dances with the willow towel. Next he divines with the chiao-tzu, at the same time [787] uttering the incantation to the effect that the protection of the shen is sought in everything, and that divination has been done for every member of the family, big or small. Then, the farewell incantation is uttered, and the members of the family burn the paper money. The ceremony comes to an end. The mi-pa and the tofu are eaten. Whatever is left is given to the sorcerer-priest to take home.

The third-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table and the things on the table are identical with those for the first-grade sacrifice. On top of the table is a chair, on which is put a bowl of rice, into which are stuck a candle and a stick of incense, a stack of paper money, a pile of mi-pa, a piece of tofu covered with a vegetable leaf, and a bowl of wine. On the chair is put another small stool, and the items on the stool are exactly the same as those on the chair. Behind the table they use a bamboo pole to make a frame, on which are hung upside down nine strings of paper money. For each grade up three more strings are added. For instance, the fifth grade would call for 15 strings, and the seventh grade, 21 strings, and so on. As for the rest of the setup, the lower altar and the hsi k'ung are the same as for the first-grade sacrifice.

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*782 The ritual for the fifth-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table, a small table, a chair, and a stool, piled up to form an altar. The layout on the lowest, large table is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice, and the layouts on the chair and the stool are the same as those for the third-grade sacrifice. The lower altar and the hsi k'ung are arranged as for the first-grade sacrifice. Behind the altar is a bamboo frame, on which are hung 15 strings of paper money. Also a five-colored paper flag is stuck in the ground next to the table. Eight or nine small, five-colored flags are hung on tree branches near the bamboo frame and the table. There are four parts to this performance:

The first part consists of arranging the altar, and the performance is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice. When it is over, there is a recess, and mi-pa is eaten.

The second part consists of "connecting the streets." The sorcerer-priest wears his red clothing, red headkerchief without the ceremonial headgear, holding the ox horn in his [292] right hand and the ceremonial knife in his left. When gong and drum are sounded, he faces the altar and blows the horn. After [788] this, the horn and the knife in the left and right hands are interchanged, he does the three-step walk, waving and dancing, now facing in, now facing out, at the same time uttering an incantation.

The third part is "making the bridge." The sorcerer-priest wears the same clothes and holds the same ritual articles as in the previous part, except that his left shoulder is covered with a willow towel. When the gong and drum sound, then he blows the horn. After that he interchanges the horn and the knife in his hands, takes the three-step walk, waving and dancing, at the same time uttering an incantation. This performance is done once each in the five directions of east, south, west, north, and center. After this he utters the incantation pledging in wine. The sorcerer-priest then holds the willow towel in his left hand to dance to the music of continuous drumming and beating of gongs, dancing once facing out and twice facing in.

/174 cont./

*782 each on the characters chiu-kung and pa-kua. There are six petition boxes, one being laid on the bow and arrow in each of the four directions, and two on the bow and arrow in the center.

Again, a winnowing basket is placed inside the circle. In it are spread grain, on which are placed five cups of wine and five piles of mi-pa. There is also a lamp bowl filled with camellia oil, with five grass wicks lit to make five flames. Also there are five sticks of incense stuck up, within which are three paper horses of three sizes, large, medium, and small, placed one upon the other. Two sticks of incense are in front and three sticks are behind, wedging in the paper horses. There are also a piece of cinnabar and five additional sticks of lighted incense, stuck in five different places.

On the bow nearest to the large door of the main house is placed a square table, on which are five bowls of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a sheng of uncooked rice, in which are stuck a pair of candles, three sticks of incense, a few coins, and the seal of the sorcerer-priest. At the front of the table /175/ is also the sorcerer-priest's text for the special incantation to pacify the dragon shen, as well as a bowl of clear water.

The sorcerer-priest wears a green or blue long gown and [292] a Taoist cap, and, holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand and facing the shen, he first utters the incantation to pacify the shen. On finishing the incantation he beats the cymbal while his helper strikes the gong and small cymbals. Then the sorcerer-priest recites the text to invoke the shen, interspersed from time to time with the beating of the gong and the cymbals. After this *787 he divines with the chiao-tzu. If the divination indicates that *782 the shen has descended, he pours tea (the first time, tea and afterwards, wine). Then he states the case, and also requests the shen to accept the offerings, and then divines with the chiao-tzu for everyone in the family. Then he divines to ask how much strength the dragon shen has. The method of calculation by points is as follows: The sheng chiao indicates three, six, and nine; the yang chiao, two, five, and eight; and the yin chiao, one, four, and seven. After doing the divination with the chiao,

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*782 he gets the sheng chiao. Otherwise, the incantation and the
*787 divination are repeated. After cleansing the objects of the sacrifice, the sorcerer-priest then utters the incantation to invite the shen, and when the sheng chiao appears, the shen are considered to have come down. Then he gives the reason for the sacrifice of fulfilling the vow to the No, and asks the shen to accept the offerings. When the sheng chiao again appears, it is considered that the shen have accepted the offerings. Then for the whole family, big and small, one by one, he asks the protection of the shen, and one by one he divines to get the sheng chiao. Then he asks for protection for the six kinds of domestic animals and the five grains, and also asks for good fortune. When all the requests for protection have been made, he then requests the expulsion of pestilence: the pestilence of the sky, of the earth, the year, month, day, and hour, as well as devils and small kuei, also the expulsion of apparitions of the sky, the earth, the year, the month, the day, and the hour, and all other kinds of apparitions. For all it is necessary to get the yin chiao or the sheng chiao. If he gets the yang chiao, it is considered that the apparitions still have not yet gone, and the expelling and divination must continue. Finally, he requests the shen to release the soul and to pass judgment on the divination. Then he requests the shen to accept the animal offered.

The second part is the sacrifice to the gong and the drum. The sorcerer-priest wearing a red turban and a long gown
[292] and holding chiao-tzu in his right hand, stands before the Peach Spring cave and utters incantatory words (about the same as those for An Szu Ming). Having recited a passage he lifts a bowl of water with his left hand and makes his patron saint's esoteric gestures with his right hand, as if writing over the bowl of water. At the same time he continues the incantation, and raises the bowl of water three times over the smoke of the incense. When the incantation is over, he divines with the chiao, and after he gets the yin or the sheng chiao, he picks up a horse whip and tramples on it with the toes of his right foot,

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*782 and utters the incantation for gathering up the evil kuei. When
*787 the incantation is over, he divines. After the sheng or yin chiao is obtained, he hangs up the whip. He takes the ritual knife with his right hand and dips the point in the bowl of water, then raises it up and, swinging right and left, continues the incantation. After he has recited /180/ a passage, the helper beats the gong and the drum, and the sorcerer-priest, holding a wooden bell with both hands, worships the shen to the accompaniment of the beating of the gong and drum for about 15 minutes. When the worship is over, the sorcerer-priest picks up the chiao-tzu and utters the incantation to invoke the shen, first facing the Peach Spring cave, later turning to face out the door, then again turning to the cave. After he has finished invoking the shen, he divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is obtained, this part ends.

*782 The third part is An T'u Ti /"calming the local divinity of the soil"/. Wearing ordinary clothes and standing before the hsi kung, the sorcerer-priest makes a low bow with hands in front, and utters an incantation. First he invokes the shen; then he offers the sacrifices, burns the paper money, and asks the shen to accept these things.

The fourth part is Pu T'an /"displaying the altar"/.
• [293] The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, ceremonial headgear, and a willow towel on his shoulder. He stands before the Peach Spring cave, gesticulating and beating the gong and the drum at the same time. After this act the
[788] sorcerer-priest leads the host to the shen to make a low bow with both hands in front and to kowtow. Following this ceremony the sorcerer-priest, holding a horn in his left hand and the chiao-tzu in his right, and rapping the former with the latter, utters the incantations to invoke the shen. After having recited a passage, he pulls off the towel with his left hand and begins to shake the ritual knife with his right hand; he ceases beating the gong and the drum, but utters the incantation for pledging in wine. After this, he takes out the previously prepared written prayers from the four prayer boxes and, bowing the knee before the shen, he leads the host to kneel and make obeisance,

/180 cont./

*[782] and recites the names of the shen. After he has finished, he
*[787] once more lays all the articles on the ground, and begins to divine for the luck of the host's whole family. After the sheng chiao is obtained he puts back the articles in their original places. /181/ The sorcerer-priest then picks up the tablets with his right hand, holds the horn in his left hand, and walks to the doorsill. Putting his left foot on the doorsill, he first blows the horn and then slaps the door three times with the tablets. The beating of the gong and the drum ceases, and he utters the fa-ling /literally, "give the order"/ incantation. After this, the beating of the gong and the drum is resumed, and the sorcerer-priest blows his horn, standing facing the Peach Spring cave. Holding the ritual knife in his right hand, he waves a little at the drum and gong beater to stop, and utters an incantation inviting the shen to mount the altar.

The fifth part is Chieh Chieh /"connecting (or making welcome) the streets/, and is divided into three sections. The first section is Chin-chou Street. The sorcerer-priest wears a
•[242] red kerchief around his head and a red garment. First, holding the horn in his right hand, he blows it once, and then changing it over to his left hand, he waves the ritual knife with his right hand. He takes the three-step walk in ffont of the Peach Spring cave and recites the Chieh Chieh /"connecting the streets"/ in-
[823] cantations. It is divided into incantations for the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. When he utters the incantation for the east, he faces the inside of the house. For the south and the west he faces outside. For the north he faces inside again, and for the center, outside again. Each time he finishes reciting, he must blow his horn and circle around twice.

The second section is Wu-lui Street /"the street of five thunders"/. The costume of the sorcerer-priest and his ritual implements, as well as the ritual, are the same as those for the first section. The incantations except for a few phrases are also the same.

The third section is Lo-wang Street. The costume of the sorcerer-priest is the same as above. He holds the whip in his left hand and shakes the ritual knife with his right hand, takes

/181 cont./

*782 the three-step walk in front of the Peach Spring cave, and utters an incantation. Having recited a passage, he strikes the ground once with the whip, and then begins the incantations for the five directions. Each time he makes an incantation for a direction, he circles twice as in the first section. After the incantations, he stops the beating of the gong and drum, and, facing the Peach Spring cave, he loudly utters the incantation for building a city as well as for inviting the shen to take their seats. Then this section terminates.

The sixth part of the ritual is Tso Ch'iao /"building the bridge"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment and a red [292] headkerchief, and has the willow towel on his back. First holding the horn in his right hand, he blows it once, then changing it over to his left hand, he waves the ritual knife with his right hand, takes the three-step walk before the Peach Spring cave, and utters Tso Ch'iao incantation. Having recited one passage, he hangs the knife on his right wrist, and with the lower arm slightly lifted, he gestures and does the three-step walk, and continues the incantation, for the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, the ritual being the same as for Chieh Chieh. After this is over, he holds the willow towel in his hand, stretches slightly forward, and waves his knife to the right, left, and downward, once in each direction. Still stretching forward, he leans his knife against the willow towel and utters the incantation for pledging in wine. After one passage has been recited, he waves the knife and the willow towel once to the right, to the left, and downward, and continues the incantation. This ritual is repeated three times. Afterward he pledges the image of Duke No and Mother No with wine, then he pledges with the wine facing outside, then facing the ancestors of the family, and the upper altar and the lower altar. After the incantation for pledging in wine is ended, the beating of gong and drum is resumed. The sorcerer-priest also blows the horn once, and dances with the willow towel, and that is the end.

/182/ The seventh part is Feng Lao /"sealing the prison"/. The sorcerer-priest wears the red garment and his head is wrapped

/187 cont./

*782 grains will be abundant and resources will increase, and last he seeks the expulsion of the five pestilences, the hundred kuei, bandits, thieves, and all kinds of strange phenomena. After this, he inverts the two chiao-tzu on the tablet. Next he *789 utters the incantation about the origin of the chiao-tzu. He says *787 that the chiao-tzu originally were three persons: the yin chiao had the surname Hsiao, the yang chiao, Kuo, and the sheng 793 chiao, Tu. All three received offerings from humans at the place of the No Shen. When the incantation is finished, he *782 picks up the willow towel and rises together with the host. The helpers gather up the bedding and the rice straw.

/188/ The sixteenth part is K'ai Tung /"opening the cave"/. The sorcerer, with the red headkerchief and holding two hsien-feng banners in his hands, does the three-step walk at the front of the main hall and sings the magic K'ai Tung words, asking [774] the shen of the drama to emerge from the cave. After the singing, the gong and drum are struck, and the ritual terminates.

The seventeenth part is Pan Hsien Feng /"impersonating fairies"/. The sorcerer wears women's clothes and head orna- [292] ments to disguise himself as a woman and holds a hsien-feng banner or a fan. (If there are more than two pigs and two goats in the host's house, two females are impersonated.) The sorcerer-priest walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, singing out first the reasons why he has come to the No hall. Then he continues to sing about what he has seen in the hall, and asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. Then he sings to tell about the origin of hsien-feng. Finally, he bids the shen farewell. He accompanies the singing with movements of his hands and feet. After each passage of the singing, the gong and drum are sounded a few times and he moves several steps.

The eighteenth part is Pan Sung Tzu /"performing the handing over of a son"/. A square table is set up before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer-priest in the apparel for the [294] Pan Hsien Feng, stands on the table, holding the image of the [53] No child in his hand, and sings the song of farewell of the

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CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is
[181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example,
[526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu
[534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in
[292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a
[782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments
[656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened
[186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

[184] The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

4:Mickey E-8 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE8

261 market without some small treat for them.
857 Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

261 When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

252 For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yünnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

291 Clothing. The Cowrie Shell Miao men all wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of them could afford cloth shoes and therefore
292 wore straw sandals. For special occasions such as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear a new, long garment, belted in with a long blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth to form a large turban (fig. 18, *f*). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

[246]

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

der, knotted on the right hip, and a spray of silver leaves in his cap. A priest wore a long yellow or orange robe of cloth or thin silk, whose skirt was shirred onto the waist, and a fancy scarf about his head or a bamboo rain-hat. Both the chanter and the drummer at the ritual in connection with "opening the way" and burial for the dead, and the priests in the procession which opened a bullfight wore this costume. 292

Some of the very little girls wore the tribal costume only on special occasions, but the older girls and women wore it constantly. For everyday they were barefoot or wore straw sandals of their own making. In the winter they wound the legs with cloth from ankle to knee. The remainder of the costume consisted of long, wide trousers of dark blue cloth, a front apron of finer dark blue cloth embroidered in white, which had to be two and a half feet long, and a back apron one and a half feet long of hemp cloth dyed dark blue, a blue blouse made on straight lines but worn folded surplice to the right, and belted in with the strings from the aprons and from an embroidered overpiece on the blouse (fig. 8, *a*, *b*), and a woven belt an arm-span long. On the head they wore a turban, which was sometimes just a length of cloth wound around, sometimes a carefully constructed one. Of course for the roughest work they wore their oldest, patched, faded, tattered clothes (see fig. 19, *c*). Unless they had lost them or given them to a daughter, the women and girls wore silver hooks like an inverted question mark in their ears (fig. 19, *c*), and the girls wore, also, heavy silver bracelets, silver neck loops and rings, and a Chinese thimble. 291 301

For the hemp apron they raised the hemp and processed it, made the thread, dyed it, and wove the cloth themselves. All other cloth, except the bands used to hold the pad about a baby spreadeagled on the back, which was also woven of hemp thread, and both cotton and silk thread were bought in the markets. They made hemp thread for mending and sewing. Of the heavier cotton they liked to buy white in the piece and dye it a very dark, almost black blue; but they also bought it already dyed. They used nutgalls (五倍子) mixed with earth as a dye. The 294

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miso AE5

then embroidered in color. In front the design was of red and green (see fig. 9) with three lines of green, red, and blue lengthwise on either side. Over the shoulder and in the back it was a straight line of alternate orange and dark blue down the center with a wavy line of alternate red and green on either side. These two were sewed together with herringbone stitch in white. The outer edge of the blue piece was turned under and covered with a weaving stitch in two or five colors, as the maker wished. In front and back, between the white strips, were set strips of dark blue embroidered in horizontal bands of cross-stitch in white, each stitch crossing one thread. On the under side the stitches had to be horizontal. Almost at the top in each strip was a medallion in color, in which a dark red was predominant (figs. 19, *a-c*; 20, *a*, *d*). The one in front had a cross, and diagonal lines in the corners. That in the back had a design of crosses, with a bit of blue, green, and yellow in the open spaces. The strip in the back was wider than that in front. Two pieces were made for the back, the upper one of color or black on white, the lower one of color on red. These were sewed on across the ends so that the lower side was a little wider than the upper. Across the very end was sewed a row of about twenty cowrie shells. In front a strip of blue was sewed across the three strips and strings fastened to it. On the under side a strip of bright blue was sewed on over the white strip which lay on the shoulders. 301

I tried to make the overpiece but was not very successful. Not that I felt too badly about it, for they said that women over fifty were not supposed to be able to see to do it. I managed to make the strips of dark blue worked solidly in lines all the way up and down the strip and with mitered corners, and the zigzag lines on the white pieces, to fasten them together with herringbone stitch, and to turn in the edges with a weaving stitch in color. But the fine cross-stitch in the center strips was too much for me and I learned only that the stitches must be horizontal on the under side by doing them the other way. 295

An invitation to "drink wine" in another village called for new trousers, blouse, and overpiece, if possible, and the wide turban. 292 574

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth.

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide.

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1967 AE5 Miao AF5

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wore this orange blouse outside; the others black. To the outer blouses they tacked embroidered bands with silver disks on them as follows: at the bottom across the back and each hip one with thirty-nine small disks; around the upper arm two or three with twenty-two small disks on each; around the neck one embroidered in green, red, and blue with twenty-two large disks and a similar narrow band with twenty-nine small disks on it. Instead of the two aprons they wore a finely pleated, knee-length skirt of dark blue, almost black, heavy cloth with a six-inch band of white at the bottom. For the narrowest skirt twenty feet of cloth were required, or more. There were two of the woven belts worn with this costume, over a length of soft purple silk, whose ends showed in the back as if a handkerchief had been tucked in. The overpiece was covered with silver disks as described above and the extra ornaments were added. In addition, each girl had several neck loops and a silver chain about her neck from which were suspended five more neck loops so that they lay on her chest. At least two girls in one case had a row of small silver fish suspended from the chain in the back.

For this costume the women in a related household evolved a special turban for each girl, which consumed considerable time. It was like that worn by unmarried girls in that they shaved all but the crown of the head and put on the narrow, overlapping bands, but there were more of these — in one case seven, in another ten. The order of the strips was as follows: white, bright blue, orange, green, yellow, black, lavender, turquoise, white, lavender, from the inside out. These bands were so put on that they showed only a quarter of an inch of the one below, and the overlapping had to make a straight line up the back of the head. It was like that of the married women in that the stick was put on and the hair, braided in two braids, secured it. Two pieces of blue black cloth were put on over the stick in turn and sewed in place. A third piece, of soft, thin blue silk, was large enough to cover the stick and the top of the head. Another, narrow, but long, strip was put on so as to hold this firmly and tightly. A long strip of white cloth, folded six times lengthwise, was wound around the head

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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horizontally, and finally the embroidered scarf was put on so that the whole design showed and the ends were tied, at the back. All wore new straw sandals.

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The costume in which two old ladies were laid out while the ritual of "opening the way" was performed was still different (fig. 18, *f*). The turban was that of a married woman, with the embroidered scarf. Several blouses were put on, of which the outer was of orange silk, and in one case there were two pairs of trousers. Both the pleated skirt and aprons were worn. On the feet were cloth stockings and Chinese cloth shoes. In one case there was just one overpiece; in the other three were tacked together. This latter old lady had kept the old style turban scarf, overpiece, and front apron. The designs were different from those used at the time I was with them and the colors were faded soft and lovely, showing that silk thread with good dyes had been used. That sold in the markets now soon fades to almost white.

The designs on the front apron were in rows, one of birds with wings outspread, one of birds with wings folded, as if rising, and one of an animal, all in white. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that used in modern times, but that in the back was a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center. On the inner strip the four diagonal lines had become two, forming a cross. There were many strips with a dogtooth design on them. The cross-stitch designs were not of the fine type now used, but coarser, more like those on the overpiece worn by another group of Miao women I saw in the Lung-li market who said that they were Lao Hei Miao (Black Miao who had been long in the vicinity,) fig. 18, *f*. On the scarf the designs were of birds and medallions somewhat spaced. Her belt was of the same design as those I saw, but only half as wide.

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These Lao Hei Miao women also wore trousers and aprons for everyday, but both aprons were of hemp and had no embroidery. Another group of Miao women, called by the Chinese Pai (White) Miao (fig. 20, *b*), wore the ceremonial skirt constantly over trousers

[286]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed. 292

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family. 241

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*. For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children. 805 796 241 527

*See p. 30.

511 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife
562 were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Edu-**
292 **cation.** While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long, two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
852 pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
[124] then other things in turn. I sat until noon
with the old man and his second wife and
527 found them very ready to answer questions
about family history. The conversation led
into that channel in an interesting way. The
old man had been reading about Roosevelt in
the newspaper and asked me questions, being
most desirous of knowing whether there were
many people named Lo in the United States.
(The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and
he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo
his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual
527 place, but they had no visitors as yet. During
the day children went around from house to
house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
fires in the houses, the women about several
533 fires at certain points in the village and just
527 inside the wood. The same women usually
composed each group, but now and then one
would visit a group not her own. The girls
now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the
song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered
overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'
923

[2] See p. 8.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

527 796 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and 292 taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting 123 boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first 574 nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice 527 and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 **San Yüeh San.**[8] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village 796 built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the for- 527 tune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[8] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

4-Michey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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a, The *lu-sheng*. *b*, The *lu-sheng*, showing men dancing as they play the instrument. *c*. Old woman in ragged clothing. *d*, Two school boys before the shrine to the local deity at the south of the village. *e*, Woman winding bobbins from the ball in a tub of water, one of the priests is behind her. *f*, "Old Black" Miao, showing embroidery like that on the old woman's body at burial (see p. 56).

[916]

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Milan AES

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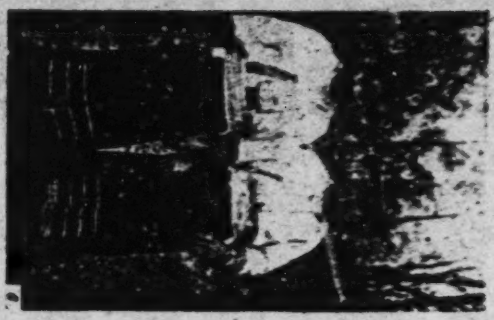

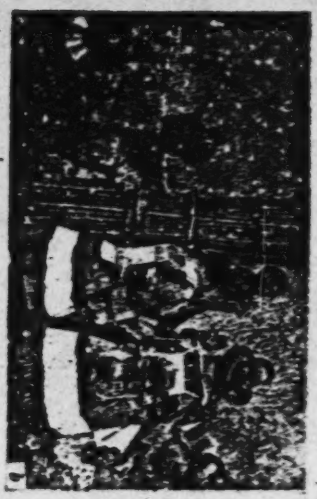

[For captions, see p. 93b. -- Analyst]

4:Mickey E-8 (1940-?) 1947 AES Miao AES

a, d, Two village girls, showing turban and clothes which are used only on occasion. *b*, Two of the "White" Miao. *c, e*, bride and her attendants, and women guests at feast at her home, showing the special turban and ceremonial dress worn only by the bride and her attendants at her wedding.

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[936]

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must [834] be recorded that though married women expose their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women 292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after 302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after 301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men, as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear- 292 rings, and on gala occasions every one, man or woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and harmonises beautifully with the mountains on which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary to be presented with a gala gown. English friends are highly amused when they are told that such a gown was grown in a village garden. Like Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet, the woollen texture is made from wool sheared from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is obtained from plants and roots gathered on the hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music. 534 The musical instrument par excellence is the *ggeh* which is played by the young men, who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A *ggeh* is made of bamboo pipes,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

292

Photo by *Robert Powell.*

A BLACK MIAO (HEH MIAO) MAIDEN IN FESTIVE ATTIRE.

The necklets, bracelets, and crown are all made of silver.

Frontispiece.

[p. ii]
[p. i blank]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

585 The return of the bride to her parents' home is also somewhat of a festive occasion. I shall here copy some lines from my wife's diary, which describes the return of a bride among the Heh-Miao after staying at the bridegroom's home for twelve days:—

"Took Rosie to see a bride returning to her mother's home. A group of seven or eight young women dressed in their best, and with flags made of red and green paper, were waiting on a little hill for her arrival. After waiting a long time, we saw the bridal party approaching. First came three men, and then six men carrying three slaughtered pigs on poles. One man carried two large baskets of cotton swinging on a pole, and another man carried four jackets
585 and four skirts in the same way. The bride
292 wore a crown, a magnificent piece of workman-
301 ship—ribbons, birds, flowers, and filigree work, all made of silver. Around her neck she had seven silver necklets, some large and solid looking and some very prettily worked. She had also seven or eight bracelets on each arm, and silver spangles all over that part of the jacket that was not embroidered. She also wore a richly embroidered skirt. Mrs. P'an told me the dress and silver ornaments were worth at least one hundred and thirty Mexican dollars.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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A Ch'uan Miao man clothed in embroidered garments. Formerly both men and women wore such embroideries on festive occasions. The men now do so only in a few isolated localities, and the women are rapidly discarding this unique and attractive dress for unembroidered cotton clothing.

From a sketch by Mr. Graham Peck

[facing p. 13]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

292

Ch'uan Miao girls in festive dress.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

A young Ch'uan Miao woman with her baby.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 24]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[292] [177] 291 562 The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

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8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[facing p. 32]

A Ch'uan Miao woman in festive dress. This picture was taken in 1925. Since then such embroideries have been rapidly disappearing, but there is a collection of over four hundred pieces in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

Photo by D. C. Graham.

A Ch'uan Miao woman wearing her embroidered garments, taken in 1936. The embroideries are not nearly so elaborate as those worn by Ch'uan Miao women twenty years ago. Ch'uan Miao embroideries are rapidly disappearing.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron kettle or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig, dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on homemade wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and southeastern Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 596
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

[11 cont.]

764 home, his body lying across the hall. When a Ch'ing Miao dies his body is wrapped up in a straw mat and hung up with a rope on a beam in the hall. For funerals performed outside the house, they build a straw hut and place the body inside. The kinsmen ●[292] wear hemp cloth or white cloth on the head in mourning and cry aloud around the body. This is known as "hao-sang" [wailing funeral]. Meanwhile the bereaved family would send messengers to announce the sad news to friends and relatives in distant parts.

764 At night they put up a spirit tablet and invite a wizard priest [kuei-
787 shih] to "open the way" by means of a cock and a bamboo stick slit into a magic diagram. The priest settles down in front of the spirit tablet and calls the deceased by the name, informing him of the story of genesis and urging him to start on his journey. He too advises the dead how to overcome dangers and obstacles, how to deal with difficulties, how to recognize cross roads and to ferry across rivers and oceans, and so on until the spirit world is reached. After the ritual of opening the road is

764 over, they slaughter a chicken and a piglet to spur the spirit on
782 his way. On the following day at the time of "k'ai-ch'ang" [commencing the ceremony] (the Chinese call it "k'ai-tiao"), a bull is bludgeoned as a gift to the dead. (Among the Hei Miao, a bull is bludgeoned as a sacrifice to a man, and a horse as a sacrifice to a woman.) At the time of bludgeoning the crowd wails and cries to the tune of the liu-sheng. The bull is first led around the straw pavilion three times and then handed over to the priest, who calls out the name of the deceased and makes the presentation before the spirit tablet. The animal is then led out to be slaughtered. Relatives and friends who have come to make sacrifices all have with them a sheng of rice, a pot of wine and a basketful of cooked rice, pork and eggs. These are given to the priest one by one, who in turn calls out to the deceased for a formal offering. The bereaved family then cooks the beef and after first offering it to the deceased, passes it around to the guests. That night all keep the funeral vigil, and sing to each other songs of piety in sad words and melancholic tunes to arouse in those who hear them a feeling of sadness.

[196 cont.]
535 somebody else's land and duly cursed by him. The flower trees in
527 the various flower slopes are changed either once a year or [197]
842 once every few years, depending upon whether some family would receive the tree after the dance. If a childless couple in the Miao village near the flower slope should give a feast for the guests to receive the tree into their home, the host would be happy to have the tree removed. The following year a new flower tree would be found for the slope. At the same time the family receiving the tree would make its timber into a bed. When the childless couple sleep in this bed they would become fertile and produce a son.

535 2) Participants. When a certain area holds a flower dance,
527 men and women, old and young, from all the villages nearby would come in bands. Young men and women would carry bundles on their backs, and on approaching the flower slope the men would open them and change into new clothes and nailed boots, with short flutes dangling around the waist, and leather or wooden bags hanging behind. As headgear they use pheasant
[301] feathers adorned with strips of colored cloth streaming in the air. They carry in their hands five-pipe or six-pipe bamboo-wind instruments [lu-sheng]. The women also change into new clothes,
[292] new skirts and jackets of bright patterns. The Chinese merchants of the area would establish stalls to sell candies, fruits and toys. Arriving at the flower slope the men would surround the flower tree in a circle, dancing as they move along and playing the bamboo-wind instruments. Listening to the music, the dancers would make noise by stamping their nailed shoes on the ground as they dance along in a rhythmic din. After circling a few times, the paired dancers fall into line, making the steps now left, now right, and now making a break as they follow the cadence of the music. First the men play bamboo wind instruments and later the women play mouth organs. The crowd dances around the tree a few times or as many as a dozen times. Outside the slope still others would play clarinets [so-na, a type of clarinet], bamboo wind instruments, and flutes, forming bands by themselves. The women often form groups of their own. Some

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

alternating with the girls, describes in verse, to the accompaniment of *Kènes*, their possessions, their accomplishments, or their virtues. Formal offers of marriage then follow, and according to eye-witnesses of the custom, the metrical form in no way inhibits the most banal cataloguing of articles to be included in the marriage contract. ST 584

We were still eating when the chief's messenger came back with the only dog on offer. It was a poor forlorn animal, suffering probably from some wasting disease, and an enormous price was demanded. 000

As there was no dog to be had from these intermediaries, there was nothing for it but to go to the source itself, even if it meant another stiff climb on foot. Instead of turning left, therefore, at the junction of the main road to Luang Prabang, we took the right-hand fork towards Xien Khouang, which, although it led us out of our way, went right through the heart of Meo country in Laos. Shortly after, we came up with a Meo family, who were struggling up a hill loaded down like beasts of burden with their possessions. The Meos threw down their bundles and looked us over with puzzled amusement. One of them, who wore pigtails to show that he was the head of the family, came over, cut the choice centre out of a sugar cane he was carrying and presented it to us, roaring with laughter. This was typical Meo conduct. The Meo is grateful to strangers for amusing him with their clownish faces and ridiculous clothes, and his first impulse is to look round for something to give them. Shouting with joy, the children leaped into the car and were cuffed out again by their father. The woman who, if a Thai or a Laotian, would have stood apart with downcast eyes, bent down to examine Dupont's sandals. She wore several pounds in weight of solid silver jewellery round her neck and had had her head recently shaved. M 491 M 593 609 M 301 [302] 292

Meo finery at its best is the most extravagantly colourful in Indo-China. The women are stiff with embroidery and heavy silver necklaces and chains, and are half-extinguished by enormous turbans that look like Chinese lanterns. But this family was in its 000

[154 cont.]

292 When in working clothes, the "Méo" women go barefoot. The "dress" costume includes leggings of white linen, wrapped from ankles to knees, in a fashion often so voluminous that they constitute a real hazard when walking. (Photos 46, Plate 35; 105, Plate 39; 156 and 157, Plate 40; 419, Plate 39.) The ceremonial costume of the "Peu-meo" women is one of the most richly embroidered that we know of. (Photo 46, Plate 35, gives an idea of it, even though this black-and-white photograph cannot show the medley of multicolored embroidery, of such minute and careful workmanship and of such lively colors — reds, blues, greens, yellows)

Here, the jacket, which is of light- or dark-blue material, no longer has the shape of a sailor's collar described above. It is buttoned on the right side, is provided with an upright collar, is closed for three-quarters of its length, and is stiff with embroidery. The lower end of the sleeves carries several circular bands, white, red, blue, and green, without embroidery.

The skirt, of very fine material, light or dark blue, is pleated in a thousand pleats, the bottom very much decorated with designs (secured by marking in accordance with the process indicated for the "Man-tien"), the lower band consisting of a series of red or green rectangles, framed in white.

The most embroidered portions of the holiday dress are the aprons, the belts, and the headdress. Aprons are worn to the number of two or three, placed one on top of the other and hung from the neck by means of braided silk cords. The bottom part is plain and is worn pulled back to the side, so as to display the bottom of the skirt. The upper part is edged with a wide band of embroidery and bears in the center a big embroidered square where all the artistic fantasies of the "Peu-méo" women are given free rein. In addition, [531] all these embroideries are of a fineness and a regularity (rosettes, squares, and lozenges of openwork, flowers, and so on) which many European embroiderers might well envy.

Like the aprons, the belts are several and superimposed. First the wide belt, formed of blue, white, red, and green bands, serving to bind the entire costume (jacket, skirt, and aprons), on top of which is placed as many as five or six very finely embroidered belts, whose ends, which hang down behind the skirt, end in pompons of multicolored silks.

[154 cont.]

292 The holiday turban of the "Peu-méo" women is a veritable monument, which is prepared ahead of time and is placed all at once on top of the ordinary turban. The upper part is formed of a sort of skullcap and of a wide circular red band bearing superb embroidered rosettes. Attached to this band are a dozen pieces of rectangular material, regularly spaced around the headdress, bearing the finest embroideries of the entire costume and ending in seven or eight small strings, on which [155] colored beads and pieces of glass are threaded. The costume is completed by the big white leggings, of linen wrappings, which we mentioned above. (See also photo 105, Plate 39; 424, Plate 37.)

291 The working costume of the "Hoa-Méo" women is practically like that of the "Peu-Méo," except that the bodice does not have the "sailor-collar" shape. (The holiday costume of the "Hoa-Méo" is shown on photo 37, Plate 36.) The jacket is buttoned on the right side. The collar and the front edge of the jacket are decorated with multicolored embroideries. The sleeves, which are long, bear from the neck to the wrist several circular bands of very lively colors (red, white, blue, green), separated by other very finely embroidered bands.

The skirt is of the "plissé-soleil" model and white to just below the hips. The designs which decorate the bottom are made by the marking process already described. The turban is rather voluminous, of white linen. It does not carry on top of it the enormous [301] "Peu-Méo" headdress, the large earrings, characteristic of the "Hoa-Méo," preventing the addition of such a headdress. The fat, wrapped legging of white linen is often worn by the "Hoa-Méo" women (photo 419, Plate 39), as well as by all the women of the various tribes of the group.

The costume of the "Moung-cha-méo" women is very different from the costumes already described. (See photo 52, Plate 14.)

The dark-blue bodice, very simple and very full, rather low-cut at the collar, reaches down just below the belt and is buttoned in front by means of two or three braided loops and buttons. The sleeves are formed of three wide circular bands, two in dark-blue material, the central band of light blue. The bottom of the sleeves is formed of a light-blue cuff decorated with little lines of white embroidery.

155: Abadie--236 G-5 (no date) 1924

AM1 Indochina
M180 AE5

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46. Young "Peu-méo" Engaged Couple in Dress Costume.

155: Abadie--238 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[156]

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165. Group of "Peu-Méo" Unmarried Girls

[293]

424. Old "Peu-Méo" Man and Six of his Grand-daughters.

155: Abadie--241 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

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[535]

154. The "marriage fair" of the "Méo" of Pha-Long.

155. The Dance of the "Méo" "sen" Player.

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156.

157.

Groups of Young Women of Various "Méo" Tribes of the Pha-Long Region, Come to the Marriage Fair.

/43 cont./

634 695 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly, as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished, [342] not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of [516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the [276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and [292] sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri- [782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II, p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II, p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

/126 cont./

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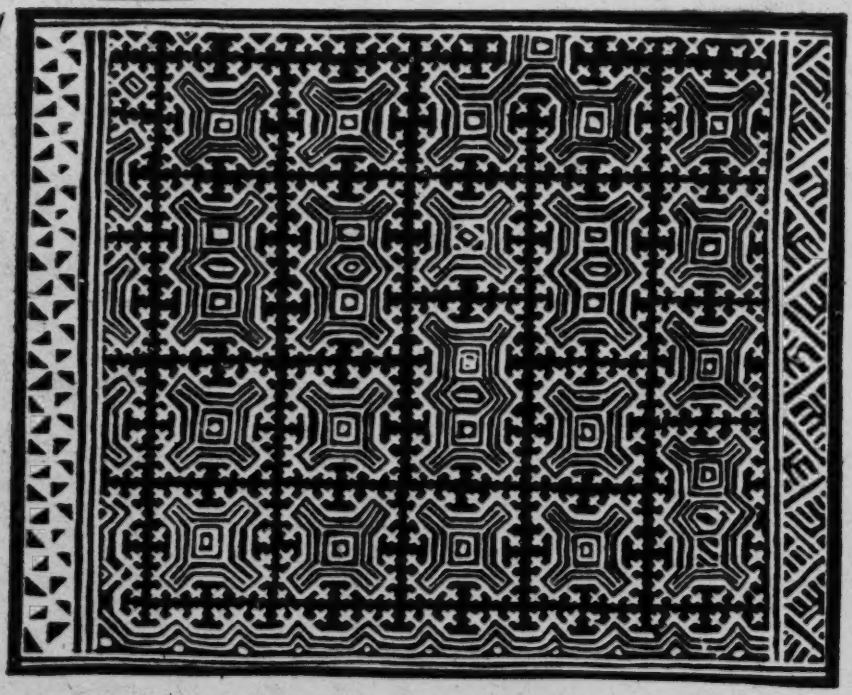

Fig. 9. Batik design of the Meau in the positive, after the dyeing. 1/3 nat. size.

"The art of embroidery is developed to a perfection that one would not expect among these tribes that are otherwise quite primitive. Young girls practice this intricate art from childhood and make all the pieces of their so richly adorned wedding costume themselves."

[585]
[292]

Lajonquière (2), too, writes about the art of wax painting,

2. II, p. 303.

namely, batik, and about the color combinations: "The colors that /127/ /Figs. 10 and 11 appear hare/ /128/ /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ /129/ are used the most are blue, red, and green,

[text continues on p. 179 - Analyst]

/176 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The
[302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing
[292] mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of
756 his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
787 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
[782] spirit of all the shamans, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsŭ, and the three pairs of assistant spirits, tă fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé. The teacher-
[776] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
[801] Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/319 cont./

291 are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of
[286] the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye-
[294] trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts").
[386] The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often re-
[292] placed, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark-
[439] blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese
[294] traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-
produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread,
needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, al-
ways comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work
[292] clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has
[556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in
[531] the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in
the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as some-
times in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like
that of the adults.

291 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well
531 as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[1] consists of the
blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is
made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6),
has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts
are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist.
The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to
be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors.
Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse,
which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the
front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the
typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a
rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar
is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls
and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small
cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the
dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and
3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of
Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these
are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the
dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white
triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

1 [see cut 116, pp 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 492 - "]
3 [" " " pp 437, 563 - "]

/321 cont./

291 184 [101] The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 531 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 482 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 531 [552] [292] The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/321 cont./

291 is wound a black and white checked turban-cloth, usually
531 purchased. Then comes a similar, /322/ but usually larger-checked cloth, and then a fourth, which resembles the second one, and, finally, a black and white, small-checked band about 80 centimeters long is put crosswise over this whole structure of cloth and pinned fast. The turban tassel (Colored Plate II, No. 10) is then fastened over the forehead. It con-
[301] sists of a silver coin pierced four times, on which hang little chains of small, white and colored glass beads with red wool tassels at the end (Ill. 60). Instead of the checked crossband, a narrow, embroidered band is often placed over the turban.
[184] White and Black Meau wear the same type of turban. One very commonly, however, sees women and girls without a head covering, especially at work.

291 Whereas Savina (1) remarks that the women wear leggings
[184]

1. II, p. 211.

only on trips, among the Meau visited by us the leggings represent a regularly worn and important article of clothing. The workday legging (Colored Plate II, No. 7) consists of a dark-blue strip of cloth 60 centimeters long, which is put around the leg and is tied below the knee and above the ankle. It is not tight on the leg. The leggings of the festive attire
●292 (Colored Plate II, No. 8) consist of a white strip of cloth six to seven meters long, which is wound around the leg from the bottom upward in narrow spirals and is tied on top with a narrow black band (Ill. 58). Depending on the length of the strip used, these leggings are sometimes rather bulky. The clothing of the women on festive days thus is distinguished from the everyday clothing only by the richness of the embroidery, the size of the turban, and the wound leggings.

/322 cont./

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79,[1] also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the [301] neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ [531] (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).[2]

The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [294] (Ill. 81).[3] In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [531] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of [439] purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark-[531] blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77),[4] and not wound high, as is customary among the women. In-[177] stead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese 292 caps (Ills. 55 and 56).[5] On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p706 - "]
3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p575 - "]
5 [see cat 116, p367 - ANALYST]

/323 cont./

292 Against rain, the men wear coarsely plaited rain hats made of straw.

The men's clothing of the Meau does not differ from the 291 clothing of the boys. As Lajonquière (1) remarks, men's 184

1. II, p. 307.

[177] clothing is the same among all the tribes. Only the tribes that live in close contact with the Chinese are said to resemble them more and more in dress.

Another author, Abadie (2), also mentions fur-lined vests

2. Page 153.

such as the cold continental climate of Yunnan probably requires, but not that of Indochina or Thailand. The statements of other authors, such as Lajonquière (3) and Savina (4), show that the

3. II.

4. II, p. 211.

clothing of the Meau otherwise, even in other countries, does not essentially differ from that described here. /324/

I could not find footgear anywhere among the Meau in Thailand. Other authors, too, mention this. It is also stated, [177] however, (1) that some Meau have adopted the Chinese custom

1. Abadie, p. 153.

[824] of wearing sandals with soles made of rattan fibers or bamboo or even Chinese slippers made of canvas. Sandals plaited out of bamboo fibers are also mentioned. One author (2) reports

2. Savina, II, p. 211.

[554] that among the various Meau tribes in Tonkin the clothing of

1: Wang--iv S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

IV

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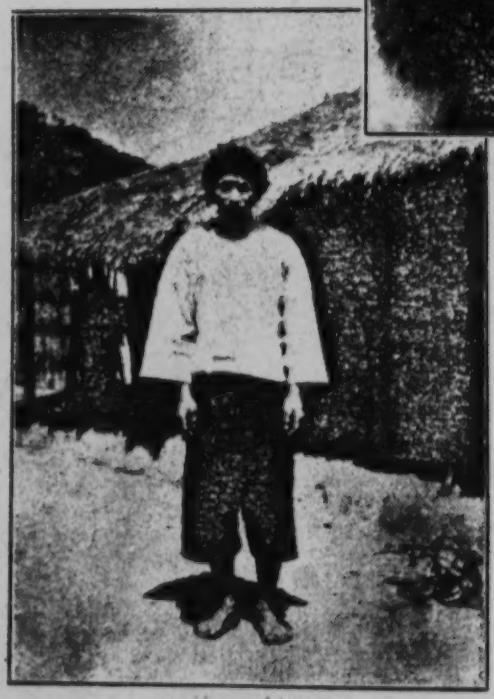
A Miao Woman



A Miao Man

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
●298 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/49 cont'd/

585 seated with the bridegroom in two rows facing each other. In a short time the bride was led out by a bridesmaid from the inner room and seated beside the bridegroom. Her head was also covered with a pointed kerchief which also covered half her face. After they were all seated, the bridesmaid and the go-betweens began offering wine to the bride and groom. After the wine they were offered the rice and pork liver. Then the go-betweens and the bridesmaid respectively took away the kerchiefs from the heads of both the bride and the bridegroom. As soon as their faces had been revealed, the couple immediately left their seats. The bridegroom hurried back to the small house and the bride to her room. The others, however, still continued to drink and sing for a long time before they dispersed. Later they gathered together in one of the side rooms. This time both men and women participated; they sang and drank till dawn.

The next morning the bride's family held a formal dinner in the side room to entertain all the guests. The bridegroom was led by one of the go-betweens to offer wine to each guest. At the same time one of the guests stood up and delivered a speech, the gist of which was advising the bridegroom to respect his elders, to work hard, to live a happy married life, to cooperate with his wife in the management of domestic affairs, etc. After listening to this advice, /50/ the bridegroom went into the main hall of the bride's house and offered wine to the elders and other members of the family. After this was done, he went directly to the bride's room but returned shortly to the small house to rest. What he did in the bride's room, I did not find out.

In the same afternoon the bride, escorted by a woman and followed by a young girl who carried a bundle of her clothes on her back, walked to the bridegroom's home. The bride was dressed as follows: Holding a oiled-paper umbrella, she wore a new dress and 512 a round cap but was barefoot. In the bridegroom's home the scissors, 293 sickle, and charcoal were also set up in the same way as in the bride's home the day before. Before entering the house, the bride

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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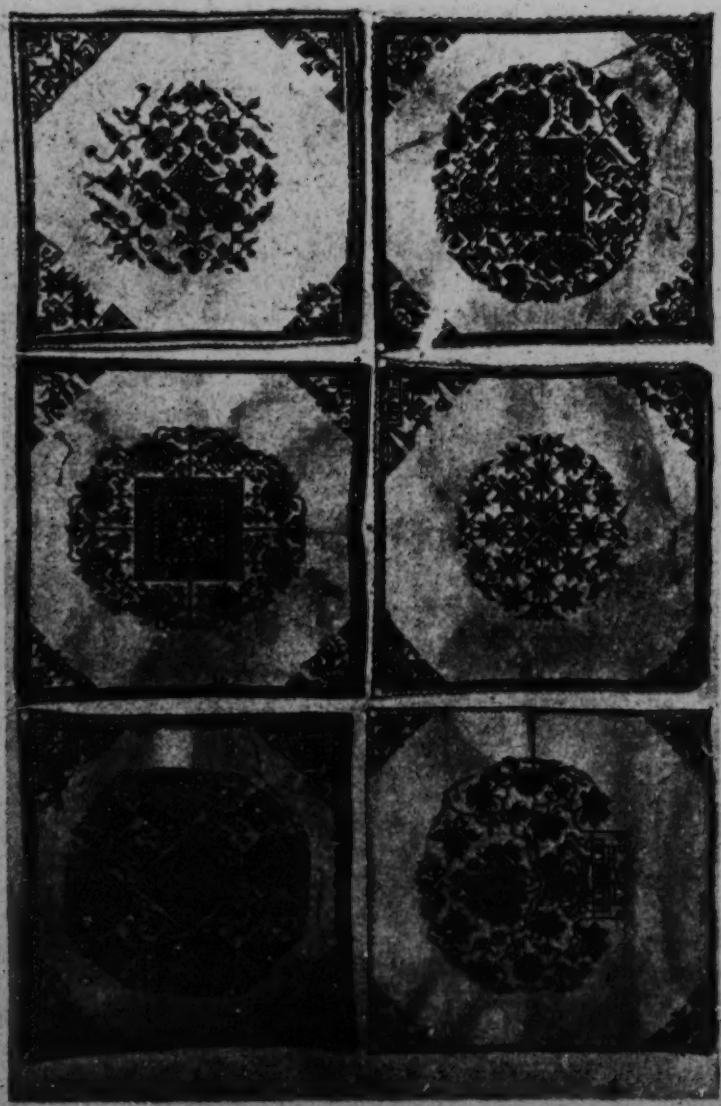

Ch'uan Miao embroidered handkerchiefs, now in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

[facing p. 44]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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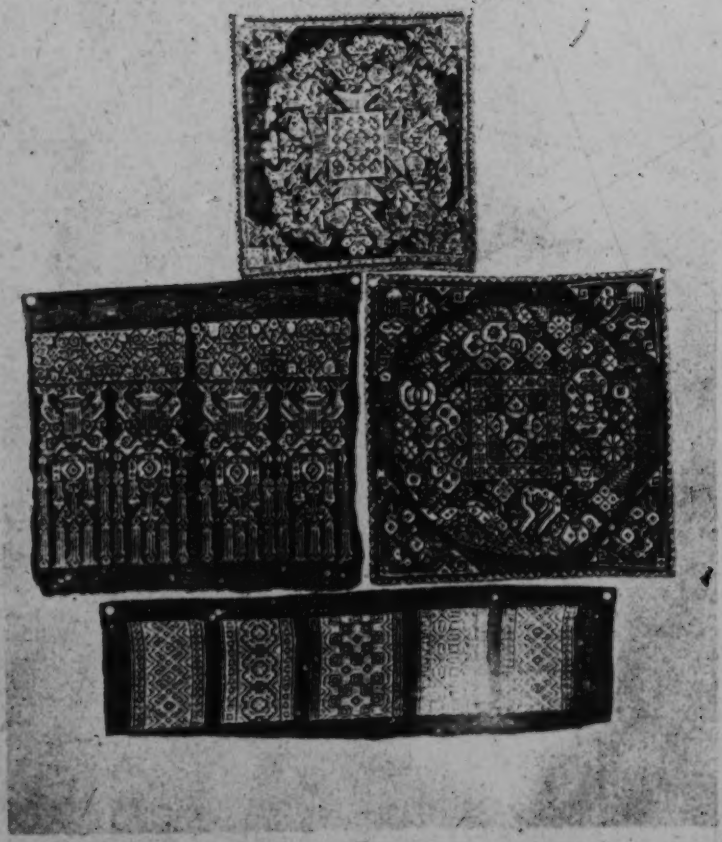

Ch'uan Miao embroidery—a halbard, two handkerchiefs, and an apron cloth—In the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology*

[facing p. 60]

155: Abadie--238 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[156]

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292
301

165. Group of "Peu-Méo" Unmarried Girls

[293]

424. Old "Peu-Méo" Man and Six of his Grand-daughters.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

der, knotted on the right hip, and a spray of silver leaves in his cap. A priest wore a long yellow or orange robe of cloth or thin silk, whose skirt was shirred onto the waist, and a fancy scarf about his head or a bamboo rain-hat. Both the chanter and the drummer at the ritual in connection with "opening the way" and burial for the dead, and the priests in the procession which opened a bullfight wore this costume. 292

Some of the very little girls wore the tribal costume only on special occasions, but the older girls and women wore it constantly. For everyday they were barefoot or wore straw sandals of their own making. In the winter they wound the legs with cloth from ankle to knee. The remainder of the costume consisted of long, wide trousers of dark blue cloth, a front apron of finer dark blue cloth embroidered in white, which had to be two and a half feet long, and a back apron one and a half feet long of hemp cloth dyed dark blue, a blue blouse made on straight lines but worn folded surplice to the right and belted in with the strings from the aprons and from an embroidered overpiece on the blouse (fig. 8, *a*, *b*), and a woven belt an arm-span long. On the head they wore a turban, which was sometimes just a length of cloth wound around, sometimes a carefully constructed one. Of course for the roughest work they wore their oldest, patched, faded, tattered clothes (see fig. 19, *c*). Unless they had lost them or given them to a daughter, the women and girls wore silver hooks like an inverted question mark in their ears (fig. 19, *c*), and the girls wore, also, heavy silver bracelets, silver neck loops and rings, and a Chinese thimble. 291 301

For the hemp apron they raised the hemp and processed it, made the thread, dyed it, and wove the cloth themselves. All other cloth, except the bands used to hold the pad about a baby spreadeagled on the back, which was also woven of hemp thread, and both cotton and silk thread were bought in the markets. They made hemp thread for mending and sewing. Of the heavier cotton they liked to buy white in the piece and dye it a very dark, almost black blue; but they also bought it already dyed. They used nutgalls (五倍子) mixed with earth as a dye. The 294

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

294 finer cloth, of which they also made blouses, was already dyed when bought.

283 Hemp thread was made as follows: The stalks were cut close to the ground and stripped of the leaves, which were put back on the hemp bed as fertilizer. The bark and fiber were stripped from the wands and the bark loosened and stripped from the fiber with a knife, one end of the strip being held with the toes and one with the left hand. The long fibers were hung in the sun to dry and bleach. They were then boiled and sunned again. For the cloth they made a coarse thread by twisting the split fibers with the fingers and then rolling them against the leg or thigh. The split fibers had previously been twisted in bunches into a darning ball shape, and as the thread was made it was wound in a figure eight around a loop of bamboo. From this it was made into skeins, which were boiled and then wound into balls like those of cord (fig. 18, *e*). When weaving was to be done the balls were set into a tub of water and reeled from it onto the shuttle.

301 For married women the better turban was put on as follows: The hair was braided in two braids to the front, being pieced out with thread if the hair was scanty. One of a pair of chopsticks was laid across the head above the forehead and these braids wound around to hold it securely in place. A piece of blue cloth was fitted lengthwise over the stick and fastened with a needle or two, or sewed. Over the stick was put another piece of blue cloth with the ends folded on top of the head, and a longer piece of white was wound around the head at the height of the base of the stick. Another white piece was wound around the head at the line — high forehead, tips of ears, nape of neck. Finally a longer strip of dark blue cloth was wound around the outside of the white, but higher in the back, and the ends were tucked in. The ends of the white cloth were pulled out to stand up like the ends of a bow. If the family was in mourning, the outer strip was white. For special occasions a second, usually bright blue strip was put on in such a way that about half an inch of the lowest white cloth showed below it.

302 Unmarried girls shaved the head except 882 for the crown and braided the hair from that

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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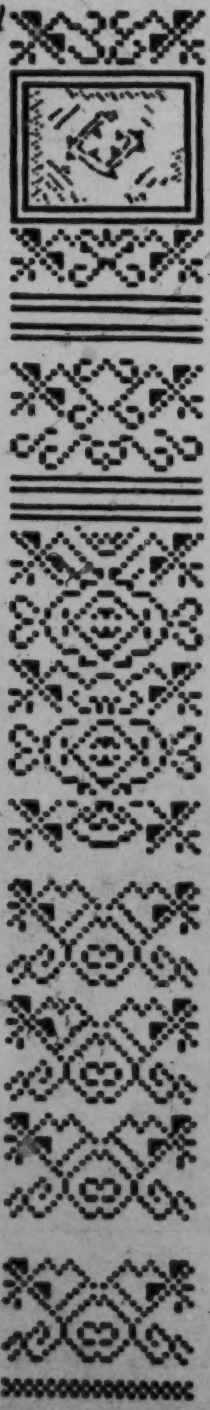

b

FIG. 8. Cross-stitch designs used in sections of the overpiece on the blouse. *a*, the front of overpiece; *b*, the back of overpiece (see p. 27).

[26a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

302 forward in one braid. One short piece of
882 white was set on across the forehead and tips of the ears and crossed at the nape of the neck. A similar piece of bright blue cloth was put on over it to show about half an inch of the white. These were secured with a narrow

[294]
[301]

FIG. 9. Embroidered design on narrow strip of white cloth.

strip of cloth. A piece of cloth, six feet long, was folded six times lengthwise and wound around the head with the two ends tied to stand up in the back like the ends of a bow. A piece of dark blue cloth, ten feet long, was folded in the same way, wound on the outside of the white one, and tucked in at the back. These two pieces formed a wide, flat, horizontal cartwheel turban with the braid lying inside.

301 A still more elaborate turban called for more strips in addition to the white and bright blue ones, which were sometimes lavender, black, other shades of blue, and white. This was worn by unmarried girls when they went to visit in other villages. More lengths of white cloth were also put on sometimes to make the turban that much wider. For such occasions as a bullfight they sometimes wore, instead of the plain dark blue outer strip, one of dark blue embroidered on the ends in white and lines of color, and for the length of two hand-spans in white so that when it was put on the design showed all around the head outside of a plain band of dark blue, and on the bow ends.

The front apron was embroidered in lines of colored silk thread and spaced rows of a design in white cotton thread. The overpiece (figs. 8; 20 *a*, *d*) on the blouse was made up of several pieces, each with its special name, method, and order of making, and design, and the stitches were so carefully taken that it could be worn with either side out. First, two long strips of dark blue cloth were covered an inch and a half wide down the center with an over-and-over stitch diagonally across two threads in coarse white thread. A narrow strip of white cloth of the same length was

[26 b]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[292] [177] The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. 291 562 But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

294 saw was only about one fifth as large as that now in the Museum, and some of the finest specimens were not then in the collection.

177 Within twenty years probably there will be no such embroideries among the Ch'uan Miao. The making of such embroideries takes a great deal of time and often the girl or woman who wears them is ridiculed by less intelligent and unfriendly Chinese who live near them. For these reasons the Ch'uan Miao women are very rapidly adopting a simple Chinese style of embroidery or merely purchasing cheap and gaudy cloth and ribbons in the Chinese markets. The change is taking place so fast that the difference between the clothing worn now and even two years ago is quite noticeable.[8]

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

596 The family is the social unit. Descent is reckoned through males and the oldest living male is the head of the family. Before a girl marries she belongs to the family of her parents but after marriage she belongs to the family of her husband. While the parents live all the descendants, except females that are married but including the wives of the male descendants, live in the same house. After the death of the parents the children separate and form new families. There is evidence in the legends that formerly the husbands lived with the relatives of their wives so that the families may have been matrilinial.

Sons are more desired than daughters because they remain in the family. Women are considered to be inferior to men but women and girls are appreciated and desired.[9]

There is a larger sense in which the family includes all blood relatives of the same name—fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, gandsons, great-grandsons, uncles, cousins, and so on and their wives and umarried daughters, but it does not include the women who have married into other families. The importance of this enlarged family can be seen when the memorial and calendar festivals and the intricate list of the ancestors and descendants are noted.

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8. The Ch'uan Miao do not wear their best clothing and ornaments at funerals. They are worn at weddings, at feasts and at the memorial services and calendar festivals.

In Savina's book, *Histoire des Miao*, there are pictures of Miao wearing brass chain ornaments hanging from their necks. I have purchased chains like these from the Ch'uan Miao but they are now very rare.

9. In some localities men and women in the same family eat together but the daughter-in-law, because of a sense of shame, does not eat with the rest of the family. A daughter-in-law must not sit down on the same bench with the husband's father, brothers, or uncles but she may with her husband.

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the
[439] Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

1 [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the He Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their [294] time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver orna- [301] ments in all styles and colors to attract attention.

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in 361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of [231] one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

[17 cont.]

The upper garment of a Short-skirt Hê Miao woman is also
29| different from that of the other Miao. It resembles the mandarin jacket of the Chinese, reaching only to the hips, round-collared and buttoned in the middle, with large sleeves. Although there are five to seven pairs of bean-size lead buttons, actually only the first pair can be buttoned, the other pairs being loose, with only buttons but no loops. So during work a belt is tied around the waist. They do not wear panties. The skirt measures only one foot and two inches in length and is not fastened to the waist but below the waistline. It has inumerable pleats, from over five hundred to as many as a thousand. Therefore a skirt requires at least twenty feet of material. Both the front and rear parts of the skirt are covered with a piece of black cloth about six or seven inches in width and one or two inches longer than the skirt. The rear piece has an embroidered band of four inches at the hem. They never wear stockings. While working at home, in the field or on the river bank they are always barefoot. On formal occasions they wind strips of black cloth around their legs, from the ankles [18] up to the thighs. Each strip of leg band measures about twenty-four feet, and as it winds up layer on layer, it gives a swollen appearance. The straw sandals for men and women are made differently. The women's footwear resembles the Japanese wooden clogs, with a forklike rope attachment that enters in between the big toe and the rest of the toes, so that the rear and the back of the foot require no other attachments.

The costumes described above are for everyday wear. The
[511] Miao in this area are comparatively well-to-do. An average family is able to add a suit or two of new clothes for each member every year, and so even their ordinary clothes are clean and in good repair. Dirty and disorderly dresses are rarely seen. On festive occasions the men wear new clothes and the women, specially made embroidered clothes in brilliant designs. The
[294] work on the embroideries begins during a girl's teen-age and continues for several years before it is completed. Ordinarily
30| the women do not use much jewelry. They do not wear earrings, neither do they have holes in the ears. They do wear one or

[160 cont.]

415 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
482 often on the backs of men... or women. For this purpose the "Méo"
[492] of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women
[854] place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

● [294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

[161 cont.]

177 439 294 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 294 868 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not expect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

317 439 The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

326 [411] The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels, of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

226 262 The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

/317 cont./

A 415 For preparing the food, many kinds of carved wooden vessels and troughs of wood (Fig. 205) or bamboo (Fig. 206) are used. /Figs. 201-208 appear here./ /318/ Gourd dippers and bowls, wooden ladles, knives, rice baskets and other baskets, bamboo containers, and so on are not lacking anywhere.

A [312] The bamboo containers for fetching water (Fig. 207) are closed at the top and the bottom; the water is poured by means of a gourd dipper (Fig. 208) into a hole cut into the upper edge. In this way the water remains clean and cannot easily be spilled when carried. A [171] Many typical household and kitchen utensils are almost exactly like those of the Meau.

A 482 I did not see carrying frames among the Akha; they are replaced by carrying baskets with a shoulder board and forehead band (Fig. 374; see the chapter, "Handicrafts").

A 354 [372] 285 For lighting the house, iron lamps with oil as fuel, and also pine chips, are used. The household equipment is especially rich in artistically plaited articles, such as are described in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

A 356 As was pointed out, the dwellings and granaries of the Akha give the impression of being clean and well tended. The floor of the dwelling and the platform are swept twice a day with the grass brooms that are also common among the Meau (Fig. 175), with which one simply sends the sweepings under the house through the seams and cracks. The food remains, too, are thus conveyed directly to the pigs and chickens. [412] [171] [23]

/319/

Chapter 15

Clothing and Ornaments

M 294 The Meau women are very skilled in sewing and embroidery and, with much taste for color combinations, make the attractive and also practical clothing for men, women, and children. M 291 The clothing of the Meau is absolutely uniform in cut and differs only in the diversity of the embroidery and appliquéd designs. [248] Every family plants the required hemp and cotton and weaves its own cloth. [596] The strips of fabric which are made into clothing [286] [392]

/319 cont./

291 are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of
[286] the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye-
[294] trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts").
[386] The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often re-
[292] placed, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark-
[439] blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese
[294] traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-
produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread,
needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, al-
ways comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work
[292] clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has
[556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in
[531] the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in
the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as some-
times in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like
that of the adults.

291 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well
531 as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[1] consists of the
blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is
made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6),
has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts
are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist.
The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to
be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors.
Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse,
which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the
front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the
typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a
rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar
is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls
and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small
cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the
dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and
3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of
Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these
are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the
dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white
triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

1 [See cat 116, PP 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " P 492 - "]
3 [" " " PP 439, 563 -]

/320 cont./

291 especially artistic. On the dark-blue background there are
531 yellow squares, and in them red squares set on the points are sewed. Similarly, all the other red parts of the pattern, as well as the narrow, white and colored stripes, are strips of material sewed on. Pattern 3 of Colored Plate IV is also produced in the same manner; only it should also be mentioned here that four lines in white silk, crossing one another, are embroidered on the black squares of cloth that are sewed on.
[868 This embroidery in stripes is extremely laborious work. As
[294 soon as the young girl has learned it from her mother, she starts on the embroidery of her future festive attire and often works on it for many years during all her free time. It must also be pointed out that the sailor collar is often worn reversed so that the beautiful embroidery is not visible. I noticed this among almost all the women of the Black Meau and trace it back to their thriftiness, which perhaps prompts them to protect the beautiful embroidery from the sun and rain.

184 The pleated skirt reaching only to the knees is very be-
291 coming to the women. It consists of a strip of material six
531 meters long, which is closely pleated and, by means of a binding holding the pleats together, to which narrow bands are fastened, is tied open in front around the middle. The skirt of the Black or Flowery Meau has three different longitudinal stripes (Ills. 58 and 61).[1] The upper one is plain blue, and the lower one is likewise dark blue, but with a strip of colorful cross-stitch embroidery sewed on (Colored Plate II, No. 5); the middle stripe is batik work (chapter, "Art," Figs. 8-13). The colorful strip of embroidery sewed on the rear edge of the skirt (Colored Plate III, Nos. 4 and 6) is provided according to the taste of the wearer, with the most varied /321/
[294 cross-stitch patterns. One sees young girls embroidering on it whenever they have a minute of time (Ill. 87).[2]

[1] [See Cat 116, pp 447 + 449 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 620 - "]

/322 cont./

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79,[1] also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the [301] neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ [531] (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).[2]

The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [294] (Ill. 81).[3] In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [531] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of [439] purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark-[531] blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77),[4] and not wound high, as is customary among the women. In-[177] stead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese 292 caps (Ills. 55 and 56).[5] On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

1 [See cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p706 - "]
3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p575 - "]
5 [See cat 116, p367 - ANALYST]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
171 the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put
[413] on the still undyed material by the women with a special instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern [326] Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [323] knowledge of pottery!

The author continues his observations with a desctiption [184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

39: Bernatzik--620 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.458/

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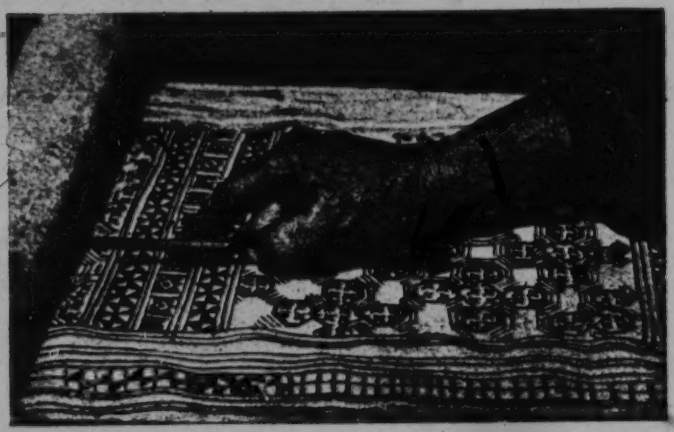
531



Ill. 86. Making batik work from hemp material among the Meau. The wax drawing is applied with a brass pen. [413]

291
294
302
516

Ill. 87. Girl of the "Flowery" Meau sewing a new pleated skirt.

39: Bernatzik--726 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

Miao AE5

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists [415] of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself.

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

4:Michey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Miso AE5

then embroidered in color. In front the design was of red and green (see fig. 9) with three lines of green, red, and blue lengthwise on either side. Over the shoulder and in the back it was a straight line of alternate orange and dark blue down the center with a wavy line of alternate red and green on either side. These two were sewed together with herringbone stitch in white. The outer edge of the blue piece was turned under and covered with a weaving stitch in two or five colors, as the maker wished. In front and back, between the white strips, were set strips of dark blue embroidered in horizontal bands of cross-stitch in white, each stitch crossing one thread. On the under side the stitches had to be horizontal. Almost at the top in each strip was a medallion in color, in which a dark red was predominant (figs. 19, *a-c*; 20, *a*, *d*). The one in front had a cross, and diagonal lines in the corners. That in the back had a design of crosses, with a bit of blue, green, and yellow in the open spaces. The strip in the back was wider than that in front. Two pieces were made for the back, the upper one of color or black on white, the lower one of color on red. These were sewed on across the ends so that the lower side was a little wider than the upper. Across the very end was sewed a row of about twenty cowrie shells. In front a strip of blue was sewed across the three strips and strings fastened to it. On the under side a strip of bright blue was sewed on over the white strip which lay on the shoulders. 301

I tried to make the overpiece but was not very successful. Not that I felt too badly about it, for they said that women over fifty were not supposed to be able to see to do it. I managed to make the strips of dark blue worked solidly in lines all the way up and down the strip and with mitered corners, and the zigzag lines on the white pieces, to fasten them together with herringbone stitch, and to turn in the edges with a weaving stitch in color. But the fine cross-stitch in the center strips was too much for me and I learned only that the stitches must be horizontal on the under side by doing them the other way. 295

An invitation to "drink wine" in another village called for new trousers, blouse, and overpiece, if possible, and the wide turban. 292 574

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases. The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers, or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Different from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance" would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life,

39: Bernatzik--310 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very un-
[364] satisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so ~~they take~~ some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is
[296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by
[312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects
364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good
164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility.
[165] Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the
[356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for
[514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction").
[231] The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed
[361] away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

415 /309 cont./
[412] alcohol, purchased earthenware pots in all sizes, and the various
[252] bamboo vessels which stand leaning against the wall near the
[273] hearth or hang on the wall and serve for the storing of the food-
[251] stuffs used daily. They are usually carefully closed with leaves and contain fat, salted vegetables, salt, and other spices. Water stands available in long bamboo containers. These pieces of bamboo, freed of the partitioning walls, represent indispensable
[312] vessels used in many ways (Ill. 105).[1] For carrying water, several
[482] are often bound together and carried on the back or in carrying baskets. Abadie (1) reports in similar fashion.

1. Page 160.

412 For sweeping out their dwellings, brooms (Fig. 175) are used, which are made out of tough grasses tied together in bundles. A clothes roller (Figs. 176 and 177) consists of a
412 wooden roller (A) similar to our rolling pin, around which the
296 washed clothes (B) are put while still wet. Then a heavy stone (C) is rocked in a seesaw motion on the clothes wrapped around it, by means of which they are freed of the remaining water and are smoothed.

482 For carrying firewood and other heavy loads, the Meau use special carrying frames (Figs. 178 and 179), which are carried on the back in the manner used in our Alpine countries. These carrying frames come in different sizes for men, women, and children (Ill. 104).[2]

One half of this wooden frame is provided with a tight plaiting of narrow /310/ /Figs. 156-165 appear here/ bamboo strips (Fig. 180). Broad carrying straps of leather (C) are attached to the inside of the wooden frame (A). The two ends of the carrying frame are connected by means of a forked branch (D) and a tightly /311/ /Figs. 166-177 appear here/ twisted rope attached to it. Between this and the plaited wall of the carrying frame (B) the load is now stowed and fastened by means of the rope (Ill. 93).[3]

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , " "]
3 [" " " , p643 - "]

39: Bernatzik--423 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 166-177. Kitchen Utensils of the Meau.

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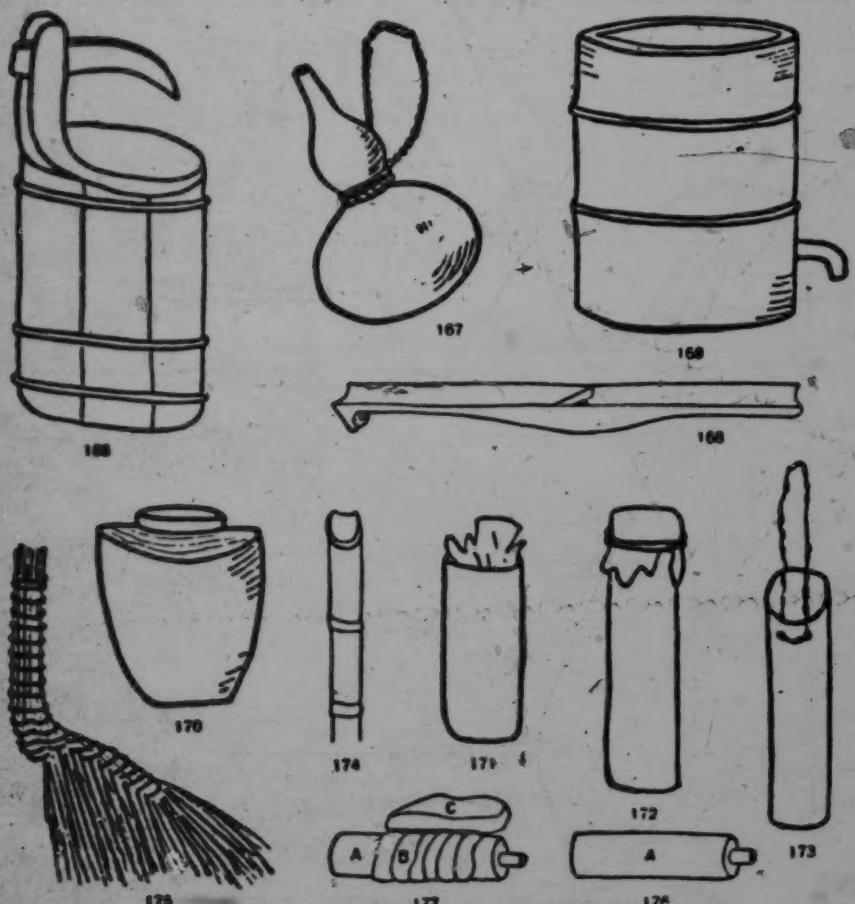

Fig. 166. Dipping vessel for pig fodder, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 167. Gourd bottle, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 168. Maize-sheller, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 169. Distillation vessel for making alcohol, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 170. Earthenware pot with grooves, 1/15 nat. size. Figs. 171-173. Bamboo vessels for foodstuffs, about 1/10 nat size. Fig. 174. Bamboo as water container, about 1/30 nat. size. Fib. 175. Broom, about 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 176. Clothes roller (mangle), empty, about 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 177. The same in use.

[412]
[273]

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1: Wang--iv S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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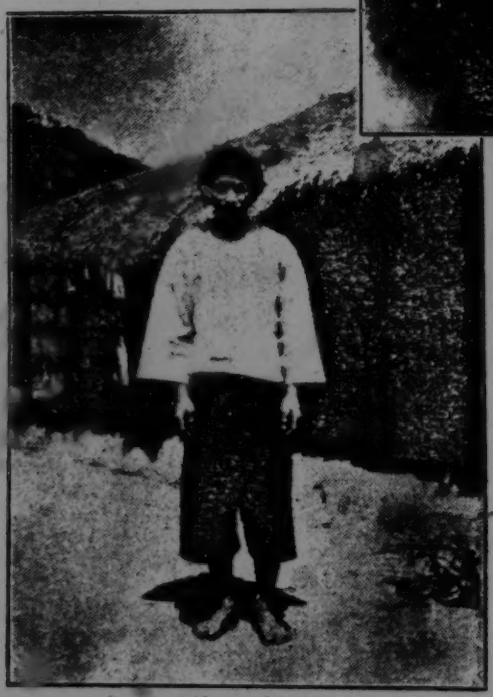
A Miao Woman



A Miao Man

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yü-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, M [131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally [301] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as [556] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they [527] hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such [462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and [982] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice [769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with [262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until [263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

2:Ling & Ruey--116 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 47. Miao women's personal adornment, Ta-hsin-chiai, Kan-ch'eng.

2:Ling & Ruey--117 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/83/

Illus. 48. Gayly dressed Miao women seen at Kao-yen-ho, Yung-sui.
(They had not brought along neck rings, hence they are not wearing any.)

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/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a
[574] double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that
302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's.
[585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

● 301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by
[71] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/89 cont./

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cotton cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan
301 Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
175 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
[178] Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/ was very different from that today.

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Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

2:Ling & Ruey--126 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 56. Women's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

/92 cont./

600 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting, fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
[304] at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver
[556] comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men. The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells, and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom. [301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's 585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's [177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's [756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and [782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense [787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kowtows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and [556] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At 585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense 782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine. [75] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monogamous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the

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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

more restricted in distribution. All other 563
names apply to sub-groups.

These often seem to be rather in the nature 101
of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians.

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played 301
and still do play various roles in China. From 436
very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger[7] quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in Dynasty they used cowries in trade." Marco

[76]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

301 Polo refers to them in this capacity in his de-
436 scription of the journey he took into the southwest of China on behalf of the Great Khan. The I-shu (義疏) says, "Yünnan people call the pei 'hai p'a,' p'a being the shell of the animal."[8] There are in the Museum at West China Union University at Ch'engtu metal objects made to represent cowries and once used as money. Hai-p'a (Cowrie Shell) Miao girls also wear ornaments of silver in the form of cowrie shells.

787 Another character, "cheng" (貞), has been interpreted as the fee paid to one who examines the markings on a shell. It might also be thought of as divination by means of cowrie shells. Among the Mo-so of Yünnan cowries are still used for that purpose. A full account of this is given in an article by Dr. T'ao Yün-kuei in the *Anthropological Journal*.[9] There are in the Ch'engtu Museum a number of the Mo-so divination classics from the collection made by Dr. Joseph Rock.

301 Still another character, "fen" (芬), suggests for us by its composition of shells and plants a third use to which these shells are put among many peoples of Southwest China, ornamentation. I have seen an apron used by the Ch'uan Miao of southern Szechuan, the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

301 piece worn over the blouse of a Cowrie Shell Miao woman, and the hat of a priest of the Ch'iang, all of which use cowrie shells in this way. Of the Ch'i-t'ou Ch'i-lao women it is written, "On their backs they wear sea-shells strung like pearls," while among the P'i-p'ao Ch'i-lao, "The woman bind their hair with blue thread. They wear blue cloth sashes on which they sew sea-shells." [10]

On the priest's hat these shells have further significance. They give him protection and added power. I have also seen these shells on the cap of a small child among the Ch'ing Miao of An-shun Hsien and on a cord around the wrist of a Chinese child, where they were considered a charm against evil. In each of the eye-sockets of the skull of a golden-haired monkey in the center of a Ch'iang priest's sacred bundle, also to be seen in the Ch'engtu Museum, is a cowrie shell.

Cowrie shells, usually alternating with circles, are used as decoration on the red, or painted Neolithic ware found in the Ma-ch'ang, Kansu site. In the Cowrie Shell Miao village in which I lived one of the women gave one of these shells to a Chinese girl who visited me there and who was about to be married.

[8b]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

der, knotted on the right hip, and a spray of silver leaves in his cap. A priest wore a long yellow or orange robe of cloth or thin silk, whose skirt was shirred onto the waist, and a fancy scarf about his head or a bamboo rain-hat. Both the chanter and the drummer at the ritual in connection with "opening the way" and burial for the dead, and the priests in the procession which opened a bullfight wore this costume. 292

Some of the very little girls wore the tribal costume only on special occasions, but the older girls and women wore it constantly. For everyday they were barefoot or wore straw sandals of their own making. In the winter they wound the legs with cloth from ankle to knee. The remainder of the costume consisted of long, wide trousers of dark blue cloth, a front apron of finer dark blue cloth embroidered in white, which had to be two and a half feet long, and a back apron one and a half feet long of hemp cloth dyed dark blue, a blue blouse made on straight lines but worn folded surplice to the right, and belted in with the strings from the aprons and from an embroidered overpiece on the blouse (fig. 8, *a*, *b*), and a woven belt an arm-span long. On the head they wore a turban, which was sometimes just a length of cloth wound around, sometimes a carefully constructed one. Of course for the roughest work they wore their oldest, patched, faded, tattered clothes (see fig. 19, *c*). Unless they had lost them or given them to a daughter, the women and girls wore silver hooks like an inverted question mark in their ears (fig. 19, *c*), and the girls wore, also, heavy silver bracelets, silver neck loops and rings, and a Chinese thimble. 291 301

For the hemp apron they raised the hemp and processed it, made the thread, dyed it, and wove the cloth themselves. All other cloth, except the bands used to hold the pad about a baby spreadeagled on the back, which was also woven of hemp thread, and both cotton and silk thread were bought in the markets. They made hemp thread for mending and sewing. Of the heavier cotton they liked to buy white in the piece and dye it a very dark, almost black blue; but they also bought it already dyed. They used nutgalls (五貝子) mixed with earth as a dye. The 294

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

294 finer cloth, of which they also made blouses, was already dyed when bought.

283 Hemp thread was made as follows: The stalks were cut close to the ground and stripped of the leaves, which were put back on the hemp bed as fertilizer. The bark and fiber were stripped from the wands and the bark loosened and stripped from the fiber with a knife, one end of the strip being held with the toes and one with the left hand. The long fibers were hung in the sun to dry and bleach. They were then boiled and sunned again. For the cloth they made a coarse thread by twisting the split fibers with the fingers and then rolling them against the leg or thigh. The split fibers had previously been twisted in bunches into a darning ball shape, and as the thread was made it was wound in a figure eight around a loop of bamboo. From this it was made into skeins, which were boiled and then wound into balls like those of cord (fig. 18, *e*). When weaving was to be done the balls were set into a tub of water and reeled from it onto the shuttle.

301 For married women the better turban was put on as follows: The hair was braided in two braids to the front, being pieced out with thread if the hair was scanty. One of a pair of chopsticks was laid across the head above the forehead and these braids wound around to hold it securely in place. A piece of blue cloth was fitted lengthwise over the stick and fastened with a needle or two, or sewed. Over the stick was put another piece of blue cloth with the ends folded on top of the head, and a longer piece of white was wound around the head at the height of the base of the stick. Another white piece was wound around the head at the line—high forehead, tips of ears, nape of neck. Finally a longer strip of dark blue cloth was wound around the outside of the white, but higher in the back, and the ends were tucked in. The ends of the white cloth were pulled out to stand up like the ends of a bow. If the family was in mourning, the outer strip was white. For special occasions a second, usually bright blue strip was put on in such a way that about half an inch of the lowest white cloth showed below it.

302 Unmarried girls shaved the head except 882 for the crown and braided the hair from that

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AE5 Miso AE5

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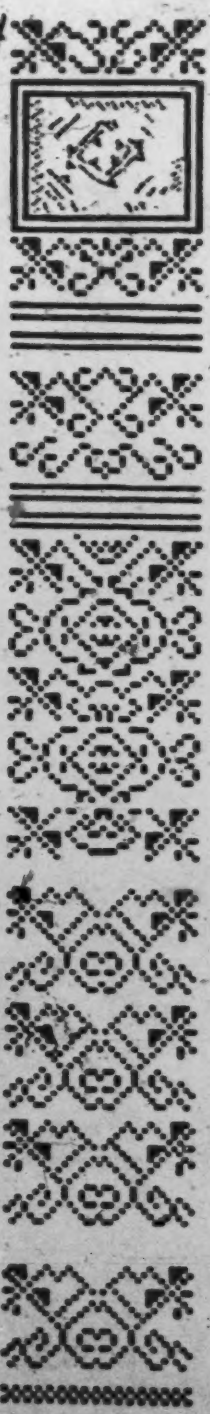

FIG. 8. Cross-stitch designs used in sections of the overpiece on the blouse. *a*, the front of overpiece; *b*, the back of overpiece (see p. 27).

[26a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

302 882 forward in one braid. One short piece of white was set on across the forehead and tips of the ears and crossed at the nape of the neck. A similar piece of bright blue cloth was put on over it to show about half an inch of the white. These were secured with a narrow

[294 30]

FIG. 9. Embroidered design on narrow strip of white cloth.

strip of cloth. A piece of cloth, six feet long, was folded six times lengthwise and wound around the head with the two ends tied to stand up in the back like the ends of a bow. A piece of dark blue cloth, ten feet long, was folded in the same way, wound on the outside of the white one, and tucked in at the back. These two pieces formed a wide, flat, horizontal cartwheel turban with the braid lying inside.

301 A still more elaborate turban called for more strips in addition to the white and bright blue ones, which were sometimes lavender, black, other shades of blue, and white. This was worn by unmarried girls when they went to visit in other villages. More lengths of white cloth were also put on sometimes to make the turban that much wider. For such occasions as a bullfight they sometimes wore, instead of the plain dark blue outer strip, one of dark blue embroidered on the ends in white and lines of color, and for the length of two hand-spans in white so that when it was put on the design showed all around the head outside of a plain band of dark blue, and on the bow ends.

The front apron was embroidered in lines of colored silk thread and spaced rows of a design in white cotton thread. The overpiece (figs. 8; 20 *a*, *d*) on the blouse was made up of several pieces, each with its special name, method, and order of making, and design, and the stitches were so carefully taken that it could be worn with either side out. First, two long strips of dark blue cloth were covered an inch and a half wide down the center with an over-and-over stitch diagonally across two threads in coarse white thread. A narrow strip of white cloth of the same length was

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

then embroidered in color. In front the design was of red and green (see fig. 9) with three lines of green, red, and blue lengthwise on either side. Over the shoulder and in the back it was a straight line of alternate orange and dark blue down the center with a wavy line of alternate red and green on either side. These two were sewed together with herringbone stitch in white. The outer edge of the blue piece was turned under and covered with a weaving stitch in two or five colors, as the maker wished. In front and back, between the white strips, were set strips of dark blue embroidered in horizontal bands of cross-stitch in white, each stitch crossing one thread. On the under side the stitches had to be horizontal. Almost at the top in each strip was a medallion in color, in which a dark red was predominant (figs. 19, *a-c*; 20, *a*, *d*). The one in front had a cross, and diagonal lines in the corners. That in the back had a design of crosses, with a bit of blue, green, and yellow in the open spaces. The strip in the back was wider than that in front. Two pieces were made for the back, the upper one of color or black on white, the lower one of color on red. These were sewed on across the ends so that the lower side was a little wider than the upper. Across the very end was sewed a row of about twenty cowrie shells. In front a strip of blue was sewed across the three strips and strings fastened to it. On the under side a strip of bright blue was sewed on over the white strip which lay on the shoulders. 301

I tried to make the overpiece but was not very successful. Not that I felt too badly about it, for they said that women over fifty were not supposed to be able to see to do it. I managed to make the strips of dark blue worked solidly in lines all the way up and down the strip and with mitered corners, and the zigzag lines on the white pieces, to fasten them together with herringbone stitch, and to turn in the edges with a weaving stitch in color. But the fine cross-stitch in the center strips was too much for me and I learned only that the stitches must be horizontal on the under side by doing them the other way. 295

An invitation to "drink wine" in another village called for new trousers, blouse, and overpiece, if possible, and the wide turban. 292 594

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth.

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide.

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must [834] be recorded that though married women expose their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women 292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after 302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after 301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men, as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear- 292 rings, and on gala occasions every one, man or woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and harmonises beautifully with the mountains on which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary to be presented with a gala gown. English friends are highly amused when they are told that such a gown was grown in a village garden. Like Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet, the woollen texture is made from wool sheared from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is obtained from plants and roots gathered on the hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music. 534 The musical instrument par excellence is the *ggeh* which is played by the young men, who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A *ggeh* is made of bamboo pipes,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

585 The return of the bride to her parents' home is also somewhat of a festive occasion. I shall here copy some lines from my wife's diary, which describes the return of a bride among the Heh-Miao after staying at the bridegroom's home for twelve days :—

"Took Rosie to see a bride returning to her mother's home. A group of seven or eight young women dressed in their best, and with flags made of red and green paper, were waiting on a little hill for her arrival. After waiting a long time, we saw the bridal party approaching. First came three men, and then six men carrying three slaughtered pigs on poles. One man carried two large baskets of cotton swinging on a pole, and another man carried four jackets
585 and four skirts in the same way. The bride
292 wore a crown, a magnificent piece of workman-
301 ship—ribbons, birds, flowers, and filigree work, all made of silver. Around her neck she had seven silver necklets, some large and solid looking and some very prettily worked. She had also seven or eight bracelets on each arm, and silver spangles all over that part of the jacket that was not embroidered. She also wore a richly embroidered skirt. Mrs. P'an told me the dress and silver ornaments were worth at least one hundred and thirty Mexican dollars.

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the He Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their [294] time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver ornaments in all styles and colors to attract attention. [301]

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in 361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied [231] houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

[17 cont.]

The upper garment of a Short-skirt Hê Miao woman is also
291 different from that of the other Miao. It resembles the mandarin jacket of the Chinese, reaching only to the hips, round-collared and buttoned in the middle, with large sleeves. Although there are five to seven pairs of bean-size lead buttons, actually only the first pair can be buttoned, the other pairs being loose, with only buttons but no loops. So during work a belt is tied around the waist. They do not wear panties. The skirt measures only one foot and two inches in length and is not fastened to the waist but below the waistline. It has inumerable pleats, from over five hundred to as many as a thousand. Therefore a skirt requires at least twenty feet of material. Both the front and rear parts of the skirt are covered with a piece of black cloth about six or seven inches in width and one or two inches longer than the skirt. The rear piece has an embroidered band of four inches at the hem. They never wear stockings. While working at home, in the field or on the river bank they are always barefoot. On formal occasions they wind strips of black cloth around their legs, from the ankles [18] up to the thighs. Each strip of leg band measures about twenty-four feet, and as it winds up layer on layer, it gives a swollen appearance. The straw sandals for men and women are made differently. The women's footwear resembles the Japanese wooden clogs, with a forklike rope attachment that enters in between the big toe and the rest of the toes, so that the rear and the back of the foot require no other attachments.

The costumes described above are for everyday wear. The
[511] Miao in this area are comparatively well-to-do. An average family is able to add a suit or two of new clothes for each member every year, and so even their ordinary clothes are clean and in good repair. Dirty and disorderly dresses are rarely seen. On festive occasions the men wear new clothes and the women, specially made embroidered clothes in brilliant designs. The
[294] work on the embroideries begins during a girl's teen-age and continues for several years before it is completed. Ordinarily
● 301 the women do not use much jewelry. They do not wear earrings, neither do they have holes in the ears. They do wear one or

[18 cont.]

301 two silver bracelets and two or three finger rings. But when they put on their best embroidered clothes, then they would wear a kind of silver headgear with different kinds of silver pins in the chignon, and at least two or three solid silver necklaces, sometimes as many as a dozen; the number of bracelets and finger rings they wear is also doubled. They would have still more silver jewelry on the dress or attached to the waist. The [556] quantity of silver worn is an index to the wealth of the family, and so during festivals the women become exhibits in every family.

3. Marriage

584 Marriage among the Miao is mostly the result of love, but the mediation of the match-maker and the engagement ceremony are necessary before fixing the date of marriage. Young men and women [19] at the "liu sheng [reed-wind instrument] dance" in the first lunar month may openly fall in love with each other without the intervention of parents or brothers of the family. In ordinary times, especially during the holidays, they may also court each other at will. So on the mountain slope or in the field we often observe scenes of "yao-ma-lang" (i.e., love-making), when they sing songs to each other in questions [593] and answers. One party would ask a question in a song, and if the other party is willing she sings back the answer. These songs are extemporized, full of freedom and naturalness. Such serenades last till sunset when they begin to return home. After a suitable period of time, if their feelings persist then the parents would find a go-between to arrange the engagement.
836 This system of love and marriage seem very free, yet there is no promiscuity. Their conduct is regulated by unwritten laws and they all have a high sense of decency. For instance, yao-ma-lang is carried on out of sight of old people, and yet it has to be within sight of passers-by. Furthermore, men and women must remain at least five feet apart, and necking and embracing are taboo. (The Long-skirt Miao not far away from them permit

[196 cont.]

535 somebody else's land and duly cursed by him. The flower trees in
527 the various flower slopes are changed either once a year or [197]
842 once every few years, depending upon whether some family would receive the tree after the dance. If a childless couple in the Miao village near the flower slope should give a feast for the guests to receive the tree into their home, the host would be happy to have the tree removed. The following year a new flower tree would be found for the slope. At the same time the family receiving the tree would make its timber into a bed. When the childless couple sleep in this bed they would become fertile and produce a son.

535 2) Participants. When a certain area holds a flower dance,
527 men and women, old and young, from all the villages nearby would come in bands. Young men and women would carry bundles on their backs, and on approaching the flower slope the men would open them and change into new clothes and nailed boots, with short flutes dangling around the waist, and leather or wooden bags hanging behind. As headgear they use pheasant
[301] feathers adorned with strips of colored cloth streaming in the air. They carry in their hands five-pipe or six-pipe bamboo-wind instruments [lu-sheng]. The women also change into new clothes,
[292] new skirts and jackets of bright patterns. The Chinese merchants of the area would establish stalls to sell candies, fruits and toys. Arriving at the flower slope the men would surround the flower tree in a circle, dancing as they move along and playing the bamboo-wind instruments. Listening to the music, the dancers would make noise by stamping their nailed shoes on the ground as they dance along in a rhythmic din. After circling a few times, the paired dancers fall into line, making the steps now left, now right, and now making a break as they follow the cadence of the music. First the men play bamboo wind instruments and later the women play mouth organs. The crowd dances around the tree a few times or as many as a dozen times. Outside the slope still others would play clarinets [so-na, a type of clarinet], bamboo wind instruments, and flutes, forming bands by themselves. The women often form groups of their own. Some

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

alternating with the girls, describes in verse, to the accompaniment of *Kènes*, their possessions, their accomplishments, or their virtues. Formal offers of marriage then follow, and according to eye-witnesses of the custom, the metrical form in no way inhibits the most banal cataloguing of articles to be included in the marriage contract.

We were still eating when the chief's messenger came back with the only dog on offer. It was a poor forlorn animal, suffering probably from some wasting disease, and an enormous price was demanded.

As there was no dog to be had from these intermediaries, there was nothing for it but to go to the source itself, even if it meant another stiff climb on foot. Instead of turning left, therefore, at the junction of the main road to Luang Prabang, we took the right-hand fork towards Xien-Khouang, which, although it led us out of our way, went right through the heart of Meo country in Laos. Shortly after, we came up with a Meo family, who were struggling up a hill loaded down like beasts of burden with their possessions. The Meos threw down their bundles and looked us over with puzzled amusement. One of them, who wore pigtails to show that he was the head of the family, came over, cut the choice centre out of a sugar cane he was carrying and presented it to us, roaring with laughter. This was typical Meo conduct. The Meo is grateful to strangers for amusing him with their clownish faces and ridiculous clothes, and his first impulse is to look round for something to give them. Shouting with joy, the children leaped into the car and were cuffed out again by their father. The woman who, if a Thai or a Laotian, would have stood apart with downcast eyes, bent down to examine Dupont's sandals. She wore several pounds in weight of solid silver jewellery round her neck and had had her head recently shaved.

Meo finery at its best is the most extravagantly colourful in Indo-China. The women are stiff with embroidery and heavy silver necklaces and chains, and are half-extinguished by enormous turbans that look like Chinese lanterns. But this family was in its

[153 cont.]
291 slipper with wide linen leg. In winter the well-to-do "Méo" wear a padded jacket and a sort of padded loincloth.

[302] The "Méo" shave the hair about their heads for a width of from three or four centimeters; the remaining hair, braided or not, is confined in a turban. Besides, it is not rare to meet a bare-headed "Méo."

[301] Many "Méo" men wear jewelry: rings, bracelets, or necklaces of silver, copper, or sometimes of iron.

[765] Mourning is indicated by the wearing of a white turban. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42.)

The costume of the "Méo" women shows rather remarkable peculiarities in the various tribes. They even exceed, among the "Peu-Méo," the costume of the "Man-ta-pan" in magnificence of embroidery and liveliness of colors.

Except among the "Méo-moung-cha," the cut of the feminine garments is almost uniform, as much for the working clothes as for the ceremonial costumes.

The "Peu-méo" women, whom the French commonly call "Méotes with the sailor collar" wear a working costume made up of the following pieces (photo 103, Plate 39).

A white bodice, full, and reaching down to the waist, where it is held in with the skirt by a wide belt. This bodice is folded over very low in front, leaving a considerable portion of the breast visible and giving the entire garment the appearance of a very low cut sailor's collar. This collar, as well as the lower part of the sleeves, is bordered with a band of colored material, of variable width (blue or red).

A white skirt, reaching down to just above the calf, and held in at the waist by the belt referred to above. This skirt, which is very wide, is of the "plissé-soleil" type. While walking, during [481] which the "Méo" women swing their hips very markedly, the pleats of the skirt gather now on the right, now on the left, following the movements of legs and torso.

An apron, in blue linen, simply fastened about the waist by a [154] cord. A rather voluminous turban of blue linen, but with an outside turn often made up of a band of material in white and blue squares.

[154 cont.]

292 The holiday turban of the "Peu-méo" women is a veritable monument, which is prepared ahead of time and is placed all at once on top of the ordinary turban. The upper part is formed of a sort of skullcap and of a wide circular red band bearing superb embroidered rosettes. Attached to this band are a dozen pieces of rectangular material, regularly spaced around the headdress, bearing the finest embroideries of the entire costume and ending in seven or eight small strings, on which [155] colored beads and pieces of glass are threaded. The costume is completed by the big white leggings, of linen wrappings, which we mentioned above. (See also photos 105, Plate 39; 424, Plate 37.)

291 The working costume of the "Hoa-Méo" women is practically like that of the "Peu-Méo," except that the bodice does not have the "sailor-collar" shape. (The holiday costume of the "Hoa-Méo" is shown on photo 37, Plate 36.) The jacket is buttoned on the right side. The collar and the front edge of the jacket are decorated with multicolored embroideries. The sleeves, which are long, bear from the neck to the wrist several circular bands of very lively colors (red, white, blue, green), separated by other very finely embroidered bands.

The skirt is of the "plissé-soleil" model and white to just below the hips. The designs which decorate the bottom are made by the marking process already described. The turban is rather volumi-
[301] nous, of white linen. It does not carry on top of it the enormous "Peu-Méo" headdress, the large earrings, characteristic of the "Hoa-Méo," preventing the addition of such a headdress. The fat, wrapped legging of white linen is often worn by the "Hoa-Méo" women (photo 419, Plate 39), as well as by all the women of the various tribes of the group.

The costume of the "Moung-cha-méo" women is very different from the costumes already described. (See photo 52, Plate 14.)

The dark-blue bodice, very simple and very full, rather low-cut at the collar, reaches down just below the belt and is buttoned in front by means of two or three braided loops and buttons. The sleeves are formed of three wide circular bands, two in dark-blue material, the central band of light blue. The bottom of the sleeves is formed of a light-blue cuff decorated with little lines of white embroidery.

[155 cont.]

Opposite the shoulder, the top of the sleeve has first a circular
291 red band, three or four centimeters in width, followed by a wider
[531] green band, decorated with embroidery (varied rosettes and white lines).

The border of the jacket is furnished with narrow embroidered bands.

The skirt is long. It goes down to the ankles. The central section, at the height of the thighs, bears several horizontal bands (blues, reds, whites, and yellows) likewise decorated with embroidery. The apron, of dark blue, covers the front of the skirt.

The belt is very simple, often of red or green color, merely knotted about the waist, with two little ends which cross over and hang down in front.

The headdress of the "Moung-Cha-Méo" women has no turban.
[302] The hair is rolled in back of the head in a little chignon fastened by a wooden comb.

[156] The "Méo" women wear about the same jewelry as the
301 women of the other groups. Some of their jewelry is very characteristic, however. Thus, the "Peu-Méo" women, in addition to the rings and necklaces of the usual model, wear earrings of a special shape: A silver ring, hung from the lobe of the ear by a hook, holds five or six fine silver chains hanging down to the shoulder, each one carrying small silver plaques on which ornamental embossed designs are represented.

The earrings of the "Hoa-Méo" are yet more characteristic (photos 346, and 37, Plate 36). They are formed of two long silver branches in the shape of interrogation points. One end is fastened in the turban at the back of the head. The other end, furnished
[304] with a terminal button, passes through the earlobe (photo 346) or is attached to the lobe by means of a hook or a ring (photo 37). Sometimes the "Hoa-Méo" women wear earrings which hang down on the breast, which must be a veritable torment for the lobes, pulled about by so heavy a weight (photo 107, Plate 39).

In the description of the costumes, we have spoken only of
29/ the working turbans and those used at great ceremonies. There still are turbans intermediate between these two categories, of which

155: Abadie--236 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
MIDO AE5
Pl. 35

[150]

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46. Young "Peu-méo" Engaged Couple in Dress Costume.

155: Abadie--237 G-5 (no date) 1924 AMI Indochina
Miao AE5
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37. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman.

346. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman Carrying Water in two Bamboo Tubes Fastened Together.

155: Abadie--238 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[156]

142
292
301

165. Group of "Peu-Méo" Unmarried Girls

[293]

424. Old "Peu-Méo" Man and Six of his Grand-daughters.

158: Diguet--133 G-3 (ca 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Miao AES

Section 4

Costume

The men have their heads shaved around the periphery, and 291
wrap around a white or blue turban. The rest of the hair is left 301
long and rolled into a chignon on top of the head. When traveling, they wear the large hat customary in the high regions. Most of them have a broad silver necklace around the neck, open on the chest, with the two extremities flattened out into small plates bearing the imprint of several characters. They are joined together by a small chain on which a tooth-brush is sometimes hung. Men's clothing consists of a white or blue jacket, depending upon the ethnic type, ending at the belt and buttoning on the right side of the chest, and of trousers of the same cloth with a very wide and low seat, and with short legs reaching down just below the knee. What distinguishes it from the zouave style of trousers, is that it is not tied in around the leg. The Meo generally wear leggings. The Meo gun almost is part of the costume. Moreover it is like that of the Man in all respects.

/135/ In giving a description of women's clothing, it is 291
necessary to distinguish among the different varieties. The White Meo woman (Mong Tlao in the Meo tongue) wears a skirt of coarse white material, pleated finely all around the waist like a dancer's tutu, and short enough to show the knees a bit. Her trunk is clothed in a blue bodice ending at the waist, folded across the bosom, and open to a low enough point to show the beginnings of the breasts. The characteristic of this jacket is the sailor collar which is its pretty accessory. This is white on a blue background, or blue on a white background. Rich costumes have three collars in different colors, worn one above the other. The sleeves are edged with a cuff of the color of the collar. A blue apron hanging below the skirt, a belt wrapped several times around the waist, and leggings, so big that they swell out the lower part of the leg, complete this garb.

Hair is shaved in front and knotted into a chignon on the top 302
of the head. This is crowned with an enormous turban put on and taken off like a hat. It is made of several meters of black and white striped material, and is wound around so many times that it weighs as much as two kilograms.

Besides bracelets and rings of silver, the Meo women wear for 301
jewelry a wide unbroken necklace and earrings in shape of a letter "S," which fall down on the front of the bosom.

291 The second type known in Tonkin is that of the Embroidered Meo, who are sometimes called Hoa Meo. They are subdivided into two groups, Red Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Len), and "Meo of the comb" (in the Meo tongue, Mong Soa). The costume of Embroidered Meo women consists of a short skirt embroidered in five colors, a jacket open on the bosom in the style described above but trimmed with embroidered borders and armbands, and without the sailor collar, a blue apron, and enormous leggings, which make the leg look like an elephant's foot.

The turban is rather characteristic. It is formed of a long string wound around the head, together with the hair hanging down, which is bound together and carefully gathered up on the head. The jewelry is similar to that of the White Meo women.

/136/ The third variety of the Meo ethnic group is the Black Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Du). Among them the women's costume consists of a skirt as pleated and short as that of the White Meo, but of black material, a dark blue jacket with a border of an insipid light blue and provided with double sleeves ending in light blue cuffs edged with white piping. This bodice comes to a point at the throat and reveals the upper part of the breast-covering which has horizontal embroidered stripes. It is held in at the waist by a light colored belt whose fringed ends fall down in back. A deep blue turban is knotted around the head rather irregularly. The leggings are not wrapped around the lower part of the leg. It is a kind of cylindrical gaiter of blue material which is put on like a stocking and is fastened by garters whose fringed ends are left hanging.

301 A wide necklace and the usual jewelry adorn this curious costume.

Section 5

Social Organization--The Family and the Tribe

593 The family is firmly established among the Meo. As among all the neighboring races, the authority of the father of the family is absolute within the home, and the wife is the first servant of her husband. She takes an active part in work in the fields, cares for her children, cooks for her household and for the animals, and still finds time to make all the articles of clothing for the entire household.

855 Children are brought up austerely. From their earliest years
857 they have to look out for the herds, then they are initiated into the

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--Religious Ideas--Custom / Relating to Birth, Marriage, and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
● 301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bridegroom into the house of his parents. [152] This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, [782] [769] informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/129 cont./

M 325 [531] [301] [177] A [301] [531]

The silver ornaments of the Meau (chapter on "Clothing and /130/ Ornaments," Fig. 211 to Fig. 227), as well as those of the Akha (Fig. 239 to Fig. 253 of the same chapter), are sometimes decorated with attractive incised designs. The chasing technique by means of which spiral designs /Fig. 15 appears here/ are produced on the silver scabbards for daggers (Fig. 15) and the embossing technique occasionally used on bracelets may have been borrowed from the Thai peoples, but the fact remains that the Meau silversmiths are quite able to compete with the Thai ornaments in beauty of workmanship, even though the Meau men practice these difficult techniques just as casually as even the most famous women produce their batik designs.

A [531] [276]

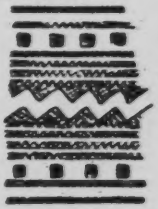

Fig. 14. Incised decoration on girl's pipe of the Akha. 2/1 nat. size.

A M 532

For test purposes, as has been mentioned, I had drawings made by both sexes. In the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children," I have described the guiding principles that I followed in this. These drawings provided an interesting insight into the drawing talents of the Akha as well as of the Meau.

In all the drawings, with the possible exception of Fig. 18, the complete lack of composition is striking. Only individual objects, animals, plants, or little scenes from daily /131/ life are ever represented. As a result many drawings are upside down or sideways. Usually one cannot determine by himself where the artist actually imagined the top or the bottom of the sheet to be. Actually, they focused their attention exclusively on that part of the drawing on which they were working at the moment. As soon as this was finished, the sheet was turned so that an adjacent free area of the sheet could be comfortably worked on, regardless of the position of the last drawing.

Akha as well as Meau men showed a special preference for representations of animals of the hunt and domestic animals; in addition, implements, weapons, and occasionally scenes

39: Bernatzik--240 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
MicroAE5

/Between 176 and 177/

Color Plate II
Clothing of the Meau
(Description. Vol. II, pp.432-436). About 1/15 nat. size.

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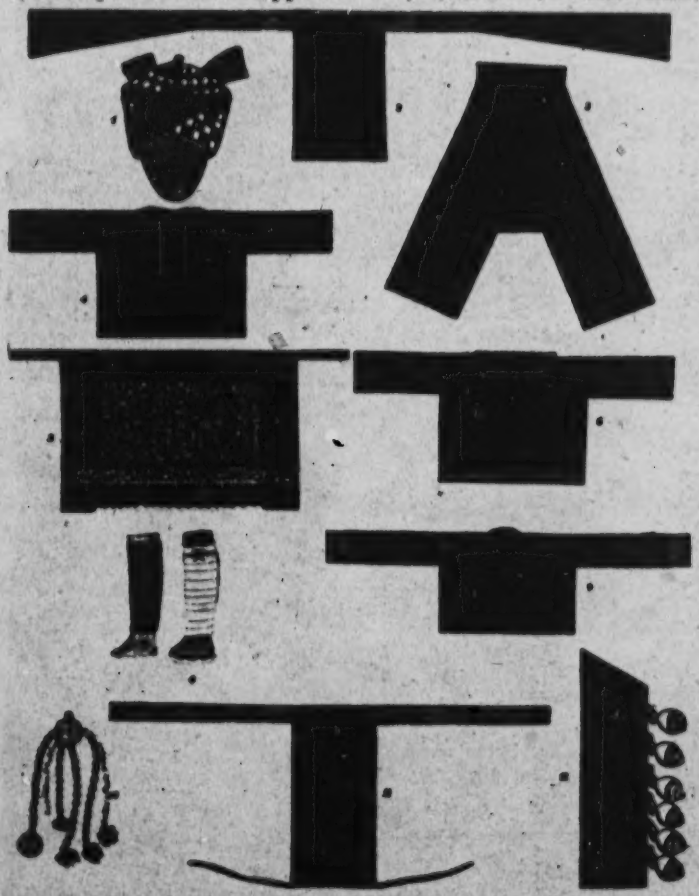

[301
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1. Women's turban. 2. Women's apron with embroidered bands. 3. Men's trousers. 4. Women's blouse from the front. 5. Pleated batik skirt from the front. 6. Women's blouse from the back. 7. Everyday leggings for women. 8. Wrap-around leggings for women's festive attire. 9. Men's jacket from the front. 10. Turban tassel for women. 11. Child-carrier with embroidered bands. 12. Side decoration of the men's jacket, with silver bells.

/188 cont./

789 [753] Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," for protection against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak, are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most effective substances known against certain individual spirits and therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root [824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits, the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the Meau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this [301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There [776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets [714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

39: Bernatzik--365 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 266/

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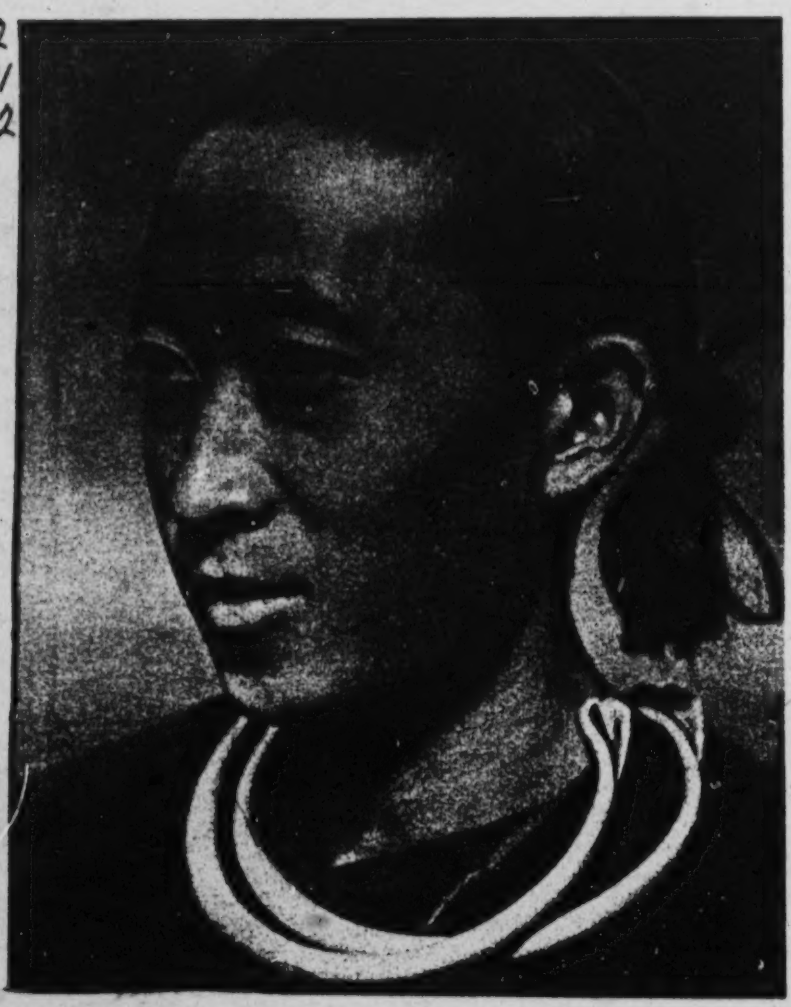

Ill. 52. Meau man, 24 years old, with Mongolian fold, shiny blue-black hair, and lacking ear lobs.

39: Bernatzik--366 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
MiaoAE5

/Between pp. 266 and 267/

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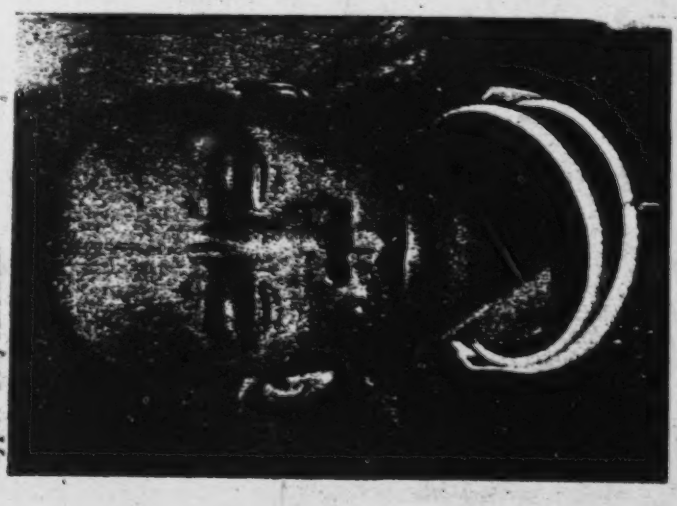
Ill. 54. Side view of the man in Ill. 53.

[144]



Ill. 53. Meau man of Coarse Sinoid type, 26 years old.

39: Bernatzik--367 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 266 and 267./
Miao AE5

Ill. 55. Meau shaman of Delicate Sinoid type about 52 years old.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55.

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39: Bernatzik--368 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 267./

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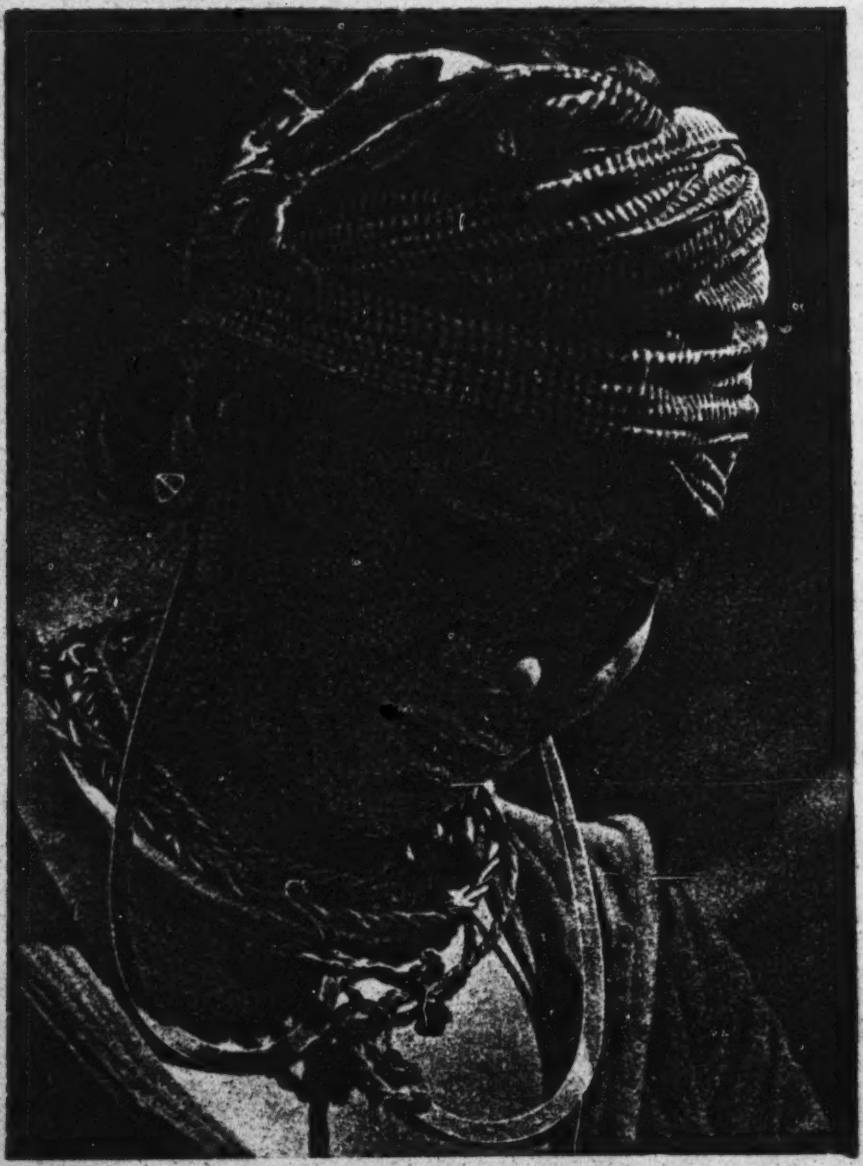

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old, with heavy, solid ear-pendants of silver.

/321 cont./

291 is wound a black and white checked turban-cloth, usually
531 purchased. Then comes a similar, /322/ but usually larger-checked cloth, and then a fourth, which resembles the second one, and, finally, a black and white, small-checked band about 80 centimeters long is put crosswise over this whole structure of cloth and pinned fast. The turban tassel (Colored Plate II, No. 10) is then fastened over the forehead. It con-
[301] sists of a silver coin pierced four times, on which hang little chains of small, white and colored glass beads with red wool tassels at the end (Ill. 60). Instead of the checked crossband, a narrow, embroidered band is often placed over the turban.
[184] White and Black Meau wear the same type of turban. One very commonly, however, sees women and girls without a head covering, especially at work.

291 Whereas Savina (1) remarks that the women wear leggings
[184]

1. II, p. 211.

only on trips, among the Meau visited by us the leggings represent a regularly worn and important article of clothing. The workday legging (Colored Plate II, No. 7) consists of a dark-blue strip of cloth 60 centimeters long, which is put around the leg and is tied below the knee and above the ankle. It is not tight on the leg. The leggings of the festive attire
292 (Colored Plate II, No. 8) consist of a white strip of cloth six to seven meters long, which is wound around the leg from the bottom upward in narrow spirals and is tied on top with a narrow black band (Ill. 58). Depending on the length of the strip used, these leggings are sometimes rather bulky. The clothing of the women on festive days thus is distinguished from the everyday clothing only by the richness of the embroidery, the size of the turban, and the wound leggings.

/322 cont./

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79,[1] also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the [301] neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ [531] (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).[2]

The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [294] (Ill. 81).[3] In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [531] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of [439] purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark-[531] blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77),[4] and not wound high, as is customary among the women. In-[177] stead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese 292 caps (Ills. 55 and 56).[5] On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

[1] [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p706 - "]
[3] [" " " p596 - "]
[4] [" " " p575 - "]
[5] [see cat 116, p367 - ANALYST]

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[3] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
[2 [" " " p 448 - "]
[3 [" " " p 595 - "]
[4 [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

/325 cont./

●301 are worn over one another (Ills. 52-54).[1] The most common are simple round hoops which are worn open at the neck or are provided with a fastener of silver rings (Fig. 213). Instead of the small silver rings, a silver clasp may also be used to close the hoop, as, for example, in the case of the large neck ring of the shaman, which is illustrated in Fig. 212. Some-
[789] times small charms, powder sewed into black cloth and the like, are attached to the neck hoop for protection against evil
[531] spirits (Fig. 211). The two bent ends of the neck hoop are usually provided with incised designs (Figs. 214-216). In
[412]

209 210

Figs. 209-210. Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 209. Wooden comb to stick in the hair, about 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 210. Bamboo comb for dressing the hair, about 1/3 nat. size.

addition to these typical solid silver hoops, such neck rings made of iron or copper, or of silver twisted with copper, are also worn (Fig. 217). All of the neck hoops are made by the Meau themselves and are also worn on workdays.

[325] The material for the making of silver ornaments is ob-
[177] tained by melting down the old Indochinese piaster pieces or Chinese silver coins. For a heavy men's hoop nine pieces of mon (which are old Indochinese silver coins) are required.

The earrings of the girls and women -- I did not see any on men -- are likewise made of solid silver. The most common form is provided with an arrow wound with fine silver wire (Fig. 218 and Ill. 60).[2] /326/ I have also often come across the large silver ear-pendants in the shape of reversed question marks, which Lajonquière (1) mentions, among the

1. II, p. 309.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /326 cont./
●301 Meau in Thailand (Ill. 57).[1] The dot of the question mark is formed by the button that holds the ornament in the hole in the ear lobe, while the curve hangs down to the chest (Figs. 219 and 220). The same author also saw ear pendants with a ring of jade among the Meau. These ear pendants are usually /Figs. 211-216 and 218-220 appear here/ /327/ purchased
M [439] from the Yau /Yao/ or Chinese, but are also made by the Meau themselves, faithfully following the traditional model. Children often wear small silver bells in their ears.

Solid rings of silver, copper, or iron are worn around the ankles by both sexes (Figs. 221-223). /Figs. 217 and 221-227 appear here./

/328/ The finger rings that I saw among women, men, and children were mostly simple, open silver hoops, but one also frequently sees beautiful homemade ornamental rings (Figs. 224 and 225).

M [177] [413] [276] Among the various silver objects still to be mentioned here are the scratching pins (Fig. 226), probably of Chinese origin, which one comes across everywhere. They are worn tied to the belt, along with small bells and a needle for serving up opium.

A 291 [531] The clothing of the Akha maintains its characteristic note through the richness and the variety of the ornaments used. The patches, embroidery, and appendages of the articles of clothing and the body ornaments almost reach the limits of possibility, but nevertheless are used with so much taste that the clothing makes a thoroughly harmonious and very decorative impression (see Ills. 4 to 13 and Colored Plate I).[2] The basic elements, however, the dark-blue material and the cut, as well as the three-part division of the women's clothing into
A [171] [286] [439] [294] blouse, skirt, and leggings and the two-part division of the men's clothing into jacket and trousers, are the same as among the Meau and other mountain tribes of Farther India. The fabric is self-woven out of hemp or cotton and indigo (see the chapter, "Handicrafts") and even today is very seldom replaced by purchased goods. The clothing is sewed only by the women and apparently in abundant quantities, for among the Akha we never saw garments in use that were anywhere near as shabby or torn as among the Meau.

[1] [See Cat 116, P368 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", pp 13-14, 34-37 + p120 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--442 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

Figs. 211-216, 218-220. Ornaments of the Meau.

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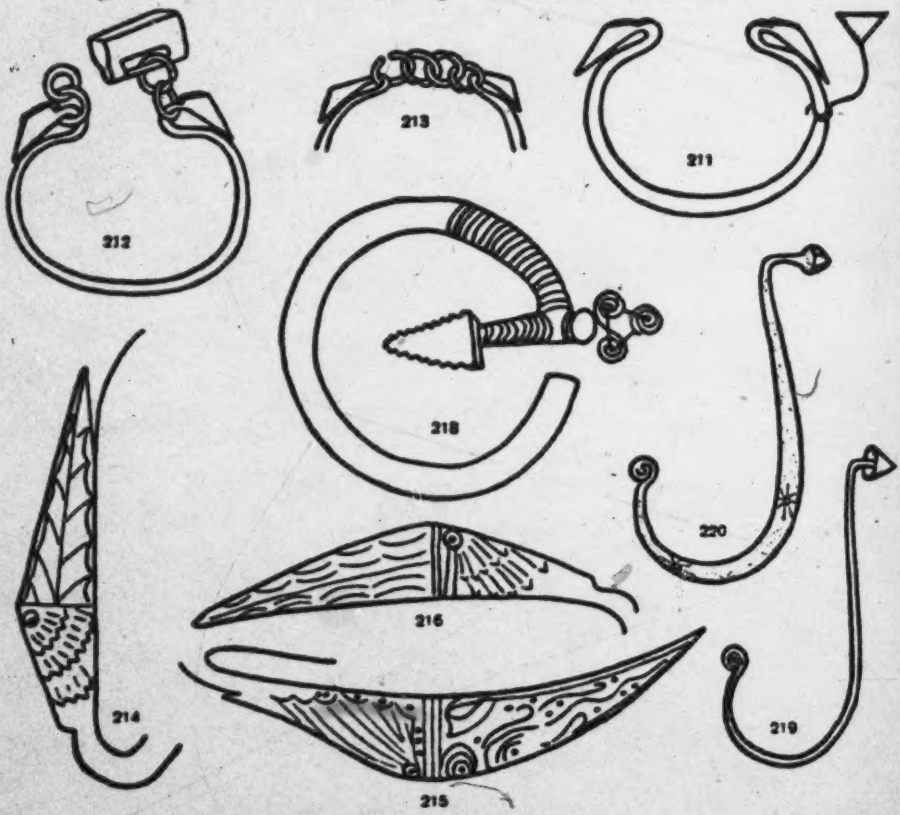
Figs. 211-212. Neck hoops, about 1/4 nat. size: Fig. 211, solid silver with a charm; Fig. 212, with a clasp. Fig. 213, ring fastener of a neck hoop; Figs. 214-216 bent ends with



incised design. 4/3 nat. size. Figs. 218-220. Ear ornaments of the girls and women: Figs. 218, silver earring, 5/4 nat. size; Figs. 219-220, silver ear-pendants, 1/4 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--443 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
MiaoAE5

Figs. 217, 221-227. Ornaments of the Meau.

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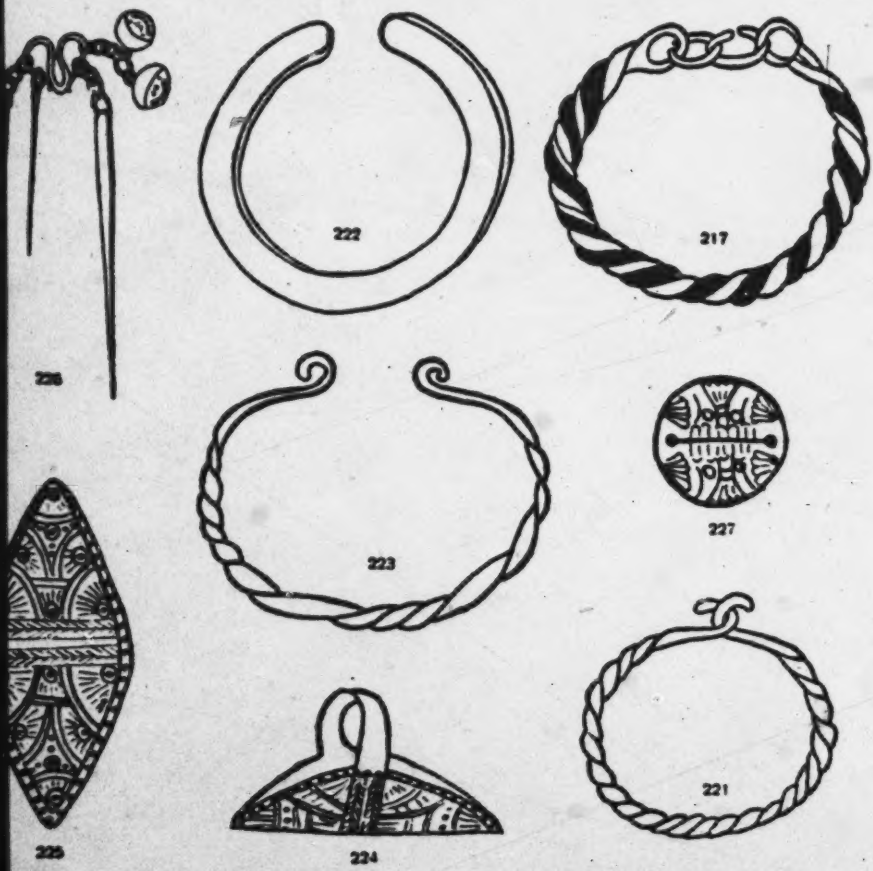
Fig. 217. Neck hoop, silver twisted with copper, about 1/3 nat. size. Figs. 221-223. Ankle rings: Fig. 221, made of twisted copper,



1/3 nat. size; Fig. 222, copper, 1/2 nat. size; Fig. 223, made of twisted iron, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 224. Silver finger-ring with a lavishly incised design, nat. size. Fig. 225. The same viewed from above, 4/3 nat. size. Fig. 226. Silver scratching-pin, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 227. Small silver bell with incised design, 4/3 nat. size. [534]

39: Bernatzik--447 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 330./

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Ill. 58. The women's costume of the Meau consists of a large turban, a dark-blue jacket with a sailor collar, a wide pleated skirt, an apron, and wound leggings.

39: Bernatzik--469 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 346/

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Ill. 63. Meau father taking care of his two sons.

39: Bernatzik--448 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between 330 and 331./

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Ill. 60. The enormous turban of the Meau women consists of two to six cloths. Ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver.

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Ill. 59. The heavy hair of the Meau women is twisted and tied into a knot above the forehead. Often strands of false hair are added.

Ill. 61. Meau girl ties the turban of a friend. The turban towers up in front because of the covered knot of hair above the forehead.

39: Bernatzik--449 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
/Between pp. 330 and 331./
Miao AE5
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/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants. In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure,
[413] for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely
[171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron if used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and
[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

39: Bernatzik--721 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/V/ Appendix II

Explanatory Notes on the Illustrations

144 Ills. 52-108. Photographs of the Flowery and the White Meau, both from northern Thailand.

Ills. 52-57. Racial types of the Meau. In contrast to the Akha, as well as to the statements in the literature concerning the Meau in Tonkin and French Laos, the Europoid racial element is absent among the Meau of northern Thailand. The Mongoloid is clearly recognizable in all cases. Coarse to Delicate Sinoid elements stand out clearly.

142 Ill. 52. Twenty-four-year-old man of the White Meau. The Mongolian fold, the blue-black, shiny, straight hair, and the lack of ear lobes are characteristic. To be noted also are the solid silver neck-rings, the principal adornment of the men of this tribe. Between Nos. 2 and 3 on the skin-color table.

[301]

[144] Ill. 53. Twenty-six-year-old man of Coarse Sinoid type from the Meau village of Nam Fa in the source area of the Nam Wa, east of Ampah Bunyun. Besides the well-developed Mongolian fold, the nose, which is broad and flat, even at the root, and the broad, beardless lower jaw with strong musculature are characteristic. The zygomatic arches project only moderately.

Ill. 54. Side view of the man in Ill. 53. The pockmarked skin is light yellow (about No. 2 on the skin-color table), the ear lobe attached. The few beard hairs have been plucked. The hair style of the men is the same as among the Akha (cf. Ills. 3 and 35), though the hair is twisted into a loose knot and not, as usually among the latter, braided (cf. Ill. 13).

[302]

[144] Ill. 55. Shaman from Nam Fa, about 52 years old, of Delicate Sinoid type. Strikingly intelligent features. The nasal projection is narrow with a slightly convex curve.

/V cont./

142 [144] Though the Mongolian fold is not pronounced, the Mongoloid affiliation is incontestable. The scantily developed beard hair is clearly visible here where no artificial interference has decreased it.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55. The veins stand out clearly under the thin yellow skin (No. 2 on the skin-color table). The ear lobe is better developed than among the other types. Moreover, the blue-black hair is finer and less shiny (cf. Ill. 54).

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old. The faces of the women are generally wider and the zygomatic arches project more than among the men. The skin of the face is still lighter. The lower part of the auricle is pierced, and the heavy silver ear-pendant has enlarged it into a large lobe. [304] [301]

291 Ills. 58-61. Clothing and ornaments.

Ills. 58. The women's costume consists of a turban, a dark-blue jacket with a sailor collar, a wide, batiked, pleated skirt, a long, narrow, dark-blue apron with wide bands, and white, wound leggings which, in the working costume, are replaced by plain dark-blue rags of cloth. Silver ornaments adorn ears, neck, wrists, and fingers. [301]

/VI/

291 302 Ill. 59. The thick, blue-black, shiny hair is twisted and tied in a knot above the forehead (cf. Ill. 87). It serves as a support for the huge turban (cf. Ill. 60). If the fullness of the natural hair is insufficient for achieving the desired bulk of the hair knot, false strands of hair are put in.

291 Ill. 60. The huge turban of the women, depending on the wealth of the owner and the occasion on which it is worn, consists of two to six cloths. The ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver and are made by the Meau smiths themselves. (Cf. Ill. 82.) 301

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
276 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

Central China AF14

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[648] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Tung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

M *101 CC 563 /20 cont./
in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

M [167] [462] [517] [533]

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's family/.

[167] [291] [583] [517] [584]

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair into a knot.

[167] [782] [574] [291] [302]

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

M [291] M [527] [782] [769] [776]

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

M [531] [386]

/77 cont./

252
262

miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those
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/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a
[574] double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that
302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's.
[585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by
[71] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

2:Ling & Ruey--125 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

2:Ling & Ruey--126 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 56. Women's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting, fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
[304] at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men. The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells, and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/103 cont./

766 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight,
756 or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore, the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the
[775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard, hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force. Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a
[292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead, then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he
[302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not washed for four months, during which period the mourner does
[302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or 60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also. For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her headband for three days.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

294 finer cloth, of which they also made blouses, was already dyed when bought.

283 Hemp thread was made as follows: The stalks were cut close to the ground and stripped of the leaves, which were put back on the hemp bed as fertilizer. The bark and fiber were stripped from the wands and the bark loosened and stripped from the fiber with a knife, one end of the strip being held with the toes and one with the left hand. The long fibers were hung in the sun to dry and bleach. They were then boiled and sunned again. For the cloth they made a coarse thread by twisting the split fibers with the fingers and then rolling them against the leg or thigh. The split fibers had previously been twisted in bunches into a darning ball shape, and as the thread was made it was wound in a figure eight around a loop of bamboo. From this it was made into skeins, which were boiled and then wound into balls like those of cord (fig. 18, *e*). When weaving was to be done the balls were set into a tub of water and reeled from it onto the shuttle.

301 For married women the better turban was put on as follows: The hair was braided in two braids to the front, being pieced out with thread if the hair was scanty. One of a pair of chopsticks was laid across the head above the forehead and these braids wound around to hold it securely in place. A piece of blue cloth was fitted lengthwise over the stick and fastened with a needle or two, or sewed. Over the stick was put another piece of blue cloth with the ends folded on top of the head, and a longer piece of white was wound around the head at the height of the base of the stick. Another white piece was wound around the head at the line — high forehead, tips of ears, nape of neck. Finally a longer strip of dark blue cloth was wound around the outside of the white, but higher in the back, and the ends were tucked in. The ends of the white cloth were pulled out to stand up like the ends of a bow. If the family was in mourning, the outer strip was white. For special occasions a second, usually bright blue strip was put on in such a way that about half an inch of the lowest white cloth showed below it.

302 882 Unmarried girls shaved the head except for the crown and braided the hair from that

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AE5 Miso AE5

302 882 forward in one braid. One short piece of white was set on across the forehead and tips of the ears and crossed at the nape of the neck. A similar piece of bright blue cloth was put on over it to show about half an inch of the white. These were secured with a narrow

[294 301]

FIG. 9. Embroidered design on narrow strip of white cloth.

strip of cloth. A piece of cloth, six feet long, was folded six times lengthwise and wound around the head with the two ends tied to stand up in the back like the ends of a bow. A piece of dark blue cloth, ten feet long, was folded in the same way, wound on the outside of the white one, and tucked in at the back. These two pieces formed a wide, flat, horizontal cartwheel turban with the braid lying inside.

301 A still more elaborate turban called for more strips in addition to the white and bright blue ones, which were sometimes lavender, black, other shades of blue, and white. This was worn by unmarried girls when they went to visit in other villages. More lengths of white cloth were also put on sometimes to make the turban that much wider. For such occasions as a bullfight they sometimes wore, instead of the plain dark blue outer strip, one of dark blue embroidered on the ends in white and lines of color, and for the length of two hand-spans in white so that when it was put on the design showed all around the head outside of a plain band of dark blue, and on the bow ends.

The front apron was embroidered in lines of colored silk thread and spaced rows of a design in white cotton thread. The overpiece (figs. 8; 20 *a*, *d*) on the blouse was made up of several pieces, each with its special name, method, and order of making, and design, and the stitches were so carefully taken that it could be worn with either side out. First, two long strips of dark blue cloth were covered an inch and a half wide down the center with an over-and-over stitch diagonally across two threads in coarse white thread. A narrow strip of white cloth of the same length was

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must [834] be recorded that though married women expose their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women 292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after 302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after 301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men, as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear- 292 rings, and on gala occasions every one, man or woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and harmonises beautifully with the mountains on which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary to be presented with a gala gown. English friends are highly amused when they are told that such a gown was grown in a village garden. Like Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet, the woollen texture is made from wool sheared from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is obtained from plants and roots gathered on the hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music. 534 The musical instrument par excellence is the *ggeb* which is played by the young men, who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A *ggeb* is made of bamboo pipes,

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly
[439] home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

[1] [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[16 cont.]
131 Miao [short-skirt Miao] is a branch of the Hê Miao, distributed
101 over a very extensive area in southeast Kweichow at Hsia-chiang, Yung-chiang, Chien-ho T'ai-kung, Tan-chiang, Pa-chai, Lu-shan and Ma-chiang. They total about 40,000 to
[161] 50,000 people. Although they have among them more or less the same costumes, customs and language, their cultural levels vary to a large extent. The present article deals only with those Short-Skirt Hê Miao who are located in the region contiguous to Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Pa-chai and Tan-chiang, and may not be representative of the entire group.

2. Costumes

[17] A common method to distinguish the various tribal
101 groups among the Miao in Kweichow is by the style of their
291 women's dresses, because the men's are generally similar to those of the Chinese farmers. The women's costumes, however, still retain their original native style. The so-called Ch'ing Miao [blue Miao], Hê Miao [black Miao], and Pê Miao [white Miao] are distinguished by the colors of their womenfolks' clothes, which are either predominantly blue, black, or white. The
291 Short-skirt Miao is one group of the Hê Miao, their women's clothes being uniformly black. They are called the Short-skirts because their skirts are shorter than those worn by the other groups. In fact, aside from the length of the skirt, the other parts of their costumes are quite different too. To describe,
302 we start from the head. First of all, they never use make-up, but their hair is always well-trimmed and shiny. They often
[515] wash their hair by the river bank and afterwards apply tea-seed oil to give it a glossy finish. They comb their hair backwards first and leave a bang of about two to three inches falling down on the forehead in the shape of a small black umbrella. On the crown the hair is coiled up in a chignon and fastened by a small wooden comb three inches long, rather like the headgear of a Japanese woman.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

alternating with the girls, describes in verse, to the accompaniment of *Kènes*, their possessions, their accomplishments, or their virtues. Formal offers of marriage then follow, and according to eye-witnesses of the custom, the metrical form in no way inhibits the most banal cataloguing of articles to be included in the marriage contract. ST 584

We were still eating when the chief's messenger came back with the only dog on offer. It was a poor forlorn animal, suffering probably from some wasting disease, and an enormous price was demanded. 000

As there was no dog to be had from these intermediaries, there was nothing for it but to go to the source itself, even if it meant another stiff climb on foot. Instead of turning left, therefore, at the junction of the main road to Luang Prabang, we took the right-hand fork towards Xien Khouang, which, although it led us out of our way, went right through the heart of Meo country in Laos. Shortly after, we came up with a Meo family, who were struggling up a hill loaded down like beasts of burden with their possessions. The Meos threw down their bundles and looked us over with puzzled amusement. One of them, who wore pigtails to show that he was the head of the family, came over, cut the choice centre out of a sugar cane he was carrying and presented it to us, roaring with laughter. This was typical Meo conduct. The Meo is grateful to strangers for amusing him with their clownish faces and ridiculous clothes, and his first impulse is to look round for something to give them. Shouting with joy, the children leaped into the car and were cuffed out again by their father. The woman who, if a Thai or a Laotian, would have stood apart with downcast eyes, bent down to examine Dupont's sandals. She wore several pounds in weight of solid silver jewellery round her neck and had had her head recently shaved. M 491 M 593 609 M 301 [302] 292

Meo finery at its best is the most extravagantly colourful in Indo-China. The women are stiff with embroidery and heavy silver necklaces and chains, and are half-extinguished by enormous turbans that look like Chinese lanterns. But this family was in its 000

[153 cont.]
291 slipper with wide linen leg. In winter the well-to-do "Méo" wear a padded jacket and a sort of padded loincloth.

[302] The "Méo" shave the hair about their heads for a width of from three or four centimeters; the remaining hair, braided or not, is confined in a turban. Besides, it is not rare to meet a bare-headed "Méo."

[301] Many "Méo" men wear jewelry: rings, bracelets, or neck-laces of silver, copper, or sometimes of iron.

[765] Mourning is indicated by the wearing of a white turban. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42.)

The costume of the "Méo" women shows rather remarkable peculiarities in the various tribes. They even exceed, among the "Peu-Méo," the costume of the "Man-ta-pan" in magnificence of embroidery and liveliness of colors.

Except among the "Méo-moung-cha," the cut of the feminine garments is almost uniform, as much for the working clothes as for the ceremonial costumes.

The "Peu-méo" women, whom the French commonly call "Méotes with the sailor collar" wear a working costume made up of the following pieces (photo 103, Plate 39).

A white bodice, full, and reaching down to the waist, where it is held in with the skirt by a wide belt. This bodice is folded over very low in front, leaving a considerable portion of the breast visible and giving the entire garment the appearance of a very low cut sailor's collar. This collar, as well as the lower part of the sleeves, is bordered with a band of colored material, of variable width (blue or red).

A white skirt, reaching down to just above the calf, and held in at the waist by the belt referred to above. This skirt, which is very wide, is of the "plissé-soleil" type. While walking, during [491] which the "Méo" women swing their hips very markedly, the pleats of the skirt gather now on the right, now on the left, following the movements of legs and torso.

An apron, in blue linen, simply fastened about the waist by a [154] cord. A rather voluminous turban of blue linen, but with an outside turn often made up of a band of material in white and blue squares.

[155 cont.]

291 Opposite the shoulder, the top of the sleeve has first a circular red band, three or four centimeters in width, followed by a wider [531] green band, decorated with embroidery (varied rosettes and white lines).

The border of the jacket is furnished with narrow embroidered bands.

The skirt is long. It goes down to the ankles. The central section, at the height of the thighs, bears several horizontal bands (blues, reds, whites, and yellows) likewise decorated with embroidery. The apron, of dark blue, covers the front of the skirt.

The belt is very simple, often of red or green color, merely knotted about the waist, with two little ends which cross over and hang down in front.

The headdress of the "Moung-Cha-Méo" women has no turban. [302] The hair is rolled in back of the head in a little chignon fastened by a wooden comb.

[156] The "Méo" women wear about the same jewelry as the 301 women of the other groups. Some of their jewelry is very characteristic, however. Thus, the "Peu-Méo" women, in addition to the rings and necklaces of the usual model, wear earrings of a special shape: A silver ring, hung from the lobe of the ear by a hook, holds five or six fine silver chains hanging down to the shoulder, each one carrying small silver plaques on which ornamental embossed designs are represented.

The earrings of the "Hoa-Méo" are yet more characteristic (photos 346, and 37, Plate 36). They are formed of two long silver branches in the shape of interrogation points. One end is fastened in the turban at the back of the head. The other end, furnished [304] with a terminal button, passes through the earlobe (photo 346) or is attached to the lobe by means of a hook or a ring (photo 37). Sometimes the "Hoa-Méo" women wear earrings which hang down on the breast, which must be a veritable torment for the lobes, pulled about by so heavy a weight (photo 107, Plate 39).

In the description of the costumes, we have spoken only of 291 the working turbans and those used at great ceremonies. There still are turbans, intermediate between these two categories, of which

[156 cont.]

291 photographs 105, Plate 39; 156 and 157, Plate 40; 424, Plate 37, show various specimens: blue turbans, turbans of mixed blue and white, blue turbans on top of which larger white turbans are bound, turbans of black-and-white squares, horned turbans, and so on. There is no really fixed style of turban and some latitude is allowed to the "Méo" women in the arrangement of their headdresses, except in the matter of the turbans for great ceremonies. Sometimes the
302 "Méo" women go about bareheaded, the hair rolled in a great pile on top of the head (photo 103, Plate 39, woman at left), or merely brought to the back of the head and fastened in a chignon. The hair is shaved for a width of three or four centimeters about the head, in the place where the turban rests.

Many of the "Méo" men and women wear a big hat of woven
291 rattan fiber in the shape of a truncated cone (photo 107, Plate 39; photo 198, Plate 42) of a model analogous to that of the "Man," but somewhat cruder and without the small spherical skullcap of the latter.

The "Méo" dwellings are generally rectangular in shape. The
342 walls are rarely of masonry (homes of the wealthy); most often they are of pisé or mud or even simply of rough planks.

The pisé is made in two ways: The moistened and kneaded
[339] earth is shaped, [157] by means of a mold, into parallelepipeds which are dried in the sun and are then placed one upon the other, for two or three rows of thickness, in such a way as to form the wall. In the second system, two large planks are so placed that the distance between them corresponds to the thickness which one wishes to give to the wall. Between these planks is packed slightly moistened earth, which is rammed down with large round logs. Then the planks are moved as the wall becomes higher, and are held in place by means of movable transverse members driven into the wall. The framework, formed of roughly squared logs, supports a roof of two sections, generally of straw and rarely of tiles. The roof extends some distance beyond the walls, in such a way as better to protect the latter from the rain.

The interior of the cabin is divided into several compartments:
342 353 In the center, the hall of honor, where strangers are received and

158: Diguet--133 G-3 (ca 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

Section 4

Costume

The men have their heads shaved around the periphery, and 241
wrap around a white or blue turban. The rest of the hair is left 301
long and rolled into a chignon on top of the head. When traveling, they wear the large hat customary in the high regions. Most of them have a broad silver necklace around the neck, open on the chest, with the two extremities flattened out into small plates bearing the imprint of several characters. They are joined together by a small chain on which a tooth-brush is sometimes hung. Men's clothing consists of a white or blue jacket, depending upon the ethnic type, ending at the belt and buttoning on the right side of the chest, and of trousers of the same cloth with a very wide and low seat, and with short legs reaching down just below the knee. What distinguishes it from the zouave style of trousers, is that it is not tied in around the leg. The Meo generally wear leggings. The Meo gun almost is part of the costume. Moreover it is like that of the Man in all respects.

/135/ In giving a description of women's clothing, it is 291
necessary to distinguish among the different varieties. The White Meo woman (Mong Tlao in the Meo tongue) wears a skirt of coarse white material, pleated finely all around the waist like a dancer's tutu, and short enough to show the knees a bit. Her trunk is clothed in a blue bodice ending at the waist, folded across the bosom, and open to a low enough point to show the beginnings of the breasts. The characteristic of this jacket is the sailor collar which is its pretty accessory. This is white on a blue background, or blue on a white background. Rich costumes have three collars in different colors, worn one above the other. The sleeves are edged with a cuff of the color of the collar. A blue apron hanging below the skirt, a belt wrapped several times around the waist, and leggings, so big that they swell out the lower part of the leg, complete this garb.

Hair is shaved in front and knotted into a chignon on the top 302
of the head. This is crowned with an enormous turban put on and taken off like a hat. It is made of several meters of black and white striped material, and is wound around so many times that it weighs as much as two kilograms.

Besides bracelets and rings of silver, the Meo women wear for 301
jewelry a wide unbroken necklace and earrings in shape of a letter "S," which fall down on the front of the bosom.

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1).

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; more-
[789] over, a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In
[767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member
775 of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 [114] [562] This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2).

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.
765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

/176 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they
[302] do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the
[292] back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
756 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
787 spirit of all the shamans, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsū, and the three pairs of
[782] assistant spirits, tǎ fū yé, lū fū yé, and sǎn fū yé. The teacher-
[776] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
[801] Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

39: Bernatzik--365 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 266/

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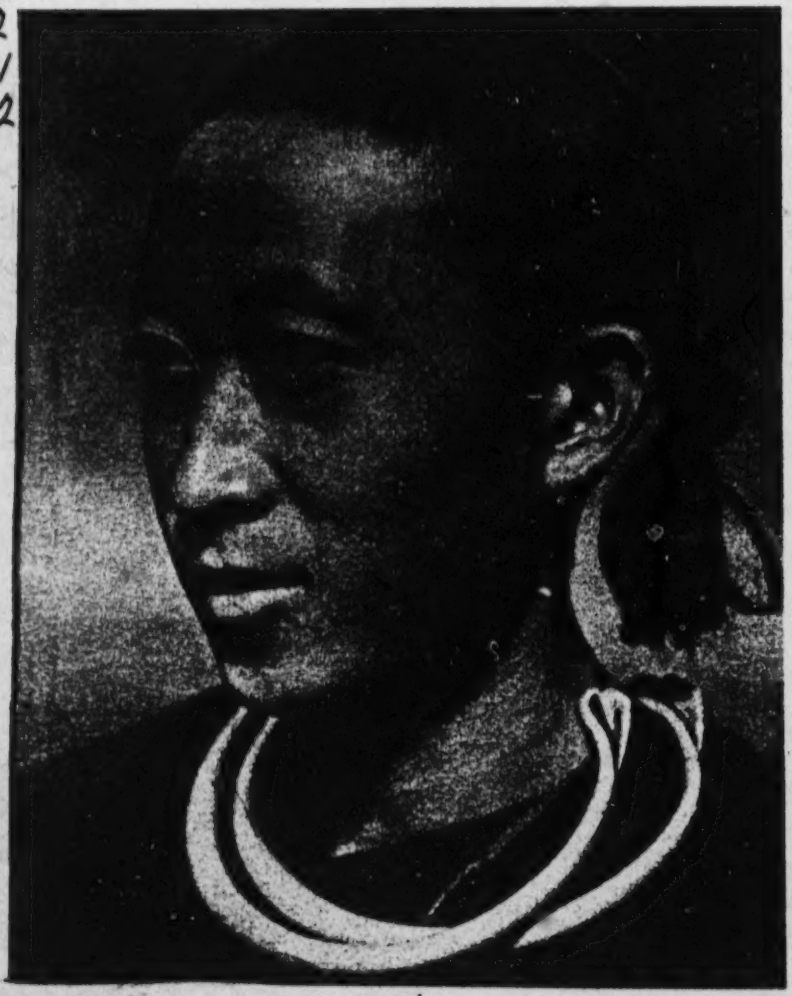

Ill. 52. Meau man, 24 years old, with Mongolian fold, shiny blue-black hair, and lacking ear lobs.

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[1] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[1] [See cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]
[3] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [See cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--366 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

MiaoAE5

/Between pp. 266 and 267/

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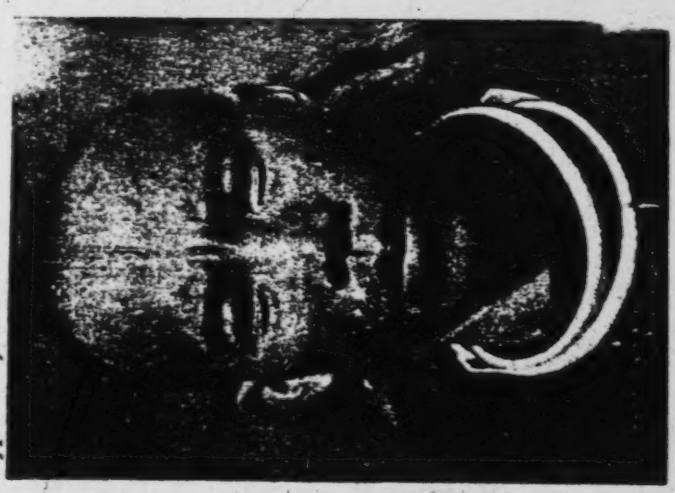
Ill. 54. Side view of the man in Ill. 53.

[144]



Ill. 53. Meau man of Coarse Sinoid type. 26 years old.

39: Bernatzik--448 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between 330 and 331./

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Ill. 59. The heavy hair of the Meau women is twisted and tied into a knot above the forehead. Often strands of false hair are added.

Ill. 60. The enormous turban of the Meau women consists of two to six cloths. Ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver.

39: Bernatzik--450 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 331./

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Ill. 62. Family idyl of the Meau. Delousing as a pursuit while affectionately being together.

38: Bernatzik--47) E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
/Between pp. 346 and 347/
Miao AES

Ill. 65. A favorite game of Meau boys is modeling animal and human figures in clay.

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39: Bernatzik--472 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 347/

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Ill. 66. Child-carrier of the Meau. The children are tied to their parents' backs by means of special cloths and are not put down even during work.

39: Bernatzik--574 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AES

/Between pp. 426 and 427/

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Ill. 75. Mouth organ of the Meau, made with a silver-mounted wooden body and six bamboo pipes.

39: Bernatzik--595 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 442/

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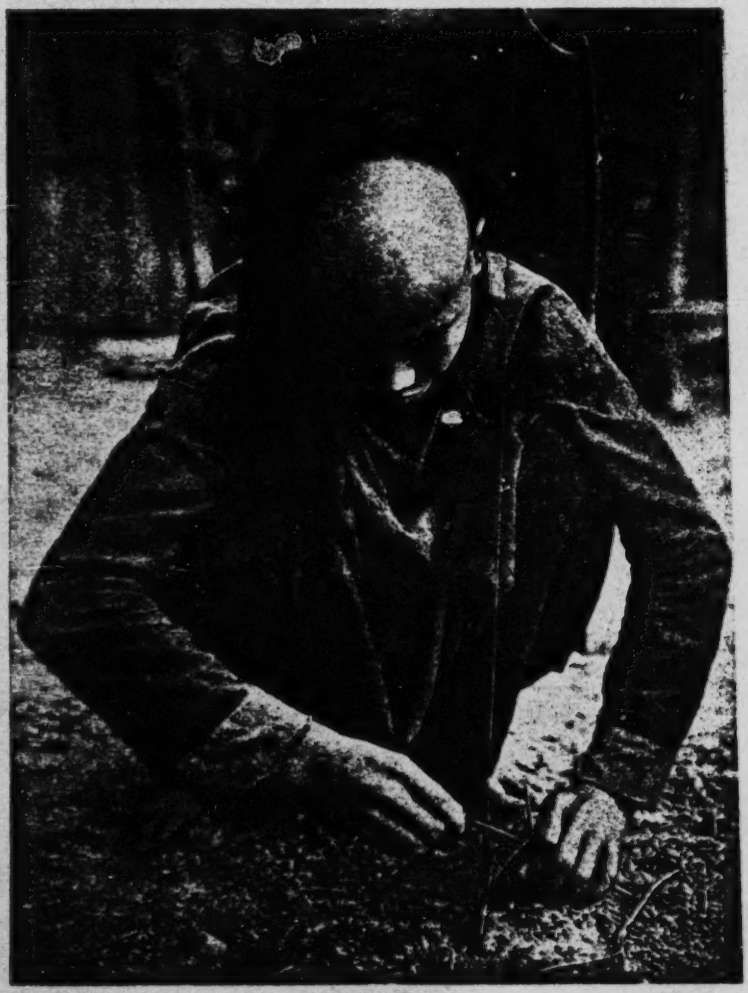

Ill. 80. Meau hunter setting a snare to catch wild birds.

39: Bernatzik--620 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.458/

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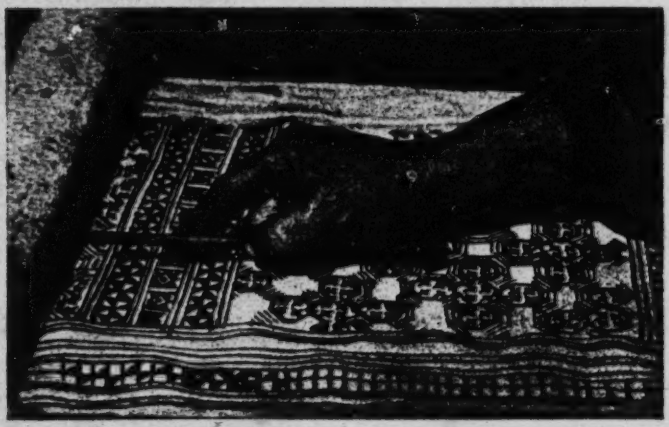

Ill. 86. Making batik work from hemp material among the [413] Meau. The wax drawing is applied with a brass pen.

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Ill. 87. Girl of the "Flowery" Meau sewing a new pleated skirt.

39: Bernatzik--623 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 459/

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Ill. 91. The tart meat of ripe squash tastes very good to the Meau boy.

39: Bernatzik -721 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/V/ Appendix II

Explanatory Notes on the Illustrations

144 Ills. 52-108. Photographs of the Flowery and the White Meau, both from northern Thailand.

Ills. 52-57. Racial types of the Meau. In contrast to the Akha, as well as to the statements in the literature concerning the Meau in Tonkin and French Laos, the Europoid racial element is absent among the Meau of northern Thailand. The Mongoloid is clearly recognizable in all cases. Coarse to Delicate Sinoid elements stand out clearly.

142 Ill. 52. Twenty-four-year-old man of the White Meau. The Mongolian fold, the blue-black, shiny, straight hair, and the lack of ear lobes are characteristic. To be noted also are the solid silver neck-rings, the principal adornment of the men of this tribe. Between Nos. 2 and 3 on the skin-color table.

[301]

[144] Ill. 53. Twenty-six-year-old man of Coarse Sinoid type from the Meau village of Nam Fa in the source area of the Nam Wa, east of Ampah Bunyun. Besides the well-developed Mongolian fold, the nose, which is broad and flat, even at the root, and the broad, beardless lower jaw with strong musculature are characteristic. The zygomatic arches project only moderately.

Ill. 54. Side view of the man in Ill. 53. The pockmarked skin is light yellow (about No. 2 on the skin-color table), the ear lobe attached. The few beard hairs have been plucked. The hair style of the men is the same as among the Akha (cf. Ills. 3 and 35), though the hair is twisted into a loose knot and not, as usually among the latter, braided (cf. Ill. 13).

[302]

[144] Ill. 55. Shaman from Nam Fa, about 52 years old, of Delicate Sinoid type. Strikingly intelligent features. The nasal projection is narrow with a slightly convex curve.

/V cont./

142 [144] Though the Mongolian fold is not pronounced, the Mongoloid affiliation is incontestable. The scantily developed beard hair is clearly visible here where no artificial interference has decreased it.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55. The veins stand out clearly under the thin yellow skin (No. 2 on the skin-color table). The ear lobe is better developed than among the other types. Moreover, the blue-black hair is finer and less shiny (cf. Ill. 54).

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old. The faces of the women are generally wider and the zygomatic arches project more than among the men. The skin of the face is still lighter. The lower part of the auricle is pierced, and the heavy silver ear-pendant has enlarged it into a large lobe. [304] [301]

291 Ills. 58-61. Clothing and ornaments.

Ills. 58. The women's costume consists of a turban, a dark-blue jacket with a sailor collar, a wide, batiked, pleated skirt, a long, narrow, dark-blue apron with wide bands, and white, wound leggings which, in the working costume, are replaced by plain dark-blue rags of cloth. Silver ornaments adorn ears, neck, wrists, and fingers. [301]

/VI/

291 302 Ill. 59. The thick, blue-black, shiny hair is twisted and tied in a knot above the forehead (cf. Ill. 87). It serves as a support for the huge turban (cf. Ill. 60). If the fullness of the natural hair is insufficient for achieving the desired bulk of the hair knot, false strands of hair are put in.

291 Ill. 60. The huge turban of the women, depending on the wealth of the owner and the occasion on which it is worn, consists of two to six cloths. The ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver and are made by the Meau smiths themselves. (Cf. Ill. 82.) 301

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[304] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting, fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men. The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells, and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/235 cont./

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(1) Firing Mud Guns

A number of children gather together, each getting soft mud from a field and molding it into the shape of a bowl or basin, with a hole or several holes at the top. After they are finished, each child picks his up and smashes it on the ground, producing a resounding noise like the report of a gun (Illus. 117). When a mud gun falls on the ground and breaks without popping, then its owner is counted as losing and is eliminated from the contest, and helps the winner to make more guns. There are several kinds of mud guns, as in Illus. 118.

(2) Making Mud Coins

A quantity of clean clay earth is used. Water is added and molded into a small lump. Two large copper coins of the K'ang-hsi or Ch'ien-lung reign periods are used to press the earth to make a number of "coins." A thin stick is used to thread through the holes of the coins. These are rolled over a few times on the ground. Afterwards they are separated one from the other and dried in the sun. They are used in place of money to pay off losses in games. Each copper coin is worth 50 clay coins.

(3) Tattooing the Wrist

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304

Boys and girls about 12 or 13 years old, when having nothing else to do, often collect in groups of three to five in one place to amuse themselves by tattooing designs on each other's wrists. The method is as follows; First a long piece of hemp string is tied around the wrist, exposing the part to be tattooed, above which is tied another piece of string. At these two places the blood is stopped by being bound with the hemp string. Then the exposed part is hit with a piece of wood or bamboo until the skin becomes red, then purple. Then the desired design is lightly tattooed on it, causing the skin to bleed. Then color

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
526 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
[177] same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[411] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
773 swing:
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

[155 cont.]

Opposite the shoulder, the top of the sleeve has first a circular
291 red band, three or four centimeters in width, followed by a wider
[531] green band, decorated with embroidery (varied rosettes and white lines).

The border of the jacket is furnished with narrow embroidered bands.

The skirt is long. It goes down to the ankles. The central section, at the height of the thighs, bears several horizontal bands (blues, reds, whites, and yellows) likewise decorated with embroidery. The apron, of dark blue, covers the front of the skirt.

The belt is very simple, often of red or green color, merely knotted about the waist, with two little ends which cross over and hang down in front.

The headdress of the "Moung-Cha-Méo" women has no turban.
[302] The hair is rolled in back of the head in a little chignon fastened by a wooden comb.

[156] The "Méo" women wear about the same jewelry as the
301 women of the other groups. Some of their jewelry is very characteristic, however. Thus, the "Peu-Méo" women, in addition to the rings and necklaces of the usual model, wear earrings of a special shape: A silver ring, hung from the lobe of the ear by a hook, holds five or six fine silver chains hanging down to the shoulder, each one carrying small silver plaques on which ornamental embossed designs are represented.

The earrings of the "Hoa-Méo" are yet more characteristic (photos 346, and 37, Plate 36). They are formed of two long silver branches in the shape of interrogation points. One end is fastened in the turban at the back of the head. The other end, furnished
[304] with a terminal button, passes through the earlobe (photo 346) or is attached to the lobe by means of a hook or a ring (photo 37). Sometimes the "Hoa-Méo" women wear earrings which hang down on the breast, which must be a veritable torment for the lobes, pulled about by so heavy a weight (photo 107, Plate 39).

In the description of the costumes, we have spoken only of
291 the working turbans and those used at great ceremonies. There still are turbans intermediate between these two categories, of which

39: Bernatzik--106 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/71 cont./

3. The Refractory Age

A M 865 157

The refractory age of the children among both the Akha and the Meau is very pronounced in both sexes at the age of from three to five. The defiant child, screaming, will strike out at adults and try to beat them or throw himself down on the ground, howling and kicking. The adults of both peoples do not pay much attention to these tantrums. Sometimes they speak to the children, but kindly, and try to divert them by giving them something to eat or the like. Such an attitude presumes, however, that the child's behavior is not a reaction to orders he has been given. If such is the case, the children are punished and, I was told, also beaten and forced to carry out the order in spite of their resistance. The parents, however, never complain about such outbursts of defiance on the part of the children and accept them as something to be taken for granted. In answer to my question as to whether the behavior of the child did not seem serious to them, the Meau told me: "This happens only with small children."

/72/

4. Puberty

A M 881 [884]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha does the beginning of puberty mean the slightest outward change in the normal life. Neither people has any ceremonial initiation in connection with it or an accompanying celebration of adulthood, since the latter, among them, does not coincide with the beginning of puberty (cf. the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family"). Similarly, tattooing, masking, or circumcision in any form does not occur. Only the attainment of the age when one is capable of bearing arms plays a role (see the chapter, "Army and War").

A M [304]

A M [145]

Depending on the nutritional level of the family, boys reach puberty at the age of fourteen to sixteen, girls somewhat earlier; in general this time point for both is considerably later than, for instance, for European Mediterranoid children. The behavior of the young people of the two tribes differs, however, as soon as they reach puberty.

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[7] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[8] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[9] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[1] [see cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]
[3] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--458 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/Caption for Figs. 239-253 cont./

A
301 Fig. 251. Small ornamental pendant of bone, 1/5 nat. size.
531 Figs. 252-253. Rounded, hollow arm-hoop of silver, about
[321] 1/2 nat. size.

/338/ Chapter 16

Mutilations of the Body

A
M
304 Neither the Meau nor the Akha are familiar with deformations of the skull or the teeth, or any kind of circumcision at
[685] all. Just as little is any amputation of body parts undertaken.
[681] The only exception to this is the amputation of the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of one hand as punishment for recidivous thieves, as well as half of the left ear, to which the Meau condemn certain wrongdoers (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Criminal Law"). This, therefore, has nothing to do with a general or sacral custom of the people.

On the other hand, it is customary among the Meau, as the single custom of this kind, to pierce the ear lobes of the girls, but not of the boys, at the age of nine to eleven. One of the parents tends to this early in the morning with the help of an iron needle. A thread is then strung through the hole so that it will not grow shut again. As soon as the small wound has healed, one first sticks a small piece of wood, later silver rings, into it and widens it to a diameter of one-half to one whole centimeter (Ill. 57).[1] The natives give as the sole reason for this custom that by means of it the hole is to be produced for the wearing of earrings.

Among the Akha, too, a similar custom prevails.

[1] [See cat 116, p368- ANALYST]

/V cont./

142 [144] Though the Mongolian fold is not pronounced, the Mongoloid affiliation is incontestable. The scantily developed beard hair is clearly visible here where no artificial interference has decreased it.

Ill. 56. Side view of the man in Ill. 55. The veins stand out clearly under the thin yellow skin (No. 2 on the skin-color table). The ear lobe is better developed than among the other types. Moreover, the blue-black hair is finer and less shiny (cf. Ill. 54).

Ill. 57. Chief wife of the chief of Nam Fa, about 35 years old. The faces of the women are generally wider and the zygomatic arches project more than among the men. The skin of the face is still lighter. The lower part of the auricle is pierced, and the heavy silver ear-pendant has enlarged it into a large lobe. [304] [301]

291 Ills. 58-61. Clothing and ornaments.

Ills. 58. The women's costume consists of a turban, a dark-blue jacket with a sailor collar, a wide, batiked, pleated skirt, a long, narrow, dark-blue apron with wide bands, and white, wound leggings which, in the working costume, are replaced by plain dark-blue rags of cloth. Silver ornaments adorn ears, neck, wrists, and fingers. [301]

/VI/

291 302 Ill. 59. The thick, blue-black, shiny hair is twisted and tied in a knot above the forehead (cf. Ill. 87). It serves as a support for the huge turban (cf. Ill. 60). If the fullness of the natural hair is insufficient for achieving the desired bulk of the hair knot, false strands of hair are put in.

291 Ill. 60. The huge turban of the women, depending on the wealth of the owner and the occasion on which it is worn, consists of two to six cloths. The ear and neck ornaments are of solid silver and are made by the Meau smiths themselves. (Cf. Ill. 82.) 301

113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622 Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

/12 cont'd/
161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)
[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/13 cont'd/
241 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the
311 valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li."
This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the
175 Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure
144 blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of
175 other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the
144 family register of the Lin family:
178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had
162 some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname,
144 who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung
178

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas
245 may be seen occasionally.

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[71] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Kweichow is considered the poorest agricultural province in all China. Much of the soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give but little space for farms, which are therefore usually small and cultivated by simple methods. Cultivation is confined chiefly to upland plains, the few open valleys and terraced hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of soil, slope, and water. The total area of cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at five per cent. At one time the chief crop was opium, but the Chinese Government has tried to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One geographer lists in order of second importance maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo, wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cotton, hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans, wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may be said that rice is grown wherever possible and there forms the staple food. In the poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot be grown, the people depend upon maize, barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one crop of rice grown and the harvest is in September or October. Winter crops commonly include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape. There is a variety of excellent vegetables grown through the year. Fruits of the province include peaches, pears, apricots, persimmons, oranges, and lemons. There are also large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, including a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves are thought to remain in Kweichow. The bambo trees are of several species, some suitable for construction and the making of articles of common household use and huge rain hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in the northern part of the province has industries for the making of a kind of cheap silk cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native umbrellas, and cotton goods. The villages of

311 [134] 245 137 288

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member. 361

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate. 133 241 312 311 137

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

341 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has
412 a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it [311] cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

762 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tzŭ* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer homes the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5

249 But this family[1] was in its workaday clothes, as its head was very anxious to explain to Dupont. They had been away a week, working in their opium-poppy fields, and now they were on their way home for a flying visit. Dupont asked about a dog, and the head of the family invited us to come up and see for ourselves, as he had no idea who was home and who wasn't.

311 It was a long, slow climb up to the village, although the Meos, as
361 they skipped along by our side, seemed in no way to notice the slope, nor their huge burdens. The coarse grass — usual legacy of Meo occupation — was replaced here by a noxious thorny scrub. For miles, in all directions from the village, nothing would grow but this ultimate of austere vegetations. This village was at the last stage before it would have to be moved. The fields under cultivation were now so far away that the villagers lived dispersed in temporary shelters where they worked. Very soon they would be too far from the village to return at all and it would be moved, ten or fifteen miles, always south; leaving behind the prairie grass and scrub. It only wanted the Mans to arrive here from Tonkin — the Mans cultivate on Meo lines between 1000 and 3000 feet — to reproduce eventually in Laos the denuded wilderness of southern China.

342 The Meo village consisted of nothing but a few most decrepit
181 hovels. They were the lowest and the most barbarous examples of human dwellings that it would be possible to find. Why should the Meos be the most elegantly dressed and the worst housed people in the country? They are superb at the few handicrafts they undertake, but they just can't be bothered about how they are sheltered or how they sleep. There is no compulsion; no household genie — like those of the Mois — demanding high standards of order and cleanliness in the house; no canons of taste and refinement spreading slowly downwards from an idly exquisite aristocracy, since all Meos are kept hard at work; no spirit of bourgeois emulation, since this is total democracy, with no betters to imitate. The Meos have only themselves to please, and the result is anarchy.

In the hovel we were taken to, the contents of a thousand school-

[1] [i.e., a Meo family. -- Analyst]

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Manzace. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the sao phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock, which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
276 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

/138 cont'd/

Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
●312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[493] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[136] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai [433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

2:Ling & Ruey--56 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

M 132

/32 cont./

a ts'un. Excessive rain continues throughout the spring and summer for weeks and months, rendering the place muddy and difficult for travel. As soon as the rains let up, the steaming atmosphere penetrates the bones. The spring water flowing from rocky mountain hollows is very cool and upsets the stomach when drunk. The climate is so bad that outsiders living there are liable to become sick. This is what Ma Fu-po said: "Alas, Wu Ch'i is full of poison." In autumn and winter the frost and snow fall early, the distant hollows and lonely peaks being piled with accumulated snows for many months without melting. Often hailstorms pelt the land and icicles hang from the eaves to the ground as big as pillars. To go in and out of a house the Miao have to break open the ice with sticks. If one goes up six li it is especially extreme. Even the birds run away from the cold weather. Since the area has been developed and the Miao civilized, there have been less rainy weather, fewer freezes, and birds have come back to nestle in the trees." This quotation gives some general ideas about the climate of the Miao area. But today, the Miao area, having been developed for a long time, has no more jungle, and although the climate remains the same, the geographical environment has been greatly changed. The former malaria-ridden wilderness has become thickly populated areas.

M [312]

Settlements. — The distribution and types of Miao settlements vary according to the topography and ethnic group. The Chinese generally live in a ch'eng /city/, a pao /fort/, a t'un or in the neighborhood of a stone guard house. The city is /Illus. 8 faces p. 33/ /33/ larger than the pao and the t'un smaller than the pao. So the important Chinese settlements are the paos and t'uns. Paos and t'uns are more numerous in the Miao area than in any other region. The origin of their construction is referred to in Miao Fang-pei Lan in the Ch'eng Pao P'ien /Section on Cities and Forts/ as follows: "According to the Feng-huang subprefecture's negotiations for improvements and memorial to the throne to repair the paos, Te-sheng-ying /Victory Barracks/ (Illus. 9) and Liao-chia-ch'iao /Liao-chia Bridge/, the defense commissioner

C 712 [621] [361]

/54 cont./

241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer
refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence
there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
[243] various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The
inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years
of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary
to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land
to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its
fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it
the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the
recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao
fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then
set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the
field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and
burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields
which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is
called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of
cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buck-
wheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the har-
vesting in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
[221] fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in
August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous
and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are
found in small number only in the small basins in the moun-
tains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the
rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water
from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30)
are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

/55 cont./

243
312

1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I, 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

[171]

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao area involve considerable labor. On a slope where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up in tiers, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

[332]
[333]

[731]
[784]

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

2:Ling & Ruey--87 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/59/

243
312

Illus. 30. Water wheel on bank of the T'o Chiang.

2:Ling & Ruey--88 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/60/

243
312

Illus. 31. Water mill on bank of the T'ung Ho.

A-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien-pao* official was a member.

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

243 very widely scattered near to and far from the
805 village, so that when the plants were ready for
241 transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

241 This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) con-
243 tinued for more than a month. During that
805 time the young people, both married and
574 single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

241 During the third month (the second half of April and the first half of May, 1942) there
●312 was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

241 312 for flooding the fields. There were days of rain followed by rainy nights so that at least part of the day was sunny. They continued the preparation of fields and the carrying of fertilizer and began the harvest of rape, wheat, beans and peas.

241 For rape the whole plant was cut near the ground and the sheaves set, heads down, in the fields or along the beams of a barn or house. The seeds were later knocked out against the inside of a large, square wooden box in the field or on a threshing floor. For wheat each head was snapped off and thrown into a basket on a woman's back, to be dumped into the baskets on the carrying pole and taken to a mat on the threshing floor to be flailed. I helped twice with the reaping of wheat. Bean and pea plants were pulled up by the roots, bundled up, and hung up on the rafters to dry. When they were thoroughly dry the dirt was pounded off with a large wooden mallet, which could also be used to beat out the pulse. Or a flail was used. They were then sieved and winnowed in large, flat bamboo trays.

[335] One day fully half of the men of the village, under the direction of one of the older ones, were working together reroofing a house, while the young people went back and forth with their loads of fertilizer and empty baskets. However, the chief activity at this time was the preparation of fields into which rice, now several inches high, was transplanted later. Most of the fertilizer was carried to prepared fields, but some to fields not yet wholly cleared of other crops.

On the first of the fourth month I saw the members of our household working together to prepare a field which had been cleared of beans and rape. Two young men, one a member of the household, a relative who was something of a hired man, and one from another household, were plowing, the plows being drawn by water buffalo. The second nephew together with his wife formed one "team" and the son and his wife another to bring up water from the pond, along which this long field stretched, and pour it onto the field. They had attached ropes with sticks in them to the handles and to a point near the bottom of each bucket on each side, to hold by, so that they might together swing

4: Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

312
241

About this time, when the people had just about given up hope of rain in time for preparing the fields and transplanting rice, the rain came in a flood. (Beginning of June) It poured one whole night and there were hard showers and storms on the next day. It rained for two nights following, also. This was just the kind of a rain needed to make upland fields ready for plowing and harrowing and to flood the lower ones. Our family had spent three days just before this in a second bout of bucketing water from the pond into the large field. Again men of the family and related households plowed and men and women formed teams for lifting water. Others were transplanting rice into fields of deep mud with no water on top. It was a time of many activities – harvesting, sunning, flailing, and winnowing of wheat, bringing in plants of rape, beans and peas. Both wheat and rape featured the markets in Lung-li and Kou-ch'ang. Rape is used to make the oil burned in lamps.

Another rain a week later lasted two days. I went to Lung-li to market on the first day and had the exciting experience of racing the storm home successfully. The hard rain of this day and night filled the rice fields and flooded even some that were rather well upland. The buffalo bullfighting meadow became a little pond. Almost all of the wheat and its accompanying crops (literally that, for they were planted together in various combinations) were in before this hard rain, and only a few wheat fields had straw still standing in them. Most of them had been made ready for other crops. Also, nearly all the seed beds had been stripped of their fine stand of rice plants and made into fields with even rows, like the others. It was almost time for the village to take a little breathing spell.

The men worked as steadily as the women, for the fields for rice had to be plowed and harrowed at least twice, some three times — after the wheat was harvested, when they were flooded, and again just before the plants were set out. It was common to see men plowing or harrowing at one end of a field, or in an adjacent one, just before the women moved in with their bundles of plants. I saw women carrying the plow and harrow to the field, but only two harrowing. I saw a few men bun-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the fields, but no men setting out plants.

241 243 I once tried my hand at helping and did fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they [164] were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 243 312 By the end of the first week of the fifth month (end of June) the transplanting of rice was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

used the mattock, and as they worked they 312
fertilized the plants with night soil and wood 341
ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family
also used some lime mixed with manure, which 243
was left over from several loads carried to
another village eighteen *li*[3] away. Toward the
end of the fifth month several young men
had taken out the pile in the room back of
the kitchen in the new house and mixed it
with manure, after which some of the village
girls and women of our household carried it.
It must have been promised for a certain day,
for the trip was made in a drenching rain
which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei,
the oldest daughter, was a member of this
group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken 243
toward the transplanting of rice in different 462
localities and among different people in one
locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near
Kunming men bundled up the plants and
transported them, while only women were
allowed to set them out. I was told that this
was a custom borrowed from the non-Chi-
nese there, who believed that the women in-
sured fertility. Here the women did all of
it, with only a few men helping with either
bundling or setting out. In both cases the
men did the plowing and most of the harrow-
ing. In the one Chinese family in this village
and those between the valley and Lung-li I
saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all
the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used
up, so now and then the women went to get
more. Often it was much mixed with dried
grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of
these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass
for the animals, which were kept in the stables,
were brought in. Women and children took
water buffalo out once or twice a day for a
soaking in the large pond and for feeding
upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultiva-
tion was the main task for all women, who
took time out only to nurse a boil or catch
up on washing and mending. The men went
to market a great deal, most of them carrying
wood in one form or another — planks, pieces
of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles.
They seemed able, with what they could find 241

[3] A measure of length reckoned as 3/10 pace or

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
● 312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly
[439] home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

[1] [From the Chinese.-Analyst]

[185 cont.]

The Eighth Month. The fifteenth day of this month is the
796 mid-autumn festival. The local Chinese have the custom of
789 making offerings to the moon, which the Miao-I do not have. Before this date, however, some frolicsome fellows among them might steal a pumpkin from somebody's yard and on the eve of the fifteenth day would dress it up into the likeness of an infant, complete with garment and shoes, and wrap it inside a dress. While one man carries the pumpkin, another would walk behind, simulating baby talk or baby cry. They also carry with them different eatables and visit neighbors and relatives who do not have children. On arriving, they would set off firecrackers and then knock at the door to ask for entrance. The childless family, knowing the visit in advance, would prepare a feast to entertain the visitors in the hall. After entering the house, the visitors would take the pumpkin to an inner chamber and place it on a bed, imitating at the same time a child's crying. One visitor would then spit into the bed and exclaim: "The baby is wet!" On hearing this noise the owner of the house dashes into the room and invites the visitors to the feast. This performance is commonly known as "presenting the old pumpkin," and is regarded by childless couples as a good omen for childbearing. If in the future the recipient should actually give birth to a son, the pumpkin bearers would be treated to another feast.

The Ninth Month. The ninth day of the ninth month is
273 the Ch'ung-yang festival. On this day the Miao-I families within
796 the district all eat tz'u-pa and make wine, known as Ch'ung-yang wine. It is said that the wine made on this day is especially delicious in taste and can last for a whole year without becoming weak.

The Tenth Month. No festivals.
796 The Eleventh Month. No festivals.

[186] The Twelfth Month. The eighth day of this month is known as "La-pa," on which the Miao-I have the custom of competing for the first bucket of water. The bearers are all
[312] women, who rise early in the morning to go to the nearest well to draw the first bucketful of water to carry home. It is used to
[279] cook rice for the animals, to wash the women's hair, and to brew

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

Mi 342
Mi [354]
Mi [778]

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

Mi 415
Mi 401
Mi 312

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

Mi 343
Mi 231

39: Bernatzik--310 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very un-
[364] satisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is
[296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by
[312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects
364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good
164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child
[165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the
[356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for
[514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see
[231] the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau
[361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, [731] a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest [312] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing [103] (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] [574] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore represents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] [351] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 712 We did not come across any fortified villages among the Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

[1] [See cat 116, p707- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--361 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

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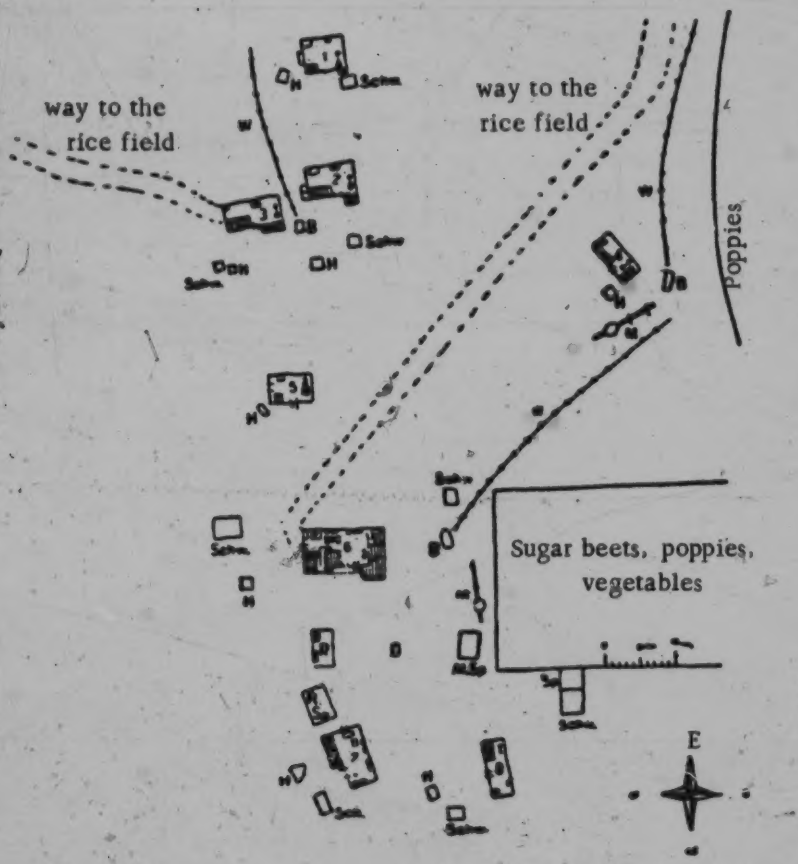


Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊥⊥—○ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
□ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

/265 cont./

621 596 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

312 415 824

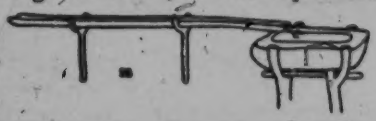


Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.

[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 621 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice [343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per- [551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize [343] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the [551] house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

415 /309 cont./
[412] alcohol, purchased earthenware pots in all sizes, and the various
[252] bamboo vessels which stand leaning against the wall near the
[273] hearth or hang on the wall and serve for the storing of the food-
[251] stuffs used daily. They are usually carefully closed with leaves and contain fat, salted vegetables, salt, and other spices. Water stands available in long bamboo containers. These pieces of bamboo, freed of the partitioning walls, represent indispensable
[312] vessels used in many ways (Ill. 105).[1] For carrying water, several
[482] are often bound together and carried on the back or in carrying baskets. Abadie (1) reports in similar fashion.

1. Page 160.

412 For sweeping out their dwellings, brooms (Fig. 175) are used, which are made out of tough grasses tied together in bundles. A clothes roller (Figs. 176 and 177) consists of a
412 wooden roller (A) similar to our rolling pin, around which the
296 washed clothes (B) are put while still wet. Then a heavy stone (C) is rocked in a seesaw motion on the clothes wrapped around it, by means of which they are freed of the remaining water and are smoothed.

482 For carrying firewood and other heavy loads, the Meau use special carrying frames (Figs. 178 and 179), which are carried on the back in the manner used in our Alpine countries. These carrying frames come in different sizes for men, women, and children (Ill. 104).[2]

One half of this wooden frame is provided with a tight plaiting of narrow /310/ /Figs. 156-165 appear here/ bamboo strips (Fig. 180). Broad carrying straps of leather (C) are attached to the inside of the wooden frame (A). The two ends of the carrying frame are connected by means of a forked branch (D) and a tightly /311/ /Figs. 166-177 appear here/ twisted rope attached to it. Between this and the plaited wall of the carrying frame (B) the load is now stowed and fastened by means of the rope (Ill. 93).[3]

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , " "]
3 [" " " , p643 - "]

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the
[114 184] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how-
[262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer,
[312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the
[241] rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the
[278] fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of
278 men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1. Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning, weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[241] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)
[248]

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

/61 cont./

731 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

2:Ling & Ruey--94 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/65/

313
245

Illus. 35. Pine logs.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The villages of
Sze-nan and San-kioh both are important lumber centers. 313

Tigers are reported in the northeastern 136
part of the province. There are also said to be wolves, wild boars, white pheasants, and giant salamanders. I have seen wild cats in the hills and rabbits for sale in the market at Kweiyang. There are many domestic ani- 231
mals, including "yellow cows," water buffalo, pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and chickens. The first two are used as draft animals, for plowing. There are no full-sized horses, but ponies and small mules are used as pack animals.

In mineral wealth Kweichow is considered 135
to have greater possibilities than any other province of China. Coal is common and may be had for merely scratching the surface. The richest mercury mines in the world are in Kweichow. It is the only mineral exported, although from the iron in Wei-ning cooking vessels are manufactured which are sold all over Yünnan, as well as Kweichow. In addition, there are gold, silver, copper, and nitrate of potash in sufficient quantities to warrant mining them.

The province should also be of great in- 137
terest to botanists. I met in Kweiyang an Austrian who had collected over three hundred species of plants. As I went to market from the mountain village in which I was living to Lung-li I would count the flowering plants I saw. There were never fewer than thirty in blossom, many times more than fifty. At times the hills would be rosy with azaleas, at other times blue with bluebells of several kinds, while during their season more than a hundred white lilies would be in view at certain points. Hedges of wild roses border some of the paths. There are wild fruit trees, berries, and flowering vines. Nearly every flowering plant we grow with much care in our gardens is found wild on the Kweichow mountains.

4:Michey E-5 (1948-7) 1947 AES Misc AES

The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended. 462 846

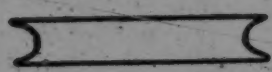


FIG. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there. 462

Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewood, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the hauling out of grain in the field 462 241 [313]

/278 cont./

342 joiners, etc., all at the same time. They say: 'If we were able to make salt, we would easily surpass all other peoples.'"

[313] Savina (2) writes further: "The wood most used for construction

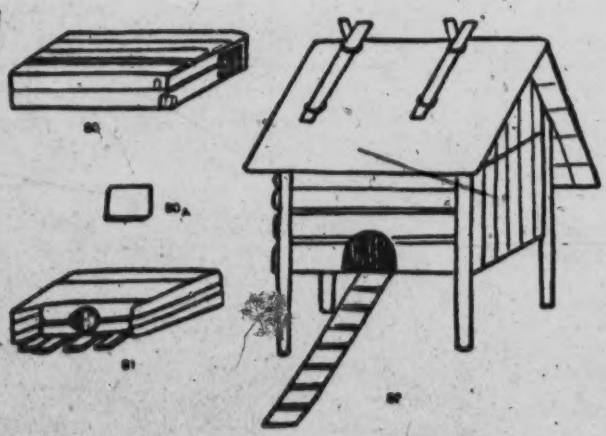
2. II, p. 189.

purposes and also for burning is that of pines (Pinus rigida), which is common in the mountains. There are two kinds of pine wood, black and red."

343

Fig. 79.
Granary of the Meau.
1/100 nat. size.

[417]



Figs. 80-82. Chicken Coops of the Meau.

Fig. 80-81. Boxlike chicken coops on the ground. 1/44 nat. size. Fig. 82. Chicken coop on piles, 1/36 nat. size.

/406 cont./

322 [412] stamping out spirit-money (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"), round punches (Fig. 359) and hollow punches (Fig. 360) are in use. /Figs. 356-361 appear here./

The posts on which the houses rest are made of termite-[824] proof teak or of pine wood; for all other purposes, regardless [313] of whether it is a matter of building material or wood for the making of implements, termite-proof wood is not used, but rather other kinds of varying hardness. The tree trunks are

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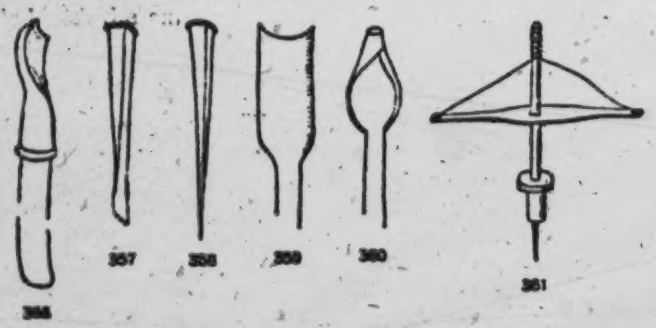

Figs. 356-358 and 361. Woodworking Instruments of the Meau.

Figs. 359-360. Paper Punches of the Meau.
Fig. 356. Round chisel, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 357. Flat chisel, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 358. Awl, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 359. Round punch, about 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 360. Hollow punch, about 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 361. Drill, 1/20 nat. size.

322 felled with the ax, barked, and split apart into planks with [313] wooden wedges. If it is a matter of wood that cannot be split along the grain, one does not use even the wedge, but cuts a single board out of each trunk with the ax by ripping off one chip after another from either side until a plank of the required thickness is obtained. This is a very laborious procedure, but usually one can select wood that can be split with wedges. In that case the Meau obtain the planks needed for a whole house from a few strong tree trunks.

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
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Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning,
[241] weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[248] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, [262] and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [443] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [439] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [415] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/66 cont./

000 386 leaves. After the picking, they cut the leaves into small pieces of about 40 kung fen, tie them in arm-thick bundles, and place them in a large earthenware jar filled with pure spring water, where they are completely submerged. After three days the jar of clear water becomes dark green in color. The indigo bundles are then removed, and lime water is added to the jar. The ratio is a bowl of lime water to a tan /picul/ of indigo water. The lime is first dissolved in water: the solution is kept and the residue discarded. After being mixed with the lime water the indigo water /67/ is stirred with a stick to blend it. The precipitation is indigo.

249 [314] [291] Although wild indigo grows everywhere, its output in the end is not large. Furthermore, the Miao, men and women, all wear blue cotton clothes. The supply of wild indigo naturally is not enough to meet the demand and domestic indigo has to be cultivated (Illus. 36). It is planted in the second and third months and harvested in the ninth and tenth months before the frost. The output of domestic indigo is larger than that of wild indigo. The Miao usually dig a hole about two kung ch'ih [386] deep for making indigo. The process is the same as that for wild indigo.

The Miao also plant sugar cane in the low-lying places in deep valleys. The land for this crop must have fine soil and dry. On the periphery as well as in the center of the field several ditches are dug for draining water in case of rain. To plant sugar cane, they cut the cane into short lengths of about three or four nodes, planting three or four of them together. When they grow up they become a cluster. The clusters are about half a kung ch'ih apart. At planting time the sections are put into the earth, with the top ends slightly slanting, which are also covered with earth. After half a month, when the sprouts come out, light fertilizer is added. When they grow to a height of half a kung ch'ih, fertilizer is again put on. In all they are fertilized four or five times, and each time the earth is weeded and the soil loosened. Four or five days after the first frost in the ninth or tenth month the crop may be

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but ●314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
243

2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around [314] them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] [417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I
[114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern
Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no
[326] knowledge of pottery!
[323] The author continues his observations with a desctiption
[184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a
[314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these
[314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All
[596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure
[294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire...
[286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

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[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

317 The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
439 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water,
are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos,
[245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or
fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole
series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as
spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[135] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[171] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders
[439] (see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
252 which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the
[262] sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in
the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans
until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried
in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks
[251] where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

For festive days cakes (tsuǎ) are made, three kinds of
[262] which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/410 cont.

321 Among other materials used for handicrafts bone and ivory must also be mentioned. Knives (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) and knife handles, are made out of them, and they are also used in crossbows. The chopsticks of the well-to-do are usu-
[412] [556] ally made of ivory.

289 Finally, the making of paper is still to be mentioned. Young green bamboo is chopped up, after the outer covering and the pith are removed, into pieces about 15 centimeters long and five centimeters wide. A quantity of wood ashes equal to a fifth of the amount of bamboo /Fig. 373 appears here/ is added and, with the addition of water, is cooked for about twelve hours, during which the water that evaporates is replaced as needed. At the end of this period the bamboo mixture is soft. Then the substance is pounded in order to crush the wood fibers (Ill. 84).[1] At the same time any large or hard particles of wood remaining are carefully removed, and the mass of fibers is further cooked in the same lye solution after liana bark pulverized between stones /411/ has been added. After the substance has reached the proper consistency, it is spread as evenly as possible (Ill. 85)[1] on cotton cloth, which is stretched between wooden frames (Fig. 373), and dried in the sun. With a special bone knife (see the chapter,
[413] "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) the dried and therefore finished paper is carefully lifted off. As was described, it is punched by means of special punches before its use in sacral performances (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

[531]

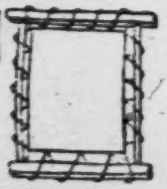


Fig. 373
Wooden Frame for Paper-making among the Meau, 1/60 nat. size.

1 [see cat. 116, p598 - ANALYST]

/27 cont'd/

226 here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

463 Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-
462 developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets,
[285 boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for
322] domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for
[439] rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time
[342] with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

286 The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area
386 /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from
286 the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 442

/116 cont./

764 spirits, a pig and a couple of chickens are slaughtered, and the
[775] soul is invited to feast on them. Then a great dance takes
[789] place."

The deathwatch is maintained by the parents, the surviving spouse, and the children. After a few hours, two or three of these closest relatives relieve one another. During the deathwatch relatives and condoling friends, whose numbers depend on the importance of the deceased, speak of the dead
[766] person and mourn his passing. If the deceased was a distinguished man, his body lies in state for two days; in the case of a humble man and women and children, only one day.

614 During the deathwatch the men of the sib prepare the
764 coffin for the deceased. For this purpose a tree trunk of a proper length for the deceased is hollowed out. No ceremonies and
[322] no special handling of the tools are connected with the carving of the coffin. They go about this work in the same way as they do when they make a pig trough. Then the corpse is put, on its back, into the coffin, and the latter is closed with two boards. Toward twelve o'clock the same men begin to dig a grave at a place in the jungle selected by them. Since there are no cemeteries, and no special burying grounds for the sib, the choice of the site is left to these men, who perform this work as a pious service and have no other function in con-
[767] nection with the burial. -- There are no professional grave-diggers.

764 The grave is always laid out in an east-west direction, and in stony or level ground it is dug out about one meter deep, otherwise another half a meter.

The burial takes place between about two and three
[614] o'clock. The closest male members of the sib who are able-bodied carry the coffin to the burial place, accompanied by all the sib members and guests. Here it is let down into the pit in such a way that the corpse lies horizontally in the grave, with the head toward the east and the feet toward the west. The Meau of today no longer know why this direction is observed; they are following a /117/ custom handed down from

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
[164] laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[732] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on p. 369]

/273 cont./

342 Caption for Fig. 70 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

[353] Key to symbols:

A = storage lofts
B = supporting posts
C = ridge post
H = crossbeam of roof
J = roof beam
K = longitudinal roof beam
L = ladder to the storage loft

/274/

[322] The boards of the house wall (Ill. 106),[1] roughly hewn with the ax, are about three to four centimeters thick and between 15 and 35 centimeters wide. They are /Fig. 71 appears here/ not joined to one another tightly, but rather show narrower or wider spaces, through which air and light can enter the windowless room. The boards are thrust into the loamy ground and tied on the inside and outside to a lower and an upper crossbeam, which in turn are fastened to the supporting posts driven firmly into the ground (Fig. 71; further, the chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 117). Lajonquière (1), in connection with the

342
333
184

1. II, p. 306.

description of the Meau houses in Tonkin, mentions, besides walls "made of planks nowhere fitting together," which he calls the "ordinary type," also walls made of pounded earth, which occur only in "the most complete type of house." Abadie (2),

2. Page 156.

[556] too, mentions that the houses of the rich have walls of pounded earth or mud, and describes their erection as follows: "The pounded earth is prepared in two ways. The earth, kneaded with water, is dried in the sun in a form in the shape of a parallelepiped and, depending on the thickness of the wall, is put side by side in double or triple layers. In the second case the moistened earth is tamped down between two boards, the space

[SEE Cat 116, P 706 - ANALYST]

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

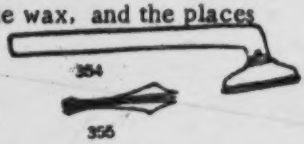


Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
[411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for
[262] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their
[177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

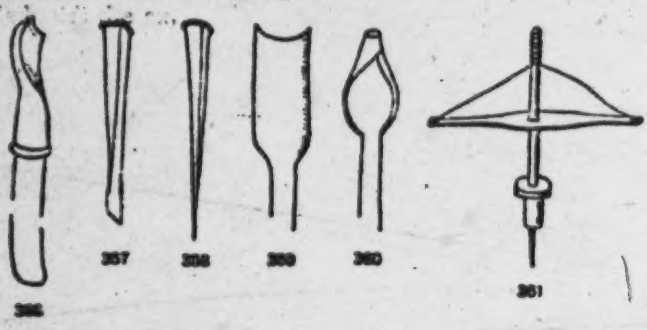
Mi 20 AE5

/406 cont./

322 [412] stamping out spirit-money (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic") round punches (Fig. 359) and hollow punches (Fig. 360) are in use. /Figs. 356-361 appear here./

The posts on which the houses rest are made of termite-[824] proof teak or of pine wood; for all other purposes, regardless [313] of whether it is a matter of building material or wood for the making of implements, termite-proof wood is not used, but rather other kinds of varying hardness. The tree trunks are

412



Figs. 356-358 and 361. Woodworking Instruments of the Meau.

Figs. 359-360. Paper Punches of the Meau.
Fig. 356. Round chisel, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 357. Flat chisel, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 358. Awl, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 359. Round punch, about 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 360. Hollow punch, about 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 361. Drill, 1/20 nat. size.

322 felled with the ax, barked, and split apart into planks with [313] wooden wedges. If it is a matter of wood that cannot be split along the grain, one does not use even the wedge, but cuts a single board out of each trunk with the ax by ripping off one chip after another from either side until a plank of the required thickness is obtained. This is a very laborious procedure; but usually one can select wood that can be split with wedges. In that case the Meau obtain the planks needed for a whole house from a few strong tree trunks.

/406 cont./

322 824 Aside from the construction of houses and stables, wood has /407/ an extraordinary number of uses. For example, tables, benches, stools (Ill. 107) 3 and beds, the distillation apparatus for making alcohol, rice mills, rice steamers and pounders, the troughs for the pig fodder, and the pack saddles for the animals (Ill. 81) 2 are made of it; furthermore the handles of tools and knives, sheaths for knives, spear shafts and the gun stocks, crossbows, bellows (Ill. 82), 3 and musical instruments, such as the mouth organ, are produced from it; the altars (Ill. 99) 4 are built out of it; it is likewise necessary for building wells, [386] and, finally, dyestuff is also obtained from wood.

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2 + 3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p664 - "]
5 [" " " p644 - "]

39: Bernatzik--597, E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 442 and 443/

291
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412
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Ill. 83. Meau with drill for woodworking.

39: Bernatzik--726 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself.

[415]

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants.
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/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
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The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
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[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

/424 cont./

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As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and
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1. II, p. 311.

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2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
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[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which
[323] was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [326] knowledge of pottery!

[323] The author continues his observations with a desctiption [184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

/406 cont./

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2 + 3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p664 - "]
5 [" " " p644 - "]

/129 cont./

M 325 [531] [301] [177] A [301] [531]

The silver ornaments of the Meau (chapter on "Clothing and /130/ Ornaments," Fig. 211 to Fig. 227), as well as those of the Akha (Fig. 239 to Fig. 253 of the same chapter), are sometimes decorated with attractive incised designs. The chasing technique by means of which spiral designs /Fig. 15 appears here/ are produced on the silver scabbards for daggers (Fig. 15) and the embossing technique occasionally used on bracelets may have been borrowed from the Thai peoples, but the fact remains that the Meau silversmiths are quite able to compete with the Thai ornaments in beauty of workmanship, even though the Meau men practice these difficult techniques just as casually as even the most famous women produce their batik designs.

A [531] [276]

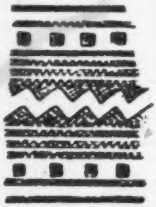


Fig. 14. Incised decoration on girl's pipe of the Akha. 2/1 nat. size.

A M 532

For test purposes, as has been mentioned, I had drawings made by both sexes. In the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children," I have described the guiding principles that I followed in this. These drawings provided an interesting insight into the drawing talents of the Akha as well as of the Meau.

In all the drawings, with the possible exception of Fig. 18, the complete lack of composition is striking. Only individual objects, animals, plants, or little scenes from daily /131/ life are ever represented. As a result many drawings are upside down or sideways. Usually one cannot determine by himself where the artist actually imagined the top or the bottom of the sheet to be. Actually, they focused their attention exclusively on that part of the drawing on which they were working at the moment. As soon as this was finished, the sheet was turned so that an adjacent free area of the sheet could be comfortably worked on, regardless of the position of the last drawing.

Akha as well as Meau men showed a special preference for representations of animals of the hunt and domestic animals; in addition, implements, weapons, and occasionally scenes

Mtao AE5
AKha A04

M /280 cont./
231 lattice of wooden beams. On the front side some of these beams
343 can be pushed aside in order to let the cattle in or out. Similar
417 hurdles are customary among our mountain peasants.
Lajonquière (1) describes the quarters of the domestic animals in

1. II, p. 305.

almost the same way, and furthermore Abadie (2) and

2. Page 158.

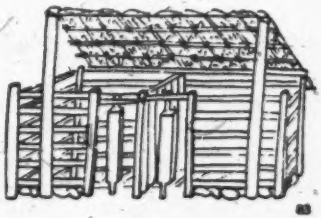


Fig. 83. Pigpen of the Meau. 1/60 natural size.

Fig. 84. Trough for pig fodder. 1/36 nat. size.

Savina (3), too.

3. II, p. 186.

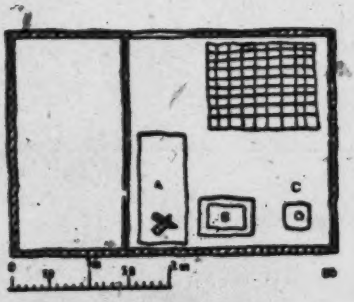
A
M
348

4. Smithies

The smithy (Figs. 85 and 86) is a small structure built in the fashion of the dwelling, which consists of a workroom open at the sides and a second room enclosed with leaf-walls (E).
M [325] The workroom is enclosed by only a few wooden beams (D) and, appropriately for the steep terrain, is on a platform. In it

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /280 cont./
348 stands a large table made out of mud, with a fireplace (A),
325 bellows, fire tongs, and the other forge-implements,
/281/ such as are described and illustrated in the chapter,
A "Handicrafts." In front of the mud table there stands a larger
348 (B) and a smaller (C) anvil. /Figs. 85-86. appear here./



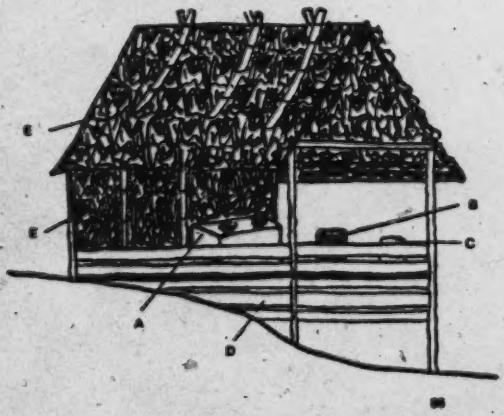


Fig. 85 (above). Smithy of the Meau, ground plan. A = worktable of pounded clay. B and C = anvils.

Fig. 86 (below). Smithy of the Meau, sketch. A = worktable with fireplace and bellows. B and C = anvils. D = wooden beam. E = palm-leaf shingles as roof covering and side walls.

/325 cont./

301 are worn over one another (Ills. 52-54).[1] The most common are simple round hoops which are worn open at the neck or are provided with a fastener of silver rings (Fig. 213). Instead of the small silver rings, a silver clasp may also be used to close the hoop, as, for example, in the case of the large neck ring of the shaman, which is illustrated in Fig. 212. Some-
[789] times small charms, powder sewed into black cloth and the like, are attached to the neck hoop for protection against evil
[531] spirits (Fig. 211). The two bent ends of the neck hoop are usually provided with incised designs (Figs. 214-216). In
[412]

209 210

Figs. 209-210. Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 209. Wooden comb to stick in the hair, about 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 210. Bamboo comb for dressing the hair, about 1/3 nat. size.

addition to these typical solid silver hoops, such neck rings made of iron or copper, or of silver twisted with copper, are also worn (Fig. 217). All of the neck hoops are made by the Meau themselves and are also worn on workdays.

[325] The material for the making of silver ornaments is ob-
[177] tained by melting down the old Indochinese piaster pieces or Chinese silver coins. For a heavy men's hoop nine pieces of mon (which are old Indochinese silver coins) are required.

The earrings of the girls and women -- I did not see any on men -- are likewise made of solid silver. The most common form is provided with an arrow wound with fine silver wire (Fig. 218 and Ill. 60).[2] /326/ I have also often come across the large silver ear-pendants in the shape of reversed question marks, which Lajonquière (1) mentions, among the

1. II, p. 309.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448- "]

/406 cont./

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Miao AE5

/407 cont./

325 The bellows (Fig. 362), which consists of a wooden cylinder (a) made of boards joined together and sealed with wax, to which an air pipe (b) is attached. Fitted into the hollow space of the cylinder is a piston (Fig. 363, c) consisting [237] of two wooden disks, between which chicken feathers are pasted as packing. By means of an iron rod with a handle (d) the piston is /408/ pushed back and forth in the cylinder. When the iron rod is pulled out, the opening (e) of the cylinder, which has a small bamboo disk fastened to one end, is closed off on the inside through air pressure. Thus, no air can escape from the cylinder, but with the return thrust goes toward the fire in the air pipe terminating in a clay part (Fig. 364). Since the air pipe is not put at the end, but in the middle of the cylinder, stronger compression is sacrificed, to be sure, but the air supply is not thereby interrupted, since it continues with both thrusts of the piston. /Figs. 362-372 appear here./

The anvils (Figs. 366 and 367), of which there are usually several in various shapes and sizes in a smithy. The supporting pegs are of wood, the upper part of iron.

[285] The annealing basket (Fig. 368) is a piece of cylindrical basketwork that terminates in a funnel-shaped opening at the top. It is filled with wet clay and serves for cooling off the hot metal.

[415] As a casting mold one uses a small calabash, into which four small wooden sticks /409/ are put in the fashion shown in the drawing, Fig. 369. A cloth moistened with cold water is put over the sticks (Fig. 370). The liquid metal is poured from the crucible into the middle between the wooden sticks. When cold, it has the desired bar shape.

[413] The sledge hammer (Fig. 371), in various sizes, is flat on one side and has a chisel-like edge on the other. The wooden handles are simple and straight, though of various lengths.

[413] The blacksmith's tongs (Fig. 373) come in various sizes; they are made in two parts.

/409 cont./

325 [439] Iron is bought from Chinese traders, or from the Lao, Schan /Shan/, or Burmese, in the form customarily traded in northern Thailand, four-cornered, square bars four to five centimeters thick and 50 centimeters long. Silver, brass, copper, and lead also come from them. In order to obtain [177] silver, the Meau melt Chinese, Burmese, or Indochinese silver coins in the crucible (Fig. 365) of porous stone and pour the silver into the mold (Figs. 369 and 370) which was previously lined with cloth so that the molten metal will not stick to the walls. The silver coins are crushed before they are

Figs. 362-372. Forging Equipment of the Meau.

Fig. 362. Bellows, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 363. Piston of the bellows. Fig. 364. End of the pipe. Fig. 365. Smelting pot of stone, 1/6 nat. size. Figs. 366-367. Anvils, 1/35 [285] nat. size. Fig. 368. Annealing basket, 1/25 nat. size. [415] Fig. 369. Casting mold, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 370. Casting mold in use. Fig. 371. Sledge hammer, 1/6 nat. size. [413] Fig. 372. Blacksmith's tongs, 1/6 nat. size.

/409 cont./

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39: Bernatzik--596 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 442 and 443/

231
291
492

Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox among the Meau.

325
516

Ill. 82. Meau smith in his workshop.

/480 cont./

cultural elements drawn upon for proof are too few in number
174 and moreover in large part not characteristic for the Meau, and
[114] are often to be regarded as environmentally conditioned.

It is an interesting question whether the Meau may be classed in the circle of those peoples whose very ancient cultures are brought into relief from their surroundings by, among other things, megaliths, certain forms of animal sacrifice, and head-hunting. It is well-known that this culture is still alive today among the Naga and wild Wa and their neighbors. Relics in many places in Farther India, Hindustan, Indonesia, and beyond into the South Seas and traces in northwestern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East show that its spread must have been far greater in former times. -- I myself was able to identify the so-called "Moi peoples" of Indochina as belonging to this group, as I shall report in detail in another place. Judging by the available facts, there can be no doubt that the Meau do not belong to this cultural complex, even if the /481/ classification of the Meau language with the Mon-Khmer languages (see the chapter, "Language"), which is absolutely erroneous in my opinion, should be proved correct.

•[325] For the question of the origin of the culture of the Meau, a bronze drum allegedly made by the Meau and cast by dead mold, which is in the possession of the ethnographic museum in Vienna and has not yet been described up to now,* is of special

* During the printing of the present work, a few statements about this drum by F. M. Schnitger appeared in the Archiv für Anthropologie, 1943, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

[534] significance. The shape of the drum is shown in Figures 423 and 424. The diameter of the striking surface is 70.5 centimeters. The drum is hollow, open at the bottom, and four bronze handles are attached to the side walls. It belongs to the group of bronze drums that Heger discussed in his work, Alte
[532] Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien /Old Metal Drums from Southeast Asia/. /Fig. 423 appears here./ /482/ The drum

/489 cont./

174 cannot have anything to do with the Meau.

532 Furthermore, we come to the question of whether mountain peoples with a relatively lower culture, like the Meau, are to be credited at all with the production of such works of art [325] as these drums represent. If one considers the perfect casting and above all the ornamentation and plastic representation so well executed technically, this appears most improbable, quite apart from the fact that I could find no indications of any kind among the Meau that the technique of casting by dead form had been familiar to them at any time in their history. I would far rather speak of this work of art as the flowering of a high culture. Under these circumstances, and especially in view of the boats depicted, Von Eickstedt's conjecture, expressed orally to me, that a Thai people may have been involved as the original producer, is not to be rejected. Also the fact that the original homeland of several Thai peoples is to be sought not far from the region in which the Meau drum, according to its previous owners, was originally used at least does not argue against it.

174 To be sure, it is possible that the Meau, who, as their history leads one to suspect, had formerly developed a high culture or at least the beginnings of one, were checked in their development by martial events and oppressions following them, and their culture was subjected to a shrinking process. That a cultural atrophy of considerable proportions actually must have taken place /490/ can be verified by the far more primitive material culture in comparison with the spiritual culture. Even though it has still never been proved that such drums were made by the Meau, it is indeed theoretically possible, their great absolute antiquity being established, that they come from the cultural golden age of the Meau. The frequent statements in the literature to the effect that the Meau did beat bronze drums on various cultic occasions (Heger (1), Nan-chao (2) seem also

1. Pages 235 ff.

2. Pages 187 ff.

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

● 325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself.

[415]

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

/72 cont./ They reared the

231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
286 method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[171] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
[438] though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

415 [160 cont.]
482 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
[492] often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo" of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies
[854] also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

317 The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
439 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yuň, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏňň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese [177] and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [726] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/165 cont./

326 spirits of the smithy, the chief spirit, dă lŭ pán, which literally
776 means "to know great fire," and his two assistant spirits, lŭ lŭ pan and san lu pan, and asks these three spirits to help him and to see to it that the iron neither cracks nor becomes overheated. Da lu pan, the chief spirit of the smithy spirits, also taught the Meau /166/ other useful things, especially technical skills. These spirits of the smithy are of the male sex. The smiths
[782] make sacrifices to them on the altar in their houses and believe that they actually live there. Before the Meau begins his work at the forge, he lights an incense candle for each of the three spirits, that is, three candles altogether, and asks dă lŭ pán and his two assistant spirits to follow him to the smithy. After that it is believed that the three spirits actually accompany the smith to the workshop and return to the dwelling after the work is done. No explanation could be given when I objected that there must be vast numbers of such spirits, since there are many Meau smiths and dă lŭ pán with his two assistant spirits lives in the house of every one of them.

756 The teacher-spirit of the medicine man is called yŭ wăn
776 sŭ fū. The curer makes offerings to him, with whom no assistant
[782] spirits are associated, on the altar which he has erected in his house, before he begins to treat a sick person. Two incense candles are lighted for this sacrificial act.

The shamans, too, follow a teacher-spirit, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsū. They are also helped by three pairs of assistant spirits: tă fū yé, lŭ fū yé, and săn fū yé.

776 Other good spirits live in the clouds. Human beings do not know how many of them, who are called sĕn šĕn, there are. In one Meau village I met a woman who was convinced that she had the special good-will of these cloud spirits, for which reason
[782] she had erected in her house a special altar for them, on which she regularly offered sacrifices to the sĕn šĕn. This woman
[212] believed that the cloud spirits had taught her to write! How easy it was to determine that she had seen Chinese characters among itinerant Haw traders. Upon my request she scribbled on paper fanciful characters, whose meaning, of course, she was unable to explain to me.

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

439 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, 787 "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

123 Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could 224 not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, [787] whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [32] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

/193 cont./

123 go hunting together, and immediately Tsin Tsai was again
224 favorably disposed toward me. We would set out to hunt ele-
[326] phants, gaur, and other big game which, with his primitive guns,
[411] he was able to kill only at the risk of his life. His passion for hunting was so great that, even at the time of the harvest, he would drop everything in order to accept my invitation. Needless to say, Tsin Tsai also knew how to handle the crossbow, the
[411] most important and favorite weapon of the Meau, or poisoned arrows, with which any game can be brought down. My high-power rifle, /194/ however, aroused general admiration, and Tsin Tsai in particular could not get his fill of looking at it; he repeatedly picked it up and stroked it lovingly.

The Meau are familiar with the habits of game to a remarkable degree, naturally far more so than we Europeans. Just as I always deferred to the natives while hunting in the tropics, here, too I followed the instructions of the bold Meau hunters. They know the weather and the wind directions in relation to the haunts of the game; they are familiar with the scarce sources of salt in the primeval forest, which are regularly visited by all the wild animals; they know whether and at what time of the day or night the various species of animals seek out the waterholes or the salt licks; they deduce from the tracks of a wounded animal when it will take cover; in a word, they know the answers to all the questions that are involved in success for a hunter in the primeval forest.

123 Chief Tsin Tsai in particular was able to answer the most
224 incredible questions. After a short time I myself relied com-
787 pletely upon what he said. In order to be able to judge the extent of the knowledge possessed by this excellent hunter, I constantly posed new and more difficult questions, which nevertheless were always answered. When I tried, as far as possible, to verify his statements, I soon, to my surprise, found contradictions and inaccuracies. Finally, however, this inexplicable situation was clarified for me, when I discovered Tsin Tsai engaged in having my questions answered by the spirits by means of oracles! Apparently the spirits were less well informed about the living habits of the animals than the living Meau were!

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large [596] [769] /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted [411] with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[1] with which effective poisoned 411 arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306- [326] 308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair 262 or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [see cat 116, pp 576, 643, +530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

/387 cont./

411 In addition there are double-edged swords for close com-
177 bat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size accord-
ing to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords
[778] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305).
[175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78,[1] Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau
[326] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the
[439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

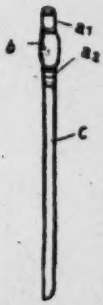

Fig. 305
Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [326] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide- [439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

[184] As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
439 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)
114 writes

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which
[323] was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I
[114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern
Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no
[326] knowledge of pottery!
[323] The author continues his observations with a desctiption
[184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a
[314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these
[314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All
[596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure
[294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire...
[286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

/55 cont./

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1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I, 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

[171]

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao area involve considerable labor. On a slope where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up in tiers, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

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[333]

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342 Caption for Fig. 70 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

[353] Key to symbols:

A = storage lofts
B = supporting posts
C = ridge post
H = crossbeam of roof
J = roof beam
K = longitudinal roof beam
L = ladder to the storage loft

/274/

[322] The boards of the house wall (Ill. 106), roughly hewn with the ax, are about three to four centimeters thick and between 15 and 35 centimeters wide. They are /Fig. 71 appears here/ not joined to one another tightly, but rather show narrower or wider spaces, through which air and light can enter the windowless room. The boards are thrust into the loamy ground and tied on the inside and outside to a lower and an upper crossbeam, which in turn are fastened to the supporting posts driven firmly into the ground (Fig. 71; further, the chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 117). Lajonquière (1), in connection with the

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1. II, p. 306.

description of the Meau houses in Tonkin, mentions, besides walls "made of planks nowhere fitting together," which he calls the "ordinary type," also walls made of pounded earth, which occur only in "the most complete type of house." Abadie (2),

2. Page 156.

[556] too, mentions that the houses of the rich have walls of pounded earth or mud, and describes their erection as follows: "The pounded earth is prepared in two ways. The earth, kneaded with water, is dried in the sun in a form in the shape of a parallelepiped and, depending on the thickness of the wall, is put side by side in double or triple layers. In the second case the moistened earth is tamped down between two boards, the space

[SEE Cat 116, P 706 - ANALYST]

/274 cont./

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] [177] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only repsent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).[1]

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the
[251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).[2]

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.
[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

[1 [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
[2 [" " " p665 - "]

/72 cont./ They reared the

231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
286 method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[171] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
[438] though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AES Misc AES

241 312 for flooding the fields. There were days of rain followed by rainy nights so that at least part of the day was sunny. They continued the preparation of fields and the carrying of fertilizer and began the harvest of rape, wheat, beans and peas.

241 For rape the whole plant was cut near the ground and the sheaves set, heads down, in the fields or along the beams of a barn or house. The seeds were later knocked out against the inside of a large, square wooden box in the field or on a threshing floor. For wheat each head was snapped off and thrown into a basket on a woman's back, to be dumped into the baskets on the carrying pole and taken to a mat on the threshing floor to be flailed. I helped twice with the reaping of wheat. Bean and pea plants were pulled up by the roots, bundled up, and hung up on the rafters to dry. When they were thoroughly dry the dirt was pounded off with a large wooden mallet, which could also be used to beat out the pulse. Or a flail was used. They were then sieved and winnowed in large, flat bamboo trays.

[335] One day fully half of the men of the village, under the direction of one of the older ones, were working together reroofing a house, while the young people went back and forth with their loads of fertilizer and empty baskets. However, the chief activity at this time was the preparation of fields into which rice, now several inches high, was transplanted later. Most of the fertilizer was carried to prepared fields, but some to fields not yet wholly cleared of other crops.

On the first of the fourth month I saw the members of our household working together to prepare a field which had been cleared of beans and rape. Two young men, one a member of the household, a relative who was something of a hired man, and one from another household, were plowing, the plows being drawn by water buffalo. The second nephew together with his wife formed one "team" and the son and his wife another to bring up water from the pond, along which this long field stretched, and pour it onto the field. They had attached ropes with sticks in them to the handles and to a point near the bottom of each bucket on each side, to hold by, so that they might together swing

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
164 pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good
[732] worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with
the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on
unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
335 roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on p. 369]

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of
352 his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.

Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the
[353] interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

[156 cont.]

291 photographs 105, Plate 39; 156 and 157, Plate 40; 424, Plate 37, show various specimens: blue turbans, turbans of mixed blue and white, blue turbans on top of which larger white turbans are bound, turbans of black-and-white squares, horned turbans, and so on. There is no really fixed style of turban and some latitude is allowed to the "Méo" women in the arrangement of their headdresses, except in the matter of the turbans for great ceremonies. Sometimes the
302 "Méo" women go about bareheaded, the hair rolled in a great pile on top of the head (photo 103, Plate 39, woman at left), or merely brought to the back of the head and fastened in a chignon. The hair is shaved for a width of three or four centimeters about the head, in the place where the turban rests.

Many of the "Méo" men and women wear a big hat of woven
291 rattan fiber in the shape of a truncated cone (photo 107, Plate 39; photo 198, Plate 42) of a model analogous to that of the "Man," but somewhat cruder and without the small spherical skullcap of the latter.

The "Méo" dwellings are generally rectangular in shape. The
342 walls are rarely of masonry (homes of the wealthy); most often they are of pisé or mud or even simply of rough planks.

The pisé is made in two ways: The moistened and kneaded
[339] earth is shaped, [157] by means of a mold, into parallelepipeds which are dried in the sun and are then placed one upon the other, for two or three rows of thickness, in such a way as to form the wall. In the second system, two large planks are so placed that the distance between them corresponds to the thickness which one wishes to give to the wall. Between these planks is packed slightly moistened earth, which is rammed down with large round logs. Then the planks are moved as the wall becomes higher, and are held in place by means of movable transverse members driven into the wall. The framework, formed of roughly squared logs, supports a roof of two sections, generally of straw and rarely of tiles. The roof extends some distance beyond the walls, in such a way as better to protect the latter from the rain.

The interior of the cabin is divided into several compartments:
342 353 In the center, the hall of honor, where strangers are received and

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
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[164] laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[732] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?); but he is a good worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on unnumbered pages./

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[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on p. 369]

/27 cont'd/

here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets, boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

● 342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M ● 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, M [137] pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-M 353 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the 778 rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the 177

see [text continues on p 63]
[1] [cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
[2] [" , p65- "]

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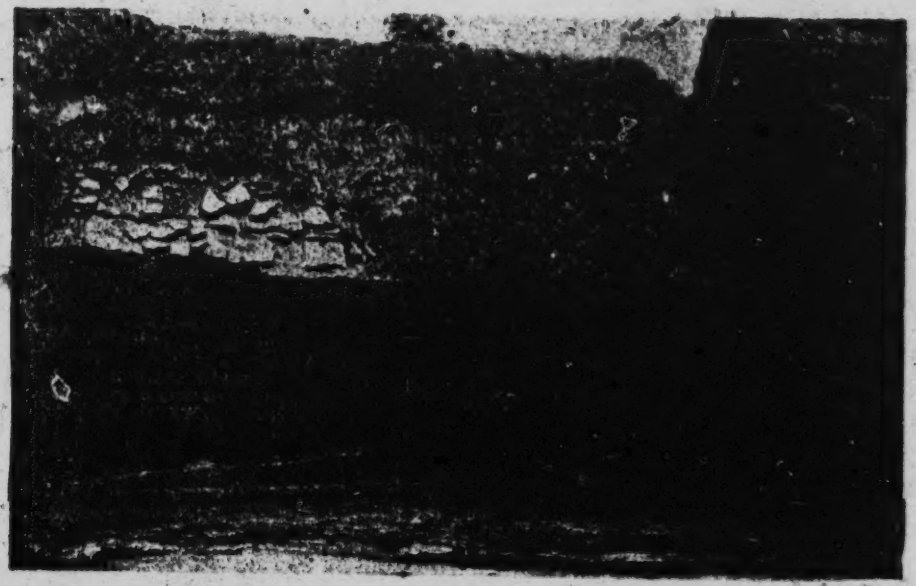

Illus. 14. A Mao house, with sun-dried brick walls and a roof of bark, slate, and thatch.

2:Ling & Ruey--65 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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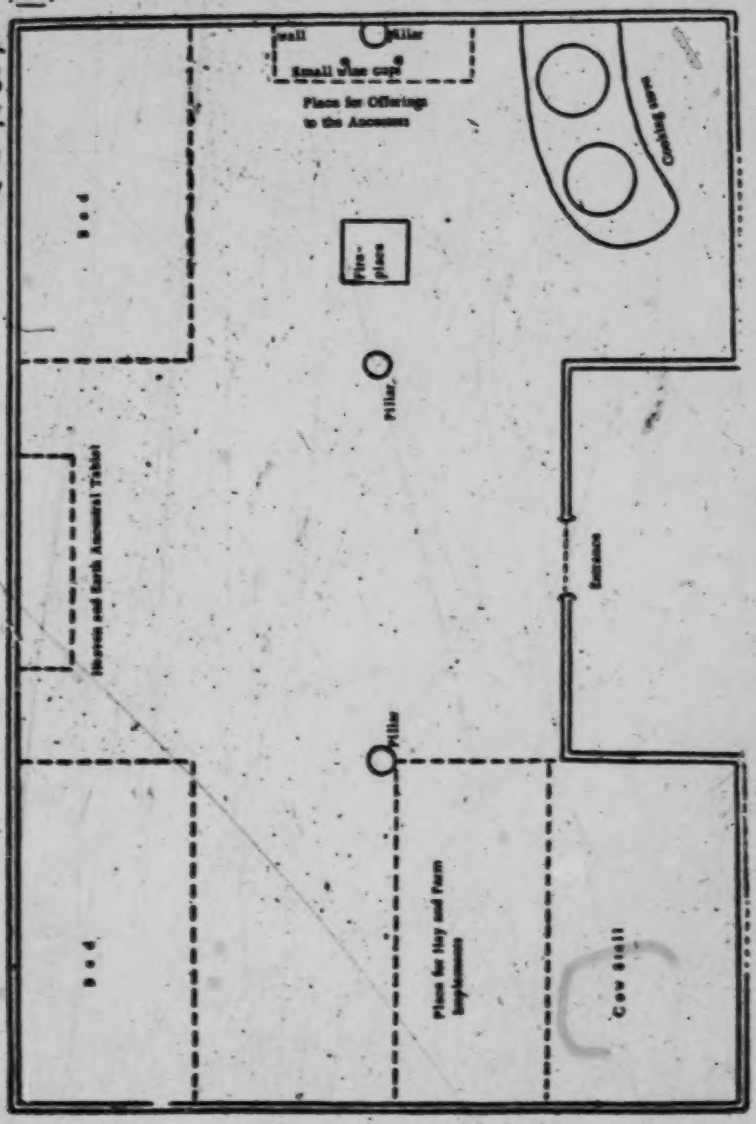

Illustration 18. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lung family among the Miao

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[784] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
514 animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
M 251 Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[213] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
M 241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

/42/

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Illus. 16. Interior arrangement of a Miao house of the two-room type with three pillars and four frames.

2:Ling & Ruey--69 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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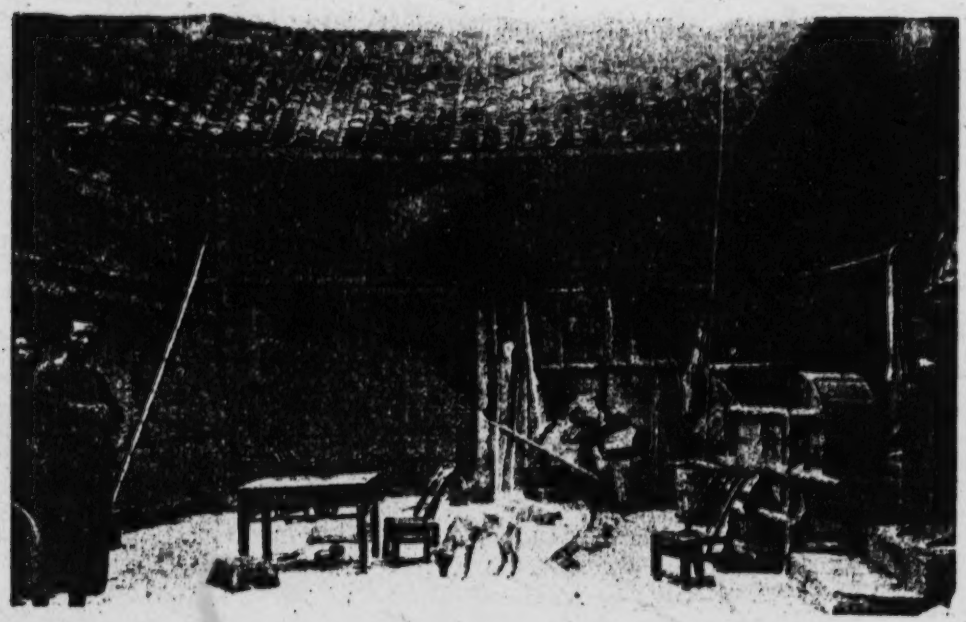
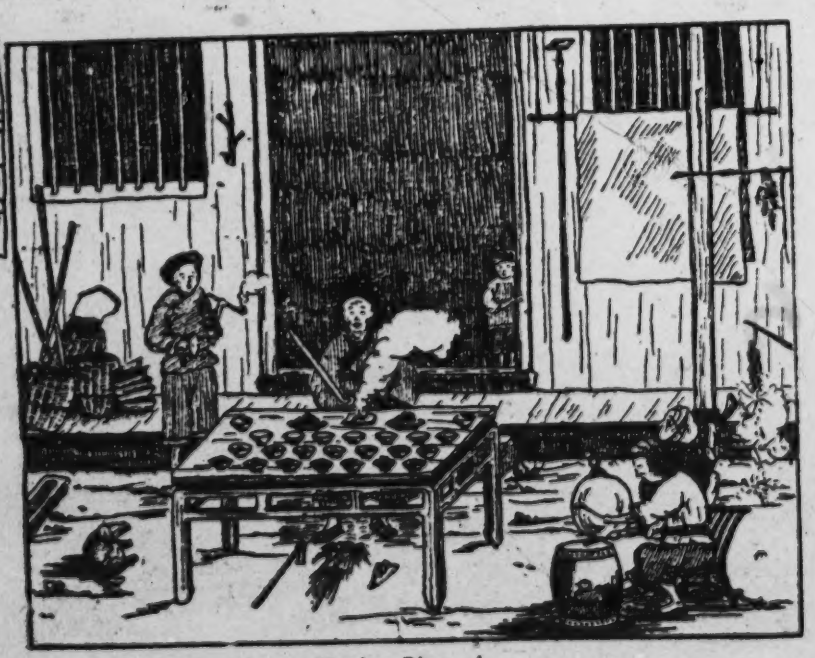


Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

/132 cont./

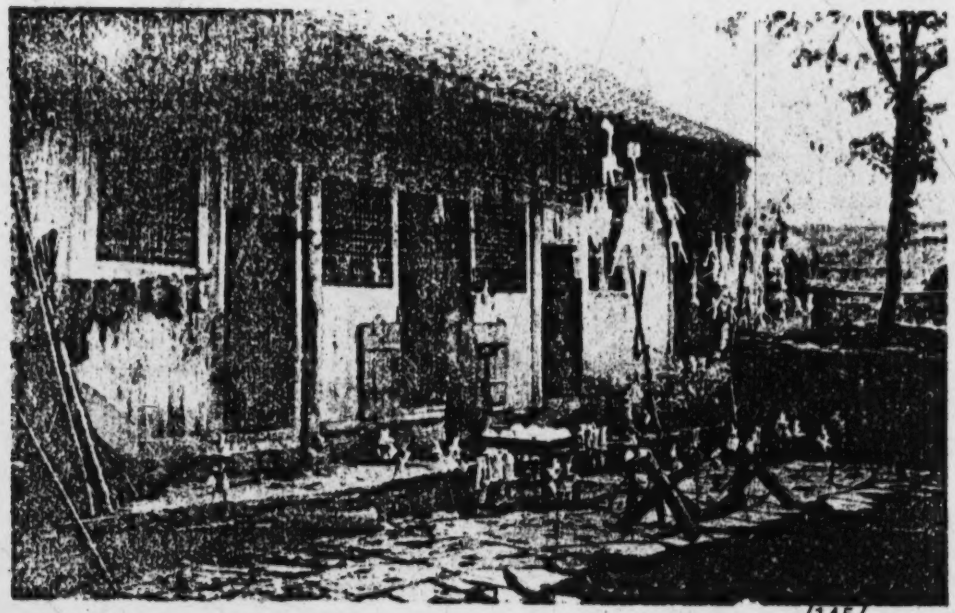
*782 they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and a bracelet. He utters an incantation, while attendants hold the [788] wine pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

[342] [352] [415] [412] [291]



Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

2: Ling & Ruey--215 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5



Illus. 64. Ta Kan Lo, A.

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342

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

361 house and house, village and stream, village and forest, and later between village and village. The villages being on the
342 sloping hillsides, the householder must first level off the
361 site he has chosen. This he does carefully, and the bank of earth twelve or eighteen inches high left at one side of the plot makes the protection for the back side of the house. A shallow trench is dug between this bank and the edge of the wall, and around the other three sides of the rectangular levelled place, to drain off the torrents of water that fall during the tropical storms.

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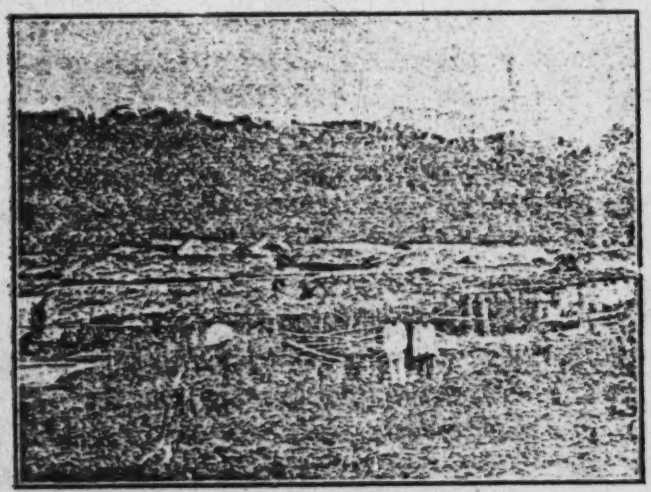

MIAO VILLAGE.

342 Four strong poles, standing about six feet above the ground, are driven firmly into the earth at each corner of the house-to-be. Ordinary houses are about thirty feet long and ten feet wide. At the middle of the two ends higher poles, standing about ten feet above the ground, are put in, and two more of the same height in the centre of the building and on a line with them, to hold the ridge-pole. Smaller posts are planted at regular intervals along the longer sides, and heavy bamboo or light timbers laid upon them to form the rest of the skeleton of the house. Light bamboo poles are lashed to ridgepole and sidepoles to take the place of rafters, and the top of the house is ready for the roof. No nails are used in the structure. Fastenings are made by means of bamboo or rattan withes, tied securely in place.

Roofing is done with one of three different kinds of material. Sometimes the leaves of the fan palm are used, laid overlapping each other. This roof is very easy to mend.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

as you merely stick another fan under the thatch wherever the water is dripping through. Sometimes bundles of a heavy swamp grass are used, or the third alternative is rattan. The big rattan branches are taken, stripped of leaves on one side of the mid-rib, laid one above the other with the leaves overlapping, and the whole section fastened to the roof. This sort of roofing takes longer to prepare but is probably the most durable of the three. 342●

The walls are the next problem. Often they are of bamboo stakes driven into the ground close together and chinked with mud up to the low roof. Sometimes they are simply split bamboo woven into screens and fastened firmly into place. No windows are left except tiny square openings in the walls and these are by no means universal. One door is left in the middle of the long front side of the house, a bamboo screen with bamboo withes for hinges and an ingenious bamboo latchstring. The eaves project two or three feet over the roof edge in every direction. At the back they thus extend almost to the top of the bank of earth mentioned above. In the front they extend down so near the ground that it is almost impossible to enter from that side, but a simple matter to enter this tunnel-like verandah at the end of the house and walk along close to the wall until the door is reached. The pig troughs are usually situated under this verandah, and the chicken coops also. Trough and chicken coop are hardly the proper names for the articles though they are used for those purposes. Their construction will be explained later. At one or perhaps both ends of the house the roof is extended three or four feet and under the shelter thus formed the household firewood, rice mortar, fishing and other implements are stored. The cows, if the family possesses any, are tied at night in a rude shelter near the house.

The floor of the house is made of pounded mud, cracking in dry weather and damp in rainy seasons. The general division of house space is shown in the accompanying sketch. Two stones make the fireplace and the crude iron skillet rests on them while the fire is built on the floor. Long logs are burned, being pushed into the fire as they gradually burn away. The smoke finds an outlet wherever it can, as there is no chimney. Above the fire a shelf of bamboo holds the family supply of corn or whatnot that needs drying. Hanging shelves on either side of the living room hold the family property. The rice room has a floor of woven bamboo, about a foot from the ground. As sons of the family marry, another room may be built on to the original house, if the new family does not set up a separate establishment entirely. [354] [352]

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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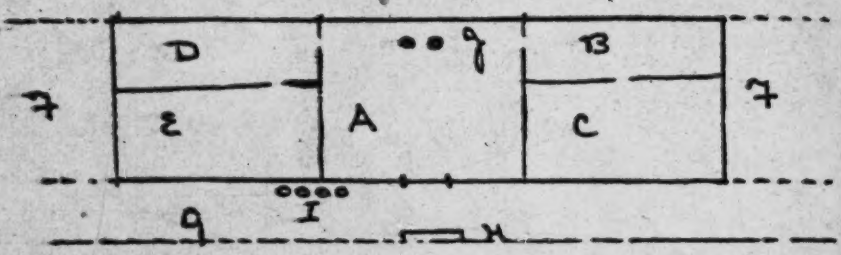

A—Living Room.
B—Parents' Room.
C—Rice Room.
D—Daughters' Room.
E—Sons' Room.
Used for various purposes.

F—Shelter for wood, etc.
G—Front verandah.
H—Pig trough.
I—Chicken coops.
J—Fire place.

I have seen one or two houses where there were three and four main entrances to the front verandah.

The utensils and implements used by the Miao are of the simplest. Rude iron hoes, heavy knives and the clumsy iron skillets are purchased from the Hainanese traders. Sometimes the skillets are lacking and the rice is steamed

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415

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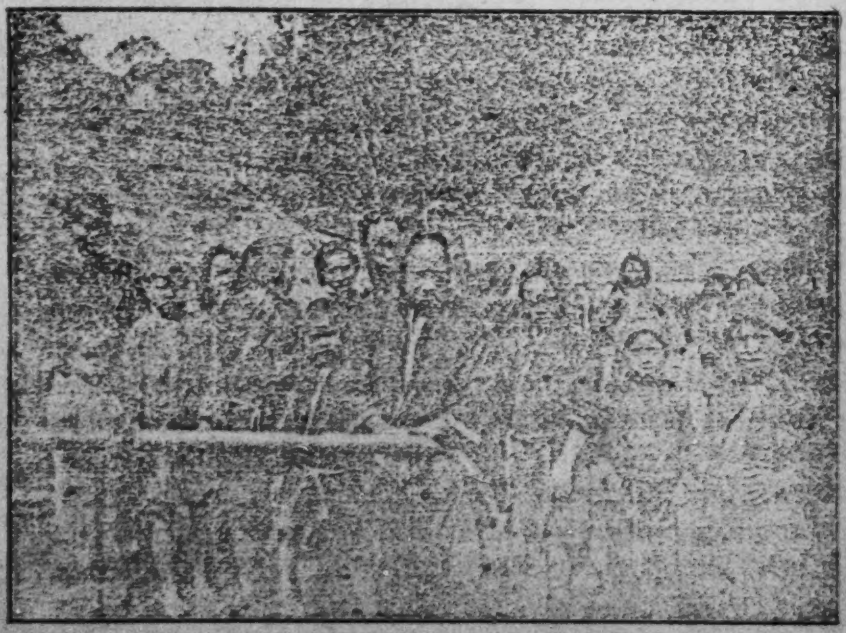

A Group of Miao Women and Children gathered round the pipe that carries the water to the village from a stream above.

4:Michey E-5 (1908-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the
slopes, with their fields on other slopes and
563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the
463 whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one
small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u,
who lived in the mountains and were iron-
596 workers. There I learned that the family in
which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated
from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A
younger brother and his family were living in
the old home, a fine house with three walls of
large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-
law in one of the other villages. Of these five
villages three contained families by the name
of Yang (楊) with single families of other
surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and
one of the Wang (王) family. They had
764 intermarried, as I found out when an old
man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died.
At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-
niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a
woman from the Lo family. For this old
man they danced for two nights and the
funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a
difference between the funerals for men and
for women; for the women two charges of
gunpowder were set off at a time, for the
men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a
great many wooded slopes. Well up on one
342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un.
Some of the fields were also on the mountain
sides, but most of them on the floor of the
valley below through which flowed a stream,
watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The
school and *lien pao* office occupied a new build-
ing at the gate of the village. There were
other new buildings in the village, too, and
foundations with beaten floors filled in and
used as threshing floors. Local men were do-
ing the carpentering on one, including the
making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc.
This was in front of the house belonging to
the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one.
342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen,
stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, en-
tered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one
entered the living rooms from the second
level, but there was also a ladder from the
stable and kitchen. On the new house I

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
596 vited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight.
[515 In this family I saw the evening foot-washing,
574] at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
353 leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

4:Michey E-6 (1940-7) 1947 AES Mico AES

342 **Houses: Construction and Divisions Indicating Use.** The framework of houses, like those of Chinese and Chung-chia of this region, was constructed of large, round pillars and squared beams fitted together and secured with wooden pegs. A building was of from one to five *chien*.[1] Under the timbering was a stone foundation up to four feet high, which for living rooms was filled in with pounded clay. The stable was a pit with steps leading down into it. The roofs were of tile laid on fir planks or straw, reed, and grass thatch over bamboo poles lashed to the rafters. The typical plan called for a hall entered from a recessed porch about three feet wide, and one or two *chien* on either side, which were subdivided or left as one large room. No two houses in the village were exactly alike either in the actual arrangement of the rooms or in the uses to which they were put. The very small room back of the hall sometimes contained a loom or a rice-hulling machine, or was used for storage or as a sleeping room. One of the side rooms was used for animals, as a stable and kitchen with no partition, as kitchen and general living room with no partition, or divided by partitions. Any of these side rooms except the stable could have beds in them. In addition to his bedroom, back of which was a general utility room, the head of the family in which I lived had what might be called a private sitting room. During the colder weather there was a bed for him there. Back of each of the other front rooms there was a sleeping room. The loft was also used for that purpose both in the main house and in the building opposite. The "new house" (fig. 13, *e*) had five *chien*, of which one was divided into two bedrooms for the younger nephew and his family, one into the bedroom and a general room for the son and his first wife, one into the hall and a small room for storage, one into the bedroom and a general room for the son and his second wife, and one into kitchen and storeroom for fuel, lime,

[1] The standard section of a Chinese house.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

and so on. It was in the rooms for the son and his second wife that I lived before he married her. The front room was then a study and schoolroom. 342

The houses also varied considerably with regard to the material used for siding. The "old house" and one other had three walls of sundried brick and mud plaster and one of wood; the "new house" had three walls of perfectly matched and fitted large, gray brick and a fourth of wood. Others used any combination of planks vertical or horizontal, with or without the bark, interwoven bamboo strips with or without buffalo dung plaster, pieces of bamboo matting, bundles of straw or bundles of faggots, and the newest house had walls of beaten earth similar to those of the poorer Chinese houses in the vicinity. One house even had a wall of the tile intended for roofing, which will probably be used later for that purpose. The house of my host in Yang-niu-ts'un was, as I have said, of wood throughout. In general they built as good a house as they could afford, following Chinese styles.

Even the poorest house with one room, stable, and thatch roof had a loft for the storage of faggots, straw, unthreshed grain, baskets of grain and miscellaneous articles, sometimes piles of grain and other foods. None of the houses were weathertight, but this was not an unmixed evil, for there had to be some means of escape for most of the smoke from brushwood fires built in pits in the floor. The granaries were about six feet square and built on piles. The floor inside was of beaten earth on planks.

The wood used in construction was pine for the timbers, partitions, and loft flooring, fir and cypress for the roof planks, bamboo for poles across the rafters, interwoven siding, loft flooring and partitions. Tile, straw, grass, and reeds were used for roofing, bundles of straw or faggots for siding.

The better houses had above the door the *yin* and *yang* symbol (fig. 7), and the *pa kua* 342 353

[216]

4:Mickey E-5 (1969-7)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

342 symbols for heaven and earth, ☰ and ☷.
One house I saw had a festoon of wooden
353 daggers above the door, also. The first two copy Chinese custom and the third resembles a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of An-shun Hsien.

[531]

FIG. 7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, *c*), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

343 **Sanitary Arrangements.** The toilets of the village were open cesspools or the woods
514 and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

352 **Furniture.** In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
622 gent than the mothers, and the children en-
875 joyed being with them. Contacts with the outside world, other than a certain amount of
648 buying and selling and social visiting with other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken
755 by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
nan, until money should be sent to him for
791 traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of
the three.

[342]

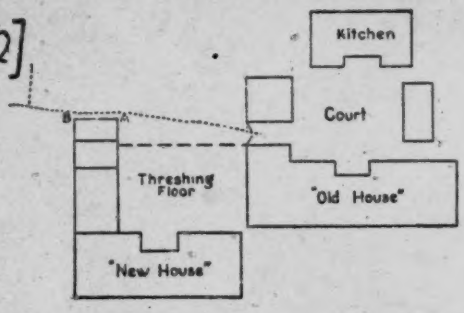

FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

[69c]

Kilchey 2-6 (1946-7) 1947 AIB Miss AIB

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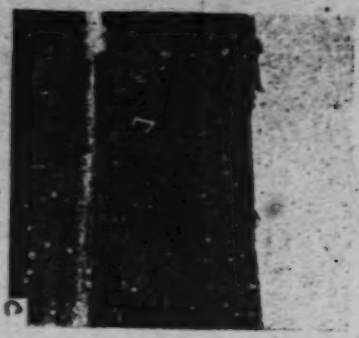

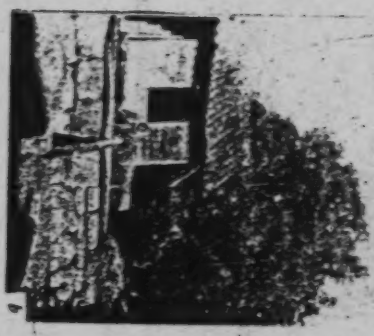

[86a]

[For captions, see p. 86b. -- ANalyst]

a, House under construction; *b*, Granary – small child by door, stone foundation used as threshing floor with spread mats. *c*, Village house, showing rolled mat on threshing floor and bundles of faggots lying against the house. *d*, Women sitting on the edge of the foundation, granary and plow in the background. *e*, Front of "new house," showing sheaves of rice, clothes drying, sedan chair, mats with grain drying on threshing floor. *f*, House in Yang-nie-ts'un, showing sedan chair and balconies – not a typical house.

©Mickey E-5 (1946-7)(1947 ASE Mission ASE)

342
343

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds.
342 The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment, since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

low stools, not more than four inches high, and 352
close at hand is an article of furniture which serves as a table, though it would be flattering to call it by that name. Arranged by the side of the walls are a grain bin, a cistern or tub in which the drinking water is kept, a contrivance which serves as a bed, a large iron pan for cooking and other purposes, and innumerable odds and ends which to you would appear useless but to the owner are valued family possessions. On rudely contrived shelves or in a roughly made cupboard are several earthenware or wooden basins with primitive chopsticks and spoons. You will notice the loom, which is 286
as primitive as that used in the days of the Biblical Pharaohs. It will interest you and you will wish to examine the framework, the warp beam, lease rods, shed stick, heddle-rod, cloth beam and unfinished fabric. Happily it is not a fixture and can be moved outside the house, so that the weary housewife can weave in the sun. For the most part the articles enumerated, together with bundles of clothes, form the whole household possessions of a Miao family. The tragedy of these mud huts 342
is not so much the poverty as the ugliness and the absence of cleanliness. The missionary often has to sleep in a house such as this, and when his bed has been set against the dividing wall, if this has been made of wattle as it frequently is, some animal will push his head through a hole in the partition to have a look at the stranger.

Miao salute one another with great cordiality, 576
men greeting men, and women, women, by rubbing

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

241 412 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it [311] cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

762 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tsü* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer homes the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

10: Graham E-5 (192'-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the
463 soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan
353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the Hê Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their [294] time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver orna- [301] ments in all styles and colors to attract attention.

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in 361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their ● 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of [231] one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

249 But this family[1] was in its workaday clothes, as its head was very anxious to explain to Dupont. They had been away a week, working in their opium-poppy fields, and now they were on their way home for a flying visit. Dupont asked about a dog, and the head of the family invited us to come up and see for ourselves, as he had no idea who was home and who wasn't.

311 361 It was a long, slow climb up to the village, although the Meos, as they skipped along by our side, seemed in no way to notice the slope, nor their huge burdens. The coarse grass – usual legacy of Meo occupation – was replaced here by a noxious thorny scrub. For miles, in all directions from the village, nothing would grow but this ultimate of austere vegetations. This village was at the last stage before it would have to be moved. The fields under cultivation were now so far away that the villagers lived dispersed in temporary shelters where they worked. Very soon they would be too far from the village to return at all and it would be moved, ten or fifteen miles, always south; leaving behind the prairie grass and scrub. It only wanted the Mans to arrive here from Tonkin – the Mans cultivate on Meo lines between 1000 and 3000 feet – to reproduce eventually in Laos the denuded wilderness of southern China.

342 181 The Meo village consisted of nothing but a few most decrepit hovels. They were the lowest and the most barbarous examples of human dwellings that it would be possible to find. Why should the Meos be the most elegantly dressed and the worst housed people in the country? They are superb at the few handicrafts they undertake, but they just can't be bothered about how they are sheltered or how they sleep. There is no compulsion; no household genie – like those of the Mois – demanding high standards of order and cleanliness in the house; no canons of taste and refinement spreading slowly downwards from an idly exquisite aristocracy, since all Meos are kept hard at work; no spirit of bourgeois emulation, since this is total democracy, with no betters to imitate. The Meos have only themselves to please, and the result is anarchy.

In the hovel we were taken to, the contents of a thousand school-

[1] [i.e., a Meo family. -- Analyst]

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Laotians AM8

boy's pockets lay strewn about; the lengths of string, the broken penknives, the buttons, the mirror glass, the tins, the bottles and the burned out lamp bulbs. Here was accumulated the jackdaw harvesting, the valuable glittering rubbish which was all a Meo wanted of civilization, and which he was free to take, while leaving the civilization itself severely alone. What foolish, generous people, these town-dwellers were! M 342 181

Our host's wife, a child of fifteen, was lying with her baby on a heap of rags in the corner. The baby was sick, he said, but the only thing necessary was to keep it away from the light – and air – as much as possible. Most Meo babies die in their first two years, and one wonders what would have happened by now to the fertile land of Indo-China, if they didn't. M 758 165

There was a gun in the corner – a muzzle-loader of the kind it takes a Meo two years to make. They are copied from the guns first supplied by the Jesuits to the Chinese, but are turned out by an endlessly laborious process involving boring out a solid bar by twirling a white hot iron in it. It was enormously long, like an old-fashioned Arab stove-pipe gun, and when Dupont took notice of it the Meo offered to show it to him in use. We went outside and he loaded it with powder and shot he made himself. This process took about five minutes. Before pressing the trigger he warned us to stand well away because of the muzzle blast. The target was a small banana-leaf, skewered against a bank at twenty paces. There was a tremendous bang when he fired, but the leaf remained intact. He blamed this on the maize-spirit which we had just drunk, and was quite delighted when Dupont, giving a demonstration with his American light carbine, also missed. M 411 177

There were no dogs at all at this village. They were all down at the poppy fields with their owners, the Meo said. 000

Luang Prabang lies at the end of a long, curling descent from the mountains and through smoking bamboo groves, on the banks of the Mékong. It is built into a tongue of land formed by the con- L 361

86: Robequain--243 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE5

Mi
361

around a bend in the path and which was shrouded in a grayish mist by the heat of the sun, already high in the heavens. It was Phú Nghi, his mountain. When we had crossed the Sông Mã opposite M. Lat on the morning of the fifth day, we had to go up the Hôn Pong, a small tributary coming from the right. Then after B. Ca, the last Thai hamlet, there was a difficult climb over a poorly marked path on the sheer sides of Phú Nghi and through a sparse woods where bamboo chiefly predominated but gradually gave way to yellow thatch grass. Bits of forest remained here and there, and the regular outlines of clumps of wild banana trees, which covered large felled trunks with their outspread leaves, emphasized the great number of extremely recent rẫy. Sometimes we passed by a field of opium where, amidst the stubble of maize harvested the previous autumn, the precious plant provided the new spectacle of its milky-green leaves with fine indentations, its mauve and white flowers, and its growing capsules which would be cut from March on. At about 800 meters the slopes leveled off a bit between the heads of ravines which intersected them at regular intervals. The Mèo had perched their nests between 800 and 1,000 meters.

Whereas the Man of the province are divided into three islands separated by zones of Thai or Mu'ờ'ng habitation, the Meo population forms a coherent block. However, their houses are much more scattered than those of the Man. Thirty were counted for me, 20 on the territory of the canton of M. Lat, five on that of Quang Chiều, five on that of Hữ'u Thủy. Sometimes they stand all by themselves, like that of the leader, who also had me visit a hamlet containing three families (Plate XIV, B) about one kilometer from his own dwelling, assuring me that it was the /232/ largest agglomeration in his commune. Indeed the Meo, who /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text. / used to belong to the surrounding Thai villages, have been united /233/ since 1912 into a distinct commune, the leader of which is directly responsible to the sub-head of the canton of M. Lat.

Mi
342

In contrast to the Man house, the Meo house is built entirely on ground level (Fig. 22), on a ledge excavated into the hillside. In this province the walls are of poorly-joined crushed bamboo, and in winter the cold night air penetrates inside through /Fig. 23 appears here in the original text. / large gaps, especially through the two gable ends which are wide open under the thatched roof. About two meters high up to where the roof begins, the house stretches out

86: Robequain - 244 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
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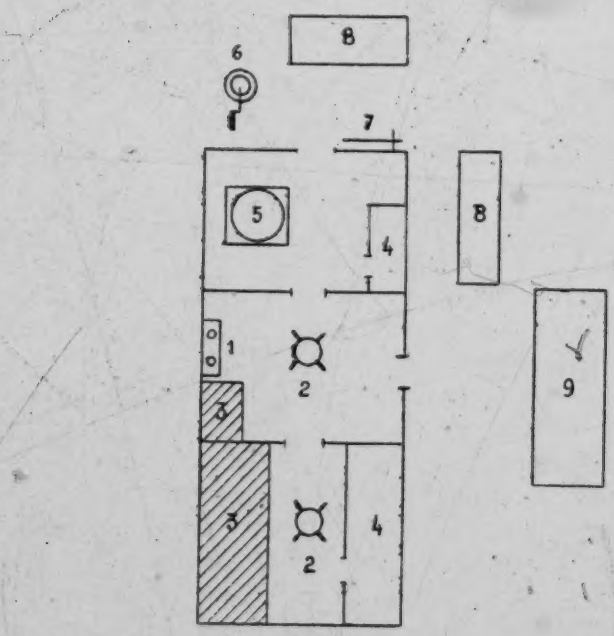

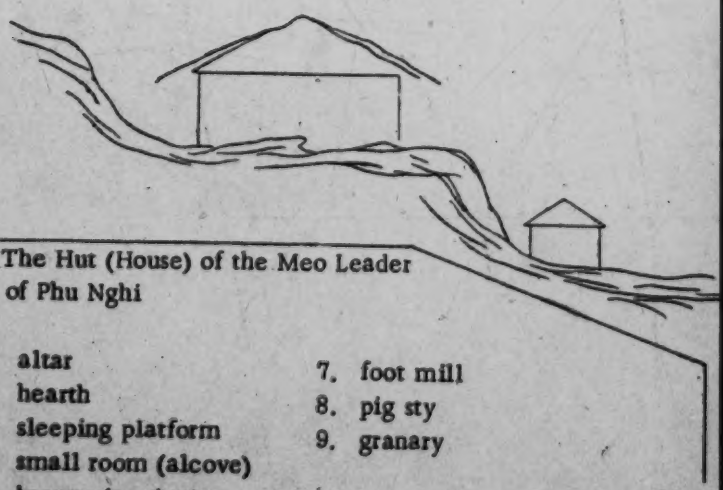

Fig. 22. The Hut (House) of the Meo Leader of Phu Nghi

1. altar
2. hearth
3. sleeping platform
4. small room (alcove)
5. bronze (cast) vat
6. crushing mill
7. foot mill
8. pig sty
9. granary

86: Robequain--245 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE 5

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/233/

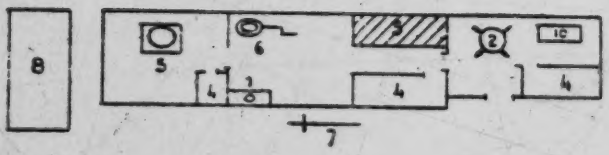

Fig. 23 Mèo house of Phu Nghi (a married son is still living with his parents). Same legend as for Fig. 22, with the addition of a loom (10).

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

Mi 342
Mi [354]
Mi [778]

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

Mi 415

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

Mi 401
Mi 312

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

Mi 343
Mi 231

[156 cont.]

291 photographs 105, Plate 39; 156 and 157, Plate 40; 424, Plate 37, show various specimens: blue turbans, turbans of mixed blue and white, blue turbans on top of which larger white turbans are bound, turbans of black-and-white squares, horned turbans, and so on. There is no really fixed style of turban and some latitude is allowed to the "Méo" women in the arrangement of their headdresses, except in the matter of the turbans for great ceremonies. Sometimes the
302 "Méo" women go about bareheaded, the hair rolled in a great pile on top of the head (photo 103, Plate 39, woman at left), or merely brought to the back of the head and fastened in a chignon. The hair is shaved for a width of three or four centimeters about the head, in the place where the turban rests.

Many of the "Méo" men and women wear a big hat of woven
291 rattan fiber in the shape of a truncated cone (photo 107, Plate 39; photo 198, Plate 42) of a model analogous to that of the "Man," but somewhat cruder and without the small spherical skullcap of the latter.

The "Méo" dwellings are generally rectangular in shape. The
342 walls are rarely of masonry (homes of the wealthy); most often they are of pisé or mud or even simply of rough planks.

The pisé is made in two ways: The moistened and kneaded
[339] earth is shaped, [157] by means of a mold, into parallelepipeds which are dried in the sun and are then placed one upon the other, for two or three rows of thickness, in such a way as to form the wall. In the second system, two large planks are so placed that the distance between them corresponds to the thickness which one wishes to give to the wall. Between these planks is packed slightly moistened earth, which is rammed down with large round logs. Then the planks are moved as the wall becomes higher, and are held in place by means of movable transverse members driven into the wall. The framework, formed of roughly squared logs, supports a roof of two sections, generally of straw and rarely of tiles. The roof extends some distance beyond the walls, in such a way as better to protect the latter from the rain.

The interior of the cabin is divided into several compartments:
342 953 In the center, the hall of honor, where strangers are received and

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
553 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by large

[160]

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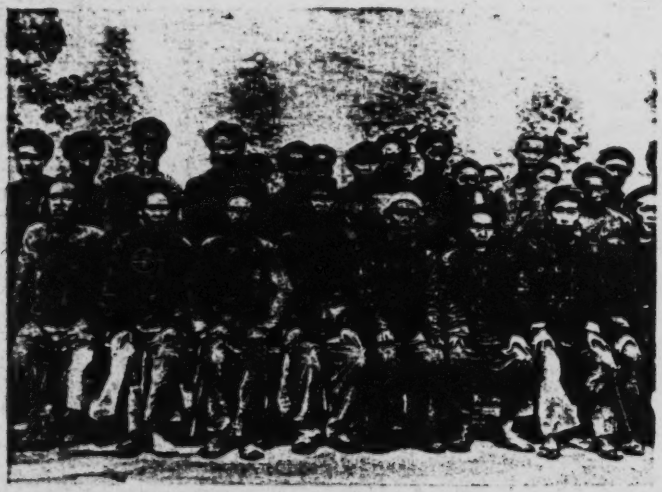

204. Group of "Méo" Notables. "Siao-phay" (Village Chiefs of Region of Pha-Long).

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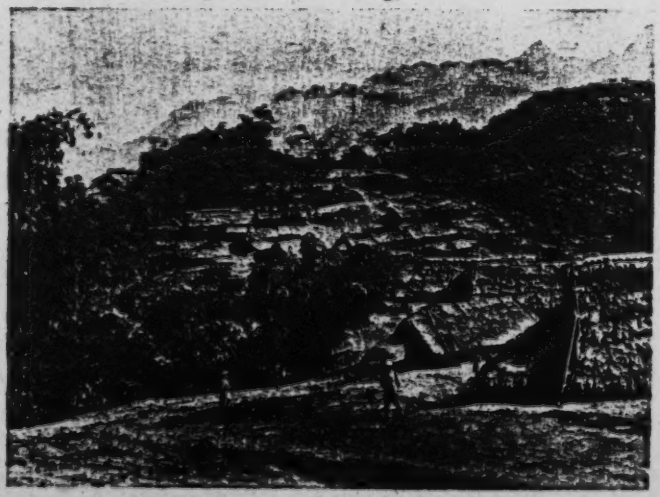

445. "Méo" Village (Region of Pha-Long).

155: Abadie--240 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
M100 AE5

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[231]
[954]
[482]

[162]

103. "Peu-Méo" Women.

105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.

419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.
(Pakha)

[166]

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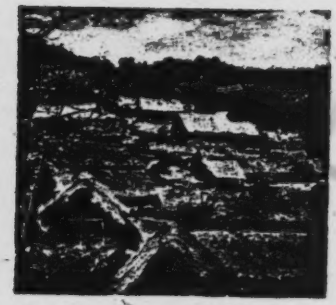
361

90. Frontier Post of Pha-Long ("Méo" Country).



347. Ho-to-tchay ("Méo" Village).

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184. Opium Field Cultivated by the "Méo" on the Soil of Irrigated Rice Fields.

467. Dongvan and the "Sacred Wood."

155: Abadie--243 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[168]

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199. "Méo" funeral. Digging the Grave.

198. "Méo" Funeral. The Interment.

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168. "Méo" Revolving Seesaw.

385. Performing Monkey Trained by a "Méo."

163 Moreover, the birthrate among the Meo is one of the highest
165 of the high region and it is not rare to see six or seven children about each of their little houses. On the other hand, very high infant-mortality operates to slow down the population's rate of increase. It is owing to the winter cold against which the Meo do not protect themselves by closing up their houses better and covering themselves more warmly. Be that as it may, we can foresee that in a more or less distant future, their tribes, no longer able to find nourishment in the mountains where they are settled, and driven along by new immigrations, will gradually come to overflow into the high valleys at less elevated altitudes, and will take the place of the Thai whose birthrate is very much lower.

Section 3

Dwellings

131 Sometimes Meo dwellings are found at the bottom of a cirque
●342 situated on an elevated plateau, as at Dongvan, which is at a thousand
132 meters of altitude, but this is rather exceptional. In fact the Meo prefers to build his cabin on slopes with difficult approaches and near the summit of the mountains. The house usually is built on a small natural spur or platform cut into the side of the mountain, not far from a small ravine which provides him with water with the aid of a bamboo conduit. The roof is of straw or planks laid like tiles, the walls of pise or planks roughly joined, or yet of round logs placed one on the other, the doors wooden and fashioned with an axe. They almost never have windows. For light and air they rely on the interstices between the /133/planks or logs and on one of the gables whose upper triangle is open to every wind. In constucting his dwelling the Meo, who is still so industrious and thoughtful in his other tasks, shows himself to be most shortsighted. By building it with a little more care, and especially by stopping up both of its gables, he would keep away from his little family much of the bronchitis which comes each winter to threaten the lives of his loved ones. We have seen at 2,000 meters altitude and in zero temperature /centigrade/, little youngsters hugging the fire in a miserable wooden cabin with no other clothing than short cloth jackets. They stretched out their bare body and little hands to the flames, while shivering and coughing in a pitiful fashion, and the parents, accustomed to this spectacle, had no

131 idea of covering them or closing up the gable where glacial air poured
342 in.
132 In the rear of the cabin is found a little corridor which separates
342 it from the earthen wall hewn into the mountain. The front is provided with a narrow veranda where horses are stabled in stalls enclosed by round logs.

342 The interior of the house, which rests directly on packed
356 earth, is usually divided into three compartments. In the first is the
352 kitchen where the women habitually work. The cooking-ranges are of clay and are very large. They serve not only for cooking food for the family, but also to prepare the vegetable pastes which make up food for the farmyard animals. The household implements and the various agricultural tools are likewise kept in this room.

The one in the middle is the reception room, where the men gather after work around a great fire lighted in the middle of the room in a square bed of clay. Above this hearth is suspended a bamboo framework on which crops are placed to dry.

The third room contains sleeping compartments, simply small booths, separated from one another by partitions of bamboo or planks. Their sole furniture is a cot. The interior appearance of these dark holes is not at all tempting. In the greatest disorder one may see padded quilts losing their cotton through numerous rips and other belongings of questionable cleanliness.

343 /134/ In front of the house, the pig sty, very well cared for, is suspended above the slope by oaken beams and planks. Next to it, also hung above the void, is located a little shed which serves as a storage place for rice and maize.

352 The house is not without furniture like the Tho cabins. There
241 are tables, benches, cots of wood, all kinds of household utensils or tools, and even musical instruments. All around the Meo plant fruit trees and cultivate beds of vegetables here and there.

342 The type of dwelling which we have just described has nothing
352 which cannot be changed. Poor people and newly weds who are still getting settled simply build a thatched cottage whose sidewalls are made of corn stalks not too tightly joined together, whose spaces freely permit passage of the winter's cold north wind. When evening comes they simply throw a few armfuls of corn stalks into a corner and pass the night on this thinly padded couch.

/43 cont./

634 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly,
695 as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished,
[342] not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of
[516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the
[276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and
[292] sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri-
[782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens
that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great num-
ber is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself
and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails,
since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
787 careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the
sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above,
since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield
from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the
midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior
[825] and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may
be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may
still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake
[776] appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the
825 "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird
dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occu-
pants will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are
825 familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless
wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a
wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable
role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it be-
lieves that he cannot expect to bag any game.

/259 cont./

166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [492] [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

39: Bernatzik--361 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/264/

241
251
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312
354
361
417
487
342

way to the rice field

way to the rice field

Poppies

Sugar beets, poppies, vegetables

E

Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊥⊥—○ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
▢ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

/265 cont./

592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsîn Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[164] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good
[732] worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with
the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on
unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses.
2. Granary housing.
3. Stables.
4. Smithies.
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

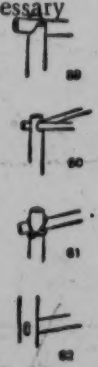
342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 369]

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[556] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children,
[858] that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/268 cont./ If needed,

342 sleeping rooms, too, are often built on. The basic form of the houses and the roofs is always the same, however. A pigsty [573] and a chicken coop also belong to each house, whereas cattle [417] are usually kept by only a few families. [231]

Cleanliness is a relative idea. In comparison with the scrupulously clean houses of the Lao, the dwellings of the Meau 356 certainly leave much to be desired. At many houses the refuse lies in front of the door for days before it is removed. In other places one sees the women busy at sweeping the house and washing the dishes regularly. Even on important festive days the appearance of the house and yard does not change much. One recognizes by the old rotten trash covered with soot and dirt until it is beyond recognition, which often fills up the houses, that the Meau women /269/ feel no need to create order. To be sure, each move of the village provides an opportunity for 364 it, and this must suffice. There are no toilets. Places outside the village are sought at random and are well known by the dogs and pigs, since they devour all the excrement with amazing thoroughness and thus perform valuable sanitary service.

342 The ground-plan, sketch, cross-section, and drawing of the framework of the chief's house (Figs. 63, 64, 65, and 66) and of the dwelling house (Figs. 67, 68, 69 and 70) with their respective legends indicate the size, construction, and shape of the dwellings without anything more, so I have only a little to add.

[Figures appear on pp 371-377, Text continues on p 378]

39: Bernatzik--371 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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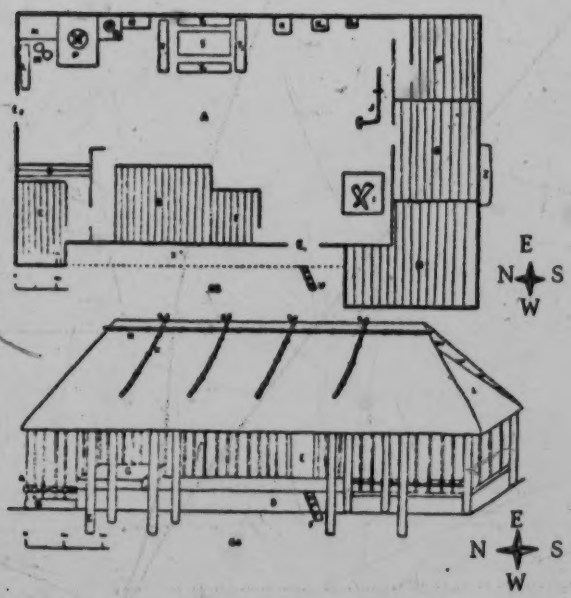

Fig. 63 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

= heavy board walls
= light board walls
..... = ground elevated about 50 centimeters

A = cooking and living room
B = bedroom of the chief and his two wives
C = bedroom of the eldest son and his wife
D = bedroom of the half-grown daughter, who sleeps alone on account of a skin disease
E = bedroom of the unmarried son
F = bedroom of the younger son and his wife
G = common bedroom for all the other children
H = sleeping and resting place for guests and strangers
I = large fireplace
J = built-in large rice-mortar for foot operation
K = altar for the house spirit
K 1 = altar for the wise, soothsaying spirit
K2 = altar for the protective spirit of the smiths
L = trough for collecting food remains for the pigs

(cont.)

39: Bernatzik--372 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/270 cont./

342 Caption for Fig. 63 cont.

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[231]

M = heavy clay pots with cooked pig-fodder, which is scooped out for use
N = hanging shelf for kitchen utensils
P = larger hearth for cooking
Q = smaller hearth for cooking
R = parking bench
S = family dining table
T 1 to T 4 = sitting benches
U = stairs, tree trunk with notches
X = raised entrance foundation
Z = built-on dye-trough
E 1 = main entrance door
E 2 = secondary entrance door.

Fig. 64 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, sketch.

Key to symbols:

A = board wall
B = board fastened in front of the wall
C = supporting posts which support the projecting roof
D = elevated forepart
E = main entrance
F = tree trunk with notches as stairs to the entrance E
G = chicken coop
H = longitudinal bamboo poles tied to the roof truss, which hold down the leaf covering on the ridge
K = roof riders of wood rest on the leaf covering and are fastened to the roof truss
L = hip roof on both sides of the house.

39: Bernatzik--373 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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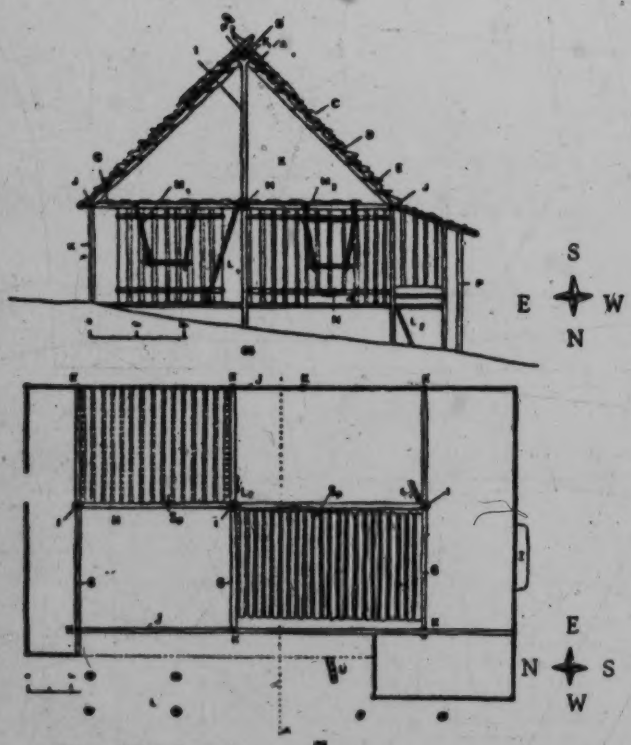

Fig. 65 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, cross-section.

Key to symbols:

A = roof rider
B = ridge stringer
C = rafter
D = laths
E = roof covering of palm leaves
F 1 and F 2 = poles which are tied on both sides of the ridge for fastening the palm leaves on the roof truss. The roof riders lie on these poles.
G = crossbeam of roof
H = roof beam
I = ridge posts
J = longitudinal roof beam
K = supporting post
L 1 = ladder to the storage loft
L 2 = ladder to the main entrance
M 1 and M 2 = hanging shelves
N = open fireplace
P = supporting posts of the projecting roof.

(cont.)

39: Bernatzik--374 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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Fig. 66 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

Key to symbols:

G = crossbeam of roof
H = roof beam
I = ridge posts
J = longitudinal roof beam
K = roof supports of the projecting roof
L = supporting posts of the projecting roof
L 1 and L 2 = ladder to the storage loft
Sp. = storage lofts
U = stairs, tree trunk with notches
Z = dye trough.

39: Bernatzik--375 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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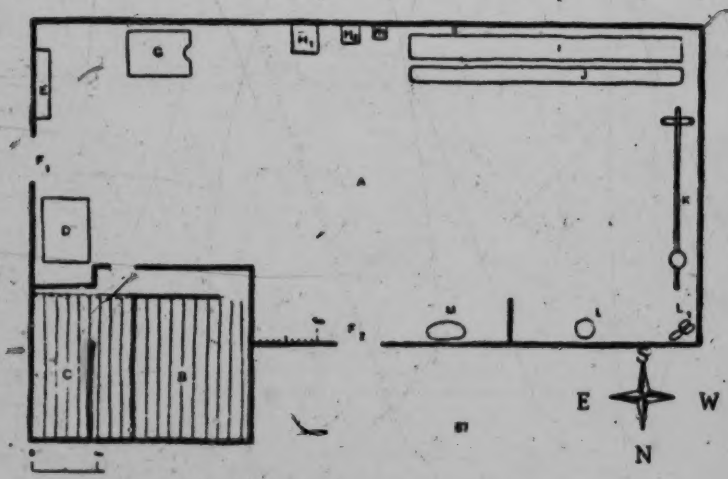

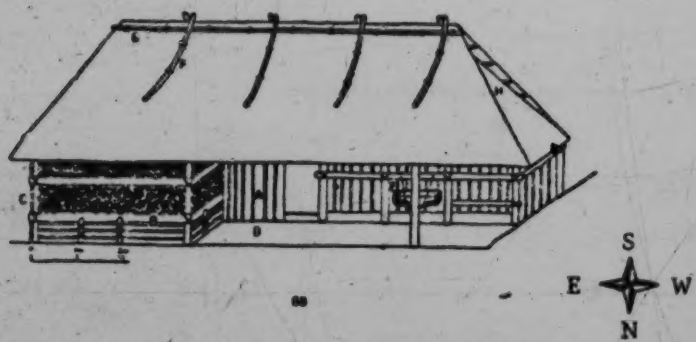

Fig. 67 (above). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa. ground plan.

Key to symbols:

- = board walls
- A = cooking and living room
- B = bedroom of the parents
- C = divided bedroom of the children
- D = table
- E = wooden trough for pig fodder
- F 1 and F 2 = entrance doors
- G = cooking hearth
- H 1, and H2, H3 = altars
- I = long table

(cont.)

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/272 cont./
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Caption for Fig. 67 cont.

J = long bench
K = rice pounder
L = Clothes roller
L 1 = stones for the above
M = loom.

Fig. 68 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, sketch.

Key to symbols:

A = vertical board walls
B = horizontal boards
C = wall made of palm leaves
D = covered antechamber
E = dye trough
F = wooden roof riders hold the leaf covering
G = longitudinal bamboo pole tied to the roof truss
H = hip roof.

39: Bernatzik--377 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

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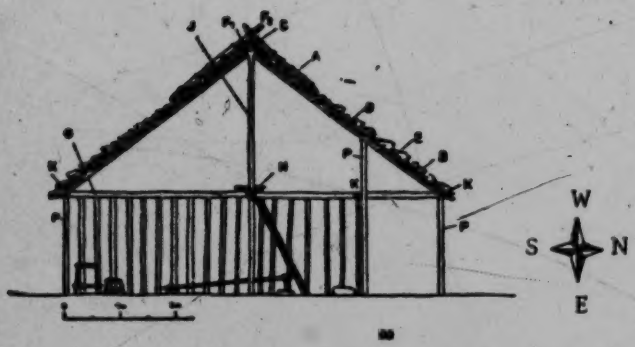

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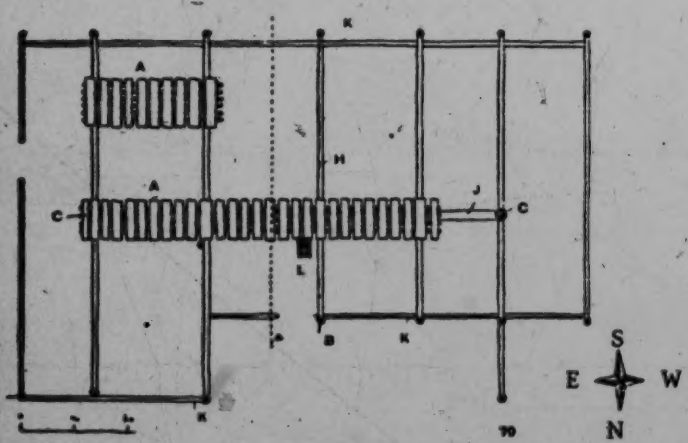

Fig. 69 (above). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, cross-section.

Key to symbols:

A = roof rider of wood
B = leaves of the fan palm
C = ridge stringer
D = bamboo rafters
E = laths of the roof truss, to which the leaf shingles are tied
F1 and F 2 = longitudinal bamboo poles for fastening the leaf shingles
G = crossbeam of roof
H = roof beam
J = ridge post
K = longitudinal roof beam
P = supporting posts

(cont.)

/273 cont./

342 Caption for Fig. 70 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

[353] Key to symbols:

A = storage lofts
B = supporting posts
C = ridge post
H = crossbeam of roof
J = roof beam
K = longitudinal roof beam
L = ladder to the storage loft

/274/

[322] The boards of the house wall (Ill. 106),[1] roughly hewn with the ax, are about three to four centimeters thick and between 15 and 35 centimeters wide. They are /Fig. 71 appears here/ not joined to one another tightly, but rather show narrower or wider spaces, through which air and light can enter the windowless room. The boards are thrust into the loamy ground and tied on the inside and outside to a lower and an upper crossbeam, which in turn are fastened to the supporting posts driven firmly into the ground (Fig. 71; further, the chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 117). Lajonquière (1), in connection with the

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1. II, p. 306.

description of the Meau houses in Tonkin, mentions, besides walls "made of planks nowhere fitting together," which he calls the "ordinary type," also walls made of pounded earth, which occur only in "the most complete type of house." Abadie (2),

2. Page 156.

[556] too, mentions that the houses of the rich have walls of pounded earth or mud, and describes their erection as follows: "The pounded earth is prepared in two ways. The earth, kneaded with water, is dried in the sun in a form in the shape of a parallelepiped and, depending on the thickness of the wall, is put side by side in double or triple layers. In the second case the moistened earth is tamped down between two boards, the space

1 [SEE Cat 116, P 706 - ANALYST]

/274 cont./

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] [177] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only represent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

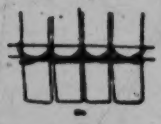


Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the
[251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.
[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

[see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
[" " " p665 - "]

/275 cont./

342 184 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] [789] [411] [283] [531] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

/276 cont./

342

Figs. 72-74.
The doors of the Meau.
About 1/7 nat. size.
Fig. 72. Entrance door of wood.
Fig. 73. Door-leaf of Fig. 72.
Fig. 74. Entrance door of bamboo.

342 787 [782] The construction of a dwelling proceeds in the following manner: After the site of the future dwelling has been carefully chosen, spirit-money is sacrificed and the ancestors and the high Father-Mother spirit are asked whether the place is auspicious. Then one listens attentively all around and looks for possible omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). One now erects a leaf-roof and sleeps under it. If now there are still no unfavorable omens observable and no dreams of unfavorable portent occur, then the men and women together begin to clear the site of all brush and level it off.

/276 cont./

342 [824] After this is done, the men go into the bush and cut the supporting posts, usually teak wood, without making any kind of offering. They trim them on the spot and then carry them to the building site where they are worked on and finished. Now the two corner posts are driven in at the lower place of the incline, and then the future occupant says in a loud voice: "May the evil spirits shun this site in the future, for now I am living here." Then

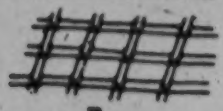


Fig. 75. Rafters tied together.

Fig. 76. Ridge construction: A = ridge stringer, B = ridge posts, C = roof truss. About 1/66 nat. size.

Fig. 75-76. Ridge Construction of the Meau.

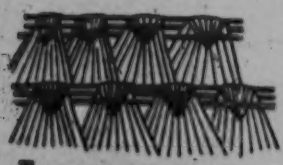


Fig. 77. Leaf shingles. 1/33 nat. size.

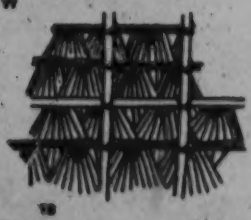


Fig. 78. Roof truss with leaf shingles attached. 1/50 nat. size.

Figs. 77-78. Roof Covering of the Meau.

/276 cont./

342 the other two corner posts, as well as all the other supporting posts in between, are set in, the crossbeams of the roof are tied on, and the vertical planks are fastened.

/277/ Then the roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) is laid on and fastened. In the meantime the women have prepared the palm leaves, and the men start the roof covering. /Figs. 75 and 76 appear here./

[462] This proceeds in the following fashion: women and children tie the palm leaves in rows on poles (Fig. 77), and these are then placed on one another in layers, like roof tiles, by the men (Fig. 78). They /Figs. 77-78 appear here/ /278/ start this at the lowest point of the roof and continue until the ridge is reached. When this has been done on both sides of the roof, the long bamboo poles are put to the right and left of it, parallel to the long axis of the roof, and tied fast to the roof truss. Now, at intervals of about one meter, the roof riders, which crowning everything, hold down the leaf shingles, are tied to the roof truss.

When the house is completed in this fashion, the fireplace, 342 the hearth, and the partitions are built. Then a temporary altar 782 is erected by putting a board over three supporting posts. Here [778] the owner of the house sacrifices a couple of chickens and invites the ancestors and his spirit-teachers (see the chapter, "Religion," the section, "Deities and Spirits") to move into their new dwelling. In front of the entrance door he likewise sacrifices a couple of chickens for the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to protect the house and to take up residence in it very often.

342 Savina (1) describes the house construction in Indochina:

1. II, p. 184.

"The mountain site where the new colony intends to settle has been prepared two or three months previously. The site for the new house has been cleared of weeds, the timber has been cut, the maize fields are cleared and have even been seeded. Thus [461] one is quickly installed. In a few days the house is up, which, incidentally, does not cost much in labor. The Meau make everything themselves. They are masons, carpenters, smiths,

/278 cont./

342 joiners, etc., all at the same time. They say: 'If we were able to make salt, we would easily surpass all other peoples.'"

[313] Savina (2) writes further: "The wood most used for construction

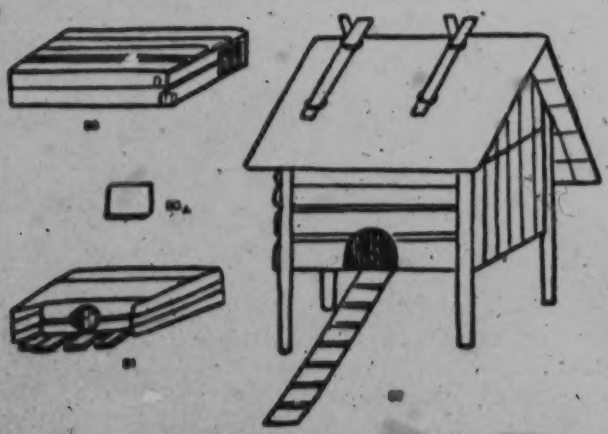
2. II, p. 189.

purposes and also for burning is that of pines (Pinus rigida), which is common in the mountains. There are two kinds of pine wood, black and red."

343

Fig. 79.
Granary of the Meau.
1/100 nat. size.

[417]



Figs. 80-82. Chicken Coops of the Meau.

Fig. 80-81. Boxlike chicken coops on the ground, 1/44 nat. size. Fig. 82. Chicken coop on piles, 1/36 nat. size.

/282/ ./ 5. Rice-field Huts

243 342 The rice-field huts (Figs. 87 and 88) are occupied only during the period of field cultivation and the harvest by those members of the family /Figs. 87-88 appear here/ /283/ to whom these tasks are assigned. The huts lie on the steep slope in the midst of the fields and, despite their simplicity, have all

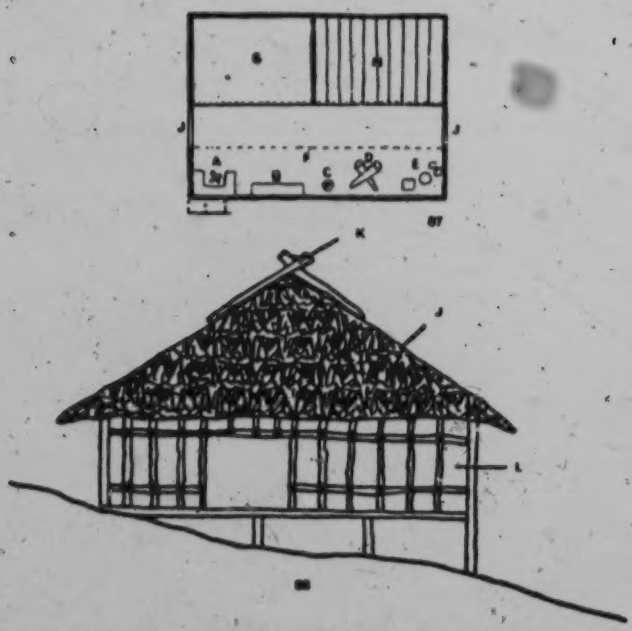


Fig. 87 (above). Rice-field hut of the Meau, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

A = small fireplace for cooking
B = hanging shelf for cooking utensils
C = large gourd-bottle
D = large fireplace for heating
E = rice baskets, harvesting baskets, gourd bottles, knives, bamboo vessels with supplies of fat and the like
F = over F, storage loft for harvest products
G = elevated platform on which, at harvest time, the sheaves of rice lie piled high
H = elevated platform covered with mats, as bedroom.

[513]

(cont.)

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/283 cont./

M 243 ●342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.

Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [353] M [513] M [231]

Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M 883 [243] M [836] [533]

The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

A 361 166 [241] [623]

/298 cont./

342 Corresponding to the division of a Meau house into a cook-
352 ing and living room, to sleeping and storage rooms, the equipment is also adapted to these purposes. (Abadie (1) and

1. Page 157.

Maspero describe the equipment of the house essentially in agreement with my observations.)

513 The sleeping rooms are enclosed by high boards loosely
[342] joined together. The doorless entrance to the sleeping room is usually hidden from view from the living room by a second wall. The place for lying down takes up the whole bedroom;
[352] thus, the bed (Fig. 115) is the size of the enclosed space (Fig. 116). It consists of wooden posts driven into the ground, upon which the frame of wooden or bamboo sticks is tied. A large plaited sleeping mat is spread out on it. On the bed lie old clothes, rags, and blankets, which, rolled up, also serve as pillows, since these are not made separately. Small shelves
[353] are usually put on the wall above the bed, on which pipes, tobacco, combs, and other personal "treasures" lie about. All kinds of stuff are put under the bed, especially baskets with clothing, cloth, and personal belongings.

/299/ Aside from these relatively large sleeping places and beds, it also happens frequently that numbers of the family, especially half-grown children, merely sleep on the floor on an outspread mat and covered with blankets. These blankets are like our quilts; a filling of a kapok-like material or cotton is covered with a self-woven fabric. /Figs. 115-116 appear here./
[434] Everywhere, however, one also finds blankets purchased from the Chinese. The sleeping place for guests is a mat-covered
[574] platform about 50 centimeters high.

342 Whereas Savina (1) describes the arrangements of the
513

1. II, p. 190.

house and the sleeping rooms along the lines of my survey, Lajonquière (2) writes: "In the interior there is often no

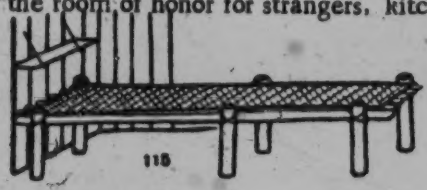
2. II, p. 306.

/299 cont./

342 partitioning. The hearth is in the middle of the room opposite
513 a sleeping place which is reserved for the old people. The
[354] younger men, women and children sleep anywhere on the bare
[888] floor or on an underlayer of straw."

/300/ Only in the "most complete type" of Meau house could the author cited find a tripartite division of the rooms into "the room of honor for strangers, kitchen, and private

[352]



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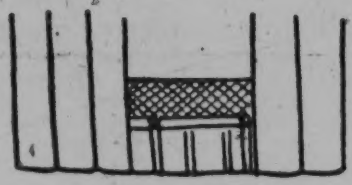


116

Fig. 115. Bed of the Meau.
About 1/38 nat. size.

Fig. 116. Entrance to the sleeping room of
the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

rooms." the latter probably referring to the sleeping rooms.
/Fig. 117 appears here./

354 Every house of the Meau has a hearth for cooking and an
252 open fireplace. The hearth for cooking (Fig. 117) is square and made of mud. The wood fire is maintained under the immovable hearth-plate, in which a depression is made for the cooking pots. If the family is very large, there may be two hearths (Fig. 118).

This fireplace is
354 /300 cont./ the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that
342

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]

Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."

342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[439] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear
[177] only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
[see cat. 116, p645 - ANALYST]

/345 cont./

224 e can be wedged between the crossbar d and a foot board. After the trap has been set, the block and tackle are removed.

As an example of the behavior of the Meau hunter while stalking game in the forest, I give in the following a description from my journal: "Scouts had reported to us that a powerful lone bull elephant with mighty tusks had taken cover not far from the village. Early in the morning I set out with the chief. We climbed a steep slope and then stood at the edge of a gorge, from the bottom of which came the sound of the breaking of branches. The large mammal stood below, which made the face of the Meau light up happily. He bent forward, remained there for some time, then climbed a tree, changed his observation post several more times, and finally, from the direction of the sound, decided that the elephant was on the opposite mountain slope.

Since in order to reach him, we would have had to wind through the deep gorge in between and it was already late in the afternoon, there was no prospect of reaching the bull still 224 that same day. The chief therefore proposed that we spend the 484 night on the spot in order to be able to take up the chase at dawn, since he figured that he would be able to determine the location of the elephant from where we were. The Meau [342] therefore put up a small windscreen, large enough to protect us, if necessary, against a storm. He closed off three sides of it with leaves of the fan palm, their stems thrust into the ground, in order, as he put it, to prevent the warmth from escaping. He then covered the ground with a layer of leaves [513] about ten centimeters high, which was an excellent bed, for it was soft and kept off the dampness of the ground. At the open side of the windscreen he lighted a fire. These tasks took him about 30 minutes.

"Then he began to prepare the evening meal. He [824] searched for water, and after only a few minutes he returned [272] with bamboo-water. In /346/ these regions one can find water stored up in the hollow spaces of certain species of bamboo, even during the dry season. To get the water, such [415] bamboos are cut between the partitioning walls, the liquid [252] that flows out is caught in a bamboo vessel. A thick green [824] bamboo also provided a vessel in which the rice was then cooked. The green

/366 cont./

231 sure-footed. These horses are never fattened; they are fed with a little grass, bamboo leaves, and a few handfuls of maize. As a rule, they are kept in a small shed which is [342] attached to the house." In an enumeration /367/ of the domestic animals of the Meau that Lajonquière (1) makes, he

1. II, p. 310.

[492] also mentions horses: "They raise horses, cattle, and sometimes buffalo as work animals. Many families keep a mare. They raise pigs, goats, and poultry. The work animals and those for slaughtering, as well as the poultry, are of a special breed and very beautiful. Moreover, they have a special long-haired breed of dogs and ordinary cats. Many have beehives."

[184] The raising of buffalo mentioned by the author named is practiced, although relatively seldom, by the Meau in Thailand. It serves chiefly as a way to make money; the Meau in Thailand use the buffalo themselves only in exceptional cases, slaughtering [492] them or utilizing them as riding or pack animals. The description that Savina (2) gives shows clearly that the buffalo gen-

2. II, p. 186.

erally play a rather subordinate role among the Meau: 'The buffalo are never provided for. During the day they roam in the mountains, and in the evening they often come home if they are not too far away. Occasionally they are given a bundle of hay so that they will not become completely wild. When it rains or is cold at night, they walk around the house and rub against the walls."

[184] With regard to all three of the last-named kinds of animals, however, they usually cannot be kept at all in the mountains of Farther India on account of the steepness of the [178] slopes. There, the breeding of cattle, horses, and buffalo as pack animals is disappearing, like the use of the plow, and man must again bear the loads alone, as in the times before the domestication of domestic animals.

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning,
[241] weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[248] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

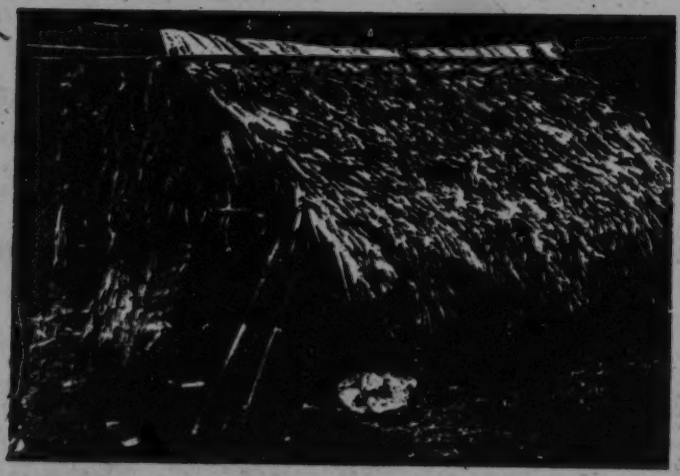
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

243
343
516
482

Ill. 104. Work hut on a Meau rice-field.

342



Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau with walls and doors of halved bamboo.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /x/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

31: Scherman—27 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Miao AE5

101 [167] Still another Yunnan tribe, the Miao (tse), which is also found frequently in Laos, has migrated to Kengtung--1911: 646 (20). The

20. About their relation to the Mon-Khmer, good material by H.R. Davies, Yun-nan (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 337 ff. About their housing construction: UBG I, 1, pp. 599 ff. Other ethnological material with good illustrations by S.R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in South-West China (London, 1911) and by A. Schotter, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Kouy-tcheou (Chine)," /Ethnographique Notes on the Kweichow Tribes (China)/ Anthropos Vol. 3 ff. who considers the Yao (cf. above, fn. 19) as a subdivision of the Miao Anthropos Vol. 4, pp. 318 ff.; cf. 3, p. 405.

people excel in their clothing, architecture, and household management through outstanding
● 342 cleanliness and neatness. Their houses in the British-Burmese area where, being immigrants, they certainly do not represent their complete, original type, are built much better and stronger than those of the neighboring people. Wherever they are not made of mud (this seems to be the older, original construction method) /214/ the houses are built with strong wood and shingled roofs and have mud or stone terraces. Sometimes they are built on piles. The pile house has certainly developed under the influence of the building style of the Burmese countries. The interior is much more carefully furnished than are the Burmese houses. In the large rooms, which
[352] are divided by small walls into compartments, are bamboo bedsteads, couches, and low chairs, mats and furs. An attic is formed by a ceiling

31: Scherman--28 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Shan AP11 Miao AE5 8

M 342 [343] over the livingroom which is used as a storage place for tools, provisions, etc. Solid stables with wooden floors are built for large domestic animals and pigs. /Figure 5 - Taungyo house in Kyegon near Kalaw, Southern Shan State of Hsamonghkam (Burmese Thamakan)./

S 101 [342] The houses of the Taungthu and the Taungyo represent a separate type in the Southern Shan States. These two tribes are not directly related with each other. The Taungthu--1911: 183,054--are probably a branch of the Karen. They are a populous group who live mostly in Myelat (western part of the Southern Shan States). They also live in the State of Thaton, while the Taungthu can also be found in Siam. The former consider themselves as being on a much higher level than the Taungyo. They have also partly adopted the architecture, clothing, and customs of the Burmese and the Shan. The Taungyo--1911: 19,656--are linguistically related to the Burmese. They are a less numerous tribe who live in a small area at the entrance of the Myelat. As far as their architecture is concerned, there is no great difference between the two tribes. The villages stand on rolling plains or on the hilltops of the Shan plateau. The fronts of the houses, as already mentioned above (p. 211)[1], preferably point south. From the outside the pile construction is not visible. Under the gable of the grass roof a slightly rounded awning projects in the front and rear, frequently topped by the previously mentioned gable boards of the Intha houses. This awning rests on a fence of split bamboo poles of a height of about 1 1/4 meters. The entrance opening is usually from the broad side. The house shown in Figure 5, belongs to the chief of the village of Kyegon near Kalaw which is inhabited by Taungyo. He has already permitted himself a little more luxury than the common Taungyo. The main entrance is from the front. In front of it is a small low platform.

S [177]

S 342 S [361]

[1] [See category 116, page 19. —Analyst]

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

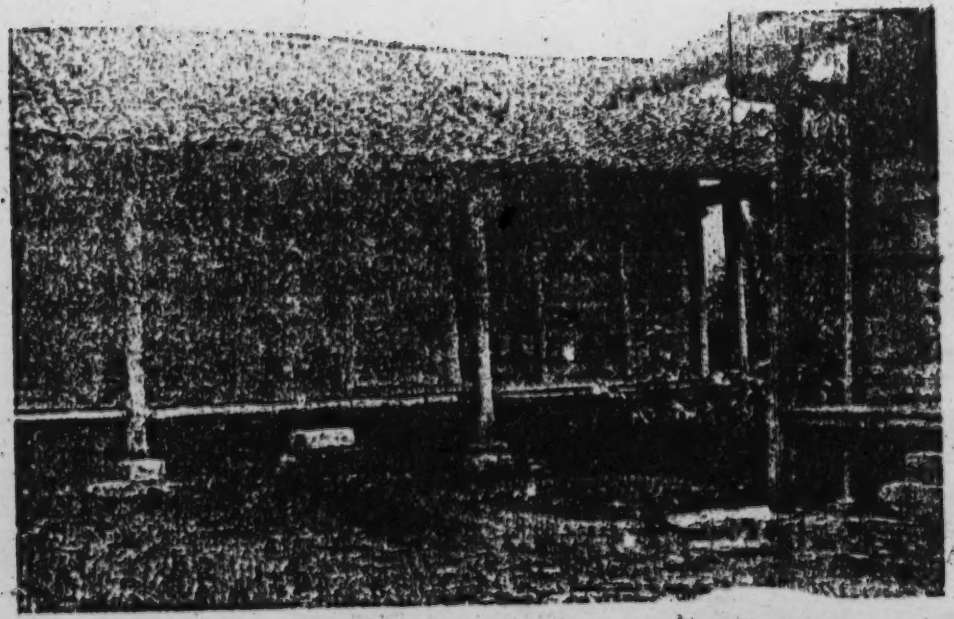
5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

249 /67 cont./
harvested. After harvest the canes are tied up, 50 to a bundle,
249 and stored in earth pits about one kung ch'ih deep. The pits
251 are first lined with cane leaves, on which the sugar cane are
laid in rows. More leaves are laid on top and then covered
with dirt. Ventilation tubes are stuck in to ensure a free flow
of air in order to prevent decay. On market day, the canes
[443] are carried to market for sale.

The Miao area also produces native tobacco. Beginning
249 with the tenth and eleventh months the Miao nurse tobacco
[343] seedlings. Above the seed bed a thatched shelter with a slant-
ing roof is erected to protect the seedlings from frost and snow.
After they sprout they are watered and fertilized with ashes,
manure, or tung paste. Transplanting takes place in the follow-
ing spring in the third and fourth months. Fields for tobacco
cultivation have to be plowed very early to reduce insect pests,
[825] according to the Miao. The insect called t'u ch'a erh only eats
tobacco plant roots. Tobacco seedlings are transplanted in
rows, by first crushing the earth into powder by hand, then
burying the roots of the seedling in the earth and pressing the
earth tight around the plant. If the earth is dry, then it should
be watered at the root and the stem. After three or five days
some mild fertilizer may be applied. Insect pests are the worst
enemy of tobacco. Besides the t'u ch'a erh, which eats the
[825] roots, green hoppers eat the leaves. So, in tobacco growing
a great deal of labor is spent in catching insects, which has to
be done in the early morning, for later the t'u ch'a erh dig
through the earth and it is difficult to find them. The tobacco
plant is never allowed to grow too high, and has to be clipped
from time to time to ensure the growth of more full and firm
leaves. During harvest time the tobacco leaves are cut down
leaf by leaf, /Illustration 36 on p. 68/ /69/ and stacked up for
one or two nights. Then they are tied up with straw ropes and
hung up to dry in the sun, being taken indoors at night. If a
good color is wanted, then in good weather they should be ex-
posed outside overnight to absorb the dew. The resulting color
will be a beautiful, golden yellow.

2:Ling & Ruey--183 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
/124/
348



Illus. 57. A Miao t'un granary at Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang.

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AES Miao AES

342 symbols for heaven and earth, ☰ and ☷. One house I saw had a festoon of wooden
353 daggers above the door, also. The first two copy Chinese custom and the third resembles a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of An-shun Hsien.

[531]

FIG. 7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, *c*), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

343 **Sanitary Arrangements.** The toilets of the village were open cesspools or the woods
514 and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

352 **Furniture.** In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

4:Michey E-8 (1940-7) 1947 AES Milan AES

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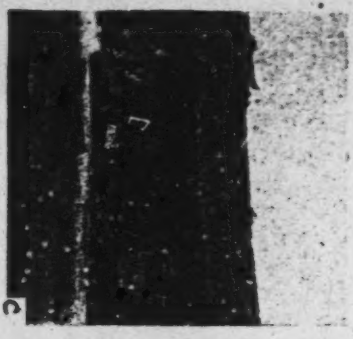

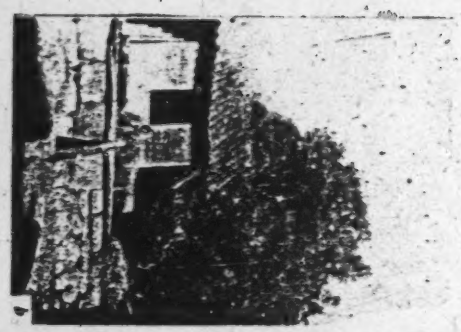

[86a]

[For captions, see p. 86b. -- ANalyst]

a, House under construction; *b*, Granary – small child by door, stone foundation used as threshing floor with spread mats. *c*, Village house, showing rolled mat on threshing floor and bundles of faggots lying against the house. *d*, Women sitting on the edge of the foundation, granary and plow in the background. *e*, Front of "new house," showing sheaves of rice, clothes drying, sedan chair, mats with grain drying on threshing floor. *f*, House in Yang-sin-ts'un, showing sedan chair and balconies – not a typical house.

4:McKhey E-8 (1960-71)847 ASS Miro ASS

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343

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

Mi 342
Mi [364]
Mi [778]

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

Mi 415

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

Mi 401
Mi 312

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

Mi 343
Mi 231

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by [illegible]rge

[158 cont.]

231 logs with the floor slightly raised by means of logs laid horizontally
343 on the ground. (Photo 116, Plate 27.) Naturally, this pen for the animals is no more frequently cleaned than is the inside of the house, with the result that the liquid manure and the excrement soon form nauseous seas which it is necessary to cross painfully in order to reach the house.

The "Méo" have excellent little horses (average height — about
291 1.20 meters, like the Chinese or Tonkinese horses) sturdy, sensible, very handy, and very sure-footed. These horses are never groomed, are fed with a little grass (a special grass called "ma-tsao" or horse's grass), with bamboo leaves and a few handfuls of maize. They gen-
[343] erally are tied under a little lean-to resting against the house.

The "Méo-" have a special breed of white dogs, with silky and very thick hair of medium length.

The fowls (hens, guinea hens, ducks, and so on) roam at
[343] liberty around the house during the day and roost at night in a coop usually located above or near to the stable. The wildcats, which
[136] are numerous in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, frequently do frightful slaughter among the "Méo" poultry.

In view of their spirit of independence, the "Méo" most often
361 live off by themselves, in groups of five or six cabins, and only very seldom form sizeable settlements. However, in the region of Pha-Long — Pakha, where the "Méo" group forms the majority of the population, several "Méo" villages exist which number from twenty to thirty cabins. Be that as it may, the "Méo" village is always perched very near to the summits of the mountains, at the foot of the crags; difficult mule-trails with very abrupt slopes permit access to these villages; still the climb on foot is infinitely preferable to the trip on horseback.

("Méo" houses appear in the following photographs: 346, Plate 36; 347, Plate 41; 445, Plate 38; 135, Plate 43. The last three show villages.)

In the hamlets and villages of the "Méo," the houses are built
361 according to the inclination of the occupants, without thought of
4 alignment or of streets, the enclosures for the animals close to the dwelling houses. Despite the open air and the sun which bathe the

131 idea of covering them or closing up the gable where glacial air poured
342 in.

132 In the rear of the cabin is found a little corridor which separates
342 it from the earthen wall hewn into the mountain. The front is provided with a narrow veranda where horses are stabled in stalls enclosed by round logs.

342 The interior of the house, which rests directly on packed
356 earth, is usually divided into three compartments. In the first is the
352 kitchen where the women habitually work. The cooking-ranges are of clay and are very large. They serve not only for cooking food for the family, but also to prepare the vegetable pastes which make up food for the farmyard animals. The household implements and the various agricultural tools are likewise kept in this room.

The one in the middle is the reception room, where the men gather after work around a great fire lighted in the middle of the room in a square bed of clay. Above this hearth is suspended a bamboo framework on which crops are placed to dry.

The third room contains sleeping compartments, simply small booths, separated from one another by partitions of bamboo or planks. Their sole furniture is a cot. The interior appearance of these dark holes is not at all tempting. In the greatest disorder one may see padded quilts losing their cotton through numerous rips and other belongings of questionable cleanliness.

343 /134/ In front of the house, the pig sty, very well cared for, is suspended above the slope by oaken beams and planks. Next to it, also hung above the void, is located a little shed which serves as a storage place for rice and maize.

352 The house is not without furniture like the Tho cabins. There
241 are tables, benches, cots of wood, all kinds of household utensils or tools, and even musical instruments. All around the Meo plant fruit trees and cultivate beds of vegetables here and there.

342 The type of dwelling which we have just described has nothing
352 which cannot be changed. Poor people and newly weds who are still getting settled simply build a thatched cottage whose sidewalls are made of corn stalks not too tightly joined together, whose spaces freely permit passage of the winter's cold north wind. When evening comes they simply throw a few armfuls of corn stalks into a corner and pass the night on this thinly padded couch.

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[776 688] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/265 cont./

621 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one
596 large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

312
415
824

Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.
[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of
621 the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice
[343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per-
[551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize
[343] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the
[551] house; personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/278 cont./

342 joiners, etc., all at the same time. They say: 'If we were able to make salt, we would easily surpass all other peoples.'"

[313] Savina (2) writes further: "The wood most used for construction

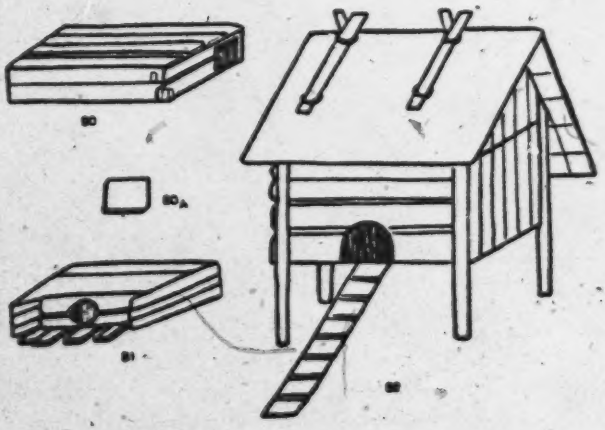
2. II, p. 189.

purposes and also for burning is that of pines (Pinus rigida), which is common in the mountains. There are two kinds of pine wood, black and red."

343

Fig. 79.
Granary of the Meau.
1/100 nat. size.

[417]



Figs. 80-82. Chicken Coops of the Meau.

Fig. 80-81. Boxlike chicken coops on the ground, 1/44 nat. size. Fig. 82. Chicken coop on piles, 1/36 nat. size.

/278 cont./

2. Granaries

343 Whereas the dwellings of the Meau are always built on the ground, the granaries rest on piles up to two meters high, in order to protect the field produce from the humidity and from the unwelcome intrusion of mice, rats, pigs, and from the other domestic animals. There are open granaries, which usually are several meters long and three to /279/ four meters high and consist of merely a /Fig. 79 appears here/ platform covered by a leaf-roof. Field produce is stored here as long as it still needs drying. During the rainy season, however, granaries which are closed off by four board-walls and built very solidly are used. They have only one small doorlike opening, through which one has to creep in order to store ears of maize, sheaves of grain, millet, or tubers in it (Fig. 79).

3. Stables

231 Although special shelters are always built for chickens and
343 pigs, these domestic animals usually stay in the dwelling during the day or in its immediate vicinity. The pigs lie in the living room under a bench or table or at the hearth, as they please, /Figs. 80-82 appear here/ /280/ while the chickens busily search for food in all the nooks and corners. No scrap is scorned.
[417] Chicken coops in the form of large boxes (Figs. 80 and 81) are usually lodged at the house wall. They are made of boards joined together and are closed with a suitable piece of wood (Fig. 80, A). There are also, however, chicken houses resting on piles (Fig. 82).

231 The pigpens are put together with stout wooden sticks and are
343 of various sizes, according to the wealth of the owner /Figs. 83
417 and 84 appear here/ (Fig. 83). There are large troughs for fodder inside the pens (Fig. 84). At night the cattle are housed in
[550] hurdle-like stables. In them, on an underlayer of boards that is raised about 15 centimeters and rests on stones, and under a gabled roof covered with palm leaves, they are well-protected from dampness. The hurdle is enclosed on the sides with a

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /280 cont./
231 lattice of wooden beams. On the front side some of these beams
343 can be pushed aside in order to let the cattle in or out. Similar
417 hurdles are customary among our mountain peasants.
Lajonquière (1) describes the quarters of the domestic animals in

1. II, p. 305.

almost the same way, and furthermore Abadie (2) and

2. Page 158.

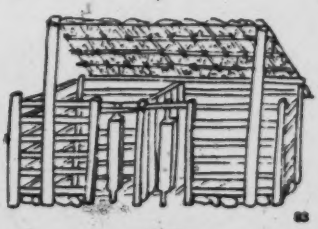


Fig. 83. Pigpen of the Meau. 1/60 natural size.

Fig. 84. Trough for pig fodder. 1/36 nat. size.

Savina (3), too.

3. II, p. 186.

A
M
348

4. Smithies

The smithy (Figs. 85 and 86) is a small structure built in the fashion of the dwelling, which consists of a workroom open at the sides and a second room enclosed with leaf-walls (E).
M [325] The workroom is enclosed by only a few wooden beams (D) and, appropriately for the steep terrain, is on a platform. In it

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
243

2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is [314] left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Méau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (IH. 104).[1] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless [417] it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [see cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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Ill. 104. Work hut on a Meau rice-field.

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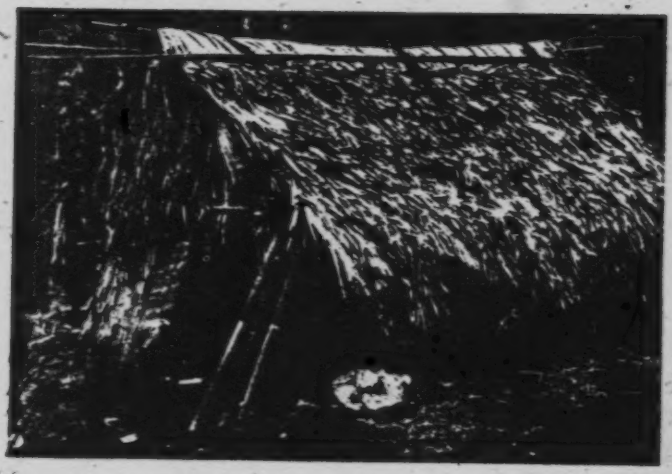

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau with walls and doors of halved bamboo.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

31: Scherman--28 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Shan AP11 Miao AE5

M 342 [343] over the livingroom which is used as a storage place for tools, provisions, etc. Solid stables with wooden floors are built for large domestic animals and pigs. /Figure 5 - Taungyo house in Kyegon near Kalaw, Southern Shan State of Hsamonghkam (Burmese Thamakan)./

S 101 [342] The houses of the Taungthu and the Taungyo represent a separate type in the Southern Shan States. These two tribes are not directly related with each other. The Taungthu--1911: 183,054--are probably a branch of the Karen. They are a populous group who live mostly in Myelat (western part of the Southern Shan States). They also live in the State of Thaton, while the Taungthu can also be found in Siam. The former consider themselves as being on a much higher S [177] level than the Taungyo. They have also partly adopted the architecture, clothing, and customs of the Burmese and the Shan. The Taungyo--1911: 19,656--are linguistically related to the Burmese. They are a less numerous tribe who live in a S 342 small area at the entrance of the Myelat. As far as their architecture is concerned, there is no S [361] great difference between the two tribes. The villages stand on rolling plains or on the hilltops of the Shan plateau. The fronts of the houses, as already mentioned above (p. 211)[1], preferably point south. From the outside the pile construction is not visible. Under the gable of the grass roof a slightly rounded awning projects in the front and rear, frequently topped by the previously mentioned gable boards of the Intha houses. This awning rests on a fence of split bamboo poles of a height of about 1 1/4 meters. The entrance opening is usually from the broad side. The house shown in Figure 5, belongs to the chief of the village of Kyegon near Kalaw which is inhabited by Taungyo. He has already permitted himself a little more luxury than the common Taungyo. The main entrance is from the front. In front of it is a small low platform.

[1] [See category 116, page 19. —Analyst]

155: Abadie--242 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[166]

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361

90. Frontier Post of Pha-Long ("Méo" Country).

347. Ho-to-tchay ("Méo" Village).

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133

184. Opium Field Cultivated by the "Méo" on the Soil of Irrigated Rice Fields.

467. Dongvan and the "Sacred Wood."

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmartied men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get
[167] married. After a son is born, they then say they have a descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ [551] was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a [517] betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [533] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

/13 cont./
*101 name for the people who wore red belts, whom they called the
*175 Hung /"red"/ Miao. (1)
[113]

1. Yen Ju-yü in Miao Fang-pei Lan Feng-su K'ao /A Study of Miao Customs/ says: "Those who wear red belts are the Hung Miao." According to Torii Ryūzō in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao: Those who wear red clothes are the Hung Miao. Actually the present-day Hung Miao in western Hunan no longer wear red clothes nor red belts. Previously they might have had this custom, but today it is no longer practical.
[291]

*175 The spirit most venerated by the Hung Miao today is Pai
776 Ti T'ien Wang, who also is one of three brothers. According to the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih /Annals of Lu-ch'i Hsien/: "The boy found in the bamboo as recorded in the story of the southwest barbarians in Hou Han Shu grew up to be the Marquis Yeh Lang and was killed by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. His three sons were all respected by the southern barbarians, and among them the third was the bravest. Posterity regarded the Bamboo King, since he was not born of flesh and blood, as a spirit
[778] and built a temple in his honor. Today, the idol, San Lang, worshiped in the temples, has the fiercest appearance and is held most in awe by the Miao. It must be the spirit of the third son. The Yung-sui T'ing Chih also says: "Large T'ien Wang
[346] /heavenly king/ temples are found in all localities, of which the one at Ch'ao-shui-ch'i is the oldest. This is the Ch'ao-shui-c'hi of Wei-ch'eng. The present-day Ch'ao-shui-ch'i has

/13 cont/ /

*175 no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in
776 Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the
Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in
[346] /14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien
Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/.
Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the
deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without
basis.

*101 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and
*175 meaning of [ko˥ ɕioŋ˩˧], a name which the Hung Miao give
themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the
Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the
Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce
that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the
descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the
Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot
say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data
become available in the future.

/15/ CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

131 Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern
provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula,
thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density
[161] of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in
Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the
173 center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas
167 all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason
Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of
the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the
*[101] Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

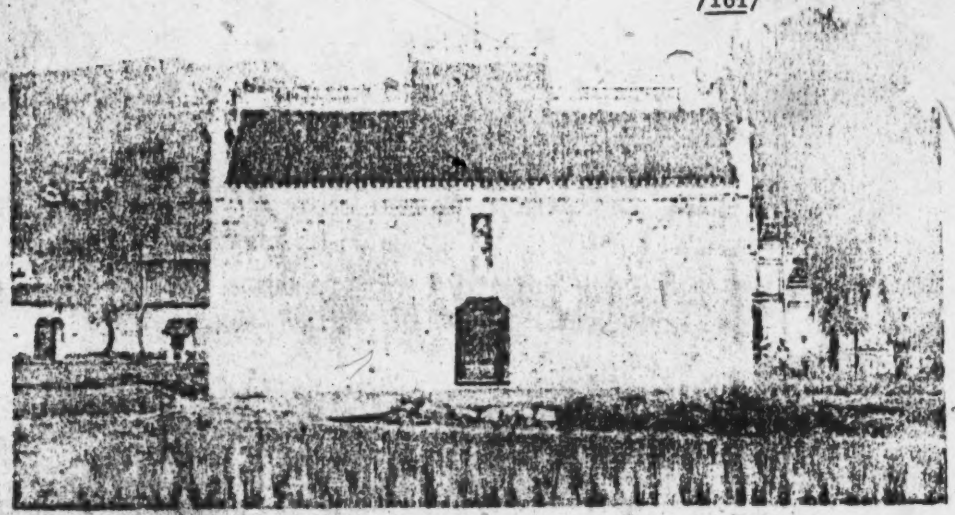
M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

(18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[534] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
[167] Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
M Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
648 and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
175 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
CC calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
175 Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
563 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
669 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts, and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/ to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble, and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563

(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

2: Ling & Ruey--241 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/161/



Illus. 69. T'ien Wang Temple at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng.

346
178

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

two priests were not the same, but the chant was the same and they had the same bored air. In both cases I believe they were saying prayers for the good fortune of the house and at the same time receiving a little rice as a fee.

Ritual Structures. The village contained no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

Deities. Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,[3] was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,[4] remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

[4] The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [346]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356]

[183 cont.]
796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
● 347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now
it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders
mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the
trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter
vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for
barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and
some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually,
when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than
that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparent-
ly thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to
light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering
trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and
the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed,
we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On in-
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not
want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know
how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction
from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way
we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began
everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which,
according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering
the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pre-
tended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's
home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o
/"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs
and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and
thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

Miao AE5
Akha A04

M /280 cont./
231 lattice of wooden beams. On the front side some of these beams
343 can be pushed aside in order to let the cattle in or out. Similar
417 hurdles are customary among our mountain peasants.
Lajonquière (1) describes the quarters of the domestic animals in

1. II, p. 305.

almost the same way, and furthermore Abadie (2) and

2. Page 158.

Fig. 83. Pigpen of the Meau. 1/60 natural size.

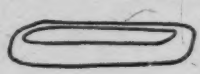


Fig. 84. Trough for pig fodder. 1/36 nat. size.

Savina (3), too.

3. II, p. 186.

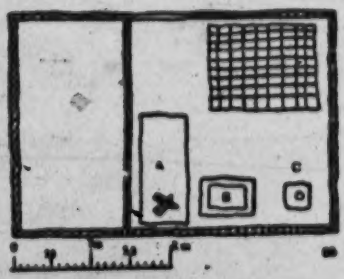
A
M
348

4. Smithies

The smithy (Figs. 85 and 86) is a small structure built in the fashion of the dwelling, which consists of a workroom open at the sides and a second room enclosed with leaf-walls (E).
M [325] The workroom is enclosed by only a few wooden beams (D) and, appropriately for the steep terrain, is on a platform. In it

39: Bernatzik--387 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /280 cont./
348 stands a large table made out of mud, with a fireplace (A),
325 bellows, fire tongs, and the other forge-implements,
/281/ such as are described and illustrated in the chapter,
A "Handicrafts." In front of the mud table there stands a larger
348 (B) and a smaller (C) anvil. /Figs. 85-86. appear here./



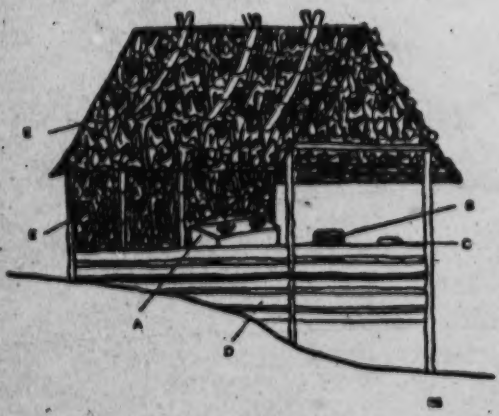


Fig. 85 (above). Smithy of the Meau, ground plan. A = worktable of pounded clay. B and C = anvils.

Fig. 86 (below). Smithy of the Meau, sketch. A = worktable with fireplace and bellows, B and C = anvils, D = wooden beam, E = palm-leaf shingles as roof covering and side walls.

39: Bernatzik--371 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/270/

342
622
513
35
778

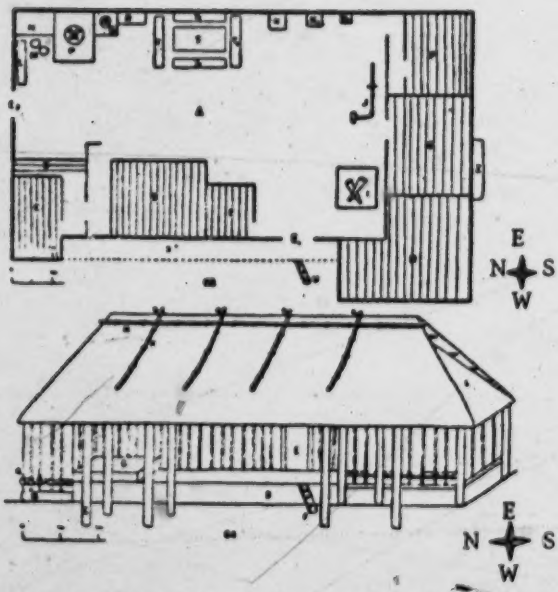


Fig. 63 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

▨ = heavy board walls
▬ = light board walls
..... = ground elevated about 50 centimeters

A = cooking and living room
B = bedroom of the chief and his two wives
C = bedroom of the eldest son and his wife
D = bedroom of the half-grown daughter, who sleeps alone on account of a skin disease
E = bedroom of the unmarried son
F = bedroom of the younger son and his wife
G = common bedroom for all the other children
H = sleeping and resting place for guests and strangers
I = large fireplace
J = built-in large rice-mortar for foot operation
K = altar for the house spirit
K 1 = altar for the wise, soothsaying spirit
K2 = altar for the protective spirit of the smiths
L = trough for collecting food remains for the pigs

(cont.)

39: Bernatzik--372 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/270 cont./

342
622
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[231]

Caption for Fig. 63 cont.

M = heavy clay pots with cooked pig-fodder, which is scooped out for use
N = hanging shelf for kitchen utensils
P = larger hearth for cooking
Q = smaller hearth for cooking
R = parking bench
S = family dining table
T 1 to T 4 = sitting benches
U = stairs, tree trunk with notches
X = raised entrance foundation
Z = built-on dye-trough
E 1 = main entrance door
E 2 = secondary entrance door.

Fig. 64 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, sketch.

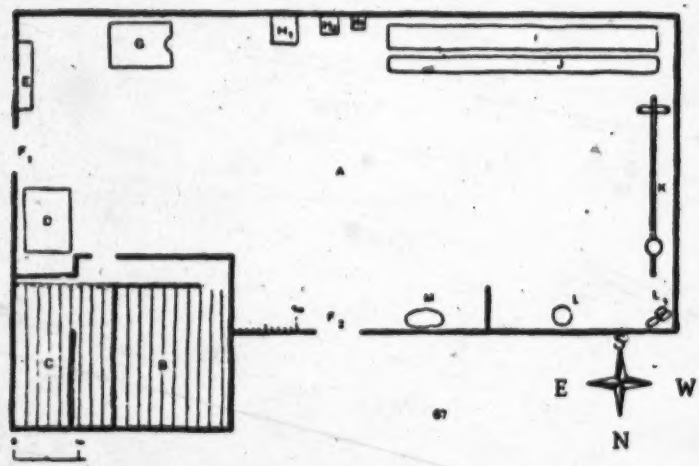
Key to symbols:

A = board wall
B = board fastened in front of the wall
C = supporting posts which support the projecting roof
D = elevated forepart
E = main entrance
F = tree trunk with notches as stairs to the entrance E
G = chicken coop
H = longitudinal bamboo poles tied to the roof truss, which hold down the leaf covering on the ridge
K = roof riders of wood rest on the leaf covering and are fastened to the roof truss
L = hip roof on both sides of the house.

39: Bernatzik--375 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/272/

342
35



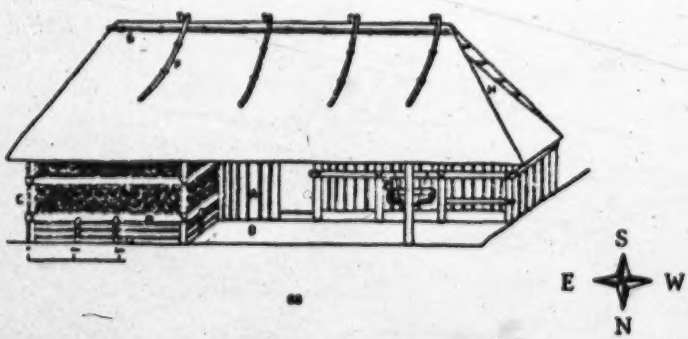


Fig. 67 (above). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

IIIII = board walls
A = cooking and living room
B = bedroom of the parents
C = divided bedroom of the children
D = table
E = wooden trough for pig fodder
F 1 and F 2 = entrance doors
G = cooking hearth
H 1, and H2, H3 = altars
I = long table

(cont.)

513
778

/272 cont./

342
35

Caption for Fig. 67 cont.

J = long bench
K = rice pounder
L = Clothes roller
L 1 = stones for the above
M = loom.

Fig. 68 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, sketch.

Key to symbols:

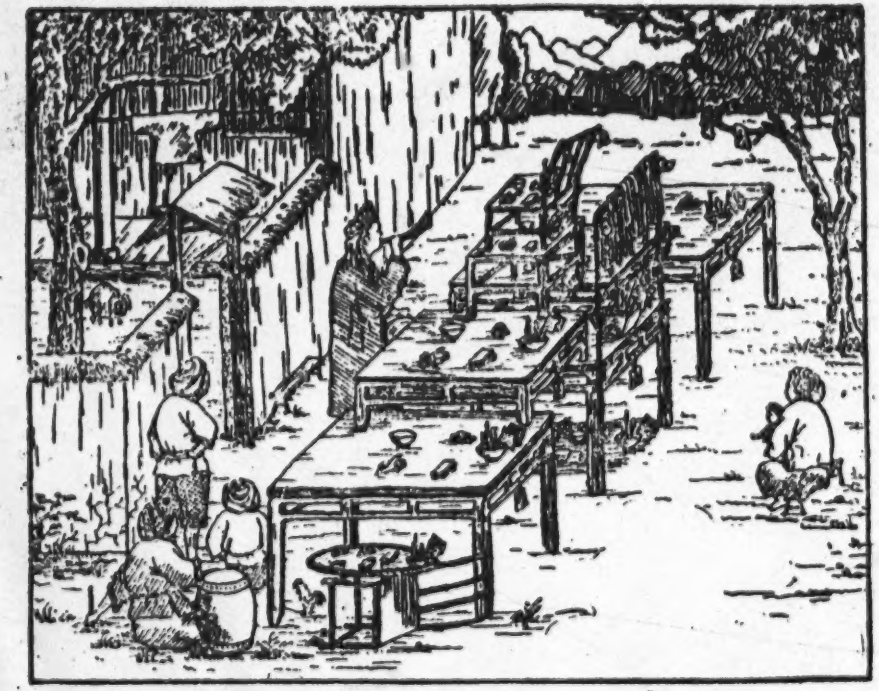
A = vertical board walls
B = horizontal boards
C = wall made of palm leaves
D = covered antechamber
E = dye trough
F = wooden roof riders hold the leaf covering
G = longitudinal bamboo pole tied to the roof truss
H = hip roof.

/147 cont./

*782 and /Illus. 65 appears here/ /148/ rain clothes. The bamboo tube is in front of me, and the bell is wound with red and green strips of cloth. My patron saint is standing beside the smoke from the wax. My teacher stands beside the knife. I ascend on the smoke of the wax. Now I have reached the land of the spirits /shen/. I am already with the four kan lo kuei. If you have

[142] [351] [291] [516]

Illus. 65. Ta Kan Lo, B.



Illus. 72. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, B.

782*
352
351

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing [103] (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore rep- [574] resents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and [351] vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 We did not come across any fortified villages among the 712 Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

1 [See cat 116, P707- ANALYST]

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[164] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good
[732] worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with
the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on
unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on p. 369]

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

• 351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the 241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [245] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II, p. 185.
114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.

[1] [see cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water, are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in [351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos, [245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties 263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by [317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the [135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand [171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain [439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders (see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

252 Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it, [262] which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks [251] where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsǔǎ) are made, three kinds of which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

39: Bernatzik--730 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/X cont./

361 Ill. 108. Partial view of the Meau settlement of Nam Fa at the end of the rainy season. In the vicinity of the houses there are gardens with fruit trees, behind them secondary forest on deserted fields, and in the background, the typical monsoon forest of Farther India.

[351]
[137]

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
● 352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/38 cont./

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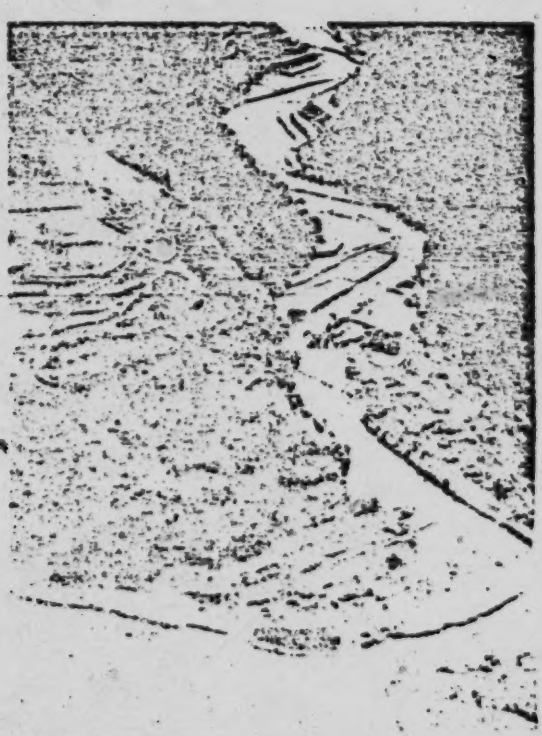

Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353 [778] [177] 352 [231] [354] 782 769 354 000

Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Relatives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

M 353 /41 cont./ Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[357] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
342 partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[353] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[556] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[251] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
[231] for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
M ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
251 storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[213] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
●352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
487 consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
487 comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

/42/

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Illus. 16. Interior arrangement of a Miao house of the two-room type with three pillars and four frames.

/43/

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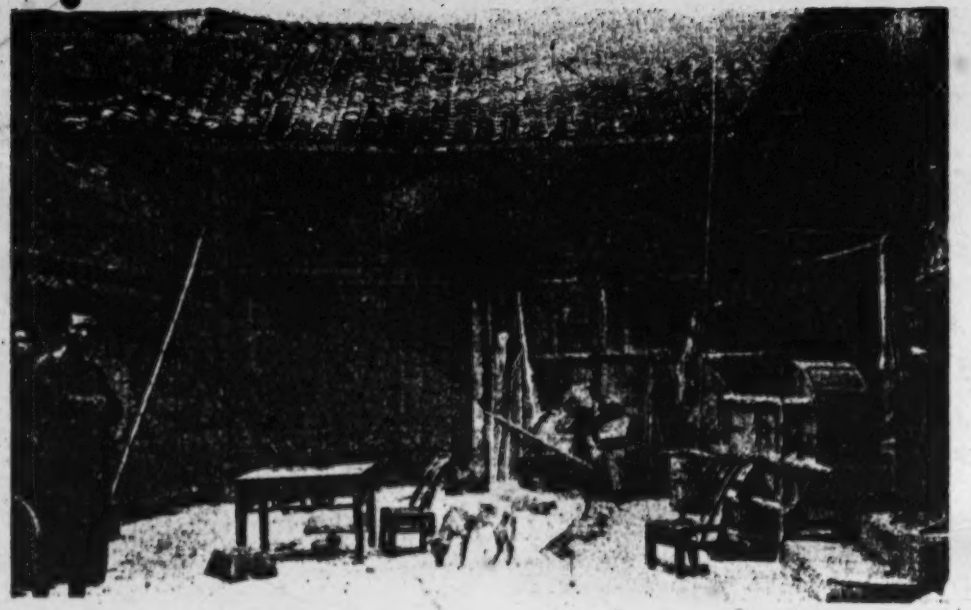
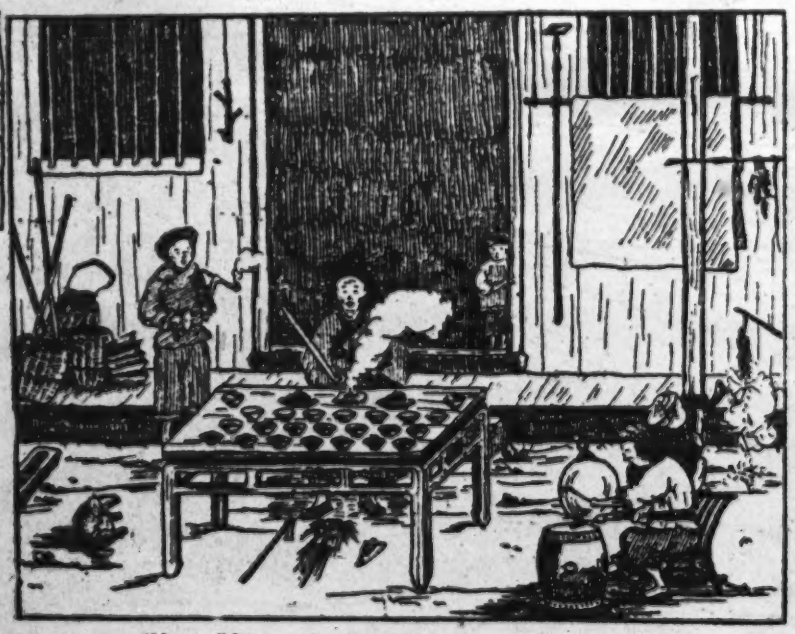


Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

/132 cont./

[782] they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and a bracelet. He mutters an incantation, while attendants hold the [788] wine pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

[342] [352] [415] [412] [291]



Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

2: Ling & Ruey--198 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/134/

Illus. 60, Eating Pigs, B.

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782*
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415

2: Ling & Ruey--200 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

*782
291
411
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●352
531

Illus. 61. Eating Pigs, C.

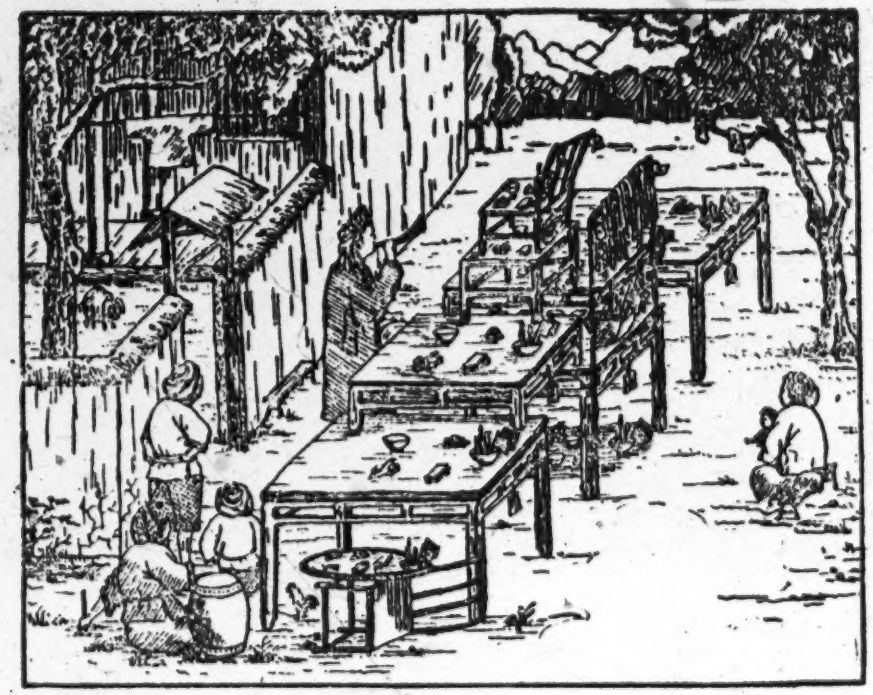
/139 cont./

755 *782 The vow has extricated him from the clutches of the kuei, and the sickness has not come back, but is forever uprooted. The host has saved money and bought a fat pig from the market as well as paper money. Having waited for the passing of the days to be avoided, then he comes to the sacrifice to the kuei. Sorcerer-priests are very few in this world, and he came to my home to invoke my help. So, here I am. I ask all the kuei to come here. I burn a bowl of beeswax. The bamboo tube and the bell are beside the fire pit. The two winnowing baskets filled with meat, the gold and silver cans, the gold and silver chair cushions, all are set at the sides of the pit. The table for the sacrifice to the kuei, the paper money for the redemption of the soul, the fancy /flower/ bowl to hold the wine, the fat pigs, big and small, two large chickens--these

[352] [353] [516] [415]

圖62 打家先

Illus. 62. Ta Chia Hsien



Illus. 72. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, B.

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351

/171 cont./

*782 of meat, and a bowl of salted pepper soup. The sorcerer-priest once more squats at his original place, utters an incantation, *[787] divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send the shen away.

(11) The Kuei of Deceit

[791] [776] When a Miao is involved in a litigation, he will wish to cause the kuei of deceit to go to confuse the opposite party, and so he sacrifices to this kuei. A winnowing basket is laid down to the right of the main door inside the main house. In it are put five piles of mi-pa, each made up of three pieces, and into the middle pile are stuck three sticks of incense. There are also five bowls of wine and five stacks of paper money in the tray. Outside the tray a bowl of chaff burns. The sorcerer wears ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand, and sits down facing the

[353] [352]

Illus. 73. Sacrifice to the Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries.

*[787] winnowing basket. He utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the performance. He

/195 cont./

755 a cup of wine, and meat, and lays them down one by one.
789 The magician then kowtows three times facing the altar for incense. Then he burns the paper money and takes down the cup of water with his left hand, using the thumb, forefinger, and little finger to hold it secure /Illus. 77 appears here/ /196/ (the middle and the fourth fingers bend into the palm). The forefinger and middle finger of his right hand close together to draw three magic signs facing the cup of water (Illus. 76, 77). While the magic signs are being drawn he

•[352]

Illus. 76. The ritual of drawing water.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

as you merely stick another fan under the thatch wherever 342
the water is dripping through. Sometimes bundles of a heavy swamp grass are used, or the third alternative is rattan. The big rattan branches are taken, stripped of leaves on one side of the mid-rib, laid one above the other with the leaves overlapping, and the whole section fastened to the roof. This sort of roofing takes longer to prepare but is probably the most durable of the three.

The walls are the next problem. Often they are of bamboo stakes driven into the ground close together and chinked with mud up to the low roof. Sometimes they are simply split bamboo woven into screens and fastened firmly into place. No windows are left except tiny square openings in the walls and these are by no means universal. One door is left in the middle of the long front side of the house, a bamboo screen with bamboo withes for hinges and an ingenious bamboo latchstring. The eaves project two or three feet over the roof edge in every direction. At the back they thus extend almost to the top of the bank of earth mentioned above. In the front they extend down so near the ground that it is almost impossible to enter from that side, but a simple matter to enter this tunnel-like verandah at the end of the house and walk along close to the wall until the door is reached. The pig troughs are usually situated under this verandah, and the chicken coops also. Trough and chicken coop are hardly the proper names for the articles though they are used for those purposes. Their construction will be explained later. At one or perhaps both ends of the house the roof is extended three or four feet and under the shelter thus formed the household firewood, rice mortar, fishing and other implements are stored. The cows, if the family possesses any, are tied at night in a rude shelter near the house.

The floor of the house is made of pounded mud, cracking in dry weather and damp in rainy seasons. The general division of house space is shown in the accompanying sketch. Two stones make the fireplace and the crude iron skillet [354]
rests on them while the fire is built on the floor. Long logs are burned, being pushed into the fire as they gradually burn away. The smoke finds an outlet wherever it can, as there is no chimney. Above the fire a shelf of bamboo holds the [352]
family supply of corn or whatnot that needs drying. Hanging shelves on either side of the living room hold the family property. The rice room has a floor of woven bamboo, about a foot from the ground. As sons of the family marry, another room may be built on to the original house, if the new family does not set up a separate establishment entirely.

4:Mickey E-8 (1909-?)1907 AES Miao AES

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
596 vited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight.
[515 In this family I saw the evening foot-washing,
574] at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
353 leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

342 symbols for heaven and earth, ☰ and ☷. One house I saw had a festoon of wooden
353 daggers above the door, also. The first two copy Chinese custom and the third resembles a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of An-shun Hsien.

[531]

Fig. 7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, *c*), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

343 **Sanitary Arrangements.** The toilets of the village were open cesspools or the woods
514 and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

352 **Furniture.** In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

[22a]

4:Michey E-5 (1900-?)1967 AE5 Misc AE5

352 foreign clock, both broken. The usual seat was a small, rectangular stool about eight inches high, often lacking a leg or two. In some houses I saw a few sections of log, straw hassocks, or low, long benches. Sometimes a long, wide bench stood under the window. Beds were a wooden frame or box on four legs or supported by two sawhorses. In one house thick coffin boards laid on blocks of wood formed a bed. However, not all houses had beds or enough for all the family downstairs, so that some of them slept in the loft. Beds usually had a thick straw mattress, a straw mat, or both. A few had a mat of felt. There were comfortables of the Chinese type —a pad of cotton with a removable cover not quite as large as the pad on one side and large enough on the other to fold over and overlap the first piece, with mitered corners. Others were like a rug with a nap, woven of straw on a vertical loom. Hard, small, bolster-shaped pillows were stuffed with cotton and were for looks only.

352 Even where there was a built-up stove with cooking bowls fitted into it, much of the
252 cooking was done in smaller bowls on an iron hoop on three legs. On the inner side of the
574 ring were three prongs toward the center to
264 support the bowl. This set over the fire in the floor, which also provided heat. The big stove was used for cooking rice, when a large number were to be cooked for, to make bean curd, to distill wine, or to prepare the mash for animals. Even at feasts men and women often sat around separate floor fires and ate from dishes set on a board across the bowl or from the broth being cooked in it. At times when there were many guests, such as a wedding or funeral, the men usually ate indoors, the women at tables out-of-doors. At the New Year feasts in the house men and women ate together, as well as for the evening meal after the work of the day was done. For the fires there were iron tongs and in the ashes were set earthen pots for tea. Over the fire were suspended a square of interwoven bamboo used as a shelf, a piece of iron with several hooks, and pieces of pork or beef in loops of straw.

352 Other furniture included wooden cupboards for food or one built on the outside of the house with doors opening into the room, various baskets and jars, trays and bowls (set

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

on a bench or on top of the cupboard), jars of rice wine, and a bean mill. On the walls hung scythes for cutting wood, carrying poles, carpenter's tools, a wicker basket of chopsticks, skeins and balls of hemp thread, small jars of oil, and sometimes a water pipe. Leaning against the wall were pipes with long bamboo stems, bundles of faggots and carrying poles with baskets on either end. In a well-to-do home pieces of meat hung from the rafters. Lamps were the ordinary pottery saucer with pith wicks and vegetable or t'ung oil fuel. They were suspended by a wire from the rafters or set on an iron stand. For lighting the way or borrowing fire thin pieces of wood tipped with sulfur, small bundles of straw, or a few strips of bamboo were used. Generally speaking, the objects found in these villages were not for comfort but rather for utility and convenience. 352

Every home had a shrine to "Heaven, earth, rulers, relatives, and scholars," which was merely the inscription in Chinese characters on red paper pasted up on the wall facing the door, with appropriate sentiments on other strips on either side. In some homes there was also a shelf the full width of the room — the main hall, if there was one — with these inscriptions above and holders for incense, candles and other objects for worship on it. After the old man in the family in which I lived died a square table was set up in one corner of the main room with cloth forming a third side. On the table were the ancestral tablet, figures and cones of mosaic, colored paper with pompoms of frilled paper on top, a support for incense sticks, and small dishes. Along the top and sides of the opening were inscriptions in Chinese. I saw this shrine, also, in two houses in Yang-niu-ts'un, while in a third home the open shelf above a cupboard was used for this purpose. Here the objects were an ancestral tablet, a lamp, a support for incense sticks, and a gong. At dusk, as in Chinese Buddhist homes, they set in new, lighted incense sticks and beat the gong several times. 352 776

This main hall was not lived in as much as other rooms of the house, but according to the season the large bamboo mats used on the threshing floor, bamboo baskets for grain, various implements — plows, harrows, grain- 352 412

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

cleaning machines, flails—other baskets and trays were kept there (see fig. 13, *b-e*). During the rice harvest it was often piled full of grain until there had been enough sunny days to get it all sunned and stored or sold. When an adult died, the coffin was always set in this room with the foot toward the door. At the lunar New Year glutinous rice paste was pounded in a stone mortar and the cakes shaped in this room. Of course offerings were made here to ancestral spirits and to the gods of the household.

Food. The basis of their diet, like that of the Chinese in the district, was white rice. Except for a short time directly after a good rice harvest, this was mixed with beans or whole wheat flour in tiny balls. With it they ate cooked green vegetables from their own gardens, highly seasoned with salt and hot red or green chillies, fresh or dried. Their gardens had a succession of the following vegetables: turnips, celery, carrots, celery cabbage, spinach, white and sweet potatoes, lettuce root, rape, mustard, various kinds of beans and peas, maize, cucumbers, onions, garlic, leeks, and various other roots. In May, for instance, there were new potatoes, peas, and broad beans in the gardens and bamboo shoots in the thickets, in June green beans, rape leaves, and cabbage. Broth was made of dried beans and peas, and curd from soy beans. Nearly every family raised pigs. The pork was eaten both fresh and in the form of excellent smoked and cured meat and sausages. The blood was also mixed with bean curd and made into sausage. At rare intervals a cow was killed and the meat eaten fresh or dried. Now and then beef was brought into the village or bought in market. Of the bamboo two species were edible. In spring and fall bamboo shoots were much enjoyed. Potatoes were sliced very thin with the skins left on and fried. When corn was ripe it was eaten on the cob after being roasted in the hot ashes, or the kernels were mashed, wrapped in husks, boiled, and eaten from the husks. Persimmon and other pickles were made. If the water in the pond was not too deep in the spring, they dug for two kinds of water chestnut. Small fish were taken from the pond, either fished for with pole and line or caught in the hands as a large number of

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter-jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds. The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment,
342 since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

low stools, not more than four inches high, and 352
close at hand is an article of furniture which serves
as a table, though it would be flattering to call it
by that name. Arranged by the side of the walls
are a grain bin, a cistern or tub in which the drinking
water is kept, a contrivance which serves as a bed,
a large iron pan for cooking and other purposes,
and innumerable odds and ends which to you
would appear useless but to the owner are valued
family possessions. On rudely contrived shelves
or in a roughly made cupboard are several earthen-
ware or wooden basins with primitive chopsticks
and spoons. You will notice the loom, which is 286
as primitive as that used in the days of the Biblical
Pharaohs. It will interest you and you will wish
to examine the framework, the warp beam, lease
rods, shed stick, heddle-rod, cloth beam and
unfinished fabric. Happily it is not a fixture and
can be moved outside the house, so that the weary
housewife can weave in the sun. For the most
part the articles enumerated, together with bundles
of clothes, form the whole household possessions
of a Miao family. The tragedy of these mud huts 342
is not so much the poverty as the ugliness and the
absence of cleanliness. The missionary often has
to sleep in a house such as this, and when his bed
has been set against the dividing wall, if this has
been made of wattle as it frequently is, some animal
will push his head through a hole in the partition
to have a look at the stranger.

Miao salute one another with great cordiality, 576
men greeting men, and women, women, by rubbing

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

[412] [373]

[20 cont.] (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a
583 cousin on the mother's side, and if she is to marry somebody
584 else, she has to give money to her maternal uncle. This money
[582] is called "niece's cash.") The girl's family would then give a feast in honor of the go-between and invite other guests to keep him company.

585 [21] Marriages generally take place during the winter harvest in the second lunar month or the autumn harvest in the tenth lunar month. At that time the groom's family will again despatch three or four young men to the bride's family, carrying nine catties of pork, a package of glutinous rice weighing about two or three catties together with the cash gift negotiated at the time of the engagement. Announcement will also be made of the date for receiving the bride (about twenty days away on a horse day or a cow day). The return gift from the girl's family at the time consists only of a package of glutinous rice and a duck. But on the wedding day the bride's family has to despatch two men early in the morning to send over to the groom's family a slaughtered pig of about fifty to sixty catties and two big baskets, approximately four pecks, of glutinous rice to herald the arrival of the bride. At the wedding march the bride is arrayed in a flowered dress, holding in her hand the flowered parasol, sent previously by the groom's family, and accompanied by eleven male and female relatives. But halfway six of them must retract their steps because grown-up girls may not visit the groom. Among the other five, one young woman acts as the bride's maid and always keeps her company. The groom's family also despatches men to carry wine and rice to meet the bridal party halfway. When the two groups meet they picnic in the field. After this the bride and her kinsmen are conducted to the groom's family.

The bridal chamber is not so well decorated as that of the Chinese, and the furniture in the room is simple and plain.
● [352] Except for one or two chests of drawers for the bride's clothes which come as a part of the dowry, the rest is provided by the groom and consists of a bed, a few stools, a wooden face-basin and a foot-basin. Quilts, pillows and mat are also provided by the groom's family. That day the celebration consists of singing

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by large

131 idea of covering them or closing up the gable where glacial air poured
342 in.

132 In the rear of the cabin is found a little corridor which separates
342 it from the earthen wall hewn into the mountain. The front is provided with a narrow veranda where horses are stabled in stalls enclosed by round logs.

342 The interior of the house, which rests directly on packed
356 earth, is usually divided into three compartments. In the first is the
352 kitchen where the women habitually work. The cooking-ranges are of clay and are very large. They serve not only for cooking food for the family, but also to prepare the vegetable pastes which make up food for the farmyard animals. The household implements and the various agricultural tools are likewise kept in this room.

The one in the middle is the reception room, where the men gather after work around a great fire lighted in the middle of the room in a square bed of clay. Above this hearth is suspended a bamboo framework on which crops are placed to dry.

The third room contains sleeping compartments, simply small booths, separated from one another by partitions of bamboo or planks. Their sole furniture is a cot. The interior appearance of these dark holes is not at all tempting. In the greatest disorder one may see padded quilts losing their cotton through numerous rips and other belongings of questionable cleanliness.

343 /134/ In front of the house, the pig sty, very well cared for, is suspended above the slope by oaken beams and planks. Next to it, also hung above the void, is located a little shed which serves as a storage place for rice and maize.

352 The house is not without furniture like the Tho cabins. There
241 are tables, benches, cots of wood, all kinds of household utensils or tools, and even musical instruments. All around the Meo plant fruit trees and cultivate beds of vegetables here and there.

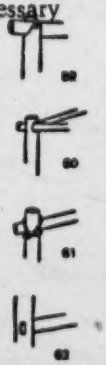
342 The type of dwelling which we have just described has nothing
352 which cannot be changed. Poor people and newly weds who are still getting settled simply build a thatched cottage whose sidewalls are made of corn stalks not too tightly joined together, whose spaces freely permit passage of the winter's cold north wind. When evening comes they simply throw a few armfuls of corn stalks into a corner and pass the night on this thinly padded couch.

Miao AE5

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all; the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/297 cont./

5. The Smithies.

A 348 171 The smithies will not be described separately here, since they are very similar to the smithies of the Meau (see Figs. 85 and 86). It is true that a smith sometimes prefers to set up his workshop under the sharply projecting roof of his dwelling (Ill. 34).[1] A 325 171 The forging tools (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 412-417) show a great similarity in many ways to those of the Meau.

6. The Rice-field Huts.

A 243 342 The Akha, too, erect small huts in their fields, which usually, however, serve them for only one or two days for spending the night and never for a longer stay. Accordingly, they are flimsily built of bamboo and have only one or two side walls, sometimes none at all. A small fireplace is all that serves for comfort. A [836] Like the rice-field huts of the Meau, they, too, are happily sought out by pairs of lovers.

/298/ Chapter 14

House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils

M 128 352 [438] [439] More care than is given to the building of the houses is devoted by the Meau to the manufacture of the household equipment, which is extremely varied and which is made almost entirely by them. Where this is not the case, as, for example, in the case of various iron and earthenware goods which they buy from itinerant Haw traders (see the chapter, "Trade"), this is specifically mentioned. Although the equipment enumerated here cannot include everything, nevertheless all that we saw has been recorded and sketched with extreme accuracy. The photographs will perhaps add to our account of the material culture.

1 [See cat 116, p252- ANALYST]

/298 cont./

342 Corresponding to the division of a Meau house into a cook-
352 ing and living room, to sleeping and storage rooms, the equipment is also adapted to these purposes. (Abadie (1) and

1. Page 157.

Maspero describe the equipment of the house essentially in agreement with my observations.)

513 The sleeping rooms are enclosed by high boards loosely
[342] joined together. The doorless entrance to the sleeping room is usually hidden from view from the living room by a second wall. The place for lying down takes up the whole bedroom;
[352] thus, the bed (Fig. 115) is the size of the enclosed space (Fig. 116). It consists of wooden posts driven into the ground, upon which the frame of wooden or bamboo sticks is tied. A large plaited sleeping mat is spread out on it. On the bed lie old clothes, rags, and blankets, which, rolled up, also serve as pillows, since these are not made separately. Small shelves
[353] are usually put on the wall above the bed, on which pipes, tobacco, combs, and other personal "treasures" lie about. All kinds of stuff are put under the bed, especially baskets with clothing, cloth, and personal belongings.

/299/ Aside from these relatively large sleeping places and beds, it also happens frequently that numbers of the family, especially half-grown children, merely sleep on the floor on an outspread mat and covered with blankets. These blankets are like our quilts; a filling of a kapok-like material or cotton is covered with a self-woven fabric. /Figs. 115-116 appear here./
[439] Everywhere, however, one also finds blankets purchased from
[574] the Chinese. The sleeping place for guests is a mat-covered platform about 50 centimeters high.

342 Whereas Savina (1) describes the arrangements of the
513

1. II, p. 190.

house and the sleeping rooms along the lines of my survey, Lajonquière (2) writes: "In the interior there is often no

2. II, p. 306.

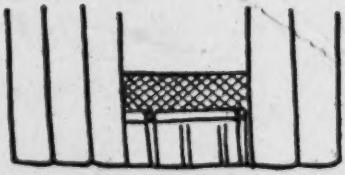
/299 cont./

342 partitioning. The hearth is in the middle of the room opposite
513 a sleeping place which is reserved for the old people. The
[354] younger men, women and children sleep anywhere on the bare
[888] floor or on an underlayer of straw."

/300/ Only in the "most complete type" of Meau house could the author cited find a tripartite division of the rooms into "the room of honor for strangers, kitchen, and private

[352]

115



116

Fig. 115. Bed of the Meau.
About 1/38 nat. size.

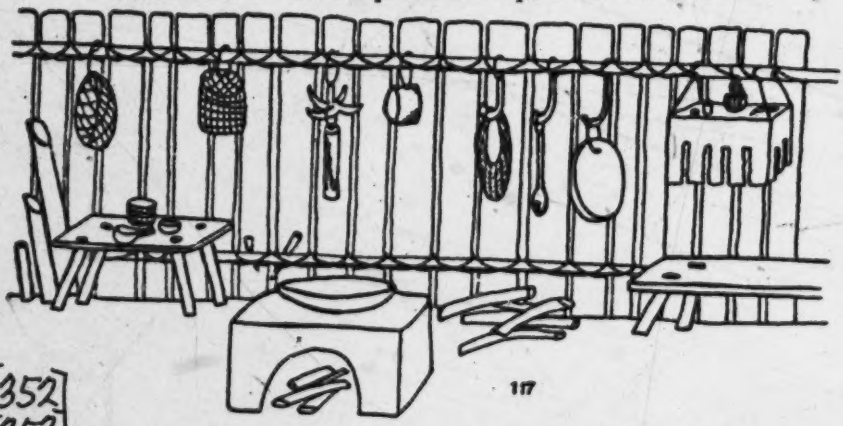
Fig. 116. Entrance to the sleeping room of
the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

rooms," the latter probably referring to the sleeping rooms.
/Fig. 117 appears here./

354 Every house of the Meau has a hearth for cooking and an
252 open fireplace. The hearth for cooking (Fig. 117) is square and made of mud. The wood fire is maintained under the immovable hearth-plate, in which a depression is made for the cooking pots. If the family is very large, there may be two hearths (Fig. 118).

/300/

354 [574] The large open fireplace, which is usually near the guest room or in the room itself, consists of an elevated, /Fig. 118 appears here/ square, mud base, on which a circle of stones is built, with the firewood in layers in the middle of it. This fireplace is the place of the father of



[352] [353] [415] [778]

Fig. 117. Wall in the cooking and living room of the Meau. 1/50 nat. size.

From left to right, hanging above: basket, basketwork bag, rolling pin, chopping block, carrying net, wooden ladle, gong, altar. From left to right, below: bamboo water-containers, little parking-table, knife sticking in the wall, cooking hearth with iron pot, firewood, bench to sit on.

Fig. 118. Hearth of the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."
342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult
[439] has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[177] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

●352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
[see cat. 116, p645 – ANALYST]

/302 cont./

352 the customary squatting position on mats on the floor (Ill. 106).[1]
[511] Sometimes, too, only the adults are entitled to the table and
[516] bench, whereas the children eat their meals on the floor.
[264] Tables and benches (Ill. 107)[1] have strong slabs hewn out of one piece of wood, into which slanting wooden legs are inserted (Figs. 123 and 124). This furniture differs fundamentally from
[171] that of the Chinese and is almost identical with the tables and benches of our Alpine dwellers. Among the Meau, low wooden stools (Fig. 125) and stools to sit on, with /303/ plaited seats (Fig. 126), are in use, as they are among all the mountain peoples of Farther India.

123

Figs. 123-126. Furniture of the Meau.

Fig. 123. Table, 1/66 nat. size.

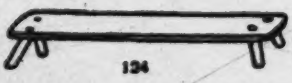

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Fig. 124. Bench for sitting, 1/34 nat. size.

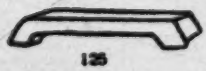
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Fig. 125. Stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

126

Fig. 126. Plaited stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

[1] [see cat 116, p 706 - ANALYST]

/303 cont./

353 The arrangements of every house include the altar and
778 the sacrificial and cult equipment which were described in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (Figs. 41-54).

354 For heating the house the previously mentioned hearth fire and the open fireplaces serve. After the onset of darkness, both are the chief sources of light. There are also, however, special iron lamps (Figs. 127 and 128), in which oil is used
[824] as fuel. Torches made of resinous pine shavings are also in use and stand ready /Figs. 127-128 appear here/ to be used, especially at night out in the open. On the other hand, incense candles and fat-lamps (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 51) are used exclusively for cult purposes.

127

128

Figs. 127-128. Iron lamps of the Meau.

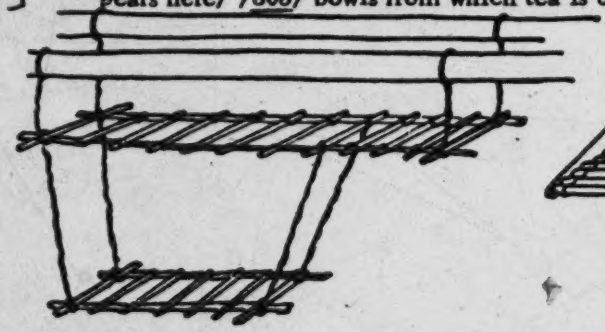
Fig. 127. Hanging lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.
Fig. 128. Standing lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.

353 There are many kinds of devices for putting up or
●352 hanging household equipment. Over the open fireplace in every house of the Meau hang large shelves (Fig. 129) which are fastened to the beams of the storage
[251] loft. They are used chiefly for smoking meat and other foostuffs, but /304/ also for storing seeds, such as ears of maize and the like (Ill. 100). Next to the

/304 cont./

353
●352
[415]

hearth and about one meter high is also found a hanging shelf made of split bamboo (Fig. 130). Here, within easy reach of the housewife, stand the Chinese porcelain /Figs. 129-136 appears here/ /305/ bowls from which tea is drunk; here lie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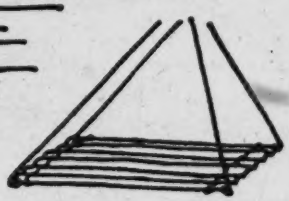
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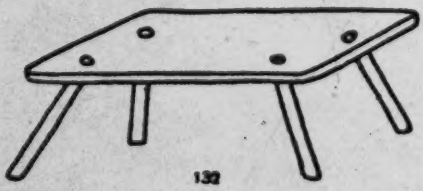
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136

Figs. 129-136. Storage devices of the Meau.

Fig. 129. Hanging shelf over the fireplace, 1/24 nat. size. Fig. 130. Shelf for cooking utensils, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 131. Hanging basket for utensils, about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 132. Little parking-table, about 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 133. Container for chopsticks, 1/8 nat. size. Figs. 134-136. Devices to hang things on, about 1/10 nat size. Fig. 134. Branch-whorl. Fig. 135. Wooden hook. Fig. 136. Horn.

/305 cont./

353 knives, wooden spoons, a grater, small baskets with spices and
352 fruits, vegetables and dried roots, a gourd dipper, a wooden
415 ladle for dipping, and the like. For storing porcelain dishes there are also special hanging baskets with tightly plaited sides and a loosely plaited cover (Fig. 131). Also, a low table for parking things on (Figs. 117 and 132) stands on the other side of the hearth, and next to it there is a bamboo container for the chopsticks (Fig. 133).

352 From the storage loft a large wooden hook hangs down,
353 which has to bear the weight of the heavy water kettle. Also, small hooks carved out of wood and some made of deer-horn, as well as branch-whorls (Figs. 134, 135, and 136), hang on the walls and are used to hang up various pots, baskets, and utensils (see also Fig. 117).

Whereas such devices for putting away and hanging up utensils and the aforementioned wall boards and shelves are
[184] present in abundance, chests and cupboards are completely lacking among the Meau who have settled in Thailand.

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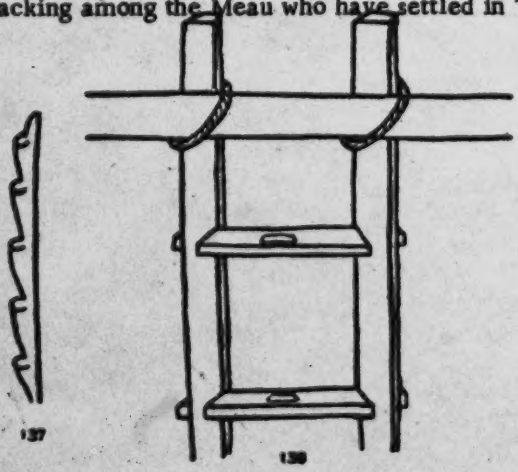

Figs. 137-138. Ladders of the Meau.
Fig. 137. Notched tree-trunk, about 1/20 nat. size.
Fig. 138. Ladder with steps, 1/6 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--706 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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Ill. 106. Flashlight photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau.

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Ill. 107. Meau chief and family at a meal in his dwelling.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

31: Scherman--27 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Miao AE5

Still another Yunnan tribe, the Miao (tse),
101 which is also found frequently in Laos, has
[167] migrated to Kengtung--1911: 646 (20). The

20. About their relation to the Mon-Khmer, good material by H.R. Davies, Yün-nan (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 337 ff. About their housing construction: UBG I, 1, pp. 599 ff. Other ethnological material with good illustrations by S.R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in South-West China (London, 1911) and by A. Schotter, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Kouy-tcheou (Chine)," /Ethnographique Notes on the Kweichow Tribes (China)/ Anthropos Vol. 3 ff. who considers the Yao (cf. above, fn. 19) as a subdivision of the Miao Anthropos Vol. 4, pp. 318 ff.; cf. 3, p. 405.

people excel in their clothing, architecture, and household management through outstanding
342 cleanliness and neatness. Their houses in the British-Burmese area where, being immigrants, they certainly do not represent their complete, original type, are built much better and stronger than those of the neighboring people. Wherever they are not made of mud (this seems to be the older, original construction method) /214/ the houses are built with strong wood and shingled roofs and have mud or stone terraces. Sometimes they are built on piles. The pile house has certainly developed under the influence of the building style of the Burmese countries. The interior is much more carefully furnished than are the Burmese houses. In the large rooms, which
[352] are divided by small walls into compartments, are bamboo bedsteads, couches, and low chairs, mats and furs. An attic is formed by a ceiling

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, M [137] pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-room type house the middle room is the main room. On the M 353 778 177 rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

[text continues on p63]

see
1 [Cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
2 [" " , p65- "]

/38 cont./

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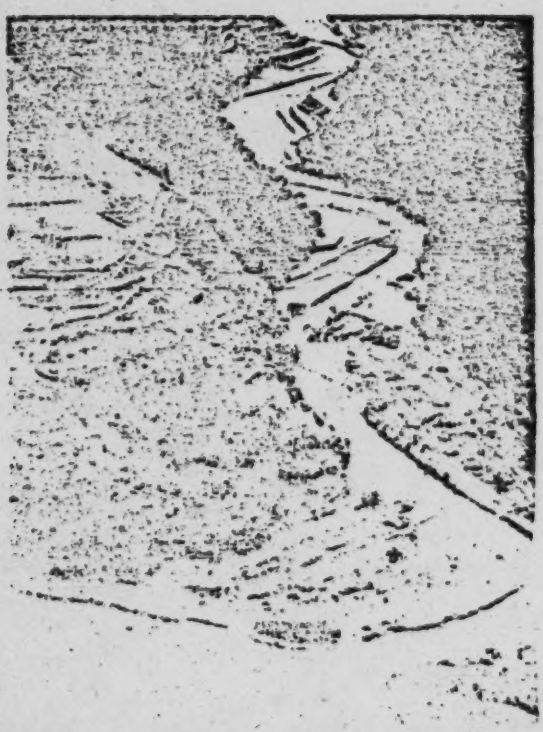

Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353 Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[778] [177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
782 room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
769 in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
354 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
000 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

2:Ling & Ruey--65 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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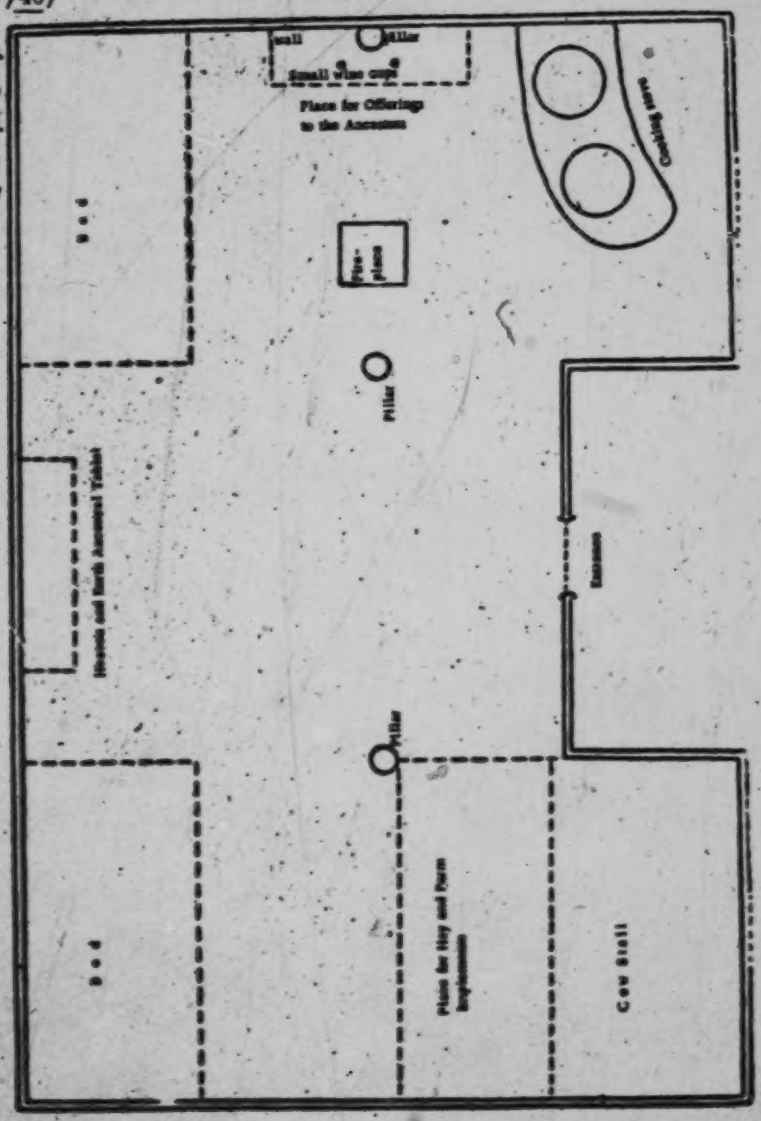

Illustration 16. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lang family among the Miao

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[357] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
342 partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[353] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[556] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[251] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
[231] for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
M ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
251 storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[213] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
487 consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
487 comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

2:Ling & Ruey--68 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 16. Interior arrangement of a Miao house of the two-room type with three pillars and four frames.

2:Ling & Ruey--69 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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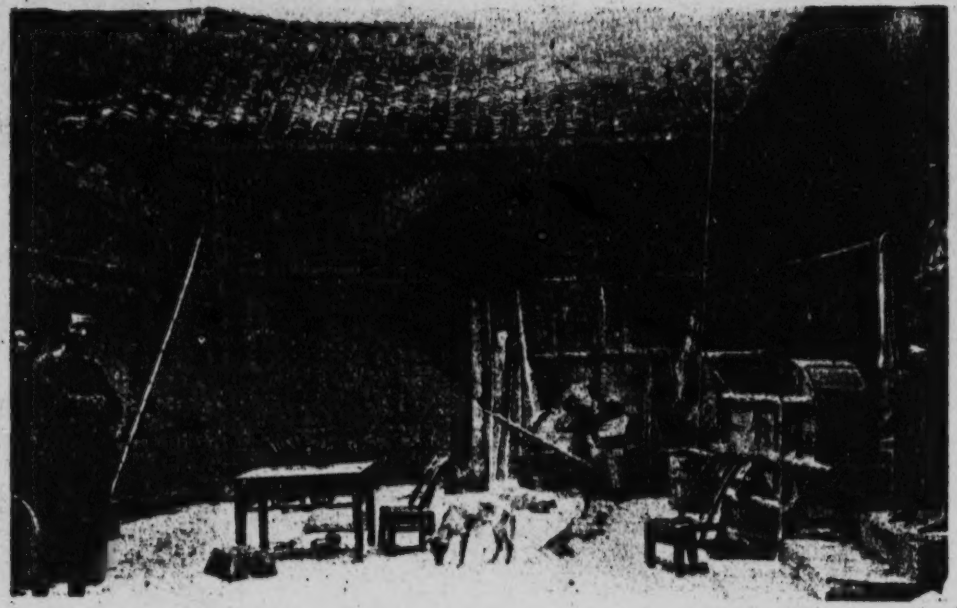


Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

/139 cont./

755 *782 The vow has extricated him from the clutches of the kuei, and the sickness has not come back, but is forever uprooted. The host has saved money and bought a fat pig from the market as well as paper money. Having waited for the passing of the days to be avoided, then he comes to the sacrifice to the kuei. Sorcerer-priests are very few in this world, and he came to my home to invoke my help. So, here I am. I ask all the kuei to come here. I burn a bowl of beeswax. The bamboo tube and the bell are beside the fire pit. The two winnowing baskets filled with meat, the gold and silver cans, the gold and silver chair cushions, all are set at the sides of the pit. The table for the sacrifice to the kuei, the paper money for the redemption of the soul, the fancy /flower/ bowl to hold the wine, the fat pigs, big and small, two large chickens--these

[352] [353] [516] [415]

圖四十二 打家先

Illus. 62. Ta Chia Hsien

/171 cont./

*782 of meat, and a bowl of salted pepper soup. The sorcerer-priest once more squats at his original place, utters an incantation, *[787] divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send the shen away.

(11) The Kuei of Deceit

[691] [776] When a Miao is involved in a litigation, he will wish to cause the kuei of deceit to go to confuse the opposite party, and so he sacrifices to this kuei. A winnowing basket is laid down to the right of the main door inside the main house. In it are put five piles of mi-pa, each made up of three pieces, and into the middle pile are stuck three sticks of incense. There are also five bowls of wine and five stacks of paper money in the tray. Outside the tray a bowl of chaff burns. The sorcerer wears ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand, and sits down facing the

[353] [352]

Illus. 73. Sacrifice to the Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries.

*[787] winnowing basket. He utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the performance. He

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
596 vited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight.

[515 In this family I saw the evening foot-washing,
574] at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
353 leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

and so on. It was in the rooms for the son and his second wife that I lived before he married her. The front room was then a study and schoolroom. 342

The houses also varied considerably with regard to the material used for siding. The "old house" and one other had three walls of sundried brick and mud plaster and one of wood; the "new house" had three walls of perfectly matched and fitted large, gray brick and a fourth of wood. Others used any combination of planks vertical or horizontal, with or without the bark, interwoven bamboo strips with or without buffalo dung plaster, pieces of bamboo matting, bundles of straw or bundles of faggots, and the newest house had walls of beaten earth similar to those of the poorer Chinese houses in the vicinity. One house even had a wall of the tile intended for roofing, which will probably be used later for that purpose. The house of my host in Yang-niu-ts'un was, as I have said, of wood throughout. In general they built as good a house as they could afford, following Chinese styles.

Even the poorest house with one room, stable, and thatch roof had a loft for the storage of faggots, straw, unthreshed grain, baskets of grain and miscellaneous articles, sometimes piles of grain and other foods. None of the houses were weathertight, but this was not an unmixed evil, for there had to be some means of escape for most of the smoke from brushwood fires built in pits in the floor. The granaries were about six feet square and built on piles. The floor inside was of beaten earth on planks.

The wood used in construction was pine for the timbers, partitions, and loft flooring, fir and cypress for the roof planks, bamboo for poles across the rafters, interwoven siding, loft flooring and partitions. Tile, straw, grass, and reeds were used for roofing, bundles of straw or faggots for siding.

The better houses had above the door the *yin* and *yang* symbol (fig. 7), and the *pa kua* 342 353

4:Michey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AES Miao AES

342 symbols for heaven and earth, ☰ and ☷.
353 One house I saw had a festoon of wooden daggers above the door, also. The first two copy Chinese custom and the third resembles a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of An-shun Hsien.

[531]

FIG. 7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, *c*), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

343 **Sanitary Arrangements.** The toilets of
514 the village were open cesspools or the woods and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

352 **Furniture.** In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

10: Graham E-5 (192?-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 463 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan 353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

[156 cont.]

291 photographs 105, Plate 39; 156 and 157, Plate 40; 424, Plate 37, show various specimens: blue turbans, turbans of mixed blue and white, blue turbans on top of which larger white turbans are bound, turbans of black-and-white squares, horned turbans, and so on. There is no really fixed style of turban and some latitude is allowed to the "Méo" women in the arrangement of their headdresses, except in the matter of the turbans for great ceremonies. Sometimes the
302 "Méo" women go about bareheaded, the hair rolled in a great pile on top of the head (photo 103, Plate 39, woman at left), or merely brought to the back of the head and fastened in a chignon. The hair is shaved for a width of three or four centimeters about the head, in the place where the turban rests.

Many of the "Méo" men and women wear a big hat of woven
291 rattan fiber in the shape of a truncated cone (photo 107, Plate 39; photo 198, Plate 42) of a model analogous to that of the "Man," but somewhat cruder and without the small spherical skullcap of the latter.

The "Méo" dwellings are generally rectangular in shape. The
342 walls are rarely of masonry (homes of the wealthy); most often they are of pisé or mud or even simply of rough planks.

The pisé is made in two ways: The moistened and kneaded
[339] earth is shaped, [157] by means of a mold, into parallelepipeds which are dried in the sun and are then placed one upon the other, for two or three rows of thickness, in such a way as to form the wall. In the second system, two large planks are so placed that the distance between them corresponds to the thickness which one wishes to give to the wall. Between these planks is packed slightly moistened earth, which is rammed down with large round logs. Then the planks are moved as the wall becomes higher, and are held in place by means of movable transverse members driven into the wall. The framework, formed of roughly squared logs, supports a roof of two sections, generally of straw and rarely of tiles. The roof extends some distance beyond the walls, in such a way as better to protect the latter from the rain.

The interior of the cabin is divided into several compartments:
342 353 In the center, the hall of honor, where strangers are received and

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by large

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
164 pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good
[732] worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with
the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on
unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

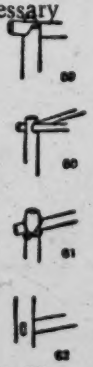
342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
335 roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked
irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
824 used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On
the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on p. 369]

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [see cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--377 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

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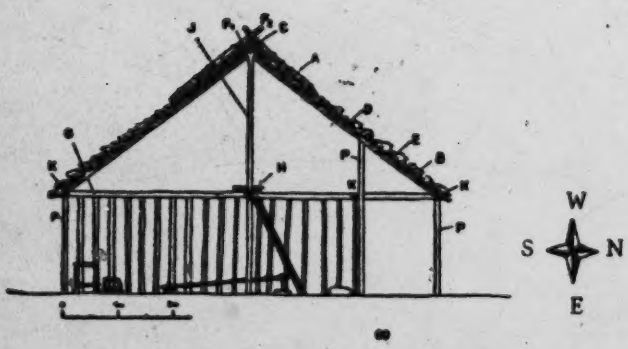

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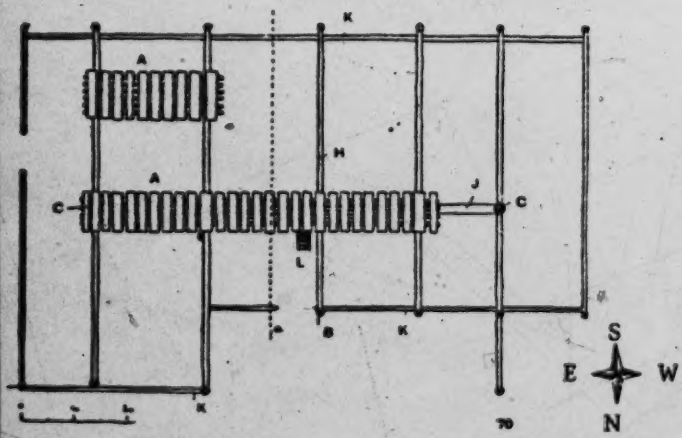

Fig. 69 (above). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, cross-section.

Key to symbols:

A = roof rider of wood
B = leaves of the fan palm
C = ridge stringer
D = bamboo rafters
E = laths of the roof truss, to which the leaf shingles are tied
F1 and F 2 = longitudinal bamboo poles for fastening the leaf shingles
G = crossbeam of roof
H = roof beam
J = ridge post
K = longitudinal roof beam
P = supporting posts

(cont.)

/273 cont./

342 Caption for Fig. 70 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

[353] Key to symbols:

A = storage lofts
B = supporting posts
C = ridge post
H = crossbeam of roof
J = roof beam
K = longitudinal roof beam
L = ladder to the storage loft

/274/

[322] The boards of the house wall (Ill. 106),[1] roughly hewn with the ax, are about three to four centimeters thick and between 15 and 35 centimeters wide. They are /Fig. 71 appears here/ not joined to one another tightly, but rather show narrower or wider spaces, through which air and light can enter the windowless room. The boards are thrust into the loamy ground and tied on the inside and outside to a lower and an upper crossbeam, which in turn are fastened to the supporting posts driven firmly into the ground (Fig. 71; further, the chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 117). Lajonquière (1), in connection with the

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1. II, p. 306.

description of the Meau houses in Tonkin, mentions, besides walls "made of planks nowhere fitting together," which he calls the "ordinary type," also walls made of pounded earth, which occur only in "the most complete type of house." Abadie (2),

2. Page 156.

[556] too, mentions that the houses of the rich have walls of pounded earth or mud, and describes their erection as follows: "The pounded earth is prepared in two ways. The earth, kneaded with water, is dried in the sun in a form in the shape of a parallelepiped and, depending on the thickness of the wall, is put side by side in double or triple layers. In the second case the moistened earth is tamped down between two boards, the space

1 [SEE Cat 116, P 706 - ANALYST]

/274 cont./

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] [177] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only rep-sent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).[1]

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them, ●353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the [251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).[2]

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms. [251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

[1] [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p665 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/283 cont./

M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.

Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [353] M [513] M [231]

Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M 883 [243] M [836] [533]

The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

A 361 166 [241] [623]

/298 cont./

342 Corresponding to the division of a Meau house into a cook-
352 ing and living room, to sleeping and storage rooms, the equipment is also adapted to these purposes. (Abadie (1) and

1. Page 157.

Maspero describe the equipment of the house essentially in agreement with my observations.)

513 The sleeping rooms are enclosed by high boards loosely
[342] joined together. The doorless entrance to the sleeping room is usually hidden from view from the living room by a second wall. The place for lying down takes up the whole bedroom;
[352] thus, the bed (Fig. 115) is the size of the enclosed space (Fig. 116). It consists of wooden posts driven into the ground, upon which the frame of wooden or bamboo sticks is tied. A large plaited sleeping mat is spread out on it. On the bed lie old clothes, rags, and blankets, which, rolled up, also serve as pillows, since these are not made separately. Small shelves
[353] are usually put on the wall above the bed, on which pipes, tobacco, combs, and other personal "treasures" lie about. All kinds of stuff are put under the bed, especially baskets with clothing, cloth, and personal belongings.

/299/ Aside from these relatively large sleeping places and beds, it also happens frequently that numbers of the family, especially half-grown children, merely sleep on the floor on an outspread mat and covered with blankets. These blankets are like our quilts; a filling of a kapok-like material or cotton is covered with a self-woven fabric. /Figs. 115-116 appear here./
[434] Everywhere, however, one also finds blankets purchased from
[574] the Chinese. The sleeping place for guests is a mat-covered platform about 50 centimeters high.

342 Whereas Savina (1) describes the arrangements of the
513

1. II, p. 190.

house and the sleeping rooms along the lines of my survey, Lajonquière (2) writes: "In the interior there is often no

2. II, p. 306.

39: Bernatzik--410 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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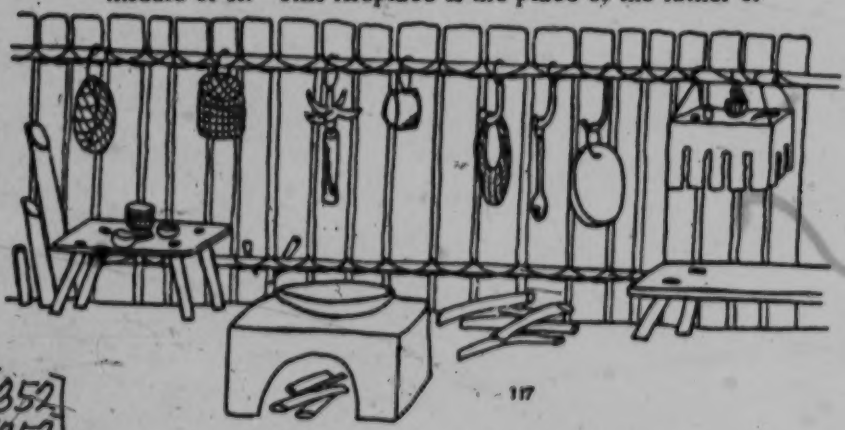
354 [574] The large open fireplace, which is usually near the guest room or in the room itself, consists of an elevated, /Fig. 118 appears here/ square, mud base, on which a circle of stones is built, with the firewood in layers in the middle of it. This fireplace is the place of the father of



[352] [353] [415] [778]

Fig. 117. Wall in the cooking and living room of the Meau. 1/50 nat. size.

From left to right, hanging above: basket, basketwork bag, rolling pin, chopping block, carrying net, wooden ladle, gong, altar. From left to right, below: bamboo water-containers, little parking-table, knife sticking in the wall, cooking hearth with iron pot, firewood, bench to sit on.

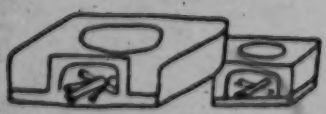
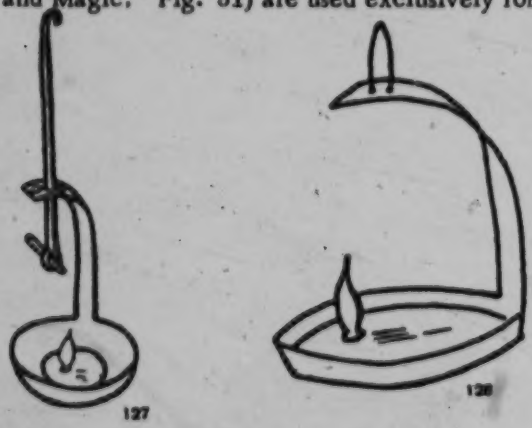


Fig. 118. Hearth of the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

/303 cont./

353 The arrangements of every house include the altar and
778 the sacrificial and cult equipment which were described in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (Figs. 41-54).

354 For heating the house the previously mentioned hearth fire and the open fireplaces serve. After the onset of darkness, both are the chief sources of light. There are also, however, special iron lamps (Figs. 127 and 128), in which oil is used
[824] as fuel. Torches made of resinous pine shavings are also in use and stand ready /Figs. 127-128 appear here/ to be used, especially at night out in the open. On the other hand, incense candles and fat-lamps (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 51) are used exclusively for cult purposes.



Figs. 127-128. Iron lamps of the Meau.

Fig. 127. Hanging lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.
Fig. 128. Standing lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.

353 There are many kinds of devices for putting up or
352 hanging household equipment. Over the open fireplace in every house of the Meau hang large shelves (Fig. 129) which are fastened to the beams of the storage
[251] loft. They are used chiefly for smoking meat and other foostuffs, but /304/ also for storing seeds, such as ears of maize and the like (Ill. 100). Next to the

/304 cont./

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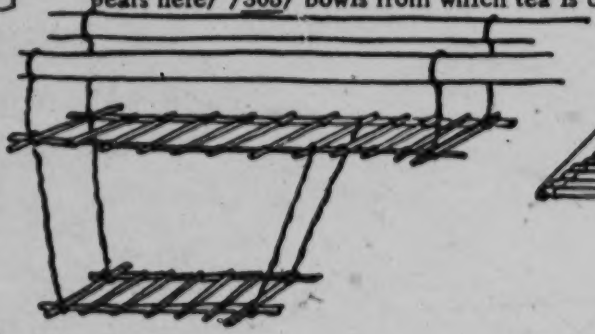
hearth and about one meter high is also found a hanging shelf made of split bamboo (Fig. 130). Here, within easy reach of the housewife, stand the Chinese porcelain /Figs. 129-136 appears here/ /305/ bowls from which tea is drunk; here lie



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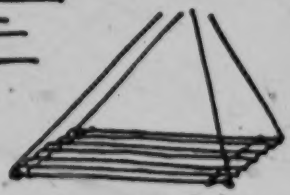

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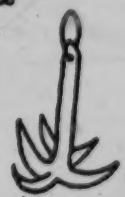

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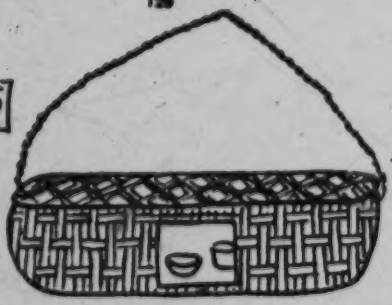

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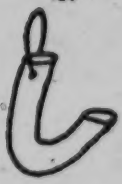

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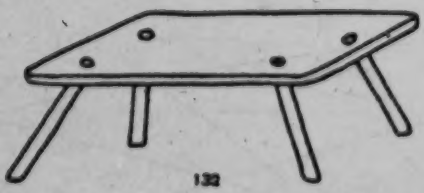

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Figs. 129-136. Storage devices of the Meau.

Fig. 129. Hanging shelf over the fireplace. 1/24 nat. size. Fig. 130. Shelf for cooking utensils. 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 131. Hanging basket for utensils, about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 132. Little parking-table, about 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 133. Container for chopsticks. 1/8 nat. size. Figs. 134-136. Devices to hang things on, about 1/10 nat size. Fig. 134. Branch-whorl. Fig. 135. Wooden hook. Fig. 136. Horn.

/305 cont./

353 knives, wooden spoons, a grater, small baskets with spices and
352 fruits, vegetables and dried roots, a gourd dipper, a wooden
415 ladle for dipping, and the like. For storing porcelain dishes there are also special hanging baskets with tightly plaited sides and a loosely plaited cover (Fig. 131). Also, a low table for parking things on (Figs. 117 and 132) stands on the other side of the hearth, and next to it there is a bamboo container for the chopsticks (Fig. 133).

352 From the storage loft a large wooden hook hangs down,
353 which has to bear the weight of the heavy water kettle. Also, small hooks carved out of wood and some made of deer-horn, as well as branch-whorls (Figs. 134, 135, and 136), hang on the walls and are used to hang up various pots, baskets, and utensils (see also Fig. 117).

Whereas such devices for putting away and hanging up utensils and the aforementioned wall boards and shelves are
[184] present in abundance, chests and cupboards are completely lacking among the Meau who have settled in Thailand.

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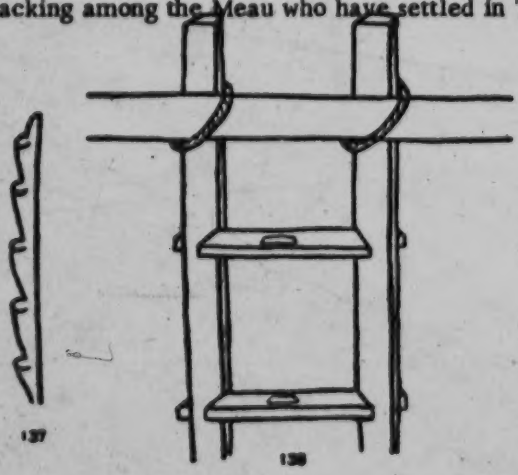

Figs. 137-138. Ladders of the Meau.

Fig. 137. Notched tree-trunk, about 1/20 nat. size.

Fig. 138. Ladder with steps, 1/6 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--664 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
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Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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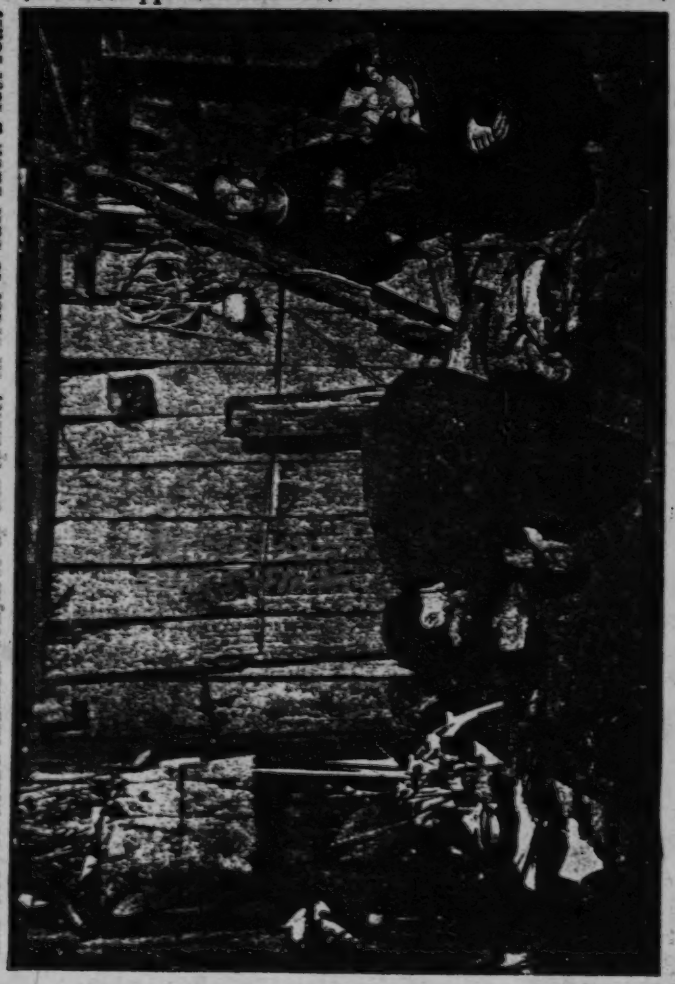

Ill. 99. A Meau shaman conjures up the spirits, in order to call back a lost soul.

39: Bernatzik--665 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

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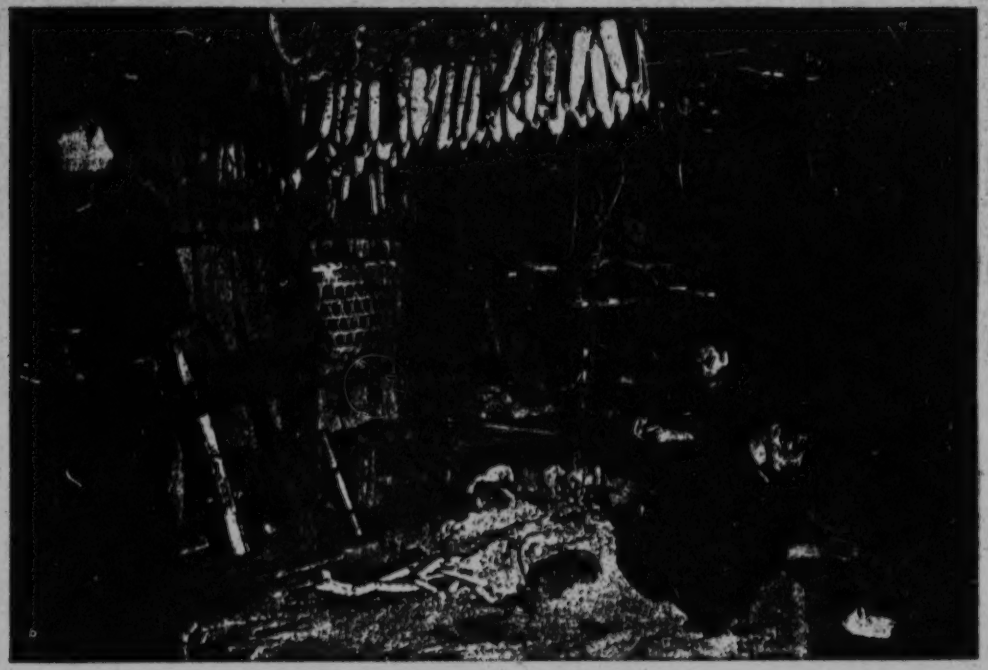

Ill. 100. At the command of the invoked spirits, spirit money is burned in a pit in the floor of the house.

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39: Bernatzik--706 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Ill. 106. Flashlight photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau.

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Ill. 107. Meau chief and family at a meal in his dwelling.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.
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[775]

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.
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231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.
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Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.
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Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.
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[415]

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.
[264]
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622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.
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Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353 [778] [177] 352 [231] [354] 782 769 354 000

Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Relatives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

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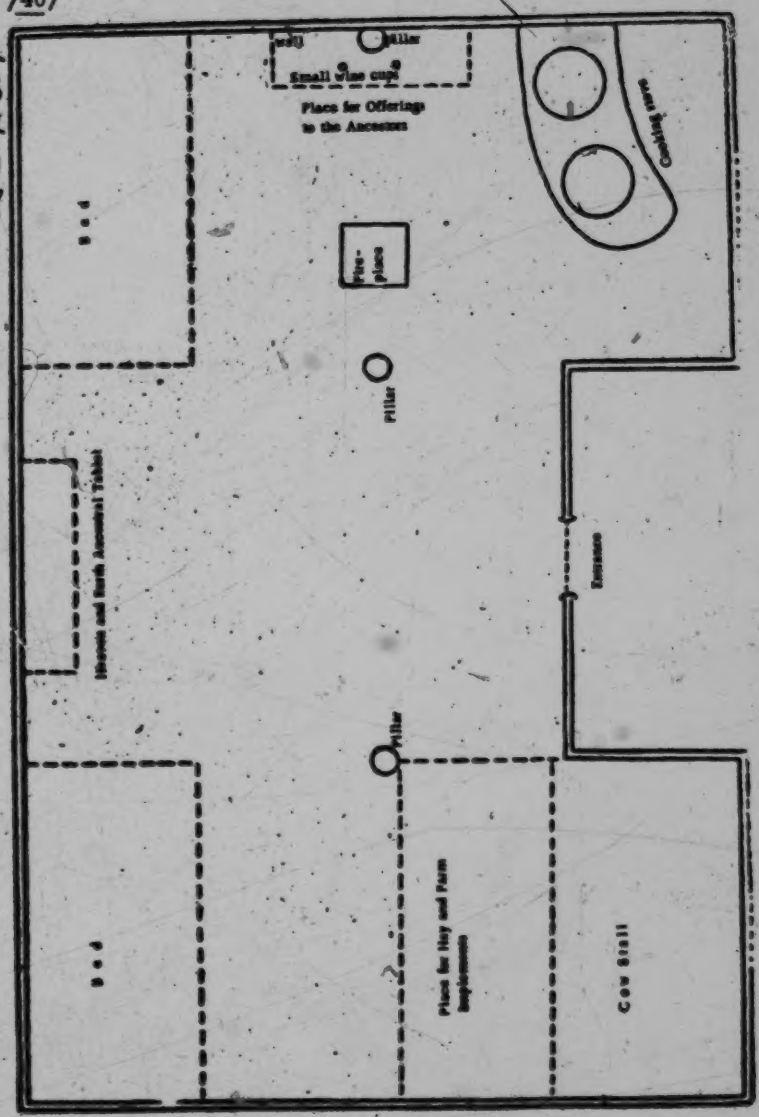

Illustration 15. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lang family among the Miao

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17). If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top stories for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women. Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air. If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after the bamboo covering has been removed before going down. Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

[184] [551] [357] [778] M 342 [353] [556] [251] [231] 514 M 251 M [213] M 241 171 352

Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area consists of land routes and waterways. The most important waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth, extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang, another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

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as you merely stick another fan under the thatch wherever 342
the water is dripping through. Sometimes bundles of a heavy swamp grass are used, or the third alternative is rattan. The big rattan branches are taken, stripped of leaves on one side of the mid-rib, laid one above the other with the leaves overlapping, and the whole section fastened to the roof. This sort of roofing takes longer to prepare but is probably the most durable of the three.

The walls are the next problem. Often they are of bamboo stakes driven into the ground close together and chinked with mud up to the low roof. Sometimes they are simply split bamboo woven into screens and fastened firmly into place. No windows are left except tiny square openings in the walls and these are by no means universal. One door is left in the middle of the long front side of the house, a bamboo screen with bamboo withes for hinges and an ingenious bamboo latchstring. The eaves project two or three feet over the roof edge in every direction. At the back they thus extend almost to the top of the bank of earth mentioned above. In the front they extend down so near the ground that it is almost impossible to enter from that side, but a simple matter to enter this tunnel-like verandah at the end of the house and walk along close to the wall until the door is reached. The pig troughs are usually situated under this verandah, and the chicken coops also. Trough and chicken coop are hardly the proper names for the articles though they are used for those purposes. Their construction will be explained later. At one or perhaps both ends of the house the roof is extended three or four feet and under the shelter thus formed the household firewood, rice mortar, fishing and other implements are stored. The cows, if the family possesses any, are tied at night in a rude shelter near the house.

The floor of the house is made of pounded mud, cracking in dry weather and damp in rainy seasons. The general division of house space is shown in the accompanying sketch. Two stones make the fireplace and the crude iron skillet [354] rests on them while the fire is built on the floor. Long logs are burned, being pushed into the fire as they gradually burn away. The smoke finds an outlet wherever it can, as there is no chimney. Above the fire a shelf of bamboo holds the [352] family supply of corn or whatnot that needs drying. Hanging shelves on either side of the living room hold the family property. The rice room has a floor of woven bamboo, about a foot from the ground. As sons of the family marry, another room may be built on to the original house, if the new family does not set up a separate establishment entirely.

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter-jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds. The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment,
342 since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron ko or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on homemade wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

Mi 342
Mi [354]
Mi [778]

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

Mi 415

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

Mi 401
Mi 312

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

Mi 343
Mi 231

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by large

/180 cont./

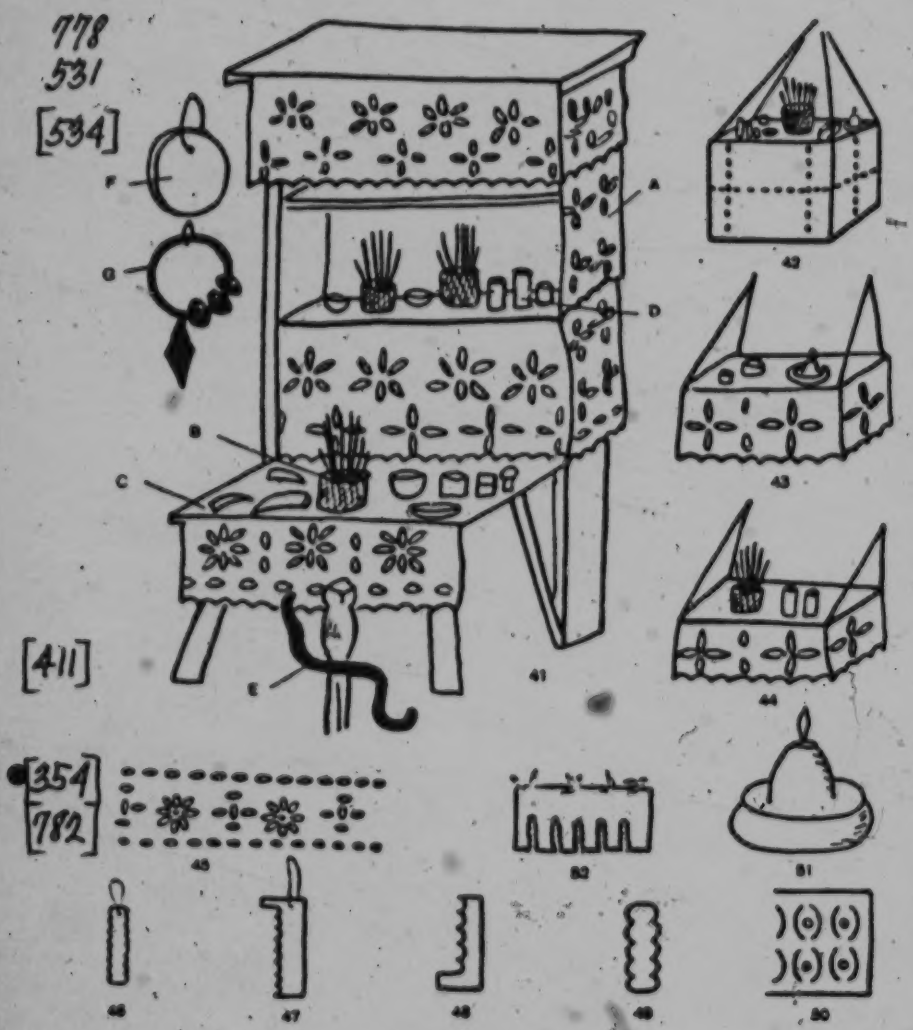
123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
787 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

39: Bernatzik--275 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5



Figs. 41-52. Altars of the Meau.

Fig. 41. Large altar for the worship of the ancestors and the teacher-spirit of the shaman; 1/24 nat. size: A = punched-out paper curtain as decoration for the wooden frame; B = small basket with incense candles; C = oracle horns; D = small tea

[787]

(continued)

Miao AE5

//Caption for Figs. 41-52 cont./

778 bowls and vessels for maize kernels, oil, or water; E = old
[411] battle sword of the Meau, stuck into the ground in order to forbid
[534] access to the evil spirits; F = gong; G = magic rattle of iron.
Fig. 42. Altar in the house of the chief, with incense candles, lamp, oracle horns, and the like, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 43. Altar for the assistant spirits of the shaman. The alter consists of a board with cultic apparatus and provided with a paper curtain, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 44. Altar for the teacher-spirit of the medicine men, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 45. Punch pattern for the
[531] altar paper. Figs. 46-50. Spirit-money of various denominations,
[354] about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 51. Altar lamp, 1/6 nat. size.
[782] Fig. 52. Blood-soaked chicken feathers on the paper curtain of an altar as a sacrifice for the souls of the ancestors.

Miao AE5

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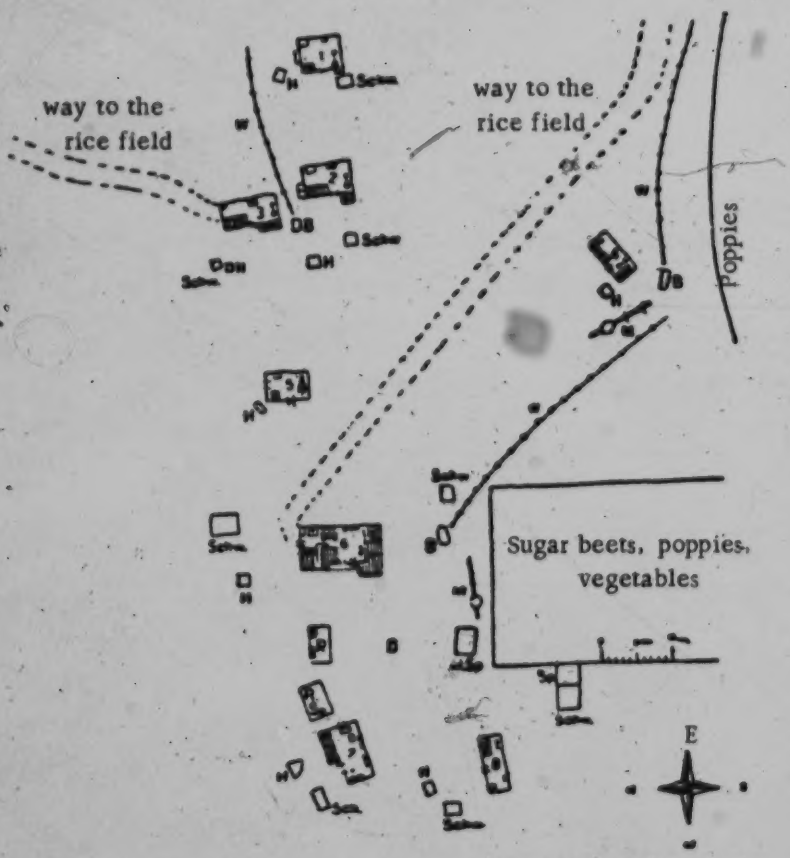


Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

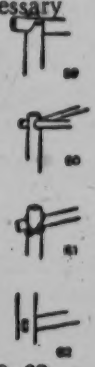
Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊢⊸ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
▢ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the ~~wall~~ opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

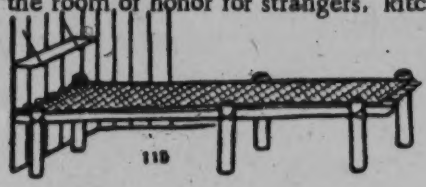
1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

/299 cont./

342 partitioning. The hearth is in the middle of the room opposite
513 a sleeping place which is reserved for the old people. The
[354] younger men, women and children sleep anywhere on the bare
[888] floor or on an underlayer of straw."

/300/ Only in the "most complete type" of Meau house could the author cited find a tripartite division of the rooms into "the room of honor for strangers, kitchen, and private

[352]



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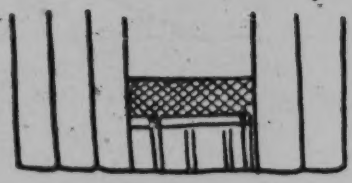


116

Fig. 115. Bed of the Meau.
About 1/38 nat. size.

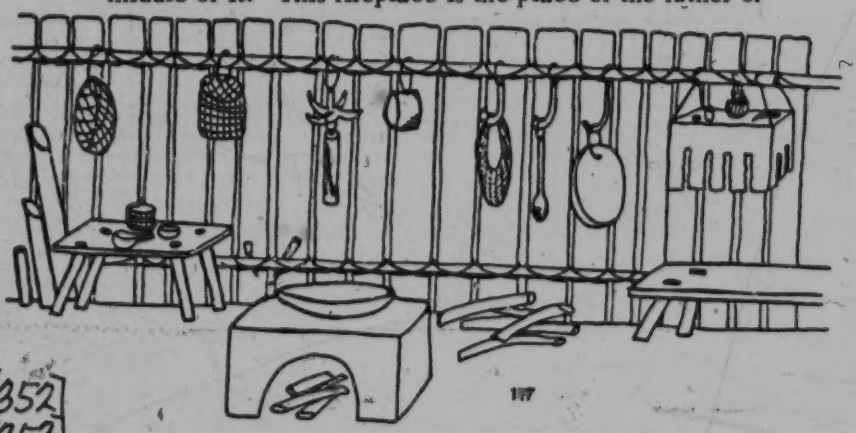
Fig. 116. Entrance to the sleeping room of
the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

rooms," the latter probably referring to the sleeping rooms.
/Fig. 117 appears here./

354 Every house of the Meau has a hearth for cooking and an
252 open fireplace. The hearth for cooking (Fig. 117) is square and made of mud. The wood fire is maintained under the immovable hearth-plate, in which a depression is made for the cooking pots. If the family is very large, there may be two hearths (Fig. 118).

/300/

354 [574] The large open fireplace, which is usually near the guest room or in the room itself, consists of an elevated, /Fig. 118 appears here/ square, mud base, on which a circle of stones is built, with the firewood in layers in the middle of it. This fireplace is the place of the father of



[352] [353] [415] [778]

Fig. 117. Wall in the cooking and living room of the Meau. 1/50 nat. size.

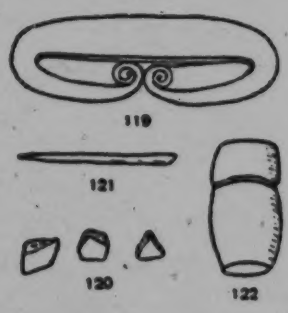
From left to right, hanging above: basket, basketwork bag, rolling pin, chopping block, carrying net, wooden ladle, gong, altar. From left to right, below: bamboo water-containers, little parking-table, knife sticking in the wall, cooking hearth with iron pot, firewood, bench to sit on.

Fig. 118. Hearth of the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

This fireplace is
354 /300 cont./ the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]



Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."
342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult
[439] has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[177] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

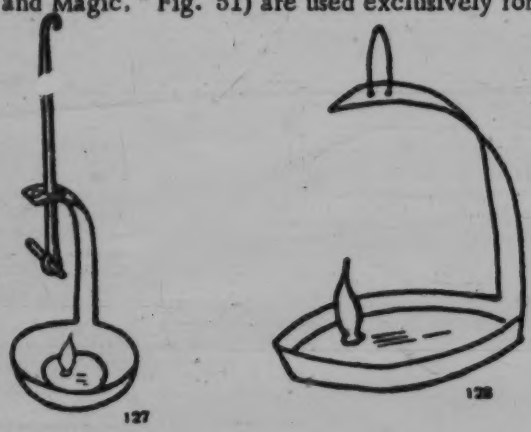
415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
[see cat. 116, p645 – ANALYST]

/303 cont./

353 The arrangements of every house include the altar and
778 the sacrificial and cult equipment which were described in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (Figs. 41-54).

354 For heating the house the previously mentioned hearth fire and the open fireplaces serve. After the onset of darkness, both are the chief sources of light. There are also, however, special iron lamps (Figs. 127 and 128), in which oil is used
[824] as fuel. Torches made of resinous pine shavings are also in use and stand ready /Figs. 127-128 appear here/ to be used, especially at night out in the open. On the other hand, incense candles and fat-lamps (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 51) are used exclusively for cult purposes.



Figs. 127-128. Iron lamps of the Meau.

Fig. 127. Hanging lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.
Fig. 128. Standing lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.

353 There are many kinds of devices for putting up or
352 hanging household equipment. Over the open fireplace in every house of the Meau hang large shelves (Fig. 129) which are fastened to the beams of the storage
[251] loft. They are used chiefly for smoking meat and other foostuffs, but /304/ also for storing seeds, such as ears of maize and the like (Ill. 100). Next to the

39: Bernatzik--766 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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Ill. 106. Flashlight photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau.

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Ill. 107. Meau chief and family at a meal in his dwelling.

/IX cont./

231 776 789 [775] Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 789 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 782 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 243 482 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.

/X/

342 [415] Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.

353 [264] [354] Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 [264] [352] Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [346]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356]

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by [illegible]rge

131 idea of covering them or closing up the gable where glacial air poured
342, in.
132 In the rear of the cabin is found a little corridor which separates
it from the earthen wall hewn into the mountain. The front is provided
342 with a narrow veranda where horses are stabled in stalls enclosed by
round logs.

342 The interior of the house, which rests directly on packed
356 earth, is usually divided into three compartments. In the first is the
352 kitchen where the women habitually work. The cooking-ranges are
of clay and are very large. They serve not only for cooking food for
the family, but also to prepare the vegetable pastes which make up
food for the farmyard animals. The household implements and the
various agricultural tools are likewise kept in this room.

The one in the middle is the reception room, where the men
gather after work around a great fire lighted in the middle of the room
in a square bed of clay. Above this hearth is suspended a bamboo
framework on which crops are placed to dry.

The third room contains sleeping compartments, simply small
booths, separated from one another by partitions of bamboo or planks.
Their sole furniture is a cot. The interior appearance of these dark
holes is not at all tempting. In the greatest disorder one may see
padded quilts losing their cotton through numerous rips and other be-
longings of questionable cleanliness.

343 /134/ In front of the house, the pig sty, very well cared
for, is suspended above the slope by oaken beams and planks. Next
to it, also hung above the void, is located a little shed which serves
as a storage place for rice and maize.

352 The house is not without furniture like the Tho cabins. There
241 are tables, benches, cots of wood, all kinds of household utensils or
tools, and even musical instruments. All around the Meo plant fruit
trees and cultivate beds of vegetables here and there.

342 The type of dwelling which we have just described has nothing
352 which cannot be changed. Poor people and newly weds who are still
getting settled simply build a thatched cottage whose sidewalls are
made of corn stalks not too tightly joined together, whose spaces
freely permit passage of the winter's cold north wind. When evening
comes they simply throw a few armfuls of corn stalks into a corner
and pass the night on this thinly padded couch.

39: Bernatzik--310 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very un-
[364] satisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is
[296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by
[312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects
364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good
164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child
[165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the
[356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for
[514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction").
[231] The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau
[361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

/230 cont./

364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

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2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 205.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

/268 cont./ If needed,

342 sleeping rooms, too, are often built on. The basic form of the
[573] houses and the roofs is always the same, however. A pigsty
[417] and a chicken coop also belong to each house, whereas cattle
[231] are usually kept by only a few families.

Cleanliness is a relative idea. In comparison with the
356 scrupulously clean houses of the Lao, the dwellings of the Meau
certainly leave much to be desired. At many houses the refuse
lies in front of the door for days before it is removed. In other
places one sees the women busy at sweeping the house and wash-
ing the dishes regularly. Even on important festive days the
appearance of the house and yard does not change much. One
recognizes by the old rotten trash covered with soot and dirt
until it is beyond recognition, which often fills up the houses,
that the Meau women /269/ feel no need to create order. To
be sure, each move of the village provides an opportunity for
364 it, and this must suffice. There are no toilets. Places outside
the village are sought at random and are well known by the dogs
and pigs, since they devour all the excrement with amazing
thoroughness and thus perform valuable sanitary service.

342 The ground plan, sketch, cross-section, and drawing of
the framework of the chief's house (Figs. 63, 64, 65, and 66)
and of the dwelling house (Figs. 67, 68, 69 and 70) with their
respective legends indicate the size, construction, and shape of
the dwellings without anything more, so I have only a little to
add.

[Figures appear on pp 371-377,
Text continues on p 378]

113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622 Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

1: Wang--v S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/vi/

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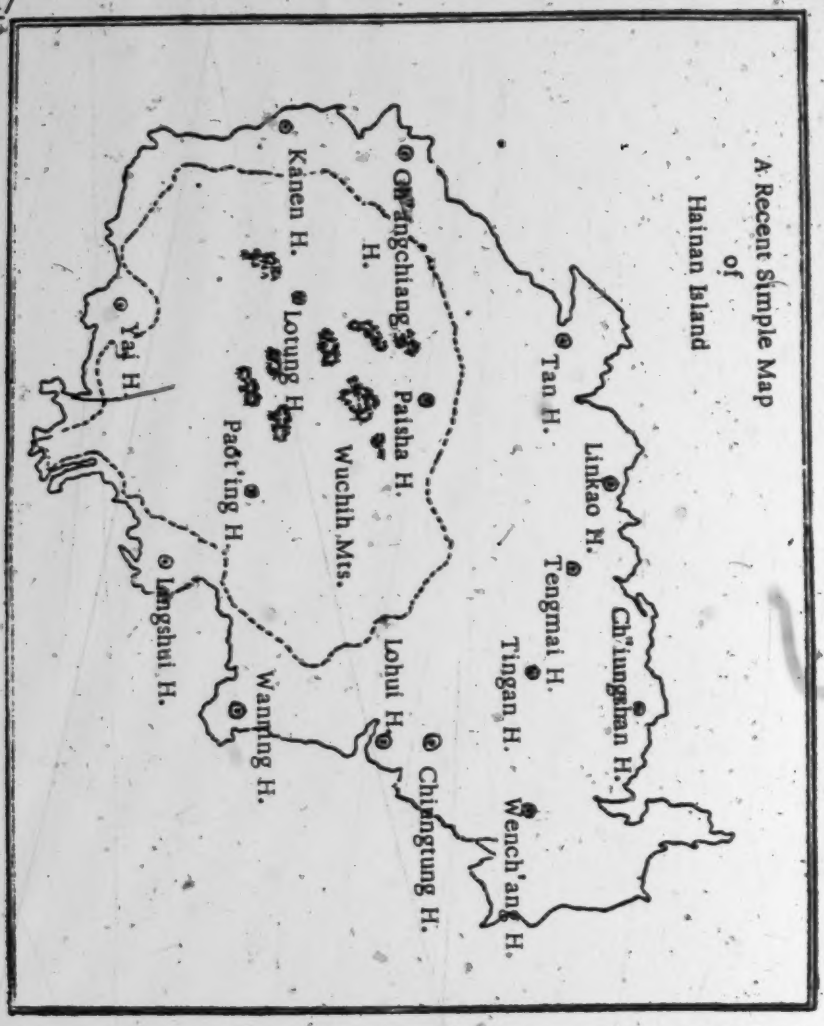

162 The space encircled by the broken line is the Li area where both the
53 Li and the Miao are intermingled, although the Miao people live in
361 the more remote area high in the mountains. The actual distribution of the Miao population in the three hsien (Pai-sha, Lo-tung, and Pao-t'ing) has not yet been investigated in detail, but its general distribution can be roughly estimated.

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[71] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a 126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon 648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao 361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our 123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Lu, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

000 We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, 574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, [297] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but 000 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/139 cont'd/

Third month, seventh day. (Sunday)

There was a dense fog this morning, and as we could not go out, I wrote several letters. As one of Mr. Wang's workmen intended to leave Oao-t'ing today, I gave him the letter to mail. Yüan-chiung's sickness was completely over by this time, and he had recovered his spirits. We roamed all day long in the neighboring Ch'i and Hsiao villages. In a number of places we saw Hsiao girls at work hulling rice, /140/ but, seeing the approach of strangers, they hid away immediately, so that we had no chance to take pictures of them.

136 444 [438] In the afternoon a Chinese peddler came from Pao-t'ing with a load of black fish for sale. We bought two and a half catties for two hundred copper coins, and they made a rare dish in this deep mountain valley.

Third month, eighth day. (Monday)

361 This morning the fog was again dense till eight o'clock when the sun broke through. We walked leisurely to the lower Hsiao village on the other side. The village was occupied entirely by Hsiao, ten families in all, with three names, Li, Liu, and Huang. Headman /pao chang/ Li welcomed us warmly to his house, and we had a long, pleasant conversation together. When we were leaving, he sent his workmen to carry several catties of potatoes to be brought back with us. In return we gave him gifts of salt, kerosene, candles, etc.

587 In the afternoon we went to the upper Hsiao village to attend a Hsiao wedding. The bride was already thirty years old and had been married before to a Hsiao of Ta-pen village. When her husband died, she had brought her son and daughter back to live with her mother. Now she was to be married for the second time to a Hsiao of the same village. The bridegroom was of about the same age. At the ceremony the couple did not appear in any special apparel; they wore just plain clothes, a little cleaner than usual.

/141 cont'd/

585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

●361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

/25 cont./

*101 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution
131 refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China,
133 for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep
167 valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various
361 directions are greatly limited by their past geographical environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, ac-
133 cording to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d, - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p48e - "]

/26 cont./

133 Mountain ranges. — The most important mountain is the La-erh Shan. The section "Hsien Yao K'ao /Strategic Posts/" in Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "The Great La-erh Shan is situated 70 li to the west of the city (Feng-huang) and is more than ten li high. The mountain appears enormous, astride the two provinces of Hupeh and Kweichow. In the east Ya-yu, Hiang-shang /pronounced K'ang-shang in the north/, in the south Li-lin and Yu-ni, in the west K'ang-chin and Hsiu-nao, and in the north Hu-lu and Kan-tzu-yao, are all branches of this [361] mountain, spreading over an area of more than a hundred li, where there are many Miao villages. Hence, old chronicles ofter refer to the defeat of the Miao in Hupeh and Kweichow as being in the La-erh Shan." The La-erh Shan begins at Cheng-ta-ying, Kweichow, from where it extends irregularly to the middle of the Miao area, where a fault occurred, forming a plateau. This plateau is dotted with Miao villages, [361] whose inhabitants defend themselves by taking advantage of the favorable terrain. It has always been known as the den of the [101] Sheng Miao /"the uncivilized Miao," i.e. those who have not been brought under Chinese administration/.

Rivers. — The main courses of the Yüan, the Yu, and the Ch'en rivers flow only along the borders of the Miao frontier region. The most important rivers within this area are all tributaries of these three rivers, the largest of which is the Wu Ch'i, a tributary of the Yüan Chiang, and also known as the T'ung Ho. This branch extends deep into the Miao area and has three sources: the Wu-ch'ao Ho (Illus. 4)[1] in the west, the Wan-yung Chiang in the middle, and the Kao-yen Ho (Illus. 5)[2] in the north. The Wu-ch'ao Ho rises at Hsiao-t'ien-hsing-chai /village/ in Feng-huang, and flows westward to where the Niang-shui-t'o, and the Lung-chüeh-t'ung tributaries joint it. Further westward it passes Ta-hsin-chai and flows around Shang-hsia-yüan-hou-chai, veering southward to where the Ma-chung and the Hsiao-feng-huang-ying tributaries joint it from the east. It then flows southeastward, passing through Ma-ching-t'an and around Sheng-hua-shao to where the T'i

[1,2] [see cat. 116, p49 - ANALYST]

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ~~ch'ih above~~ sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai (Illus. 7),[1] [433] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 114, p55 - ANALYST]

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely with-
out reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. - Due to the lack of meteorological records the
climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
[114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not repre-
sent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-
chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparent-
ly on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals can-
not see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

Illus. 7. Ya-pao-chai in a small basin on the La-erh-shan plateau (855 kung ch'ih above sea level).

133
361

C 712 /35/ were built for defense. At such places as Huang-lo-chai and Shui-ta-t'ien in the sub-prefecture large paos were erected. In thinly populated and topographically restricted areas, t'uns were built, which communicated with each other for mutual defense. A t'un is built according to the requirements of the place, varying from several chang to more than ten chang in width, and from ten to 30 chang in length. The foundation of a t'un is laid with two or three ch'ih of rough stones, on which are added two layers of bricks about four or five ch'ih in height; and then the crenulated wall with apertures for observation and firing guns is put. Each t'un accommodates a few dozen men. Animals and grains are also sheltered in it." There C 36 712 are two kinds of paos, the stone and the earth paos. A small pao is oval in shape, a street runs through the center, bordered by residential dwellings, with two pao gates at the two ends of the street. A big pao is round in shape with three or four pao gates (Illus. 9), and the streets within are often in the shape of a cross.

C [342] Besides the paos and the t'uns in the Miao area there are many stone houses /tiao/. Formerly in the areas around these stone houses t'un soldiers were posted to keep watch. Today, such areas have become little settlements, as in Illus. 10. These are villages near the stone houses. The Chinese also settled at important communication points leading to bridges. C [491] [443] They even built houses on bridges, forming bridge streets, such as shown in Illus. 11. Some markets also have appeared at ferry points along the rivers. Chinese settlements are distributed mostly along communication lines and garrison points so that in case of alarm they can come to each other's aid.

M ● 36 [712] [363] The Miao settlement is called "chai" (Illus. 12, 13), built generally against a mountainside or along a river, without any uniform appearance. The chai wall is made of earth or stone slabs, and there is no definite number of gates. The streets of a chai zigzag up and down, with tiny alleys on both sides. In each alley there are a few families. The alleys are

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in M [137] the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof-tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-M 353 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the 778 rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

[text continues on p63]

177 [1] See [Cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p65- "]

/31/

Illus. 12. Lao-tung, Feng-huang, that is, the Miao chai of Hsia-ma-tung.

/38 cont./

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Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353 [778] [177] 352 [231] [354] 782 769 354 000

Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Relatives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

3: Moninger E-6 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

[p.40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, princi-
162 pally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered-head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend
114 periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords. 361 [579]

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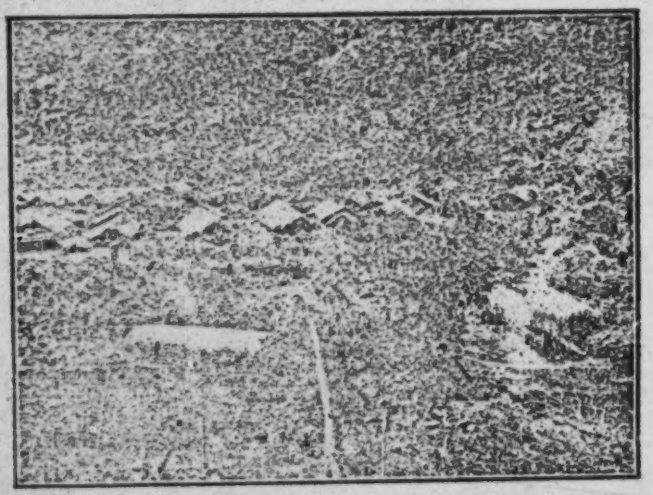

MIAO VILLAGE.

The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned. 361 621 622

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between 361

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

361 house and house, village and stream, village and forest, and later between village and village. The villages being on the
342 sloping hillsides, the householder must first level off the
361 site he has chosen. This he does carefully, and the bank of earth twelve or eighteen inches high left at one side of the plot makes the protection for the back side of the house. A shallow trench is dug between this bank and the edge of the wall, and around the other three sides of the rectangular levelled place, to drain off the torrents of water that fall during the tropical storms.

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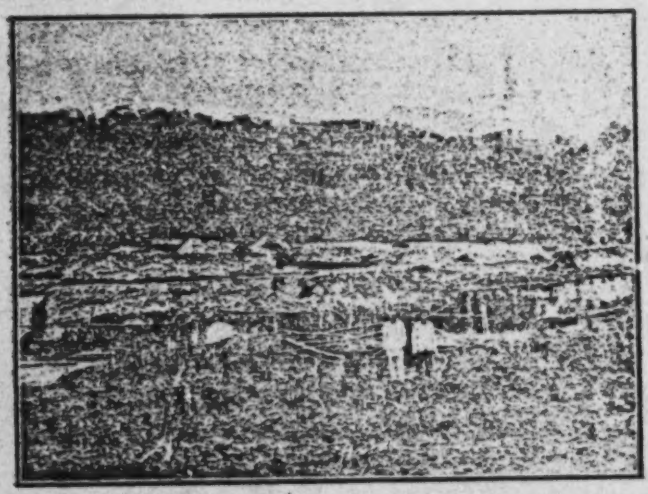

MIAO VILLAGE.

342 Four strong poles, standing about six feet above the ground, are driven firmly into the earth at each corner of the house-to-be. Ordinary houses are about thirty feet long and ten feet wide. At the middle of the two ends higher poles, standing about ten feet above the ground, are put in, and two more of the same height in the centre of the building and on a line with them, to hold the ridge-pole. Smaller posts are planted at regular intervals along the longer sides, and heavy bamboo or light timbers laid upon them to form the rest of the skeleton of the house. Light bamboo poles are lashed to ridgepole and sidepoles to take the place of rafters, and the top of the house is ready for the roof. No nails are used in the structure. Fastenings are made by means of bamboo or rattan withes, tied securely in place.

Roofing is done with one of three different kinds of material. Sometimes the leaves of the fan palm are used, laid overlapping each other. This roof is very easy to mend.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, however, sharply divides the dominant from the minor peoples — the *hsien*[1] towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily

[1] A *hsien* is a district — a subdivision of a province, roughly comparable to our County

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?),1947 AE5 Miao AE5

General Description. Ting-shui-pa (see fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles long and half as wide, with mountains and hills surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told her they called the mountains to the north Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman, 131 133 103

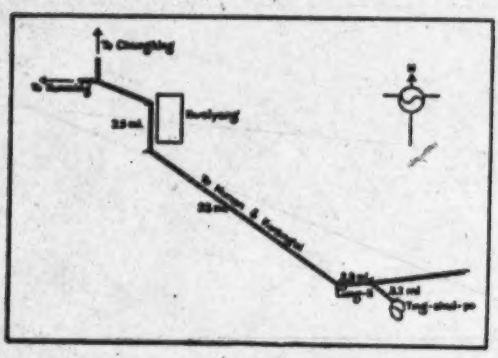

FIG. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

and those to the east the Mountain of the Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley was from the wayside shrine at the top of a pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent from the motor road. About a mile from the pass the road led between high hedges which screened the village vegetable gardens and the large pond from the road. Beyond the pond lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone road went on. At the further edge of a wood it divided, one fork going straight on into the other part of the valley separated from this one by low hills and beyond to the south. The other ran between the other side of the wood on its left and a group of grave mounds on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo thickets separated the road from a meadow where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little way beyond the village another turn, to the 131 133 361

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member. 361

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate. 133 241 312 311 137

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

THE VILLAGE OF YANG-CHIA-SAI

• 361 **Location and Layout.** Miss Li told me that the village was said to be "in the Dragon's Mouth." The large pond was to the west of the village. On the south were the wood, bamboo thickets, and the buffalo bull-fighting meadow (fig. 17, *a*). There were more bamboo thickets on the east. To the north was a rise of ground with rice fields between. Beyond the fields and thickets were fields and highways. They said that the fact that most of the houses of the village faced west was "good *feng shui*."[1] It was also good common sense, for the winds which brought inclement weather came from the northeast. One could enter the village by stone paths bordering the pond, through the wood, by a winding stone path from the south which continued through the village, dividing it into two parts known as Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, by a stone path from the east, or at various points between the houses on the north. Shang-sai and Hsia-sai mean Upper Stockade and Lower Stockade. The general impression was of a village open to the pond on the west and protected on other sides by trees, bamboo thickets, and higher land, with fields beyond.

I append a sketch map of the valley (fig. 4), and one of the village (fig. 5). In the village there were some sixty-odd buildings, of which but three were used for residence only. Thirty-three were divided into living rooms and stable or pig-sty, two into stable and kitchen. There were fourteen separate stables or pig-sties and nine granaries. There were also three shrines to the local deity — T'u Ti Miao — one beside the entrance to the village on the west, one where the stone path left the highway on the south (this was the chief one), and one where it left the village on the north. The "old house" of the chief family of the village was the only one which had a court with a gateway into it. This "heavenly well" was surrounded by (1) a small building of which the gateway was part and

[1] *Feng shui* (literally, "wind" and "water"). The geomantic system of the Chinese, by means of which favorable sites are determined for graves, houses,

361 which housed the wooden grain-cleaning machine, with the sleeping room of the grown daughter above, (2) the five-*chien* building containing living rooms and a stable for cows, (3) a pig-sty, and (4) a five-*chien* building containing kitchen and stables for water buffalo and ponies. A granary stood to the north of this with the cesspool beyond.

This map is of March 1, 1941. In the three years following changes were made. House 6 and granary west of House 24 were demolished. A part of House 8 was taken off and with the material the widow and her daughter put up a tiny building to the north of the court, consisting of one room roofed with planks set on somewhat haphazard and a still smaller one roofed with tile. The porch west of House 16 had a shack added to it and the family in House 14 kept a cow in it. The pig pen before House 31 was removed. The framework of a building to be erected south of House 7 blew down in a gale and was never set up again. The whole of House 3 was made into a stable, and the stable which had faced it was turned to face west and used as a house. Two new houses, one with mud walls and thatch roof, one with interwoven straw walls and thatch roof, were built beyond the extreme southeast of the village.

The space between houses and other buildings was occupied by house foundations used as threshing floors (fig. 13 *b-e*), stone courts, gardens, and stone paths, of which two followed a winding way from the pond to a stone highway east of the village and one was that which divided the village into two parts, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai.

161 **Population.** January 21, 1941, there were one hundred eighty-seven persons in the village. The total population did not vary much during the three years following, but there was a continual shifting due to births and deaths and moving back and forth between villages. When I returned to the village in February, 1942, the family in House 16 had

and other buildings. These sites are said to have an influence on the people.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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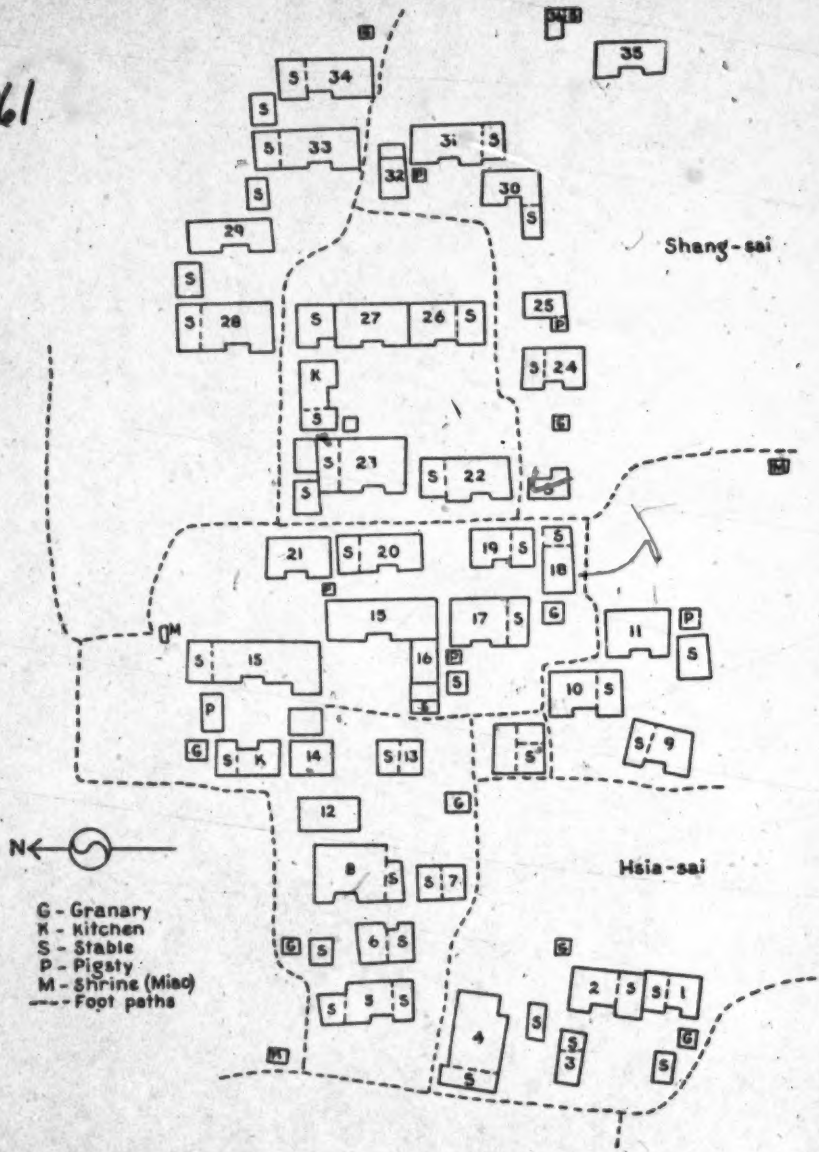

FIG. 5. Sketch map of the village of Yang-chia-sai (as of March 1, 1941).

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

361

Population by Houses As of February 1, 1941

House Number	Occupants, with ages
1	Grandmother (82); grandson (33), his wife (28), boy (1), girl (6); second grandson (30)
2	Widow (57), sons (20, 18, 13) daughters (15, 7)
3	Woman with absent husband (31), son (4)
4	Grandfather (64); married son (33), wife (38), son (1), daughters (3, 2)
5	Grandfather (72); married son (45), wife (47), daughter (6)
6	Man (28), wife (28), daughter (1)
7	Grandmother (55); son (30), wife (30), son (1); son (17)
8	Man (48), wife (47), daughters (20, 6)
	Widow (49), son (9), daughter (17)
9	Grandfather (64), wife (65); married son (33), wife (37), son (12), daughters (15, 3, 2)
10	Widower (43), sons (12, 4) daughter (9)
11	Grandmother (66); married son (33), wife (33), sons (11, 1) daughter (8); second son (29)
12	Grandmother (75); son (58), wife (43), daughter (19)
13	Grandfather (65); son (35), wife (36), son (3)
14	Widow (52), son (20)
15	Grandfather (68), two wives (70, 45); married son (28), wife (27), son (1); daughters (17, 8)
	Nephew (41), two wives (40, 38), sons (14, 9, 8, 12, 1)
	Nephew (33), wife (25), son (3), daughters (10, 6, 1)
	Nephew (33), wife (34)
16	Grandfather (53), two wives (57, 33); son (33), his wife (32), daughter (1); son (3), daughter (1)
17	Man (37), wife (32), daughter (8)
18	Widow (52), son (25), daughter (18)
19	Man (46), wife (47), sons (14, 7), daughter (11)
20	Man (31), wife (25), daughter (1)
21	Man (49), wife (44), daughters (16, 2)
22	Grandparents (70, 60); son (45), wife (40), sons (3, 1)
	Man (60), wife (64), son (28), daughter (16)
23	Man (50), wife (48), daughter (16), sons (12, 7 4)
24	Widow (60)
25	Man (34), wife (35), son (3)
26	Man (34), wife (38), sons (6, 4), daughter (2)
27	Grandparents (60, 59); married son (35), his wife (32), sons (5, 3), daughter (2); son (18), daughter (15)
28	Grandparents (74, 74); married son (43), wife (43), sons (10, 9, 5, 2), daughter (1)
29	Man (56), wife (60)
30	Man (35), wife (34), son (3)
31	Grandparents (56, 59); son (28), wife (25) wife pregnant
32	Man (37), wife (35), son (10), daughters (5, 2)
33	Grandparents (63, 63); married son (25), wife (25), son (4), daughter (6); son (19), daughter (18)
34	Grandmother (60); widowed son (26), daughter (2); son (18)

[15a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 A younger brother of the widower in House 10, with his wife, son, and daughter, moved into the southern part of the house but later built the new house with mud walls. The part of the house in which they had lived then became a stable, as originally intended. A new family, related to that in House 32, and consisting of a man, his wife and two sons, aged three and one, built the other new house. An elderly woman, a relative, came to live

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 with the family in House 14 and a family with a baby with the widow in House 24. Before her baby was born the wife of the young man in House 31 joined him. When the young man and his wife in House 16 moved back they brought a boy of twelve with them, but he later returned to his own home. The third nephew in House 15 and his wife moved away, and a boy of sixteen, relative of the old man's first wife, took his place. During

[15c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

162

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS (see fig. 6)

Age	Male		Female		Total	
1	6		7		13	
2	1		7		8	
3	9		3		12	
4	5		0		5	
5	3	24	2	19	5	43
6	1		6		7	
7	2		1		3	
8	0		2		2	
9	3		0		3	
10	2	8	1	10	3	18
11	1		1		2	
12	4		0		4	
13	1		0		1	
14	2		0		2	
15	0	8	2	3	2	11
16	0		3		3	
17	1		2		3	
18	3		2		5	
19	1		1		2	
20	2	7	1	9	3	16
21	0		0		0	
22	0		0		0	
23	1		0		1	
24	0		0		0	
25	2	3	3	3	5	6
26	0		0		0	
27	0		1		1	
28	4		2		6	
29	1		0		1	
30	2	7	1	4	3	11
31	1		1		2	
32	0		3		3	
33	4		2		6	
34	2		2		4	
35	6	13	2	10	8	23
36	0		1		1	
37	2		1		3	
38	0		3		3	
39	0		0		0	
40	0	2	2	7	2	9
41	1		0		1	
42	0		0		0	
43	1		2		3	
44	0		1		1	
45	3	5	1	4	4	9

361 the busy season a boy of about the same age from Lung-li came to work there, too, and [16a]

000 FIG. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

596 621 **Types of Family and Interrelationship.** With the exception of a Chinese family by the name of Liu in House 4, who said that they were the original inhabitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-tai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and
563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the
463 whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-
596 workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (王) family. They had
764 intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one
342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one.
342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
● 361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds. The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment,
342 since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

There can be no doubt that the earlier of these immigrants were from the province of Kiangsi, and some of them at least were compelled to colonise Kweichow much against their will. Most of the Chinese now in the province would claim Kiangsi as the old home of their family. But in recent years, we do not venture to say for how many, the immigrants have nearly all been from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, and mostly from Szechwan. Since we first entered the province thirty years ago there has been a constant stream of people, sometimes rising and falling, flowing into Kweichow from the populous province of Szechwan.

The language spoken by the Chinese of Kweichow is good Mandarin, more like the dialect of Peking than that of Nanking, and much better mandarin than that spoken in many parts of Hunan. As one might expect, it is most like the Chinese spoken in Szechwan, and a man from Kweichow would be easily understood in north and central China where the Mandarin dialect is spoken.

The non-Chinese are nearly all of them cultivators of the soil, and live, as a rule, not on the land they cultivate, but, for the sake of mutual protection, in hamlets and villages.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of
443 protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessaries as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means "family" or "tribe."
563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the "Miao tribe" or
101 "tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsi*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten or only on special occasions.[5] 262

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street. 241 [361]

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained. 231 [224]

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden 241 412

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

By David Crockett Graham

(With 24 Plates)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

101 The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deep holes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are [49] generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[161] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 珙縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung Ning 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow, south in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü [261] Kiang 敘江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[145] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.[1]

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

[1] Clarke, S. R., Among the tribes of Southwest China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the Hê Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their [294] time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver orna- [301] ments in all styles and colors to attract attention.

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in •361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of [231] one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a
[184] few differences in language, costumes and customs between them, but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive, and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu," meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and have always been an independent community, so the Chinese call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang, surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves, forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two entrances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200 [sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the highest peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the total population about 10,000. The writer has visited altogether
●36 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu, Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5

249 But this family[1] was in its workaday clothes, as its head was very anxious to explain to Dupont. They had been away a week, working in their opium-poppy fields, and now they were on their way home ~~for a~~ flying visit. Dupont asked about a dog, and the head of the family invited us to come up and see for ourselves, as he had no idea who was home and who wasn't.

311 It was a long, slow climb up to the village, although the Meos, as
361 they skipped along by our side, seemed in no way to notice the slope, nor their huge burdens. The coarse grass — usual legacy of Meo occupation — was replaced here by a noxious thorny scrub. For miles, in all directions from the village, nothing would grow but this ultimate of austere vegetations. This village was at the last stage before it would have to be moved. The fields under cultivation were now so far away that the villagers lived dispersed in temporary shelters where they worked. Very soon they would be too far from the village to return at all and it would be moved, ten or fifteen miles, always south; leaving behind the prairie grass and scrub. It only wanted the Mans to arrive here from Tonkin — the Mans cultivate on Meo lines between 1000 and 3000 feet — to reproduce eventually in Laos the denuded wilderness of southern China.

342 The Meo village consisted of nothing but a few most decrepit
181 hovels. They were the lowest and the most barbarous examples of human dwellings that it would be possible to find. Why should the Meos be the most elegantly dressed and the worst housed people in the country? They are superb at the few handicrafts they undertake, but they just can't be bothered about how they are sheltered or how they sleep. There is no compulsion; no household genie — like those of the Mois — demanding high standards of order and cleanliness in the house; no canons of taste and refinement spreading slowly downwards from an idly exquisite aristocracy, since all Meos are kept hard at work; no spirit of bourgeois emulation, since this is total democracy, with no betters to imitate. The Meos have only themselves to please, and the result is anarchy.

In the hovel we were taken to, the contents of a thousand school-

[1] [i.e., a Meo family. -- Analyst]

86: Robequain--242 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Yao AE6
Miao AE5
Y
105

is genuinely Man from that which stems from a foreign influence, and to adopt the most legitimate and most comprehensive of the numerous systems of classification which seem to be possible.

The Man are not at all well known outside of northern Tonkin. To the south of the Red River which they crossed long ago, we must find the exact limits of their habitat in southern Tonkin and the north of Burma, Laos and Annam. It would seem that some have even advanced south of Thanh Hoá into Nghệ An. But it is by the ethnographic study of southern China -- the mountains of Yunnan, Kouang Si and Kouang Toung -- that we shall best come to grips with the problem of their origin.

/230/ In any case, the Man of Thanh Hoá have not yet manifested any tendency to settle down. Those of Ngọc Điền were already seeking new hills to clear and told me, at the beginning of 1925, that they were going to leave Núi Hao permanently in three or four years, therefore in 1928 or 1929. They did not yet know where they would go. Ever determined to "till with fire and sow with the lance" (1), in sight

1. Charter of the Man (Bonifacy,(44), 1908, II, p. 43).

of the vast Annamese plain into which they never descend and above the Mu'ờ'ng and Thai rice fields all glistening with water, they seem destined to retain their originality for a long time to come.

The Mèo

Mi
361

They live far behind the Man, on the high slopes of Phú Nghi, a mountain massif situated on the border of Hua Phan between the Sông Mã and the Sông Lu'o'ng which is built of crystalline schists, granite and more recent volcanic rock, and whose crests attain an altitude of about 1,200 meters (Fig. 12).

/231/ I found their leader at Hòi Xuân, a strange little man with black, restless eyes and a large aquiline nose. We went up the valley of the Sông Mã together at the end of January 1925. He was an inveterate opium smoker; when we halted he spent the night stretched out on a mat in the house next to mine, smoking the drug. After a four days' march, a gleam of joy lit up his usually impassive thin visage, and with outstretched arm he showed me a peak which had just appeared

86: Robequain--243 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE5

Mi
361

around a bend in the path and which was shrouded in a grayish mist by the heat of the sun, already high in the heavens. It was Phú Nghi, his mountain. When we had crossed the Sông Mã opposite M. Lat on the morning of the fifth day, we had to go up the Hôn Pong, a small tributary coming from the right. Then after B. Ca, the last Thai hamlet, there was a difficult climb over a poorly marked path on the sheer sides of Phú Nghi and through a sparse woods where bamboo chiefly predominated but gradually gave way to yellow thatch grass. Bits of forest remained here and there, and the regular outlines of clumps of wild banana trees, which covered large felled trunks with their outspread leaves, emphasized the great number of extremely recent rẫy. Sometimes we passed by a field of opium where, amidst the stubble of maize harvested the previous autumn, the precious plant provided the new spectacle of its milky-green leaves with fine indentations, its mauve and white flowers, and its growing capsules which would be cut from March on. At about 800 meters the slopes leveled off a bit between the heads of ravines which intersected them at regular intervals. The Mèo had perched their nests between 800 and 1,000 meters.

Whereas the Man of the province are divided into three islands separated by zones of Thai or Mu'ờ'ng habitation, the Meo population forms a coherent block. However, their houses are much more scattered than those of the Man. Thirty were counted for me, 20 on the territory of the canton of M. Lat, five on that of Quang Chiều, five on that of Hữ'u Thủy. Sometimes they stand all by themselves, like that of the leader, who also had me visit a hamlet containing three families (Plate XIV, B) about one kilometer from his own dwelling, assuring me that it was the /232/ largest agglomeration in his commune. Indeed the Meo, who /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text. / used to belong to the surrounding Thai villages, have been united /233/ since 1912 into a distinct commune, the leader of which is directly responsible to the sub-head of the canton of M. Lat.

Mi
342

In contrast to the Man house, the Meo house is built entirely on ground level (Fig. 22), on a ledge excavated into the hillside. In this province the walls are of poorly-joined crushed bamboo, and in winter the cold night air penetrates inside through /Fig. 23 appears here in the original text. / large gaps, especially through the two gable ends which are wide open under the thatched roof. About two meters high up to where the roof begins, the house stretches out

[150 cont.]

At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of
167 "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their
175 passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw
[361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after
175 the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would
147 perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper
361 Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low alti-
175 tudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the
101 region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he 147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 241 carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 361 live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[158 cont.]

231 logs with the floor slightly raised by means of logs laid horizontally
343 on the ground. (Photo 116, Plate 27.) Naturally, this pen for the animals is no more frequently cleaned than is the inside of the house, with the result that the liquid manure and the excrement soon form nauseous seas which it is necessary to cross painfully in order to reach the house.

The "Méo" have excellent little horses (average height — about
231 1.20 meters, like the Chinese or Tonkinese horses) sturdy, sensible, very handy, and very sure-footed. These horses are never groomed, are fed with a little grass (a special grass called "ma-tsao" or horse's grass), with bamboo leaves and a few handfuls of maize. They gen-
[343] erally are tied under a little lean-to resting against the house.

The "Méo-" have a special breed of white dogs, with silky and very thick hair of medium length.

The fowls (hens, guinea hens, ducks, and so on) roam at
[343] liberty around the house during the day and roost at night in a coop usually located above or near to the stable. The wildcats, which
[136] are numerous in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, frequently do frightful slaughter among the "Méo" poultry.

In view of their spirit of independence, the "Méo" most often
361 live off by themselves, in groups of five or six cabins, and only very seldom form sizeable settlements. However, in the region of Pha-Long — Pakha, where the "Méo" group forms the majority of the population, several "Méo" villages exist which number from twenty to thirty cabins. Be that as it may, the "Méo" village is always perched very near to the summits of the mountains, at the foot of the crags; difficult mule-trails with very abrupt slopes permit access to these villages; still the climb on foot is infinitely preferable to the trip on horseback.

("Méo" houses appear in the following photographs: 346, Plate 36; 347, Plate 41; 445, Plate 38; 135, Plate 43. The last three show villages.)

In the hamlets and villages of the "Méo," the houses are built
361 according to the inclination of the occupants, without thought of
364 alignment or of streets, the enclosures for the animals close to the dwelling houses. Despite the open air and the sun which bathe the

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
262 or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form
[252] of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes,
[252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

[160]

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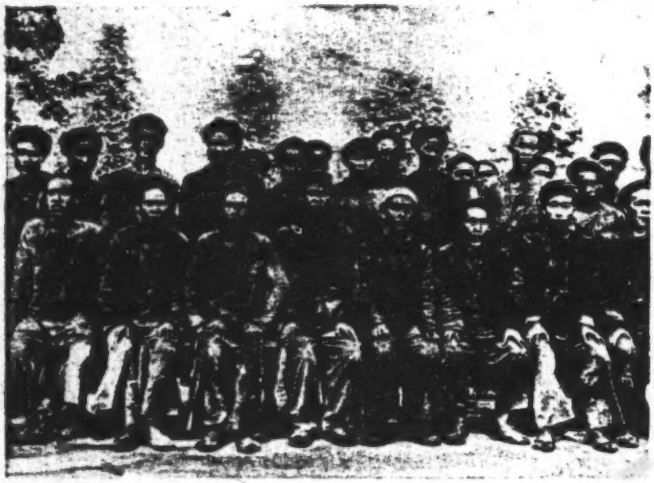

204. Group of "Méo" Notables. "Siao-phay" (Village Chiefs of Region of Pha-Long).

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445. "Méo" Village (Region of Pha-Long).

155: Abadie--242 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[166]

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90. Frontier Post of Pha-Long ("Méo" Country).

347. Ho-to-tchay ("Méo" Village).

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184. Opium Field Cultivated by the "Méo" on the Soil of Irrigated Rice Fields.

467. Dongvan and the "Sacred Wood."

[172]

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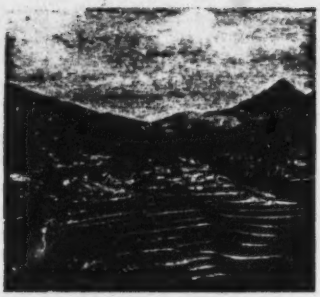

135. "Méo" Village with Terraced Rice Fields.

293. Pha-Long (Country of the "Méo," "Nung," and "Pa-y").

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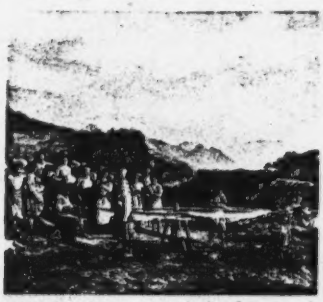
428. Hillsides Laid out in Irrigated Rice Fields by the "Méo" of Pakha.



128. "Méo" Method of Reeling off Hemp.

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[621 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe [241] culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

• 361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets; Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

/27 cont./

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3. IV, pp. 137, 138.

the level of the forest hoe-culture tribes there is the elevation of the mountain tribes... Having come from the north they stay in areas where the climate corresponds most closely to that of their countries of origin, that is, at altitudes up to 2,600 meters... The Thai tribes stayed in the lowest parts of the country. Their counterparts in the high areas are the migratory mountain tribes, who, as the most recent arrivals from the north, are gradually occupying the settlement-free space in the peaks of the mountains. They are the Tibeto-Burman Lahu and Lisu and the Siamo-Chinese Miao and Yao"(4).

4. Credner, IV, p. 147.

Von Eickstedt (5) writes: "The Chinoisants (among whom

5. VI, p. 54.

he includes the Meau, note by Dr. Bernatzik) are the masters of the mountains and are spreading. The Monkhmer Ka /Mon-Khmer Kha/ live on the wooded slopes, but are shot off by the Chinoisants and pushed aside by the Lao. The latter, in turn, live a few altitude levels lower, preferring the rice fields of the smaller valleys, whereas, finally, the Annamites and Chinese occupy the large troughs of the base centers lying in the lowermost valleys."

361 Savina (6) likewise deals with the habitation areas of the

6. II, pp. 173 ff.

Meau and concomitantly with their reasons for choosing the high altitudes: /28/ "The customary habitation sites of the Meau are the mountains. Only on the heights are they in their element; elsewhere they are rootless and do not feel comfortable."

[174] ... "However far one traces the history back into prehistory, one always finds them in the mountains. In the course of time this

½ [ie - "Killed off" - ANALYST]

Akha A04
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M 361 174

/28 cont./

great migratory tribe has visited almost all the mountains of Asia. Even today one would look in vain for Meau in the plains. The Meau of Kwangsi, of Kweichow, of Szechwan, of Yunnan, of Tonkin, of Laos are all mountain folk."

A 101 361

The Akha, too, always live in the high parts of the mountains. In addition to the regions named in connection with the Meau, the state of Kengtung should be added as the chief settlement area of the Akha. Telford divides the levels occupied by the various tribes as follows: the Lahu live highest, below them the Lisu, and below them the Akha. "The latter often settle in markedly steep mountain areas, though they prefer mountains of medium height."

A M 829

This pronounced preference of the mountain tribes for high settlement areas is very striking.

Under these circumstances it is understandable that the question of the reason for this strange fact has occupied other authors. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "If one asks them

1. II, p. 174.

why they live in the mountains and why they abhor the plains, they give various answers:

'In the mountains it is less hot, humid, and unhealthy.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because we are afraid of the water, the leeches, and the buffalo.'

'We cannot live in the plains because we were born in the mountains. Transplanted trees never thrive.'

'How can we leave the mountains where the graves of our ancestors are?'

'The inhabitants of the plains are accustomed to the work and the cultivation of the plains, we Meau to the work and the cultivation of the mountains.'

'The people of the plains do not speak our language. How could we understand them?'

'If we were to descend into the plains, our girls would marry people who do not belong to our race.'

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Miao AE5

A M 829

'In the plains there are too many wars, duties, soldiers, and mandarins!'

'If we were to settle down among the people on the plains, they would steal our herds.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because there we could not cultivate opium and maize or plant fruit trees.'

'The soil of the mountains belongs to the Meau; the soil of the plains does not belong to them'"

Savina states that only one answered: "Because the other tribes do not want us to live in the plains with them." Savina is of the opinion that this is actually the true reason. There can be no doubt, however, that he is mistaken about this.

A M 164 361

In my opinion, the reason lies much deeper. It lies outside the realm of human volition and is based upon the constitutional nature of the mountain tribes. In contrast to the valley peoples, such as the Thai tribes, the Chinese, or the Annamese, the Meau and Akha, and presumably the majority of the tribes occupying this area today and known as "mountain tribes," are not capable of becoming acclimatized to the tropics, as is true, for example, of all the members of the white races. These tribes show an amazingly low resistance in particular to the tropical diseases, above all to malaria. In this connection Abadie's further statement is of special interest: "The Meau came to Tonkin long after the 'Thai' and 'Man.' With the latter they had many local battles over the arable land, which sometimes were long and fierce. Stronger and more energetic than their opponents, they would perhaps have driven them out of Upper-Tonking altogether had they been able to acclimatize themselves to the lower altitudes." In the chapter "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "The Territories of the Mountain Peoples," I shall discuss at some length the extraordinary importance that this lack of ability to acclimatize has for colonial-ethnological affairs.

A M [174]

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Chapter 11

Medicine

515 Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very un-
[364] satisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is
[296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by
[312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects
314 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good
164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child
[165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the
[356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for
[514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see
[231] the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau
[361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is A M the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the [241] soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in [262] northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal A insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that M are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural [648] Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

M 166 361 The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing [731] arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, [756] "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, [623] as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish [622] of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, [361] a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's [731] march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and [312] makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will [285] later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game, for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
[824] ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/ without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude, and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface, a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
[417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hundred meters long."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/262 cont./

M 166 484 Concerning the migrations of the Meau in Indochina, Savina (3) reports: "When the Meau move, they burn their

3. II, p. 183.

M [482] houses; others let them fall into ruins. The small children are put into carrying baskets with the chickens and suckling pigs. When everything is ready, the signal for the departure is given, and everybody begins to move without the slightest sign of sentiment or excitement. Nobody turns around in order to cast a last glance at the village. The Meau say: Our home is where the maize grows thickly."

M ● 36 [171] A [361] The villages of the Meau in Thailand have a very small number of houses. These are hamlets which consist of three to ten houses. This is also the size of the villages of the Yau /Yao/. The villages of the Lisu come next with four to twenty houses; the village settlements of the Akha have by far the greatest number of houses -- several hundred.

In the literature (4) there are accounts of Meau villages

4. Savina, II, p. 182.

which are said to contain from 20 to 30 houses. In Thailand I could not find any settlements that large, and Dhuraratsadom (5),

5. Page 153.

too, who /263/ answered a questionnaire on the Meau prepared by the Siam Society, says nothing about such large Meau villages. His observations and my own correspond to Lajonquière"s (1)

1. II, p. 304.

statement: "With their attitude of independence, the Meau prefer not to have their dwellings crowded together... There are only groupings of six, seven, or eight houses around the dwelling of

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing [103] (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] [574] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore represents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] [351] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 712 We did not come across any fortified villages among the Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

1 [See cat 116, p707- ANALYST]

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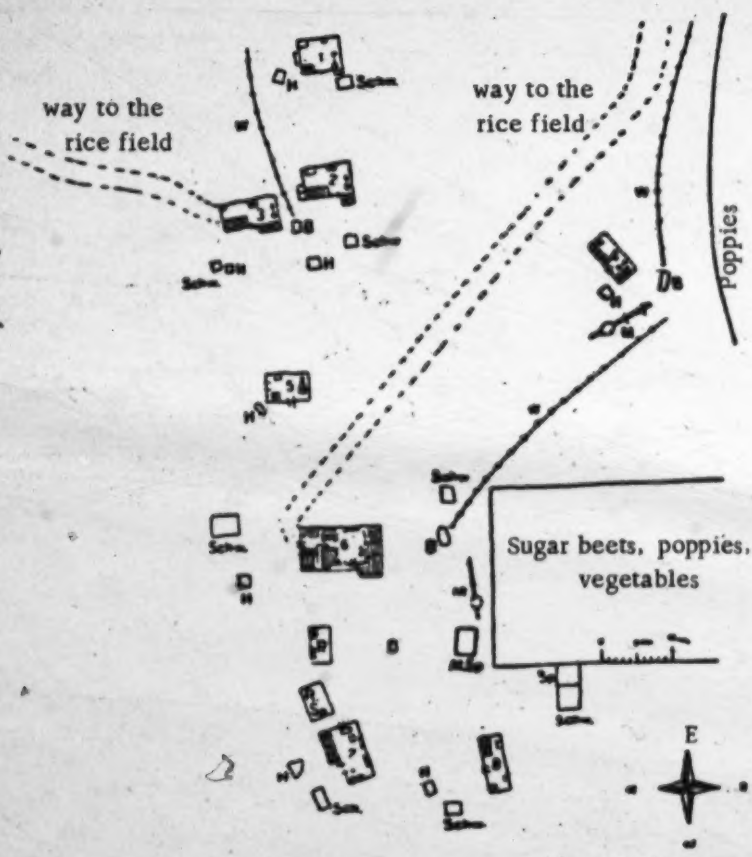

Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊸ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
◻ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

/353 cont./

178 time the old men die, the young people no longer know the
243 use of the plow, and so the custom begins to sink into oblivion,
407 even where it could still be used today."

In any case the described tradition of the Meau in Thailand indicates that the plow and its field economy were not subsequently seen and copied from the Chinese or Annamese by the Meau passing through, /354/ but rather had been used in former times. This is also confirmed by the reports of various authors who visited the Meau in Indochina and in their other areas of settlement. The conditions there are different from those in Thailand, and the intensive agriculture of the Meau there forms the economic basis for a much higher standard of living than the members of the same people could have in Thailand. The Meau in Indochina have in large part retained [184] not only the use of the plow, but in many instances they have also succeeded in going over to the cultivation of wet rice and even to terraced fields, which presuppose the use of the plow.

243 Abadie (1), for instance, writes: "The Meau also cultivate
[178]

1. Page 159.

mountain rice, but, like the Man, in increasingly greater proportions they are practicing wet-rice cultivation, which is easier and more productive." The author also shows illustrations of such large-scale fields with wet rice (Illustrations 135 and 428 on Plate 41 of his work) and then continues (p. 151): "The Meau who cultivate irrigated rice fields engage in this work along the high mountain valleys. Though the absolute altitude of these rice fields is relatively high, [361] the Meau do not live near them. The minute the daily work is finished, they again ascend to their villages, which always lie near the summits of the mountains."

/420/

Chapter 22

Communication

133 The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by
487 steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless
[137] or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only
[491] bridge. Other facilities are unknown; there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: 'Never yet

1. II, p. 181.

has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, how-
[461] ever, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity.
[361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

39: Bernatzik--707 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 523/

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Ill. 108. Partial view of the Meau settlement of Nam Fa in the source area of the Nam Wa.

39: Bernatzik--730 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

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361 [351] [137] Ill. 108. Partial view of the Meau settlement of Nam Fa at the end of the rainy season. In the vicinity of the houses there are gardens with fruit trees, behind them secondary forest on deserted fields, and in the background, the typical monsoon forest of Farther India.

Central China AF14

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C 712 were built for defense. At such places as Huang-lo-chai and Shui-ta-t'ien in the sub-prefecture large paos were erected. In thinly populated and topographically restricted areas, t'uns were built, which communicated with each other for mutual defense. A t'un is built according to the requirements of the place, varying from several chang to more than ten chang in width, and from ten to 30 chang in length. The foundation of a t'un is laid with two or three ch'ih of rough stones, on which are added two layers of bricks about four or five ch'ih in height; and then the crenulated wall with apertures for observation and firing guns is put. Each t'un accommodates a few dozen men. Animals and grains are also sheltered in it." There
C 361 712 are two kinds of paos, the stone and the earth paos. A small pao is oval in shape, a street runs through the center, bordered by residential dwellings, with two pao gates at the two ends of the street. A big pao is round in shape with three or four pao gates (Illus. 9), and the streets within are often in the shape of a cross.

C [342] Besides the paos and the t'uns in the Miao area there are many stone houses /tiao/. Formerly in the areas around these stone houses t'un soldiers were posted to keep watch. Today, such areas have become little settlements, as in Illus. 10. These are villages near the stone houses. The Chinese also settled at important communication points leading to bridges.
C [491] They even built houses on bridges, forming bridge streets, such
[443] as shown in Illus. 11. Some markets also have appeared at ferry points along the rivers. Chinese settlements are distributed mostly along communication lines and garrison points so that in case of alarm they can come to each other's aid.

M 361 The Miao settlement is called "chai" (Illus. 12, 13), built generally against a mountainside or along a river, without
[712] any uniform appearance. The chai wall is made of earth or stone slabs, and there is no definite number of gates. The
[363] streets of a chai zigzag up and down, with tiny alleys on both sides. In each alley there are a few families. The alleys are

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, M [137] pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-M 353 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the 778 rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the 177

see [text continues on p 63]

[1] [see Cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p65- "]

[158 cont.]

231 logs with the floor slightly raised by means of logs laid horizontally
343 on the ground. (Photo 116, Plate 27.) Naturally, this pen for the animals is no more frequently cleaned than is the inside of the house, with the result that the liquid manure and the excrement soon form nauseous seas which it is necessary to cross painfully in order to reach the house.

The "Méo" have excellent little horses (average height – about
231 1.20 meters, like the Chinese or Tonkinese horses) sturdy, sensible, very handy, and very sure-footed. These horses are never groomed, are fed with a little grass (a special grass called "ma-tsao" or horse's grass), with bamboo leaves and a few handfuls of maize. They gen-
[343] erally are tied under a little lean-to resting against the house.

The "Méo-" have a special breed of white dogs, with silky and very thick hair of medium length.

The fowls (hens, guinea hens, ducks, and so on) roam at liberty around the house during the day and roost at night in a coop
[343] usually located above or near to the stable. The wildcats, which
[136] are numerous in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, frequently do frightful slaughter among the "Méo" poultry.

In view of their spirit of independence, the "Méo" most often
361 live off by themselves, in groups of five or six cabins, and only very seldom form sizeable settlements. However, in the region of Pha-Long – Pakha, where the "Méo" group forms the majority of the population, several "Méo" villages exist which number from twenty to thirty cabins. Be that as it may, the "Méo" village is always perched very near to the summits of the mountains, at the foot of the crags; difficult mule-trails with very abrupt slopes permit access to these villages; still the climb on foot is infinitely preferable to the trip on horseback.

("Méo" houses appear in the following photographs: 346, Plate 36; 347, Plate 41; 445, Plate 38; 135, Plate 43. The last three show villages.)

In the hamlets and villages of the "Méo," the houses are built
361 according to the inclination of the occupants, without thought of
364 alignment or of streets, the enclosures for the animals close to the dwelling houses. Despite the open air and the sun which bathe the

[158 cont.]

"Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large village in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed, or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes, string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very un-
[364] satisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is
[296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by
[312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects
364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good
164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child
[165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the
[356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for
[514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see
[231] the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau
[361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

/230 cont./

364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

[264]

2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 205.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

/268 cont./ If needed,

342 sleeping rooms, too, are often built on. The basic form of the
[513] houses and the roofs is always the same, however. A pigsty
[417] and a chicken coop also belong to each house, whereas cattle
[231] are usually kept by only a few families.

Cleanliness is a relative idea. In comparison with the
356 scrupulously clean houses of the Lao, the dwellings of the Meau
certainly leave much to be desired. At many houses the refuse
lies in front of the door for days before it is removed. In other
places one sees the women busy at sweeping the house and wash-
ing the dishes regularly. Even on important festive days the
appearance of the house and yard does not change much. One
recognizes by the old rotten trash covered with soot and dirt
until it is beyond recognition, which often fills up the houses,
that the Meau women /269/ feel no need to create order. To
be sure, each move of the village provides an opportunity for
364 it, and this must suffice. There are no toilets. Places outside
the village are sought at random and are well known by the dogs
and pigs, since they devour all the excrement with amazing
thoroughness and thus perform valuable sanitary service.

342 The ground plan, sketch, cross-section, and drawing of
the framework of the chief's house (Figs. 63, 64, 65, and 66)
and of the dwelling house (Figs. 67, 68, 69 and 70) with their
respective legends indicate the size, construction, and shape of
the dwellings without anything more, so I have only a little to
add.

[Figures appear on pp 371-377,
Text continues on p 378].

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[791] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/163 cont./

773 776 Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third

1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Y ang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 776 [753] [731] 372 [82] When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

[129 cont.]

171 773 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many changes later.

174 From these myths we can gather some material regarding the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive people originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from the American Indians to show that the method of friction preceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of 174 372 the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire, and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with localities, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of our attention.

114 (This article was first published in the "She-hui hsün-k'an" [Social Studies, a publication appearing every ten days], Nos. 4-5, of the Kwei-yang Ke-ming Jih-pao [Kwei-yang Revolutionary Times], May 19, 1938, and has been slightly revised in its present form.)

/166 cont./

776 The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function
825 to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to
step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by
[372] sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)
[626]
[171]

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth
[844] of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property.
[778] Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their
[756] houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the un-
[177] buried dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of
[829] this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

This fireplace is
354 /300 cont./ the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]

Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."
342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult
[439] has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[177] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
[see cat. 116, p645 - ANALYST]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan teng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel [412] called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and [373] strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

4-Hickey S-8 (1960-731987 ABS Miles ABS

312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the
241 fields, but no men setting out plants.
243 I once tried my hand at helping and did fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they
[164] were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

●374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 By the end of the first week of the fifth
243 month (end of June) the transplanting of rice
312 was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

to sell from time to time, just to get through nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope. 241 [283]

It was after the middle of the seventh month (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel—grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke, and burned quickly. 374

Rice harvest began about the first of the eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods 243 512

about 1890 feet (.36 mile).

/6 cont'd/

197 yellow		vung	wang	fan	wiang	guan
192 sun		gong-nog	mo-neu			
ox	lo	ngong	ngong	du-wó	ngong	wau
moon		ngàr	la		tha	hlo
eat		en	ning	nong	njien	nang
drink		hop	hop	hu	hop	hu
sleep		fei	fei	foi	bu	ba

197 171 /7/ If, outside the physical type, language is a comparatively reliable standard for the classification of the races of man, we may then say, in accordance with the chart given above, that the Miao of Hainan are of the same people as the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi rather than the Miao of Kwangsi. (Concerning the physical type of the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi, Mr. Fei Hsiao-t'ung has apparently made a scientific investigation, the results of which have not yet been published.) It is said that the name of the "Lan-tien" Yao of Kwangsi was derived from lan-tien /"blue indigo"/, which was the chief product of the region. The lan-tien is a plant, Polygonum tinctorium, which the Yao pick to make dye. With regard to this industry, the Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi /see above/ has given a detailed study (pp. 13-14). During my last field trip to the Miao village of Ang-ch'i in Ta-chi, I saw a Miao woman making dye from a plant. I regret that at the time I did not notice whether this plant was the lan-tien. The Miao women of Hainan, in any case, are skilled in dyeing. This fact may be considered as contributory evidence.

171 If the aforesaid conclusion is in accord with the facts, then we can also deduce from which part of Kwangsi the Hainan Miao came. We are still not certain about the distribution of the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi either in the past or the present. However, according to the Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi, it is a fact that there are at present Lan-tien Yao in Ling-yün district. If we may make the tentative deduction that the Lan-tien Yao have

/27 cont'd/

226 here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

463 Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-
462 developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets,
[285 boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for
322] domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for
[339] rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time
[342] with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

286 The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area
386 /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from
286 the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/28 cont'd/

386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

437 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
438 similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
439 commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above. Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the
[443] Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district, one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third, they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of li away but many are a hundred li away. Since the Miao all live a simple life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a month at the most.

M
*101 /20 cont./
CC
563 in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
M women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
[167] together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[462] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[517] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[533] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[167] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.
[291] (14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[583] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[517] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[584] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[167] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[782] family/.
[574] (15) P'ing Fa Miao. --- Originally they were from Kuei-
[291] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[302] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[167] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
into a knot.
/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.
(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
M are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[531] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
[386] is washed out and the designs appear.

/66 cont./

000 386 leaves. After the picking, they cut the leaves into small pieces of about 40 kung fen, tie them in arm-thick bundles, and place them in a large earthenware jar filled with pure spring water, where they are completely submerged. After three days the jar of clear water becomes dark green in color. The indigo bundles are then removed, and lime water is added to the jar. The ratio is a bowl of lime water to a tan /picul/ of indigo water. The lime is first dissolved in water: the solution is kept and the residue discarded. After being mixed with the lime water the indigo water /67/ is stirred with a stick to blend it. The precipitation is indigo.

249 [314] [291] Although wild indigo grows everywhere, its output in the end is not large. Furthermore, the Miao, men and women, all wear blue cotton clothes. The supply of wild indigo naturally is not enough to meet the demand and domestic indigo has to be cultivated (Illus. 36). It is planted in the second and third months and harvested in the ninth and tenth months before the frost. The output of domestic indigo is larger than that of wild indigo. The Miao usually dig a hole about two kung ch'ih [386] deep for making indigo. The process is the same as that for wild indigo.

The Miao also plant sugar cane in the low-lying places in deep valleys. The land for this crop must have fine soil and dry. On the periphery as well as in the center of the field several ditches are dug for draining water in case of rain. To plant sugar cane, they cut the cane into short lengths of about three or four nodes, planting three or four of them together. When they grow up they become a cluster. The clusters are about half a kung ch'ih apart. At planting time the sections are put into the earth, with the top ends slightly slanting, which are also covered with earth. After half a month, when the sprouts come out, light fertilizer is added. When they grow to a height of half a kung ch'ih, fertilizer is again put on. In all they are fertilized four or five times, and each time the earth is weeded and the soil loosened. Four or five days after the first frost in the ninth or tenth month the crop may be

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

462 from the straw of glutinous rice made san-
241 dals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it,
462 stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, sep-
283 arated the strands, and from them made the
•386 two grades of thread — one for sewing and
mending and one for weaving into cloth. They
291 gathered and dried nutgalls and from them
prepared a dye, by which they dyed white
cloth bought in piece in the market an even,
almost black blue. They made all the cloth-
ing for themselves and their families and their
bedding. They wove the straw comforter,
too. Girls and younger women made the em-
broidery on the overpiece, front apron, and
turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older
women made hemp thread and did the weav-
ing of cloth for the back apron and bands for
the baby pad. It was the older women who
wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

286 Three types of loom were used. First there
was that described in the making of the belt.
Second, there was the vertical loom used for
the weaving of straw comforters. This had
two beams, one high and one near the floor,
from which the warp ropes of twisted straw
went back and forth. Two of the poles sup-
porting the rafters served as uprights. The
weft was similar to the warp, except that
straw ends were left sticking out so that the
result was smooth on one side and had a nap
on the other. The weft was sent through by
hand, in and out, over and under successive
threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet.
The third was used for the weaving of hemp
cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of
two by fours about eight feet long and three
wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides
and, a little lower down, across the ends, also
one about two feet from one end. The upper
pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at
each end. Into this frame was set another,
lighter one, going into the upper horizontal
pieces at the back, but down into the bracing
piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace
about a foot above the main frame, across the
front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights
of this second frame, a board was put across
for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end
the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

415 [160 cont.]
482 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
[492] often on the backs of men... or women. For this purpose the "Méo" of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies
[854] also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

/319 cont./

291 are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of [286] the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye- [294] trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts"). [386] The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often re- [292] placed, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark- [439] blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese [294] traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home- produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread, needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, al- ways comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work [292] clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has [556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in [531] the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as some- times in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like that of the adults.

291 531 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[2] consists of the blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6), has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist. The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors. Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse, which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and 3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

[1] [See cat 116, pp 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 492 - "]
[3] [" " " pp 437, 563 - "]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
[171] the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put
[413] on the still undyed material by the women with a special instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/405 cont./

386 531 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill. 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying [415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

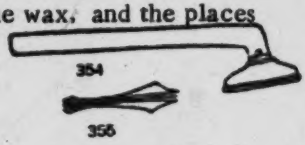


Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although [513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for [411] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on [262] the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants, " the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 412 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking, although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their [177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

/406 cont./

322 Aside from the construction of houses and stables, wood
824 has /407/ an extraordinary number of uses. For example, tables, benches, stools (Ill. 107) 3 and beds, the distillation apparatus for making alcohol, rice mills, rice steamers and pounders, the troughs for the pig fodder, and the pack saddles for the animals (Ill. 81) 2 are made of it; furthermore the handles of tools and knives, sheaths for knives, spear shafts and the gun stocks, crossbows, bellows (Ill. 82), 3 and musical instruments, such as the mouth organ, are produced from it; the altars (Ill. 99) 4 are built out of it; it is likewise necessary for building wells,
[386] and, finally, dyestuff is also obtained from wood.

Since the Meau have long since left the Neolithic, stone
324 tools are no longer in use, and since the immigration of the
[412] Meau into their present habitation area in northern Thailand
[174] took place only a few decades ago, I could no longer find any such material from their early history. On the other hand, even today the Meau work stone into grindstones (Ill. 94) 5 or whetstones. Moreover, from a soft porous stone which they burn out before working, they make the crucibles (Fig. 365)
325 and casting molds (Ill. 82) for silver and copper, since they have a considerable knowledge of the use and working of metals. On the other hand, they are not in a position to obtain metals from ore, nor can they smelt wrought iron, but with the help of their bellows (Figs. 362-364) and a charcoal fire they know how to forge and weld it. They can smelt cast iron
[439] which they obtain from broken pots and pans acquired from the Chinese traders. From this kind of iron, bullets and even implements, such as the shoe of the digging stick (Fig. 267) are molded. For this a mud mold is made of an implement for which one wants to make a new piece, and it now serves for the new casting. Casting by dead mold is unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

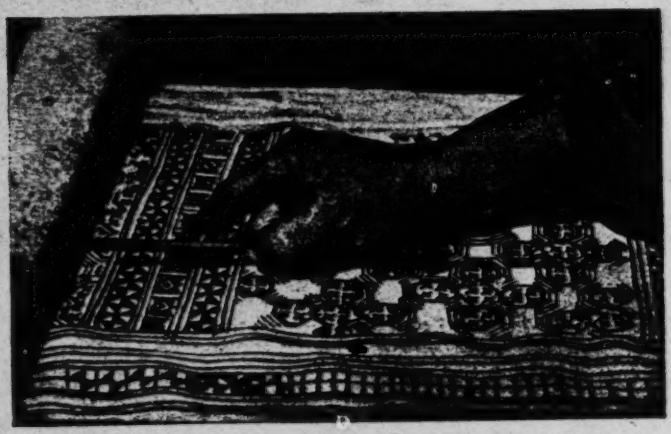
The forging equipment (Ill. 82) is of wood, iron, or stone and is entirely made by a Meau smith. It is:

1 [See cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
2 + 3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p664 - "]
5 [" " " p644 - "]

39: Bernatzik--620 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.458/

386
531



Ill. 86. Making batik work from hemp material among the Meau. The wax drawing is applied with a brass pen.

[413]

291
294
302
316

Ill. 87. Girl of the "Flowery" Meau sewing a new pleated skirt.

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists [415] of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself.

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [262] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in [258] the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [241] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [388] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown [236] into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

39: Bernatzik--460 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

[p 459 is blank]

AKha A04
MiaoAE5

/339/

Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

/389 cont./

411 loaded. One presses the whole down firmly with a plug of scraped bamboo and immediately before firing the shot lets two more of these lead cylinders serving as bullets slide loosely into the barrel. The shot is released by the lock which is [237] glued with beeswax to the pistol stock (a) and secured there with rings of iron or sheet silver (g). The cocked lock is shown in Fig. 307; the way it operates is explained by Fig. 308.

In shooting, the trigger (e) is pressed to the left. The pressure overcomes the force of the counterspring (a); the full cock (f) is released. As a result, the cocking spring (k) presses against the hammer (b), in the upper end of which a flint is clamped (b 1). The hammer flies forward; the flint hits the snap (c), which springs back and lays open the powder pan (Pf). The touchhole (z) runs into the powder pan and connects it with the interior of the barrel. Through the striking of the flint on the snap, a spark is produced which sets fire to the powder in the pan. The explosion instantly runs through the touchhole, ignites the propellant in the interior of the barrel, and the bullets are hurled out of the barrel (i).

It was astonishing for me to observe the relatively great efficiency. At a distance of 120 meters the marksman with each shot hit a target 20 centimeters long and 15 centimeters wide, piercing a board of soft wood two centimeters thick.

389 The Meau even produce for themselves the black powder for the guns, made out of charcoal, sulphur, and saltpeter. [237] Bat excrement serves to provide the latter. A bamboo tube is split into halves and /390/ /Figs. 309-314 appear here/ the overlapping pieces are put on the ground. The spaces in between are covered with banana leaves and the vessel is filled with old /Fig. 315 appears here/ bat excrement and with the earth that lay underneath it. Then water is poured on it, and the liquid is allowed to run off slowly, is collected in a suitable vessel, and is dried by evaporation in iron pans. To one part of the saltpeter thus obtained, one takes half a [439] part of charcoal and a twelfth part of the sulphur purchased from the Chinese traders, beats up the mixture with the addition of some water, and kneads it vigorously in order to obtain a uniform blend. This moist paste of powder is placed in an

Miao AE5

411
415

Figs. 309-314. Hunting Equipment of the Meau.

Figs. 309-311. Powder containers: Fig. 309, copper powder-horn, on which hangs the iron needle for cutting through the powder channel, 1/5 nat. size; Fig. 310, powder horn (goat horn) set with copper bands and with copper rings for the attachment of the carrying cord, end piece can be removed, 1/13 nat. size; Fig. 311, bamboo container for gunpowder, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 312. Ramrod of iron, 1/22 nat. size. Fig. 313. Cloth bullet-pouch, 1/20 nat. size, is also visible in Fig. 310, hung on the powder horn. Fig. 314. Iron bullets, about 1/2-1/8 nat. size.

[237]

Fig. 315
Wooden peg of the Meau for pounding gunpowder, 1/18 nat. size.

412
389

/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [326] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide- [439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

/392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as [224] great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

Mi 342
Mi [354]
Mi [778]
Mi 445
Mi 401
Mi 312
Mi 343
Mi 231

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

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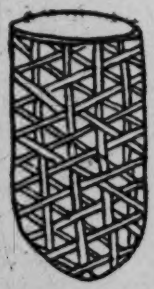
Miao A E5

/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, A [227] with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India. The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In



M 178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

M [227] [285]

/353 cont./

178 time the old men die, the young people no longer know the
243 use of the plow, and so the custom begins to sink into oblivion,
407 even where it could still be used today."

In any case the described tradition of the Meau in Thailand indicates that the plow and its field economy were not subsequently seen and copied from the Chinese or Annamese by the Meau passing through, /354/ but rather had been used in former times. This is also confirmed by the reports of various authors who visited the Meau in Indochina and in their other areas of settlement. The conditions there are different from those in Thailand, and the intensive agriculture of the Meau there forms the economic basis for a much higher standard of living than the members of the same people could have in
[184] Thailand. The Meau in Indochina have in large part retained not only the use of the plow, but in many instances they have also succeeded in going over to the cultivation of wet rice and even to terraced fields, which presuppose the use of the plow.

243 Abadie (1), for instance, writes: "The Meau also cultivate
[178]

1. Page 159.

mountain rice, but, like the Man, in increasingly greater proportions they are practicing wet-rice cultivation, which is easier and more productive." The author also shows illustrations of such large-scale fields with wet rice (Illustrations 135 and 428 on Plate 41 of his work) and then continues (p. 151): "The Meau who cultivate irrigated rice fields engage in this work along the high mountain valleys. Though the absolute altitude of these rice fields is relatively high,
[361] the Meau do not live near them. The minute the daily work is finished, they again ascend to their villages, which always lie near the summits of the mountains."

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II, p. 185.
114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the fight hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
● 407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.
[1] [See cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

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/362 cont./

M 407 184 describes it as a "plow of simple construction with an iron shoe." So far as can be learned from the vague statements of the other authors, the other agricultural implements are identical with those of the Meau in Thailand.

A 241 243 The Akha in Thailand, like the Meau, practice hoe cultivation with fallow periods of eight to ten years, which the cultivation of rice for generally two years on the same field requires in their Thailand /Figs. 267-275 appear here/ /363/ area of settlement. Otherwise their agriculture is subject to the same climatic and geographical conditions as that of the A [407] Meau. They likewise do not use any plow, but, in contrast to the Meau, according to what is known up to now about the Akha, they did not know anything about it in former times. The terrace arrangement is also absent, so only the cultivation of mountain rice comes into consideration.

A 243 [787] When the Akha want to lay out a field and for this purpose look for a new site in the virgin forest, they, like the Meau, are bound by omens in making their decisions (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, A [596] [782] Interpretation of Omens"). If they are favorable, the head of the large /extended/ family decides on a place that meets his desires. Among the Akha, even before beginning the clearing of such a rice field, the offerings for the spirits begin. As we have already learned in the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits," offerings are made to the various spirits in solemn fashion on definite occasions. Besides the close connection of the Akha with the spirits, these festivities show the great significance of rice cultivation.

Clearing begins in the same way as among the Meau, except that the Akha let the cut wood dry until shortly before the rainy season and then usually burn only once.

The fields of the Akha are smaller throughout than those of the Meau; their surface area varies between one and five hectares and therefore only amounts to the total size of a M [241] subdivision of a field clearing of the Meau. Whereas the latter subsequently try to give their property the rounded-off appearance of a unit, the fields of the Akha are very irregular in shape.

113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622

Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

/1 cont'd/

101 175 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

*/Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather 15 powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao 281 people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have 278 a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small 171 groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
563 open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
M to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[782] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[541] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[787] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[292] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.
[769]

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[648] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[829] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

2:Ling & Ruey--125 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/90/

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Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

2: Ling & Ruey--200 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

*782
291
411
415
352
531

Illus. 61. Eating Pigs, C.

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
526 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[177] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
[411] of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around,
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
773 swings:
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
  Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
  Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
  a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
  ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
  hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
  to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

2:Ling & Ruey--354 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/237/

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Illus. 119. Tilting among the Miao.

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds. The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment,
342 since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Laotians AM8

boy's pockets lay strewn about; the lengths of string, the broken penknives, the buttons, the mirror glass, the tins, the bottles and the burned out lamp bulbs. Here was accumulated the jackdaw harvesting, the valuable glittering rubbish which was all a Meo wanted of civilization, and which he was free to take, while leaving the civilization itself severely alone. What foolish, generous people, these town-dwellers were! M 342 181

Our host's wife, a child of fifteen, was lying with her baby on a heap of rags in the corner. The baby was sick, he said, but the only thing necessary was to keep it away from the light – and air – as much as possible. Most Meo babies die in their first two years, and one wonders what would have happened by now to the fertile land of Indo-China, if they didn't. M 758 165

There was a gun in the corner – a muzzle-loader of the kind it takes a Meo two years to make. They are copied from the guns first supplied by the Jesuits to the Chinese, but are turned out by an endlessly laborious process involving boring out a solid bar by twirling a white hot iron in it. It was enormously long, like an old-fashioned Arab stove-pipe gun, and when Dupont took notice of it the Meo offered to show it to him in use. We went outside and he loaded it with powder and shot he made himself. This process took about five minutes. Before pressing the trigger he warned us to stand well away because of the muzzle blast. The target was a small banana-leaf, skewered against a bank at twenty paces. There was a tremendous bang when he fired, but the leaf remained intact. He blamed this on the maize-spirit which we had just drunk, and was quite delighted when Dupont, giving a demonstration with his American light carbine, also missed. M 411 177

There were no dogs at all at this village. They were all down at the poppy fields with their owners, the Meo said. 000

Luang Prabang lies at the end of a long, curling descent from the mountains and through smoking bamboo groves, on the banks of the Mékong. It is built into a tongue of land formed by the con- L 361

[161 cont.]

Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
177 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
439 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other
294 groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
531 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
294 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather
868 primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
317 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
439 against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

/193 cont./

123 go hunting together, and immediately Tsin Tsai was again
224 favorably disposed toward me. We would set out to hunt ele-
[326] phants, gaur, and other big game which, with his primitive guns,
[411] he was able to kill only at the risk of his life. His passion for hunting was so great that, even at the time of the harvest, he would drop everything in order to accept my invitation. Needless to say, Tsin Tsai also knew how to handle the crossbow, the
[411] most important and favorite weapon of the Meau, or poisoned arrows, with which any game can be brought down. My high-power rifle, /194/ however, aroused general admiration, and Tsin Tsai in particular could not get his fill of looking at it; he repeatedly picked it up and stroked it lovingly.

The Meau are familiar with the habits of game to a remarkable degree, naturally far more so than we Europeans. Just as I always deferred to the natives while hunting in the tropics, here, too I followed the instructions of the bold Meau hunters. They know the weather and the wind directions in relation to the haunts of the game; they are familiar with the scarce sources of salt in the primeval forest, which are regularly visited by all the wild animals; they know whether and at what time of the day or night the various species of animals seek out the waterholes or the salt licks; they deduce from the tracks of a wounded animal when it will take cover; in a word, they know the answers to all the questions that are involved in success for a hunter in the primeval forest.

123 Chief Tsin Tsai in particular was able to answer the most
224 incredible questions. After a short time I myself relied com-
787 pletely upon what he said. In order to be able to judge the extent of the knowledge possessed by this excellent hunter, I constantly posed new and more difficult questions, which nevertheless were always answered. When I tried, as far as possible, to verify his statements, I soon, to my surprise, found contradictions and inaccuracies. Finally, however, this inexplicable situation was clarified for me, when I discovered Tsin Tsai engaged in having my questions answered by the spirits by means of oracles! Apparently the spirits were less well informed about the living habits of the animals than the living Meau were!

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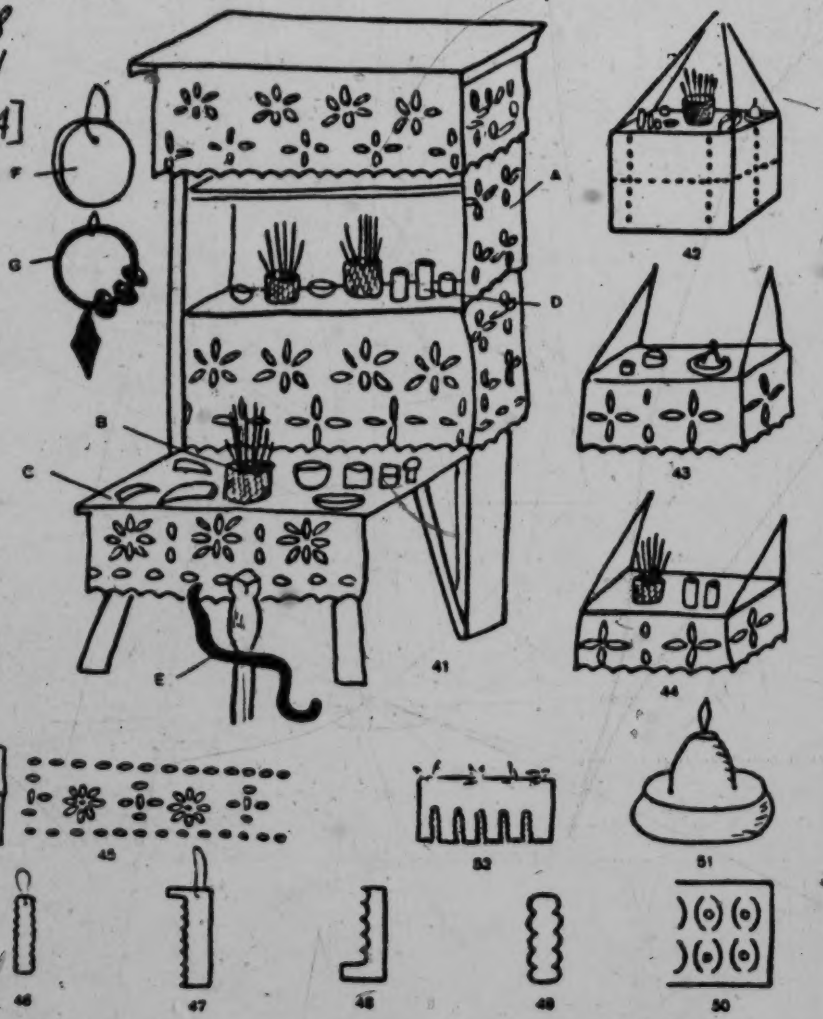

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Figs. 41-52. Altars of the Meau.

Fig. 41. Large altar for the worship of the ancestors and the teacher-spirit of the shaman, 1/24 nat. size: A = punched-out paper curtain as decoration for the wooden frame; B = small basket with incense candles; C = oracle horns; D = small tea

[787]

(continued)

Miao AE5

//Caption for Figs. 41-52 cont./

778 bowls and vessels for maize kernels, oil, or water; E = old
[411] battle sword of the Meau, stuck into the ground in order to forbid
[534] access to the evil spirits; F = gong; G = magic rattle of iron.
Fig. 42. Altar in the house of the chief, with incense candles, lamp, oracle horns, and the like, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 43. Altar for the assistant spirits of the shaman. The alter consists of a board with cultic apparatus and provided with a paper curtain, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 44. Altar for the teacher-spirit of the medicine men, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 45. Punch pattern for the
[531] altar paper. Figs. 46-50. Spirit-money of various denominations,
[354] about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 51. Altar lamp, 1/6 nat. size.
[782] Fig. 52. Blood-soaked chicken feathers on the paper curtain of an altar as a sacrifice for the souls of the ancestors.

/210 cont./

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
however, only after it has been punched with the special punches
[413] in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and
the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
●411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
787 Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
[177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses,
[177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788] dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
[562] purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
[177] dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

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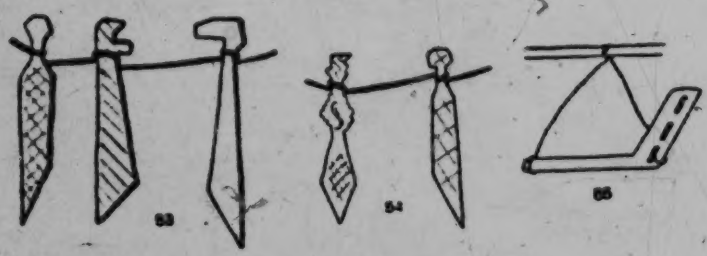

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

/275 cont./

342 184 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/ north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] [789] [411] [283] [531] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

39: Bernatzik--460 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

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Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted [411] with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 411 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[1] with which effective poisoned [326] arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306-308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair 262 or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [see cat 116, pp 576, 643, + 530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

/386 cont./

411 Among the offensive weapons of the Meau, there were formerly spears, which have been retained today in crude [115] form only very sporadically. One of my interpreters, a Chinese trader, whose calling took him from one village to another, reported long thrusting spears with a double-edged, poisoned iron-point which was attached to a wooden shaft about four meters long. Even my best informants, however, could not remember such spears. In the old Chinese literature the use of [175] long spears is mentioned several times (2). Furthermore, wooden

2. Eberhard, II, pp. 245, 252, and 259.

clubs were used, which, however, are no longer found anywhere today. This /387/ club, round and about as thick as a thumb, with an egg-shaped handle, was made flexible at two points by the insertion of three chain links at each one.

As weapons for close combat the rice sickle (Fig. 271) is used, which for this purpose is equipped with a handle of about one and a half meters.

In addition, peculiar slings are used. They consist of perforated iron balls of about six centimeters in diameter, which are attached to a thin rope 20 fathoms long. One now grasps this rope half a meter behind the iron balls, whirls them in a circle, and lets them fly. When this sling has hit its target, it is pulled back by the rope.

On the other hand, there was no device for throwing spears. Nor were bow and arrows or battle-axes used, though [412] in close combat the Meau use their wood ax (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273) as a weapon.

411 One finds small knives (see chapter, "House Furnishings, 412 Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 161-164) in daily use, which, in case of war, are used as pointed weapons in close combat. /Fig. 305 appears here./ The large bush knives (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 272) have versatile utility as a jungle knife and as a hunting and war weapon, as does the slightly curved, double-edged saber with a thin blade.

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/387 cont./

411 In addition there are double-edged swords for close com-
177 bat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size according to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords
[778] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305).
[175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78, 1 Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau
[326] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the
[439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

Fig. 305
Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/389/

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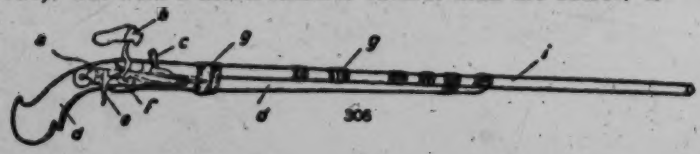
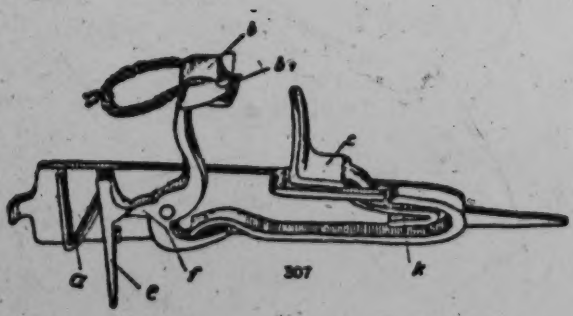
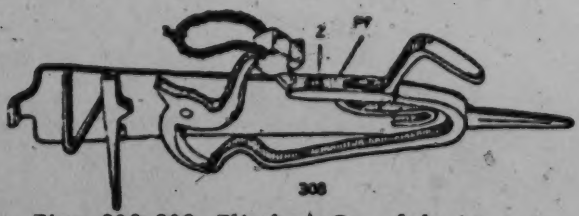
The size of the guns and the caliber vary. All the intermediate sizes from the boys' gun (Ill. 78), with which the thirteen-year-old youngster shot a muntjac, to the elephant gun with a caliber of about 20 millimeters are present, since the armorer does not manufacture guns according to a pattern, but rather adapts the size to the physical proportions of the bearer.

Loading the gun is a complicated procedure. Powder is poured from the powder container (Figs. 309-311) into the smooth barrel, is packed down a little with a wooden or iron ramrod (Fig. 312), and now from the bullet pouch (Fig. 313) a lead bullet in the shape of a cylinder (Fig. 314), but with a much smaller caliber than the barrel, is







Figs. 306-308. Flintlock Gun of the Meau.

Fig. 306. Gun, 1/15 nat. size. Fig. 307. Firing device cocked. Fig. 308. The same uncocked, 1/3 nat. size.

/389 cont./

411 loaded. One presses the whole down firmly with a plug of scraped bamboo and immediately before firing the shot lets two more of these lead cylinders serving as bullets slide loosely into the barrel. The shot is released by the lock which is [237] glued with beeswax to the pistol stock (a) and secured there with rings of iron or sheet silver (g). The cocked lock is shown in Fig. 307; the way it operates is explained by Fig. 308.

In shooting, the trigger (e) is pressed to the left. The pressure overcomes the force of the counterspring (a); the full cock (f) is released. As a result, the cocking spring (k) presses against the hammer (b), in the upper end of which a flint is clamped (b 1). The hammer flies forward; the flint hits the snap (c), which springs back and lays open the powder pan (Pf). The touchhole (z) runs into the powder pan and connects it with the interior of the barrel. Through the striking of the flint on the snap, a spark is produced which sets fire to the powder in the pan. The explosion instantly runs through the touchhole, ignites the propellant in the interior of the barrel, and the bullets are hurled out of the barrel (i).

It was astonishing for me to observe the relatively great efficiency. At a distance of 120 meters the marksman with each shot hit a target 20 centimeters long and 15 centimeters wide, piercing a board of soft wood two centimeters thick.

389 The Meau even produce for themselves the black powder for the guns, made out of charcoal, sulphur, and saltpeter. [237] Bat excrement serves to provide the latter. A bamboo tube is split into halves and /390/ /Figs. 309-314 appear here/ the overlapping pieces are put on the ground. The spaces in between are covered with banana leaves and the vessel is filled with old /Fig. 315 appears here/ bat excrement and with the earth that lay underneath it. Then water is poured on it, and the liquid is allowed to run off slowly, is collected in a suitable vessel, and is dried by evaporation in iron pans. To one part of the saltpeter thus obtained, one takes half a [439] part of charcoal and a twelfth part of the sulphur purchased from the Chinese traders, beats up the mixture with the addition of some water, and kneads it vigorously in order to obtain a uniform blend. This moist paste of powder is placed in an

39: Bernatzik--528 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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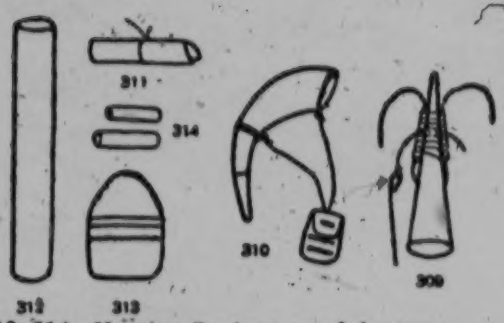

Figs. 309-314. Hunting Equipment of the Meau.

Figs. 309-311. Powder containers: Fig. 309, copper powder-horn, on which hangs the iron needle for cutting through the powder channel, 1/5 nat. size; Fig. 310, powder horn (goat horn) set with copper bands and with copper rings for the attachment of the carrying cord, end piece can be removed, 1/13 nat. size; Fig. 311, bamboo container for gunpowder, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 312. Ramrod of iron, 1/22 nat. size. Fig. 313. Cloth bullet-pouch, 1/20 nat. size, is also visible in Fig. 310, hung on the powder horn. Fig. 314. Iron bullets, about 1/2-1/8 nat. size.

[237]

Fig. 315
Wooden peg of the Méau for pounding gunpowder, 1/18 nat. size.

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/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [326] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide- [439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

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Caption for Figures below: Fig. 316. Crossbow of a boy, with simplified trigger (a) and plaited reinforcing of the bow (b), 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 317. Crossbow of a warrior, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 318. Recessed trigger of the crossbow; the arrow points to the place where, in Fig. 317, c, the rattan cord lies. Fig. 319. Crossbow-arrow, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 320. Crossbow-quiver with three arrows, 1/12 nat. size.

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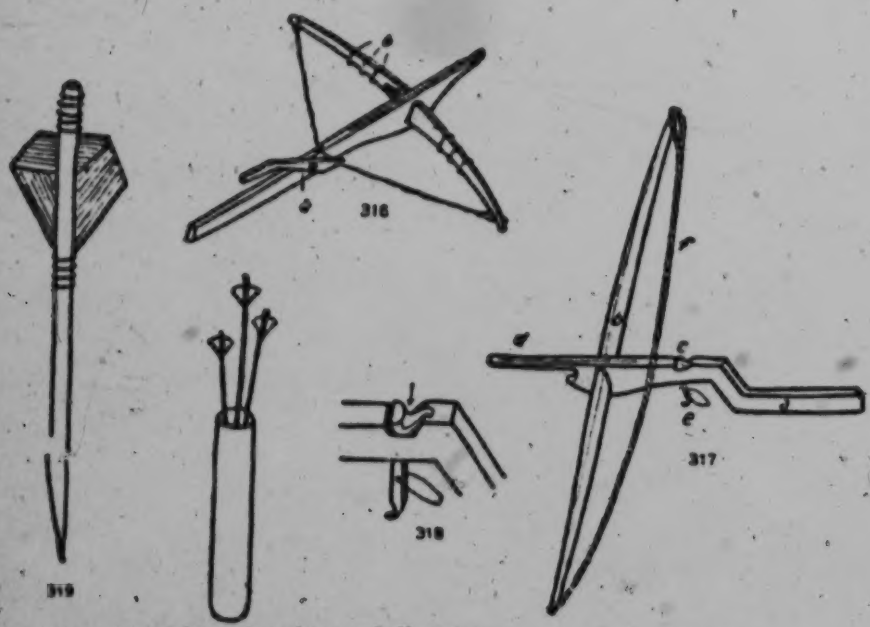

Figs. 316-320. Crossbows of the Meau.

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M 411 It is obvious that all the weapons named were not used for only one purpose, say, as war or hunting weapons, but rather according to need. How very much the two last-named weapons have replaced all others, however, is clearly shown by the description that Savina (2) gives of the Meau in Indo-

2. II, p. 230.

china: "Their weapons are the crossbow and the flintlock gun. They make both weapons themselves, and also the bullets and the powder." Savina thus does not even enumerate the other weapons mentioned by me.

A 411 A [714] [439] The Akha have fewer weapons at their disposal than the Meau. Aside from the jungle knife, we could find only the crossbow and, very sporadically, needle and flintlock guns, but no spears, slings, clubs, shields and armor or helmets, and the like.

A 389 The Akha buy the guns mentioned from the neighboring Schan /Shan/ or Lao, from whom the ammunition is also acquired. Nevertheless, the Akha, too, know how to make gunpowder of a somewhat different composition. One part of sulphur and ten parts of saltpeter are added to two parts of charcoal. The well crushed and pulverized material is carefully mixed and moistened with water, in which pepper was cooked beforehand for this purpose. The powder paste thus A [439] obtained is dried in the sun and then crushed. The Akha not only buy the sulphur from the Lao, but also the saltpeter.

A 411 The crossbow of the Akha (Ill. 30)[1] is made in various sizes and /393/ strengths, according to whether it is made for a boy (Ill. 17),[2] a youth, or an adult man, and whether it is to be used for small or big game. Men's crossbows have a bow 130 centimeters long and more. Except for the trigger, the con- A [171] struction of the crossbow of the Akha is identical with that of the Meau crossbow (refer to it). The trigger (Fig. 324) consists A [283] of ivory, horn, or wood. On the back of the center piece a groove to receive the arrow is hollowed out. The twisted hemp

1 [see cat 116, p 249- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 89 - "]

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

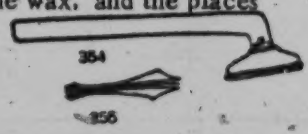

Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
[411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for
[262] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants, " the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their
[177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

39: Bernatzik--576 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 427/

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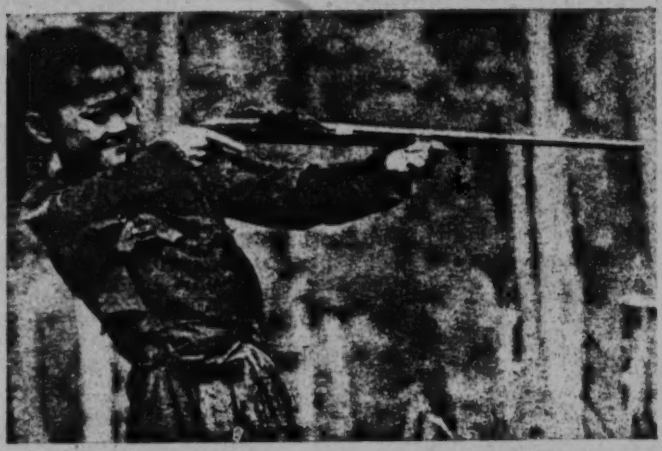


Ill. 78. Flintlock gun of the Meau, with pistol stock.

291
411
516

Ill. 79. Meau boy with crossbow, which all mountain peoples know how to use expertly.

39: Bernatzik--643 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao A E5

/Between pp. 474 and 475/

243
411
482

Ill. 93. Meau family bringing in the harvest.

39: Bernatzik--725 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VII cont./

534 Ills. 75-77. Musical instruments.

Ill. 75. The mouth organ of the Meau, which differs in size and construction from the instruments of the other mountain peoples of Farther India (cf. Ill. 25). The instrument is carefully carved out of wood and mounted with silver rings. The inserted flutes are made of bamboo. As among the Akha, the instrument is played exclusively by men and usually simultaneously with dancing. The mouth organ is of greatest significance for the Meau as a sacral musical instrument.

[562] [535]

Ill. 76. Simple rod-flute of the Meau, made of bamboo, with one blow hole and six finger holes on the upper side and one finger hole on the under side. The latter is kept shut during the playing.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp. The instrument consists of a brass or bronze plate, the center of which is cut out to form a tongue. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the thumb of the right hand; the oral cavity forms the sounding board. A change in the size of the oral cavity produces a change of pitch.

Ills. 78-80 and 91-96. Means of subsistence.

411 Ill. 78. Flintlock gun, the chief weapon in war and for hunting, which the Meau make themselves, as well as the black gunpowder. The gun does not have a butt like the European gun, but merely a pistol stock. Lead or iron bullets are used. Although accuracy and penetrating power are slight, measured by European weapons, the Meau kill even big game with their guns.

Ill. 79. Crossbow. Next to the flintlock guns, the crossbow is the most important weapon of the Meau. Nevertheless, it is of less importance than among the Akha, who have almost no guns, and is usually used only for hunting birds and small game. With poisoned arrows, however, even large game and pachyderms are killed.

[223] [224]

223 Ill. 80. As passionate hunters, the Meau are masters at setting traps. The illustration shows a hunter who is setting a snare to catch wild birds. As soon as the bird touches the trigger stick, the noose jerks upward and the booty is caught in it.

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land 243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung 245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees 245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar [805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance [482] bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the [412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place [258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the [439] outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the [252] seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, [262] and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [443] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [439] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

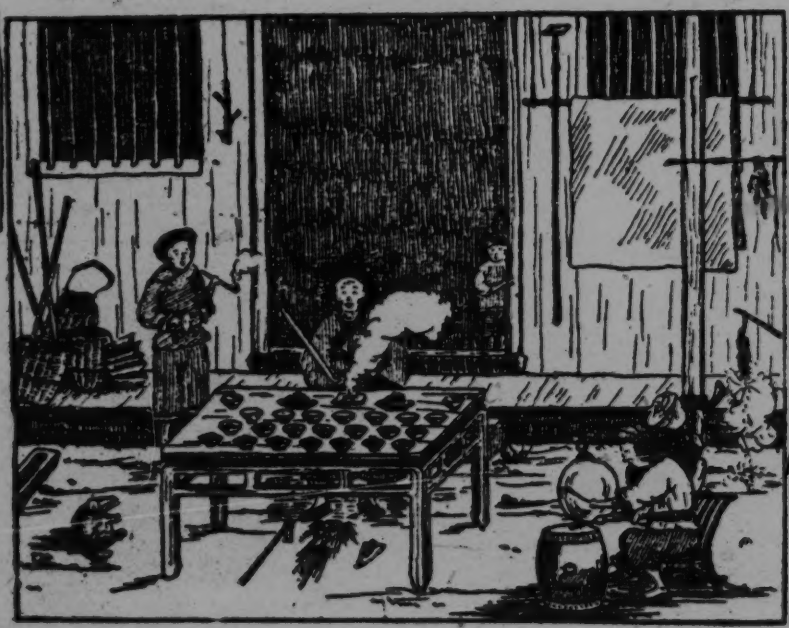
258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/132 cont./

*782 they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and a bracelet. He mutters an incantation, while attendants hold the [788] wine pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

[342] [352] [415] [412] [291]



Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

*782 /148 cont./

affairs elsewhere, do not go until I have finished speaking, and then you may disappear with the smoke from the wax. I ask you to protect the host that he may be blessed with peace and long life; protect his descendants, his animals, his wealth and happiness, so that everything may be completely protected!"

The third part is repenting [tɕ̌ mie˧]. While performing this the sorcerer-priest stands in the middle of the house, facing the entrance. A rectangular bench is used, on which are spread five bowls of wine and five pieces of meat. The Miao [412] sorcerer holds a kitchen chopper in his hand, with the edge down, chopping right and left in the same cadence as the beating of the bamboo tube, and utters an incantation:

"The sorcerer-priest stands inside the entrance, performing. Helpers have set out the bowls of wine and pieces of meat on the bench. The paper money, the axe, the iron knife, the scissors, and the comb are all in readiness. Will the kuei please take these. After receiving these useful articles please partake of the food slowly. I take the knife and sharpen it quickly against the stone, not to chop off benefits to the host, but to break the fetters of the kan lo kuei. Please eat five pieces of good meat, and drink five bowls of good wine. The host in the ordinary course of events has taken a vow and drunk blood. Today I request you to pardon him, and all the various misfortunes to go with the chopping of this knife. [pʻiɴ ɕia˧] (a sound to frighten the kuei). When the host walks over this knife, he will then have peace and no trouble. The former grievances between the host and any others are today all relegated to the enemy [pʻiɴ ɕia˧]. The large golden knife splits open a bright main road; the small golden knife opens a bright path."

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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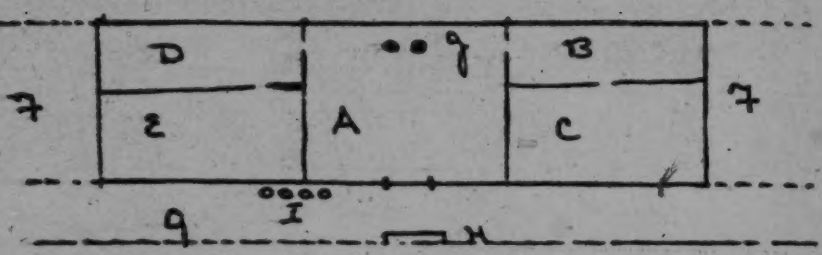


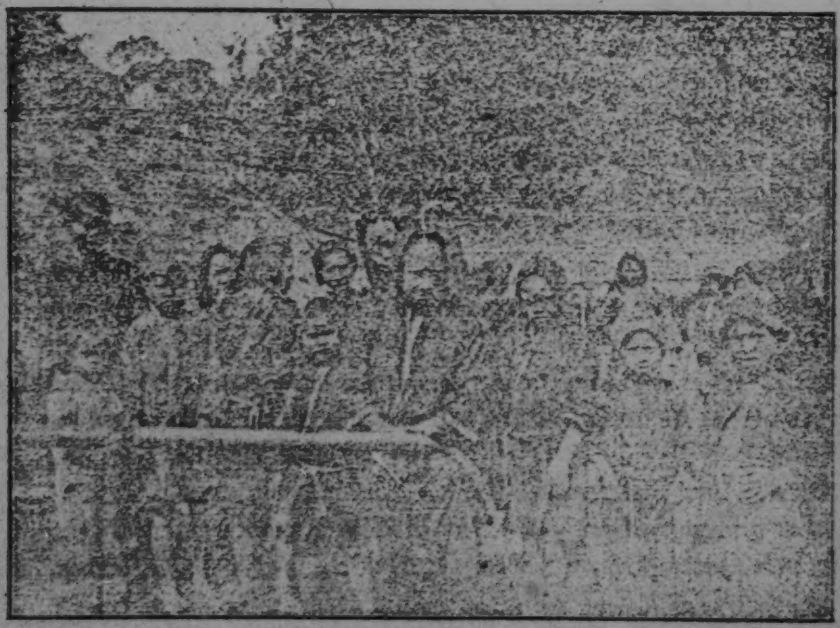
A—Living Room.
B—Parents' Room.
C—Rice Room.
D—Daughters' Room.
E—Sons' Room.
Used for various purposes.

F—Shelter for wood, etc.
G—Front verandah.
H—Pig trough.
I—Chicken coops.
J—Fire place.

I have seen one or two houses where there were three and four main entrances to the front verandah.

412 415 The utensils and implements used by the Miao are of the simplest. Rude iron hoes, heavy knives and the clumsy iron skillets are purchased from the Hainanese traders. Sometimes the skillets are lacking and the rice is steamed

291



A Group of Miao Women and Children gathered round the pipe that carries the water to the village from a stream above.

3: Montager E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases. The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers, or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Different from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance" would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

on a bench or on top of the cupboard), jars of rice wine, and a bean mill. On the walls hung scythes for cutting wood, carrying poles, carpenter's tools, a wicker basket of chopsticks, skeins and balls of hemp thread, small jars of oil, and sometimes a water pipe. Leaning against the wall were pipes with long bamboo stems, bundles of faggots and carrying poles with baskets on either end. In a well-to-do home pieces of meat hung from the rafters. Lamps were the ordinary pottery saucer with pith wicks and vegetable or t'ung oil fuel. They were suspended by a wire from the rafters or set on an iron stand. For lighting the way or borrowing fire thin pieces of wood tipped with sulfur, small bundles of straw, or a few strips of bamboo were used. Generally speaking, the objects found in these villages were not for comfort but rather for utility and convenience. 352

Every home had a shrine to "Heaven, earth, rulers, relatives, and scholars," which was merely the inscription in Chinese characters on red paper pasted up on the wall facing the door, with appropriate sentiments on other strips on either side. In some homes there was also a shelf the full width of the room — the main hall, if there was one — with these inscriptions above and holders for incense, candles and other objects for worship on it. After the old man in the family in which I lived died a square table was set up in one corner of the main room with cloth forming a third side. On the table were the ancestral tablet, figures and cones of mosaic, colored paper with pompoms of frilled paper on top, a support for incense sticks, and small dishes. Along the top and sides of the opening were inscriptions in Chinese. I saw this shrine, also, in two houses in Yang-niu-ts'un, while in a third home the open shelf above a cupboard was used for this purpose. Here the objects were an ancestral tablet, a lamp, a support for incense sticks, and a gong. At dusk, as in Chinese Buddhist homes, they set in new, lighted incense sticks and beat the gong several times. 352 776

This main hall was not lived in as much as other rooms of the house, but according to the season the large bamboo mats used on the threshing floor, bamboo baskets for grain, various implements — plows, harrows, grain- 352 412

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

cleaning machines, flails—other baskets and trays were kept there (see fig. 13, *b-e*). During the rice harvest it was often piled full of grain until there had been enough sunny days to get it all sunned and stored or sold. When an adult died, the coffin was always set in this room with the foot toward the door. At the lunar New Year glutinous rice paste was pounded in a stone mortar and the cakes shaped in this room. Of course offerings were made here to ancestral spirits and to the gods of the household. 352 412

Food. The basis of their diet, like that of the Chinese in the district, was white rice. Except for a short time directly after a good rice harvest, this was mixed with beans or whole wheat flour in tiny balls. With it they ate cooked green vegetables from their own gardens, highly seasoned with salt and hot red or green chillies, fresh or dried. Their gardens had a succession of the following vegetables: turnips, celery, carrots, celery cabbage, spinach, white and sweet potatoes, lettuce root, rape, mustard, various kinds of beans and peas, maize, cucumbers, onions, garlic, leeks, and various other roots. In May, for instance, there were new potatoes, peas, and broad beans in the gardens and bamboo shoots in the thickets, in June green beans, rape leaves, and cabbage. Broth was made of dried beans and peas, and curd from soy beans. Nearly every family raised pigs. The pork was eaten both fresh and in the form of excellent smoked and cured meat and sausages. The blood was also mixed with bean curd and made into sausage. At rare intervals a cow was killed and the meat eaten fresh or dried. Now and then beef was brought into the village or bought in market. Of the bamboo two species were edible. In spring and fall bamboo shoots were much enjoyed. Potatoes were sliced very thin with the skins left on and fried. When corn was ripe it was eaten on the cob after being roasted in the hot ashes, or the kernels were mashed, wrapped in husks, boiled, and eaten from the husks. Persimmon and other pickles were made. If the water in the pond was not too deep in the spring, they dug for two kinds of water chestnut. Small fish were taken from the pond, either fished for with pole and line or caught in the hands as a large number of 262 252

4:Mickey E-5 (1966-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

241 with the exception of the fact that the Miao
462 women seemed to do a greater proportion of the out-of-door work. That is, in a well-to-do Miao household the women worked just as hard as those in the poorer ones, but in a well-to-do Chinese family the women spent most of their time at home. The work of women will be discussed more in detail under Division of Labor.

241 The implements used were as follows: for
412 breaking up and cultivation of the ground—plows, harrows, and mattocks. The plow (fig. 13, *d*) had an iron share like two overlapping shingles and one upright piece through the beam. The end of the beam was the handle. The harrow was two beams with iron spikes on the under side and a transverse piece at either end, the whole forming a rectangle with projecting ends. The mattock had a long, wooden handle and a blade of iron about six inches wide at the edge. The harness was a slightly bent wooden beam laid across the neck of the animal with a heavy rope from it under its neck and two light ropes to the implement. As the man plowed or harrowed he guided the animal by another cord attached to one side of the yoke. The plow had to be lifted a little when turning corners. In use the harrow was weighted with a large stone. For reaping, gathering grass, and gathering fuel the sickle was used. It had a short wooden handle and an iron blade, originally with a straight cutting edge and rounded outer edge, but with much sharpening becoming a crescent. The men had a wooden holder of the shape as shown in figure 10 which they fastened with a straw cord about the waist to the small of the back. The handle of the sickle was thrust into the hole in the top of this with the blade up. A little bamboo basket for the whetting stone was worn at the belt in front. For beating out the grain they used a square wooden box, four feet each way and two deep, an upturned stone, a flail, bamboo baskets, and a bamboo mat. The beater took up a bundle of rice and beat out the grain on the inside of the box or against the upturned stone set on the mat. Or the sheaves were laid end to end and flailed. The flail was two lengths of bamboo or sticks fastened to a short piece in such a way that the worker could hold one length in her hands and swing the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

241 other under, back, over and down (fig. 16, *d*).
412 Two worked together sometimes, but not necessarily in rhythm. The woven baskets were shallow, with handles on the top of the
241 rim through which a carrying pole was thrust
415 and secured by wooden pegs. The bamboo
[285] mats in twilled pattern were as large as sixteen by nine feet. A two-inch bamboo pole was fastened to either end to help keep it flat while in use and then easily rolled up for storage.

Fig. 10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views.

Two types of basket had a great variety of uses. In a loosely woven one fertilizer was carried to the fields and bundles of rice plants taken from seed beds to fields (fig. 16, *e*). In closely woven ones grain and other crops were brought in (fig. 16, *c*, *f*). When grain was to be sunned it was brought out in these baskets to the mats on the threshing floor and at night it was carried back in them. In this case the worker usually used only one at a time and someone had to help her swing it up to one shoulder, where she held it by putting that hand on her hip. She steadied it with the other hand. In them grain and other produce were taken to market.

Bamboo scoops were used to lift the grain from mats to baskets and a piece of wood with one straight side and a long handle to push the grain around so that all might get the sun evenly. The grain was first spread evenly on the mat and the bits of straw, sticks, etc., swept out with the broom of twigs. This was done several times. After a while the grain was all swept to the edges to allow the center to dry thoroughly and then to the center to allow the edges of the mat to dry. After this the mat was folded over the pile until it was possible to get several people together to put the grain into the baskets and
241 carry it to loft or granary. For more careful
412 cutting of rice straw the women had a knife blade set in one side of a more or less fancy shaped piece of wood or bamboo. This could

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark. 241 412

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make 241 412 463 563

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 462

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport, bark and trim the logs, and from them make
412 planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
622 gent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten or on special occasions.[5]

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street.

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained.

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

341 412 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it [311] cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

712 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tzŭ* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer homes the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel [412] called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and [373] strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron ko or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

A side from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
●462 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activate
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

39: Bernatzik--181 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/131 cont./

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Fig. 15. Silver scabbard of the Meau, with spiral design in chase technique. 1/2 nat. size.

A
M
532

from everyday life were portrayed (Figs. 16, 17, 20, and 21). No difference in the talents of the two peoples in this respect was discovered so far as the men were concerned. Accordingly, in the performance of the men of both peoples the decorative fell behind the figurative. On the other hand, the higher development found among the Meau boys (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children") is also found among the adults.

Miao AE5

/305 cont./

417

Other important pieces of furniture are the ladders, which /Figs. 137-138 appear here/ /306/ lead to the storage lofts. They are either tree trunks provided with notches (Fig. 137) or ladders with steps (Fig. 138). /Fig. 139 appears here./

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●412

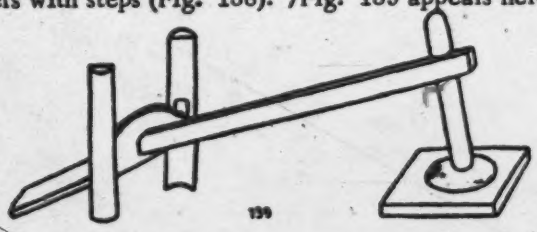


Fig. 139. Grain mortar of the Meau.
1/28 nat. size.

256

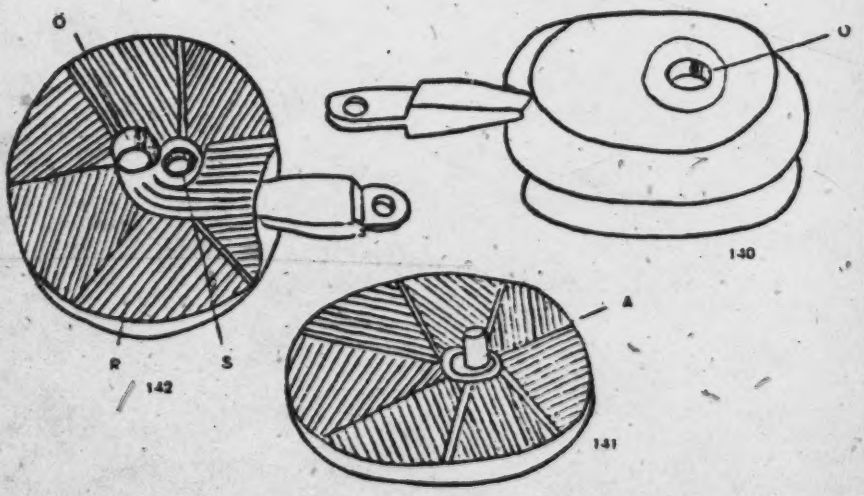


Fig. 140-142. Grain mill of the Meau, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 140. Millstones, joined. Fig. 141, lower, and Fig. 142, upper millstone. 0 = opening for pouring in the grain, R = grooves, S = hole for pivot A.

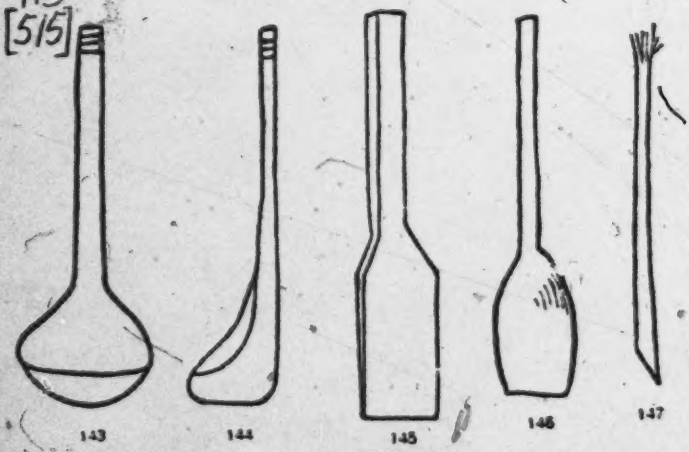
/306 cont./

412 252 [243] [244] 256

The household and kitchen implements of the Meau are very numerous. As was mentioned, all the grain and leguminous products are husked in the foot-operated mortar built into the cooking area (Fig. 139). /Figs. 140-142 appear here./

/307/ For grinding the kernels of grain and maize the large mill shown in Ill. 94 and Fig. 140 is used. The lower-millstone half (Fig. 141) is immovable and is provided with an axle (A), which is fitted into the opening (S) of the upper stone (Fig. 142). Both millstone halves are provided with grooves (R), which run in various directions. The upper eccentric millstone (Fig. 142) is connected with a horizontal pole. When this is swung forward and backward, the movable-millstone half turns. In this, on the top, a hole (0) is chiseled out, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether one lengthens or shortens the

415 [515]



Figs. 143-146. Dippers and Ladles of the Meau. Fig. 143. Bamboo dipper. Fig. 144. Side view of the same, 1/5 nat. size. Figs. 145 and 146. Wooden stirring ladles, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 147. Toothpick, 1/3 nat. size.

1 [see cat 116, p644 - ANALYST]

/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106)[1] and pans are
439 used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and represent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese
● 412 dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be
515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables
252 are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice, strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots
[251] of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants." Other cooking
412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden
415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets
252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers
[273] to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

[1] [See cat 116, p706- ANALYST]
[Text continues on p421]

415 /309 cont./

[412] alcohol, purchased earthenware pots in all sizes, and the various
[252] bamboo vessels which stand leaning against the wall near the
[273] hearth or hang on the wall and serve for the storing of the food-
[251] stuffs used daily. They are usually carefully closed with leaves and contain fat, salted vegetables, salt, and other spices. Water stands available in long bamboo containers. These pieces of bamboo, freed of the partitioning walls, represent indispensable
[312] vessels used in many ways (Ill. 105).[1] For carrying water, several
[482] are often bound together and carried on the back or in carrying baskets. Abadie (1) reports in similar fashion.

1. Page 160.

412 For sweeping out their dwellings, brooms (Fig. 175) are used, which are made out of tough grasses tied together in bundles. A clothes roller (Figs. 176 and 177) consists of a
412 wooden roller (A) similar to our rolling pin, around which the
296 washed clothes (B) are put while still wet. Then a heavy stone (C) is rocked in a seesaw motion on the clothes wrapped around it, by means of which they are freed of the remaining water and are smoothed.

482 For carrying firewood and other heavy loads, the Meau use special carrying frames (Figs. 178 and 179), which are carried on the back in the manner used in our Alpine countries. These carrying frames come in different sizes for men, women, and children (Ill. 104).[2]

One half of this wooden frame is provided with a tight plaiting of narrow /310/ /Figs. 156-165 appear here/ bamboo strips (Fig. 180). Broad carrying straps of leather (C) are attached to the inside of the wooden frame (A). The two ends of the carrying frame are connected by means of a forked branch (D) and a tightly /311/ /Figs. 166-177 appear here/ twisted rope attached to it. Between this and the plaited wall of the carrying frame (B) the load is now stowed and fastened by means of the rope (Ill. 93).[3]

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , " "]
3 [" " " , p643 - "]

39: Bernatzik--422 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

Figs. 156-165. Kitchen Utensils of the Meau.

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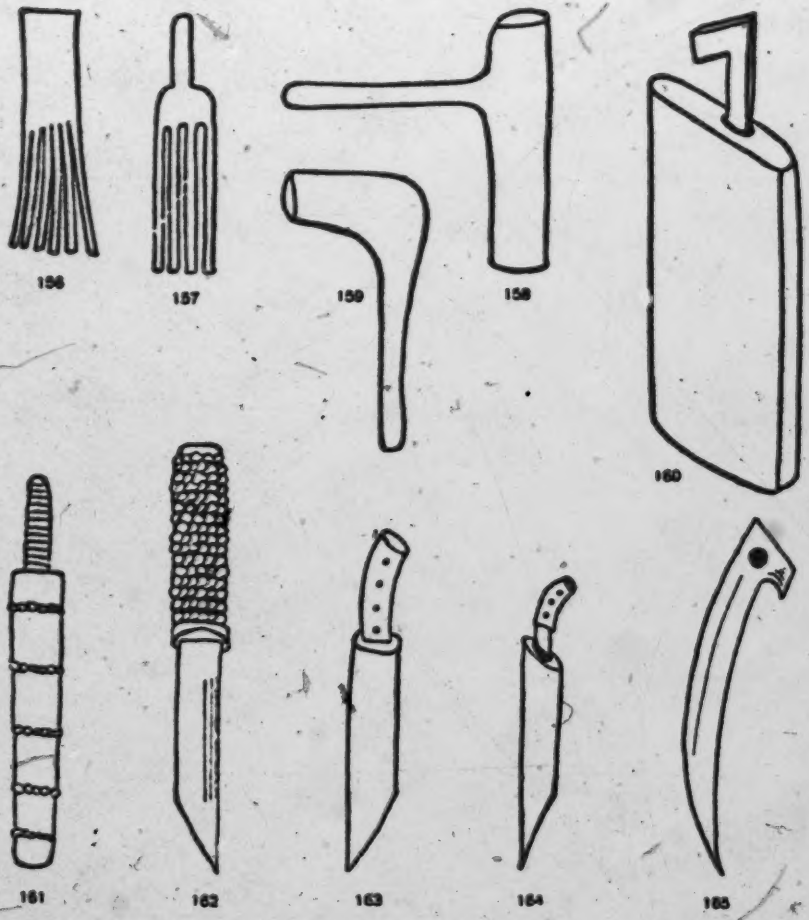

[413] Fig. 156. Wooden fork for making powder. Fig. 157. Wooden
[289] fork for making paper, both about 1/10 nat. size. Figs. 158
and 159. Wooden mallets for pounding dough, about 1/6 nat.
[274] size. Fig. 160. Cutting board for tobacco, 1/5 nat. size.
Figs. 161-164. Knives with iron blade, wooden handle, and
wooden sheath. Fig. 161 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 162 = 1/5 nat.
size. Fig. 163 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 164 = 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 165.
[289] Bone knife for making paper, 1/4 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--423 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 166-177. Kitchen Utensils of the Meau.

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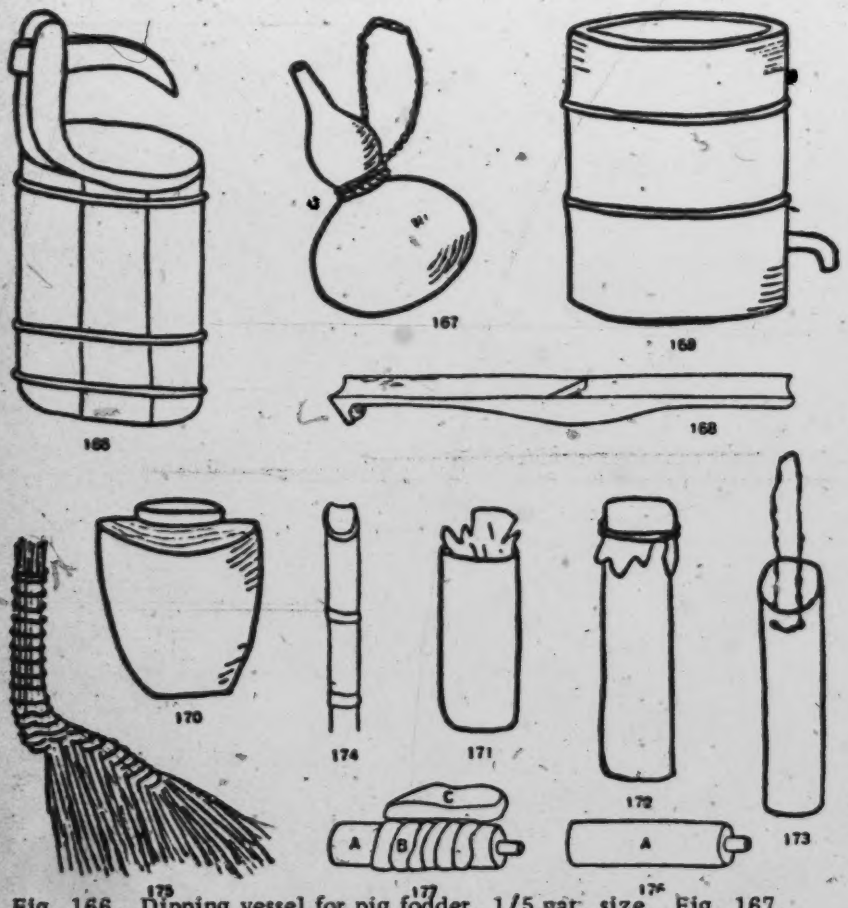

Fig. 166. Dipping vessel for pig fodder, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 167. Gourd bottle, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 168. Maize-sheller, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 169. Distillation vessel for making alcohol, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 170. Earthenware pot with grooves, 1/15 nat. size. Figs. 171-173. Bamboo vessels for foodstuffs, about 1/10 nat size. Fig. 174. Bamboo as water container, about 1/30 nat. size. Fib. 175. Broom, about 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 176. Clothes roller (mangle), empty, about 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 177. The same in use.

[412]
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/312/

M 285 482 415 Especially numerous are the household inplements of plaited material; above all, the many shapes of the baskets are to be stressed. There are carrying baskets in all sizes, double-walled for heavy loads, loosely plaited for light loads (Ill. 93),[1] large supply-baskets for the storing of /Figs. 178-180 appear here/ food, clothing, and cloth, chicken baskets, small carrying baskets and carrying bags for traveling; moreover, mats for sleeping, for threshing of grain, for covering food, the wide fish-nets, basket weirs, flat rice-baskets and strainers; and also knotted bags and fish nets. All these articles are described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

M 128 276 412 /313/ The description of the various opium implements (Ill. 74),[2] which are numerous in every household, all the / agricultural and smithy implements, and the work tools and cult objects, musical instruments, weapons, and so forth is contained in the appropriate chapters.

A 342 The division of the Akha house into cooking, living, and sleeping rooms is shown in the ground plan, /Fig. 91 (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). /Figs. 181-183 appear here. /

A 354 [252] [562] The fireplaces of the Akha (Fig. 181) are square boxes which are filled with earth. They are sunk into the floor of the living room (chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Fig. 105, R). An iron tripod (Fig. 182) for the cooking pots stands on the ground surface, which is level with the floor. These fireplaces, one of which /314/ is for the men and the other for the women of the house, are used for heating the house as well as for cooking. Moreover, as has been mentioned, in each house there is a hearth for cooking the pig fodder (Fig. 183). This hearth consists of mound of stones which is enclosed on the outside with plaited bamboo. On this stone ring stands the iron basin under which the wood fire burns.

A [231]

A 372 Fire is made, as among the Meau, with flint and iron (Figs. 119-122, chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils"). Dry wood dust is used as tinder.

1 [see cat 116, p643 - ANALYST]
2 [" " , p573 - "]

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.

302 The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is
[304] completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[1] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

1 [see cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 448 - "]
3 [" " " p 595 - "]
4 [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

/325 cont./

301 are worn over one another (Ills. 52-54).[1] The most common are simple round hoops which are worn open at the neck or are provided with a fastener of silver rings (Fig. 213). Instead of the small silver rings, a silver clasp may also be used to close the hoop, as, for example, in the case of the large neck ring of the shaman, which is illustrated in Fig. 212. Some-
[789] times small charms, powder sewed into black cloth and the like, are attached to the neck hoop for protection against evil spirits (Fig. 211). The two bent ends of the neck hoop are
[531] usually provided with incised designs (Figs. 214-216). In
[412]

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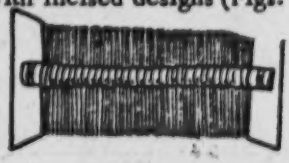
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Figs. 209-210. Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 209. Wooden comb to stick in the hair, about 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 210. Bamboo comb for dressing the hair, about 1/3 nat. size.

addition to these typical solid silver hoops, such neck rings made of iron or copper, or of silver twisted with copper, are also worn (Fig. 217). All of the neck hoops are made by the Meau themselves and are also worn on workdays.

[325] The material for the making of silver ornaments is ob-
[177] tained by melting down the old Indochinese piaster pieces or Chinese silver coins. For a heavy men's hoop nine pieces of mon (which are old Indochinese silver coins) are required.

The earrings of the girls and women -- I did not see any on men -- are likewise made of solid silver. The most common form is provided with an arrow wound with fine silver wire (Fig. 218 and Ill. 60).[2] /326/ I have also often come across the large silver ear-pendants in the shape of reversed question marks, which Lajonquière (1) mentions, among the

1. II, p. 309.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448- "]

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II, p. 185.
114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[2] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.

2 [See cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--492 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
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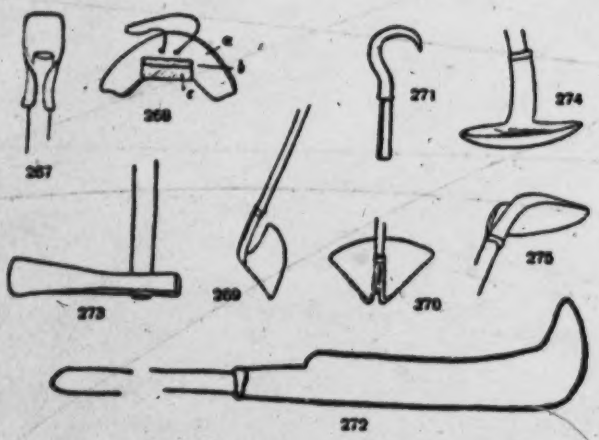
Fig. 267. Digging stick, 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 268. Knife for harvesting rice: a = wooden frame, b = copper fastening, c = iron blade, about 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 269, hoe, from the side; Fig. 270, the same from the rear, 1/27 nat. size. Fig. 271. Sickle, 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 272. Chopping knife (jungle knife), 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 273. Ax, 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 274, weeding rake from the front; Fig. 275, the same viewed from the side, about 1/6 nat. size.



Figs. 267-275. Agricultural Equipment of the Meau.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/377 cont./

M however, they take something along in order to eat at noon.
264 The meals consist of some coarse maize dough in a bucket,
[262] some beans, and some vegetables. Spoons or chopsticks are
[412] used. Only on festive occasions is meat eaten. Some pork
is always smoked and saved for important guests."
[574] Meals are eaten together, except when strangers are
[562] present as guests (Ill. 106, 107): even for the cold snack in the fields all sit down together.

A No differently than the Meau, the Akha, too, in addition
262 to their domestic animals and cultivated plants, use a great number of wild plants and all kinds of animals for food. Of the birds /378/ they disdain vultures and ravens, but not the hornbill. They also do not eat the numerous lizards ignored also by the Meau, as well as the larvae of flies, but on the other hand they do consume dogs, which are not eaten by the Meau.

A The preparation of meals among the Akha is likewise clean,
252 but it differs in several ways from Meau cooking, while being
[462] related to it in the principal features. Among the Akha, too, it is usually the women who prepare the food, but the men very frequently help.

As a rule, the Akha cut meat into small pieces and cook it in water; they also chop it up, season it with spices, and then consume it raw. Curdled blood or the entrails of animals are prepared and eaten in the same way. Cooking pits and heated stones are also unknown to the Akha. Besides lard and the suet of the hunting booty, and in addition to the fats, the seeds of a sesame-like, oily plant must be mentioned. They
A are used in connection with offerings and simply by adding these
[782] seeds to the rice before it is cooked (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo").

A The basic foodstuff among the Akha is likewise rice,
251 which is eaten at every meal. First of all it is freed from the
[262] husks and cleaned, and then it is ready to be cooked. Among the Akha its preparation is different then among the Meau. They soak it in water overnight and then cook it in the same

[see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]

/381 cont./

276 [439] Furthermore, opium plays a very important role, both as a stimulant and remedy and as an article of trade (see the chapter, "Trade"). When the poppy fruits are almost ripe, they [412] are slit with a special instrument, the poppy-slitting knife (Ill. 73 ‡ and Fig. 289). This consists of three iron blades tied together. The three sharp points of the combined blades are used to slit the capsule, from which a gummy juice flows out. By the next morning it has hardened and is now collected in gourd bowls with a scraper (Fig. 290). This substance is then pressed into bamboo vessels and left for two or three days, whereupon it exudes water. Now it is kneaded and pounded in mortars and rolled into cylinders, which are wrapped in paper. [439] This produces the raw opium, the /382/ /Figs. 289-298 appear here/ article of trade. For one pound the Meau receive 18 ticals [435] from the Chinese traders; the traders then make a profit of many hundred times this amount.

In order to make the ardently desired stimulant from this raw product, it is boiled three times in water in special copper kettles (Fig. 291). For the first cooking, one adds water to the opium in the amount of ten times the weight and cooks it until the opium mixes with the water and forms a homogeneous substance. Then the liquid is filtered through a double layer of bamboo paper (Fig. 192). To the extract obtained, fresh water is added in the amount of 50 per cent of its quantity, the filtered residue is likewise mixed in, and the whole is boiled anew and [439] filtered again. The filtration residue is now thrown away, and the liquid obtained is boiled until it forms a viscous mass which, for trading, may be boiled down until it is quite hard.

The drug is swallowed with water by the Meau, as well as smoked in Chinese fashion, but not chewed. Older men usually eat some opium in the morning but smoke a pipe in the evening. For this purpose the proper amount is /383/ speared on a needle (Fig. 293), then heated over a small lamp (Figs. 294 and 295) until it becomes soft (Ill. 74), ‡ and then stuck into the opium pipe (Fig. 296) which is smoked.

‡ [See cat 116, p573- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--519 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Figs. 289-298. Opium Apparatus of the Meau.

Fig. 289. Knife for slitting poppies, 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 290. Poppy scraper, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 291. Copper kettle, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 292. Plaited strainer with filter paper, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 293. Iron needle for putting the opium into the pipe, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 294. Opium lamp: a bamboo container, in it a brass vessel with a candle, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 295. Perforated iron cover, which is put over the opium lamp, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 296. Opium pipe of bamboo, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 297. Bamboo vessel for straining opium, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 298. Feather brush with wooden handle, for cleaning the opium kettle, 1/7 nat. size.

Miao AE5

/386 cont./

411 Among the offensive weapons of the Meau, there were formerly spears, which have been retained today in crude [115] form only very sporadically. One of my interpreters, a Chinese trader, whose calling took him from one village to another, reported long thrusting spears with a double-edged, poisoned iron-point which was attached to a wooden shaft about four meters long. Even my best informants, however, could not remember such spears. In the old Chinese literature the use of [175] long spears is mentioned several times (2). Furthermore, wooden

2. Eberhard, II, pp. 245, 252, and 259.

clubs were used, which, however, are no longer found anywhere today. This /387/ club, round and about as thick as a thumb, with an egg-shaped handle, was made flexible at two points by the insertion of three chain links at each one.

As weapons for close combat the rice sickle (Fig. 271) is used, which for this purpose is equipped with a handle of about one and a half meters.

In addition, peculiar slings are used. They consist of perforated iron balls of about six centimeters in diameter, which are attached to a thin rope 20 fathoms long. One now grasps this rope half a meter behind the iron balls, whirls them in a circle, and lets them fly. When this sling has hit its target, it is pulled back by the rope.

On the other hand, there was no device for throwing spears. Nor were bow and arrows or battle-axes used, though [412] in close combat the Meau use their wood ax (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273) as a weapon.

411 One finds small knives (see chapter, "House Furnishings, 412 Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 161-164) in daily use, which, in case of war, are used as pointed weapons in close combat. /Fig. 305 appears here./ The large bush knives (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 272) have versatile utility as a jungle knife and as a hunting and war weapon, as does the slightly curved, double-edged saber with a thin blade.

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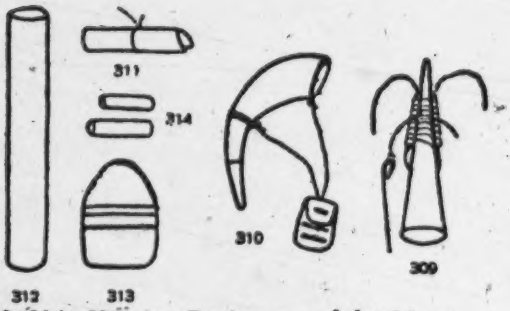

Figs. 309-314. Hunting Equipment of the Meau.

Figs. 309-311. Powder containers: Fig. 309, copper powder-horn, on which hangs the iron needle for cutting through the powder channel, 1/5 nat. size; Fig. 310, powder horn (goat horn) set with copper bands and with copper rings for the attachment of the carrying cord, end piece can be removed, 1/13 nat. size; Fig. 311, bamboo container for gunpowder, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 312. Ramrod of iron, 1/22 nat. size. Fig. 313. Cloth bullet-pouch, 1/20 nat. size, is also visible in Fig. 310, hung on the powder horn. Fig. 314. Iron bullets, about 1/2-1/8 nat. size.

[237]

Fig. 315

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Wooden peg of the Meau for pounding gunpowder, 1/18 nat. size.

/401 cont./

283 string is produced from the thinner one. Heavy cord is obtained by twisting in rattan fibers by means of a wooden fork.
[237] The Meau twist strong ropes out of strips of skin, those of bearskin being regarded as the strongest.

/402/ In addition to the twisting process, braid-like ropes,
[492] bands and wide belts for the saddles of the pack animals are also plaited. For this purpose the Meau use three to twelve threads each time. This plaiting is done solely with the hands
[412] and without any tool; only in the making of straps are iron awls used for preliminary piercing.

286 The ancient Chinese literature (1) already mentions re-

1. North China Br., 1859, p. 264; Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 38.

peatedly that the Meau are good spinners, weavers, and dyers. For the manufacture of the cloth for clothing, the Meau primarily use hemp, rarely cotton. They sow hemp (mǎn) in their
248 rice and poppy fields. Lajonquière (2) likewise mentions hemp

2. II, p. 311.

in Indochina and writes that the Meau there cultivate it at the same time as maize and harvest it six to seven months after the sowing. The fibers of banana leaves, on the other hand, were never used, according to my observations and findings. And
[114] since I could find nothing about this anywhere else, a mistake by Seidenfaden, who reported on it, must be assumed. Cotton is cultivated in special fields and is used in a fashion similar to that among the Akha (see pp. 441 f.).

The hemp seed is set out with the planting stick among the Meau in northern Thailand; the period of cultivation falls between the end of April and the beginning of May; the harvest is about three months later. The stalks are cut with the sickle, the leaves are removed, and then the stalks are placed in water
[283] so that they will rot. Afterward they are dried, and the woody

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

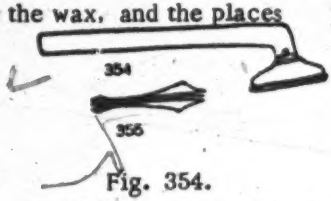

Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
[411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for
[262] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their
[177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

/406 cont./

322 stamping out spirit-money (see the chapter, "Religion and
[412] Magic") round punches (Fig. 359) and hollow punches (Fig. 360) are in use. /Figs. 356-361 appear here./

The posts on which the houses rest are made of termite-
[824] proof teak or of pine wood; for all other purposes, regardless
[313] of whether it is a matter of building material or wood for the making of implements, termite-proof wood is not used, but rather other kinds of varying hardness. The tree trunks are

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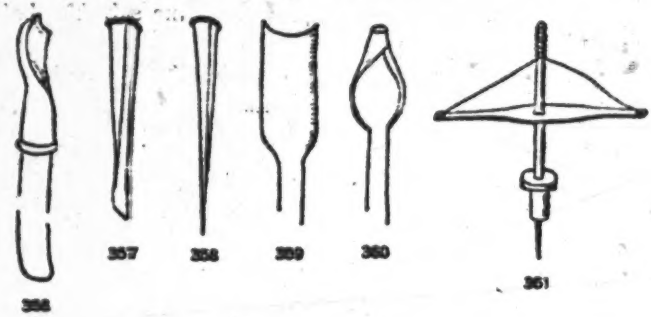

Figs. 356-358 and 361. Woodworking Instruments of the Meau.

Figs. 359-360. Paper Punches of the Meau.
Fig. 356. Round chisel, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 357. Flat chisel, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 358. Awl, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 359. Round punch, about 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 360. Hollow punch, about 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 361. Drill, 1/20 nat. size.

322 felled with the ax, barked, and split apart into planks with
[313] wooden wedges. If it is a matter of wood that cannot be split along the grain, one does not use even the wedge, but cuts a single board out of each trunk with the ax by ripping off one chip after another from either side until a plank of the required thickness is obtained. This is a very laborious procedure, but usually one can select wood that can be split with wedges. In that case the Meau obtain the planks needed for a whole house from a few strong tree trunks.

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/406 cont./

322 Aside from the construction of houses and stables, wood
824 has /407/ an extraordinary number of uses. For example, tables, benches, stools (Ill. 107) 3 and beds, the distillation apparatus for making alcohol, rice mills, rice steamers and pounders, the troughs for the pig fodder, and the pack saddles for the animals (Ill. 81) 2 are made of it; furthermore the handles of tools and knives, sheaths for knives, spear shafts and the gun stocks, crossbows, bellows (Ill. 82), 3 and musical instruments, such as the mouth organ, are produced from it; the altars (Ill. 99) 4 are built out of it; it is likewise necessary for building wells,
[386] and, finally, dyestuff is also obtained from wood.

324 Since the Meau have long since left the Neolithic, stone tools are no longer in use, and since the immigration of the
[412] Meau into their present habitation area in northern Thailand
[174] took place only a few decades ago, I could no longer find any such material from their early history. On the other hand, even today the Meau work stone into grindstones (Ill. 94) 5 or whetstones. Moreover, from a soft porous stone which they burn out before working, they make the crucibles (Fig. 365)
325 and casting molds (Ill. 82) for silver and copper, since they have a considerable knowledge of the use and working of metals. On the other hand, they are not in a position to obtain metals from ore, nor can they smelt wrought iron, but with the help of their bellows (Figs. 362-364) and a charcoal fire they know how to forge and weld it. They can smelt cast iron which they obtain from broken pots and pans acquired from the
[439] Chinese traders. From this kind of iron, bullets and even implements, such as the shoe of the digging stick (Fig. 267) are molded. For this a mud mold is made of an implement for which one wants to make a new piece, and it now serves for the new casting. Casting by dead mold is unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

The forging equipment (Ill. 82) is of wood, iron, or stone and is entirely made by a Meau smith. It is:

1 [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
2 + 3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p664 - "]
5 [" " " p644 - "]

Miao AE5

/410 cont./

321 Among other materials used for handicrafts bone and ivory must also be mentioned. Knives (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) and knife handles, are made out of them, and they are also used in crossbows. The chopsticks of the well-to-do are usu- [412] [556] ally made of ivory.

289 Finally, the making of paper is still to be mentioned. Young green bamboo is chopped up, after the outer covering and the pith are removed, into pieces about 15 centimeters long and five centimeters wide. A quantity of wood ashes equal to a fifth of the amount of bamboo /Fig. 373 appears here/ is added and, with the addition of water, is cooked for about twelve hours, during which the water that evaporates is replaced as needed. At the end of this period the bamboo mixture is soft. Then the substance is pounded in order to crush the wood fibers (Ill. 84).[1] At the same time any large or hard particles of wood remaining are carefully removed, and the mass of fibers is further cooked in the same lye solution after liana bark pulverized between stones /411/ has been added. After the substance has reached the proper consistency, it is spread as evenly as possible (Ill. 85)[1] on cotton cloth, which is stretched between wooden frames (Fig. 373), and dried in the sun. With a special bone knife (see the chapter, [413] "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) the dried and therefore finished paper is carefully lifted off. As was described, it is punched by means of special punches before its use in sacral performances (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

[531]

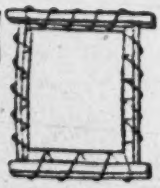

Fig. 373
Wooden Frame for Paper-making among the Meau.
1/60 nat. size.

1 [see cat. 116, p598- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--597 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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/Between pp. 442 and 443/

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Ill. 83. Meau with drill for woodworking.

39: Bernatzik--645 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 475/

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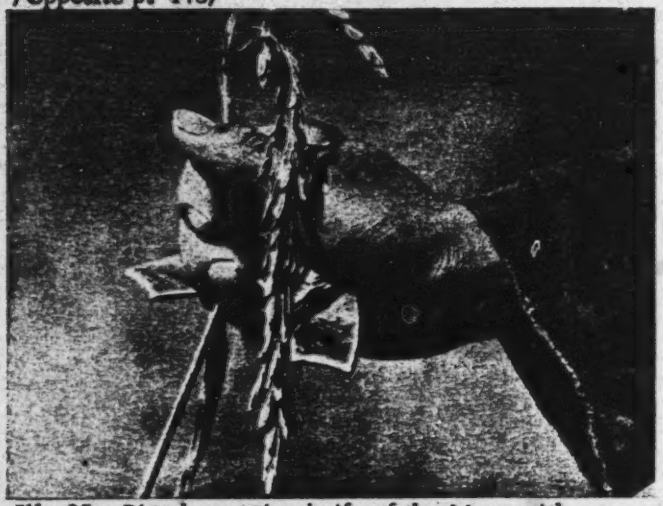

Ill. 95. Rice harvesting knife of the Meau with crescent-shaped wooden handle and inserted metal blade.

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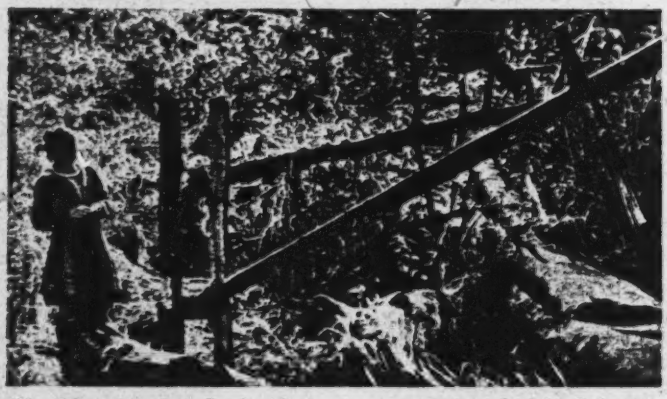

Ill. 96. Device for hulling rice on a rice field of the Meau.

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself. [415]

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

/IX cont./

252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into M [778] [782] [413] which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of M [532] [114] Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood sculpture.

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though NOT universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to A [831] nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

1 [See cat 116, p 120 - ANALYST]

2 [" " ", p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

782
796

1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/210 cont./

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
[413] however, only after it has been punched with the special punches in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
787 Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
[177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses,
[177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

39: Bernatzik--422 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 156-165. Kitchen Utensils of the Meau.

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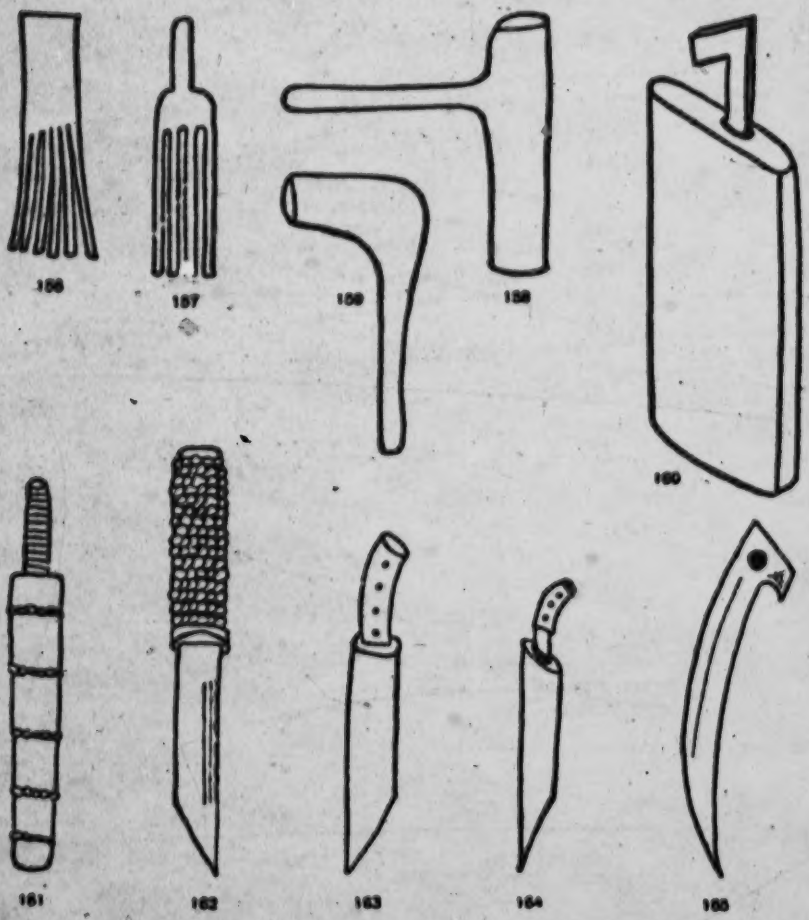

[413] Fig. 156. Wooden fork for making powder. Fig. 157. Wooden
[289] fork for making paper, both about 1/10 nat. size. Figs. 158
and 159. Wooden mallets for pounding dough, about 1/6 nat.
[276] size. Fig. 160. Cutting board for tobacco, 1/5 nat. size.
Figs. 161-164. Knives with iron blade, wooden handle, and
wooden sheath. Fig. 161 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 162 = 1/5 nat.
size. Fig. 163 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 164 = 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 165.
[289] Bone knife for making paper, 1/4 nat. size.

M 301 /326 cont./
Meau in Thailand (Ill. 57).[1] The dot of the question mark is formed by the button that holds the ornament in the hole in the ear lobe, while the curve hangs down to the chest (Figs. 219 and 220). The same author also saw ear pendants with a ring of jade among the Meau. These ear pendants are usually /Figs. 211-216 and 218-220 appear here/ /327/ purchased M [439] from the Yau /Yao/ or Chinese, but are also made by the Meau themselves, faithfully following the traditional model. Children often wear small silver bells in their ears.

Solid rings of silver, copper, or iron are worn around the ankles by both sexes (Figs. 221-223). /Figs. 217 and 221-227 appear here./

/328/ The finger rings that I saw among women, men, and children were mostly simple, open silver hoops, but one also frequently sees beautiful homemade ornamental rings (Figs. 224 and 225).

M [177] Among the various silver objects still to be mentioned here [413] are the scratching pins (Fig. 226), probably of Chinese origin, [276] which one comes across everywhere. They are worn tied to the belt, along with small bells and a needle for serving up opium.

A 291 The clothing of the Akha maintains its characteristic note through the richness and the variety of the ornaments used. [531] The patches, embroidery, and appendages of the articles of clothing and the body ornaments almost reach the limits of possibility, but nevertheless are used with so much taste that the clothing makes a thoroughly harmonious and very decorative impression (see Ills. 4 to 13 and Colored Plate I).[2] The basic elements, however, the dark-blue material and the cut, as well as the three-part division of the women's clothing into A blouse, skirt, and leggings and the two-part division of the [171] men's clothing into jacket and trousers, are the same as among [286] the Meau and other mountain tribes of Farther India. The [439] fabric is self-woven out of hemp or cotton and indigo (see [294] the chapter, "Handicrafts") and even today is very seldom replaced by purchased goods. The clothing is sewed only by the women and apparently in abundant quantities, for among the Akha we never saw garments in use that were anywhere near as shabby or torn as among the Meau.

[1] [See Cat 116, p368 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", pp 13-14, 34-37 + p120 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during [243] the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or 286 crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kŭn.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

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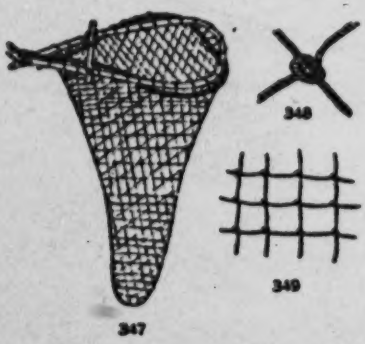


Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size.

[227] [286] The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the upper or lower leg (Ill. 64).[1] Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

[1] [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
171 the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put
[413] on the still undyed material by the women with a special instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

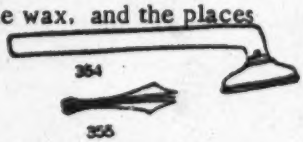


Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
[411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for
[262] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their
[177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

/407 cont./

325 The bellows (Fig. 362), which consists of a wooden cylinder (a) made of boards joined together and sealed with wax, to which an air pipe (b) is attached. Fitted into the hollow space of the cylinder is a piston (Fig. 363, c) consisting [237] of two wooden disks, between which chicken feathers are pasted as packing. By means of an iron rod with a handle (d) the piston is /408/ pushed back and forth in the cylinder. When the iron rod is pulled out, the opening (e) of the cylinder, which has a small bamboo disk fastened to one end, is closed off on the inside through air pressure. Thus, no air can escape from the cylinder, but with the return thrust goes toward the fire in the air pipe terminating in a clay part (Fig. 364). Since the air pipe is not put at the end, but in the middle of the cylinder, stronger compression is sacrificed, to be sure, but the air supply is not thereby interrupted, since it continues with both thrusts of the piston. /Figs. 362-372 appear here./

The anvils (Figs. 366 and 367), of which there are usually several in various shapes and sizes in a smithy. The supporting pegs are of wood, the upper part of iron.

[285] The annealing basket (Fig. 368) is a piece of cylindrical basketwork that terminates in a funnel-shaped opening at the top. It is filled with wet clay and serves for cooling off the hot metal.

[415] As a casting mold one uses a small calabash, into which four small wooden sticks /409/ are put in the fashion shown in the drawing, Fig. 369. A cloth moistened with cold water is put over the sticks (Fig. 370). The liquid metal is poured from the crucible into the middle between the wooden sticks. When cold, it has the desired bar shape.

• [413] The sledge hammer (Fig. 371), in various sizes, is flat on one side and has a chisel-like edge on the other. The wooden handles are simple and straight, though of various lengths.

[413] The blacksmith's tongs (Fig. 373) come in various sizes; they are made in two parts.

/409 cont./

325 [439] Iron is bought from Chinese traders, or from the Lao, Schan /Shan/, or Burmese, in the form customarily traded in northern Thailand, four-cornered, square bars four to five centimeters thick and 50 centimeters long. Silver, brass, copper, and lead also come from them. In order to obtain [177] silver, the Meau melt Chinese, Burmese, or Indochinese silver coins in the crucible (Fig. 365) of porous stone and pour the silver into the mold (Figs. 369 and 370) which was previously lined with cloth so that the molten metal will not stick to the walls. The silver coins are crushed before they are

Figs. 362-372. Forging Equipment of the Meau.

Fig. 362. Bellows, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 363. Piston of the bellows. Fig. 364. End of the pipe. Fig. 365. Smelting pot of stone, 1/6 nat. size. Figs. 366-367. Anvils, 1/35 [285] nat. size. Fig. 368. Annealing basket, 1/25 nat. size. [415] Fig. 369. Casting mold, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 370. Casting mold in use. Fig. 371. Sledge hammer, 1/6 nat. size. [413] Fig. 372. Blacksmith's tongs, 1/6 nat. size.

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants.
[413] In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure, for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely
[171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and
[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

/410 cont./

321 Among other materials used for handicrafts bone and ivory must also be mentioned. Knives (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) and knife handles, are made out of them, and they are also used in crossbows. The chopsticks of the well-to-do are usu-
[412] [556] ally made of ivory.

289 Finally, the making of paper is still to be mentioned. Young green bamboo is chopped up, after the outer covering and the pith are removed, into pieces about 15 centimeters long and five centimeters wide. A quantity of wood ashes equal to a fifth of the amount of bamboo /Fig. 373 appears here/ is added and, with the addition of water, is cooked for about twelve hours, during which the water that evaporates is replaced as needed. At the end of this period the bamboo mixture is soft. Then the substance is pounded in order to crush the wood fibers (Ill. 84).[1] At the same time any large or hard particles of wood remaining are carefully removed, and the mass of fibers is further cooked in the same lye solution after liana bark pulverized between stones /411/ has been added. After the substance has reached the proper consistency, it is spread as evenly as possible (Ill. 85)[1] on cotton cloth, which is stretched between wooden frames (Fig. 373), and dried in the sun. With a special bone knife (see the chapter,
[413] "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) the dried and therefore finished paper is carefully lifted off. As was described, it is punched by means of special punches before its use in sacral performances (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

[531]

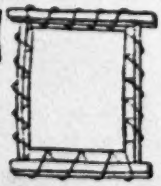


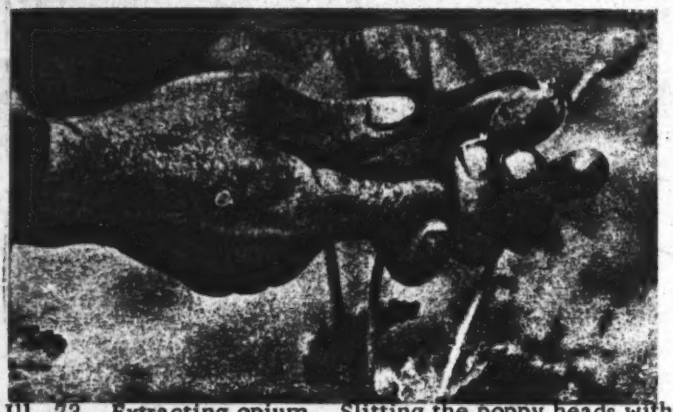
Fig. 373
Wooden Frame for Paper-making among the Meau.
1/60 nat. size.

1 [see cat. 116, p598— ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--573 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 426./

276
413



Ill. 73. Extracting opium. Slitting the poppy heads with a three-bladed knife.

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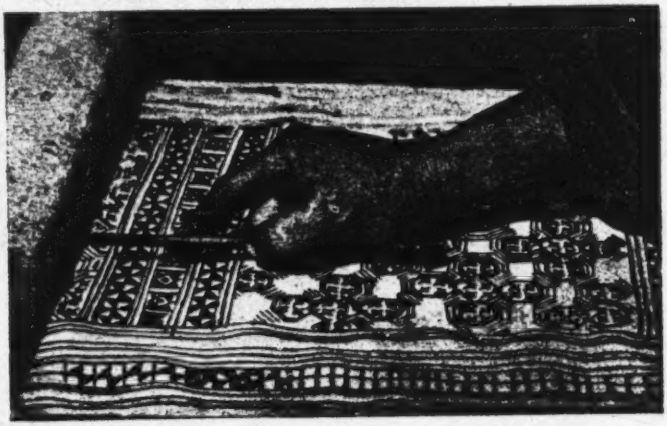
Ill. 74. Opium smoker.

39: Bernatzik--620 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.458/

386
531



Ill. 86. Making batik work from hemp material among the Meau. The wax drawing is applied with a brass pen. [413]

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Ill. 87. Girl of the "Flowery" Meau sewing a new pleated skirt.

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
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[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [414 5 28] powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 752 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 171 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/28 cont'd/

396 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
445 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

437 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
438 similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
439 commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above. Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the
[443] Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district, one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third, they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of li away but many are a hundred li away. Since the Miao all live a simple life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a month at the most.

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [269] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and 262 have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 252 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [415] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
●415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
276 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [262] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in [258] the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [241] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [388] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown [226] into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/76 cont./

252 The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered
[222] and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

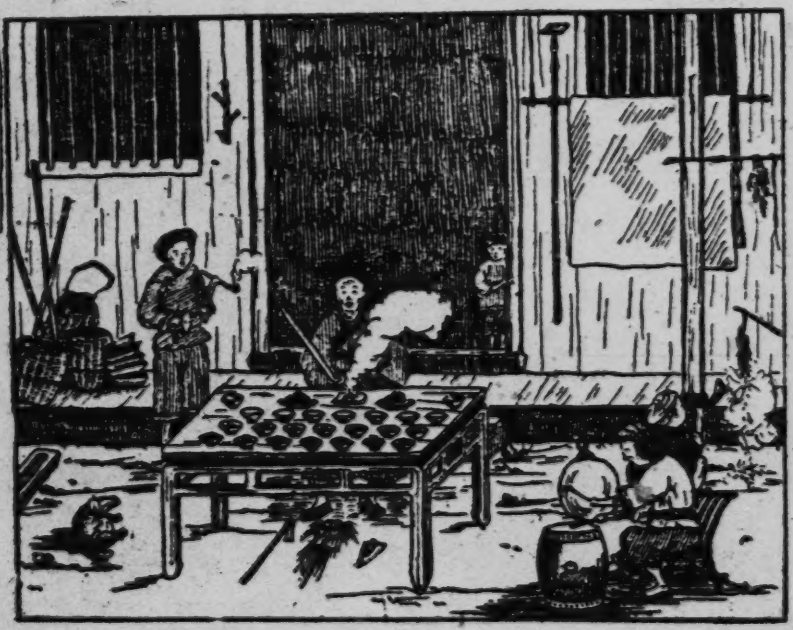
264 Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked
[415] rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they
252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half
262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several
[556] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/132 cont./

782 they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and a bracelet. He mutters an incantation, while attendants hold the [788] wine pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

[342] [352] [415] [412] [291]



Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

2: Ling & Ruey--198 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/134/

Illus. 60, Eating Pigs. B.

142
241
782*
352
415

2: Ling & Ruey--200 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

*782
291
411
415
352
531

Illus. 61. Eating Pigs, C.

/139 cont./

755 *782 The vow has extricated him from the clutches of the kuei, and the sickness has not come back, but is forever uprooted. The host has saved money and bought a fat pig from the market as well as paper money. Having waited for the passing of the days to be avoided, then he comes to the sacrifice to the kuei. Sorcerer-priests are very few in this world, and he came to my home to invoke my help. So, here I am. I ask all the kuei to come here. I burn a bowl of beeswax. The bamboo tube and the bell are beside the fire pit. The two winnowing baskets filled with meat, the gold and silver cans, the gold and silver chair cushions, all are set at the sides of the pit. The table for the sacrifice to the kuei, the paper money for the redemption of the soul, the fancy /flower/ bowl to hold the wine, the fat pigs, big and small, two large chickens--these

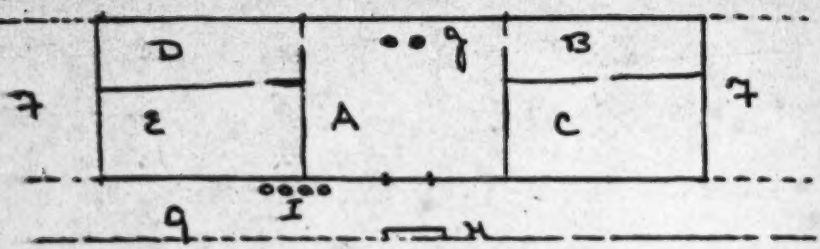
[352] [353] [516] [415]

圖四 打嘉先

Illus. 62. Ta Chia Hsien

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

342



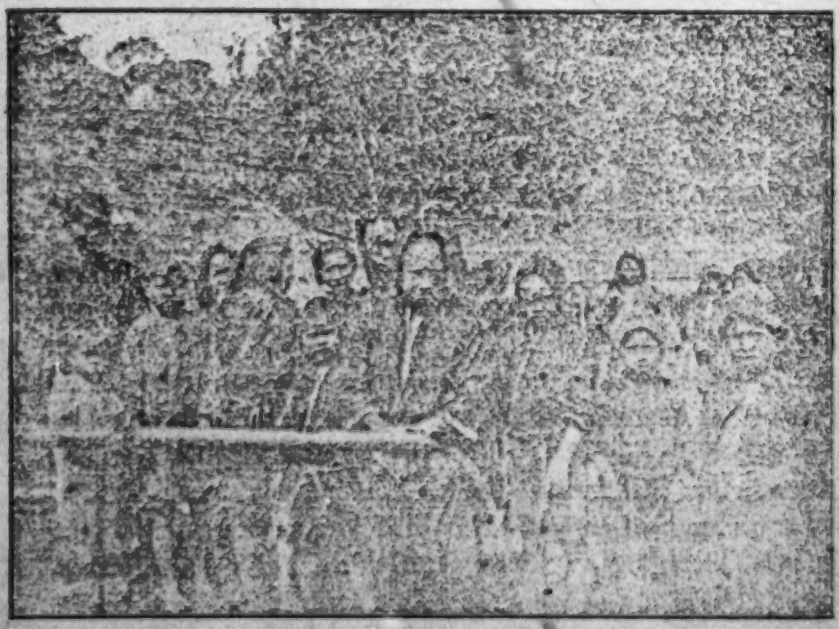
A—Living Room.
B—Parents' Room.
C—Rice Room.
D—Daughters' Room.
E—Sons' Room.
Used for various purposes.

F—Shelter for wood, etc.
G—Front verandah.
H—Pig trough.
I—Chicken coops.
J—Fire place.

I have seen one or two houses where there were three and four main entrances to the front verandah.

412 The utensils and implements used by the Miao are of the simplest. Rude iron hoes, heavy knives and the clumsy
415 iron skillets are purchased from the Hainanese traders. Sometimes the skillets are lacking and the rice is steamed

291



A Group of Miao Women and Children gathered round the pipe that carries the water to the village from a stream above.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild 412
banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a
wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing 415
the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at
least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in
hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-
basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed
out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and
the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases.
The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, [854]
the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the
little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby
is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-
like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native [226]
hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their
backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers,
or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried
in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family
has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small
earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large
bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten
from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed
together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid
down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river [296]
side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on 241
hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Dif- [224]
ferent from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing
their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do [226]
they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only
the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven
varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep moun-
tain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller
timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small
hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet
potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in
small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under
thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the
rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as
needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they
go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the
hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance"
would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they
have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move
they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does
not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house-
of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 other under, back, over and down (fig. 16, *d*).
412 Two worked together sometimes, but not necessarily in rhythm. The woven baskets were shallow, with handles on the top of the
241 rim through which a carrying pole was thrust
415 and secured by wooden pegs. The bamboo
[285] mats in twilled pattern were as large as sixteen by nine feet. A two-inch bamboo pole was fastened to either end to help keep it flat while in use and then easily rolled up for storage.

FIG. 10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views.

Two types of basket had a great variety of uses. In a loosely woven one fertilizer was carried to the fields and bundles of rice plants taken from seed beds to fields (fig. 16, *e*). In closely woven ones grain and other crops were brought in (fig. 16, *e*, *f*). When grain was to be sunned it was brought out in these baskets to the mats on the threshing floor and at night it was carried back in them. In this case the worker usually used only one at a time and someone had to help her swing it up to one shoulder, where she held it by putting that hand on her hip. She steadied it with the other hand. In them grain and other produce were taken to market.

Bamboo scoops were used to lift the grain from mats to baskets and a piece of wood with one straight side and a long handle to push the grain around so that all might get the sun evenly. The grain was first spread evenly on the mat and the bits of straw, sticks, etc., swept out with the broom of twigs. This was done several times. After a while the grain was all swept to the edges to allow the center to dry thoroughly and then to the center to allow the edges of the mat to dry. After this the mat was folded over the pile until it was possible to get several people together to put the grain into the baskets and
241 carry it to loft or granary. For more careful
412 cutting of rice straw the women had a knife blade set in one side of a more or less fancy shaped piece of wood or bamboo. This could

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 462

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

•415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds. The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment,
342 since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

Mi 342
Mi [354]
Mi [778]

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

Mi 415

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

Mi 401
Mi 312

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

Mi 343
Mi 231

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by large

[160 cont.]

415 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
482 often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo"
[492] of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women
[854] place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

155: Abadie--237 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

142
291
301
[415]
[482]

37. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman.

346. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman Carrying Water in two Bamboo Tubes Fastened Together.

155: Abadie--240 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina

✓ M100 AE5

[162]

291
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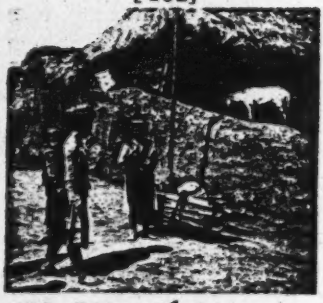
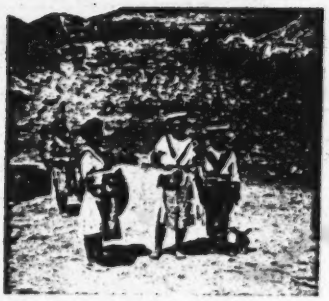
[231]
[954]
[482]



103. "Peu-Méo" Women.



105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.

419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.

(Pakha)

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
462 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activate
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

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/238 cont./

M 278 to the description, which are tapped by means of four diagonal cuts placed opposite to one another, similar to the procedure for obtaining India rubber. The sap flowing out hardens in the air into a viscous rubber-like mass, which is collected. Now the same weight of water is added, and the sap is cooked with constant stirring, over an open fire. The substance thus obtained M [415] is poured into bamboo flasks which are sealed airtight. After cooling off, the mass becomes solid again. Before use it is warmed slightly and thereby again becomes liquid. Then one adds tobacco juice and ground pepper and dips in the arrows, dries the adhered portion over the fire, and repeats this procedure until the arrow points are thickly covered with the now black poisonous mass.

If well sealed in tubes, the poison keeps for years; applied to the arrow and kept over the hearth, as is customary, so that the smoke prevents the growth of putrefying bacteria, it remains effective for about a year.

A M 278 752 As an antidote the Meau and, probably in imitation of them, the Akha use cooking salt, which is rubbed into the wound with good results. Moreover, the wounded person is given large quantities of tea to drink and is made to sweat.

A 752 [177] [757] The Akha who, as was already mentioned, depend almost entirely on the neighboring peoples in their medications, are also far behind the Meau in the treatment of wounds or bone fractures. To be sure, they know how to set fractured bones in an emergency, but they cannot perform any kind of operation.

A 278 439 M 439 The Akha in Thailand do not even make their arrow poison; instead, they buy it from their neighbors, chiefly from the Meau.

/265 cont./

621 596 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

312 415 824

Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.

[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

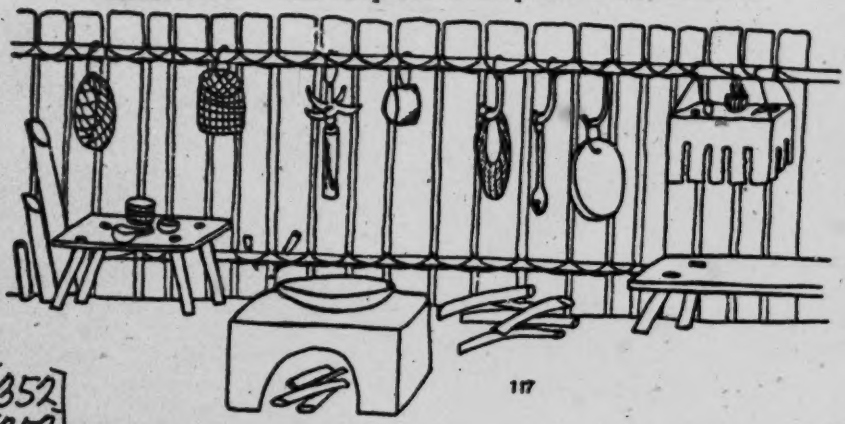
592 621 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice [343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The personal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, [551] Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize [343] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the [551] house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/300/

354 [574] The large open fireplace, which is usually near the guest room or in the room itself, consists of an elevated, /Fig. 118 appears here/ square, mud base, on which a circle of stones is built, with the firewood in layers in the middle of it. This fireplace is the place of the father of



[352] [353] [415] [778]

Fig. 117. Wall in the cooking and living room of the Meau. 1/50 nat. size.

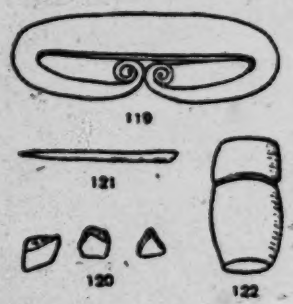
From left to right, hanging above: basket, basketwork bag, rolling pin, chopping block, carrying net, wooden ladle, gong, altar. From left to right, below: bamboo water-containers, little parking-table, knife sticking in the wall, cooking hearth with iron pot, firewood, bench to sit on.

Fig. 118. Hearth of the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

354 /300 cont./ This fireplace is the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]



Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."
342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult
[439] has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[177] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

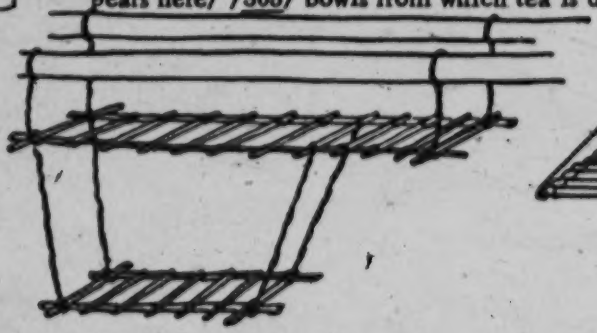
415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter: "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
1511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
[see cat. 116, p645 - ANALYST]

/304 cont./

353
352
[415]

hearth and about one meter high is also found a hanging shelf made of split bamboo (Fig. 130). Here, within easy reach of the housewife, stand the Chinese porcelain /Figs. 129-136 appears here/ /305/ bowls from which tea is drunk; here lie



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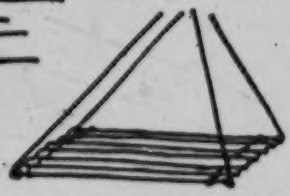

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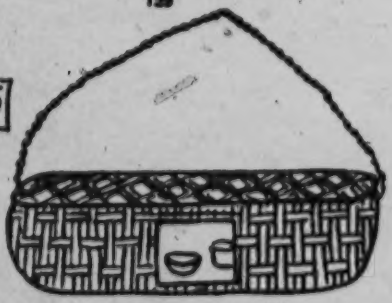

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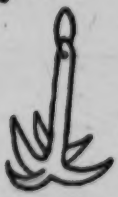

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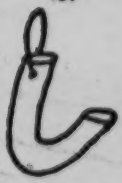

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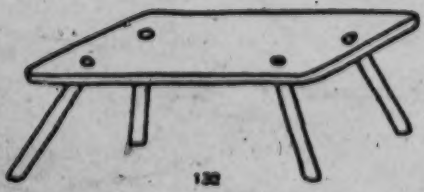

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Figs. 129-136. Storage devices of the Meau.

Fig. 129. Hanging shelf over the fireplace. 1/24 nat. size. Fig. 130. Shelf for cooking utensils. 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 131. Hanging basket for utensils, about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 132. Little parking-table, about 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 133. Container for chopsticks, 1/8 nat. size. Figs. 134-136. Devices to hang things on, about 1/10 nat size. Fig. 134. Branch-whorl. Fig. 135. Wooden hook. Fig. 136. Horn.

/305 cont./

353 knives, wooden spoons, a grater, small baskets with spices and
352 fruits, vegetables and dried roots, a gourd dipper, a wooden
415 ladle for dipping, and the like. For storing porcelain dishes there are also special hanging baskets with tightly plaited sides and a loosely plaited cover (Fig. 131). Also, a low table for parking things on (Figs. 117 and 132) stands on the other side of the hearth, and next to it there is a bamboo container for the chopsticks (Fig. 133).

352 From the storage loft a large wooden hook hangs down,
353 which has to bear the weight of the heavy water kettle. Also, small hooks carved out of wood and some made of deer-horn, as well as branch-whorls (Figs. 134, 135, and 136), hang on the walls and are used to hang up various pots, baskets, and utensils (see also Fig. 117).

Whereas such devices for putting away and hanging up utensils and the aforementioned wall boards and shelves are
[184] present in abundance, chests and cupboards are completely lacking among the Meau who have settled in Thailand.

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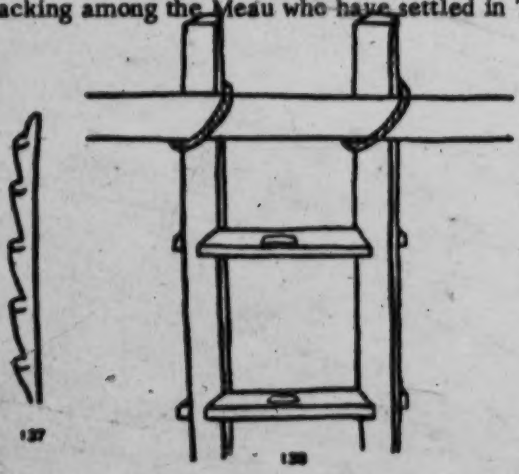

Figs. 137-138. Ladders of the Meau.
Fig. 137. Notched tree-trunk, about 1/20 nat. size.
Fig. 138. Ladder with steps, 1/6 nat. size.

/306 cont./

412 The household and kitchen implements of the
252 Meau are very numerous. As was mentioned, all
[243] the grain and leguminous products are husked in the
[244] foot-operated mortar built into the cooking area (Fig.
139). /Figs. 140-142 appear here./

256 /307/ For grinding the kernels of grain and maize the large mill shown in Ill. 94 and Fig. 140 is used. The lower-millstone half (Fig. 141) is immovable and is provided with an axle (A), which is fitted into the opening (S) of the upper stone (Fig. 142). Both millstone halves are provided with grooves (R), which run in various directions. The upper eccentric millstone (Fig. 142) is connected with a horizontal pole. When this is swung forward and backward, the movable-millstone half turns. In this, on the top, a hole (0) is chiseled out, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether one lengthens or shortens the

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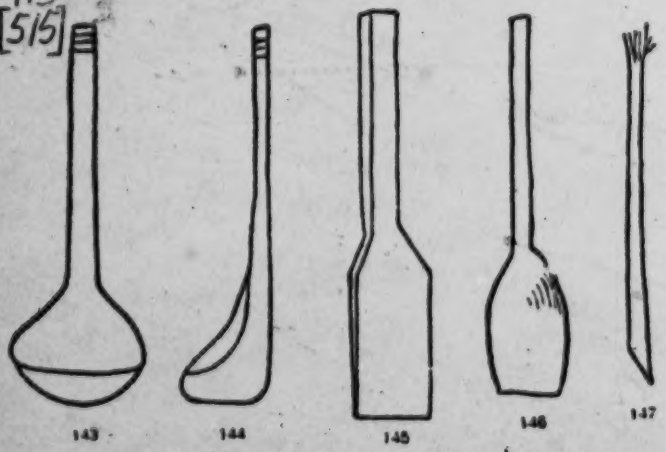
[515]



Figs. 143-146. Dippers and Ladles of the Meau. Fig. 143. Bamboo dipper. Fig. 144. Side view of the same, 1/5 nat. size. Figs. 145 and 146. Wooden stirring ladles, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 147. Toothpick, 1/3 nat. size.

1 [see cat 116, p644 - ANALYST]

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/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 439 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106)[1] and pans are used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and represent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 412 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be 515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 252 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice, strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots [251] of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants. Other cooking 412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden 415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets 252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers [273] to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

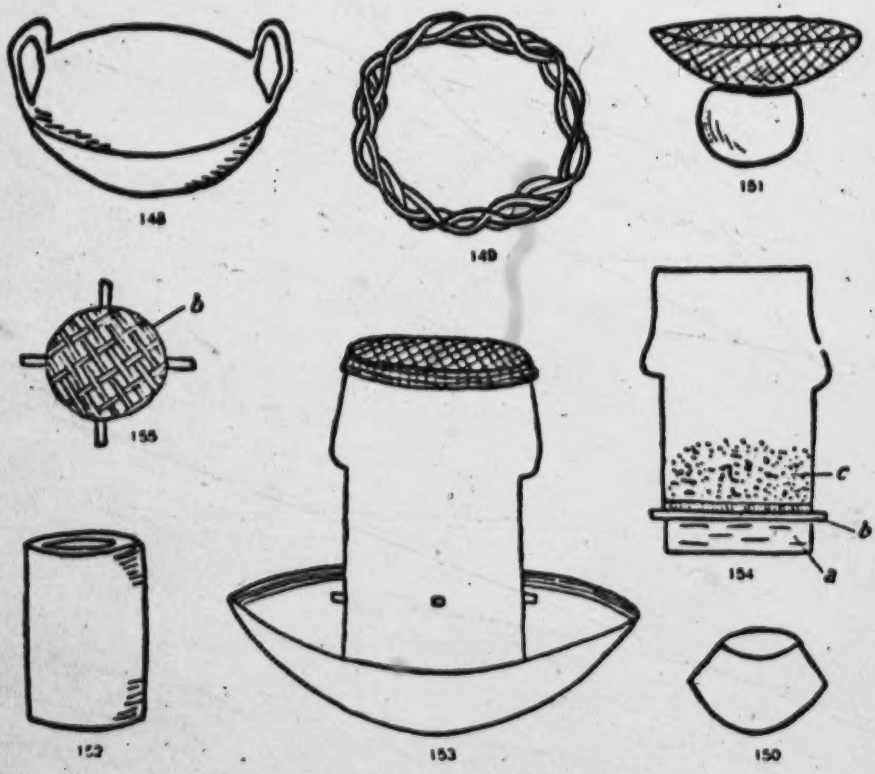
[1] [see cat 116, p706- ANALYST]

[Text continues on p421]

39: Bernatzik--420 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

415 Fig. 148. Iron meat-kettle, 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 149. Plaited ring for putting rounded vessels on, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 150. Brass pot, 1/11 nat size. Fig. 151. Gourd vessel with a strainer for rice, 1/15 nat size. Fig. 152. Wooden rice-pot, 1/12 nat. size. Figs. 153-155. Meau wooden cylinder for steaming rice, 1/8 nat. size.



Figs. 148-155. Cooking Utensils of the Meau.

Fig. 153. Steam cylinder in iron bowl with water. Fig. 154. Cross-section of vessel: a = water, b = built-in strainer, c = rice. Fig. 155. The plaited built-in strainer.

415 /309 cont./
[412] alcohol, purchased earthenware pots in all sizes, and the various
[252] bamboo vessels which stand leaning against the wall near the
[273] hearth or hang on the wall and serve for the storing of the food-
[251] stuffs used daily. They are usually carefully closed with leaves and contain fat, salted vegetables, salt, and other spices. Water stands available in long bamboo containers. These pieces of bamboo, freed of the partitioning walls, represent indispensable
[312] vessels used in many ways (Ill. 105).[1] For carrying water, several
[482] are often bound together and carried on the back or in carrying baskets. Abadie (1) reports in similar fashion.

1. Page 160.

412 For sweeping out their dwellings, brooms (Fig. 175) are used, which are made out of tough grasses tied together in bundles. A clothes roller (Figs. 176 and 177) consists of a
412 wooden roller (A) similar to our rolling pin, around which the
296 washed clothes (B) are put while still wet. Then a heavy stone (C) is rocked in a seesaw motion on the clothes wrapped around it, by means of which they are freed of the remaining water and are smoothed.

482 For carrying firewood and other heavy loads, the Meau use special carrying frames (Figs. 178 and 179), which are carried on the back in the manner used in our Alpine countries. These carrying frames come in different sizes for men, women, and children (Ill. 104).[2]

One half of this wooden frame is provided with a tight plaiting of narrow /310/ /Figs. 156-165 appear here/ bamboo strips (Fig. 180). Broad carrying straps of leather (C) are attached to the inside of the wooden frame (A). The two ends of the carrying frame are connected by means of a forked branch (D) and a tightly /311/ /Figs. 166-177 appear here/ twisted rope attached to it. Between this and the plaited wall of the carrying frame (B) the load is now stowed and fastened by means of the rope (Ill. 93).[3]

[1] [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " , " "]
[3] [" " " , p643 - "]

39: Bernatzik--423 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 166-177. Kitchen Utensils of the Meaü.

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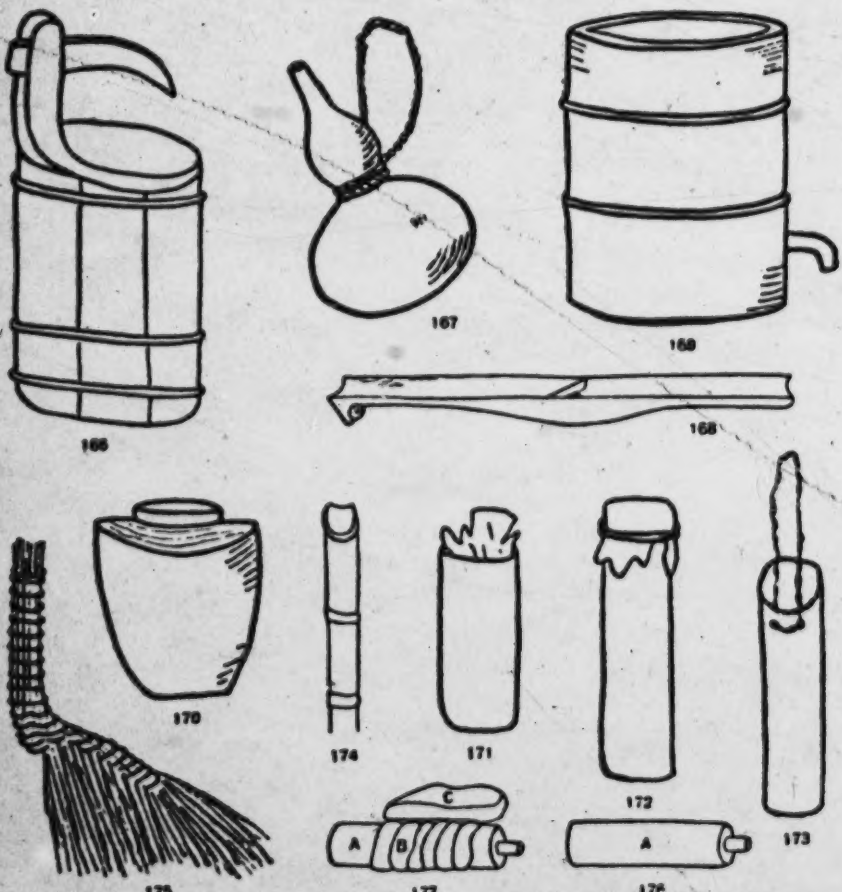

Fig. 166. Dipping vessel for pig fodder, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 167. Gourd bottle, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 168. Maize-sheller, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 169. Distillation vessel for making alcohol, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 170. Earthenware pot with grooves, 1/15 nat. size. Figs. 171-173. Bamboo vessels for foodstuffs, about 1/10 nat size. Fig. 174. Bamboo as water container, about 1/30 nat. size. Fib. 175. Broom, about 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 176. Clothes roller (mangle), empty, about 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 177. The same in use.

[412]
[273]
[412]
[296]

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/312/

M 285 482 ●415 Especially numerous are the household inplements of plaited material; above all, the many shapes of the baskets are to be stressed. There are carrying baskets in all sizes, double-walled for heavy loads, loosely plaited for light loads (Ill. 93),[1] large supply-baskets for the storing of /Figs. 178-180 appear here/ food, clothing, and cloth, chicken baskets, small carrying baskets and carrying bags for traveling; moreover, mats for sleeping, for threshing of grain, for covering food, the wide fish-nets, basket weirs, flat rice-baskets and strainers; and also knotted bags and fish nets. All these articles are described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

M 128 276 412 /313/ The description of the various opium implements (Ill. 74),[2] which are numerous in every household, all the agricultural and smithy implements, and the work tools and cult objects, musical instruments, weapons, and so forth is contained in the appropriate chapters.

A 342 The division of the Akha house into cooking, living, and sleeping rooms is shown in the ground plan, /Fig. 91 (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). /Figs. 181-183 appear here./

A 354 [252] [562] The fireplaces of the Akha (Fig. 181) are square boxes which are filled with earth. They are sunk into the floor of the living room (chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Fig. 105, R). An iron tripod (Fig. 182) for the cooking pots stands on the ground surface, which is level with the floor. These fireplaces, one of which /314/ is for the men and the other for the women of the house, are used for heating the house as well as for cooking. Moreover, as has been mentioned, in each house there is a hearth for cooking the pig fodder (Fig. 183). This hearth consists of mound of stones which is enclosed on the outside with plaited bamboo. On this stone ring stands the iron basin under which the wood fire burns.

A [231]

A 372 Fire is made, as among the Meau, with flint and iron (Figs. 119-122, chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils"). Dry wood dust is used as tinder.

1 [see cat 116, p 643 - ANALYST]
2 [" " , p 573 - "]

/345 cont./

224 e can be wedged between the crossbar d and a foot board. After the trap has been set, the block and tackle are removed.

As an example of the behavior of the Meau hunter while stalking game in the forest, I give in the following a description from my journal: "Scouts had reported to us that a powerful lone bull elephant with mighty tusks had taken cover not far from the village. Early in the morning I set out with the chief. We climbed a steep slope and then stood at the edge of a gorge, from the bottom of which came the sound of the breaking of branches. The large mammal stood below, which made the face of the Meau light up happily. He bent forward, remained there for some time, then climbed a tree, changed his observation post several more times, and finally, from the direction of the sound, decided that the elephant was on the opposite mountain slope.

Since in order to reach him, we would have had to wind through the deep gorge in between and it was already late in the afternoon, there was no prospect of reaching the bull still 224 that same day. The chief therefore proposed that we spend the 484 night on the spot in order to be able to take up the chase at dawn, since he figured that he would be able to determine the location of the elephant from where we were. The Meau [342] therefore put up a small windscreen, large enough to protect us, if necessary, against a storm. He closed off three sides of it with leaves of the fan palm, their stems thrust into the ground, in order, as he put it, to prevent the warmth from escaping. He then covered the ground with a layer of leaves [513] about ten centimeters high, which was an excellent bed, for it was soft and kept off the dampness of the ground. At the open side of the windscreen he lighted a fire. These tasks took him about 30 minutes.

"Then he began to prepare the evening meal. He searched for water, and after only a few minutes he returned [824] with bamboo-water. In /346/ these regions one can find [272] water stored up in the hollow spaces of certain species of bamboo, even during the dry season. To get the water, such [415] bamboos are cut between the partitioning walls, the liquid [252] that flows out is caught in a bamboo vessel. A thick green [824] bamboo also provided a vessel in which the rice was then cooked. The green

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[824] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[415] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
[782] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[264] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
[574] the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
[262] European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/379 cont./

b) Stimulants

276 The Meau are passionate tobacco smokers, whereas snuff or the chewing of tobacco is unknown. Both kinds of tobacco
249 known to the Meau are at times mixed with the seeds of poppies and sowed with them at the end of May. The one kind, lŏ yŭm bĕ klĕ, is a low, weak plant with narrow, long leaves. The tobacco obtained from it, however, is considerably stronger than that from the second kind, called lŏ yŭm kŭ fŏ. Tobacco is harvested about six months after planting. The plant is cut off just above the root, the stalk with the lower leaves left on it is discarded, and the leaves that have been picked off are sorted. Those from the middle height of the stalk give a different quality of tobacco than those from the upper third. Now the leaves are dried and then put out in the dew for a night to moisten them. Then they are tightly piled on top of one another, rolled up together, and packed in green banana leaves, which are tied together. Then the tobacco undergoes a kind of /380/ fermentation process and, thus preserved, keeps up to two years. Immediately before use, it is cut up into small
276 pieces with a knife on a board (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 160).

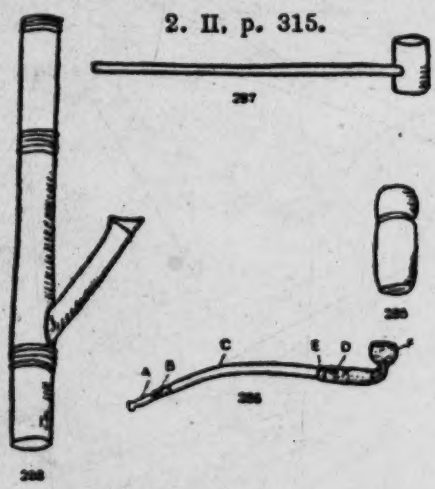
Some of this cut tobacco, which is now ready for use is carried /Figs. 285-288 appear here/ by every Meau in a spe-
[415] cial little box of bamboo or wood provided with a cover (Fig. 285), in order to have it at hand for his pipe (Figs. 286 and 287). In addition, water pipes of bamboo are used (Fig. 288), which Lajonquière (1) confirms for Tonkin as well. The author also

1. II, p. 303.

informs us that the bowls of the "ordinary pipes" are made of stone, wood, or copper, while the generally long stem is made of porcelain.

/380 cont./

276 [171] The Meau know of no other form of enjoyment of tobacco, such as the rolling of cigars or cigarettes, which is customary among the Lao and Schan /Shan/. Other plants, such as the hemplike ones, are not smoked either. Savina (2), 2. II, p. 315.



Figs. 285-288. Equipment for Tobacco-smoking among the Meau.

[415] Fig. 285. Tobacco box of bamboo, with cover, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 286. Tobacco pipe of the chief, about 1/7 nat. size: A = mouthpiece of porcelain; B = silver mounting; C = stem; D = brass; E = sealed with wax. Fig. 287. Tobacco pipe of bamboo, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 288. Water pipe of bamboo, 1/7 nat. size.

[857] however, reports that the Meau children in Tonkin smoke discarded hemp-stalks. It seems, however, that this is more of a game, rather than real enjoyment of the drug. The chewing of betel is unknown, which Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ confirms for Indochina.

/380 cont./

272 With the exception of water, non-alcoholic beverages remain unknown among the Meau in Thailand.

273 /381/ Therefore the enjoyment of alcohol plays all the greater a role, especially at the time of the major celebrations. To be sure, since beer-making, such as is customary among the Moi peoples of Indochina, is unknown, the more alcohol is obtained by the process of distillation. The raw product among the Meau is preferably maize. It is mixed with yeast and buried in the ground half a meter deep, when it remains for five days. A certain amount of water is added to the substance thus produced, and the whole is put on the fire in the distilling apparatus (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 169) which condenses the escaping alcohol, and the product is collected in a gourd bottle. The distillate is clear as water and has a somewhat earthy taste, but is otherwise similar to the European slivovitz.

[184] According to observations by Abadie (1) and the description by Lajonquière (2), the preparation of alcohol in Tonkin seems to be similar: "The Meau consume great quantities of alcohol made of fermented grain, sometimes distilled alcohol... The Meau produce alcohol by putting grain, primarily maize, which has been steamed and mixed with yeast, in large earthenware jugs which they seal hermetically during the fermentation. It is then drunk, when needed, with the help of a bamboo tube which is dipped into the liquid." This use of the sucking tube [415] and of the mighty earthenware jugs is characteristic of the "Moi [184] peoples" of Indochina, but is unfamiliar to the Meau of northern [177] Thailand. Presumably the Meau in Indochina have borrowed this from the Moi peoples.

1. Page 161.

2. II, p. 303.

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Figs. 289-298. Opium Apparatus of the Meau.

Fig. 289. Knife for slitting poppies, 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 290. Poppy scraper, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 291. Copper kettle, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 292. Plaited strainer with filter paper, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 293. Iron needle for putting the opium into the pipe, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 294. Opium lamp: a bamboo container, in it a brass vessel with a candle, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 295. Perforated iron cover, which is put over the opium lamp, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 296. Opium pipe of bamboo, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 297. Bamboo vessel for straining opium, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 298. Feather brush with wooden handle, for cleaning the opium kettle, 1/7 nat. size.

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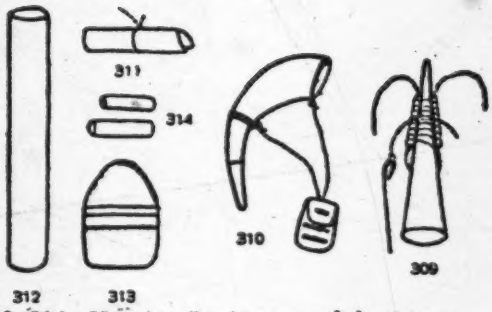

Figs. 309-314. Hunting Equipment of the Meau.

Figs. 309-311. Powder containers: Fig. 309, copper powder-horn, on which hangs the iron needle for cutting through the powder channel, 1/5 nat. size; Fig. 310, powder horn (goat horn) set with copper bands and with copper rings for the attachment of the carrying cord, end piece can be removed, 1/13 nat. size; Fig. 311, bamboo container for gunpowder, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 312. Ramrod of iron, 1/22 nat. size. Fig. 313. Cloth bullet-pouch, 1/20 nat. size, is also visible in Fig. 310, hung on the powder horn. Fig. 314. Iron bullets, about 1/2-1/8 nat. size.

[237]

Fig. 315

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Wooden peg of the Meau for pounding gunpowder, 1/18 nat. size.

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Caption for Figures below: Fig. 316. Crossbow of a boy, with simplified trigger (a) and plaited reinforcing of the bow (b), 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 317. Crossbow of a warrior, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 318. Recessed trigger of the crossbow; the arrow points to the place where, in Fig. 317, c, the rattan cord lies. Fig. 319. Crossbow-arrow, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 320. Crossbow-quiver with three arrows, 1/12 nat. size.

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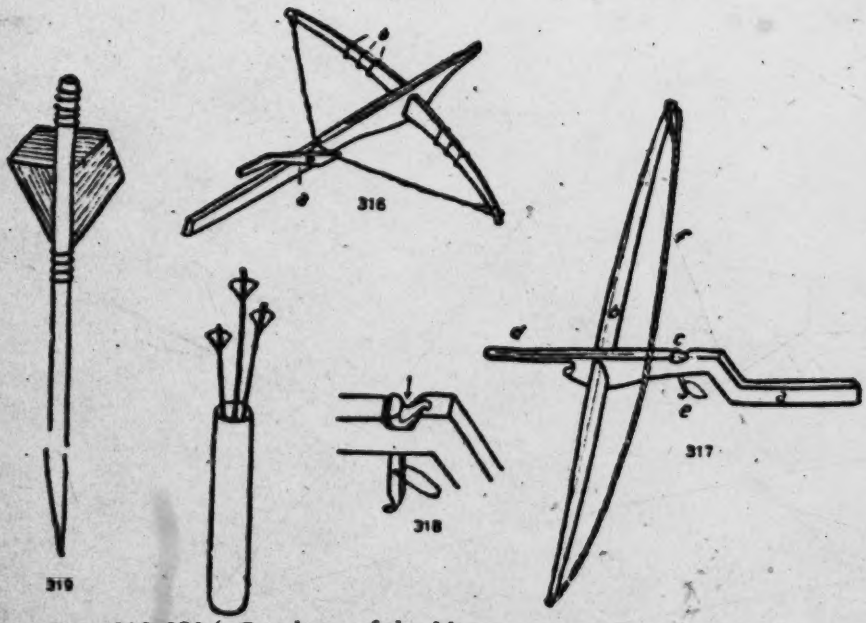
[415]



Figs. 316-320. Crossbows of the Meau.

/398/ Chapter 21

Handicrafts

285 The Meau are very skilled at making plaited work and related manual skills. They plait only by hand without any kind of auxiliary implement. Rattan, bamboo, and tree bast serve as materials. We were able to find the following different baskets among the Meau: /Figs. 327-329 appear here./

Fig. 327 = very strong standing-basket for the storing of possessions (square bottom). There are various sizes of such baskets. They are extremely stable and durable and represent a popular article of trade. The basket has a tiltable cover and

[415]

Figs. 327-329. Standing Basket of the Meau, with Cover, 1/16 nat. size.

Fig. 328, edge-wrapping, and Fig. 329, sample of the plaiting of the above.

two carrying handles plaited on it. The strong edges consist of rattan and are wrapped with bamboo strips five millimeters wide (Fig. 328). The plaiting pattern (Fig. 329) is the same as that of the sleeping mats.

[482] Fig. 330 = light back-basket. Wide cross-strips of split bamboo are plaited in with narrow longitudinal strips in a loose weave, as is shown in the drawing. The basket is lined on the inside with palm leaves.

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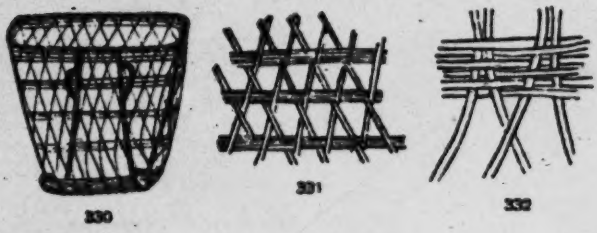

Figs. 330-332. Back-basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Figs. 331 and 332. Samples of plaiting of the above.

Figs. 333-335. Back-basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Figs. 334-335. Samples of plaiting of the above.

Fig. 336. Carrying and Harvest Basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Fig. 337. Plaiting of the interior wall.

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/399 cont./

285 482 Fig. 333 = back-basket, most common shape, various kinds of plaiting, with leather straps, wide plaited bands, or twisted strings as carrying straps. Type of plaiting, Fig. 334: every cross-strip consists of three overlapping bamboo strips one centimeter wide. A narrow strip is interwoven vertically. Type of plaiting, Fig. 335: between /Figs. 333-337 appear here/ every cross-strip two centimeters wide there is an equally wide space. Very narrow vertical strips of split rattan, only four millimeters wide.

Fig. 336 = a very common, strong form of the carrying baskets, which are also used as harvest baskets. Vertical strips of cane three centimeters wide are attached over a tight inner wall plaited with bamboo strips four millimeters wide (Figs. 336 and 337) by means of some crosscords. Carrying straps of strips of hide (Ill. 93).

285 [231] /400/ Figs. 338 and 339: chicken baskets, loosely plaited with narrow bamboo strips. Cover and door tied on.

Fig. 340 = flat basket, used as a strainer.

Outer edge (Fig. 341) of tight plaiting of bamboo strips three millimeters wide, plaited loosely within (Fig. 342) with the same material. /Figs. 338-342 appear here./

[243] Fig. 343 = large, flat rice-basket for separating the grain from the chaff. Hulled rice is shaken in it and the chaff blown away. Inner plaiting (Fig. 344) like the plaiting pattern of mats, except for wider bamboo strips about 13 millimeters wide.

[415] Fig. 345 = large supply-basket. Plaiting (Fig. 346) of bamboo strips three centimeters wide. Loosely plaited, vertical walls. There is every size of such baskets. /Figs. 343-346 appear here./

To be mentioned here also are the hanging baskets for the storing of dishes, as is described under Fig. 131 in the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils."

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[231] Figs. 338-339. Meau Baskets for Carrying Chickens, 1/22 nat. size.

[415] Figs. 340-342. Plaited Strainer of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

Fig. 341, outer plaiting, and Fig. 342, inner plaiting.

[243] Figs. 343-344. Flat Rice-basket of the Meau, about 1/12 nat. size. Fig. 344. Pattern of the interior plaiting.

[415] Figs. 345-346. Supply Basket of the Meau, 1/133 nat. size. Fig. 346. Sample of plaiting.

/405 cont./

386 531 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill. 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying [415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

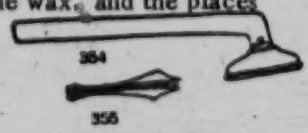

Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although [513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for [411] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on [262] the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking, 412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their [177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

/407 cont./

325 The bellows (Fig. 362), which consists of a wooden cylinder (a) made of boards joined together and sealed with wax, to which an air pipe (b) is attached. Fitted into the hollow space of the cylinder is a piston (Fig. 363, c) consisting [237] of two wooden disks, between which chicken feathers are pasted as packing. By means of an iron rod with a handle (d) the piston is /408/ pushed back and forth in the cylinder. When the iron rod is pulled out, the opening (e) of the cylinder, which has a small bamboo disk fastened to one end, is closed off on the inside through air pressure. Thus, no air can escape from the cylinder, but with the return thrust goes toward the fire in the air pipe terminating in a clay part (Fig. 364). Since the air pipe is not put at the end, but in the middle of the cylinder, stronger compression is sacrificed, to be sure, but the air supply is not thereby interrupted, since it continues with both thrusts of the piston. /Figs. 362-372 appear here./

The anvils (Figs. 366 and 367), of which there are usually several in various shapes and sizes in a smithy. The supporting pegs are of wood, the upper part of iron.

[285] The annealing basket (Fig. 368) is a piece of cylindrical basketwork that terminates in a funnel-shaped opening at the top. It is filled with wet clay and serves for cooling off the hot metal.

[415] As a casting mold one uses a small calabash, into which four small wooden sticks /409/ are put in the fashion shown in the drawing, Fig. 369. A cloth moistened with cold water is put over the sticks (Fig. 370). The liquid metal is poured from the crucible into the middle between the wooden sticks. When cold, it has the desired bar shape.

[413] The sledge hammer (Fig. 371), in various sizes, is flat on one side and has a chisel-like edge on the other. The wooden handles are simple and straight, though of various lengths.

[413] The blacksmith's tongs (Fig. 373) come in various sizes; they are made in two parts.

/409 cont./

325 [439] Iron is bought from Chinese traders, or from the Lao, Schan /Shan/, or Burmese, in the form customarily traded in northern Thailand, four-cornered, square bars four to five centimeters thick and 50 centimeters long. Silver, brass, copper, and lead also come from them. In order to obtain [177] silver, the Meau melt Chinese, Burmese, or Indochinese silver coins in the crucible (Fig. 365) of porous stone and pour the silver into the mold (Figs. 369 and 370) which was previously lined with cloth so that the molten metal will not stick to the walls. The silver coins are crushed before they are

Figs. 362-372. Forging Equipment of the Meau.

Fig. 362. Bellows, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 363. Piston of the bellows. Fig. 364. End of the pipe. Fig. 365. Smelting pot of stone, 1/6 nat. size. Figs. 366-367. Anvils, 1/35 [285] nat. size. Fig. 368. Annealing basket, 1/25 nat. size. [415] Fig. 369. Casting mold, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 370. Casting mold in use. Fig. 371. Sledge hammer, 1/6 nat. size. [413] Fig. 372. Blacksmith's tongs, 1/6 nat. size.

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/Opposite p. 443/

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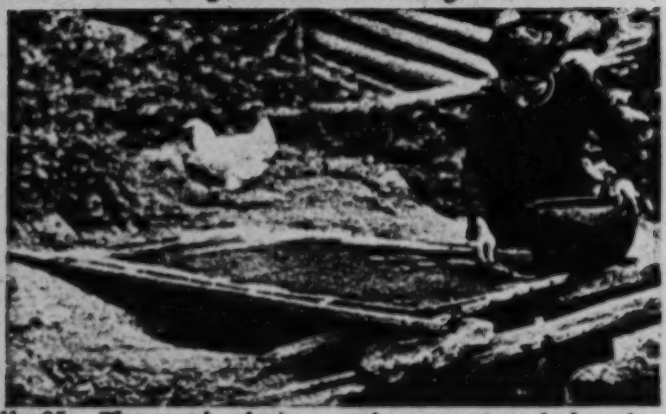
Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes among the Meau. Pulverizing the bamboo shavings.



Ill. 85. The wood pulp is poured on a cotton cloth and dried in the sun.

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself. [415]

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game, for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
[824] ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/ without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude, and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface, a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
• [417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hundred meters long."

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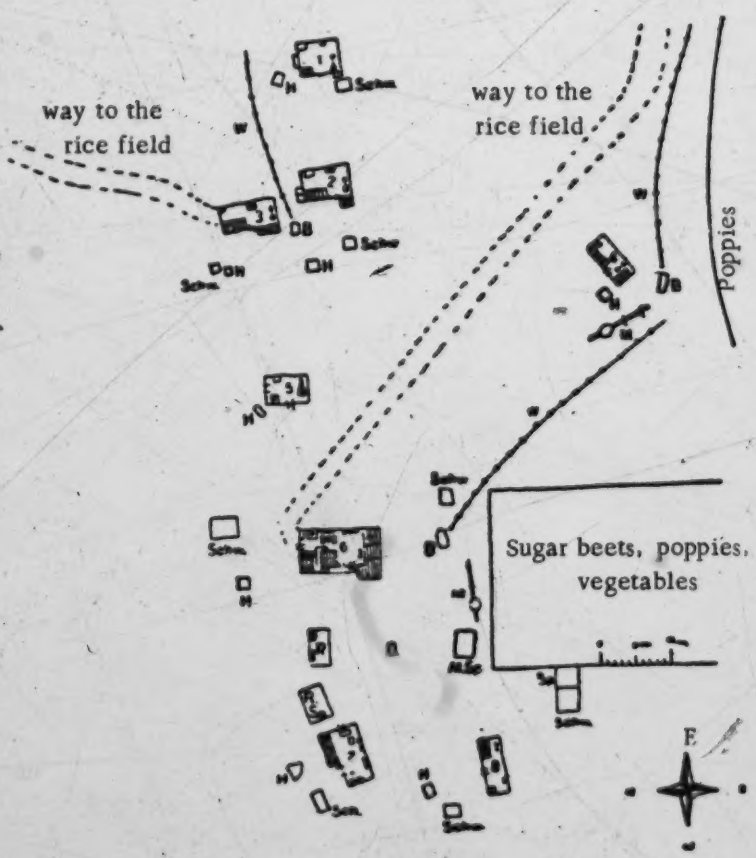


Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊢O = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
◻ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

/268 cont./ If needed,

342 sleeping rooms, too, are often built on. The basic form of the houses and the roofs is always the same, however. A pigsty [573] and a chicken coop also belong to each house, whereas cattle [417] are usually kept by only a few families. [231]

Cleanliness is a relative idea. In comparison with the scrupulously clean houses of the Lao, the dwellings of the Meau 356 certainly leave much to be desired. At many houses the refuse lies in front of the door for days before it is removed. In other places one sees the women busy at sweeping the house and washing the dishes regularly. Even on important festive days the appearance of the house and yard does not change much. One recognizes by the old rotten trash covered with soot and dirt until it is beyond recognition, which often fills up the houses, that the Meau women /269/ feel no need to create order. To be sure, each move of the village provides an opportunity for 364 it, and this must suffice. There are no toilets. Places outside the village are sought at random and are well known by the dogs and pigs, since they devour all the excrement with amazing thoroughness and thus perform valuable sanitary service.

342 The ground plan, sketch, cross-section, and drawing of the framework of the chief's house (Figs. 63, 64, 65, and 66) and of the dwelling house (Figs. 67, 68, 69 and 70) with their respective legends indicate the size, construction, and shape of the dwellings without anything more, so I have only a little to add.

[Figures appear on pp 371-377, Text continues on p 378]

/278 cont./

342 joiners, etc., all at the same time. They say: 'If we were able to make salt, we would easily surpass all other peoples.'"

[313] Savina (2) writes further: "The wood most used for construction

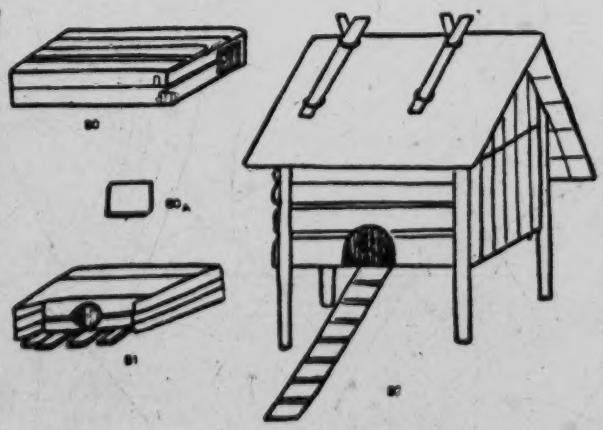
2. II, p. 189.

purposes and also for burning is that of pines (Pinus rigida), which is common in the mountains. There are two kinds of pine wood, black and red."

343

Fig. 79.
Granary of the Meau.
1/100 nat. size.

[417]



Figs. 80-82. Chicken Coops of the Meau.

Fig. 80-81. Boxlike chicken coops on the ground, 1/44 nat. size. Fig. 82. Chicken coop on piles, 1/36 nat. size.

/278 cont./

2. Granaries

343 Whereas the dwellings of the Meau are always built on the ground, the granaries rest on piles up to two meters high, in order to protect the field produce from the humidity and from the unwelcome intrusion of mice, rats, pigs, and from the other domestic animals. There are open granaries, which usually are several meters long and three to /279/ four meters high and consist of merely a /Fig. 79 appears here/ platform covered by a leaf-roof. Field produce is stored here as long as it still needs drying. During the rainy season, however, granaries which are closed off by four board-walls and built very solidly are used. They have only one small doorlike opening, through which one has to creep in order to store ears of maize, sheaves of grain, millet, or tubers in it (Fig. 79).

3. Stables

231 343 Although special shelters are always built for chickens and pigs, these domestic animals usually stay in the dwelling during the day or in its immediate vicinity. The pigs lie in the living room under a bench or table or at the hearth, as they please. /Figs. 80-82 appear here/ /280/ while the chickens busily search for food in all the nooks and corners. No scrap is scorned. [417] Chicken coops in the form of large boxes (Figs. 80 and 81) are usually lodged at the house wall. They are made of boards joined together and are closed with a suitable piece of wood (Fig. 80, A). There are also, however, chicken houses resting on piles (Fig. 82).

231 343 417 [554] The pigpens are put together with stout wooden sticks and are of various sizes, according to the wealth of the owner /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ (Fig. 83). There are large troughs for fodder inside the pens (Fig. 84). At night the cattle are housed in hurdle-like stables. In them, on an underlayer of boards that is raised about 15 centimeters and rests on stones, and under a gabled roof covered with palm leaves, they are well-protected from dampness. The hurdle is enclosed on the sides with a

Miao AE5
Akha A04

M /280 cont./
231 lattice of wooden beams. On the front side some of these beams
343 can be pushed aside in order to let the cattle in or out. Similar
hurdles are customary among our mountain peasants.
417 Lajonquière (1) describes the quarters of the domestic animals in

1. II. p. 305.

almost the same way, and furthermore Abadie (2) and

2. Page 158.

Fig. 83. Pigpen of the Meau. 1/60 natural size.

Fig. 84. Trough for pig fodder. 1/36 nat. size.

Savina (3), too.

3. II, p. 186.

A
M
348

4. Smithies

The smithy (Figs. 85 and 86) is a small structure built in the fashion of the dwelling, which consists of a workroom open at the sides and a second room enclosed with leaf-walls (E).
M [325] The workroom is enclosed by only a few wooden beams (D) and, appropriately for the steep terrain, is on a platform. In it

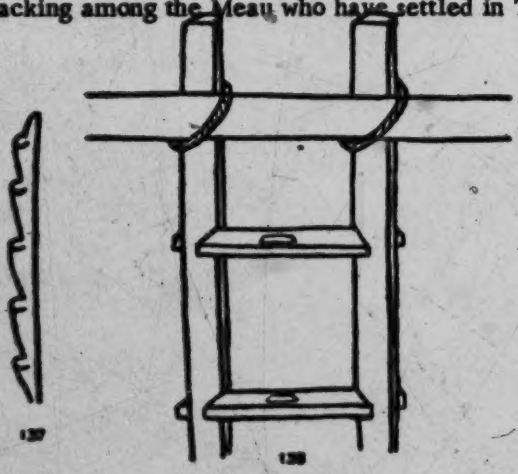
/305 cont./

353 knives, wooden spoons, a grater, small baskets with spices and
352 fruits, vegetables and dried roots, a gourd dipper, a wooden
415 ladle for dipping, and the like. For storing porcelain dishes there are also special hanging baskets with tightly plaited sides and a loosely plaited cover (Fig. 131). Also, a low table for parking things on (Figs. 117 and 132) stands on the other side of the hearth, and next to it there is a bamboo container for the chopsticks (Fig. 133).

352 From the storage loft a large wooden hook hangs down,
353 which has to bear the weight of the heavy water kettle. Also, small hooks carved out of wood and some made of deer-horn, as well as branch-whorls (Figs. 134, 135, and 136), hang on the walls and are used to hang up various pots, baskets, and utensils (see also Fig. 117).

Whereas such devices for putting away and hanging up utensils and the aforementioned wall boards and shelves are
[184] present in abundance, chests and cupboards are completely lacking among the Meau who have settled in Thailand.

•417



Figs. 137-138. Ladders of the Meau.
Fig. 137. Notched tree-trunk, about 1/20 nat. size.
Fig. 138. Ladder with steps, 1/6 nat. size.

Miao AE5

/305 cont./

417 Other important pieces of furniture are the ladders, which /Figs. 137-138 appear here/ /306/ lead to the storage lofts. They are either tree trunks provided with notches (Fig. 137) or ladders with steps (Fig. 138). /Fig. 139 appears here./

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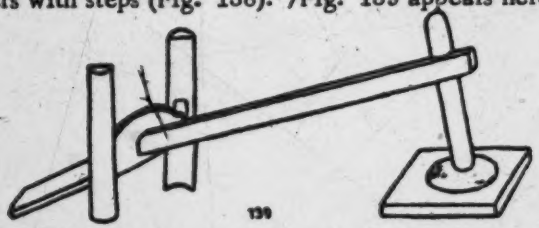


Fig. 139. Grain mortar of the Meau.
1/28 nat. size.

256

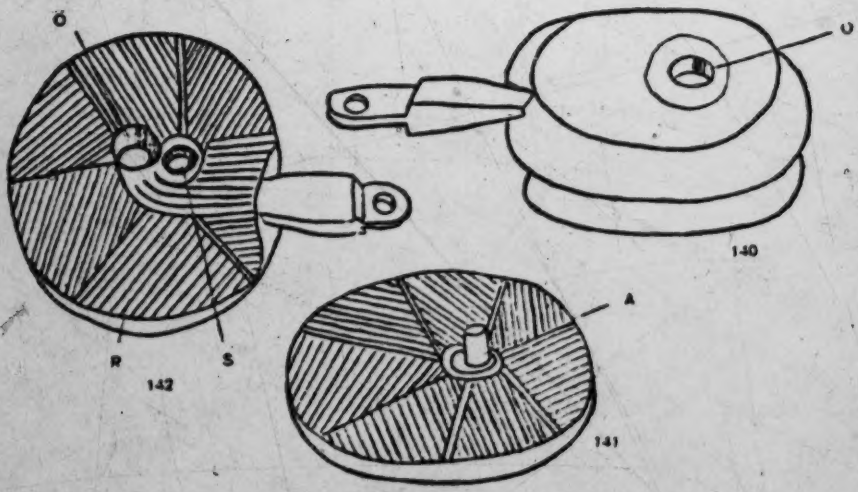


Fig. 140-142. Grain mill of the Meau, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 140. Millstones, joined. Fig. 141, lower, and Fig. 142, upper millstone. 0 = opening for pouring in the grain, R = grooves, S = hole for pivot A.

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
243

2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is [314] left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless [417] it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--495 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/365 cont./

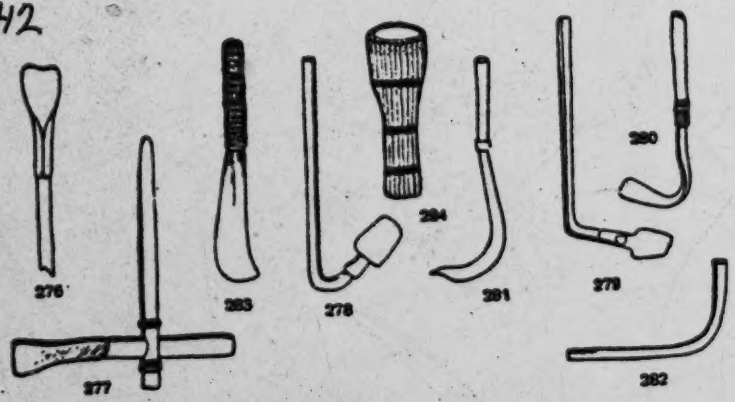
e) Animal Husbandry

M 231 [262] [782]

The Meau are good livestock raisers. The main emphasis is on the raising of pigs, because the animals are regarded not only as food, but also as the most important sacrificial animals. The Meau raise only a very primitive breed similar to the wild pig, which is crossed with the latter, since the domestic pigs run about freely in the villages and their surroundings during the day. At night, however, they are put in pens built especially for them.

M [417]

A 412



Figs. 276-284. Agricultural Equipment of the Akha.

Fig. 276. Digging stick, 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 277. Ax, 1/14 nat. size. Figs. 278-279. Field hoe, 1/28 nat size. Fig. 280. Weeding rake, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 281. Sickle, 1/12 nat. size. Fig. 282. Threshing flail of hard wood, oval in cross-section, 1/80 nat. size. Fig. 283. Jungle knife, 1/19 nat. size. Fig. 284. Sheath of bamboo, 1/18 nat. size.

A [243]

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr./

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[2] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [431] 276 neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[628] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

/39 cont'd/

423 675 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung /1909/ from P'an Chao and Li Yüng-sheng, who hereby jointly sell the land to Lao Pan at the agreed price of 80 large silver dollars."

"Again: In the second year of the Republic /1913/, Chang Ming-yao has raised /the price?/ 12 dollars."

/

"Again: Chin chia-ch'ang has purchased the lands of Mt. Mao-jui. Chang Ming-yao sells the aforesaid land to Chin Chia-ch'ang. The agreed price is 200 large silver dollars. This certificate of purchase is signed and executed in the fourteenth year of the Republic /1925/. /40/ The undersigned Chang Ming-yao, Huang Hsing-li, Ch'en Ch'en-chou, and Li Hsi-ch'ing together with the Li people purchase Mt. Mao-jui which is to be transferred to Lao Teng and Lao Chin for cultivation. The agreed price is 350 silver dollars. Sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/."

"Mt. Nan-shih-lung has been purchased at the agreed price of 576 large silver dollars, on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of the Republic /1912/."

"The sellers of Mt. Nan-shih, Wang Kai-lung and Wang Kai-ch'un sell the said land to Teng Chia-ch'ang at the agreed price of 130 large silver dollars. Tenth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of the Republic /1929/."

421 423 621 The above are contracts for the purchase of mountains. Since these mountains are based or purchased through funds contributed by each family of the whole village, they are, of course, community property. Each family of the village has an equal right in the use of the land. In other words, people of the

/40 cont'd/

421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but without a sense of relative values. The family with whom I lived would accept no money for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chinese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, [422] tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

/240/

241 423 596 Through the labor performed on the land, it thereby passes into the possession of the head of the large /extended/ family. Every large family cultivates its land collectively; there is no distribution of the land among the individual small families of the family union. Just as a large family often cultivates several fields at the same time, it also frequently happens that several large families jointly cultivate only one large field. It depends on the number of individuals in a large family. If several large families, each with few members, jointly cultivate the soil, the land is divided into corresponding sections, each of which is tilled by one large family. Since the fields remain productive for only a short time, a later redistribution is unnecessary.

423 Wild fruits, plants, or trees belong to the person who collects or uses them.

422 [423] [596] Among the Meau only the house itself belongs to the head of the large family, whereas the furnishings are the joint property of all the occupants. This is true of the kitchen equipment, the domestic animals, saddles, bridles, and the like. On the other hand, clothing, weapons, and personal ornaments are the property of the individuals, who usually obtained these objects as gifts, [431] for example, from the head of the large family or the partner of a love affair, and, in the case of children, from their parents, or they made them themselves, such as weapons, traps, and so forth. Similarly, the equipment that the wife has brought into the marriage, such as clothing and the dowry in general, remains her personal property.

The Meau have no special marks of ownership; hence such distinguishing marks are used neither on personal property nor on the domestic animals of the large family.

426 The legal conditions are definite for every form of loan, whether it is money, that is, silver, or field produce, animals, etc. that is involved. Loans are granted and handed over in the presence of three witnesses. No interest has to be paid for a loan up to one year; for a longer period, regardless of whether it is paid back in two years or in ten, interest has to be paid once, amounting to one-third of the value received. For example, if a person has borrowed 21 baskets of rice, 28 baskets are

/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house
596 upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. Moreover, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the sons who are already independent and own their own houses receive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot
[608] inherit anything.

428 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For cal-
803 culating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however, and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions. Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament; if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is distributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance with the system just described. The same procedure is followed with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from
[562] any inheritance, although they retain what was already their
[422] personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of the deceased who are already independent and therefore no
[597] longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

/369 cont./

231 "On the other hand, they do sell pigs. Few peoples
[432] raise as many pigs as the Meau. They are seen everywhere. In every family there is a pig that is petted and favored by everyone."

[422] I could learn no more about property marks on animals than other authors mention them. Informants whom I questioned explained to me that every owner knows his animals without this.

[171] Whereas most of the other peoples of Farther India practice bee-keeping, I could not find it among the Meau. Other authors, too -- with the exception of Lajonquière (1), who

1. II, p. 310.

mentions them in his enumeration of the domestic animals -- report nothing about this, and the raising of silkworms seems to be just as little known among the Meau of all the regions mentioned. I, too, was unable to find it anywhere.

Among the Meau in Thailand, one sporadically comes across so-called "mandarin blackbirds" /Mandarinenamseln/, which are said to be kept as ornamental birds and traded for high prices.

232 Among the Meau whom I visited, the castration of domestic animals is widespread. This is not limited to pigs, cattle, and horses, but includes even dogs and chickens. The animals are castrated by cutting open the scrotum, tying up the reproductive gland, and sewing up the scrotum again. An exception is made in the case of cattle, whose scrotum is clamped between sticks and smashed with a cudgel. In answer to my question as to why so cruel a procedure is used for them, the Meau were of the opinion that it was nothing for the cattle, that they are much less sensitive to pain than horses.

/37 cont'd/

427 amount. If the property is rented, the duration as well as the rate of rent /38/ is fixed. It is to be paid either in one payment or by yearly instalment. After the contract has expired, they are either to move away or to renew the contract, which is determined by mutual agreement. If the property is purchased, the price is usually
423 greater than if it were rented. After the contract is signed, the rights of the mountain are transferred to the Miao purchaser, who may make use of it as he will. The original seller no longer has any rights whatever. The reason why some people among the Miao are able to remain for relatively longer periods in one locality is that they have acquired the ownership of the mountains they live on.
[675] Whether the mountain is rented or purchased, a contract is signed by both parties. The name of the mountain, the price or rent, and the duration if it is rented, are clearly stated. There are many mountains which have been purchased with joint funds of the villagers,
[622] but on the contract only the name of the shan-chia or chia-ch'ang is written, because he is the representative of the whole village during the negotiations and the contract is also kept by him. In the home of a Miao chia-ch'ang, we saw many different contracts of this kind. Some of them are translated as follows:

675 "We, the signers of the contract for Ya-nan Mountain, T'ung
539 Li, Lao Ta-k'ai, Shih Chün and Ying Kuo-ying-chi, having ex-
423 amined the vegetation and marked the soil, hereby agree that the price of the mountain shall be 66 dollars. The expe[illegible]o-ping /the commission?/ shall be 350 cash and a peck of rice from each family. The mountain products, ching-pi, shan-ma, deer horn, bear gall, red and white rattan, are all the property of the owners of the mountain; they shall not be stolen or sold. The Miao will be allowed to cut wood on this mountain for the next 25 years. This contract shall not be revoked on any pretext. Since oral agreement is subject to dispute, this written contract has been drawn as evidence.

Witnessed by Ch'iu K'ai-i

/38 cont'd/

675 This contract is signed in public on the fifteenth day of the
539 second month of the twenty-sixth year of Kuang-hsü, the year of
423 Keng-tze /1900/."

"Again: On the preceding day, the Miao people signed an agreement to pay 270 silver dollars for the mountain land of Mao-kai Mountain. This contract is signed on the seventh day of the first month of the sixteenth year of the Republic /1927/."

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675 /39/ "The rent of Mt. Mao-jui shall be roughly one peck of
423 rice, 350 cash, one jar of wine, and one chicken, to be collected
427 every year."
436

"Wang Kung-ch'ing

427 A new contract has been signed in the year ting-mao of the
675 Republic /1927/; every family is to pay four dollars in the spring of every year. The expenses for tao-ping /commission?/ shall be 305 cash from each family; the expenses for shih-sheng /?/, 100 cash; one chicken, one peck of rice, and one jar of wine from each family.

Black beans, edible fungi, and other mountain products are all included."

The above are contracts for renting mountains.

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423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased from
675 the sellers Li Yüng-sheng, Li Yüng-sheng /sic/, and Mei Ch'ang-sheng. Mt. Mao-jui has been purchased in the twenty-second year of Kuang-hsü /1896/. The price agreed upon is 100 large silver dollars."

/39 cont'd/

423 675 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung /1909/ from P'an Chao and Li Yüng-sheng, who hereby jointly sell the land to Lao Pan at the agreed price of 60 large silver dollars."

"Again: In the second year of the Republic /1913/, Chang Ming-yao has raised /the price?/ 12 dollars."

"Again: Chin chia-ch'ang has purchased the lands of Mt. Mao-jui. Chang Ming-yao sells the aforesaid land to Chin Chia-ch'ang. The agreed price is 200 large silver dollars. This certificate of purchase is signed and executed in the fourteenth year of the Republic /1925/. /40/ The undersigned Chang Ming-yao, Huang Hsing-li, Ch'en Ch'en-chou, and Li Hsi-ch'ing together with the Li people purchase Mt. Mao-jui which is to be transferred to Lao Teng and Lao Chin for cultivation. The agreed price is 350 silver dollars. Sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/."

"Mt. Nan-shih-lung has been purchased at the agreed price of 576 large silver dollars, on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of the Republic /1912/."

"The sellers of Mt. Nan-shih, Wang Kai-lung and Wang Kai-ch'un sell the said land to Teng Chia-ch'ang at the agreed price of 130 large silver dollars. Tenth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of the Republic /1929/."

421 423 621 The above are contracts for the purchase of mountains. Since these mountains are based or purchased through funds contributed by each family of the whole village, they are, of course, community property. Each family of the village has an equal right in the use of the land. In other words, people of the

/40 cont'd/
421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
648 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

2:Ling & Ruey--128 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

566 it was said, the departed spirit of the victim of this atrocity.

Such, then, are some of the conditions under which the Miao lived. Round their necks were the millstones of ignorance and oppression, and humanly speaking, they could never climb higher. They were chained in the Slough of Despond.

131 489 [423] And now let us travel to Miao-land, where these men and women dwell, a people who are amongst the most needy in the world. "Miao-land" is not a stretch of country where you will find Flowery Miao exclusively, because the Miao do not possess land. Miao-land is a section of China inhabited by a preponderance of Chinese, patches of Nosu and, in less accessible regions, large communities of Miao.

Embarking on either a French or a British steamer in that most beautiful harbour of Hongkong, we will slip down the China coast and after two, three or four days glide gently up the delta of the Red River into Haiphong. Here we will board a train which, after chugging for three days (at times the gradient is so steep that one feels that by leaning forward one could help the puffing engine), the train will deposit you in Yunnanfu, the capital of the province of Yunnan. The Tonkin-Yunnan railway, with its ascending slopes, its dauntless bridges, its viaducts and tortuous tunnels, is one of the engineering feats of the world of which the French nation may justly be proud. Kunming (Yunnanfu) is the terminus, but our

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

39: Bernatzik--321 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
[634] Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
[622] herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
[596] family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
[184] since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

/240/

241 Through the labor performed on the land, it thereby passes
423 into the possession of the head of the large /extended/ family.
596 Every large family cultivates its land collectively; there is no distribution of the land among the individual small families of the family union. Just as a large family often cultivates several fields at the same time, it also frequently happens that several large families jointly cultivate only one large field. It depends on the number of individuals in a large family. If several large families, each with few members, jointly cultivate the soil, the land is divided into corresponding sections, each of which is tilled by one large family. Since the fields remain productive for only a short time, a later redistribution is unnecessary.

423 Wild fruits, plants, or trees belong to the person who collects or uses them.

422 Among the Meau only the house itself belongs to the head
[423] of the large family, whereas the furnishings are the joint property
[596] of all the occupants. This is true of the kitchen equipment, the domestic animals, saddles, bridles, and the like. On the other hand, clothing, weapons, and personal ornaments are the prop-
[431] erty of the individuals, who usually obtained these objects as gifts, for example, from the head of the large family or the partner of a love affair, and, in the case of children, from their parents, or they made them themselves, such as weapons, traps, and so forth. Similarly, the equipment that the wife has brought into the marriage, such as clothing and the dowry in general, remains her personal property.

The Meau have no special marks of ownership; hence such distinguishing marks are used neither on personal property nor on the domestic animals of the large family.

426 The legal conditions are definite for every form of loan, whether it is money, that is, silver, or field produce, animals, etc. that is involved. Loans are granted and handed over in the presence of three witnesses. No interest has to be paid for a loan up to one year; for a longer period, regardless of whether it is paid back in two years or in ten, interest has to be paid once, amounting to one-third of the value received. For example, if a person has borrowed 21 baskets of rice, 28 baskets are

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
243

2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is [314] left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] [417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

C /106 cont./
175 the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of
631 villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the
563 governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the
M control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies
*175 and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked
631 to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-
*618 general and governor and military officials should examine the
[622] merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them
[625] accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommendations memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been
C abolished, official communications should be despatched ac-
[203] cording to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on
C official business need servants, then order the said Miao to
[357] serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

M According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials,
[622] although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were
M pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,
[425]

/107 cont./

the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

/115 cont./

000 C 175 563 701 651 425 empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a rebellion. At this time Fu Nai of Yüan-ch'en tao met with Brigade General Fu Chih-na of Chen-kan Chen and summoned together people of the sub-prefecture to discuss a long-range plan. And so they began the t'un system of defense. Fields were allotted to feed the fighters and to defend the guard houses against the Miao. As for the people's /i.e. Chinese/ land, except for fields for sustenance, a male could retain three tou of grain, a woman one tou. As for the rest of the land seven were allotted while three were retained, for one shih of grain three tou was personally retained, and seven tou given up for allotment, to feed the fighters and guard the frontier. In the C [712] Feng-huang area there were more than 830 stone guard houses, requiring 4,000 men to man them in rotation. Further, 1,000 men were trained to be combat ready. The more than 22,000 mu of land allotted were not enough to meet the expense, and so another allotment of more than 12,300 mu at Lu-ch'i and Mo-yang was made. There were also 127 stone petty military C [712] stations /tiao pao/ at Kan-chou, manned by 800 soldiers, supported by more than 2,170 mu of allotted land. The original sect of government of Yung-sui, before the Miao rebellion during the reign period of Ch'ien Lung and Chia Ch'ing, was at Wei-ch'eng, which was entirely surrounded by the Miao. In the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/, the seat of government was moved to Hua-yüan with a newly built yamen. C [712] There were 126 stone guard houses with 2,000 soldiers. The people's land, i.e. Chinese land, usurped by rebels and recovered for public use, totaled more than 17,110 mu. There were over 70 stone military stations /tiao pao/, at Pao-ching, with 300 soldiers and over 2,170 mu of allotted land. There were only 18 stone guard houses at Ku-chang-p'ing with a hundred soldiers and over 120 mu of allotted land.

M The above refers to Chinese t'un /min t'un/. In addition, * [175] there were also Miao t'un. After the suppression of the Miao * [648] rebellion, the Miao tribes, awed by military might, surrendered [651] all the Chinese land formerly forcefully usurped by them, and [727] [425]

C 175 523 651 425 [701] M *175 *648 651 425 [727]

/115 cont./ also searched into the properties of the rebel Miao and decided to return them for public use. The forcefully usurped land totaling over 30,100 mu and the rebels' properties totaling over 5,400 mu were redistributed among the law-abiding Miao to farm. Granaries were built to collect rent /tsu/ for the maintenance of Miao soldiers. The pressing for rent, the inspecting of fields, the distribution and transportation of grain, and other duties were all the responsibility of Miao officials.

/116/ The total amount of Chinese land and Miao land given up for allotment in the seven sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao area was as follows: (1)

1. Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng K'ao, Chapter 7, "Chün T'un San," "Chün T'un T'ien Tu Ts'ung Shu" /"The Total Amount of Allotted T'un Land," in "Allotted T'un," 3/," numbers set after the subduing of the Miao in 1797.

1. Feng-huang Sub-prefecture
   (1) Allotted fields 22,080.6 mu (allotted in the fifth year of Chia Ch'ing /1800/).
   (2) Fields returned to public use 3,539 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao but surrendered when called on and returned for public use).
   (3) Fields redeemed by the government 5,587.3 mu. (Chinese fields granted to the Miao at a low pledge but redeemed by the government for public use).
   (4) Fields usurped by the rebels surrendered by the Miao 7,650.8 mu (Miao rebels' property, wrongfully farmed by them, surrendered to the government for public use).
   (5) Usurped rebel land returned by the Miao 5,983.7 mu (same as above).

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(6) Private fields presented by Miao 1,595.7 mu (private property contributed by Miao after receiving an official post).

(7) Reclaimed fields 145.8 mu (barren land without crops reclaimed by soldiers).

2. Kan-chou Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 3,628.8 mu.

(2) Land redeemed by the government 776.5 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 3,487 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 196.1 mu.

(5) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 578.5 mu (now become public fields).

(6) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 48.8 mu (same as above).

(7) Private fields surrendered by Miao on request 604.6 mu.

3. Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 529.7 mu.

/117/ (2) Fields redeemed by the government 93.4 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 127.8 mu.

(4) Private fields given up by other Miao 227 mu.

4. Pao-ching Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 2,178.6 mu.

(2) Fields redeemed by the government 628.6 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 1,476 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 303.6 mu.

(5) Private fields presented by Miao petty officers 300.2 mu.

(6) Disputed usurped fields given over by the Miao 296.9 mu.

2:Ling & Ruey--173 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

C 175 563 651 425 M *175 *648 651 425

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5. Yung-sui Sub-prefecture
   (1) Fields returned to public use 16,114.3 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao taken back by the government for public use).
   (2) Redeemed fields 8,468.7 mu.
   (3) Rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 5,940.7 mu.
   (4) Rebel land surrendered by the Miao 9,895.7 mu.
   (5) Private fields contributed by Miao petty officers 500.4 mu.
   (6) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 287 mu.
   (7) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 345.6 mu.
   (8) Reclaimed fields 2,545.5 mu.
   (9) Reclaimed land 10,130 mu.
6. Lu-ch'i Hsien
   (1) Allotted fields 5,382.5 mu.
7. Mo-yang Hsien
   (1) Allotted fields 6,983.1 mu.

/118/ The total of the above fields and land is 131,640.6 mu. In the thirteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1808/ a total of 15,219.3 mu of fields and land was surveyed in the three hsien, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, and Yung-sui. In the sixteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1811/ another total of 5,873.2 mu of fields and land was surveyed, totaling 152,157.1 mu of fields and land. Of this besides the land allocated to the army for horses and farming, land lost through floods and erosion, and also the land used for stone guard houses and surroundings, totaling 11,084.3 mu, and another 37,849 mu distributed among the t'un able-bodied males, leaders, the aged, and the young, there remained 103,223.8 mu. Farmers were recruited to farm this land and rent /in kind/ collected. The annual receipt in grain totaled 105,488 shih, three tou, and nine sheng.

C 195 563 651 M *175 *648 651

The Miao frontier region is mountainous and lacking in fields. For the most part they develop mountain slopes, building up terraced fields for the cultivation of rice grown in

/123 cont./

C 701 425 651 The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men. The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are 7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i, tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given 4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8 liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent. Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/ /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system, totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier region is about 1,000 strong. The maintainance of the Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

C 701 425 651 563 M 701 648 [425] [177]

2:Ling & Ruey--185 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/126 cont./

000 obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system
C of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao
563 area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un
669 fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders
[425] often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt
[651] in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances.
M In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao re-
648 bellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system.
[425] It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un
[701] officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

/127/

CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

M The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There
121 are no people however primitive without religion and magic.
771 Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic
000 and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in Science, Religon and Reality by

/80 cont./

A reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy
M also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate,
593 among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this
858 trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children
[152] and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives
M delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously
515 performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The
593 parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children
593 was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal:
[595] "He never disposes of their property without consulting them.
425 If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with every-
758 thing they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau
270 parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the
185 plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly
614 secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of
736 its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the
M eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark
185 in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest
[858] from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

/103 cont./

184 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when ap-
585 propriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the relatives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's
[583] parents demand 'ngön sin sot,' the money which is required for the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals ....
p [426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 This extending of credit for the purchase price is con-
426 firmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II, p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by
[114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which
184 we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to
595

4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile,

/240/ [illegible] /

241 423 596 Through the labor performed on the land, it thereby passes into the possession of the head of the large extended/ family. Every large family cultivates its land collectively; there is no distribution of the land among the individual small families of the family union. Just as a large family often cultivates several fields at the same time, it also frequently happens that several large families jointly cultivate only one large field. It depends on the number of individuals in a large family. If several large families, each with few members, jointly cultivate the soil, the land is divided into corresponding sections, each of which is tilled by one large family. Since the fields remain productive for only a short time, a later redistribution is unnecessary.

423 Wild fruits, plants, or trees belong to the person who collects or uses them.

422 [423] [596] Among the Meau only the house itself belongs to the head of the large family, whereas the furnishings are the joint property of all the occupants. This is true of the kitchen equipment, the domestic animals, saddles, bridles, and the like. On the other hand, clothing, weapons, and personal ornaments are the property of the individuals, who usually obtained these objects as gifts, for example, from the head of the large family or the partner of a love affair, and, in the case of children, from their parents, or they made them themselves, such as weapons, traps, and so forth. Similarly, the equipment that the wife has brought into the marriage, such as clothing and the dowry in general, remains her personal property. [431]

The Meau have no special marks of ownership; hence such distinguishing marks are used neither on personal property nor on the domestic animals of the large family.

● 426 The legal conditions are definite for every form of loan, whether it is money, that is, silver, or field produce, animals, etc. that is involved. Loans are granted and handed over in the presence of three witnesses. No interest has to be paid for a loan up to one year; for a longer period, regardless of whether it is paid back in two years or in ten, interest has to be paid once, amounting to one-third of the value received. For example, if a person has borrowed 21 baskets of rice, 28 baskets are

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567] In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[736] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head, even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /242/
426 In case of malicious nonpayment, which in practice al-
[622] most never occurs, the creditor turns to the village chief, who
[686] will make use of his powers. If even his efforts are unsuccessful, the creditor has the right to kill the debtor.

Limitation of debts is unknown, but repayment in install-
M ments is customary. If a Meau debtor lives in a village other
426 than the one where the creditor lives or moves to a different
675 village, a sort of promissory note is made out. It consists of a
[211] piece of wood into which a notch is cut for the value of each ten pieces of silver. Thereupon the stick is split lengthwise in such a way that the halved notches remain on each of the sides of the stick. The creditor keeps one half of the stick; the debtor
M takes the other half with him. This practical custom seems to
[184] be very widespread among the Meau and not limited to Thailand. In any case Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in similar fashion on the

1. Page 172.

Meau in Tonkin.

If a creditor wants repayment from the debtor, he need not seek him out himself, but can ask someone else to demand the amount for him. He then gives the half of the stick to the messenger as identification. Upon presentation, the debtor is obliged to pay the messenger, identified by the half of the stick, the amount shown on the stick, beginning at the date agreed upon, provided that this half agrees with the one that remained with the debtor. On the other hand, if only partial payment is made, the old debt-stick is destroyed and a new one prepared showing the residual amount, and this is handled in the same way as the first. The messenger is then given a half of the stick to take back.

A The situation regarding property among the Akha differs
423 considerably from that among the Meau. Uncultivated land belongs to no one; it is considered as unrestricted, as are hunting and fishing. Accordingly, the land may be taken into possession
A by any tribesman without further inquiry by merely beginning to
[596] clear and cultivate it. It is left entirely up to him to choose the
[614] land and the extent of the land. Since, however, land is usually

/467 cont./

426 576 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 576 As "please," the Meau use the word tǎu or tǎu mǎn yē, which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tǒ tsē, but one usually says tǒ tšē hǒ lǒ, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kǔ tsǐ ǒa. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lǎu šǐ yǔn; veneration = lǎu šǐ lǔ lē; contempt = hǔ yǔ; fear, horror = hǔi; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ǒǔ.

156 115 156 622 123 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

113, 427, 563 Miao AE5

/For a short description of the relationship of the Miao and the Lolo (Yi), and the effects of Communist rule on this relationship, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 83-84/

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [43] 276 neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[628] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

/37 cont'd/

427 amount. If the property is rented, the duration as well as the rate of rent /38/ is fixed. It is to be paid either in one payment or by yearly instalment. After the contract has expired, they are either to move away or to renew the contract, which is determined by mutual agreement. If the property is purchased, the price is usually 423 greater than if it were rented. After the contract is signed, the rights of the mountain are transferred to the Miao purchaser, who may make use of it as he will. The original seller no longer has any rights whatever. The reason why some people among the Miao are able to remain for relatively longer periods in one locality is that they have acquired the ownership of the mountains they live on. [675] Whether the mountain is rented or purchased, a contract is signed by both parties. The name of the mountain, the price or rent, and the duration if it is rented, are clearly stated. There are many mountains which have been purchased with joint funds of the villagers, [622] but on the contract only the name of the shan-chia or chia-ch'ang is written, because he is the representative of the whole village during the negotiations and the contract is also kept by him. In the home of a Miao chia-ch'ang, we saw many different contracts of this kind. Some of them are translated as follows:

675 "We, the signers of the contract for Ya-nan Mountain, T'ung
539 Li, Lao Ta-k'ai, Shih Chün and Ying Kuo-ying-chi, having ex-
423 amined the vegetation and marked the soil, hereby agree that the price of the mountain shall be 66 dollars. The expenses of tao-ping /the commission?/ shall be 350 cash and a peck of rice from each family. The mountain products, ching-pi, shan-ma, deer horn, bear gall, red and white rattan, are all the property of the owners of the mountain; they shall not be stolen or sold. The Miao will be allowed to cut wood on this mountain for the next 25 years. This contract shall not be revoked on any pretext. Since oral agreement is subject to dispute, this written contract has been drawn as evidence.

Witnessed by Ch'iu K'ai-i

/38 cont'd/

675 This contract is signed in public on the fifteenth day of the
539 second month of the twenty-sixth year of Kuang-hsü, the year of
423 Keng-tze /1900/."

"Again: On the preceding day, the Miao people signed an agreement to pay 270 silver dollars for the mountain land of Mao-kai Mountain. This contract is signed on the seventh day of the first month of the sixteenth year of the Republic /1927/."

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675 /39/ "The rent of Mt. Mao-jui shall be roughly one peck of
423 rice, 350 cash, one jar of wine, and one chicken, to be collected
427 every year."
436

"Wang Kung-ch'ing

427 A new contract has been signed in the year ting-mao of the
675 Republic /1927/; every family is to pay four dollars in the spring of every year. The expenses for tao-ping /commission?/ shall be 305 cash from each family; the expenses for shih-sheng /?/, 100 cash; one chicken, one peck of rice, and one jar of wine from each family.

Black beans, edible fungi, and other mountain products are all included."

The above are contracts for renting mountains.

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423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased from
675 the sellers Li Yüng-sheng, Li Yüng-sheng /sic/, and Mei Ch'ang-sheng. Mt. Mao-jui has been purchased in the twenty-second year of Kuang-hsü /1896/. The price agreed upon is 100 large silver dollars."

797 They are mostly converted to the faith because
427 they are tenant farmers on the land owned by the church. This land, also known as the "bible-hall land", is scattered over a number of localities that border on the Chung-chia villages. The profits from the land are equally divided. The advantages for tenant farmers being more than elsewhere, many Chung-chia people become believers in order to cultivate the church land. Every Sunday the farmers attend mass in nearby churches. During harvest time in October the church would send out priests to the villages to supervise harvests, where they also conduct religious services morning and night, requiring all believers to attend (some of the villages have small churches). The priest remains in each village for about a week, putting up with the richest family, but the expenses on food are borne by all the tenant farmers in the village. In recent years this relationship is undergoing a change as it is said that the priests have indulged in extortions which have greatly shaken the faith of the Miao-I believers.

797 Besides Catholics there are Protestants within the district. The China Inland Mission maintains a Gospel Church in An-shun. It was established in 1897 by an American missionary, Tanchüshih /transliterated/, who went deep into the Miao villages in many areas. His friendli-
[162] ness and sincerity won him many converts. At present there are in this hsien area from 5000 to 6000 Christians, both Chinese and Miao-I. The missionary was especially successful among the Hua Miao, and there are more Christians
792 among this tribe than among others. The leader
797 of the Hua Miao in An-shun was Yang Ching-an, who was trained by Tanchüshih. In the early years of the Chinese Republic, Yang had followed the American missionary to Shanghai and Nanking. With his extensive experience he was considered

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

427 district they[1] In Weining are most of them the tenants of the I-chia.

273 Drink is, we believe, in most cases the cause of their poverty and degradation. The love of whisky, which they make for themselves, is a prevailing vice among them all, men and women. Festivals, marriages, funerals, and sacrificial observances in reference to the dead, are all occasions for the reckless consumption of whisky. Chinese women at feasts sometimes drink more whisky than is good for them, but they have the good sense even then to stay indoors till the effects of it have passed away. We cannot remember that we ever saw an intoxicated Chinese woman. But Miao women glory in their shame, and are not infrequently seen hilariously, helplessly drunk, parading, or trying to parade, along the village street. Some of these drinking bouts, on the occasion of a marriage or funeral, go on for three days and nights, and the sounds of drunken songs and revelry are heard all over the village.

000 Morally most of them are below, and some of them immeasurably below, the Chinese. We know most about the Heh Miao and the Hua Miao, and these probably are the two extremes—the Heh Miao the best, and the Hua Miao and Ta-hua Miao of the west and north-west the

1 [i.e., the Miao -- Analyst]

/31 cont'd/

595 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness of single men" would be inevitable.

When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons, his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose husband comes to ~~live in her family~~. A son adopted as an heir also has the right to inherit.

597

551 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539 /32/
601

MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS
A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS
MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS — BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture inKwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[434] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ʐ'iɤ] in the Miao language, and a ku woman is called [mp'ɑt ʐ'iɤ]. Most of the ku women are loved by their husbands, /200/ which is called /t'iɔʌ ʐ'iɤ/, meaning seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[829] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

443 ments worn by the women were bought of a
Chinese silversmith in a certain village and
439 had to be paid for in silver dollars. Beads and
embroidered strips were also bought of the
Chinese.

428 **Inheritance.** The family was the social unit. Descent was through males and the oldest living male was the head of the family. Non-personal property belonged to the family as a whole and even clothing and ornaments might be passed around, especially when one or more represented the family on some social occasion. Then, in order to do honor to the family and to their hosts, they made a display of the family wealth. A woman owned the

428 ornaments she bought or had given her and the embroidery she made. She gave most of her ornaments to her daughters.

The possessions of the family as a whole were in land and animals. After the death of both parents the sons usually divided up the property, but all continued to work together in the cultivation of rice and the chief winter crops, leaving the care of gardens to the women of each household. If there were several married sons in a family, some had homes of their own, but they still gave mutual help. Some families had fairly extensive holdings in various directions from the village, but almost entirely in this one valley.

[426]

[163 cont.]

631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their [627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

/32 cont./

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children; no limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and [582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child [428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qualified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but [851] are received into the family community with the same ceremony as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights for this child from its former family.

597 184 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this, [595] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named, must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these statements.

/33 cont./

A 597 Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase A [435] price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all.

M 608 Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is M [273] slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both go to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper M [776] that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is [782] burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded.

The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support M [428] each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled [837] to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other.

A 608 572 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends," without any special rights and duties.

/176 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The
[302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the
[292] back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of
756 his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
787 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-spirit of all the shamans, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsŭ, and the three pairs of
[782] assistant spirits, tă fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé. The teacher-
[776] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
[801] Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/177 cont./

428 756 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 787 [775] It is the task of the shaman to learn the wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make them known to human beings. The shaman, however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also impossible for the shaman to bewitch human beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40 Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 755 789 [822] Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors, the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures [787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of [778] the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

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Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
[634] Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
[622] herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
[596] family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
[184] since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/243 cont./

A 426 [614] Limitation of debts is as unknown to the Akha as it is to the Meau. The Akha, too, are familiar with repaying a loan in installments, as well as with interest charges. Among the Akha, however, interest is collected from sib members as well as from /244/ outsiders. The interest rate is not fixed once and for all, but in each case is left to a voluntary arrangement by the partners.

A [768] [567] [858] After the death of a debtor, the heirs are responsible for debts which he was unable to settle before his demise. In contrast to the situation among the Meau, the creditor has no right with respect to tardy debtors to make slaves or debt prisoners of their children in lieu of payment. Also, there is no such absolute power over the debtor himself or the other members of his family. A [686] The killing of a debtor is out of the question.

[675] [211] Among the Akha I did not find the making of a debt-stick or any custom similar to it.

b) Right of Succession

M 596 428 When the head of a large /extended/ family dies among the Meau, his estate is not divided up for the time being. The members of the large family remain together as before, and the oldest married son still living in the house of the deceased, in other words, a man not yet thirty years old, is the chief heir and assumes the privileges of the deceased. He cannot refuse the obligation and office which fall to him. If he nevertheless M [622] shuns them, the village chief has him summoned and reminds him of his duty.

If this son should be incapable of providing for the family of the deceased because of sickness or as a result of his physical or mental make-up, he is replaced by the second oldest son still living in the paternal home, provided that he has the necessary qualifications. In short, the place of the deceased head is taken by that son remaining in the house who has the required physical M [622] [692] qualifications and is next in age. In case of conflict, it is the business of the village chief to make the decision.

/244 cont./

428 596 [184]

Among the Meau in Tonkin, somewhat different legal conceptions seem to prevail, for Lajonquière (1) writes: "Cash,

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

furniture, produce, and animals are distributed only after the death of the last parent (mother or father), for among the Meau the mother remains the head of the family /245/ after the death of her husband, and she is the owner of all his possessions until her death."

Abadie (1), too, describes customs which are likewise different from those which I found: "When the mother dies, the possessions in movable goods (money, implements, animals, and harvested produce) are distributed among the male children. The oldest son or the son who remains in the parental house becomes head of the family and is given the paternal property, on which other children may also live in accordance with special arrangements."

Dhuraratsadorn (2) also reports explicitly: "Even if the

2. Page 169.

deceased has left behind many sons and daughters, only the eldest son, as the successor of the family, inherits."

Among the Meau in Thailand, as has been said, the family unit continues to exist after the death of the great chief under the new head, and, to be sure, as long as wives of the deceased are still living. It is only after the death of the last of these wives that the married sons under the age of thirty make themselves independent and build their own homes for themselves and their wives. Since, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Dissolution of Marriage," [589] younger widows usually remarry, whereas the widows already old and their children remain in the house of the deceased, it may easily happen that, after the death of these widows, minor children, that is, unmarried sons and daughters, survive. The

/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house
596 upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. More-
over, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed
among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the
sons who are already independent and own their own houses re-
ceive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot
[608] inherit anything.

428 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For cal-
803 culating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each
piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased
under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn
two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the
former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain
of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his
grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each
son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been
distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the
grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however,
and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions.
Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament;
if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is
the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and
the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is dis-
tributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields
which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs
until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance
with the system just described. The same procedure is followed
with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they
die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from
[562] any inheritance, although they retain what was already their
[422] personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the
ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their
father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of
the deceased who are already independent and therefore no
[597] longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

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1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband
[597] live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house
[589] of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

M /247 cont./
428 case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry
[589] again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin
[596] takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief
[605] takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the
[622] house owners of his village.

Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations,
[764] the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A 428 Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over
[596] only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female mem-
A bers of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are
[562] widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are
[422] among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A /248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits every-
[595] thing, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or
[756] shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions
[622] are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir
A and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however,
[572] bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother
[608] outside the family.

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [431 276] neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[628] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

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Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 651 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- 583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [131] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in- 608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

/47 cont'd/

585 Before the wedding someone is invited by both families to select an auspicious day for the wedding in accordance with the hour, day, month, and year of birth of both the girl and boy. Once the date is selected, both families then begin to prepare for the wedding. If the wedding is of the ch'ü-hsi type, the bridegroom's family comes to the bride's family to go to meet the bride. Otherwise, the bridegroom is received at the home of his wife.

123 At one time, the author attended a Miao wedding ceremony of the chao-chui type. The following account was written in accordance with what I saw that day. It may help the reader to understand the usual manner in which a Miao wedding is celebrated.

585 On the wedding day, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were very busy. All their relatives and friends gathered at their homes to offer congratulations. Cows and pigs were slaughtered. All day long, the bride's family particularly, was in a turmoil. Not until evening, however, did the principal part of the wedding ceremony begin. The bridegroom wore a long gown, a riding [292] jacket, socks, and shoes. His head was covered with a large pointed kerchief, which also covered most of his face, as if the bridegroom was very shy. He was carried out from his home on the back of a male go-between. Close behind them another man holding a wide open cloth umbrella to cover him followed step by step. They were preceded by another male go-between followed by a man who carried the wedding gifts. The wedding gifts consisted of wine and [43] tobacco leaves. The two go-betweens and the men who carried the umbrella and the wedding gifts were formally dressed in long gowns, riding jackets, socks, shoes, etc. After the bridegroom had come a few steps from out the door, the go-between at the front of the procession fired a few firecrackers and the procession paused. Not until they heard the explosion of the firecrackers set off by the bride's family did they continue to go ahead. (In this wedding, the two families happened to be close neighbors. The sound of the firecrackers could be heard from either side.) After they had walked halfway they stopped once more. In a moment two young girls sent ahead from the bride's family (called pan-niang, "bridesmaids")

[10 cont.]
585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight,
591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first
852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would
431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a
[804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their
[755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

796 535 The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating [769] oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

/88 cont./

M 832 883 123 seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together. Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because, they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love, and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels himself very much the center of attention and declares that if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

M [515] M [533]

A M 836 [548] [431] That purely materialistic considerations play only a minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M 114 548 836 In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported, without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/240/

241 423 596 Through the labor performed on the land, it thereby passes into the possession of the head of the large /extended/ family. Every large family cultivates its land collectively; there is no distribution of the land among the individual small families of the family union. Just as a large family often cultivates several fields at the same time, it also frequently happens that several large families jointly cultivate only one large field. It depends on the number of individuals in a large family. If several large families, each with few members, jointly cultivate the soil, the land is divided into corresponding sections, each of which is tilled by one large family. Since the fields remain productive for only a short time, a later redistribution is unnecessary.

423 Wild fruits, plants, or trees belong to the person who collects or uses them.

422 [423] [596] Among the Meau only the house itself belongs to the head of the large family, whereas the furnishings are the joint property of all the occupants. This is true of the kitchen equipment, the domestic animals, saddles, bridles, and the like. On the other hand, clothing, weapons, and personal ornaments are the property of the individuals, who usually obtained these objects as gifts, for example, from the head of the large family or the partner of a love affair, and, in the case of children, from their parents, or they made them themselves, such as weapons, traps, and so forth. Similarly, the equipment that the wife has brought into the marriage, such as clothing and the dowry in general, remains her personal property. [431]

The Meau have no special marks of ownership; hence such distinguishing marks are used neither on personal property nor on the domestic animals of the large family.

426 The legal conditions are definite for every form of loan, whether it is money, that is, silver, or field produce, animals, etc. that is involved. Loans are granted and handed over in the presence of three witnesses. No interest has to be paid for a loan up to one year; for a longer period, regardless of whether it is paid back in two years or in ten, interest has to be paid once, amounting to one-third of the value received. For example, if a person has borrowed 21 baskets of rice, 28 baskets are

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special intermediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, [648] who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

[435] For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy about seventy, are paid.[1] The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but

1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

they are not refuted by any other author.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/108 cont./

A 595 even the clothes of the secondary wives, belong to her. Among the Akha, the position of the daughter-in-law, who is [422] the first to be called upon for assistance in all the difficult or [606] unpleasant work of the women, is similar to her position among [179] the Meau, and presumably has likewise been influenced by the Chinese. Among the Akha, as among the Meau, after the A M 837 wedding both sexes are required to observe marital fidelity, which among the Meau at least is not always followed. If a man commits adultery with a girl, it is considered unimportant, 684 provided that there are no consequences. If there are, the man must marry the girl or pay an indemnity agreed upon. It is different if a man commits adultery with a married woman and the affair is discovered. In this case, the seducer has to pay the deceived husband the entire bride price or he will be punished by the village chief. Moreover, the disclosure of A M such a case is a terrible disgrace for the seducer, whose prestige in the community suffers greatly (see the section, "Dissolution [558] of Marriage," in this chapter).

The obligation for marital fidelity for both sexes is stricter among the Akha than among the Meau.

A 184 837 Telford (1) reports that among the Akha of Kengtung

1. Page 108.

a married, but childless woman may have sexual intercourse now and then with an unmarried man. If she becomes pregnant, her husband has to /109/ slaughter a pig and give it to her lover. I assume that the reference to a slaughtered pig means that a sacrificial feast must be arranged.

A M Wife exchange, the lending of wives, and outright wife-purchase, under which I do not include the indirect purchase 837 for marriage described above, are equally unknown among the 432 Meau and Akha. It can be assumed, I think, that in former 583 times among the Meau a purchase of wives in some form as M yet unknown might have been practiced. In any case this is 174 indicated by the fact that the Meau believe it is not proper 583 to sell the household broom, because this would be tantamount 432

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] 614 [736]

to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648

Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563

Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

M [114]

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567] In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[736] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand,
[184] so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

/369 cont./

231 "On the other hand, they do sell pigs. Few peoples
[432] raise as many pigs as the Meau. They are seen everywhere. In every family there is a pig that is petted and favored by everyone."

I could learn no more about property marks on animals
[422] than other authors mention them. Informants whom I questioned explained to me that every owner knows his animals without this.

Whereas most of the other peoples of Farther India prac-
[171] tice bee-keeping, I could not find it among the Meau. Other authors, too -- with the exception of Lajonquière (1), who

1. II, p. 310.

mentions them in his enumeration of the domestic animals -- report nothing about this, and the raising of silkworms seems to be just as little known among the Meau of all the regions mentioned. I, too, was unable to find it anywhere.

Among the Meau in Thailand, one sporadically comes across so-called "mandarin blackbirds" /Mandarinenamseln/, which are said to be kept as ornamental birds and traded for high prices.

232 Among the Meau whom I visited, the castration of domestic animals is widespread. This is not limited to pigs, cattle, and horses, but includes even dogs and chickens. The animals are castrated by cutting open the scrotum, tying up the reproductive gland, and sewing up the scrotum again. An exception is made in the case of cattle, whose scrotum is clamped between sticks and smashed with a cudgel. In answer to my question as to why so cruel a procedure is used for them, the Meau were of the opinion that it was nothing for the cattle, that they are much less sensitive to pain than horses.

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai (Illus. 7),[1] [433] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has [241] several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

/61 cont./

731 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great number is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails, since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
787 careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above, since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
[825] to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
[776] that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
825 omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occupants will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
825 the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a wounded buffalo or elephant.

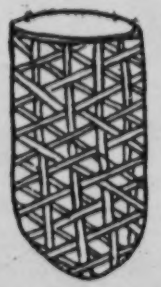
The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes that he cannot expect to bag any game.

/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, A [227] with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India. The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In



M 178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

M [227] [285]

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [439] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable [439] if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [435] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great im- [595] portance. My informant had this to thank for being able to buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/139 cont'd/

Third month, seventh day. (Sunday)

There was a dense fog this morning, and as we could not go out, I wrote several letters. As one of Mr. Wang's workmen intended to leave Oao-t'ing today, I gave him the letter to mail. Yüan-chiung's sickness was completely over by this time, and he had recovered his spirits. We roamed all day long in the neighboring Ch'i and Hsiao villages. In a number of places we saw Hsiao girls at work hulling rice, /140/ but, seeing the approach of strangers, they hid away immediately, so that we had no chance to take pictures of them.

136 444 [135] In the afternoon a Chinese peddler came from Pao-t'ing with a load of black fish for sale. We bought two and a half catties for two hundred copper coins, and they made a rare dish in this deep mountain valley.

Third month, eighth day. (Monday)

361 This morning the fog was again dense till eight o'clock when the sun broke through. We walked leisurely to the lower Hsiao village on the other side. The village was occupied entirely by Hsiao, ten families in all, with three names, Li, Liu, and Huang. Headman /pao chang/ Li welcomed us warmly to his house, and we had a long, pleasant conversation together. When we were leaving, he sent his workmen to carry several catties of potatoes to be brought back with us. In return we gave him gifts of salt, kerosene, candles, etc.

587 In the afternoon we went to the upper Hsiao village to attend a Hsiao wedding. The bride was already thirty years old and had been married before to a Hsiao of Ta-pen village. When her husband died, she had brought her son and daughter back to live with her mother. Now she was to be married for the second time to a Hsiao of the same village. The bridegroom was of about the same age. At the ceremony the couple did not appear in any special apparel; they wore just plain clothes, a little cleaner than usual.

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

252 [text continues on p. 106]

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951. AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

Besides the Meos' predilection for mountain tops they have other claims to distinction. They are utterly independent and quite fearless. Their passion for freedom compels them to live in the smallest of villages and, apart from such rare events as the invasion of 1860, they will not tolerate chiefs or leaders. If forcibly brought to lower altitudes they are soon taken ill and die. They are normally pacific, but if compelled to fight are apt to eat the livers of slain enemies. M 181

The Meos are the only people in Indo-China who are not in the slightest concerned with evil spirits, although they admit their existence. Their complete indifference to all the ghouls and devils that plague the races surrounding them has invested them with enormous prestige, which they are careful to cultivate. They like to encourage the belief, prevalent among the Thais, that they are were-wolves and can turn into tigers at wish. They have no funerary cults but celebrate a funeral – or any other event providing the slightest excuse – with orgies of drinking. Husbands and wives keep their own property. Children are given the greatest degree of freedom; and sexual promiscuity before marriage – even with strangers – is general. 'Sacred groves' exist – there is a celebrated one at Dong-Van in Tonkin – to which Meo girls resort, and offer themselves freely to all comers. It is said that large-scale maps, upon which the locations of such groves have been scrupulously plotted, are the prized possessions of most French garrisons in Tonkin. Besides breeding fine, white dogs, they are experts at taming monkeys and birds, particularly a kind of minah which they teach a wide repertoire of imitative sounds. The Meos will only part with their animals for an enormous price – payable in solid silver which they immediately convert into massive jewellery. M 771 M 836 M 231 435

But the first village beyond Muong Kassy, perched on a bare hill-top and reached laboriously up a long winding path, proved not to belong to Meos but the 'black' Thais – so called from the distinctive dress of their women. It was like climbing up to an eagle's eyrie and finding crows in possession. A rare species of crow though. Check- ST 361

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special intermediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, [448] who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

[435] For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy about seventy, are paid. The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but

1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

they are not refuted by any other author.

/207 cont./

782 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the
231 slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau
[778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value of the animal (Ill. 103).1 Gold paper, which the Meau do not
[439] make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny
[435] shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial
782 hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

1 [see cat 116, p704- ANALYST]

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567] In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[731] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [439] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable [439] if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [435] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great im- [595] portance. My informant had this to thank for being able to buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/381 cont./

276 [439] Furthermore, opium plays a very important role, both as a stimulant and remedy and as an article of trade (see the chapter, "Trade"). When the poppy fruits are almost ripe, they [412] are slit with a special instrument, the poppy-slitting knife (Ill. 73 ‡ and Fig. 289). This consists of three iron blades tied together. The three sharp points of the combined blades are used to slit the capsule, from which a gummy juice flows out. By the next morning it has hardened and is now collected in gourd bowls with a scraper (Fig. 290). This substance is then pressed into bamboo vessels and left for two or three days, whereupon it exudes water. Now it is kneaded and pounded in mortars and rolled into cylinders, which are wrapped in paper. [439] This produces the raw opium, the /382/ /Figs. 289-298 appear here/ article of trade. For one pound the Meau receive 18 ticals [435] from the Chinese traders; the traders then make a profit of many hundred times this amount.

In order to make the ardently desired stimulant from this raw product, it is boiled three times in water in special copper kettles (Fig. 291). For the first cooking, one adds water to the opium in the amount of ten times the weight and cooks it until the opium mixes with the water and forms a homogeneous substance. Then the liquid is filtered through a double layer of bamboo paper (Fig. 192). To the extract obtained, fresh water is added in the amount of 50 per cent of its quantity, the filtered residue is likewise mixed in, and the whole is boiled anew and filtered again. The filtration residue is now thrown away, and [439] the liquid obtained is boiled until it forms a viscous mass which, for trading, may be boiled down until it is quite hard.

The drug is swallowed with water by the Meau, as well as smoked in Chinese fashion, but not chewed. Older men usually eat some opium in the morning but smoke a pipe in the evening. For this purpose the proper amount is /383/ speared on a needle (Fig. 293), then heated over a small lamp (Figs. 294 and 295) until it becomes soft (Ill. 74), ‡ and then stuck into the opium pipe (Fig. 296) which is smoked.

‡ [See cat 116, p573- ANALYST]

/424 cont./

439 has already been mentioned, obtain iron, metal pots and pans, flints, matches, sulphur needed for the making of gunpowder, salt, insofar as it is not purchased directly from the neighboring valley peoples, cowrie shells, buttons, cretonne, silk, small mirrors, thread, needles, and embroidery thread. Unfortunately, these traders also bring in fabrics whose importation is superfluous. Moreover, they sell the coveted magic articles and amulets and deal in children for adoption, or even women.

The traders make a profit of several hundredfold, since, [435] besides their not very pronounced commercial talent, the Meau lack the connection with the rest of the world needed for a proper evaluation of the worth of their wares.

Business with the traders, who scrupulously seek out village after village, takes place during the dry season, since [487] the mountain paths are impassable in the rainy season. A trade journey of the Haw therefore takes months. The wares desired by the Meau are carried by porters and pack animals up and down through the mountainous terrain and through the virgin 437 forests. Barter, formerly the only type of trade, is still widely 439 practiced. In the first place there is the raw opium of the Meau, and then stags' horns, the horns of the rhinoceros, and irovy. Rattan lianas, finished baskets, and field produce also serve as articles for barter, primarily the latter because the many porters of the traders need food.

436 Besides the traditional barter goods, a means of payment 437 used today is a range of kinds of money, and, to be sure, from those countries that have been traversed by the Meau. For the most part, the coins in circulation are those which officially represent the currency of the country in which the Meau happen to be living. Thus, in Burmese territory rupees are principally used, in Thailand ticals, in Indochina piasters, on Chinese territory the current Chinese standard; interestingly enough, besides these kinds of money, Russian coins are said to have been in circulation among the Meau in former times.

/464 cont./

152 556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

439 435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yarn, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

574 [123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /465/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

/38 cont'd/

675 This contract is signed in public on the fifteenth day of the
539 second month of the twenty-sixth year of Kuang-hsü, the year of
423 Keng-tze /1900/."

"Again: On the preceding day, the Miao people signed an agreement to pay 270 silver dollars for the mountain land of Mao-kai Mountain. This contract is signed on the seventh day of the first month of the sixteenth year of the Republic /1927/."

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675 /39/ "The rent of Mt. Mao-jui shall be roughly one peck of
423 rice, 350 cash, one jar of wine, and one chicken, to be collected
427 every year."
436

"Wang Kung-ch'ing

427 A new contract has been signed in the year ting-mao of the
675 Republic /1927/; every family is to pay four dollars in the spring of every year. The expenses for tao-ping /commission?/ shall be 305 cash from each family; the expenses for shih-sheng /?/, 100 cash; one chicken, one peck of rice, and one jar of wine from each family.

Black beans, edible fungi, and other mountain products are all included."

The above are contracts for renting mountains.

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423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased from
675 the sellers Li Yüng-sheng, Li Yüng-sheng /sic/, and Mei Ch'ang-sheng. Mt. Mao-jui has been purchased in the twenty-second year of Kuang-hsü /1896/. The price agreed upon is 100 large silver dollars."

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

more restricted in distribution. All other 563
names apply to sub-groups.

These often seem to be rather in the nature 101
of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians.

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played 301
and still do play various roles in China. From 436
very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger [7] quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in Dynasty they used cowries in trade." Marco

[76]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

301 436 Polo refers to them in this capacity in his description of the journey he took into the southwest of China on behalf of the Great Khan. The I-shu (義疏) says, "Yünnan people call the pei 'hai p'a,' p'a being the shell of the animal."[8] There are in the Museum at West China Union University at Ch'engtu metal objects made to represent cowries and once used as money. Hai-p'a (Cowrie Shell) Miao girls also wear ornaments of silver in the form of cowrie shells.

787 Another character, "cheng" (貞), has been interpreted as the fee paid to one who examines the markings on a shell. It might also be thought of as divination by means of cowrie shells. Among the Mo-so of Yünnan cowries are still used for that purpose. A full account of this is given in an article by Dr. T'ao Yün-kuei in the *Anthropological Journal*.[9] There are in the Ch'engtu Museum a number of the Mo-so divination classics from the collection made by Dr. Joseph Rock.

301 Still another character, "fen" (玢), suggests for us by its composition of shells and plants a third use to which these shells are put among many peoples of Southwest China, ornamentation. I have seen an apron used by the Ch'uan Miao of southern Szechuan, the

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring
harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of
large numbers of the people. They can usually
afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt
purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this
becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people
fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a
Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers,
the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government,
and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour-
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves [624]
with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task.
The women have very much more work to do than
men. They weave the clothes, carry the water,
collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear
innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about
the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress.
A man wears sandals, which he himself has made,
short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a
loose-fitting upper garment which is between a
jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears
a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth.
The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and,
scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan téng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

[412] [373]

/424 cont./

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/28 cont'd/

386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

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124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

439 787 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

123 224 [787] Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, whose son Lii had regained his health through my plasmochinatabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [324] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

/208 cont./

769 As has already been described in detail in the pertinent
782 sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices
are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a
[852] child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and
[764] at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the
death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the
oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If
[437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but
782 also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I
was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law
[461] of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the
[787] spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

1 [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/424 cont./

439 has already been mentioned, obtain iron, metal pots and pans, flints, matches, sulphur needed for the making of gunpowder, salt, insofar as it is not purchased directly from the neighboring valley peoples, cowrie shells, buttons, cretonne, silk, small mirrors, thread, needles, and embroidery thread. Unfortunately, these traders also bring in fabrics whose importation is superfluous. Moreover, they sell the coveted magic articles and amulets and deal in children for adoption, or even women.

The traders make a profit of several hundredfold, since, [435] besides their not very pronounced commercial talent, the Meau lack the connection with the rest of the world needed for a proper evaluation of the worth of their wares.

Business with the traders, who scrupulously seek out village after village, [487] takes place during the dry season, since the mountain paths are impassable in the rainy season. A trade journey of the Haw therefore takes months. The wares desired by the Meau are carried by porters and pack animals up and down through the mountainous terrain and through the virgin forests. 437 Barter, formerly the only type of trade, is still widely practiced. 439 In the first place there is the raw opium of the Meau, and then stags' horns, the horns of the rhinoceros, and irovy. Rattan lianas, finished baskets, and field produce also serve as articles for barter, primarily the latter because the many porters of the traders need food.

436 437 Besides the traditional barter goods, a means of payment used today is a range of kinds of money, and, to be sure, from those countries that have been traversed by the Meau. For the most part, the coins in circulation are those which officially represent the currency of the country in which the Meau happen to be living. Thus, in Burmese territory rupees are principally used, in Thailand ticals, in Indochina piasters, on Chinese territory the current Chinese standard; interestingly enough, besides these kinds of money, Russian coins are said to have been in circulation among the Meau in former times.

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

[184] As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
439 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)
114

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which
[323] was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/426 cont./

M Besides the types of trade mentioned, there is among
● 437 the Meau in northern Thailand also barter to a limited extent
439 with the Phi Tong Luang, or Yumbri, as these proto-Mongoloid forest nomads call themselves (see Bernatzik, IV (3)). The

3. Page 116.

Meau have provided them with plaiting, especially the very laboriously made rattan mats and solid standing-baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 327); in the barter trade one large pig is given for five of these mats or baskets a smaller one for one or two. For rattan, honey, wax, and sometimes also for firewood, usually field products, sometimes meat, worn clothing or knives, and less frequently spears, opium, or alcohol are given.

A In the trade of the Akha a few differences in comparison
439 with that of the Meau result merely from the fact that the con-
[421] cept of personal property is drawn more narrowly than among the
[596] Meau. Even among sib members the head of the family plays the decisive role and must consent to every major trade transaction.

As among the Meau, among the Akha, too, everything to cover the needs of life is made within the family, although extras are obtained from the migratory traders, insofar as they cannot be acquired through closer trade connections with the valley peoples, primarily the Schan /Shan/. The latter hold markets at which the Akha sell opium, cotton, pepper, pigs, and forest products, such as honey /Ills. 73-79 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /427/ and the wax of wild bees, and the like, and in exchange buy salt, betel pepper, and in more recent times silver ornaments, for, next to the Lisu, the Akha are among the richest of the mountain tribes.

A principal article of trade of the Akha is raw cotton
A (Ill. 32),[1] in addition to which, in regions that are suitable for
[231] it, they breed buffaloes exclusively for sale to the Lao (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry"). Also, as among the Meau, the sturdy standing-baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 386) represent an important article of trade. Nevertheless, trade with the Lao, whose stores in the

1 [see cat. 116, p250 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on P. 577]

/28 cont'd/
386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

437 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
●438 similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
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/72 cont./ They reared the

231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/297 cont./

5. The Smithies.

A 348 171 The smithies will not be described separately here, since they are very similar to the smithies of the Meau (see Figs. 85 and 86). It is true that a smith sometimes prefers to set up his workshop under the sharply projecting roof of his dwelling (Ill. 34).[1] A 325 171 The forging tools (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 412-417) show a great similarity in many ways to those of the Meau.

6. The Rice-field Huts.

A 243 342 The Akha, too, erect small huts in their fields, which usually, however, serve them for only one or two days for spending the night and never for a longer stay. Accordingly, they are flimsily built of bamboo and have only one or two side walls, sometimes none at all. A small fireplace is all that serves for comfort. Like the rice-field huts of the Meau, they, too, are A [836] happily sought out by pairs of lovers.

/298/ Chapter 14

House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils

M 128 352 More care than is given to the building of the houses is devoted by the Meau to the manufacture of the household equipment, which is extremely varied and which is made almost entirely by them. [438] [439] Where this is not the case, as, for example, in the case of various iron and earthenware goods which they buy from itinerant Haw traders (see the chapter, "Trade"), this is specifically mentioned. Although the equipment enumerated here cannot include everything, nevertheless all that we saw has been recorded and sketched with extreme accuracy. The photographs will perhaps add to our account of the material culture.

1 [See cat 116, p252- ANALYST]

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/27 cont'd/

here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets, boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/28 cont'd/

386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

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/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain,
439 cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

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H 181 273 276 [648] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

H M 171 157 181

(3)

H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

1: Wang--123 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5
Hainan AE2

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economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

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In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

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We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

2:Ling & Ruey--80 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made
114 clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by
177 side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line
[439] separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts. Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

241 Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we
[114] had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/: "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land 243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung 245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees 245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar [805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in [482] groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the [412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the [258] outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the [439] seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are [252] burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p95]

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, [262] and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp
248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching
[262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and
[231] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan
[439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo
[227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair.
[171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi-
[825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces
[227] of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./

226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[492] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
[262] Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[241] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
[237] wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
286 method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[171] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
[438] though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

252 [text continues on p. 106]

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443

Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed [273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine. The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year, and is largely used for making wine. There are also these two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large- [439] ly sold to the Chinese, and the Miao themselves consume [262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork, pepper seeds, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

/89 cont./

291

Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[434] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ʔ̚iɣ] in the Miao language, and a ku woman
is called [mpʰɑɪ ʂʰiɣ]. Most of the ku women are loved by
their husbands, /200/ which is called /tʰioʌ ʂʰiɣ/, meaning
seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

they wore a long, woven belt of straw and over the blouse an overpiece of straw. Their abundant hair was made into a large knot in the back. Around it and the head they wound a dark blue cloth turban. These were the charcoal burners. The women of another group who called themselves Lao Hei Miao wore long trousers, two aprons similar to those of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with no embroidering on the front one, a blouse worn surplice, an overpiece of the same type as that of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with much coarser stitches, no color, and no cowries, and a turban of a length of blue cloth wound around the head. 443 291

Kou-ch'ang and Hsin-ch'ang, the market village a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un, were typical market villages with the one main street widening out in the center to form a square. The main shops of the village lined the sides of this square. On market days itinerant merchants set up their stalls under awnings and local people and tribesmen spread their produce on mats on the ground.

The Cowrie Shell Miao took to market grain (rice, wheat, glutinous rice, millet), wood in various forms (planks, bamboo poles, firewood, poles, brushwood), fresh vegetables from gardens and fields, bamboo shoots, water chestnuts, sunflower seeds, nuts, rape seed, dried peas and beans, eggs, poultry, pigs and pork, grass raincapes, straw for sandals, and chaff. In the markets they bought cloth, thread — cotton and silk — salt, sugar, and such things as tobacco, red chillies, and fat pork for rendering out lard if their own supply had run low. The Chung-chia in the vicinity made wide white cloth, dried bean curd cakes, and straw sandals. The local Chinese (i.e., from Ting-shui-pa) sold straw sandals, tea, and hemp. The Cowrie Shell Miao made hemp cloth only for special uses of their own and straw sandals only for their own use. They had no extra hemp to sell, but did take to market sheaves of glutinous rice straw. 443 439

There were no shops whatever in the village. Now and then a peddlar of crockery, vegetable oil, charcoal, or notions came through the village. The transaction then was usually one of barter, the women paying in rice and eggs. At other times Chinese money and measurements were used. The silver orna-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

443 ments worn by the women were bought of a
439 Chinese silversmith in a certain village and had to be paid for in silver dollars. Beads and embroidered strips were also bought of the Chinese.

428 Inheritance. The family was the social unit. Descent was through males and the oldest living male was the head of the family. Non-personal property belonged to the family as a whole and even clothing and ornaments might be passed around, especially when one or more represented the family on some social occasion. Then, in order to do honor to the family and to their hosts, they made a display of the family wealth. A woman owned the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

[412] [373]

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly
[439] home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

[1] [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
317 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
439 against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

●439 787 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

123 224 Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, [787] whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [326] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

/207 cont./

782 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the
231 slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau
[778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value of the animal (Ill. 103).[1] Gold paper, which the Meau do not
•[439] make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny
[435] shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial
782 hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/238 cont./

M 278 to the description, which are tapped by means of four diagonal cuts placed opposite to one another, similar to the procedure for obtaining India rubber. The sap flowing out hardens in the air into a viscous rubber-like mass, which is collected. Now the same weight of water is added, and the sap is cooked with constant stirring, over an open fire. The substance thus obtained M [415] is poured into bamboo flasks which are sealed airtight. After cooling off, the mass becomes solid again. Before use it is warmed slightly and thereby again becomes liquid. Then one adds tobacco juice and ground pepper and dips in the arrows, dries the adhered portion over the fire, and repeats this procedure until the arrow points are thickly covered with the now black poisonous mass.

If well sealed in tubes, the poison keeps for years; applied to the arrow and kept over the hearth, as is customary, so that the smoke prevents the growth of putrefying bacteria, it remains effective for about a year.

A M 278 752 As an antidote the Meau and, probably in imitation of them, the Akha use cooking salt, which is rubbed into the wound with good results. Moreover, the wounded person is given large quantities of tea to drink and is made to sweat.

A 752 The Akha who, as was already mentioned, depend almost entirely on the neighboring peoples in their medications, are also [177] [757] far behind the Meau in the treatment of wounds or bone fractures. To be sure, they know how to set fractured bones in an emergency, but they cannot perform any kind of operation.

A 278 439 M •439 The Akha in Thailand do not even make their arrow poison; instead, they buy it from their neighbors, chiefly from the Meau.

/250 cont./

683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 622 634 [689] Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

674 114 Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, [454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only [634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 439 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

/275 cont./

342 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm
184 leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or
[789] several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent
[411] evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber
[283] cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see
[531] the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

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/297 cont./

5. The Smithies.

A 348 171 The smithies will not be described separately here, since they are very similar to the smithies of the Meau (see Figs. 85 and 86). It is true that a smith sometimes prefers to set up his workshop under the sharply projecting roof of his dwelling (Ill. 34).[1] A 325 171 The forging tools (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 412-417) show a great similarity in many ways to those of the Meau.

6. The Rice-field Huts.

A 243 342 The Akha, too, erect small huts in their fields, which usually, however, serve them for only one or two days for spending the night and never for a longer stay. Accordingly, they are flimsily built of bamboo and have only one or two side walls, sometimes none at all. A small fireplace is all that serves for comfort. Like the rice-field huts of the Meau, they, too, are A [836] happily sought out by pairs of lovers.

/298/ Chapter 14

House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils

M 128 352 [438] [439] More care than is given to the building of the houses is devoted by the Meau to the manufacture of the household equipment, which is extremely varied and which is made almost entirely by them. Where this is not the case, as, for example, in the case of various iron and earthenware goods which they buy from itinerant Haw traders (see the chapter, "Trade"), this is specifically mentioned. Although the equipment enumerated here cannot include everything, nevertheless all that we saw has been recorded and sketched with extreme accuracy. The photographs will perhaps add to our account of the material culture.

1 [see cat 116, p252- ANALYST]

/298 cont./

342 Corresponding to the division of a Meau house into a cook-
352 ing and living room, to sleeping and storage rooms, the equipment is also adapted to these purposes. (Abadie (1) and

1. Page 157.

Maspero describe the equipment of the house essentially in agreement with my observations.)

513 The sleeping rooms are enclosed by high boards loosely
[342] joined together. The doorless entrance to the sleeping room is usually hidden from view from the living room by a second wall. The place for lying down takes up the whole bedroom;
[352] thus, the bed (Fig. 115) is the size of the enclosed space (Fig. 116). It consists of wooden posts driven into the ground, upon which the frame of wooden or bamboo sticks is tied. A large plaited sleeping mat is spread out on it. On the bed lie old clothes, rags, and blankets, which, rolled up, also serve as pillows, since these are not made separately. Small shelves
[353] are usually put on the wall above the bed, on which pipes, tobacco, combs, and other personal "treasures" lie about. All kinds of stuff are put under the bed, especially baskets with clothing, cloth, and personal belongings.

/299/ Aside from these relatively large sleeping places and beds, it also happens frequently that numbers of the family, especially half-grown children, merely sleep on the floor on an outspread mat and covered with blankets. These blankets are like our quilts; a filling of a kapok-like material or cotton is covered with a self-woven fabric. /Figs. 115-116 appear here./
[439] Everywhere, however, one also finds blankets purchased from
[574] the Chinese. The sleeping place for guests is a mat-covered platform about 50 centimeters high.

342 Whereas Savina (1) describes the arrangements of the
513

1. II, p. 190.

house and the sleeping rooms along the lines of my survey, Lajonquière (2) writes: "In the interior there is often no

2. II, p. 306.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."
342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[439] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear
[177] only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
[see cat. 116, p645 - ANALYST]

/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106)[1] and pans are
●439 used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and represent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese
412 dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be
515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables
252 are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice, strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots
[251] of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants. Other cooking
412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden
415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets
252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers
[273] to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

[1] [See cat 116, p706- ANALYST]

[Text continues on p421]

/319 cont./

291 are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of
[286] the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye-
[294] trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts").
[386] The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often re-
[292] placed, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark-
[439] blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese
[294] traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread, needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, always comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work
[292] clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has
[556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in
[531] the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as sometimes in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like that of the adults.

291 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well
531 as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[1] consists of the blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6), has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist. The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors. Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse, which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and 3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

1 [See cat 116, pp 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 492 - "]
3 [" " " pp 439, 563 - "]

/322 cont./

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79,[1] also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the [301] neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ [531] (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).[2]

The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [294] (Ill. 81).[3] In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [531] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of [439] purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark-[531] blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77),[4] and not wound high, as is customary among the women. In-[177] stead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese 292 caps (Ills. 55 and 56).[5] On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p706 - "]
3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p575 - "]
5 [see cat 116, p367 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M 301 /326 cont./

Meau in Thailand (Ill. 57).[1] The dot of the question mark is formed by the button that holds the ornament in the hole in the ear lobe, while the curve hangs down to the chest (Figs. 219 and 220). The same author also saw ear pendants with a ring of jade among the Meau. These ear pendants are usually /Figs. 211-216 and 218-220 appear here/ /327/ purchased M [439] from the Yau /Yao/ or Chinese, but are also made by the Meau themselves, faithfully following the traditional model. Children often wear small silver bells in their ears.

Solid rings of silver, copper, or iron are worn around the ankles by both sexes (Figs. 221-223). /Figs. 217 and 221-227 appear here./

/328/ The finger rings that I saw among women, men, and children were mostly simple, open silver hoops, but one also frequently sees beautiful homemade ornamental rings (Figs. 224 and 225).

M [177] [413] [276] Among the various silver objects still to be mentioned here are the scratching pins (Fig. 226), probably of Chinese origin, which one comes across everywhere. They are worn tied to the belt, along with small bells and a needle for serving up opium.

A 291 [531] The clothing of the Akha maintains its characteristic note through the richness and the variety of the ornaments used. The patches, embroidery, and appendages of the articles of clothing and the body ornaments almost reach the limits of possibility, but nevertheless are used with so much taste that the clothing makes a thoroughly harmonious and very decorative impression (see Ills. 4 to 13 and Colored Plate I).[2] The basic elements, however, the dark-blue material and the cut, as well as the three-part division of the women's clothing into blouse, skirt, and leggings and the two-part division of the A [171] [286] [439] [294] men's clothing into jacket and trousers, are the same as among the Meau and other mountain tribes of Farther India. The fabric is self-woven out of hemp or cotton and indigo (see the chapter, "Handicrafts") and even today is very seldom replaced by purchased goods. The clothing is sewed only by the women and apparently in abundant quantities, for among the Akha we never saw garments in use that were anywhere near as shabby or torn as among the Meau.

[1] [See Cat 116, p368 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", pp 13-14, 34-37 + p120 - ANALYST]

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [439] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable [439] if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [435] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great im- [595] portance. My informant had this to thank for being able to buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/358 cont./

249 2. Poppies. The Meau cultivate three different types, which are recognizable by the color of their flowers. Accordingly, one distinguishes white, red, and purple poppies. At the end of June they are sowed in soil which has been loosened with digging sticks. Tobacco, spinach-like vegetables, or [244] onions also grow in the poppy fields at the same time, which further increases the great importance of the poppy fields for 249 the Meau. Six months after the sowing of the poppies the 276 making of opium begins. For this the nearly ripe poppy heads are slit (Ill. 73)[1] with a three-bladed knife (chapter, "Food and Stimulants," Fig. 289). A whitish juice, the opium, oozes out and is carefully collected. After it has been properly [439] treated, it represents the most valuable article of trade of the 249 Meau. After the opium harvest comes that of the now ripened [262] poppies, which are particularly valued as food on account of their high oil content. Moreover, poppy fields, as was said, can be laid out on old, harvested maize fields, so that the least amount of land is required for their cultivation. If one adds to that the fact that mixed poppy fields remain productive for ten to twenty years, depending on the fertility of the soil, it may be said that they, next to the rice fields, certainly constitute the most important agricultural production area of the Meau.

3. Sugar Cane. Early in May the Meau set out six types, which ripen at different times. Furrows about 17 to 18 centimeters deep are made with the hoe (Figs. 269 and 270) 90 centimeters apart, and the shoots are set out with the help of a setting peg at uniform intervals of about 30 centimeters. At the earliest, harvesting commences eight months after the ensuing cultivation. These sugar-cane beds are productive for three years on the average and then lie fallow.

244 4. Yams. As soon as the cultivation of sugar cane is ended, four different types of this potato-like tuber is planted. For this purpose small pits are dug about 80 centimeters apart, the /359/ pieces of the seed tubers, cut up according to the bud-eyes, are put in, and the pit is covered. The harvest of the early ripening types begins as early as four months later.

1 [see cat 116, p573 - ANALYST]

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water,
are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos,
[245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or
fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole
series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as
spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
[135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders
(see the chapter, "Trade")-and not obtained locally.

Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
252 which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the
[262] sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in
the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans
until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks
[251] where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsuǎ) are made, three kinds of
which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/381 cont./

276 [439] Furthermore, opium plays a very important role, both as a stimulant and remedy and as an article of trade (see the chapter, "Trade"). When the poppy fruits are almost ripe, they [412] are slit with a special instrument, the poppy-slitting knife (Ill. 73 and Fig. 289). This consists of three iron blades tied together. The three sharp points of the combined blades are used to slit the capsule, from which a gummy juice flows out. By the next morning it has hardened and is now collected in gourd bowls with a scraper (Fig. 290). This substance is then pressed into bamboo vessels and left for two or three days, whereupon it exudes water. Now it is kneaded and pounded in mortars and rolled into cylinders, which are wrapped in paper. [439] This produces the raw opium, the /382/ /Figs. 289-298 appear here/ article of trade. For one pound the Meau receive 18 ticals [435] from the Chinese traders; the traders then make a profit of many hundred times this amount.

In order to make the ardently desired stimulant from this raw product, it is boiled three times in water in special copper kettles (Fig. 291). For the first cooking, one adds water to the opium in the amount of ten times the weight and cooks it until the opium mixes with the water and forms a homogeneous substance. Then the liquid is filtered through a double layer of bamboo paper (Fig. 192). To the extract obtained, fresh water is added in the amount of 50 per cent of its quantity, the filtered residue is likewise mixed in, and the whole is boiled anew and filtered again. [439] The filtration residue is now thrown away, and the liquid obtained is boiled until it forms a viscous mass which, for trading, may be boiled down until it is quite hard.

The drug is swallowed with water by the Meau, as well as smoked in Chinese fashion, but not chewed. Older men usually eat some opium in the morning but smoke a pipe in the evening. For this purpose the proper amount is /383/ speared on a needle (Fig. 293), then heated over a small lamp (Figs. 294 and 295) until it becomes soft (Ill. 74), and then stuck into the opium pipe (Fig. 296) which is smoked.

[See cat 116, p573- ANALYST]

/387 cont./

411 In addition there are double-edged swords for close com-
177 bat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size accord-
ing to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords
[778] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305).
[175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78,[1] Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau
[326] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the
• [439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

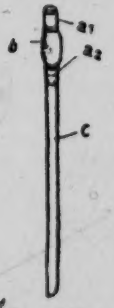

Fig. 305
Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/389 cont./

411 loaded. One presses the whole down firmly with a plug of scraped bamboo and immediately before firing the shot lets two more of these lead cylinders serving as bullets slide loosely into the barrel. The shot is released by the lock which is [237] glued with beeswax to the pistol stock (a) and secured there with rings of iron or sheet silver (g). The cocked lock is shown in Fig. 307; the way it operates is explained by Fig. 308.

In shooting, the trigger (e) is pressed to the left. The pressure overcomes the force of the counterspring (a); the full cock (f) is released. As a result, the cocking spring (k) presses against the hammer (b), in the upper end of which a flint is clamped (b 1). The hammer flies forward; the flint hits the snap (c), which springs back and lays open the powder pan (Pf). The touchhole (z) runs into the powder pan and connects it with the interior of the barrel. Through the striking of the flint on the snap, a spark is produced which sets fire to the powder in the pan. The explosion instantly runs through the touchhole, ignites the propellant in the interior of the barrel, and the bullets are hurled out of the barrel (i).

It was astonishing for me to observe the relatively great efficiency. At a distance of 120 meters the marksman with each shot hit a target 20 centimeters long and 15 centimeters wide, piercing a board of soft wood two centimeters thick.

389 The Meau even produce for themselves the black powder for the guns, made out of charcoal, sulphur, and saltpeter. [237] Bat excrement serves to provide the latter. A bamboo tube is split into halves and /390/ /Figs. 309-314 appear here/ the overlapping pieces are put on the ground. The spaces in between are covered with banana leaves and the vessel is filled with old /Fig. 315 appears here/ bat excrement and with the earth that lay underneath it. Then water is poured on it, and the liquid is allowed to run off slowly, is collected in a suitable vessel, and is dried by evaporation in iron pans. To one part of the saltpeter thus obtained, one takes half a [439] part of charcoal and a twelfth part of the sulphur purchased from the Chinese traders, beats up the mixture with the addition of some water, and kneads it vigorously in order to obtain a uniform blend. This moist paste of powder is placed in an

Miao AE5

/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [326] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide- [439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/406 cont./

322 Aside from the construction of houses and stables, wood
824 has /407/ an extraordinary number of uses. For example, tables, benches, stools (Ill. 107) 3 and beds, the distillation apparatus for making alcohol, rice mills, rice steamers and pounders, the troughs for the pig fodder, and the pack saddles for the animals (Ill. 81) 2 are made of it; furthermore the handles of tools and knives, sheaths for knives, spear shafts and the gun stocks, crossbows, bellows (Ill. 82), 3 and musical instruments, such as the mouth organ, are produced from it; the altars (Ill. 99) 4 are built out of it; it is likewise necessary for building wells,
[386] and, finally, dyestuff is also obtained from wood.

324 Since the Meau have long since left the Neolithic, stone
[412] tools are no longer in use, and since the immigration of the
[174] Meau into their present habitation area in northern Thailand took place only a few decades ago, I could no longer find any such material from their early history. On the other hand, even today the Meau work stone into grindstones (Ill. 94) 5 or whetstones. Moreover, from a soft porous stone which they burn out before working, they make the crucibles (Fig. 365)
325 and casting molds (Ill. 82) for silver and copper, since they have a considerable knowledge of the use and working of metals. On the other hand, they are not in a position to obtain metals from ore, nor can they smelt wrought iron, but with the help of their bellows (Figs. 362-364) and a charcoal fire they know how to forge and weld it. They can smelt cast iron
• [439] which they obtain from broken pots and pans acquired from the Chinese traders. From this kind of iron, bullets and even implements, such as the shoe of the digging stick (Fig. 267) are molded. For this a mud mold is made of an implement for which one wants to make a new piece, and it now serves for the new casting. Casting by dead mold is unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

The forging equipment (Ill. 82) is of wood, iron, or stone and is entirely made by a Meau smith. It is:

1 [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
2 + 3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p664 - "]
5 [" " " p644 - "]

/409 cont./

325 Iron is bought from Chinese traders, or from the Lao, Schan /Shan/, or Burmese, in the form customarily traded [439] in northern Thailand, four-cornered, square bars four to five centimeters thick and 50 centimeters long. Silver, brass, copper, and lead also come from them. In order to obtain [177] silver, the Meau melt Chinese, Burmese, or Indochinese silver coins in the crucible (Fig. 365) of porous stone and pour the silver into the mold (Figs. 369 and 370) which was previously lined with cloth so that the molten metal will not stick to the walls. The silver coins are crushed before they are

Figs. 362-372. Forging Equipment of the Meau.

Fig. 362. Bellows, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 363. Piston of the bellows. Fig. 364. End of the pipe. Fig. 365. Smelting pot of stone, 1/6 nat. size. Figs. 366-367. Anvils, 1/35 [285] nat. size. Fig. 368. Annealing basket, 1/25 nat. size. [415] Fig. 369. Casting mold, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 370. Casting mold in use. Fig. 371. Sledge hammer, 1/6 nat. size. [413] Fig. 372. Blacksmith's tongs, 1/6 nat. size.

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants.
[413] In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure, for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely
[171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and
[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/424 cont./

439 has already been mentioned, obtain iron, metal pots and pans, flints, matches, sulphur needed for the making of gunpowder, salt, insofar as it is not purchased directly from the neighboring valley peoples, cowrie shells, buttons, cretonne, silk, small mirrors, thread, needles, and embroidery thread. Unfortunately, these traders also bring in fabrics whose importation is superfluous. Moreover, they sell the coveted magic articles and amulets and deal in children for adoption, or even women.

The traders make a profit of several hundredfold, since, [435] besides their not very pronounced commercial talent, the Meau lack the connection with the rest of the world needed for a proper evaluation of the worth of their wares.

Business with the traders, who scrupulously seek out vil- [487] lage after village, takes place during the dry season, since the mountain paths are impassable in the rainy season. A trade journey of the Haw therefore takes months. The wares desired by the Meau are carried by porters and pack animals up and down through the mountainous terrain and through the virgin 437 forests. Barter, formerly the only type of trade, is still widely 439 practiced. In the first place there is the raw opium of the Meau, and then stags' horns, the horns of the rhinoceros, and irovy. Rattan lianas, finished baskets, and field produce also serve as articles for barter, primarily the latter because the many porters of the traders need food.

436 Besides the traditional barter goods, a means of payment 437 used today is a range of kinds of money, and, to be sure, from those countries that have been traversed by the Meau. For the most part, the coins in circulation are those which officially represent the currency of the country in which the Meau happen to be living. Thus, in Burmese territory rupees are principally used, in Thailand ticals, in Indochina piasters, on Chinese territory the current Chinese standard; interestingly enough, besides these kinds of money, Russian coins are said to have been in circulation among the Meau in former times.

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead. just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and
[184] Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
439 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)
114

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which
[323] was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [326] knowledge of pottery!

[323] The author continues his observations with a desctiption [184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to barte. ıg for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/426 cont./

M 437 439 Besides the types of trade mentioned, there is among the Meau in northern Thailand also barter to a limited extent with the Phi Tong Luang, or Yumbri, as these proto-Mongoloid forest nomads call themselves (see Bernatzik, IV (3)). The

3. Page 116.

Meau have provided them with plaiting, especially the very laboriously made rattan mats and solid standing-baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 327); in the barter trade one large pig is given for five of these mats or baskets a smaller one for one or two. For rattan, honey, wax, and sometimes also for firewood, usually field products, sometimes meat, worn clothing or knives, and less frequently spears, opium, or alcohol are given.

A 439 [421] [596] In the trade of the Akha a few differences in comparison with that of the Meau result merely from the fact that the concept of personal property is drawn more narrowly than among the Meau. Even among sib members the head of the family plays the decisive role and must consent to every major trade transaction.

As among the Meau, among the Akha, too, everything to cover the needs of life is made within the family, although extras are obtained from the migratory traders, insofar as they cannot be acquired through closer trade connections with the valley peoples, primarily the Schan /Shan/. The latter hold markets at which the Akha sell opium, cotton, pepper, pigs, and forest products, such as honey /Ills. 73-79 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /427/ and the wax of wild bees, and the like, and in exchange buy salt, betel pepper, and in more recent times silver ornaments, for, next to the Lisu, the Akha are among the richest of the mountain tribes.

A principal article of trade of the Akha is raw cotton (Ill. 32),[1] in addition to which, in regions that are suitable for A [231] it, they breed buffaloes exclusively for sale to the Lao (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry"). Also, as among the Meau, the sturdy standing-baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 386) represent an important article of trade. Nevertheless, trade with the Lao, whose stores in the

1 [see cat. 116, p250 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on P. 577]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/428 cont./

M 804 As for linear measures, the Meau are familiar with the fathom, ǐtlǎn, which extends from the tip of the middle finger of an outstretched hand to the same one on the other hand. The span of the Meau, nǎ klǒ, is the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the outstretched index finger. The ell, from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, is called ǐ tšę; another linear measure, the distance from the tip of the middle finger to the middle of the body, is called ǐ tšę tlǎn. Finally, the Meau have the linear measure of a foot, tēŭ, and the pace, kǒ tǒa.

A 804 Of the linear measures of the Akha, I was able to ascertain the following: The fathom, called tǐnǔm, corresponds to the one of the Meau. The span, tǐtǒ, differing from the span of the Meau, extends from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger of the outstretched hand. The ell, called tǐtšǎ, is the same as that of the Meau.

A M 804 As a dry measure for measuring maize, rice, and the like, the Meau use a round calabash, which is called šǎ; ten šǎ are a basket, tęŭ; ten baskets, a tǎn, correspond to about 68 kilograms. The Akha, on the other hand, have only a sort of measuring basket which they call gǎpū.

M 804 Liquids are measured by the Meau in bottles which they buy from the Chinese. Small bottles holding about half a liter are called ǐy kī; two small bottles amount to one big one, [439] which is called aŭ kī.

A 804 The Akha likewise measure by bottles, which they buy from the Lao or Schan /Shan/. Among the Akha, the small ones are called mętsǎ, among the Lao hā hǒy. Among them, [439] too, two small ones amount to one large bottle, which is called tǐhǎ by the Akha, kŭǒt by the Lao.

/464 cont./

152 556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

439 435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yarn, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

574 [123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /465/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.

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Chapter 23

Trade

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/28 cont'd/

386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

437 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
438 similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
439 commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above. Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the
[443] Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district, one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third, they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of li away but many are a hundred li away. Since the Miao all live a simple life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a month at the most.

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [262] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in [258] the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a [412] mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [241] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [388] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown [226] into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

249 /67 cont./
harvested. After harvest the canes are tied up, 50 to a bundle,
249 and stored in earth pits about one kung ch'ih deep. The pits
251 are first lined with cane leaves, on which the sugar cane are
laid in rows. More leaves are laid on top and then covered
with dirt. Ventilation tubes are stuck in to ensure a free flow
of air in order to prevent decay. On market day, the canes
[443] are carried to market for sale.

249 The Miao area also produces native tobacco. Beginning
with the tenth and eleventh months the Miao nurse tobacco
[343] seedlings. Above the seedbed a thatched shelter with a slant-
ing roof is erected to protect the seedlings from frost and snow.
After they sprout they are watered and fertilized with ashes,
manure, or tung paste. Transplanting takes place in the follow-
ing spring in the third and fourth months. Fields for tobacco
cultivation have to be plowed very early to reduce insect pests,
[825] according to the Miao. The insect called t'u ch'a erh only eats
tobacco plant roots. Tobacco seedlings are transplanted in
rows, by first crushing the earth into powder by hand, then
burying the roots of the seedling in the earth and pressing the
earth tight around the plant. If the earth is dry, then it should
be watered at the root and the stem. After three or five days
some mild fertilizer may be applied. Insect pests are the worst
enemy of tobacco. Besides the t'u ch'a erh, which eats the
roots, green hoppers eat the leaves. So, in tobacco growing
[825] a great deal of labor is spent in catching insects, which has to
be done in the early morning, for later the t'u ch'a erh dig
through the earth and it is difficult to find them. The tobacco
plant is never allowed to grow too high, and has to be clipped
from time to time to ensure the growth of more full and firm
leaves. During harvest time the tobacco leaves are cut down
leaf by leaf, /Illustration 36 on p. 68/ /69/ and stacked up for
one or two nights. Then they are tied up with straw ropes and
hung up to dry in the sun, being taken indoors at night. If a
good color is wanted, then in good weather they should be ex-
posed outside overnight to absorb the dew. The resulting color
will be a beautiful, golden yellow.

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water 252

[text continues on p. 106]

2:Ling & Ruey--106 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/74/

443

Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed [273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine. The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year, and is largely used for making wine. There are also these two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large- [439] ly sold to the Chinese, and the Miao themselves consume [262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork, pepper seeds, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

442 It has already been noted that men and
241 women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai, Kou-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

ing school, and the engineers' corps of the railway being built through the town from Kwangsi to Kweiyang. To it the people of the surrounding contryside, including at least three groups of Miao and the Chung-chia, went to market. It was also the seat of the *hsien* government and contained a middle school, postal and telegraph offices, and a co-operative bank, with all of which the non-Chinese, as well as the Chinese, had some dealings. A few of the more well-to-do families sent one of their boys to the middle school. Cases which could not be settled in the village or by the *lien pao* official, who was also a Chinese, were of necessity brought to the *hsien* court, as well as cases which involved both Miao and Chinese.

The market was held in an open space reserved for it just inside the east gate of the city. There were permanent sheds under which merchants who made the rounds of such markets displayed their stocks of cloth, notions, and articles manufactured elsewhere. Other sections of the grounds were reserved for eggs and poultry, sandal straw, farm implements, brown sugar cakes, fruits and vegetables, dishes and cooking utensils, pigs, tobacco, chillies, food stalls, articles of wood and bamboo, meat, firewood, grain, and the thin strips of sulfur-tipped wood used for carrying fire. The main market for wood was just outside the city gate.

People within a radius of perhaps ten miles and including Chinese, Chung-chia, and three, sometimes four, groups of Miao, attended this market to buy and sell. One group of Miao came from the mountains twenty-four miles to the south with charcoal. Each group had a distinctive costume worn by the women. That of Chung-chia women consisted of long, narrow trousers with a woven band of color at the ankles, a knee-length blouse in old Chinese style, a straight apron attached to the collar of the blouse with a silver chain and tied with embroidered strings in the back, and a tight skull cap. The women of one group of Miao wore dark blue trousers to below the knee, a skirt of many pleats of dark blue, bordered with a wide band of white, a blue blouse worn surplice and having a large sailor collar. Their legs were wound in many long strips of blue cloth. About the waist

4.Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

they wore a long, woven belt of straw and over the blouse an overpiece of straw. Their abundant hair was made into a large knot in the back. Around it and the head they wound a dark blue cloth turban. These were the charcoal burners. The women of another group who called themselves Lao Hei Miao wore long trousers, two aprons similar to those of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with no embroidering on the front one, a blouse worn surplice, an overpiece of the same type as that of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with much coarser stitches, no color, and no cowries, and a turban of a length of blue cloth wound around the head. 443 291

Kou-ch'ang and Hsin-ch'ang, the market village a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un, were typical market villages with the one main street widening out in the center to form a square. The main shops of the village lined the sides of this square. On market days' itinerant merchants set up their stalls under awnings and local people and tribesmen spread their produce on mats on the ground.

The Cowrie Shell Miao took to market grain (rice, wheat, glutinous rice, millet), wood in various forms (planks, bamboo poles, firewood, poles, brushwood), fresh vegetables from gardens and fields, bamboo shoots, water chestnuts, sunflower seeds, nuts, rape seed, dried peas and beans, eggs, poultry, pigs and pork, grass raincapes, straw for sandals, and chaff. In the markets they bought cloth, thread — cotton and silk — salt, sugar, and such things as tobacco, red chillies, and fat pork for rendering out lard if their own supply had run low. The Chung-chia in the vicinity made wide white cloth, dried bean curd cakes, and straw sandals. The local Chinese (i.e., from Ting-shui-pa) sold straw sandals, tea, and hemp. The Cowrie Shell Miao made hemp cloth only for special uses of their own and straw sandals only for their own use. They had no extra hemp to sell, but did take to market sheaves of glutinous rice straw. 443 439

There were no shops whatever in the village. Now and then a peddlar of crockery, vegetable oil, charcoal, or notions came through the village. The transaction then was usually one of barter, the women paying in rice and eggs. At other times Chinese money and measurements were used. The silver orna-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

443 ments worn by the women were bought of a
439 Chinese silversmith in a certain village and had to be paid for in silver dollars. Beads and embroidered strips were also bought of the Chinese.

428 Inheritance. The family was the social unit. Descent was through males and the oldest living male was the head of the family. Non-personal property belonged to the family as a whole and even clothing and ornaments might be passed around, especially when one or more represented the family on some social occasion. Then, in order to do honor to the family and to their hosts, they made a display of the family wealth. A woman owned the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of
443 protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessaries as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means "family" or "tribe."
563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the "Miao tribe" or
101 "tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsï*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

schools, squeezed the Miao unmercifully. The 579
District or County magistrate, whose Yamen 651
was within the city, reasoned with them and persuaded them to go away. They returned to their homes, and later on the affair was settled by the nominal punishment of some of the Miao and a more just collection of the education rate.

Of all the Miao in Kweichow, the Heh or 463
Black Miao are the most intelligent and the most self-reliant. Most of them own the land they cultivate, many of them are well-to-do, and in many respects they seem nearly equal, if not quite equal, to the Chinese peasantry around them. We have observed, however, that the artisans among them are neither so skilful nor so trustworthy as those among the Chinese. The Heh Miao not only bring their [443]
cattle and produce to market, but many of them engage in trade and open stalls on the market-place. Some of them buy pigs, rice, and other local products, and carry them for sale in their own boats to Hungkiang in Hunan. On the river that flows from Kai-li to Kienyang Hun, fifteen miles above Hungkiang, all the boatmen appear to be Miao. Elsewhere, however, the Miao seem to be poorer and inferior to the Chinese and Chung-chia. In Weining

[9 cont.]

517 purpose of these festivities is to celebrate in advance a rich harvest, and therefore the participants are numerous, especially the young men and women, who go there in new and pretty clothes with the object of finding a mate. As to moon dance, sitting in the moon, singing or chasing the moon, these are occasions specially designed for love-making by the young. [533] Both men and women are good singers, and they sing to drown out the sorrows in their chest, as well as to effect a lover's union. Anyone who fails to sing at marriage and funeral ceremonies will surely be disgraced. Singing, in short, is a necessary accomplishment. Within a short distance from the village there [443] is a level ground for the market fair held once in every six days; this is the center of trade for the Miao-I. On such occasions people gather together at the fair, bustling, loitering and looking around, their heart full of joy and fun. It gives them a respite from their routine toil. Aside from this they are fond of music. [534] Their musical instruments include the liu-sheng, wu-sheng [five tube bamboo wind instrument, flutes, harmonicas, so-na [a clarinet type wind instrument], brass drums, and p'i-pa [lute]. The liu-sheng is the most common instrument; it is made of bamboo with a gradation of notes resembling that of a military band. Its tune is like the plaintive call of a bird but with a variation of notes. The music accompanies simple dance steps, out of which they derive much pleasure and satisfaction.

4. Ceremonies and Customs

1) Marriage. The various Miao-I ethnic groups in Kweichow 584 are rather complicated, but their marriage customs, though varying to a certain extent, are generally the same among different tribes. Marriages are either arranged by parents or the parties themselves, but mostly follow the will of the former and take the advice of the go-between. To negotiate marriage [10] they first discuss gifts and dowries. After marriage the bride goes back to her parents 591 until she is about to give birth to a son. She is then confined to her husband's house. In ancient times, this custom was first

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[132 cont.]

443 Even today they do not have a single market fair within the area and this shows how circumscribed is the sphere of their economic activity. Their only means of livelihood is agriculture. Almost 243 all the fields are terraced according to natural topography, rising from the bottom of the slope to the top in several hundred layers. The shape of the field is long and narrow, producing rice, wheat, corn and barley. These terraced fields are not fertile [242] and the Sheng Miao do not know how to apply fertilizer. Further- [132] more, the temperature in the whole area is very low, and a plentiful harvest is not possible. The proverb says that "when the soil is barren, the people must be poor." Although the 511 Sheng Miao toil all year round in the hard struggle for survival, they can only eke out a bare existence. Being in direct contact with them, the writer could watch at close quarters their extremely miserable conditions, which are pitiable indeed. Because of their ignorance they do not know how to save or to improve the method of production. In case of famine they cannot escape starvation, [133] which is the most important reason for the decrease in their population.

105 In our study of the Miao culture we find it varies with different ethnic units and localities, each having its peculiar traits. The distinguishing features of the Sheng Miao, who differ a great deal from the other tribes, are as follows:

1. Ignorant and straightforward, they are easily duped. They are ready to proclaim themselves "kings" and to create disturbances.

2. The men are black in complexion, red-eyed, dishevelled, and tall and big in stature.

3. Up to this day not a single one of them can talk fluent Chinese.

4. There are peculiar styles of costumes for men and women.

5. Their staple food is glutinous rice, supplemented by raw meat, raw blood, bees, locusts, centipedes, earthworms, tree worms, sand worms, water worms, mountain rats and lizards.

6. The women are fond of smoking leaf tobacco.

[198 cont.]

535 527 584 go-between to arrange the match. Therefore, young men and women everywhere try to make as many new clothes as possible to be worn on this occasion. The dancers sometimes change their clothes a few times a day. In short, the custom of the flower dance has prevailed for a long time. Some dance with the hope of acquiring children while others, among the illusive shadows and to the tune of scintillating music, look secretly but intently for his or her future mate. For the unmarried men and women the purpose of the flower dance is to seek a partner in life.

535 527 443 (II) The Market Dance. The market dance is also an important annual event with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in this area. The dance is similar to the flower dance, except that it does not require a flower tree and that it has no fixed date and place. It is held generally after the transplantation of young rice-plants in the fourth or fifth month, or after the ripening of the crop in the seventh or eighth month. It is held [202] at the market fair, but the announcement is made at a previous fair by the host (or promoter, who is generally a Chinese) with two men, one beating a gong, and the other balancing a bamboo pole on his shoulder, on which is tied a belt with flower designs. This belt is presented as a souvenir by the girl to the boy when they talk love at the dance. When the two men circle around the fair once the crowd would know that the next one would be a market dance. On that occasion bands of men and women from all parts would come with new clothes as for the flower dance, men playing so-na and lu-sheng, and talking all the way. Arriving at the fair they would perch on the high mounds or stay in the low open ground outside the market place, playing musical instruments and singing songs. Young men and women take this opportunity to meet new friends or [199] renew old acquaintances. [243] The old people believe that the market dance in the fourth month, when the buckwheat and other grains flower, can encourage the yielding of more crops, and the market dance in the seventh month can bring about firmer and larger seeds. The market dance is known proverbially as the "grain dance," a name which clearly reveals its superstitious origin.

155: Abadie--240 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
M100 AE5

[162]
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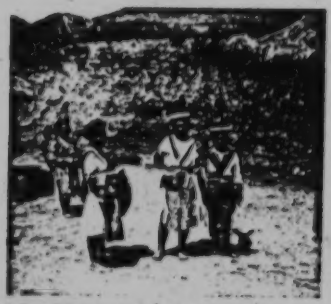
[231]
[854]
[482]

103. "Peu-Méo" Women.



105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.

419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.

(Pakha)

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and
[184] Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
439 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)
114

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and
[323] finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/139 cont'd/

Third month, seventh day. (Sunday)

000 There was a dense fog this morning, and as we could not go out, I wrote several letters. As one of Mr. Wang's workmen intended to leave Oao-t'ing today, I gave him the letter to mail. Yüan-chiung's sickness was completely over by this time, and he had recovered his spirits. We roamed all day long in the neighboring Ch'i and Hsiao villages. In a number of places we saw Hsiao girls at work hulling rice, /140/ but, seeing the approach of strangers, they hid away immediately, so that we had no chance to take pictures of them.

136 444 [435] In the afternoon a Chinese peddler came from Pao-t'ing with a load of black fish for sale. We bought two and a half catties for two hundred copper coins, and they made a rare dish in this deep mountain valley.

Third month, eighth day. (Monday)

361 This morning the fog was again dense till eight o'clock when the sun broke through. We walked leisurely to the lower Hsiao village on the other side. The village was occupied entirely by Hsiao, ten families in all, with three names, Li, Liu, and Huang. Headman /pao chang/ Li welcomed us warmly to his house, and we had a long, pleasant conversation together. When we were leaving, he sent his workmen to carry several catties of potatoes to be brought back with us. In return we gave him gifts of salt, kerosene, candles, etc.

587 In the afternoon we went to the upper Hsiao village to attend a Hsiao wedding. The bride was already thirty years old and had been married before to a Hsiao of Ta-pen village. When her husband died, she had brought her son and daughter back to live with her mother. Now she was to be married for the second time to a Hsiao of the same village. The bridegroom was of about the same age. At the ceremony the couple did not appear in any special apparel; they wore just plain clothes, a little cleaner than usual.

/250 cont./

683 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is prac-
754 ticed among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Out-
lawing is likewise unknown.

692 Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief
622 or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the
634 Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village
[689] elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

674 Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and
114

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the
[454] Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only
[634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same
439 punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

/120 cont'd/

181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

M /121 cont'd/
157 people. They must work hard so they can overcome nature and in-
461 crease their production. They must be frugal so they can make the most effective distribution of their hard-earned produce in order not to be anxious about starvation. All visitors who have been in Miao villages are surprised by how hard they work. The women usually get up before dawn to do their various domestic chores. Early morning is also the time for them to hull rice. The thumping of pestle and mortar occasionally wakes up the sleeping guests. After sunrise they separate and go up the mountain to cut wood or do some kind of farm work. The men work on the same schedule from sunrise to sunset. The busiest season for them is the period from the second to the fifth month. Within this period they have to cut wood, burn the mountains, and sow. Every type of work requires much physical strength. They usually make the best use of every inch of the land.
M Their frugal life is equally praiseworthy. Though most of the men
273 drink and smoke, they do so only to a certain extent. There are almost no drunkards in Miao society. Except on a few festive occasions, they seldom drink. Some of the women do drink, but none of them smoke. /122/ This is in sharp contrast with Li life. Furthermore, under the double oppression of both Li leaders and Chinese merchants, the Miao are an underprivileged people. For the sake of living they have to learn how to obey and be submissive and patient, but at all times they never give up fighting for a better life. Therefore, in personality they are firm of purpose.

H The Li are not like this. In the Li area, though level fields
13 are very rare, yet the endless mountain slopes are invaluable property
313 given by nature, full of lumber, rattan, wild animals, etc., free for exploitation. The slopes of the small mountains are the best land for raising grain. It is only necessary to start operations and then gather in the crops. Since their supply of foodstuff is com-
H paratively sure, their spending is also freer. It is of no use for them
181 to pile up their savings. "Be drunk while you have wine today";
273 let tomorrow take care of tomarrow. Furthermore, they can move
276 from place to place rather freely. From mountain to mountain, they need not worry about seeking a place to live. Hence drinking

[183]

796 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must at-
[461] tend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after
769 the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar
796 calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I
[262] eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "hanging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for
796 sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-
231 huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

131 /131/ As we have seen, the characteristic Miao AE5 of the Meo is their living at high altitudes and their difficulty in acclimating in the lower valleys. In fact they seek to compensate for a lower altitude by a higher altitude. They require a severe climate, which they enjoyed on the high plateau of Yunnan and Szechwan and which they were forced to evacuate. They live especially on limestone peaks, and when some families live at the bottoms of cirques, the altitude of these goes up at least to a thousand meters. They prefer steep slopes where their little house appears to be suspended like a cage on the side of a wall.

Section 2

Physical and Moral Natures

142 147 143 The Meo is short and thick-set, his average height must be about 1.58 meters. He is right to be proud of the name Meo which was given to him by the Annamese as a contemptuous title. As a matter of fact, he climbs like a cat. Along trails where we must use hands and knees, he may be seen going ahead slowly but with supple ease, even though he often is carrying a loaded pack-basket on his back. His resistance to fatigue is very great while he remains above 800 meters altitude, below this he thinks he is in danger of being taken ill in the hot season.

142 157 The Meo has a nearly white complexion, hard and prominent features, brown eyes and hair like all the inhabitants of Indochina, aside from a few unusual specimens with reddish hair and blue eyes. [460] He is as hard-working as the Thai is indolent. More courageous than most of the natives, he would be as dangerous to have as an enemy as he has been useful to us as an ally on certain occasions, such as the conquest of Dongquan in 1893. The Meo woman is not pretty. 562 142 She is a crude country-woman and a hard worker whose sturdiness is incompatible with all grace and style. However, the young women attract one's eye by the freshness of their pink and white faces, the air of health and vigor which they give forth, and their well-developed figures, which are emphasized by their very picturesque costumes. /132/ The high pitch and the weakness of their voice makes it resemble a small girl's. In short, youth and freshness endow the crude woman of the mountain with the same allure as all women. Unfortunately, like her neighbors of the valleys, she is subjected to hard toil in the fields at an early age. Moreover, she marries young and the cares of maternity added to those of house-keeping cause her to lose her shape and to take away her fresh appearance very quickly.

/68 cont./

A is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can
M there be any thought of influences coming from Europe.
524 Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the fre-
526 quent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect
171 a common origin.

There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha
A and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are some-
M times arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks,
541 as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples.
171 Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often
[525] lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between
crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring
Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these
fights.

A Children begin to perform work at the age of four among
M both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect fire-
857 wood (Ill. 38),[1] which they carry home in their own small wood
561 /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields,
[252] carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93),[2]
and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour
the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend
the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard
A the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers,
M a particularly important task in a country where there is neither
[203] mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the
latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest
help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned
to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the
exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys,
both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are
always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud
of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having
complained about work that was too hard.

A Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games,
M there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but
857 rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing
561 children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in
461 the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[1] [See cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", p 643- "]

/69 cont./

A M 857 561 461 is first of all adjusted to their physical strength; in short, the playful imitation of adult activity is automatically replaced by actual work as soon as the necessary strength is there. Secondly, the work depends upon the seasons since, in general, the work of the Meau is conditioned by them.

Otherwise, there is no regulation of activity, either within the work group or with respect to the time that is to be spent at work and at play. Everything is arranged according to the work of the adults, into which all the children are always drawn. At the time when the fields are cultivated or when new villages are to be laid out, everyone must work uninterruptedly according to his strength from dawn to dusk, but during the period after the harvest there are long stretches of leisure, and the days are then filled with laughter and games. In any case, there is no more importance attached to a child's reaching the working age than to his completion of the sixth year, which is so significant for our children.

/70/ In general, it can be said that both sexes at about the age of sixteen are fully able to perform the work of the adults.

2. The Children's Group

A M 857 [156] As soon as the children of the Meau and Akha are three or four years old, they are admitted into the children's group (Ill. 14). Even earlier, however, they are taken along by their older siblings, on whose backs they participate in the games. There seems to be hardly any eccentrics among the children; at any rate, I never saw a child going about by himself.

M 857 157 The composition of the children's group varies greatly and depends on which children happen to have free time. Among the Meau, the leader of the group is always the child present at the moment who is physically the strongest, although there is no noticeable competition for the position of leader. All of them, however, know exactly who is the strongest, and accordingly they submit to him without demur. Sometimes there are scuffles within the group. Competition

/208 cont./

769 As has already been described in detail in the pertinent
782 sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a
[852] child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and
[764] at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If
[437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but
782 also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law
[461] of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces
[787] of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

1 [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/276 cont./

342 the other two corner posts, as well as all the other supporting posts in between, are set in, the crossbeams of the roof are tied on, and the vertical planks are fastened.

/277/ Then the roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) is laid on and fastened. In the meantime the women have prepared the palm leaves, and the men start the roof covering. /Figs. 75 and 76 appear here./

This proceeds in the following fashion: women and children [462] tie the palm leaves in rows on poles (Fig. 77), and these are then placed on one another in layers, like roof tiles, by the men (Fig. 78). They /Figs. 77-78 appear here/ /278/ start this at the lowest point of the roof and continue until the ridge is reached. When this has been done on both sides of the roof, the long bamboo poles are put to the right and left of it, parallel to the long axis of the roof, and tied fast to the roof truss. Now, at intervals of about one meter, the roof riders, which crowning everything, hold down the leaf shingles, are tied to the roof truss.

When the house is completed in this fashion, the fireplace, the hearth, and the partitions are built. Then a temporary altar 342 is erected by putting a board over three supporting posts. Here 782 the owner of the house sacrifices a couple of chickens and invites [778] the ancestors and his spirit-teachers (see the chapter, "Religion," the section, "Deities and Spirits") to move into their new dwelling. In front of the entrance door he likewise sacrifices a couple of chickens for the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to protect the house and to take up residence in it very often.

342 Savina (1) describes the house construction in Indochina:

1. II, p. 184.

"The mountain site where the new colony intends to settle has been prepared two or three months previously. The site for the new house has been cleared of weeds, the timber has been cut, the maize fields are cleared and have even been seeded. Thus one is quickly installed. In a few days the house is up, which, [461] incidentally, does not cost much in labor. The Meau make everything themselves. They are masons, carpenters, smiths,

/340 cont./

221 Hunting is done by the Meau in all seasons of the year, but
224 especially after the harvest has been brought in and the field
[461] work completed, for then they have leisure, whereas the period of field work must be put to good use in order to plant and harvest on time. Nevertheless, I have seen it happen that the passion for hunting induced the Meau to drop their extremely important field work in order to track down a stray elephant bull.

185 There are no closed seasons. Literally everything that
224 comes within shooting range of the hunter, male animals as well as females, gravid animals as well as the young, is shot. Thus, it is not at all surprising that /341/ within a short time after the founding of a village the game in the immediate vicinity, and soon in a wider area, is exhausted.

224 The Meau do not practice either hunting drives or communal hunts, but rather only individual hunting. Disguising the hunter in animal skins or masks to deceive the prey is unknown to them. It must be mentioned, however, that in the dense forest area that is available to them in northern Thailand a disguise would be obstructive and unnecessary.

For the individual hunting generally practiced among the Meau, two or three men usually set out together. The hunters, however, do not separate, as in communal hunting, but remain together in order to spring to the aid of one another in case of need. Since in the dense primeval forest a shot can be fired only at close range and the effectiveness of the Meau weapons is very limited in comparison with our hunting guns, it must therefore be assumed that the hunter will be attacked by every large animal that he shoots. The precaution of not going hunting alone is therefore absolutely mandatory, for often enough the companions are lifesavers in that they try to divert the pursuer from their fellow-hunter.

I was repeatedly able to confirm that the Meau know how to meet the dangers associated with this type of hunting. For example, in the company of Meau warriors I came across tree trunks with deep holes in them in three different places in the primeval forest. These were trees behind which the Meau

/420/

Chapter 22

Communication

133 The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by
487 steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless
[137] or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only
[491] bridge. Other facilities are unknown; there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: 'Never yet

1. II, p. 181.

has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in
[461] the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, however, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity.
[361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yam, spinning, weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[241] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)
[248]

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

●461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/458 cont./

A M 161 Thus, in recapitulation, it can be said that the number of the Akha and Meau living today, as well as the actual demographic movement, lie completely in obscurity. The Akha, too, may represent a considerable contingent of population, but it can hardly be assumed that it is a matter of anywhere near as mighty a bulk of population as the Meau. From my own observations I can say that in the case of both tribes it is a matter of thoroughly healthy people. As a consequence A M [163] [165] of the average number of children, from eight to twelve among the Akha and seven among the Meau, a strong increase of the population is to be presumed, in spite of high infant mortality, wherever there are no limiting factors, such as sickness (see the chapter, "Medicine"), crop failure, warlike events, or special laws of the political rulers of the country, which, of course, decisively influence the natural increase. /Ills. 86-91 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/459/ Chapter 31

Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners

M 181 461 The Meau are a typical mountain people. They are by nature healthy, honest, sincere, not at all treacherous, and, above all, industrious. This is necessary in order to master the hard daily work that is to be done year in and year out. One seldom sees adults sit around idly. Among the Meau, when- M [124] ever I summoned my informants for linguistic studies, they provided themselves beforehand with the necessary material for at least making string or rope during our conversations. They then worked mechanically while I conversed with them. These M 181 157 conversations and my observations of their daily life gave me a good opportunity to discover that the burden of everyday life had not made them morose. On the contrary, they are cheerful, merry, and, at the same time, very conscientious.

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /460 cont./
181 to observe this talent for languages. The Meau usually speaks
[191] at least one and usually two or more foreign languages in addition to his mother tongue. To possess knowledge is regarded among the Meau as wise; a person without knowledge is stupid, as they say. It was often expressed: one who masters life,
M [461] knows how to do the work in the house and in the fields properly,
[555] is wise. The desire for the best performance is already shown by this attitude, and likewise by the competitive games of the children (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work").

M 181 Almost all the authors mention the indomitable desire
648 for freedom of the Meau, which is already apparent from their historical traditions and the organization of their army, as well as their aversion to being ruled by members of other peoples. Abadie (3) asserts: "It is necessary to mention the repugnance

3. Page 163.

with which the Meau suffer their subordination under a Thai chief. Even if this is limited merely to trifling matters which only rarely affect the life of the Meau..." Savina (4) also

4. II, p. 232.

emphasizes this desire for independence, and Lajonquière (5)

5. II, p. 302.

gives a brief outline characterization: "The 'Meau' is regarded as an intelligent and skillful worker. The characteristic trait of his moral attitude is his deep love of freedom. At the slightest punishment or limitation, he sets out with all his belongings to seek a corner where he will find freedom. He is courageous and daring, keeps his word, and is open in his speech."

A Moreover, I found the Meau physically strong, hardened,
M and capable of great resistance against hunger, thirst, and all
147 physical exertion. The women, however, sometimes appear

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

576 Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the [576] Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of [554] greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

/27 cont'd/

226 here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

463 Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-
462 developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets,
[285 boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for
322] domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for
[439] rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time
[342] with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

286 The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area
386 /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from
286 the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/19 cont./

M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
M 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.
[167]

(2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
[556] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[527] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M
*101 /20 cont./
CC in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[517] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
M are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[531] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
[386] is washed out and the designs appear.

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monogamous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the sun and rain from the child.

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[595]
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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 men of the family — his son, the nephews,
and their sons — and his own daughters had
592 free access to his rooms. The second wife
was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at
596 home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen,
512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning
[768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and eat.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 with her two grandchildren, a boy of twelve and a girl of ten, who were reaping wheat. Some had been taken from the field. Now she was cutting the stalks about four inches from the ground. I helped the children lay the stalks together so that a number of heads could be struck off together, and to pick up what fell to the ground. At noon the boy went home with a load of wheat heads and returned with a basket of rice mixed with wheat, a dish of pickled green vegetable, and the necessary bowls and chopsticks. The women led us to a spring on the floor of the valley where we could get cold water to drink with our meal. I doubted the wisdom of drinking from a spring so near newly fertilized rice fields, but it was a very hot day. We brought a bowl of water back to the field so that the woman could sharpen her sickle on a small piece of stone she carried in a bamboo holder. We worked until well after sunset.

Although there was a good breeze, these days were very hot and everyone hoped for rain so that the fields could have a good flooding. Some of the fields from which the crops had been harvested were planted to maize and long beans. More fields which had crops in them were later planted to rice. By the middle of the fourth month (end of May, 1942) some former wheat fields were already planted to maize and soy beans, well up and requiring cultivation. Others were being plowed as they were cleared. In general, all fields that could be sufficiently flooded were given over to rice, the rest to maize, beans, tobacco, red chillies, and millet.

241 462 After the day in which sixteen women worked together to set out plants in the one large field, there were a few other occasions when a large group worked in the same field or adjacent ones (fig. 15, *a*). But in general women from several small households worked together in bundling up the rice plants (one man worked in one group), reaping wheat, transplanting, and so on, or each family took care of its own fields. While younger women were busy in the fields the older women in our household beat out pulse, flailed wheat and winnowed it, sunned rice, and kept an eye on the children when they were not playing away from home.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

used the mattock, and as they worked they 312
fertilized the plants with night soil and wood 241
ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family 243
also used some lime mixed with manure, which was left over from several loads carried to another village eighteen *li*[3] away. Toward the end of the fifth month several young men had taken out the pile in the room back of the kitchen in the new house and mixed it with manure, after which some of the village girls and women of our household carried it. It must have been promised for a certain day, for the trip was made in a drenching rain which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, was a member of this group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken 243
toward the transplanting of rice in different 462
localities and among different people in one locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near Kunming men bundled up the plants and transported them, while only women were allowed to set them out. I was told that this was a custom borrowed from the non-Chinese there, who believed that the women insured fertility. Here the women did all of it, with only a few men helping with either bundling or setting out. In both cases the men did the plowing and most of the harrowing. In the one Chinese family in this village and those between the valley and Lung-li I saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used up, so now and then the women went to get more. Often it was much mixed with dried grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass for the animals, which were kept in the stables, were brought in. Women and children took water buffalo out once or twice a day for a soaking in the large pond and for feeding upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultivation was the main task for all women, who took time out only to nurse a boil or catch up on washing and mending. The men went to market a great deal, most of them carrying wood in one form or another — planks, pieces of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles. They seemed able, with what they could find 241

[3] A measure of length reckoned at 360 paces or

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

year began. During this period there was time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The technique of farming was identical with that of Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

[35b]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940s?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 with the exception of the fact that the Miao
462 women seemed to do a greater proportion of the out-of-door work. That is, in a well-to-do Miao household the women worked just as hard as those in the poorer ones, but in a well-to-do Chinese family the women spent most of their time at home. The work of women will be discussed more in detail under Division of Labor.

241 The implements used were as follows: for
412 breaking up and cultivation of the ground—plows, harrows, and mattocks. The plow (fig. 13, *d*) had an iron share like two overlapping shingles and one upright piece through the beam. The end of the beam was the handle. The harrow was two beams with iron spikes on the under side and a transverse piece at either end, the whole forming a rectangle with projecting ends. The mattock had a long, wooden handle and a blade of iron about six inches wide at the edge. The harness was a slightly bent wooden beam laid across the neck of the animal with a heavy rope from it under its neck and two light ropes to the implement. As the man plowed or harrowed he guided the animal by another cord attached to one side of the yoke. The plow had to be lifted a little when turning corners. In use the harrow was weighted with a large stone. For reaping, gathering grass, and gathering fuel the sickle was used. It had a short wooden handle and an iron blade, originally with a straight cutting edge and rounded outer edge, but with much sharpening becoming a crescent. The men had a wooden holder of the shape as shown in figure 10 which they fastened with a straw cord about the waist to the small of the back. The handle of the sickle was thrust into the hole in the top of this with the blade up. A little bamboo basket for the whetting stone was worn at the belt in front. For beating out the grain they used a square wooden box, four feet each way and two deep, an upturned stone, a flail, bamboo baskets, and a bamboo mat. The beater took up a bundle of rice and beat out the grain on the inside of the box or against the upturned stone set on the mat. Or the sheaves were laid end to end and flailed. The flail was two lengths of bamboo or sticks fastened to a short piece in such a way that the worker could hold one length in her hands and swing the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 412

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 only
252 rarely did a man do any of the cooking. Butchering was done by men, but the preservation of meat and the preparation of dishes from meats was usually taken care of by women. They dried beef by placing the pieces on sticks across the opening in the stove from which a large cooking bowl had been removed and keeping a fire going under it. They cured pork and made sausage. Meat was smoked simply by hanging the pieces up over the floor firepit.

462 With the help of an older man now and
241 then, women took full charge of kitchen gardens, from whence came vegetables used by the household for their own food or taken to market, and green stuff for the feeding of animals. They prepared the mash for cattle and ponies as well as the swill for pigs, and fed them. They also did most of the work in other fields after the plowing and harrowing were finished. If the ground was broken up not with the plow but the mattock, they did that, too. And cultivation from the sowing of the seed (the casting of rice into the seed beds excepted), through weeding, fertilizing, and transplanting to reaping was largely the work of women.

They gathered most of the firewood and other fuel, much of the grass for animals and for the raincapes they themselves made, and carried most of the water from springs for household use. They did their share of the cleaning of stables and carrying the straw and manure to the fields. They carried all the night soil from cesspools and applied it as fertilizer. If the pond was low enough in the spring, they got down into the thigh-deep mud and dug for the water chestnut known as *tzu ku*. Men, women, boys, and girls made a picnic of wading waist deep in the pond and "feeling" for fish and large snails, for food.

They bundled up the rice plants in the seed beds, transported them, and set them out. They reaped wheat and its attendant crops, flailed out the grain, winnowed and sunned it, dried the plants of rape, beans and peas, beat out the seeds and pulse. They cut the rice plants, both ordinary rice with the sickle and glutinous rice with a knife, helped to beat it out and transport the grain and straw, sunned, cleaned, winnowed, and hulled the grain, and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

462 241 from the straw of glutinous rice made sandals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it, 462 stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, sep- 283 arated the strands, and from them made the 386 two grades of thread — one for sewing and mending and one for weaving into cloth. They 291 gathered and dried nutgalls and from them prepared a dye, by which they dyed white cloth bought in piece in the market an even, almost black blue. They made all the clothing for themselves and their families and their bedding. They wove the straw comforter, too. Girls and younger women made the embroidery on the overpiece, front apron, and turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older women made hemp thread and did the weaving of cloth for the back apron and bands for the baby pad. It was the older women who wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

286 Three types of loom were used. First there was that described in the making of the belt. Second, there was the vertical loom used for the weaving of straw comforters. This had two beams, one high and one near the floor, from which the warp ropes of twisted straw went back and forth. Two of the poles supporting the rafters served as uprights. The weft was similar to the warp, except that straw ends were left sticking out so that the result was smooth on one side and had a nap on the other. The weft was sent through by hand, in and out, over and under successive threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet. The third was used for the weaving of hemp cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of two by fours about eight feet long and three wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides and, a little lower down, across the ends, also one about two feet from one end. The upper pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at each end. Into this frame was set another, lighter one, going into the upper horizontal pieces at the back, but down into the bracing piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace about a foot above the main frame, across the front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights of this second frame, a board was put across for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

4-Michey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

was held firm by projecting rods which rested on a board across the frame. From the yarn beam the warp proceeded across the horizontal bar of the lighter frame, through two heddles of the frame variety made of bamboo rods with hemp thread between them, which were suspended from a roller laid across the lighter frame or through holes pierced in it, by straw rope and vine tendrils. They were a little wider than the piece of cloth used in the back apron, and the threads were about a foot long. From the lower ends similar ropes led to the fronts of two pedals. Other ropes of the same kind led from the backs of the pedals to the horizontal brace at the back of the main frame. From the heddles the warp proceeded to a reed, also suspended from the lighter frame, thence to the cloth beam set in slots in uprights in the longitudinal brace of the main frame, its longitudinal pieces and projecting above. The cloth beam was then held firm by straw rope tied around it and the frame behind the upright on one side. There were laze-rods set in just behind the front board.

Shed and countershed were formed by depressing first one pedal and then the other. The weft was shot through by hand, wound on bamboo shuttles of the shape as shown in figure 11. The weft was beaten up with the reed. Most of the warp thread was rolled on the yarn beam, but some extended beyond and lay in a basket. The reed was made of two pieces of wood, between which could be set and fastened a removable frame like that of the heddles, but without eyes in the thread which stretched between. The weaver took hold of two vertical bars as she beat up the weft. The contrivance was suspended by ropes attached to those bars.

Women also cooked the paste and beans and shaped the glutinous rice cakes, distilled rice wine, ground the beans and made bean curd, including that mixed with pig's blood at the lunar New Year. They helped cut tobacco in the fields, cutting the leaves from the stalk in such a way as to leave a piece of it for a hook by which they fastened it into a rope of straw made as they went. These ropes were festooned across the fronts of the houses to dry, after which it was ready to smoke in their long-stemmed pipes.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended. 462 846

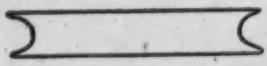


Fig. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there. 462

Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewod, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the beating out of grain in the field 462 241 [313]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
622 gent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

442 241 It has already been noted that men and women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai, Kou-ch'ang in Kueiting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring
harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of
large numbers of the people. They can usually
afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt
purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this
becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people
fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a
Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers,
the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government,
and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour-
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves [624]
with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task.
The women have very much more work to do than
men. They weave the clothes, carry the water,
collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear
innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about
the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress.
A man wears sandals, which he himself has made,
short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a
loose-fitting upper garment which is between a
jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears
a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth.
The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and,
scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7] 712

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home. 788 765

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time. 224

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese. 463

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house. 462

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 綏州府志

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron ko or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
412 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activate
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

/276 cont./

342 the other two corner posts, as well as all the other supporting posts in between, are set in, the crossbeams of the roof are tied on, and the vertical planks are fastened.

/277/ Then the roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) is laid on and fastened. In the meantime the women have prepared the palm leaves, and the men start the roof covering. /Figs. 75 and 76 appear here./

[462] This proceeds in the following fashion: women and children tie the palm leaves in rows on poles (Fig. 77), and these are then placed on one another in layers, like roof tiles, by the men (Fig. 78). They /Figs. 77-78 appear here/ /278/ start this at the lowest point of the roof and continue until the ridge is reached. When this has been done on both sides of the roof, the long bamboo poles are put to the right and left of it, parallel to the long axis of the roof, and tied fast to the roof truss. Now, at intervals of about one meter, the roof riders, which crowning everything, hold down the leaf shingles, are tied to the roof truss.

When the house is completed in this fashion, the fireplace, 342 the hearth, and the partitions are built. Then a temporary altar 782 is erected by putting a board over three supporting posts. Here [778] the owner of the house sacrifices a couple of chickens and invites the ancestors and his spirit-teachers (see the chapter, "Religion," the section, "Deities and Spirits") to move into their new dwelling. In front of the entrance door he likewise sacrifices a couple of chickens for the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to protect the house and to take up residence in it very often.

342 Savina (1) describes the house construction in Indochina:

1. II, p. 184.

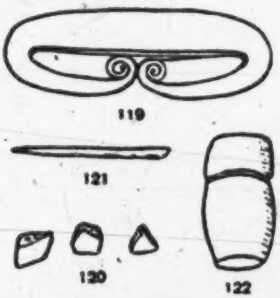
"The mountain site where the new colony intends to settle has been prepared two or three months previously. The site for the new house has been cleared of weeds, the timber has been cut, the maize fields are cleared and have even been seeded. Thus one is quickly installed. In a few days the house is up, which, [461] incidentally, does not cost much in labor. The Meau make everything themselves. They are masons, carpenters, smiths,

Miao AE5

354 /300 cont./ This fireplace is the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]



Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--503 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/372/

Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among [515] the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

/436 cont./

A 512 [264] baskets and mats. About eight o'clock the morning meal is finally ready, is eaten together by the family, and only then does the actual work of the day begin.

A [887] During the period of the work in the fields, the younger people leave the house in order to go to the fields; only the old people, the grandparents, remain behind to watch over the houses. A [264] The Akha, too, take food with them to the fields and eat it cold during a pause at midday. Sometimes, however, the women, too, stay at home and do the domestic tasks, spinning, weaving, dyeing, and caring for the children and domestic animals, as among the Meau.

During the period after the harvest, the men may go hunting or the occupants of the house may go fishing together. A [264] In these cases, too, the cooked food for midday is taken along. They always return home at sunset, and often even later during the [312] period of the fieldwork. Here water must now be fetched and [252] the rice hulled by the women, but the men help them with this (Ill. 39)[1] as with the cooking and then the evening meal is eaten. [276] Later, the old people sit together and smoke tobacco and opium, [883] while the young people leave the houses, visit one another, and go on romantic adventures. Around ten o'clock, however, everybody is usually already in bed and asleep, for the days are filled with hard and strenuous work. At the time of the festivals, on the other hand, the entertainment often lasts through A [527] most of the nights and the sound of the mouth organs does not die away until dawn.

/437/

Chapter 26

Men's Work and Women's Work

M 462 Besides a whole number of tasks that are performed together by both sexes, various tasks among the Meau are reserved for the one or the other sex. The strictly observed division of M [231] labor begins in childhood. Exclusively men's work is the following: hunting, climbing trees, making planks and posts, felling

1 [see cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning, weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[241] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)
[248]

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, paper-making, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]

/27 cont'd/

226 here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

● 463 Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-
462 developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets,
[285 boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for
322] domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for
[439] rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time
[342] with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not
286 personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area
286 /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from
286 the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/72 cont./ They reared the

231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Although today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, however, sharply divides the dominant from the minor peoples — the *hsien*[1] towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily

[viia]

[1] A *hsien* is a district — a subdivision of a province,

roughly comparable to our County

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes,' with their fields on other slopes and
563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one
463 small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-
596 workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (王) family. They had
764 intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one
342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one.
342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark. 241 412

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make 241 412 463 563

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 442

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

schools, squeezed the Miao unmercifully. The 579
District or County magistrate, whose Yamen 651
was within the city, reasoned with them and persuaded them to go away. They returned to their homes, and later on the affair was settled by the nominal punishment of some of the Miao and a more just collection of the education rate.

Of all the Miao in Kweichow, the Heh or 463
Black Miao are the most intelligent and the most self-reliant. Most of them own the land they cultivate, many of them are well-to-do, and in many respects they seem nearly equal, if not quite equal, to the Chinese peasantry around them. We have observed, however, that the artisans among them are neither so skilful nor so trustworthy as those among the Chinese. The Heh Miao not only bring their [443]
cattle and produce to market, but many of them engage in trade and open stalls on the market-place. Some of them buy pigs, rice, and other local products, and carry them for sale in their own boats to Hungkiang in Hunan. On the river that flows from Kai-li to Kienyang Hun, fifteen miles above Hungkiang, all the boatmen appear to be Miao. Elsewhere, however, the Miao seem to be poorer and inferior to the Chinese and Chung-chia. In Weining

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7] 712

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home. 788 765

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time. 224

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese. 463

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house. 462

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 敘州府志

10: Graham E-5 (192'-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

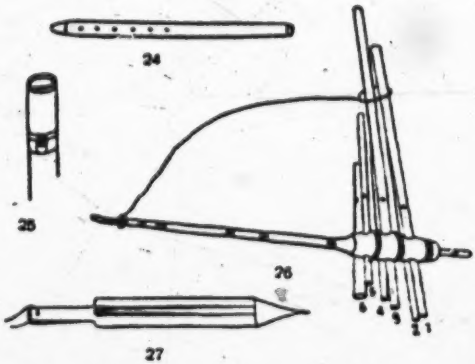
241 463 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan 353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His
[114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs
[562] with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau
[533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical Instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages
[463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area.
533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the
[243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/369 cont./

M 232 [463] In every village several men are masters at the art of castration and are paid by the others to practice this occupation. /370/ I had an opportunity to watch the castration of a cock, which did not last longer than four minutes. The Meau opened the body cavity of the animal three fingers above the anus, pulled out the reproductive glands with two fingers which he stuck deep into the opening, tied them up, and then simply tore them off. Then, with needle and thread, he first sewed the musculature and then the outer skin, and the cock was immediately actively running about again and looking for food. The amazing thing was that during the entire operation he had remained completely still.

M 237 231 262 Taking blood from living animals is unknown to the Meau in Thailand. On the other hand, the blood that flows from the opened neck artery during slaughtering is collected and consumed as food.

A 231 What has been said about the animal husbandry of the Meau generally applies among the Akha. The sequence followed for the domestic animals described, according to their significance for the Meau, is the same for the Akha; nevertheless there are a few differences. Among the Akha, too, the raising of pigs comes first; the fodder for these animals (Ill. 44)[1] is even prepared on special cooking places among them. On the other hand, during the night they, like the cattle, are not shut up in special pens, but stay under the dwellings, which stand on piles. During the day, they roam about freely (Ill. 46)[2] and, together with the dogs, burrow in the heaps of refuse which are present beside every house. Among the Akha, no differently than among the Meau, dogs as well as pigs devour the feces of human beings with special likings.

A [342] [364] The Akha raise cattle for meat, the Meau more rarely. Like the latter, they use the animals as pack animals in regions that permit it. Strangely enough, the Akha, too, drink no milk, though I did not find a corresponding taboo, as among the Meau. Nevertheless, the obvious presumption is that among them, too, it is a matter of a forgotten prohibition of cultic origin, which has become a habit.

[262] [492] [272]

1 [see cat 116, p 296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 332- "]

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly
[465] paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

[25 cont.]

784 coffins are borne by sixteen persons and the smaller ones, by eight. The son-in-law of the deceased leads the funeral procession with a lighted bark of fir tree, followed by the daughter-in-law, carrying on her back three sheng of grains in a basket. There are drummers, liu sheng players, and men who fire rifles and firecrackers. On such a solemn occasion, of course, the priest is not missing. Wielding a dagger in his left hand and holding an empty water bucket in his right, he walks along, abandoning the bucket as soon as he passes the village gate. As he moves along he swings the dagger and mumbles magic phrases. The coffin is followed by family members and friends and relatives, the latter each sending a package of glutinous rice to be taken along it is said, by the deceased to the nether world for distribution among those kinsmen already gone before. After burial the bereaved family mixes all the rice together and distributes it among the guests, the family itself being forbidden to eat this rice. When the burial ceremony is completed they return to the bereaved family, where they set up the spirit tablet for the deceased. The priest lays his dagger on the left of the tablet. At that time, the bereaved family has to provide wine and meat to feed the guests and after the meal they take their leave. For his three days of performance the priest re-
●[465] ceives as reward a basketful of glutinous rice, a pig's heart, a pig's stomach and a jug of wine.

Three days after burial, the family of the deceased returns
765 to the tomb to offer sacrifices known as "fu-shan" [going back to the mountain]. The spirit tablet in the house has to be guarded by the elder son for about a month in the case of either deceased parent. During this month he is not supposed to cross the threshold or a bridge, nor to step into a puddle of water, nor to sing songs, nor to eat bamboo or bracken. After the period of spirit-guarding is over, the family has to send a package of glutinous rice of about two or three sheng and a cock to the house of the maternal uncle. Within three years after the burial regular sacrifices must be made at the tomb at every spring festival (twenty-five days after the beginning of spring) [in early March], after which "kua ch'ing" [hanging the green] [26] at Ch'ing-ming time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

/179 cont./

756 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before
787 he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case
[755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain
[789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97). 1
[755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for
614 cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the
[465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,
755 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did
[126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

1 [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/423/

Chapter 23

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/118 cont'd/

648 by influential Li leaders. Hence, even at the present time, almost without exception all Miao land is rented from the Li (a small part also belongs to Chinese merchants who have made their for-
648 tunes in the Li area). From the economic point of view, there-
466 fore, the relationship between the Li and the Miao has been the relationship between landlords and tenants. The Miao have to pay a certain amount of annual rent to the Li leaders (landlords); sometimes they even have to contribute personal service without compensation. They have to make a contribution toward running the Li schools and t'uans equal to that of the Li participants, but they are not allowed to participate in their administration. Moreover, the ownership of the land belongs to the Li, who can take the land back from their Miao tenants at any time should the latter
648 be disobedient. /119/ During last year's call to "develop Hainan," many shrewd Li leaders declared that they would take the mountain lands back from the Miao to cultivate themselves. Some also took forest preservation as a pretext and forbade the Miao to burn the mountains. When this news reached the Miao community, they were scared to death and did not know what to do about it. Among these unreasonable arrangements, the most cruel one is that the mountains are rented to the Miao tenants, but they are forbidden to enjoy any of the mountain products other than the crops that they
[822] cultivate. Some Miao pick some of the mountain products, such as edible fungus from trees and rattan, which they may bring out to barter with the Chinese. If they are caught on the way to market by the Li, all the commodities they carry with them are usually confiscated, and in addition they are heavily fined. Commodities subject to confiscation even include the animal skins which the Miao might have hunted in the mountains. Under such circumstances, the Li leaders and the Chinese landlord-merchants usually cooperate because their interests are identical. When I was in the Li area, I personally saw how these /Chinese/ merchants expressed their anti-Miao feeling. One can imagine how hard Miao life is. When I had just arrived in the Miao area, they all approached me with countless complaints about how they were badly treated by other peoples and how hard their livelihood was. They begged me

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr./

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[12] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [431] [276] neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[628] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor. 618

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔɜʌu Ma· and the guest-husbands are called ndᵃʌu la·. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb, 837

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials. 837 178

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along. 186 476

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/1 cont'd/

101 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao
175 troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains
[411 and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the
278] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people
[291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like
[48] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where
[221] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned
[224] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are
[754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] */Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[304] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting, fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men. The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells, and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

[153 cont.]
291 slipper with wide linen leg. In winter the well-to-do "Méo" wear a padded jacket and a sort of padded loincloth.

[302] The "Méo" shave the hair about their heads for a width of from three or four centimeters; the remaining hair, braided or not, is confined in a turban. Besides, it is not rare to meet a bare-headed "Méo."

[301] Many "Méo" men wear jewelry: rings, bracelets, or necklaces of silver, copper, or sometimes of iron.

[765] Mourning is indicated by the wearing of a white turban. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42.)

The costume of the "Méo" women shows rather remarkable peculiarities in the various tribes. They even exceed, among the "Peu-Méo," the costume of the "Man-ta-pan" in magnificence of embroidery and liveliness of colors.

Except among the "Méo-moung-cha," the cut of the feminine garments is almost uniform, as much for the working clothes as for the ceremonial costumes.

The "Peu-méo" women, whom the French commonly call "Méotes with the sailor collar" wear a working costume made up of the following pieces (photo 103, Plate 39).

A white bodice, full, and reaching down to the waist, where it is held in with the skirt by a wide belt. This bodice is folded over very low in front, leaving a considerable portion of the breast visible and giving the entire garment the appearance of a very low cut sailor's collar. This collar, as well as the lower part of the sleeves, is bordered with a band of colored material, of variable width (blue or red).

A white skirt, reaching down to just above the calf, and held in at the waist by the belt referred to above. This skirt, which is very wide, is of the "plissé-soleil" type. While walking, during [481] which the "Méo" women swing their hips very markedly, the pleats of the skirt gather now on the right, now on the left, following the movements of legs and torso.

An apron, in blue linen, simply fastened about the waist by a [154] cord. A rather voluminous turban of blue linen, but with an outside turn often made up of a band of material in white and blue squares.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, [731] a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest [312] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A /442 cont./

M The legs of the Meau are short, especially those of the
141 women. Short and very rapid steps are therefore the rule. The
M feet are narrow and strikingly small and gracile. In contrast
to this, the legs of the Akha are longer, but above all the feet
[481] are large and rather clumsy.

Among both peoples the arms seem long in relation to the legs; the hands are well-shaped and, like the feet, narrow and small. The hands of the Akha are likewise narrow, but large.

A The body hair among both tribes is black. But whereas
M it is almost absent among the Meau, particularly the arms and
142 legs of the Akha are very hairy. Both peoples have only a slight development of pubic hair.

Among both the Akha and the Meau, the head hair is black, bristly, and has a bluish shimmer. The hair of the Meau
M is somewhat thicker than that of the Akha, the growth of hair
[143] very abundant, and baldness rare, not observed by me at all.

The hair of the men reaches down over the shoulders among both peoples, among the women often to the hips.

M Witek (1) mentions, besides the black hair-color of the
142
114

1. Page 92.

Meau, also brown hair among the men and among the Meau women, besides black, also finds brown and even blond hair. Abadie (2), too, confirms /Ills. 80-85 appear here on unnum-

2. Page 151.

M bered pages/ /443/ the not infrequent occurrence of blond and,
[143] in the case of albinos, white hair. In contrast to this I myself was unable to find a single case of any hair color other than black or bluish black.

/28 cont'd/

386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

437 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
438 similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
439 commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above. Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the
[443] Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district, one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third, they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of li away but many are a hundred li away. Since the Miao all live a simple life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a month at the most.

C /44 cont./
491 to Ch'en-chou, Mo-yang, and Chih-chiang; the military roads
M lead to Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, and T'ung-jen; the civilian
roads lead to P'u-shih and Kan-ch'eng; and the Miao roads are
[487] on both sides of the military routes, threading out in all directions so numerous that they defy enumeration. The official and the military roads are all paved with stone slabs (Illus. 20), requiring considerable construction work. The civilian roads were not constructed in a uniform way, those passing prosperous
M areas being much better than others. The Miao paths generally
[487] follow the contours of the mountains and require very little human labor. As to the means of transportation, travelers /Illus-
C trations 18-26 occur on pp. 45-52/ /53/ generally ride horses
M
[492] or ride in sedan chairs (Illus. 21), while cargo is carried by
[493] carriers on their backs.

Bridges. — The bridge in the Miao area involve con-
[482] siderable construction work. On important communication roads, they generally built three or five-arch bridges (Illus. 11),
C on which were built houses for hotels and restaurants for the
[485] convenience of travelers. Places where a river is wide and shallow are spanned by long bridges (Illus. 22, 23). Places where a river is wide and deep are crossed by rope bridges (Illus. 24). In small streams which are narrow and have sandbanks they sat up stone steps, customarily called 'ho shui ch'iao /"bridge enclosing the water"/ (Illus. 25), or they build small bridges (Illus. 26) over them.

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land 243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung 245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees 245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar [805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance [482] bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the [412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place [258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the [439] outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are [252] burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

[285] The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[513] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Although today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/135 cont./

*782 wine and cooked rice. In addition meat is sliced, and seven slices strung together to make one string. In all, seven strings of meat are put on a platter. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation and divines with the chiao and sends off the kuei. This is the sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains. [787] [776]

The tenth part is performed at noon, when two "Five-Flower pillars (1) are set up in an open area, and to each pillar is

1. Five-Flower pillars are made of pine shan wood about 3 chang long, on which are carved ornamental designs, which are smeared with red and white colors. [531]

tied a pig. The hind legs of the pigs are bound together with hemp ropes. This rope must have been made by members of the lower generation. Moreover, a cock is tied to a small wooden pillar near the ornate pillars by means of a fine hemp string threaded through the beak. The sorcerer-priest stands under the eaves of the house, wearing a cap and long gown and holding in his hand a tree branch. [292] The host wears a ceremonial hat and a red rug thrown over his body. He first picks up a bench and places it against one of the Five-Flower pillars, holding in his left hand a double-edged sword and a bamboo splint and flourishing the latter as if he were driving the pigs away. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation to send the pigs away, and after the incense and the paper are burned, the various members of the lower generation come out grasping weapons as in Illus. 61. They bow three times facing the interior of the house and three times facing the outside. Then they kill the pigs and the chicken.

The eleventh part is performed in front of the main house. A bamboo mat is spread on the ground and on it are placed the caps and clothes of the members of the lower generation. Behind the mat there is a bench, on which are placed a bowl of wine and a piece of water-buffalo meat. The sorcerer-priest stands outside the entrance, wearing a wide rain hat on his head and carrying a bamboo cage on his back, in which are clothes and other articles. [292] [482]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

133 men on this river are nearly all Heh Miao, who
487 convey goods to and from Hungkiang in Hunan. This stream, however, in consequence of long and difficult rapids, is only navigable for small boats, whereas the Chenyüan branch is navigable for river boats of the largest size. This lack of waterways, and the fact that there is no road, as far as we know, in the province over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven, makes the conveyance of produce a costly undertaking. Everything has to be carried by coolies, or on the backs of ponies and mules, and consequently it doubles the cost of rice to carry it one hundred and twenty miles.

482

162 The population of Kweichow is probably between seven and ten millions. In speaking of numbers, in the absence of trustworthy census returns, it must be understood that we are giving opinions formed from our own observation, influenced by the estimates of others who are as well qualified to judge as ourselves. In this way, then, we put the population of the province at between seven and ten millions, and reckon that one-half of these are Chinese and the rest mostly Miao and Chung-chia.

To a traveller passing through Kweichow, the Chinese would appear to greatly outnumber the non-Chinese. This is because the Chinese

[5 cont.]

181 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by
609 the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of
262 rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more
[243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice."
●[482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat
264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are
262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

415 [160 cont.]
482 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
[492] often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo" of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies
[854] also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

155: Abadie--237 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

37. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman.

346. "Hoa-Méo" Unmarried Woman Carrying Water in two Bamboo Tubes Fastened Together.

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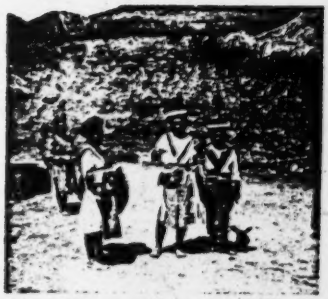
103. "Peu-Méo" Women.

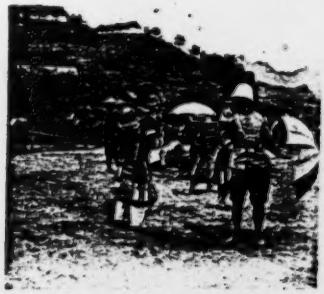


105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.



419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.

(Pakha)

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Akha AO4

/57 cont./

M 854 Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

[482] 1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

/225 cont./

539 There are songs... "about a Golden Age during which weeds did not yet grow in the fields, maize leaves were edible, and the ripe grain flew through the air into the house... Unfortunately, one day a wife did not obey her husband and refused to sweep out her house in order to receive the grain. Since then, grass grows with the maize, maize leaves are edible only for buffalo, and the kernels have to be laboriously carried home in carrying baskets. [482] The Meau say that the invention of the carrying basket stems from that ancient time."

The same author (2) gives still another version of this

2. II, p. 247.

legendary age of happiness, one which I did not find confirmed anywhere in Thailand:

"The Lord made human beings immortal. In the beginning man ate nothing but vegetables. He did not work, the earth produced everything without work. Human beings traveled between heaven and earth. One day, however, a woman ate a white strawberry, which she was not supposed to touch, and drank from a forbidden spring. Since then human beings must work and die. For a long time, however, human beings still became very old, eight hundred or nine hundred years, but misfortune and failures gradually shortened their lives. After the woman's crime, human beings had to leave their dwelling places and were never allowed to return."

Concerning the original home of the Meau the shaman of Kun Fa reported to me: The first land that the Meau inhabited was many years' journeys to the north of their present territory. Half the time was day, half was night. During the night all the water became rigid and formed large smooth boulders and fine white sand. Human beings, animals, and plants were much smaller than in the present land of the Meau. People did not have to suffer from heat as the Meau in the valleys do today, but rather from cold, and they had to cover their bodies with the skins of animals.

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/262 cont./

M 166 484

Concerning the migrations of the Meau in Indochina, Savina (3) reports: "When the Meau move, they burn their

3. II, p. 183.

M [482]

houses; others let them fall into ruins. The small children are put into carrying baskets with the chickens and suckling pigs. When everything is ready, the signal for the departure is given, and everybody begins to move without the slightest sign of sentiment or excitement. Nobody turns around in order to cast a last glance at the village. The Meau say: Our home is where the maize grows thickly."

M 361 [171] A [361]

The villages of the Meau in Thailand have a very small number of houses. These are hamlets which consist of three to ten houses. This is also the size of the villages of the Yau /Yao/. The villages of the Lisu come next with four to twenty houses; the village settlements of the Akha have by far the greatest number of houses -- several hundred.

In the literature (4) there are accounts of Meau villages

4. Savina, II, p. 182.

which are said to contain from 20 to 30 houses. In Thailand I could not find any settlements that large, and Dhuraratsadom (5),

5. Page 153.

too, who /263/ answered a questionnaire on the Meau prepared by the Siam Society, says nothing about such large Meau villages. His observations and my own correspond to Lajonquière"s (1)

1. II, p. 304.

statement: "With their attitude of independence, the Meau prefer not to have their dwellings crowded together... There are only groupings of six, seven, or eight houses around the dwelling of

415 /309 cont./

[412] alcohol, purchased earthenware pots in all sizes, and the various
[252] bamboo vessels which stand leaning against the wall near the
[273] hearth or hang on the wall and serve for the storing of the food-
[251] stuffs used daily. They are usually carefully closed with leaves and contain fat, salted vegetables, salt, and other spices. Water stands available in long bamboo containers. These pieces of bamboo, freed of the partitioning walls, represent indispensable
[312] vessels used in many ways (Ill. 105).[1] For carrying water, several
[482] are often bound together and carried on the back or in carrying baskets. Abadie (1) reports in similar fashion.

1. Page 160.

412 For sweeping out their dwellings, brooms (Fig. 175) are used, which are made out of tough grasses tied together in bundles. A clothes roller (Figs. 176 and 177) consists of a
412 wooden roller (A) similar to our rolling pin, around which the
296 washed clothes (B) are put while still wet. Then a heavy stone (C) is rocked in a seesaw motion on the clothes wrapped around it, by means of which they are freed of the remaining water and are smoothed.

482 For carrying firewood and other heavy loads, the Meau use special carrying frames (Figs. 178 and 179), which are carried on the back in the manner used in our Alpine countries. These carrying frames come in different sizes for men, women, and children (Ill. 104).[2]

One half of this wooden frame is provided with a tight plaiting of narrow /310/ /Figs. 156-165 appear here/ bamboo strips (Fig. 180). Broad carrying straps of leather (C) are attached to the inside of the wooden frame (A). The two ends of the carrying frame are connected by means of a forked branch (D) and a tightly /311/ /Figs. 166-177 appear here/ twisted rope attached to it. Between this and the plaited wall of the carrying frame (B) the load is now stowed and fastened by means of the rope (Ill. 93).[3]

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , " "]
3 [" " " , p643 - "]

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/312/

M 285 482 415 Especially numerous are the household inplements of plaited material; above all, the many shapes of the baskets are to be stressed. There are carrying baskets in all sizes, double-walled for heavy loads, loosely plaited for light loads (Ill. 93).[1] large supply-baskets for the storing of /Figs. 178-180 appear here/ food, clothing, and cloth, chicken baskets, small carrying baskets and carrying bags for traveling; moreover, mats for sleeping, for threshing of grain, for covering food, the wide fish-nets, basket weirs, flat rice-baskets and strainers; and also knotted bags and fish nets. All these articles are described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

M 128 276 412 /313/ The description of the various opium implements (Ill. 74).[2] which are numerous in every household, all the agricultural and smithy implements, and the work tools and cult objects, musical instruments, weapons, and so forth is contained in the appropriate chapters.

A 342 The division of the Akha house into cooking, living, and sleeping rooms is shown in the ground plan, /Fig. 91 (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). /Figs. 181-183 appear here./

A 354 [252] [562] The fireplaces of the Akha (Fig. 181) are square boxes which are filled with earth. They are sunk into the floor of the living room (chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Fig. 105, R). An iron tripod (Fig. 182) for the cooking pots stands on the ground surface, which is level with the floor. These fireplaces, one of which /314/ is for the men and the other for the women of the house, are used for heating the house as well as for cooking. Moreover, as has been mentioned, in each house there is a hearth for cooking the pig fodder (Fig. 183). This hearth consists of mound of stones which is enclosed on the outside with plaited bamboo. On this stone ring stands the iron basin under which the wood fire burns.

A [231]

A 372 Fire is made, as among the Meau, with flint and iron (Figs. 119-122, chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils"). Dry wood dust is used as tinder.

1 [sec cat 116, p643 - ANALYST]
2 [" " , p573 - "]

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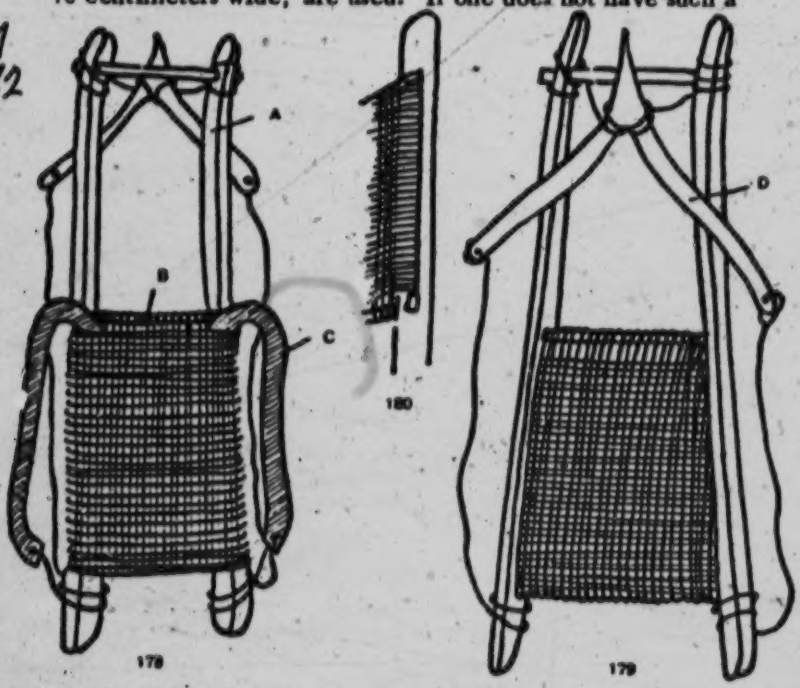
Miao AE5

/314 cont./

A 352 513 [439] For beds, wooden frames (Fig. 184) are used, whose crossboards are inserted either into longitudinal boards or into bamboo poles. Beaten bamboo and over it a mat are spread over the crossboards. Besides purchased cotton blankets, blankets made of beaten bast, two meters long and 70 centimeters wide, are used. If one does not have such a

M 482



Figs. 178-180. Carrying Frame of the Meau, about 1/11 nat. size.

Fig. 178. Inner side. Fig. 179. Outer side. Fig. 180. Fastening of the plaiting.

A 513 352 bed frame, these large bast blankets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts") serve also as an underlayer to sleep on, especially for children and youths. During the day the blankets lie rolled up on the floor and are unrolled only when needed. For a support under the head one uses pillows made of cotton, which are covered with cloth. The pillows are either single (Fig. 185) or /Figs. 184-193 appear here/ /315/ sewed double with one on top of the other

/321 cont./

291 The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but
184 is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made
[101] of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue
531 apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit
482 the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and
531 Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not
[552] it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important
[292] piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

39: Bernatzik--472 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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/Opposite p. 347/

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Ill. 66. Child-carrier of the Meau. The children are tied to their parents' backs by means of special cloths and are not put down even during work.

/398/

Chapter 21

Handicrafts

285 The Meau are very skilled at making plaited work and related manual skills. They plait only by hand without any kind of auxiliary implement. Rattan, bamboo, and tree bast serve as materials. We were able to find the following different baskets among the Meau: /Figs. 327-329 appear here./

Fig. 327 = very strong standing-basket for the storing of possessions (square bottom). There are various sizes of such baskets. They are extremely stable and durable and represent a popular article of trade. The basket has a tiltable cover and

[415]

Figs. 327-329. Standing Basket of the Meau, with Cover, 1/16 nat. size.

Fig. 328, edge-wrapping, and Fig. 329, sample of the plaiting of the above.

two carrying handles plaited on it. The strong edges consist of rattan and are wrapped with bamboo strips five millimeters wide (Fig. 328). The plaiting pattern (Fig. 329) is the same as that of the sleeping mats.

Fig. 330 = light back-basket. Wide cross-strips of split
• [482] bamboo are plaited in with narrow longitudinal strips in a loose weave, as is shown in the drawing. The basket is lined on the inside with palm leaves.

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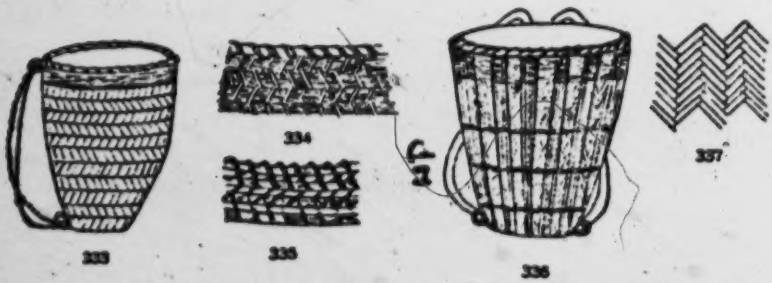
Figs. 330-332. Back-basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Figs. 331 and 332. Samples of plaiting of the above.



Figs. 333-335. Back-basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Figs. 334-335. Samples of plaiting of the above.

Fig. 336. Carrying and Harvest Basket of the Meau, 1/18 nat. size.
Fig. 337. Plaiting of the interior wall.

Miao AES

/399 cont./

285 482 Fig. 333 = back-basket, most common shape, various kinds of plaiting, with leather straps, wide plaited bands, or twisted strings as carrying straps. Type of plaiting, Fig. 334: every cross-strip consists of three overlapping bamboo strips one centimeter wide. A narrow strip is interwoven vertically. Type of plaiting, Fig. 335: between /Figs. 333-337 appear here/ every cross-strip two centimeters wide there is an equally wide space. Very narrow vertical strips of split rattan, only four millimeters wide.

Fig. 336 = a very common, strong form of the carrying baskets, which are also used as harvest baskets. Vertical strips of cane three centimeters wide are attached over a tight inner wall plaited with bamboo strips four millimeters wide (Figs. 336 and 337) by means of some crosscords. Carrying straps of strips of hide (Ill. 93).

285 [231] /400/ Figs. 338 and 339: chicken baskets, loosely plaited with narrow bamboo strips. Cover and door tied on.

Fig. 340 = flat basket, used as a strainer.

Outer edge (Fig. 341) of tight plaiting of bamboo strips three millimeters wide, plaited loosely within (Fig. 342) with the same material. /Figs. 338-342 appear here./

[243] Fig. 343 = large, flat rice-basket for separating the grain from the chaff. Hulled rice is shaken in it and the chaff blown away. Inner plaiting (Fig. 344) like the plaiting pattern of mats, except for wider bamboo strips about 13 millimeters wide.

[415] Fig. 345 = large supply-basket. Plaiting (Fig. 346) of bamboo strips three centimeters wide. Loosely plaited, vertical walls. There is every size of such baskets. /Figs. 343-346 appear here./

To be mentioned here also are the hanging baskets for the storing of dishes, as is described under Fig. 131 in the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils."

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A 487 [361] [464] The paths in the territory of the Akha are wide and kept in good condition, as is shown by Ill. 31.[1] The difference lies in the fact that among the Akha the villages are very populous and their paths are therefore more frequented. Moreover, every village settlement of the Akha has a much greater labor force at its disposal than the villages of the Meau.

M 482 The primary means of communication among the Meau is porters who transport loads on their backs on carriers (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 178-180) or in baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 330, 333, and 336), which are carried, in the fashion of our rucksacks, without a forehead strap (Ill. 93).[2] Wherever M 492 the nature of the terrain permits, the Meau also use, as has already been discussed in the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry," small reddish-brown cattle or small horses as /Figs. 418-422 appear here/ /422/ pack animals, which for this are provided with a special packsaddle (Ill. 81)[3] which is the same for both breeds.

The packsaddle (Figs. 418 and 419) consists of a wooden frame (A), on which a board (B) is mounted. Under the board is fastened a straw-filled cushion (C), which lies on the crupper M [283] of the animal. This packsaddle is fastened on by means of a strong strap (D), about five centimeters wide and plaited out of fiber cords, around the body of the animal. In addition, a hide strap (Fig. 420, G) with iron buckles (H), which is fastened to the packsaddle, leads around the chest of the animal, and a cord with wooden balls strung on it (Fig. 421, E), which come under the tail of the animal, runs around its hind quarters.

M [231] [171] [285] In regions where it is possible to breed horses, the Meau also know how to ride. They use stirrups of iron, such as the Chinese use, but also homemade ones, which are plaited out of rattan (Fig. 422).

1 [See cat. 116, p250- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p643- "]
3 [" " " p596- "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for
strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
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1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

39: Bernatzik--643 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 474 and 475/

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Ill. 93. Meau family bringing in the harvest.

39: Bernatzik--705/ (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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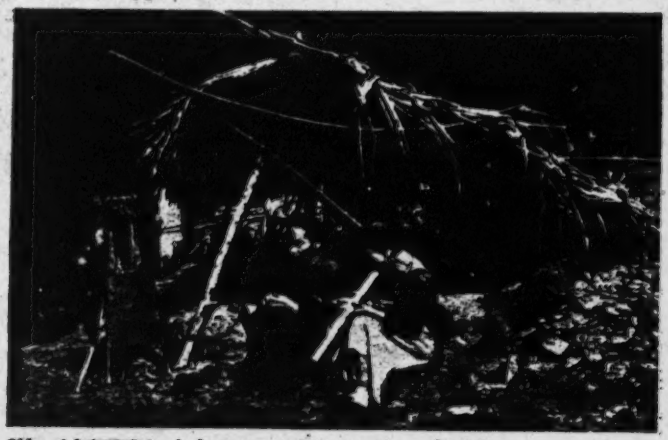

Ill. 104. Work hut on a Meau rice-field.

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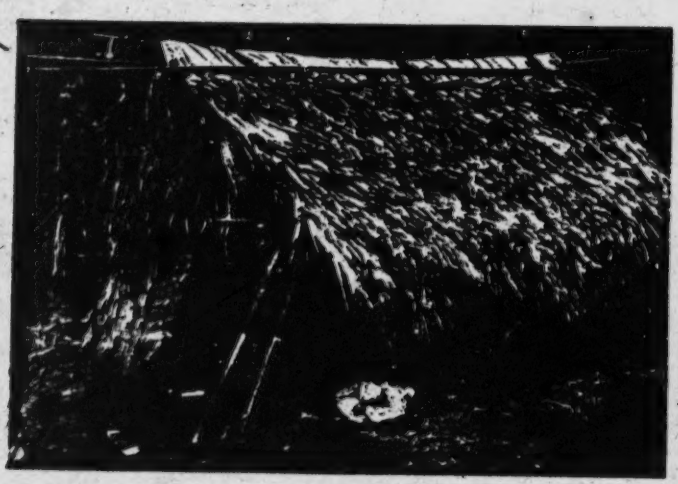


Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau with walls and doors of halved bamboo.

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/138 cont'd/

Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[493] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[136] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/142 cont./

M 539 832 A lover to whom favors were granted often sings of his luck in many successive sentences: "Now I have to leave your village, and whenever I remember your embraces, my soul will be happy. Now I must leave, but I shall think only of returning. My soul wanders in the clouds (meaning: you have bewitched me) and not on earth. And when I return and hold your hand, I shall not be able to stop the flow of words until the end of my life (meaning: he will take her as his wife for life). What are you going to give me then to fill my soul and to stop the flow of my words? (a clear allusion to the sexual act, the only moment when the lovers are silent). Whatever you give me I shall give back to you all my life long."

M 533 In these songs rhythm plays no role, and melody only a minor one. The words are produced in a high-pitched voice with wholly /143/ unrelated high notes. Even while traveling M [184] no rhythm is maintained and marching in our sense is unknown to these peoples. There is singing, however, on every occasion: upon setting out to hunt, in connection with the preparations for the caravan when it is necessary to look for new village sites, in connection with bringing in the harvest, and in connection with housework. Lajonquière (1) reports similarly on the Meau.

1. II, p. 311.

There are no professional singers or bards, and similarly no epics heroic songs, or war songs, which formerly, at least among the Meau, were probably present. In any case, however, they cannot be found today. On the other hand, I was able to A [533] find two melodies among the Meau and one among the Akha to which texts similar to our Alpine "ditties" are sung. Often, however, the performer only sings words which happen to come into his head.

M [171] The sound of the songs of the Meau is very reminiscent of the "joiken" of the Lapps (2), although in the case of the

2. Bernatzik, VI, pp. 78 ff.

A M 533 832 joiken there are no words. Alternate songs to which texts are

/208 cont./

769 As has already been described in detail in the pertinent
782 sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices
are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a
[852] child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and
[764] at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the
death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the
oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If
[437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but
782 also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I
was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law
[461] of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces
[787] of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/209 cont./

484 782 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 782 114 261 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moderate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-

1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau [796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time [776 241] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the

/259 cont./

166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. -- The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [492] [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's [731] march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and [312] makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game, for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
[824] ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/ without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude, and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface, a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
[417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hundred meters long."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/262 cont./

M 166 484

Concerning the migrations of the Meau in Indochina, Savina (3) reports: "When the Meau move, they burn their

3. II, p. 183.

M [482]

houses; others let them fall into ruins. The small children are put into carrying baskets with the chickens and suckling pigs. When everything is ready, the signal for the departure is given, and everybody begins to move without the slightest sign of sentiment or excitement. Nobody turns around in order to cast a last glance at the village. The Meau say: Our home is where the maize grows thickly."

M 361 [171] A [361]

The villages of the Meau in Thailand have a very small number of houses. These are hamlets which consist of three to ten houses. This is also the size of the villages of the Yau /Yao/. The villages of the Lisu come next with four to twenty houses; the village settlements of the Akha have by far the greatest number of houses -- several hundred.

In the literature (4) there are accounts of Meau villages

4. Savina, II, p. 182.

which are said to contain from 20 to 30 houses. In Thailand I could not find any settlements that large, and Dhuraratsadorn (5),

5. Page 153.

too, who /263/ answered a questionnaire on the Meau prepared by the Siam Society, says nothing about such large Meau villages. His observations and my own correspond to Lajonquière"s (1)

1. II, p. 304.

statement: "With their attitude of independence, the Meau prefer not to have their dwellings crowded together... There are only groupings of six, seven, or eight houses around the dwelling of

/345 cont./

224 e can be wedged between the crossbar d and a foot board. After the trap has been set, the block and tackle are removed.

As an example of the behavior of the Meau hunter while stalking game in the forest, I give in the following a description from my journal: "Scouts had reported to us that a powerful lone bull elephant with mighty tusks had taken cover not far from the village. Early in the morning I set out with the chief. We climbed a steep slope and then stood at the edge of a gorge, from the bottom of which came the sound of the breaking of branches. The large mammal stood below, which made the face of the Meau light up happily. He bent forward, remained there for some time, then climbed a tree, changed his observation post several more times, and finally, from the direction of the sound, decided that the elephant was on the opposite mountain slope.

Since in order to reach him, we would have had to wind through the deep gorge in between and it was already late in the afternoon, there was no prospect of reaching the bull still that same day. The chief therefore proposed that we spend the night on the spot in order to be able to take up the chase at dawn, since he figured that he would be able to determine the location of the elephant from where we were. The Meau therefore put up a small windscreen, large enough to protect us, if necessary, against a storm. He closed off three sides of it with leaves of the fan palm, their stems thrust into the ground, in order, as he put it, to prevent the warmth from escaping. He then covered the ground with a layer of leaves about ten centimeters high, which was an excellent bed, for it was soft and kept off the dampness of the ground. At the open side of the windscreen he lighted a fire. These tasks took him about 30 minutes.

224 484 [342] [513]

"Then he began to prepare the evening meal. He searched for water, and after only a few minutes he returned with bamboo-water. In /346/ these regions one can find water stored up in the hollow spaces of certain species of bamboo, even during the dry season. To get the water, such bamboos are cut between the partitioning walls, the liquid that flows out is caught in a bamboo vessel. A thick green bamboo also provided a vessel in which the rice was then cooked. The green

[824] [272] [415] [252] [824]

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
824 large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[264] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
[574] the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
[262] European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/347 cont./

224 as well, which was to consist of the cold remains of breakfast.
484 At the end of this morning meal, too, the opium pipe could not be dispensed with. Then the provisions were carefully
[264] wrapped in green leaves. At every handling of the food, the
[276] Meau saw to it that not one rice kernel was lost. All his movements were uncannily quick and executed methodically, and in scarcely forty minutes from the time we got up we were ready to set out.

224 "We now had the strenuous task of climbing down the steep slope and soon came across the elephant's tracks, which the Meau, bent far forward like a sleuth-hound, followed. In places we crossed rocky terrain, and the tracks of the pachyderm were then no longer visible to my European hunter's eyes. This was not the case for the Meau, who lay down flat on the ground and, from barely discernible signs, such as a small overturned stone a bent blade of grass, recognized the trail, even though it had sometimes been crossed by muntjac or deer.

"All of a sudden, in the densest of forest thickets, we stumbled upon the haunt of an old gaur bull, which, as the tracks showed, did not leave his hiding place of about one hundred square meters. Straining all his senses, the Meau crept forward soundlessly and in a whisper bade me to watch out, since in this area we might easily be attacked by the buffalo at very close range. After considerable effort we reached the bottom of the valley, crossed the brook flowing in a torrent here, and began the ascent. Laboriously and step by step we had to fight our way straight up through the densest underbrush of thorns and ilex. In a short time I was bathed in sweat and, with pulses pounding, had to rest, especially since I was hampered by my long gun. The Meau, however, was impatient and pushed on relentlessly. When he saw that I had reached the end of my strength, he offered to take my gun and my rucksack and thus laden nevertheless struck out at such a pace that I had to put on the brake again and again.

Miao AE5
Akha AO4

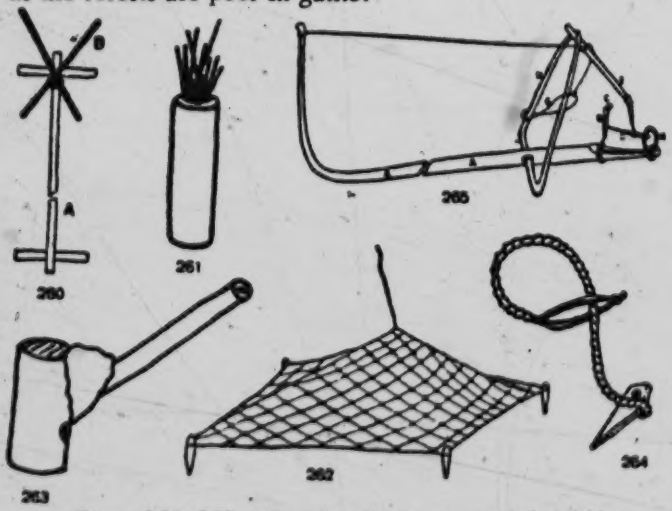
/351 cont./

c) Fishing

M 226 [484] [185]

The Meau, as passionate and successful as fishermen as they are as hunters, make long fishing expeditions and travel for days in order to reach water that is rich in fish. Since, however, corresponding to their attitude in hunting, they kill the spawn only a centimeter long as well as the largest, ravenous fish, observe no closed season, and do not provide for breeding, it is easy to understand that the brooks and rivers in the vicinity of their villages are as empty of fish as the forests are poor in game.

A 223 224



Figs. 260-265. Snaring Equipment of the Akha.

Figs. 260-261. Lime twigs: Fig. 260, twigs set up, 1/60 nat size; Fig. 261, supply quiver with lime sticks, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 262. Fixed net for catching birds, 1/37 nat. size. Fig. 263. Decoy whistle for birds, 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 264. Snaring noose for large mammals, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 265. Bird trap of bamboo, 1/12 nat. size.

/394 cont./

702 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns
868 as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of
701 war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn̓ kŏan̓) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn̓ tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn̓ tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn̓ tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

726 Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the
[202] tă lĕn̓ tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the
[714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war.
[251] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which
[484] will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn̓ tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn̓ tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn̓ tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

/VIII cont./

286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

Ill. 89. The weaver is making preparations for the woof. The shuttle is carved out of wood. The inserted bobbin, around which the hemp thread is wound, is made of bamboo. The stick that separates the two layers of thread is made out of the same material.

283 Ill. 90. Spinning machine. With its help, four threads, which the woman doing the spinning holds in her left hand, are twisted together. By means of the little stick in her right hand, she prevents the threads from becoming tangled. She turns the flywheel with both feet.

Ills. 91-96. The harvest.

262 [244] Ill. 91. The ripe squash at the edge of the fields of mountain rice are gathered. The juicy, tart meat of the raw fruit is especially tasty in the great heat.

243 Ill. 92. The stalks of the mountain rice are cut individually, with the help of the small crescent-shaped harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear and then bundled. The straw is left standing in the fields and rots.

Ill. 93. Bringing in the harvest. Each member of the family loads himself with as many bundles of ears in carriers and baskets as he can carry. Then there is a walk for hours over the narrow mountain paths to the village. The men carry in their hands the crossbows with arrows in place ready to shoot.

[484]

/IX/

252 256 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

● 487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

M /30 cont./
133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft, thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese have migrated here.

M [487]

M 131 648 The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administrative Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some 40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi (1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the northwest regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided according to topography (Illus. 2, 8)[1] some 300 years ago. The frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

C 712 648 563

M 131 648

[1] [see cat. 116, pp48e and 56a - ANALYST]

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, M [137] pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-M 353 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the 778 rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the 177

see [text continues on p.63]

[1] [Cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p65- "]

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
514 animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
M 251 Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[813] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
M 241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
C 487 consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

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/41 cont./

li to Ta-pi-liu, another ten li to Ch'e-ch'i, and 30 more li to Ho Ch'i. From the mouth of the river to Ho Ch'i, some 130 li, the waterway is known as the Wu Ch'i River. Above Ho Ch'i it divides into two branches, south and north: the northern branch, known as the Wan-yung Chiang, runs ten li to Chang-p'ai-chai, where it again divides into two more branches, one flowing westward as the Wan-yung Chiang proper, passing through Ta-chuang and Hsiao-chuang for 50 li to Kan-ch'eng. The other branch, which flows northwestward, is known as Kao-yen Ho, and goes 15 li to Chen-ch'i-so, 15 li to Hsien-chen-ying, ten li to Chen-ning-ying, 20 li to P'ing-lang, five li to Wei-che, eight li to Hsün-chien-p'ing, 20 li to Kao-yen-hsin. The branch flowing south of Ho Ch'i, known as the T'o Chiang, flows through Ch'i-k'ou, Chiang-chün-yen, and Mao Chou to Lao-hu-k'ou for about 60 li, and then passing Lao-hu-k'ou it flows from Mu-lung-ti Chiang to Feng-huang for another 70 li.

The parts of the T'ung Ho navigable by small craft are: the Wu Ch'i, 113 li; the Wan-yung Chiang, 60 li; /Illus. 16, 17 on pp. 42, 43/ /44/ the Kao-yen Ho, 93 li; and the T'o Chiang, 130 li; totaling 296 li in all. These river courses are difficult to navigate and are not passable all year round.

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Miao Fang-pei Lan in the section on roads and waterways says: "This river (the T'ung Ho) has precipitous cliffs standing up like daggers, strange rocks clustering like a forest of spears, and rioting cataracts. Through slight negligence a boat can be crashed into pieces. It dries up in autumn and winter, causing difficulty in transportation. It is only in summer when mountain streams rush down from the Miao villages, that small craft may ply here and there. However, the cliffs and rocks become more dangerous as the water rises. Once a sandbank is reached, a day is often spent in lifting the boat across to deep water. The difficulty of crossing such banks is twice as much as in other rivers."

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The Ch'en Chiang waterway starts from the city of Ch'en-ch'i-hsien and joins the Lo-hao Ch'i /tributary/ at Kao-ts'un

[text continues on p.70]

C M 487 C M [505] [502] C M [505] C M 501 C M [505] C 491 [563] [648] M [487]

/44 cont./

about 97 li away. When the water rises in the summer, the river is navigable by small crafts to Yen-men and Shin-yang-shao. The total cargo weight of a boat cannot exceed a few shih, and the boat has to be towed or lifted by boatmen wading through the sand and rocks. Although the distance is short, the voyage is very strenuous.

The 270 li of the Yu Chiang from Yüan-ling to Pao-ching is navigable by small craft, carrying cargo not over several shih in weight, and covering only about a dozen li per day. From Pao-ching the river empties into the Sung-t'ao Ho, and when the water rises in the summer, light boats can go as far as Hua-yüan and Mi-no at Yung-sui, and may even be able to reach the city of Sung-t'ao.

The boat used in the Miao area generally measures nine kung ch'ih in length, divided into seven holds, the middle hold being the widest, about one kung ch'ih in width (Illus. 18, 19). The oar, the paddle, the pole, the mast, and other attachments of the boat are not different from those seen elsewhere, except that at the bow there is a long paddle about six kung ch'ih long, which is used for coming down the sandbanks. Traveling upstream offers the greatest difficulty. Every time a sandbank is crossed, the boat has to be poled, lifted, towed, or pushed by several dozen men. Their chanting is as loud as the angry waves.

From the middle of the Ming period up to the beginning of the Ch'ing period, soldiers were sent into the Miao area. The most important duty of the military garrisons was to keep the communication lines open for troops and food supplies. So the construction of roads and bridges in the area appears monumental. There are four kinds of land routes: the main road connecting Yunnan with Kweichow is the official road; the roads connecting the various military posts are military roads; the roads traversed by the Chinese people are civilian roads; and the small winding paths leading to Miao settlements are Miao roads. Taking Feng-huang as the center, the official road leads

C /44 cont./
491 to Ch'en-chou, Mo-yang, and Chih-chiang; the military roads
M lead to Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, and T'ung-jen; the civilian
roads lead to P'u-shih and Kan-ch'eng; and the Miao roads are
[487] on both sides of the military routes, threading out in all direc-
tions so numerous that they defy enumeration. The official
and the military roads are all paved with stone slabs (Illus. 20),
requiring considerable construction work. The civilian roads
were not constructed in a uniform way, those passing prosperous
M areas being much better than others. The Miao paths generally
[487] follow the contours of the mountains and require very little hu-
man labor. As to the means of transportation, travelers /Illus-
C trations 18-26 occur on pp. 45-52/ /53/ generally ride horses
M or ride in sedan chairs (Illus. 21), while cargo is carried by
[492] carriers on their backs.
[493]
[482] Bridges. — The bridge in the Miao area involve con-
siderable construction work. On important communication
roads, they generally built three or five-arch bridges (Illus. 11),
C on which were built houses for hotels and restaurants for the
[485] convenience of travelers. Places where a river is wide and
shallow are spanned by long bridges (Illus. 22, 23). Places
where a river is wide and deep are crossed by rope bridges
(Illus. 24). In small streams which are narrow and have sand-
banks they sat up stone steps, customarily called "ho shui ch'iao
/"bridge enclosing the water"/ (Illus. 25), or they build small
bridges (Illus. 26) over them.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

hill and looks about him, he frequently sees all /33
around, as far as the eye can reach, an ocean of little hills, sometimes hundreds of them. They are of every conceivable shape, among which the pyramid and sugar-loaf shape are very common. Most of these hills are bare and barren, and there is little timber to be seen. The valleys between are for the most part narrow, and what might be called the plains are seldom very long or very broad. There are innumerable caves and caverns among these hills, some of which are very large. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the bowels of the earth, and come out again a considerable distance away. There are many waterfalls to be seen, some of which after a heavy fall of rain are magnificent.

There are very few waterways in Kweichow, /33
as most of the streams only become navigable 487
as they are leaving the province. The longest navigable river, the Chang-ki, is a branch of the Yüan River, and joins what is called the main stream from Chenyüan at the city of Kienyang Hun in Hunan. This stream, which flows through a region occupied for the most part by Heh Miao, is navigable when in flood almost to Tuyün, and all the year round as far as Kai-li in the Tsingpinghsien district. The boat-

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

133 men on this river are nearly all Heh Miao, who
487 convey goods to and from Hungkiang in Hunan. This stream, however, in consequence of long and difficult rapids, is only navigable for small boats, whereas the Chenyüan branch is navigable for river boats of the largest size. This lack of waterways, and the fact that there is no road, as far as we know, in the province over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven, makes the conveyance of produce a costly under-
482 taking. Everything has to be carried by coolies, or on the backs of ponies and mules, and consequently it doubles the cost of rice to carry it one hundred and twenty miles.

162 The population of Kweichow is probably between seven and ten millions. In speaking of numbers, in the absence of trustworthy census returns, it must be understood that we are giving opinions formed from our own observation, influenced by the estimates of others who are as well qualified to judge as ourselves. In this way, then, we put the population of the province at between seven and ten millions, and reckon that one-half of these are Chinese and the rest mostly Miao and Chung-chia.

To a traveller passing through Kweichow, the Chinese would appear to greatly outnumber the non-Chinese. This is because the Chinese

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

123 of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

133 South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an
487 altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

161 This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They
131 are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

142 These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

192 Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar
[197] sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5

Detail Map
of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

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Miao AE5

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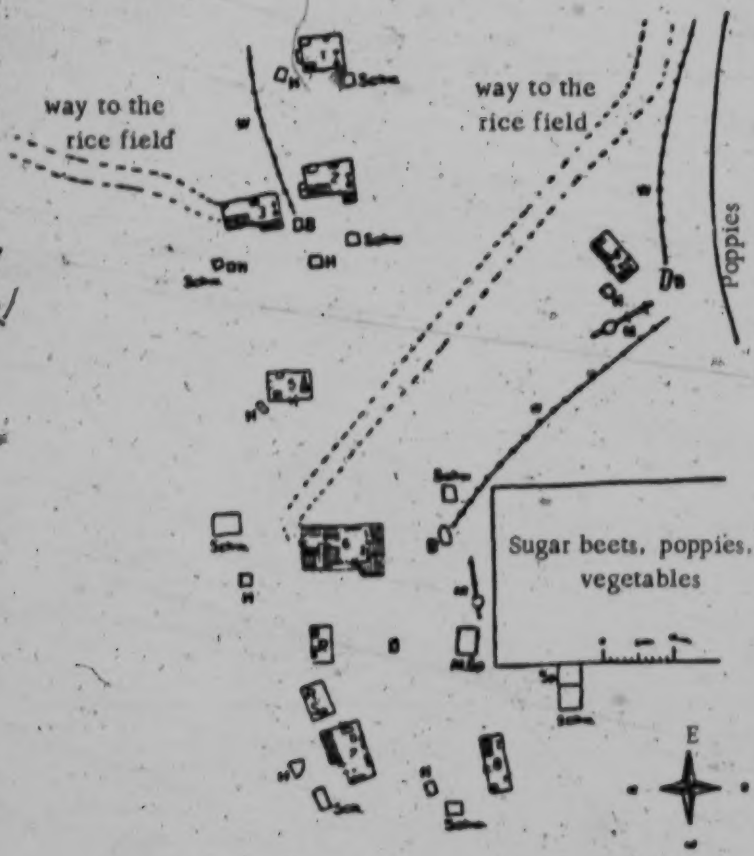

Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊢⊸ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
◻ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

39: Bernatzik--565 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

Chapter 22

Communication

133 The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by
487 steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless
[137] or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only
[491] bridge. Other facilities are unknown: there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: 'Never yet

1. II, p. 181.

has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, how-
[461] ever, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity.
[361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

/424 cont./

439 has already been mentioned, obtain iron, metal pots and pans, flints, matches, sulphur needed for the making of gunpowder, salt, insofar as it is not purchased directly from the neighboring valley peoples, cowrie shells, buttons, cretonne, silk, small mirrors, thread, needles, and embroidery thread. Unfortunately, these traders also bring in fabrics whose importation is superfluous. Moreover, they sell the coveted magic articles and amulets and deal in children for adoption, or even women.

The traders make a profit of several hundredfold, since, [435] besides their not very pronounced commercial talent, the Meau lack the connection with the rest of the world needed for a proper evaluation of the worth of their wares.

Business with the traders, who scrupulously seek out village after village, takes place during the dry season, since [487] the mountain paths are impassable in the rainy season. A trade journey of the Haw therefore takes months. The wares desired by the Meau are carried by porters and pack animals up and down through the mountainous terrain and through the virgin 437 forests. Barter, formerly the only type of trade, is still widely 439 practiced. In the first place there is the raw opium of the Meau, and then stags' horns, the horns of the rhinoceros, and irovy. Rattan lianas, finished baskets, and field produce also serve as articles for barter, primarily the latter because the many porters of the traders need food.

436 Besides the traditional barter goods, a means of payment 437 used today is a range of kinds of money, and, to be sure, from those countries that have been traversed by the Meau. For the most part, the coins in circulation are those which officially represent the currency of the country in which the Meau happen to be living. Thus, in Burmese territory rupees are principally used, in Thailand ticals, in Indochina piasters, on Chinese territory the current Chinese standard; interestingly enough, besides these kinds of money, Russian coins are said to have been in circulation among the Meau in former times.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

566 it was said, the departed spirit of the victim of this atrocity.

Such, then, are some of the conditions under which the Miao lived. Round their necks were the millstones of ignorance and oppression, and humanly speaking, they could never climb higher. They were chained in the Slough of Despond.

131 And now let us travel to Miao-land, where these men and women dwell, a people who are amongst the most needy in the world. "Miao-land" is not a stretch of country where you will find Flowery Miao exclusively, because the Miao do not possess land. Miao-land is a section of China inhabited by a preponderance of Chinese, patches of Nosu and, in less accessible regions, large communities of Miao.

489 [423]

Embarking on either a French or a British steamer in that most beautiful harbour of Hongkong, we will slip down the China coast and after two, three or four days glide gently up the delta of the Red River into Haiphong. Here we will board a train which, after chugging for three days (at times the gradient is so steep that one feels that by leaning forward one could help the puffing engine), the train will deposit you in Yunnanfu, the capital of the province of Yunnan. The Tonkin-Yunnan railway, with its ascending slopes, its dauntless bridges, its viaducts and tortuous tunnels, is one of the engineering feats of the world of which the French nation may justly be proud. Kunming (Yunnanfu) is the terminus, but our

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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destination still lies from ten to twelve days farther north. The first day's journey may be made by recently introduced motor buses, but the last nine days must be travelled either in a sedan chair or on the back of a Yunnan pony. Yunnan ponies are wonderful beasts, being as sure-footed as goats. If you are particularly energetic you might walk. It is a charming, picturesque journey running over wild wooded hills, down beautiful valleys, past smiling landscapes. At one point the mountains rise to more than ten thousand feet above sea-level, and along this route you see China as she has been for centuries--there have been but few changes. Each day you travel twenty-five or thirty miles and then rest at some little wayside inn, where you meet with a great deal of kindness. Naturally, these inns are neither so comfortable nor so sanitary as modern European hotels, and in summer they are always, in one sense, overcrowded. One hears a good deal these days of China's teeming population; you come into close personal contact with it in those inns and a tin of Keating's Insect Powder comes as a boon and a blessing to men. The historian Gibbon was amused by the Emperor Julian's boast that "his beard was populous". In some of these remote Chinese inns within an hour of retiring for the night the whole body can be populous. On such a journey one meets with amusing experiences. One night in such an inn a Chinese servant was arranging the missionary's blankets on one of the Chinese roughly made wooden bedsteads which was provided. A coolie

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C 2:Ling & Ruey--48f E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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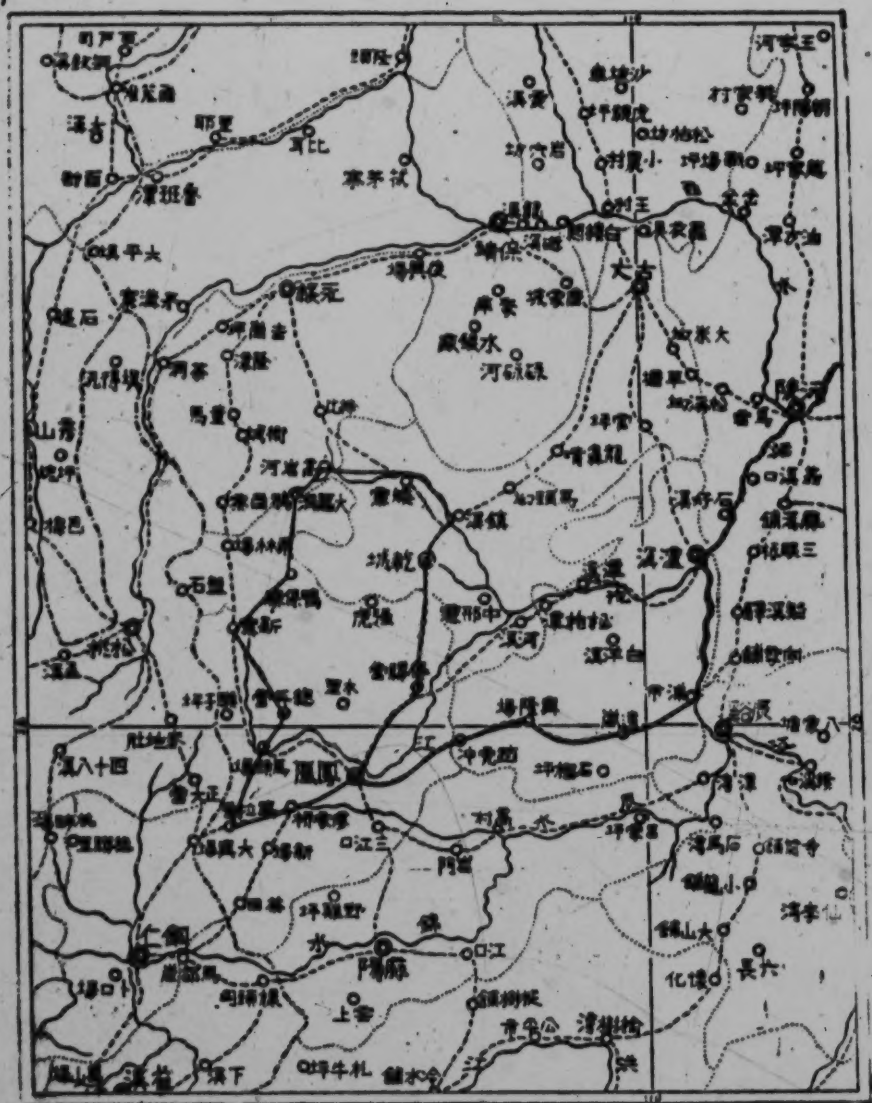

Provincial Boundary ····· Hsien Boundary ---- Highways
Lines of the Investigation

Scale 1: 500, 000

Illus. 3. Map of the Lines of the Investigation in the Miao Frontier

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

133 province. The valleys are usually narrow and the "plains" seldom large. There are high plains scattered through the mountains, separated from one another by gaps in the hills, or by passes over them. Some of the slopes are terraced, thus increasing the area of cultivable land. The only level valley of any size is that of the Nanning River, in which the capital, Kweiyang, is situated.

There are several rivers in the province, but they become navigable only as they are about to leave the province. The Wu River, which flows through the center of the province, a tributary of the Yangtze, is navigable from Sze-nan; at this point rafts of logs are launched. The Chang-ki, a branch of the Yuan, which flows into Tung-t'ing Lake, Hunan, is navigable at Sze-chow. It joins the main stream at Chen-yuan in the eastern part of the province. San-kioh is at the head of navigation on the Liu. Thus only in the extreme east and southeast of the province is there any river traffic. The fall of rivers is usually steep and there are many stretches of rapids. Springs and streams water the mountain valleys and cascade to lower levels by many a lovely waterfall. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the earth and come out again a considerable distance away.

491 When S. R. Clarke wrote of the province there were no roads over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven. Everything had to be carried by coolies or on the backs of ponies and mules. Four narrow old roads leading to the several provinces by which Kweichow is bounded all met at the capital, Kweiyang. The typical highways were narrow trails, paved with cobble stones or slabs of rock (fig. 14, *a*, *b*, *d*). Gradually roads were built following these main routes. The position of the province as a link be-

"China Provincial Atlas and Geography," 1935; Clarke, 1911.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

491 tween strategic points in "free China" led to the construction of motor roads through Kweiyang from Kunming in Yünnan to Chungking in Szechuan and from Kweiyang east to cities in Hunan and Kwangsi, following the old imperial highway from Peking. Others lead from Kweiyang south to Ting-fan and from the Kweiyang-Chungking road into the northwestern part of the province. A railway 492 in process of construction from Kiangsi to Kweiyang had been brought as far as Tu-yün, but the Japanese in their "farthest west" tore

[132]

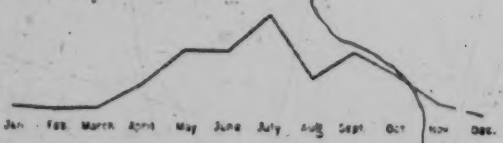

FIG. 2. Average monthly precipitations over a four-year period at Kweiyang.

491 up the tracks. Still most of the travel over the province must be by stone roads or mountain paths, suitable only for pack animals and coolies. In the northwest these paths are so steep that the traveler ascends by following his pony and holding onto its tail. Throughout much of Kweichow the motor road is an exhilarating roller coaster, made the more exciting by the habit drivers have of coasting down the hills to save fuel. Brakes must be good.

132 Kweichow has a monsoon climate, in which the wind blows from the south and southeast in the summer and from the north and northeast in the winter. The parts of the province bordering on Hunan and Kwangsi are considered humid and unhealthy because of the prevalence of malarial fever. The temperatures are related to altitude rather than latitude, ranging from 86 to 14 degrees Fahrenheit. In general the climate is of the Yünnan plateau type, "ameliorated tropical," almost temperate. The annual rainfall is estimated at something over 39.5 inches. Observations (fig. 2) at Kweiyang[2] on rainfall over a four-year period give the following monthly precipitations in mm.: January, 29.5; February, 22.5; March, 27.5; April, 85.1; May, 165.7; [4a]

[2] Lat. 26° 18′ N., long. 106° 40′.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

131 Kuei-ting, and Ting-fan, a region of many mountain valleys at an average elevation of [491] three to four thousand feet. A motor highway crosses the first two of these *hsien* from Kweiyang east; a second runs from Kweiyang south to the *hsien* city of Ting-fan. There are some Cowrie Shell Miao in the cities, but most of them live in mountain villages, reached by stone roads or mountain paths suitable for travel on foot, on horseback, or by sedan chair only, and are engaged in agriculture. The center of their distribution is approximately where the three *hsien* come together. There has been no accurate census of this ethnic group. Small settlements of Chinese and villages of Chung-chia and Cowrie Shell Miao are often found in the same valley. In Kuei-ting Hsien I visited

[20] Lin Yüeh-hwa, 1941. [21] See p. 10.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/1954 AE5 Miao AE5

SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

By David Crockett Graham

(With 24 Plates)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

101 The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deep holes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are [491] generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[161] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 供縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung [illegible] 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow [illegible]th in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü [361] Kiang 徐江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[145] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.[1]

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

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[1] Clarke, S. R., Among the tribes of Southwest China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

alternating with the girls, describes in verse, to the accompaniment of *Kènes*, their possessions, their accomplishments, or their virtues. Formal offers of marriage then follow, and according to eye-witnesses of the custom, the metrical form in no way inhibits the most banal cataloguing of articles to be included in the marriage contract.

We were still eating when the chief's messenger came back with the only dog on offer. It was a poor forlorn animal, suffering probably from some wasting disease, and an enormous price was demanded.

As there was no dog to be had from these intermediaries, there was nothing for it but to go to the source itself, even if it meant another stiff climb on foot. Instead of turning left, therefore, at the junction of the main road to Luang Prabang, we took the right-hand fork towards Xien Khouang, which, although it led us out of our way, went right through the heart of Meo country in Laos. Shortly after, we came up with a Meo family, who were struggling up a hill loaded down like beasts of burden with their possessions. The Meos threw down their bundles and looked us over with puzzled amusement. One of them, who wore pigtails to show that he was the head of the family, came over, cut the choice centre out of a sugar cane he was carrying and presented it to us, roaring with laughter. This was typical Meo conduct. The Meo is grateful to strangers for amusing him with their clownish faces and ridiculous clothes, and his first impulse is to look round for something to give them. Shouting with joy, the children leaped into the car and were cuffed out again by their father. The woman who, if a Thai or a Laotian, would have stood apart with downcast eyes, bent down to examine Dupont's sandals. She wore several pounds in weight of solid silver jewellery round her neck and had had her head recently shaved.

Meo finery at its best is the most extravagantly colourful in Indo-China. The women are stiff with embroidery and heavy silver necklaces and chains, and are half-extinguished by enormous turbans that look like Chinese lanterns. But this family was in its

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39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
AKha A04
Miao AE5

Detail Map
of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

A
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102
103
*131
133
487
● 491
496

0 10 50 100 km.

Route — Highways — Footpaths
Railroad — Roads — State boundaries
Contour lines from 500 to 500 meters

39: Bernatzik--565 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

Chapter 22

Communication

133 The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by
487 steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless
[137] or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only
[491] bridge. Other facilities are unknown: there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: 'Never yet

1. II, p. 181.

has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, how-
[461] ever, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity.
[361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/127 cont'd/

133 The configuration of the terrain was so steep and dangerous that one could truly say that "a single man defending it could withstand 10,000 of the enemy." I learned that Mr. Wang's father, Wang I, had been ambushed and murdered here. When we had crossed the [492] mountains, I was exhausted and tried to ride the horse instead of walking. /128/ I had never ridden a horse before and sitting on its back, I swayed back and forth and was in constant danger of falling off. As the road was so steep and rugged, I finally felt that it was too dangerous to ride, so I had to dismount and go on foot. At five o'clock we arrived at Ta-ch'i and went to Wang Chao-i's house to spend the night.

In Ta-ch'i Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and Miao all live together, and it was really an ideal place for investigation. Wang Chao-i's house was situated on top of a small hill, and in front of it was a fish pond and a vegetable garden. On all four sides were cultivated fields and beyond the fields lay the hamlets of the various groups; still farther on were countless rows of mountains. Looking down from this height, there were boundless vistas of scenery, the beauty of which could hardly be equaled. The house was made of rows of bricks and was unusually sturdy, and beside it was a stone house; its interior arrangements were lovely, almost comparable to that of an upper-class Chinese home. As I looked at it while leaning against the balustrade, a floating vision of the feudal castles of medieval Europe came before my eyes.

Second month, nineteenth day. (Friday)

124 Today a funeral service in a Ch'i-Li family was being held in the neighboring village of Yen-sheng, and at eleven o'clock in the morning, after an early meal, we went there to watch. We also visited Huang Kung-ch'ing, the t'uan trustee of the Yen-sheng t'uan, whose two sons had once studied at the Chiang-ts'un Normal School in Canton. At Huang's house, we also met Li Hsi-ch'ing, a merchant from Lo-hui district, who told us that his father had come here to trade. Later on he inherited his father's business, and with his good

C 491 M [487] /44 cont./

to Ch'en-chou, Mo-yang, and Chih-chiang; the military roads lead to Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, and T'ung-jen; the civilian roads lead to P'u-shih and Kan-ch'eng; and the Miao roads are on both sides of the military routes, threading out in all directions so numerous that they defy enumeration. The official and the military roads are all paved with stone slabs (Illus. 20), requiring considerable construction work. The civilian roads were not constructed in a uniform way, those passing prosperous areas being much better than others. The Miao paths generally follow the contours of the mountains and require very little human labor. As to the means of transportation, travelers /Illustrations 18-26 occur on pp. 45-52/ /53/ generally ride horses or ride in sedan chairs (Illus. 21), while cargo is carried by carriers on their backs.

M [487] C M [492] [493] [482] C [485]

Bridges. — The bridge in the Miao area involve considerable construction work. On important communication roads, they generally built three or five-arch bridges (Illus. 11), on which were built houses for hotels and restaurants for the convenience of travelers. Places where a river is wide and shallow are spanned by long bridges (Illus. 22, 23). Places where a river is wide and deep are crossed by rope bridges (Illus. 24). In small streams which are narrow and have sandbanks they sat up stone steps, customarily called "ho shui ch'iao /"bridge enclosing the water"/ (Illus. 25), or they build small bridges (Illus. 26) over them.

/69 cont./

226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside a [illegible] d slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shel[illegible] [illegible] n night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[492] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
[262] Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[241] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[345] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

[160 cont.]
415 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
482 often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo"
[492] of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women
[854] place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

/259 cont./

166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [492] [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81), for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin) strong, modest, very capable, and very
[See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/366 cont./

231 sure-footed. These horses are never fattened; they are fed with a little grass, bamboo leaves, and a few handfuls of maize. As a rule, they are kept in a small shed which is [342] attached to the house." In an enumeration /367/ of the domestic animals of the Meau that Lajonquière (1) makes, he

1. II, p. 310.

[492] also mentions horses: "They raise horses, cattle, and sometimes buffalo as work animals. Many families keep a mare. They raise pigs, goats, and poultry. The work animals and those for slaughtering, as well as the poultry, are of a special breed and very beautiful. Moreover, they have a special long-haired breed of dogs and ordinary cats. Many have beehives."

[184] The raising of buffalo mentioned by the author named is practiced, although relatively seldom, by the Meau in Thailand. It serves chiefly as a way to make money; the Meau in Thailand use the buffalo themselves only in exceptional cases, slaughtering [492] them or utilizing them as riding or pack animals. The description that Savina (2) gives shows clearly that the buffalo gen-

2. II, p. 186.

erally play a rather subordinate role among the Meau: "The buffalo are never provided for. During the day they roam in the mountains, and in the evening they often come home if they are not too far away. Occasionally they are given a bundle of hay so that they will not become completely wild. When it rains or is cold at night, they walk around the house and rub against the walls."

[184] With regard to all three of the last-named kinds of animals, however, they usually cannot be kept at all in the mountains of Farther India on account of the steepness of the [178] slopes. There, the breeding of cattle, horses, and buffalo as pack animals is disappearing, like the use of the plow, and man must again bear the loads alone, as in the times before the domestication of domestic animals.

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand,
[184] so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the
[432] stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely empty. The Meau never sell them.

/401 cont./

283 string is produced from the thinner one. Heavy cord is obtained by twisting in rattan fibers by means of a wooden fork. The Meau twist strong ropes out of strips of skin, those of [237] bearskin being regarded as the strongest.

/402/ In addition to the twisting process, braid-like ropes, [492] bands and wide belts for the saddles of the pack animals are also plaited. For this purpose the Meau use three to twelve threads each time. This plaiting is done solely with the hands [412] and without any tool; only in the making of straps are iron awls used for preliminary piercing.

286 The ancient Chinese literature (1) already mentions re-

1. North China Br., 1859, p. 264; Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 38.

peatedly that the Meau are good spinners, weavers, and dyers. For the manufacture of the cloth for clothing, the Meau primarily use hemp, rarely cotton. They sow hemp (mǎn) in their 248 rice and poppy fields. Lajonquière (2) likewise mentions hemp

2. II, p. 311.

in Indochina and writes that the Meau there cultivate it at the same time as maize and harvest it six to seven months after the sowing. The fibers of banana leaves, on the other hand, were never used, according to my observations and findings. And [114] since I could find nothing about this anywhere else, a mistake by Seidenfaden, who reported on it, must be assumed. Cotton is cultivated in special fields and is used in a fashion similar to that among the Akha (see pp. 441 f.).

The hemp seed is set out with the planting stick among the Meau in northern Thailand; the period of cultivation falls between the end of April and the beginning of May; the harvest is about three months later. The stalks are cut with the sickle, the leaves are removed, and then the stalks are placed in water [283] so that they will rot. Afterward they are dried, and the woody

39: Bernatzik--566 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/421/

A 487 [361] [464] The paths in the territory of the Akha are wide and kept in good condition, as is shown by Ill. 31.[1] The difference lies in the fact that among the Akha the villages are very populous and their paths are therefore more frequented. Moreover, every village settlement of the Akha has a much greater labor force at its disposal than the villages of the Meau.

M 482 The primary means of communication among the Meau is porters who transport loads on their backs on carriers (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 178-180) or in baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 330, 333, and 336), which are carried, in the fashion of our rucksacks, without a forehead strap (Ill. 93).[2] Wherever M ●492 the nature of the terrain permits, the Meau also use, as has already been discussed in the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry," small reddish-brown cattle or small horses as /Figs. 418-422 appear here/ /422/ pack animals, which for this are provided with a special packsaddle (Ill. 81)[3] which is the same for both breeds.

The packsaddle (Figs. 418 and 419) consists of a wooden frame (A), on which a board (B) is mounted. Under the board is fastened a straw-filled cushion (C), which lies on the crupper M [283] of the animal. This packsaddle is fastened on by means of a strong strap (D), about five centimeters wide and plaited out of fiber cords, around the body of the animal. In addition, a hide strap (Fig. 420, G) with iron buckles (H), which is fastened to the packsaddle, leads around the chest of the animal, and a cord with wooden balls strung on it (Fig. 421, E), which come under the tail of the animal, runs around its hind quarters.

M [231] [171] [285] In regions where it is possible to breed horses, the Meau also know how to ride. They use stirrups of iron, such as the Chinese use, but also homemade ones, which are plaited out of rattan (Fig. 422).

1 [see cat. 116, p250- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p643- "]
3 [" " " p596- "]

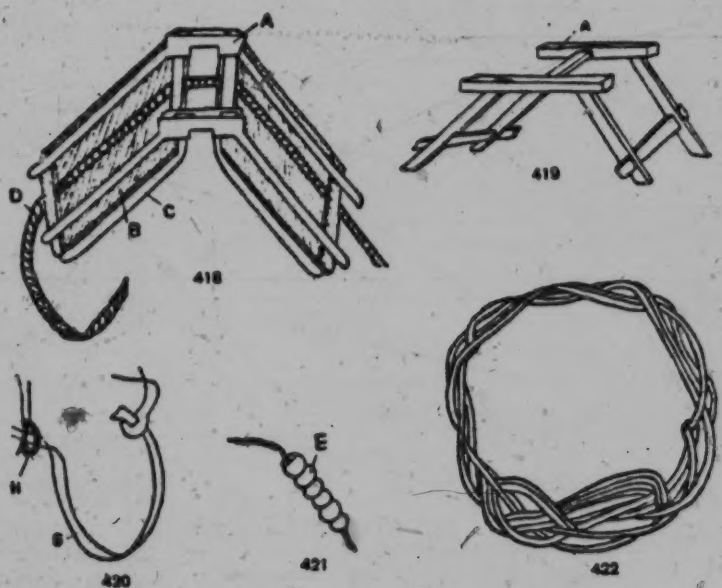
/422 cont./

M 492 [493] [184] On the other hand, carts, sedan chairs, and hammocks are unknown. Occasionally cattle are also used as riding animals, but these animals play a subordinate role. The conditions in Indochina are similar, according to a description by Abadie (1).

1. Page 160.

A 492 482 Among the Akha, the use of domestic animals as pack animals is even less frequent than among the Meau. Goods are transported almost exclusively by porters who use carrying baskets with shoulder boards and forehead straps (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 374).

M 492 [283]



Figs. 418-422. Packsaddle of the Meau.

Fig. 418. Packsaddle for cattle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 419. Wooden frame of the packsaddle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 420. Hide strap, 1/15 nat. size. Fig. 421. Tail strap, 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 422. Stirrup, 1/5 nat. size.

M [285]

39: Bernatzik--596 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 442 and 443/ Miao AE5

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Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox among the Meau.

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516

Ill. 82. Meau smith in his workshop.

/VII cont./

231 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-
492 brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists
[415] of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself.

322 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of
412 different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is
531 lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

/138 cont'd/

Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

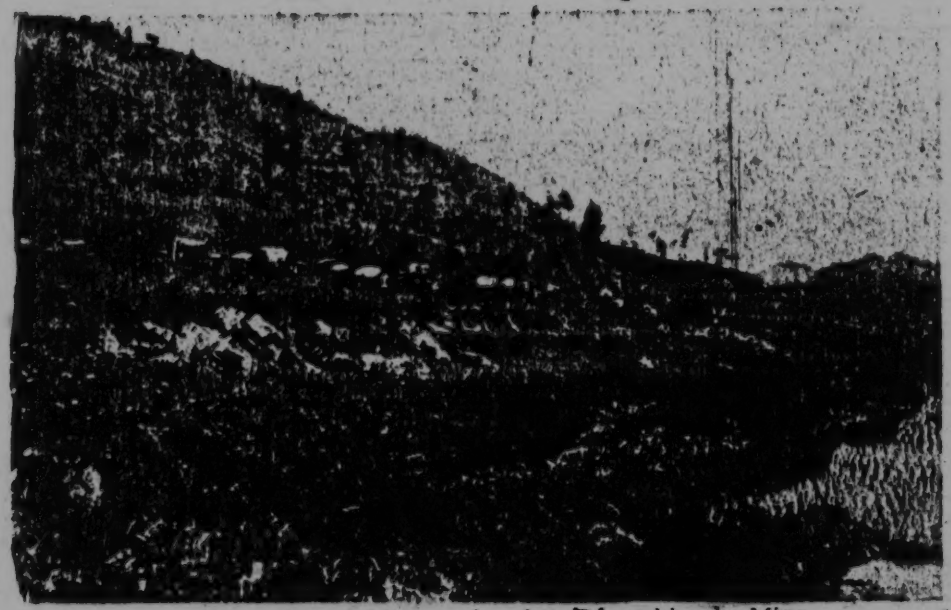
484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[493] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[136] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

C 491 M [487] /44 cont./ to Ch'en-chou, Mo-yang, and Chih-chiang; the military roads lead to Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, and T'ung-jen; the civilian roads lead to P'u-shih and Kan-ch'eng; and the Miao roads are on both sides of the military routes, threading out in all directions so numerous that they defy enumeration. The official and the military roads are all paved with stone slabs (Illus. 20), requiring considerable construction work. The civilian roads were not constructed in a uniform way, those passing prosperous areas being much better than others. The Miao paths generally M [487] follow the contours of the mountains and require very little human labor. As to the means of transportation, travelers /Illustrations 18-26 occur on pp. 45-52/ /53/ generally ride horses C M [492] or ride in sedan chairs (Illus. 21), while cargo is carried by carriers on their backs.

[493] [482] Bridges. — The bridge in the Miao area involve considerable construction work. On important communication roads, they generally built three or five-arch bridges (Illus. 11), C [485] on which were built houses for hotels and restaurants for the convenience of travelers. Places where a river is wide and shallow are spanned by long bridges (Illus. 22, 23). Places where a river is wide and deep are crossed by rope bridges (Illus. 24). In small streams which are narrow and have sandbanks they sat up stone steps, customarily called "ho shui ch'iao /"bridge enclosing the water"/ (Illus. 25), or they build small bridges (Illus. 26) over them.

/48/

● 493



Illus. 21. Sedan chairs with smooth poles /IV/ used by the Miao for travel.

/156 cont./

(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ɕi¹ zoŋ⁴] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother /chiu-mu; is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

[203] [602] [292] [493] [843]

/422 cont./

M 492 [493] [184]

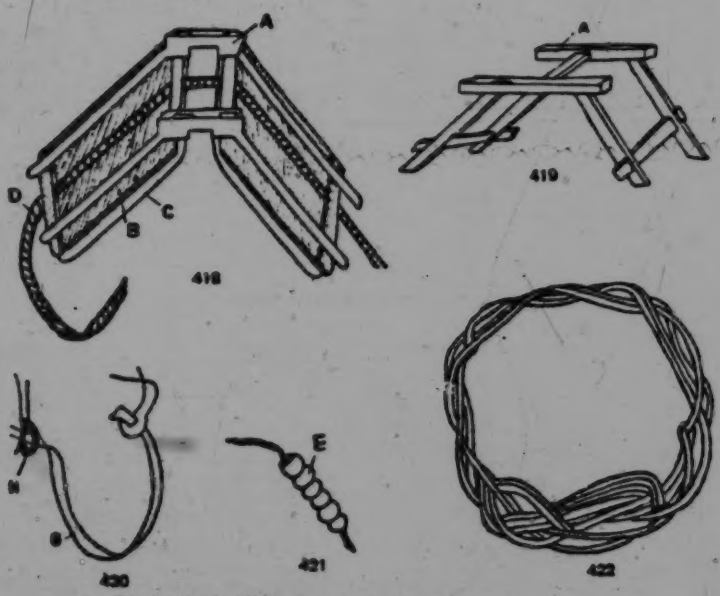
On the other hand, carts, sedan chairs, and hammocks are unknown. Occasionally cattle are also used as riding animals, but these animals play a subordinate role. The conditions in Indochina are similar, according to a description by Abadie (1).

1. Page 160.

A 492 482

Among the Akha, the use of domestic animals as pack animals is even less frequent than among the Meau. Goods are transported almost exclusively by porters who use carrying baskets with shoulder boards and forehead straps (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 374).

M 492 [283]



Figs. 418-422. Packsaddle of the Meau.

M [285]

Fig. 418. Packsaddle for cattle. 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 419. Wooden frame of the packsaddle. 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 420. Hide strap. 1/15 nat. size. Fig. 421. Tail strap. 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 422. Stirrup. 1/5 nat. size.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

491 tween strategic points in "free China" led to the construction of motor roads through Kweiyang from Kunming in Yünnan to Chungking in Szechuan and from Kweiyang east to cities in Hunan and Kwangsi, following the old imperial highway from Peking. Others lead from Kweiyang south to Ting-fan and from the Kweiyang-Chungking road into the northwestern part of the province. A railway in process of construction from Kiangsi to Kweiyang had been brought as far as Tu-yün, but the Japanese in their "farthest west" tore

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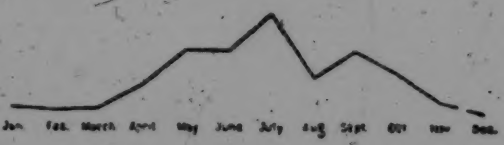

FIG. 2. Average monthly precipitations over a four-year period at Kweiyang.

491 up the tracks. Still most of the travel over the province must be by stone roads or mountain paths, suitable only for pack animals and coolies. In the northwest these paths are so steep that the traveler ascends by following his pony and holding onto its tail. Throughout much of Kweichow the motor road is an exhilarating roller coaster, made the more exciting by the habit drivers have of coasting down the hills to save fuel. Brakes must be good.

132 Kweichow has a monsoon climate, in which the wind blows from the south and southeast in the summer and from the north and northeast in the winter. The parts of the province bordering on Hunan and Kwangsi are considered humid and unhealthy because of the prevalence of malarial fever. The temperatures are related to altitude rather than latitude, ranging from 86 to 14 degrees Fahrenheit. In general the climate is of the Yünnan plateau type, "ameliorated tropical," almost temperate. The annual rainfall is estimated at something over 39.5 inches. Observations (fig. 2) at Kweiyang[2] on rainfall over a four-year period give the following monthly precipitations in mm.: January, 29.5; February, 22.5; March, 27.3; April, 85.1; May, 165.7; [4a]

[2] Lat. 26° 18′ N., long. 106° 40′.

39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5

Detail Map
of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

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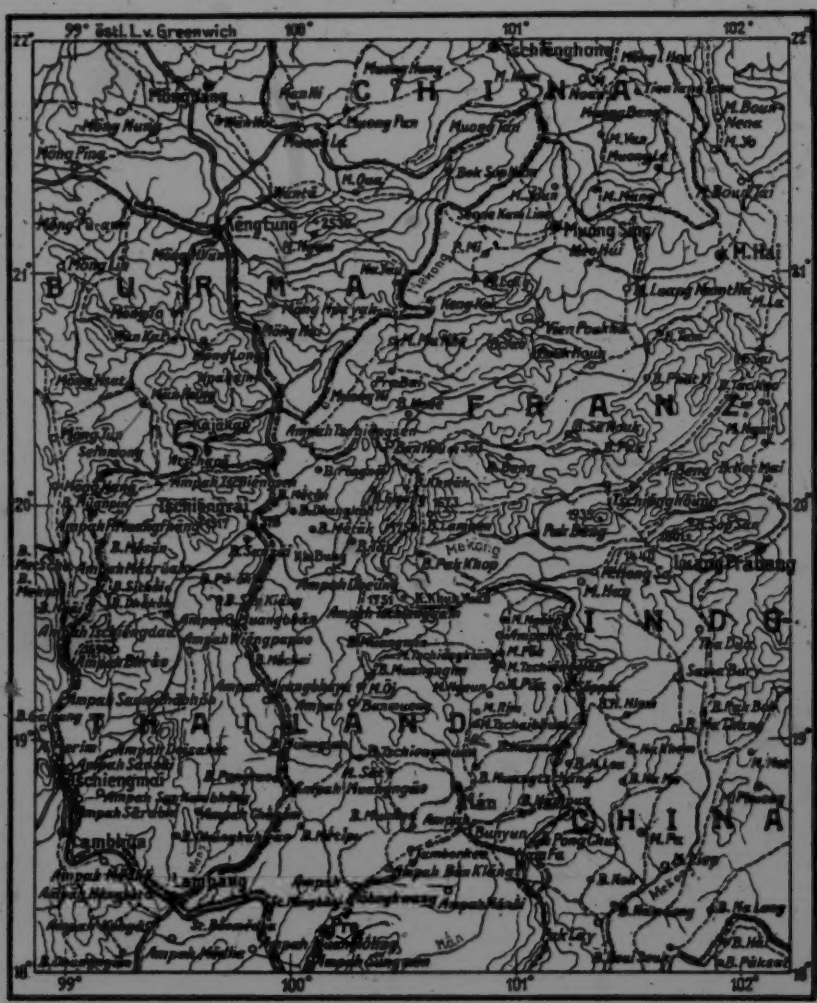
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Lampang
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/44 cont./

about 97 li away. When the water rises in the summer, the river is navigable by small crafts to Yen-men and Shin-yang-shao. The total cargo weight of a boat cannot exceed a few shih, and the boat has to be towed or lifted by boatmen wading through the sand and rocks. Although the distance is short, the voyage is very strenuous.

The 270 li of the Yu Chiang from Yüan-ling to Pao-ching is navigable by small craft, carrying cargo not over several shih in weight, and covering only about a dozen li per day. From Pao-ching the river empties into the Sung-t'ao Ho, and when the water rises in the summer, light boats can go as far as Hua-yüan and Mi-no at Yung-sui, and may even be able to reach the city of Sung-t'ao.

The boat used in the Miao area generally measures nine kung ch'ih in length, divided into seven holds, the middle hold being the widest, about one kung ch'ih in width (Illus. 18, 19). The oar, the paddle, the pole, the mast, and other attachments of the boat are not different from those seen elsewhere, except that at the bow there is a long paddle about six kung ch'ih long, which is used for coming down the sandbanks. Traveling upstream offers the greatest difficulty. Every time a sandbank is crossed, the boat has to be poled, lifted, towed, or pushed by several dozen men. Their chanting is as loud as the angry waves.

From the middle of the Ming period up to the beginning of the Ch'ing period, soldiers were sent into the Miao area. The most important duty of the military garrisons was to keep the communication lines open for troops and food supplies. So the construction of roads and bridges in the area appears monumental. There are four kinds of land routes: the main road connecting Yunnan with Kweichow is the official road; the roads connecting the various military posts are military roads; the roads traversed by the Chinese people are civilian roads; and the small winding paths leading to Miao settlements are Miao roads. Taking Feng-huang as the center, the official road leads

2:Ling & Ruey--72 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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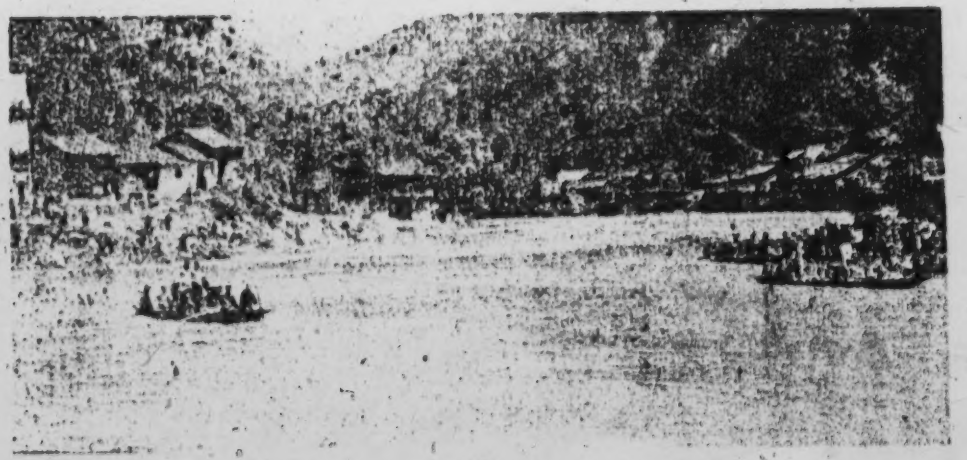

Illus. 18. Dragon-boat-festival boat race on the T'o Chiang River outside Feng-huang city.

2:Ling & Ruey--73 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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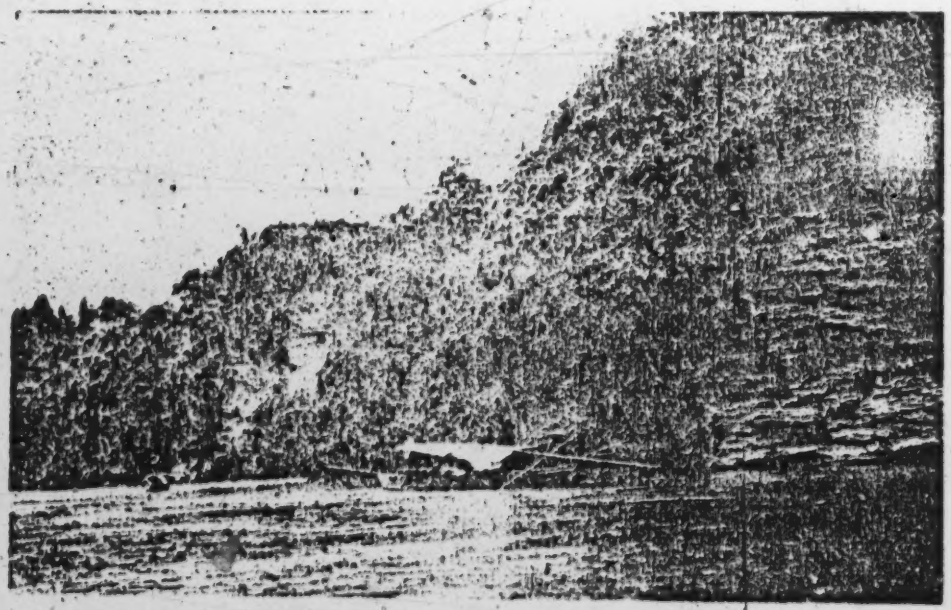

Illus. 19. A small boat navigating the Kao-yen River.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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ASCENDING A RAPID ON THE PANGHAI RIVER.

[facing p. 7]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

HOUSE BOAT APPROACHING A RAPID ON THE RIVER BELOW YUANCHOWFU, HUNAN.

To face page 8.

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[FACING P. 8]

M /19 cont./

*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

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li to Ta-pi-liu, another ten li to Ch'e-ch'i, and 30 more li to Ho Ch'i. From the mouth of the river to Ho Ch'i, some 130 li, the waterway is known as the Wu Ch'i River. Above Ho Ch'i it divides into two branches, south and north: the northern branch, known as the Wan-yung Chiang, runs ten li to Chang-p'ai-chai, where it again divides into two more branches, one flowing westward as the Wan-yung Chiang proper, passing through Ta-chuang and Hsiao-chuang for 50 li to Kan-ch'eng. The other branch, which flows northwestward, is known as Kao-yen Ho, and goes 15 li to Chen-ch'i-so, 15 li to Hsien-chen-ying, ten li to Chen-ning-ying, 20 li to P'ing-lang, five li to Wei-che, eight li to Hsün-chien-p'ing, 20 li to Kao-yen-hsin. The branch flowing south of Ho Ch'i, known as the T'o Chiang, flows through Ch'i-k'ou, Chiang-chün-yen, and Mao Chou to Lao-hu-k'ou for about 60 li, and then passing Lao-hu-k'ou it flows from Mu-lung-ti Chiang to Feng-huang for another 70 li.

The parts of the T'ung Ho navigable by small craft are: the Wu Ch'i, 113 li; the Wan-yung Chiang, 60 li; /Illus. 16, 17 on pp. 42, 43/ /44/ the Kao-yen Ho, 93 li; and the T'o Chiang, 130 li; totaling 296 li in all. These river courses are difficult to navigate and are not passable all year round.

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Miao Fang-pei Lan in the section on roads and waterways says: "This river (the T'ung Ho) has precipitous cliffs standing up like daggers, strange rocks clustering like a forest of spears, and rioting cataracts. Through slight negligence a boat can be crashed into pieces. It dries up in autumn and winter, causing difficulty in transportation. It is only in summer when mountain streams rush down from the Miao villages, that small craft may ply here and there. However, the cliffs and rocks become more dangerous as the water rises. Once a sandbank is reached, a day is often spent in lifting the boat across to deep water. The difficulty of crossing such banks is twice as much as in other rivers."

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The Ch'en Chiang waterway starts from the city of Ch'en-ch'i-hsien and joins the Lo-hao Ch'i /tributary/ at Kao-ts'un

[text continues on p.70]

C M 487 /44 cont./ about 97 li away. When the water rises in the summer, the
C M river is navigable by small crafts to Yen-men and Shin-yang-shao.
[505] The total cargo weight of a boat cannot exceed a few shih,
[502] and the boat has to be towed or lifted by boatmen wading
C through the sand and rocks. Although the distance is short, the
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The boat used in the Miao area generally measures nine kung ch'ih in length, divided into seven holds, the middle hold being the widest, about one kung ch'ih in width (Illus. 18, 19). The oar, the paddle, the pole, the mast, and other attachments of the boat are not different from those seen elsewhere, except that at the bow there is a long paddle about six kung ch'ih long,
C which is used for coming down the sandbanks. Traveling up-
M stream offers the greatest difficulty. Every time a sandbank is
[505] crossed, the boat has to be poled, lifted, towed, or pushed by several dozen men. Their chanting is as loud as the angry waves.

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491 of the Ch'ing period, soldiers were sent into the Miao area.
[563] The most important duty of the military garrisons was to keep
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231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. 231 511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated 556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, [227] tun, sǎr co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is ve: hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [263] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and 262 have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 252 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [415] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/120 cont'd/

181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

448 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

/131 cont'd/

000 This allayed their suspicion. We then took out our phonograph and
126 turned it on, which attracted swarms of Miao to gather around us.
Upon our request to look at the Miao scripts, which Headman Lu kept,
122 he let us peruse a number of them, among which were some very
treasured ones, depicting the origin and history of the Miao people.
● 511 Headman Lu talked to us at length about the hardships of the Miao;
their indescribable and hard-to-imagine low living conditions brought
forth our deepest sympathy. There were 12 families in this village,
under the family names of Lu, Teng, and P'an. Their main occupa-
tion was farming on lands rented from the Li people.

000 Limited by our schedule, we decided to cancel our trip to Pao-
ch'a village. We left Ang-chi at five-thirty to return to Ta-ch'i.
They gave us a warm farewell, asking us to return to their village
again. Upon our return, we found that Mr. Wang Chao-i had come
back from Pao-t'ing, and we had supper together, during which he
talked at length about his experiences in the Li area. His stories
fascinated us and sounded like fabulous legends.

Second month, twenty-third day. (Tuesday)

226 After breakfast we went to Wen-hua River to watch the Li carry
on their collective fishing. The two banks of the river were crowded
with men and women, about 60 or 70, each carrying fishing gear.
The stream was rather narrow, and the depth of the water was hardly
up to the knee. First, a section of the stream was selected, and then
large stones and rocks were put in the water to block the flow from
upstream, and small ditches were dug on the lower part of the stream
in order to half empty out the water. Then the poison was poured in.
When the fish touched this poison, they were immediately knocked
out and floated on the surface of the water. The Miao then rushed to
catch them with their nets. Today, the job was rather poorly done
because the water from upstream had not been dammed completely
enough to prevent the flow downward, thus preventing the emptying
out of the fishing area. Since the poison could not have its full effect
in the water, /132/ only a small amount of fish was killed and caught.

511 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife
562 were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Edu-**
292 **cation.** While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long, two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring
harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of
large numbers of the people. They can usually
afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt
purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this
becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people
fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a
Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers,
the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government,
and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour- [624]
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves
with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task.
The women have very much more work to do than
men. They weave the clothes, carry the water,
collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear
innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about
the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress.
A man wears sandals, which he himself has made,
short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a
loose-fitting upper garment which is between a
jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears
a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth.
The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and,
scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

[17 cont.]

The upper garment of a Short-skirt Hê Miao woman is also
291 different from that of the other Miao. It resembles the mandarin jacket of the Chinese, reaching only to the hips, round-collared and buttoned in the middle, with large sleeves. Although there are five to seven pairs of bean-size lead buttons, actually only the first pair can be buttoned, the other pairs being loose, with only buttons but no loops. So during work a belt is tied around the waist. They do not wear panties. The skirt measures only one foot and two inches in length and is not fastened to the waist but below the waistline. It has inumerable pleats, from over five hundred to as many as a thousand. Therefore a skirt requires at least twenty feet of material. Both the front and rear parts of the skirt are covered with a piece of black cloth about six or seven inches in width and one or two inches longer than the skirt. The rear piece has an embroidered band of four inches at the hem. They never wear stockings. While working at home, in the field or on the river bank they are always barefoot. On formal occasions they wind strips of black cloth around their legs, from the ankles [18] up to the thighs. Each strip of leg band measures about twenty-four feet, and as it winds up layer on layer, it gives a swollen appearance. The straw sandals for men and women are made differently. The women's footwear resembles the Japanese wooden clogs, with a forklike rope attachment that enters in between the big toe and the rest of the toes, so that the rear and the back of the foot require no other attachments.

The costumes described above are for everyday wear. The
[511] Miao in this area are comparatively well-to-do. An average family is able to add a suit or two of new clothes for each member every year, and so even their ordinary clothes are clean and in good repair. Dirty and disorderly dresses are rarely seen. On festive occasions the men wear new clothes and the women, specially made embroidered clothes in brilliant designs. The
[294] work on the embroideries begins during a girl's teen-age and continues for several years before it is completed. Ordinarily
301 the women do not use much jewelry. They do not wear earrings, neither do they have holes in the ears. They do wear one or

[30 cont.]

6. General Living Conditions

511 Due to limited space we cannot discuss all the phases of their living conditions. In sum, the Short-skirt Hê Miao are still passing through a phase of village economy. The necessities of life, except salt which is obtained from the Chinese, are all produced in the village. The area they occupy is quite fertile. Not long ago they produced a great deal of opium though they themselves are rarely addicted to it. They are, however, surrounded on four sides by the Chinese, and an extension of their cultivated acreage is therefore practically impossible. But their population has greatly increased in the course of centuries and in proportion the per family acreage under cultivation has greatly decreased. Although some few of them may be large landowners, the majority of the Hê Miao can maintain only the barest economic subsistence. Their continuous toil all year round yields merely a pittance, barely enough to ward off starvation. This kind of rigid economy [31] [161] together with the prevalence of smallpox increases the rate of mortality in recent years to such an extent that it follows closely the maximum birthrate, and thus manages to bring their population rate to a standstill: more people are being born, but more also are dying.

[212] They have no written language, their knowledge is limited, and their living standard is far below the standard of modern life. 648 Because of the backwardness of their civilization they are held in contempt by the Chinese. Due to repeated conflicts in the past between the Chinese and the Miao-I, a great deal of misunderstanding, suspicion and prejudice still exists between the two groups. Fortunately, there are no unified spoken language customs and habits among the various Miao-I groups, and so among their many millions of people there is yet no apparent consolidation of a minority group movement to oppose the 000 Chinese. If our government authorities can undertake the development of their educational standards on the one hand and the elimination of misunderstanding and racial prejudices on the

[132 cont.]

443 Even today they do not have a single market fair within the area and this shows how circumscribed is the sphere of their economic activity. Their only means of livelihood is agriculture. Almost 243 all the fields are terraced according to natural topography, rising from the bottom of the slope to the top in several hundred layers. The shape of the field is long and narrow, producing rice, wheat, corn and barley. These terraced fields are not fertile [242] and the Sheng Miao do not know how to apply fertilizer. Further- [132] more, the temperature in the whole area is very low, and a plentiful harvest is not possible. The proverb says that "when the soil is barren, the people must be poor." Although the 511 Sheng Miao toil all year round in the hard struggle for survival, they can only eke out a bare existence. Being in direct contact with them, the writer could watch at close quarters their extremely miserable conditions, which are pitiable indeed. Because of their ignorance they do not know how to save or to improve the method of production. In case of famine they cannot escape starvation, [133] which is the most important reason for the decrease in their population.

105 In our study of the Miao culture we find it varies with different ethnic units and localities, each having its peculiar traits. The distinguishing features of the Sheng Miao, who differ a great deal from the other tribes, are as follows:

1. Ignorant and straightforward, they are easily duped. They are ready to proclaim themselves "kings" and to create disturbances.

2. The men are black in complexion, red-eyed, dishevelled, and tall and big in stature.

3. Up to this day not a single one of them can talk fluent Chinese.

4. There are peculiar styles of costumes for men and women.

5. Their staple food is glutinous rice, supplemented by raw meat, raw blood, bees, locusts, centipedes, earthworms, tree worms, sand worms, water worms, mountain rats and lizards.

6. The women are fond of smoking leaf tobacco.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."
342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

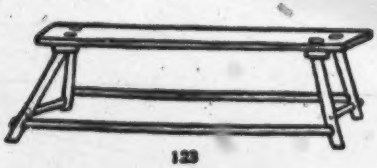
[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult
[439] has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[177] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
[see cat. 116, p645 – ANALYST]

/302 cont./

352 the customary squatting position on mats on the floor (Ill. 106).[1]
[511] Sometimes, too, only the adults are entitled to the table and
[516] bench, whereas the children eat their meals on the floor.
[264] Tables and benches (Ill. 107)[1] have strong slabs hewn out of one
piece of wood, into which slanting wooden legs are inserted
[171] (Figs. 123 and 124). This furniture differs fundamentally from
that of the Chinese and is almost identical with the tables and
benches of our Alpine dwellers. Among the Meau, low wooden
stools (Fig. 125) and stools to sit on, with /303/ plaited seats
(Fig. 126), are in use, as they are among all the mountain
peoples of Farther India.


123

Figs. 123-126. Furniture of the Meau.

Fig. 123. Table, 1/66 nat. size.

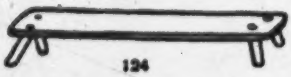

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Fig. 124. Bench for sitting, 1/34 nat. size.

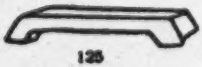
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Fig. 125. Stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

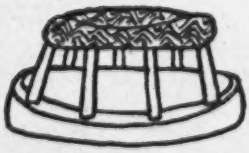

126

Fig. 126. Plaited stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

[1] [see cat 116, p 706 - ANALYST]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 men of the family — his son, the nephews,
and their sons — and his own daughters had
592 free access to his rooms. The second wife
was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at
596 home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen,
512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning
[768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and

 eat.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

to sell from time to time, just to get through nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope. 241 [283]

It was after the middle of the seventh month (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel — grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke, and burned quickly. 374

Rice harvest began about the first of the eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods 243 512

[illegible] [illegible] feet ([illegible] miles).

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

243 of work, they all stopped and rested. Some
● 512 lay down and slept on the ground; some older women laid stacks down on the ground and sat on them to talk and smoke; the younger women and girls got out their embroidery and worked on it. For about two hours at noon they went home to eat their lunch.

243 Women and children were also busy at home spreading out the grain on the mats,
252 sweeping out bits of stalk, and so on, spreading it again so that it could all get the sun, carrying it in again at night in the baskets, and rolling up and stacking the mats. Some of it was bought by dealers who made a price on uncut grain, some carried to market and sold there. There were two kinds of rice — *ta mi*[4] and *lo mi*.[5] In some cases a row or two of *lo mi* was planted on the edge of fields of other rice; in some cases the whole field was of it only. It brought a better price than the other and was used for the New Year cakes, at the festival of Tuan Yang, for the colored balls at Hsiao Mang, and for several other festivals. A fine dish of fat pork slices rolled in parched *lo mi* was often served at special meals.

243 When *lo mi* was planted in a field with other rice it was not cut with it, but later the stalks were carefully cut with a small knife blade set into one side of a wooden holder, and the sheaves were brought in and stored first in the hall below and then in the loft. Early in the morning we would form a sort of relay team, of which the old lady in the hall below saw to it that they were tied securely, several children and I carried them up the ladder, one boy stood on a bench and received them as they were handed up, then tossed them onto the platform above the main hall, whose ceiling is higher than that of the side rooms, and a woman stacked the sheaves there. At one time the main hall, a half *chien* room adjoining, and one *chien* of the loft were full of grain beaten out and waiting to be sunned dry. In time this all got sunned, sent to market, or stored in a granary or another part of the loft.

[4] Ordinary rice.
[5] Glutinous variety, white or black.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made. 243 [252]

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more. 241

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain. 241 512

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"[1] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the 527

[1] These weigh twenty-four *chin* (: pounds), or 32 pounds.

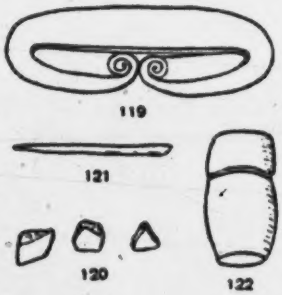
Miao AE5

This fireplace is

354 /300 cont./ the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done, /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]



Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
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[see cat. 116, p645 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/402 cont./

283 [248] parts are removed by breaking the stalks /Figs. 350-351 appear here/ and taking out the tough cellular tissue. By this means a coarse yellowish spinning material is obtained. Its fibers are twisted together with the fingers of the right hand (Fig. 351) and spun into long threads. At the same time, the fingers of the left hand hold a ring wound with bamboo, into which a small stick is jammed (Fig. 350). Through quick movements of the left hand, that is to say, of the ring, the spun thread is wound on the small stick.

/403/ The women work with this spinning ring even when [512] they are going somewhere, carrying the required spinning material in their aprons. For the further work, several of the spun threads are twisted together with the help of a special spinning apparatus (Ill. 90)[1] and wound on large spindles. Next the yarn is boiled in water to which much potash was added, and then the thread is carefully rinsed in fresh water and unwound in order to test whether it holds together throughout. Now the yarn is wound up anew and boiled again in a lye of wood ashes, and the rinsing process and the testing are repeated, as is the winding up of the yarn again; to the water for the third boiling, however, no [237] /Figs. 352-353 appear here/ potash is added, but rather beeswax. After this third and last boiling process, the yarn is not rinsed any more, but only wrung out and placed on straw, which was spread out on boards beforehand, to dry. Here, during the drying, it is frequently moved back and forth, so that the wax is uniformly distributed in the yarn. The dried, waxed yarn is first wound on spools shaped like windmills,

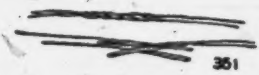

Fig. 350. Spinning Ring of the Meau, 1/3 nat. size.

Fig. 351. Sample of spinning.

[1] [see cat 116, p 622 - ANALYST]

/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kǒ; the Milky Way, nū kǒ kǎ lūn tǒ; the evening star, tsǎ tsī gē. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tóǎ, noon, nū tše ró, and sunset, nū pǔn kǎu, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

•512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken; during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, [264] and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women [517] settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

/433 cont./

M 512 If there is no fieldwork to be done, the men do not get up until the third crowing of the cocks, that is, about six o'clock. Even so, the women have arisen earlier, ground the rice, cooked breakfast, and prepared some food to be taken along. After the breakfast together, the men set out for the forest in order to hunt, fish, or to prepare firewood or timber and do not return until shortly before nightfall. On such days the women devote their time to housework. Then cloth is woven, yarn is spun and dyed, batik patterns are drawn with the wax pen, and the children and domestic animals cared for. When the men M [231] [252] return at dusk, there follows the same daily care of the animals, the preparation of the grain for the following day, and finally the fading sounds of the evening rest.

A 805 In the same manner as the Meau, the Akha reckon by days, which they call tĭná. Thirty days likewise represent the month, called bălă; twelve months, which are likewise reckoned by moons, are the year, tĭkō. It begins, however, at a somewhat earlier time than that of the Meau, namely, four A [796] days before the new moon in December, and for the Akha, too, this is the great holiday season of the year. They, too, occasionally postpone the festivities for practical reasons. For example, the Akha who had had their dwelling site on the Doy A Tung Mountain in northern Thailand felt themselves obliged [361] to move it at once because of the measures directed against [796] them by the Thailand government. For this reason /434/ they postponed their New Year's celebration for one month in order, as they said, to offer the great sacrifices to their spirits on the spot where they intended to erect their new village. This is A all the more understandable if one remembers the important [776] role that lŏkā, the guardian spirit, plays among them, to whom a new gate at the village entrance is erected every year (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits").

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
[237] wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[335] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
352 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The
513 agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It con-
354 sists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness.
356 Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by large

/86 cont./

A M 145 125 532 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the M [825] children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

/90 cont./

577 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on
836 the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs [143] rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with [614] their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their
833 bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives
● 513 do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide
[562] to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bride-[152] groom into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of [782] [769] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until [513] [595] the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II, p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

A M [513]

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A M 753 776 M 755 [756] [769]

As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

/265 cont./

621 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one
596 large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

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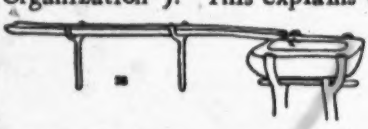

Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.
[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of
621 the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice
[343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per-
[551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

[343] House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize
[551] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/265 cont./

592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4. It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

Miao AE5

/268 cont./ If needed,

342 sleeping rooms, too, are often built on. The basic form of the houses and the roofs is always the same, however. A pigsty [513] and a chicken coop also belong to each house, whereas cattle [417] are usually kept by only a few families. [231]

Cleanliness is a relative idea. In comparison with the scrupulously clean houses of the Lao, the dwellings of the Meau 356 certainly leave much to be desired. At many houses the refuse lies in front of the door for days before it is removed. In other places one sees the women busy at sweeping the house and washing the dishes regularly. Even on important festive days the appearance of the house and yard does not change much. One recognizes by the old rotten trash covered with soot and dirt until it is beyond recognition, which often fills up the houses, that the Meau women /269/ feel no need to create order. To be sure, each move of the village provides an opportunity for 364 it, and this must suffice. There are no toilets. Places outside the village are sought at random and are well known by the dogs and pigs, since they devour all the excrement with amazing thoroughness and thus perform valuable sanitary service.

342 The ground plan, sketch, cross-section, and drawing of the framework of the chief's house (Figs. 63, 64, 65, and 66) and of the dwelling house (Figs. 67, 68, 69 and 70) with their respective legends indicate the size, construction, and shape of the dwellings without anything more, so I have only a little to add.

[Figures appear on pp 371-377, Text continues on p 378]

39: Bernatzik--371 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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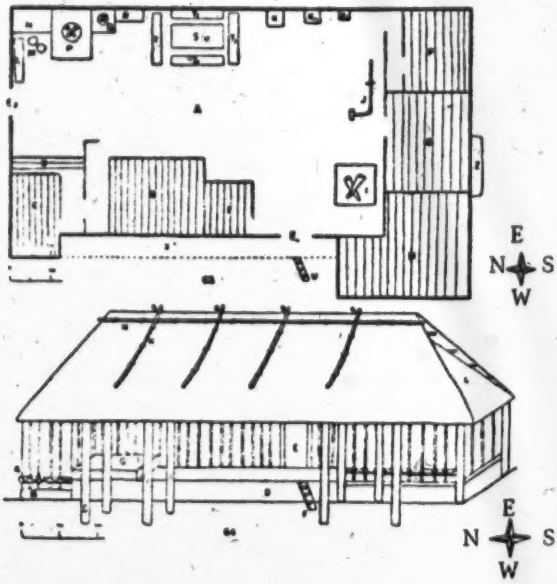

Fig. 63 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

= heavy board walls

= light board walls

..... = ground elevated about 50 centimeters

A = cooking and living room

B = bedroom of the chief and his two wives

C = bedroom of the eldest son and his wife

D = bedroom of the half-grown daughter, who sleeps alone on account of a skin disease

E = bedroom of the unmarried son

F = bedroom of the younger son and his wife

G = common bedroom for all the other children

H = sleeping and resting place for guests and strangers

I = large fireplace

J = built-in large rice-mortar for foot operation

K = altar for the house spirit

K 1 = altar for the wise, soothsaying spirit

K2 = altar for the protective spirit of the smiths

L = trough for collecting food remains for the pigs

(cont.)

39: Bernatzik--375 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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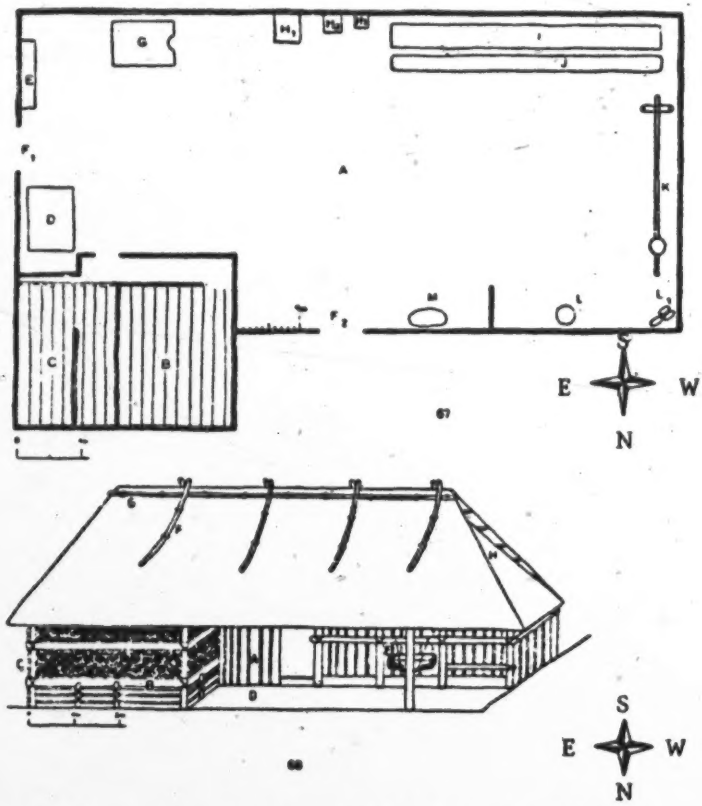


Fig. 67 (above). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa. ground plan.

Key to symbols:

= board walls
A = cooking and living room
B = bedroom of the parents
C = divided bedroom of the children
D = table
E = wooden trough for pig fodder
F 1 and F 2 = entrance doors
G = cooking hearth
H 1, and H2, H3 = altars
I = long table

(cont.)

[513]
[778]

/282/ 5. Rice-field Huts

243 342 The rice-field huts (Figs. 87 and 88) are occupied only during the period of field cultivation and the harvest by those members of the family /Figs. 87-88 appear here/ /283/ to whom these tasks are assigned. The huts lie on the steep slope in the midst of the fields and, despite their simplicity, have all

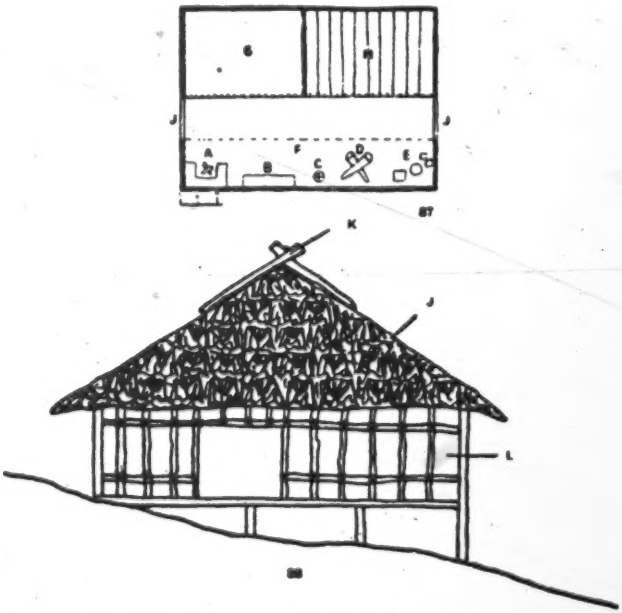


Fig. 87 (above). Rice-field hut of the Meau, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

A = small fireplace for cooking
B = hanging shelf for cooking utensils
C = large gourd-bottle
D = large fireplace for heating
E = rice baskets, harvesting baskets, gourd bottles, knives, bamboo vessels with supplies of fat and the like
F = over F, storage loft for harvest products
G = elevated platform on which, at harvest time, the sheaves of rice lie piled high
H = elevated platform covered with mats, as bedroom.

•[513]

(cont.)

/283 cont./

M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.

Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [353] M [513] M [231]

Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M 883 [243] M [836] [533]

The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

A 361 166 [241] [623]

/298 cont./

342 Corresponding to the division of a Meau house into a cook-
352 ing and living room, to sleeping and storage rooms, the equipment is also adapted to these purposes. (Abadie (1) and

1. Page 157.

Maspero describe the equipment of the house essentially in agreement with my observations.)

●513 The sleeping rooms are enclosed by high boards loosely
[342] joined together. The doorless entrance to the sleeping room is usually hidden from view from the living room by a second wall. The place for lying down takes up the whole bedroom;
[352] thus, the bed (Fig. 115) is the size of the enclosed space (Fig. 116). It consists of wooden posts driven into the ground, upon which the frame of wooden or bamboo sticks is tied. A large plaited sleeping mat is spread out on it. On the bed lie old clothes, rags, and blankets, which, rolled up, also serve as pillows, since these are not made separately. Small shelves
[353] are usually put on the wall above the bed, on which pipes, tobacco, combs, and other personal "treasures" lie about. All kinds of stuff are put under the bed, especially baskets with clothing, cloth, and personal belongings.

/299/ Aside from these relatively large sleeping places and beds, it also happens frequently that numbers of the family, especially half-grown children, merely sleep on the floor on an outspread mat and covered with blankets. These blankets are like our quilts; a filling of a kapok-like material or cotton is covered with a self-woven fabric. /Figs. 115-116 appear here./
[439] Everywhere, however, one also finds blankets purchased from
[574] the Chinese. The sleeping place for guests is a mat-covered platform about 50 centimeters high.

342 Whereas Savina (1) describes the arrangements of the
513

1. II, p. 190.

house and the sleeping rooms along the lines of my survey, Lajonquière (2) writes: "In the interior there is often no

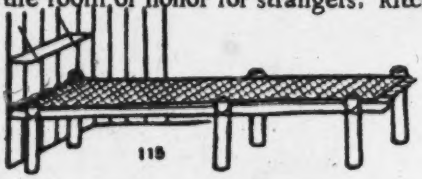
2. II, p. 306.

/299 cont./

342 partitioning. The hearth is in the middle of the room opposite
●513 a sleeping place which is reserved for the old people. The
[354] younger men, women and children sleep anywhere on the bare
[888] floor or on an underlayer of straw."

/300/ Only in the "most complete type" of Meau house could the author cited find a tripartite division of the rooms into "the room of honor for strangers, kitchen, and private

[352]



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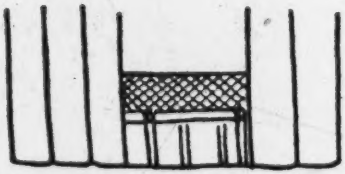


116

Fig. 115. Bed of the Meau.
About 1/38 nat. size.

Fig. 116. Entrance to the sleeping room of
the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

rooms," the latter probably referring to the sleeping rooms.
/Fig. 117 appears here./

354 Every house of the Meau has a hearth for cooking and an
252 open fireplace. The hearth for cooking (Fig. 117) is square and made of mud. The wood fire is maintained under the immovable hearth-plate, in which a depression is made for the cooking pots. If the family is very large, there may be two hearths (Fig. 118).

/345 cont./

224 e can be wedged between the crossbar d and a foot board. After the trap has been set, the block and tackle are removed.

As an example of the behavior of the Meau hunter while stalking game in the forest, I give in the following a description from my journal: "Scouts had reported to us that a powerful lone bull elephant with mighty tusks had taken cover not far from the village. Early in the morning I set out with the chief. We climbed a steep slope and then stood at the edge of a gorge, from the bottom of which came the sound of the breaking of branches. The large mammal stood below, which made the face of the Meau light up happily. He bent forward, remained there for some time, then climbed a tree, changed his observation post several more times, and finally, from the direction of the sound, decided that the elephant was on the opposite mountain slope.

Since in order to reach him, we would have had to wind through the deep gorge in between and it was already late in the afternoon, there was no prospect of reaching the bull still
224 that same day. The chief therefore proposed that we spend the
484 night on the spot in order to be able to take up the chase at dawn, since he figured that he would be able to determine the location of the elephant from where we were. The Meau
[342] therefore put up a small windscreen, large enough to protect us, if necessary, against a storm. He closed off three sides of it with leaves of the fan palm, their stems thrust into the ground, in order, as he put it, to prevent the warmth from escaping. He then covered the ground with a layer of leaves
[513] about ten centimeters high, which was an excellent bed, for it was soft and kept off the dampness of the ground. At the open side of the windscreen he lighted a fire. These tasks took him about 30 minutes.

"Then he began to prepare the evening meal. He searched for water, and after only a few minutes he returned
[824] with bamboo-water. In /346/ these regions one can find
[272] water stored up in the hollow spaces of certain species of bamboo, even during the dry season. To get the water, such
[415] bamboos are cut between the partitioning walls, the liquid
[252] that flows out is caught in a bamboo vessel. A thick green
[824] bamboo also provided a vessel in which the rice was then cooked. The green

Miao AE5

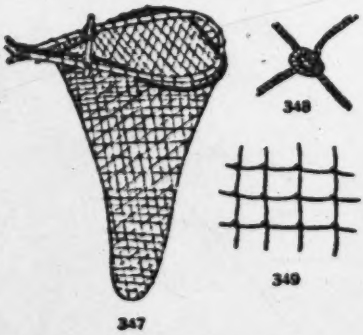
/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during [243] the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or 286 crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kŭń.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

283



Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the

[227] Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau
[286] for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size.
The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

upper or lower leg (Ill. 64). 1 Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

1 [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

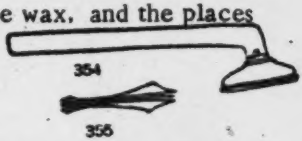


Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for
[411] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on
[262] the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants, " the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their
[177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
● 514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
M 251 ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[213] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M 241 cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
171 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
352 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

342 symbols for heaven and earth, ☰ and ☷.
353 One house I saw had a festoon of wooden daggers above the door, also. The first two copy Chinese custom and the third resembles a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of An-shun Hsien.

[531]

FIG. 7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, *c*), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

343 **Sanitary Arrangements.** The toilets of
514 the village were open cesspools or the woods and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

352 **Furniture.** In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very un-
[364] satisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is
[296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by
[312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects
364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good
164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child
[165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the
[356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see
[514] the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces
[231] of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau
[361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
[264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[832] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[521] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
[602] public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[562] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[609] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
[125] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant. Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires about the wife and children of the host. As has already been pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
[562] "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no case the women before the men, since that is regarded as improper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
[832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man, if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it. This also applies to married women who therefore may pour brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/77 cont./

252
262

miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

/92 cont./

600 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[515] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[531] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[556] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting,
fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
[304] at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced
by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver
rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were
wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race
horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver
hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or
four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver
[556] comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver
chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore
no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were
also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on
not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men.
The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited
a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells,
and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and
even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This
description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing
Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places
as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1967 AE5 Misc AE5

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
596 vited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight. [515] In this family I saw the evening foot-washing, [574] at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
353 leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

forty men and boys, who will kick and chase it until well-nigh exhausted. Amongst the Miao nothing creates so much fun and laughter as a football.

In the evening there will be a prayer meeting, and when this is finished you will be glad to get to bed. If perchance we are at some centre where next door to the chapel there is a private room, we will have an opportunity of undressing and ridding ourselves of the parasites we have collected. Amongst the Miao lice and fleas are without number, and possibly this is the explanation of the frequent typhoid epidemics.

The next morning being Sunday there will be an early service at seven, and this will be attended by perhaps a hundred people, but the real business of the day will commence after breakfast, with the arrival of friends from outlying villages.

A few have walked twenty miles and as they plan to spend the night, each will be equipped with a felt cape and a bag of oatmeal, this being all the baggage they need. If we go for a short stroll we may be fortunate enough to watch, unseen, a company of girls putting on their pretty festive skirts over soiled ones, and standing beside a pool of water they will use it as a mirror. Touching up their hair they will titivate themselves as is the fashion with English girls. They haven't taken to using rouge and lipstick yet, but woman is woman all the world over.

Mothers with new babies will come to have them named, and this is not so easy as it might appear;

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special
291 characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the
[439] Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

[1] [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[16 cont.]
13| Miao [short-skirt Miao] is a branch of the Hê Miao, distributed
10| over a very extensive area in southeast Kweichow at Hsia-chiang, Yung-chiang, Chien-ho T'ai-kung, Tan-chiang, Pa-chai, Lu-shan and Ma-chiang. They total about 40,000 to
[161] 50,000 people. Although they have among them more or less the same costumes, customs and language, their cultural levels vary to a large extent. The present article deals only with those Short-Skirt Hê Miao who are located in the region contiguous to Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Pa-chai and Tan-chiang, and may not be representative of the entire group.

2. Costumes

[17] A common method to distinguish the various tribal
10| groups among the Miao in Kweichow is by the style of their
29| women's dresses, because the men's are generally similar to those of the Chinese farmers. The women's costumes, however, still retain their original native style. The so-called Ch'ing Miao [blue Miao], Hê Miao [black Miao], and Pê Miao [white Miao] are distinguished by the colors of their womenfolks' clothes, which are either predominantly blue, black, or white. The
29| Short-skirt Miao is one group of the Hê Miao, their women's clothes being uniformly black. They are called the Short-skirts because their skirts are shorter than those worn by the other groups. In fact, aside from the length of the skirt, the other parts of their costumes are quite different too. To describe,
302 we start from the head. First of all, they never use make-up, but their hair is always well-trimmed and shiny. They often
● [515] wash their hair by the river bank and afterwards apply tea-seed oil to give it a glossy finish. They comb their hair backwards first and leave a bang of about two to three inches falling down on the forehead in the shape of a small black umbrella. On the crown the hair is coiled up in a chignon and fastened by a small wooden comb three inches long, rather like the headgear of a Japanese woman.

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

/55 cont./

A 551 [553] In addition to the name which every person receives at the time of admission into the family community, every man is given a second name by his father-in-law after the birth of his first child. Telford (3) /see footnote 3 above/ writes: "He is given part of the father's name."

Among the Akha, too, a definite distinction is made between names for boys and for girls, but unlike the situation among the Meau they do not have any special meaning and are merely names:

Boys' names are: tsǒpá, tsǒnium, tsǒnkō.

Girls' names are: minyu, tsopyō, mǐnā.

/56/ c) Children

M 855 [842] The villages of the Meau and even more those of the Akha are teeming with children, which is not surprising in view of the fertility of these peoples. True, the hygienic conditions, especially in the villages of the Meau, are as unfavorable as can be imagined (cf. the chapter, "Medicine"), in striking contrast to the impression given by the well-fed, contented children.

As soon as the little ones begin to crawl and to walk and thus come in contact with soil, dust, and soot, they are permanently covered with a thick crust of dirt, so that their true skin color is no longer recognizable. Their little noses run, their hair is unkempt and dirty, the remains of food stick M [515] [291] to their little fingers -- but all this does not prompt the mother to wash the child. Meau children are usually clothed only in faded rags which once were part of the clothing of adults (Ill. 67 and 68). Even the articles of clothing made especially for the child, however, are soon entirely in a state of neglect due to the liveliness of the children and the complete lack of repair and scarcely fulfill the purpose of covering the body. Only a M [291] festive day provides an occasion for every child to have new [527] clothing, to be washed, and to be combed, but this only happens

[see cat. 116, p511- ANALYST]

/56 cont./

M 855 [515] [527] a few times during the year. Even the older children are not brought up to be clean and orderly. It is not until the beginning of puberty that they develop a natural desire to keep themselves clean and to dress properly.

A 855 [515] [296] In the villages of the Akha, on the other hand, the children give the impression of being better cared for. They are washed once a day, in the morning or in the evening, and their clothes are also washed and kept in order. Moreover, the children of the Akha are lovingly adorned (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") and are a very charming sight (Ill. 7).

A M 853 Definite nursing hours are unknown among both tribes. The small baby is fed as soon as it cries, and since the children are as a rule healthy, they usually cry only when they are hungry or tired. Then the mother lifts the child up, puts it in a nursing position, with its back on her arm, and gives it her breast. When it is satisfied, /Ills. 14-17 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /57/ it is fastened again with a carrying cloth to her back, and, if it does not fall asleep immediately, the mother sings it to sleep.

A M 854

The child-carriers (Colored Pl. II, No. 11)[1] are the universe in the lives of babies. They are tied on the back constantly until they are able to crawl, and they are taken out for a short time only to be fed. Otherwise the baby, fastened in its carrier, accompanies the mother while she works in the fields, watches her do the housework (Ill. 66)[2] and is even taken along to a dance. Among the Akha I often saw young widows, with their children fastened in the carrier, dancing on the dance ground and disappearing into the forest with young chaps.

The small baby soon learns to raise himself up in the carrier and, like a little monkey, to cling fast to the mother's neck. Not only the smallest ones are carried about in this manner, however; even children three to five years old are often placed on the back of the mother or the father, either because they have grown tired on the march or because their small legs are unable to master the difficult terrain.

A M [855]

1 [See cat. 116, p 240 - ANALYST]
2 [see cat. 116, p472 - ANALYST]

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [774] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [756] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations, /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

882 836 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home.

[Text continues on p. 112]

/80 cont./

A reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy
M also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate,
593 among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this
858 trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children
[152] and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives
M delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously
515 performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The
593 parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children
593 was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal:
[595] "He never disposes of their property without consulting them.
425 If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with every-
758 thing they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau
276 parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the
185 plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly
614 secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of
736 its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

M eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark
185 in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest
[858] from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/88 cont./

M 832 883 123 seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together. Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because, they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love, and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels himself very much the center of attention and declares that if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

M [515] M [533]

A M 836 [548] [431] That purely materialistic considerations play only a minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M 114 548 836 In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported, without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very un-
[364] satisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is
[296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by
[312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects
364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good
164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child
[165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

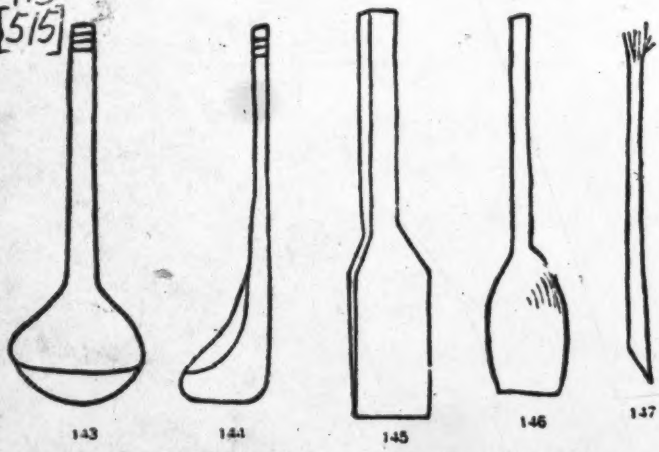
364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the
[356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for
[514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction").
[231] The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed
[361] away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

/306 cont./

412 252 [243] [244] The household and kitchen implements of the Meau are very numerous. As was mentioned, all the grain and leguminous products are husked in the foot-operated mortar built into the cooking area (Fig. 139). /Figs. 140-142 appear here./

256 /307/ For grinding the kernels of grain and maize the large mill shown in Ill. 94[1] and Fig. 140 is used. The lower-millstone half (Fig. 141) is immovable and is provided with an axle (A), which is fitted into the opening (S) of the upper stone (Fig. 142). Both millstone halves are provided with grooves (R), which run in various directions. The upper eccentric millstone (Fig. 142) is connected with a horizontal pole. When this is swung forward and backward, the movable-millstone half turns. In this, on the top, a hole (0) is chiseled out, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether one lengthens or shortens the

415 [515]



Figs. 143-146. Dippers and Ladles of the Meau. Fig. 143. Bamboo dipper. Fig. 144. Side view of the same, 1/5 nat. size. Figs. 145 and 146. Wooden stirring ladles, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 147. Toothpick, 1/3 nat. size.

[1] [see cat 116, p644 - ANALYST]

/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106)[1] and pans are
439 used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and represent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese
412 dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be
●515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables
252 are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice, strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots
[251] of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants." Other cooking
412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden
415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets
252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers
[273] to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

[1] [see cat 116, p706- ANALYST]
[Text continues on p421]

39: Bernatzik--450 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 331./

142
291
302
515
516
593

Ill. 62. Family idyl of the Meau. Delousing as a pursuit while affectionately being together.

/372/

Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are [515] thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

576 Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the [516] Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of [554] greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]

/139 cont./

755 *782 The vow has extricated him from the clutches of the kuei, and the sickness has not come back, but is forever uprooted. The host has saved money and bought a fat pig from the market as well as paper money. Having waited for the passing of the days to be avoided, then he comes to the sacrifice to the kuei. Sorcerer-priests are very few in this world, and he came to my home to invoke my help. So, here I am. I ask all the kuei to come here. I burn a bowl of beeswax. The bamboo tube and the bell are beside the fire pit. The two winnowing baskets filled with meat, the gold and silver cans, the gold and silver chair cushions, all are set at the sides of the pit. The table for the sacrifice to the kuei, the paper money for the redemption of the soul, the fancy /flower/ bowl to hold the wine, the fat pigs, big and small, two large chickens--these

[352] [353] [516] [415]

圖62 打嘉先

Illus. 62. Ta Chia Hsien

/147 cont./

*782 and /Illus. 65 appears here/ /148/ rain clothes. The bamboo tube is in front of me, and the bell is wound with red and green strips of cloth. My patron saint is standing beside the smoke from the wax. My teacher stands beside the knife. I ascend on the smoke of the wax. Now I have reached the land of the spirits /shen/. I am already with the four kan lo kuei. If you have

[142 351 291 516]

Illus. 65. Ta Kan Lo, B.

/155 cont./

775
*782

of wine, the spade, the wooden board, the white cloth, all are ready here. Will the kuei please come to take them! [lio˩ tɔ˩ kuei˩ dzɑ˩], [lio˩ ʑi˩ kuei˩ dɑ˩]!"

At this point he stops beating the bamboo frame, takes it away, and sets up the bowls of wine, meat, and cooked rice. The sorcerer-priest makes gestures while uttering an incantation at the same time:

"The helpers have set up the wine, meat, rice, and paper money, and invite the kuei to take them. The dead man has been dead for three days, but when his soul heard the sorcerer-priest's call, then he returned. He returned to his own local area, he returned to his own home. In the world you still have good sons and good grandsons to beg pardon for your sins. The former sins of your

[291]
[576]

Illus. 66. Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering.

/193 cont./

*782 magic words, facing the inside of the house, calling upon the ancestral spirits of three generations to get on their horses.

*[787] For these the sheng chiao is required. After the divination the helpers beat the gong and drum, and at the same time the images of Duke No and Mother No are taken down. First the heads are taken off and given to the host, who places them on the bed. Then the paraphernalia from the dismantled Peach Spring cave are either burned or kept for future use. Then the gong and drum are sounded, the sorcerer blows on his horn, and the helpers come out, carrying the various things one by one in an orderly fashion. The sorcerer follows behind and closes the door for the host, at the same time uttering the incantation for closing doors. Then he opens the door, and utters the incantation for opening doors. After this all of them go to a vacant area of level ground, where rice straw is spread. The prayer box is burned here to the accompaniment of the beating of gong and drum. The sorcerer blows the horn once and then

[788] places it in the crook of his arms with his hands folded together, the fingers crossed together, and the thumbs going around, and does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After each passage he circles once and blows the horn once. Altogether eight passages are uttered, and eight times the horn is blown. A helper then picks up a cock held in readiness and bites through the neck, letting its blood drip down around the spot where the prayer box was burned. Then the sorcerer, holding the horn in his right hand and lifting the left lower corner of his red garment with his left hand, walks around the place where the blood has dripped.

•[576] When he returns to his original place, he squats on his heels, puts the horn in between his knees, and utters the incantation for opening the road, performing at the same time. First he

[788] sticks out the middle finger and forefinger of each hand, and then the little fingers and the fourth fingers. Then he joins both hands behind his back, crossing the fingers together. Moving his hands to the front he rotates them on his chest, and then covers his ears with his sleeves. When the acting and

/43 cont./

634 695 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly, as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished, [342] not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of [516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the [276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

[292] The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri- [782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly observed that they tortured the animals without interference on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

A M [262] A [857]

On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

A [See cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

/76 cont./

A 857 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 183 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer.
[516] which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position
[788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his
756 wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses
[787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro-
[516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship
776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the
782 spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected
[778] for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship
776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom
[782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/301 cont./

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
[512] it going until morning."

342 The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
[354] here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
[511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult
[439] has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
[177] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill.
[511] 96)[1] is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
[516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in

[1] [see cat. 116, p645 - ANALYST]

/302 cont./

352 the customary squatting position on mats on the floor (Ill. 106).[1]
[511] Sometimes, too, only the adults are entitled to the table and
[516] bench, whereas the children eat their meals on the floor.
[264] Tables and benches (Ill. 107)[1] have strong slabs hewn out of one piece of wood, into which slanting wooden legs are inserted
[171] (Figs. 123 and 124). This furniture differs fundamentally from that of the Chinese and is almost identical with the tables and benches of our Alpine dwellers. Among the Meau, low wooden stools (Fig. 125) and stools to sit on, with /303/ plaited seats (Fig. 126), are in use, as they are among all the mountain peoples of Farther India.

123

Figs. 123-126. Furniture of the Meau.

Fig. 123. Table, 1/66 nat. size.

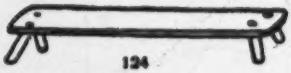

124

Fig. 124. Bench for sitting, 1/34 nat. size.

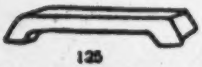

125

Fig. 125. Stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

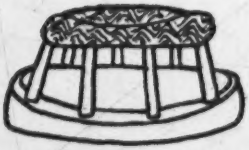

126

Fig. 126. Plaited stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

[1] [see cat 116, p 706 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--450 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 331./

142
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Ill. 62. Family idyl of the Meau. Delousing as a pursuit while affectionately being together.

39: Bernatzik--470 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 346 and 347/

142
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868
576

Ill. 64. Meau boys learn how to make a rope.

39: Bernatzik--471 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 346 and 347/
Miao AES

Ill. 65. A favorite game of Meau boys is modeling animal and human figures in clay.

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39: Bernatzik--511 /(1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 378/

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Ill. 67. Nine-year-old Meau girl at the drawing test.

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857

Ill. 68. Meau children make chains out of fragrant blossoms.

39: Bernatzik--573 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 426./

276
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Ill. 73. Extracting opium. Slitting the poppy heads with a three-bladed knife.

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Ill. 74. Opium smoker.

39: Bernatzik--576 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 427/

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Ill. 78. Flintlock gun of the Meau, with pistol stock.

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Ill. 79. Meau boy with crossbow, which all mountain peoples know how to use expertly.

39: Bernatzik--595 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 442/

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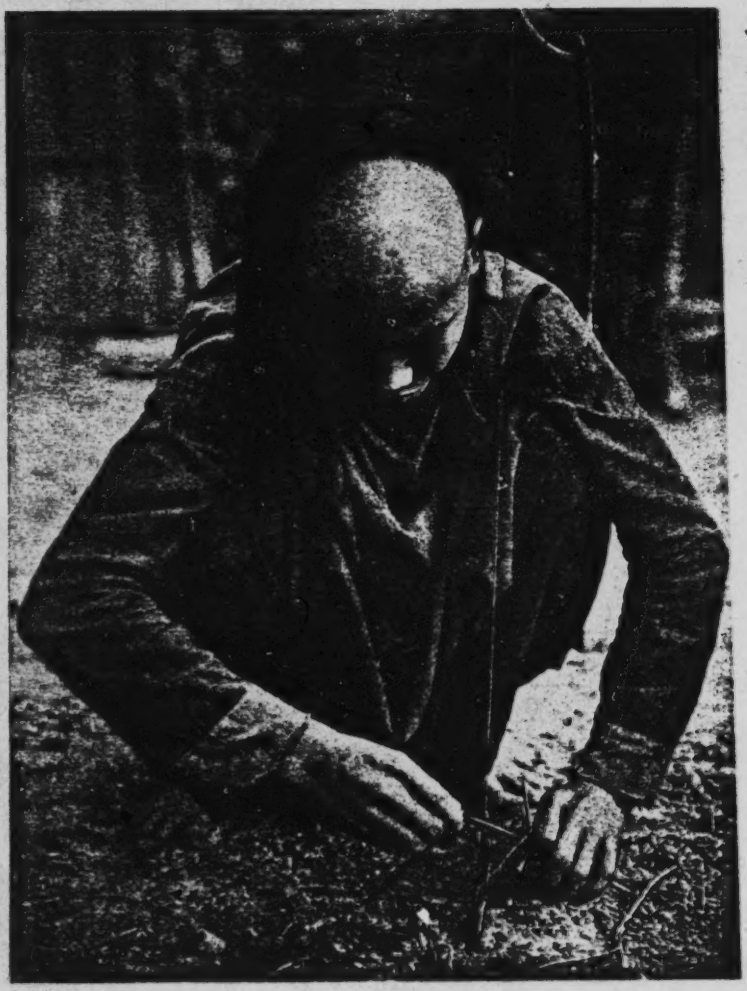
291



Ill. 80. Meau hunter setting a snare to catch wild birds.

39: Bernatzik--596 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 442 and 443/

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Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox among the Meau.

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Ill. 82. Meau smith in his workshop.

39: Bernatzik--597 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 442 and 443/

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Ill. 83. Meau with drill for woodworking.

39: Bernatzik--598 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 443/

289
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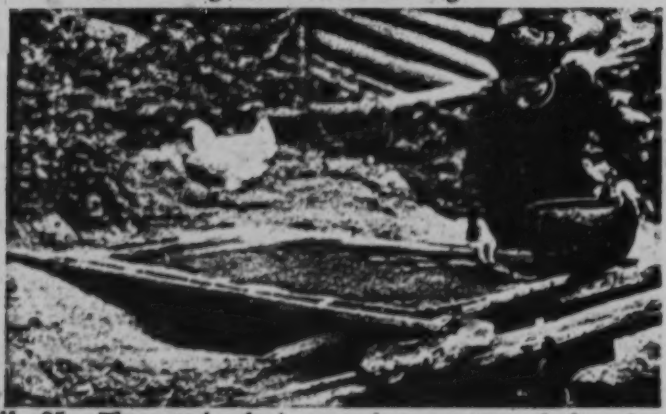
Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes among the Meau. Pulverizing the bamboo shavings.

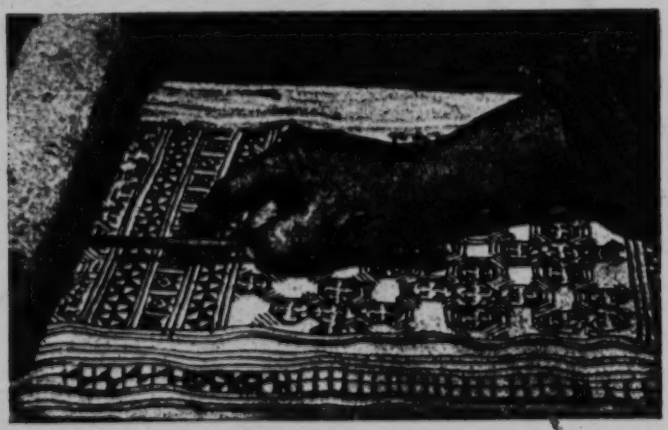


Ill. 85. The wood pulp is poured on a cotton cloth and dried in the sun.

39: Bernatzik--620 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.458/

386
531



Ill. 86. Making batik work from hemp material among the Meau. The wax drawing is applied with a brass pen. [413]

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Ill. 87. Girl of the "Flowery" Meau sewing a new pleated skirt.

39: Bernatzik--621 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947

AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 458 and 459/

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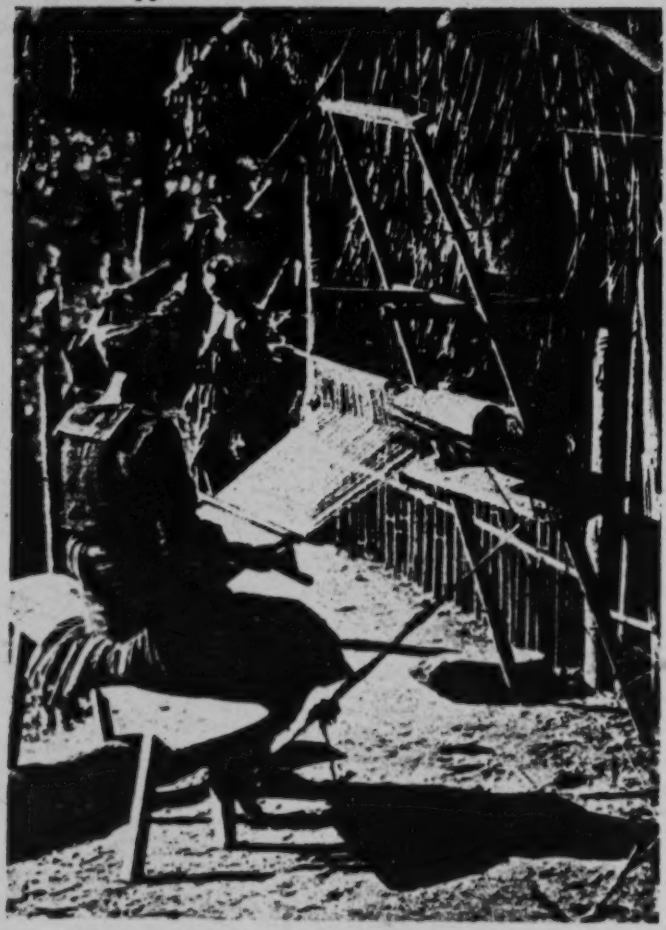

Ill. 88. Portable horizontal loom of the Meau, with foot device.

39: Bernatzik--622 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 458 and 459/

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Ill. 89. The woman weaver is preparing the woof.

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Ill. 90. With the help of this spinning machine the Méau woman is twisting four threads together.

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

576 Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the [576] Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of [554] greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

E-5
39: Bernatzik--705/ (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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Ill. 104. Work hut on a Meau rice-field.

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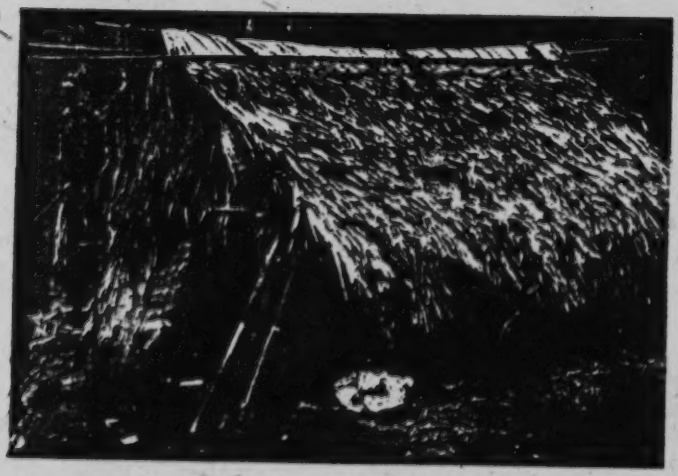

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau with walls and doors of halved bamboo.

39: Bernatzik--706 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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Ill. 106. Flashlight photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau.

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Ill. 107. Meau chief and family at a meal in his dwelling.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

*M 101 CC 563 /20 cont./ in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat M [167] [462] [517] [533] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in [167] [291] [583] [517] [584] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei- [167] [782] [574] [291] [302] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair into a knot.

[167] /21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still M [291] numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The M [527] [782] [769] [776] women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

M [531] [386] (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also
582 with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization
[614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they
[177] have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/
[551] was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family
177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and
594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs,
764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him.
[345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered
[584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing
[517] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would
[533]

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

514 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/233 cont./

*535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow. [533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated, making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25 centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, [533] two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung— tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

857 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/ gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttlecock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese [177] children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on p351]

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
526 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[177] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
[411] of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
773 swing:
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. 857 517 [535]

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836 [496]

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

● 517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
●517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[9 cont.]

517 purpose of these festivities is to celebrate in advance a rich harvest, and therefore the participants are numerous, especially the young men and women, who go there in new and pretty clothes with the object of finding a mate. As to moon dance, sitting in the moon, singing or chasing the moon, these are occasions specially designed for love-making by the young. [533] Both men and women are good singers, and they sing to drown out the sorrows in their chest, as well as to effect a lover's union. Anyone who fails to sing at marriage and funeral ceremonies will surely be disgraced. Singing, in short, is a necessary accomplishment. Within a short distance from the village there [443] is a level ground for the market fair held once in every six days; this is the center of trade for the Miao-I. On such occasions people gather together at the fair, bustling, loitering and looking around, their heart full of joy and fun. It gives them a respite from their routine toil. Aside from this they are fond of music. [534] Their musical instruments include the liu-sheng, wu-sheng [five tube bamboo wind instrument, flutes, harmonicas, so-na [a clarinet type wind instrument], brass drums, and p'i-pa [lute]. The liu-sheng is the most common instrument; it is made of bamboo with a gradation of notes resembling that of a military band. Its tune is like the plaintive call of a bird but with a variation of notes. The music accompanies simple dance steps, out of which they derive much pleasure and satisfaction.

4. Ceremonies and Customs

584 1) Marriage. The various Miao-I ethnic groups in Kweichow are rather complicated, but their marriage customs, though varying to a certain extent, are generally the same among different tribes. Marriages are either arranged by parents or the parties themselves, but mostly follow the will of the former and take the advice of the go-between. To negotiate marriage [10] they first discuss gifts and dowries. After marriage the bride goes back to her parents 591 until she is about to give birth to a son. She is then confined to her husband's house. In ancient times, this custom was first

12: Wu and Ch'en--111 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

[193 cont.]

S 517 533

The men and women among the Tung-chia have a fondness for singing and sitting in the moonlight. Ordinarily such enjoyment is indulged in at home. But during the leisure time between farm work they would gather at the drum tower every night, often inviting the young folks from other villages. When the number is large they would divide into groups and sing alternately. In the middle of the tower a big fire keeps burning, lending lustre to the scene. Rows of long and low benches encircle the fire and the listeners fill all empty spaces. Men and women sing separately in two groups, each consisting of nine persons or more. All the songs are sung alternately by each group, first the women, then the men, and then again the women. They sing till the middle of the night, and sometimes when excited, [194] they sing until daybreak.

S 344 621

To sum up, the drum tower is the center of activities in a Tung-chia village, and therefore a factor of great importance in their life. The drum tower is also the only dignified structure in the village, adding much grandeur and beauty to the surrounding scene. Structures similar to the drum tower may be found among all ethnic groups, such as those in India, the South Seas, Indochina, Burma, Thailand, Yunnan and Tibet, but the latter are all dedicated to Buddha or in commemoration of the spirits.

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[195]

The Recreation Activities of the Miao-I at An-shun

M 517

Ch'en Kuo-chün

The living conditions of the Miao-I at An-shun are much worse than those of the local Chinese. Their work is heavy without respite. But fortunately they have various kinds of recreational activities to help them to relax from the drudgery of their life.

[195 cont.]

517 According to our investigations the Miao-I at An-shun have many
535 kinds of recreation, of which the most important are the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance, the "kan-piao," singing and playing musical instruments. These are discussed separately as follows.

535 (I) The Flower Dance. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao
527 in the An-shun area hold flower dances every year. This is an important collective recreation of the Miao during the farming holidays. We have asked the Miao people about the purpose of the flower dance. Their answer is that when Lord Hsüan of the Wei state in the Chou Dynasty built a new terrace to flirt with the woman of Ch'i, he inaugurated the flower dance for the Miao. The method of the flower dance is said to have been created by Yang-lu (considered the original ancestor of the Hua Miao). A local proverb has it that "if the Miao do not flower-dance, the grains will not sprout." The superstition that the flower dance can bring about a prosperous harvest is the result of a low-cultured tradition. All the Miao people believe in it wholeheartedly today as they did of old.

Among the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao, the time of the flower dance is generally in the first month of the lunar year, the dates varying slightly with different flower slopes (that is, the places where they dance), and depending upon the time when such places were first established. But once fixed, they cannot be changed later. According to our investigation, the locations for the dance are usually the most populated areas. There are altogether seven dancing slopes within the An-shun area, five for the Hua Miao and two for the Ch'ing Miao. The locations and the dates are listed below in the following table:

[196]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
East Gate Hamlet outside East Gate	First month: 7th, 8th, 9th	Hua Miao
Upper Village outside South Gate	First month: 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th	Ch'ing Miao

[199 cont.]

(III) The Moon Dance. The moon dance in the fourth month
535 is the nocturnal meeting of the Miao-I in the An-shun area. Ac-
832 cording to Miao-I customs, whenever the moon and the stars are bright, young men and women may go out at this period of the year in groups of a few persons or a dozen or more each to some quiet, lonely spots in the vicinity of the village to play music and dance. The steps for the dance are the same as those for the flower dance./ Young girls who are attracted by the music are not prevented by parents from running out to watch the dance. A man's glory is to extract a smile from a girl, and when her parents are not taking notice he may take her to the woods to whisper to her honeyed words of love. Therefore, the moon dance is an occasion for love-making by the Miao-I youths.

(IV) The "Kan-piao." The moon dance described above
517 provides night recreations and scenes of love serenades for the
832 Miao-I. The "kan-piao" is another form of recreation that gives men and women a chance to fall in love, but it may be pursued during night or day. The "kan-piao" is also known by various names such as "ta-ma-lan," "yao-ma-lang," "ta-piao," and "ling-piao." To perform it, the man would first whistle
[534] by means of some leaves in the mouth or play the flute as a signal to entice the lover to some shaded nook to exchange lovers' vows. An ideal place for "kan-piao" is a deep forest out of reach of human footsteps. In former times, in isolated places outside the village, there were erected little sheds called "flower chambers" for the rendezvous of young men and women. These flower chambers, however, are now nine out of ten destroyed. Ordinarily, when they carry on "kan-piao," the man would take the girl home, otherwise he would be accused of kidnapping. If a girl takes a man home, her parents would
[574] not only leave them alone, but are also obliged to kill a chicken and provide wine in order to show the graciousness of their daughter in receiving guests. The custom of "kan-piao" is most popular with the Chung-chia in the An-shun district. They have comparatively fewer forms of recreation than the Hua Miao, and the young people among them often indulge in "kan-piao" as a
[579] happy pastime. Often in "kan-piao" a man gets into a fight

[199 cont.]
517 with weapons over a girl. Such brawls, known as "seeking
832 enemies," are not infrequent.
579

[200] (V) Musical Instrumehts. The Miao-I within the
534 district are fond of playing musical instruments. These include the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument], wu-sheng [five-pipe bamboo wind instrument], k'ou-ch'in [mouth organ or harmonica], hsiao-ti [flutes and fifes] and so-na [clarinet-type wood-wind instrument], of which the liu-sheng is the most common among the Miao-I. Each family, no matter how rich or poor, owns one. The instruments are described as follows:

(a) The liu-sheng. This instrument is called liu-sheng 六笙 because its bamboo tubes can give six [liu 六] tones. It is also called lu-sheng 芦笙 from the word "lu" 芦, meaning "bamboo-reed." It is made of six bamboo tubes of varying lengths, one end of which is inlaid with a brass plate as a metallic tongue. The bamboo tubes are inserted into either a round or square wooden case, at one end of which is a wooden handle. Each tube has a hole, through which the player blows and sucks, and which he stops at will with his fingers, thus issuing different sounds. The varying lengths of the bamboo tubes make it possible to have both high and low pitches.

The use of the liu-sheng is very extensive. At the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance and other gatherings this is the most important musical instrument. During the funeral ceremony the liu-sheng renders the most solemn music. Young men who wish to excel others have no regard for the time con-
[832] sumed in mastering the art of playing this instrument, for it is the best recommendation to the fair sex. The following are two com-
533 mon tunes for the six-tube bamboo wind-instrument. Its music, simple and clear, is used to accompany songs that are widely sung in the Miao-I area.

/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lĕn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gĕ. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tŏă, noon, nū tĕe rŏ, and sunset, nū pŭn kĕu, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next [264] day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women [517] settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

year began. During this period there was time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The technique of farming was identical with that of Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 56 ff.

[35b]

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] [775] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[264] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[832] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[521] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[602] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for
[562] women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at
[609] all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before
[123] the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward
us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their
presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant.
Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor
enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many
peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires
about the wife and children of the host. As has already been
pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
"Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
[562] case the women before the men, since that is regarded as im-
proper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left
over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only
then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series
of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female
against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man,
[832] if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it.
This also applies to married women who therefore may pour
brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo
regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the
chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage
Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/188 cont./

*782 heavenly shen coming down to earth. After this, he jumps
[533] down from the table and sings out what he has seen in the No hall. He then asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. After singing a passage, he strikes the gong and drum several times, walks a few steps, and then conveys the No child into the embrace of the host, and continues singing about the origin of the fairy sister. After the singing, the host puts down the image of the No child on the bed, and the caretaker of the altar burns paper money. Then the farewell incantation to the shen is sung, after which the gong and the drum are struck and the ritual terminates.

The nineteenth part is Pan K'ai-shan /"impersonating Kai-shan"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red headkerchief and
[532] a K'ai-shan mask, which has red whiskers and heavy eyebrows. Holding a wooden axe in his hand, he walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, dancing with hands and feet. First he sings about what he has seen en route to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. Next he asks to see the host to sing a passage of lucky words, after which he begins a conversation with the host, performing at the same
[522] time. The conversation has no definite subject but is full of humor.

The twentieth part is Pan Suan-chiang /"impersonating Suan-chiang"/. The sorcerer with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding a cane and a spear, walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, while singing out the reasons for his going to the No hall and what he saw there. He asks to see the host and sings a passage of auspicious words and has a conversation with him, at the same time performing. After this the host withdraws. Another person dressed as K'ai-shan /name of a general/ engages in a conversation with Suan-chiang /also a general/, and performs. After this, they engage in a duel. K'ai-shan wins and Suan-chiang loses. But K'ai-shan withdraws first. Suan-chiang sings the farewell incantation to the shen, and the ritual ends.

/188 cont./

*782 The twenty-first part is Pan Shih-niang /"impersonating a woman"/. The sorcerer, in women's attire and holding a willow towel, stands before the Peach Spring cave. First there is a conversation, then he throws the willow towel on his back and blows the horn once. He then takes a chiao-tzu to rap the horn, while at the same time gong and drum are struck and he utters the incantation to invoke the spirit, bowing as he chants. On completing the incantation, he divines. /189/ After he obtains the sheng chiao, he removes the willow towel from his back and, holding it in his left hand while waving the knife in hand, with the beating of gong and drum stopped, he utters an incantation to pledge with wine. This done he dances with the willow towel. After the dance, drum and gong silent, he does the three-step walk and sings the incantation of leaving the shen. After singing a passage, he beats the gong and drum several times, and walks a bit outside like a woman, and then goes back in the house. The drum and gong are silenced. After singing briefly, he discards the costume and takes a rest.

*[787]

The twenty-second part is Pan T'ieh chiang /"impersonating a blacksmith"/. The sorcerer wears a red headkerchief, holds a cane in his hand, and has the willow towel hanging behind his back on his belt. The whip is stuck into the horn, which he carries on his back. He walks in a semicircle before the Peach Spring cave. First, he sings about the reason for his going to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen there. Next he asks to see the host to say a few words of good luck and engage him in a humorous dialogue, ending with a Miao song. Then he acts out a blacksmith beating iron to make an axe and handing it over to K'ai-shan. At last he utters the incantation of leaving the shen, and the ritual ends.

[522]

The twenty-third part is Pan Ho-shang /"impersonating a monk"/. A winnowing basket is placed upside down in the middle of the central hall, and on it are set five bowls of wine, one bowl of water, five piles of pa-pa, and a piece of tofu in a bowl with sticks of incense and candles stuck in it. Around the basket are five pages of scripture, interspersed with paper

/189 cont./

*[787] obtained, the sorcerer raps /190/ the horn, at the same time uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After the recitation, he waves the ritual knife and the caretaker of the altar pours the wine. He then recites the incantation pledging with wine. After this he dances with the willow towel. When the dance is over the gong and drum are silenced. He divines, and *[787] after obtaining the sheng chiao he utters the incantation for the shen to accept the offerings. After this, he first beseeches the shen to protect the men and women, old and young, of the family, next, the six domestic animals, and finally, the five grains. After asking for protection, he seeks the wealth for the host and the expulsion of pestilence and strange events. He also seeks the opening of the prison and the cangue to release *[787] souls. For each thing sought he has to divine until the sheng chiao is obtained, after which he gives an interpretation of the chiao to decide whether they are auspicious or not. Then there follow the chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. After the incantations paper money is burned and the gong and drum are sounded. At the same time the sorcerer utters the incantation for wheeling in money, and the ritual ends.

The twenty-fifth part is Pan Pa Lang /"impersonating the eighth young men"/. The sorcerer wears a red head wrap and a mask and shoulders an umbrella and a bundle, disguising himself as a traveler. He walks around in a semicircle behind the table for the pig and goat. His right hand waves the ritual knife, and to the accompaniment of the gong and drum, he sings of the ancient men of the twelfth month, continuing with explaining the reason for going to the No hall. He asks to see •[522] the host and after a humorous conversation, he acts out the procedures of haggling over prices, paying for goods purchased, pursuing pigs and goats, catching them, killing them, and cutting them up. After this performance, when he has divined *[787] and has obtained the sheng chiao he sings the magic words for the handing over of animals. He then turns over the pig and the goat to the man in charge of the kitchen to cook, and then sings

/191 cont./

*782 heavy, it may be placed on a stool). The sorcerer, waving the ritual knife in his right hand, sings the magic words of Shao Yüan. After he has sung a long passage, the helpers put the basket on the ground. The sorcerer leads the host outdoors in front of the hsi-kung and utters the incantation to pledge the opponents in wine. After the incantation the sorcerer takes the two cups of wine in the basket held by the host and pours the wine on the ground, and puts the cups upside down in the basket. He then returns with the host in front of the Peach Spring cave, and squats on the ground. The host puts down the small winnowing basket, holds the prayer box in both hands, and kneels in front of the No shen. The sorcerer holds the liang-yüan in his hand and recites the ch'ou-yüan incantation. When the incantation is over, a helper burns the liang-yüan and the prayer box, as well as some paper money. The sorcerer sings the

*[787] yüan magic words and divines the time when the No shen will go back. He also invokes protection for the peace of the family of the host, the increase of the six animals, and the abundance of the five grains. After the sheng chiao is obtained, the gong and drum are struck, and the sorcerer and the host stand up. The former blows the horn once, then rests it on his wrists, takes the three-step walk, and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After having blown the horn three times, the sorcerer takes off his garment and takes a rest. In the meantime the pork and the mutton /goat meat/ are cut up and placed in 12 bowls and put before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer takes the chiao-tzu, and after uttering the incantation for pledging

*[787] with wine, seeks the sheng chiao, after which the ritual terminates.

The twenty-eighth part is Pan T'u-ti /"impersonating the local divinity of the soil"/. The sorcerer, wearing the mask

[532] of the local divinity of the soil and holding his patron saint's

[522] cane and whip, sings a few phrases in the main hall and then engages in a humorous dialogue. Then he sings out the names

[776] of the malignant spirits of the 12 months and /192/ indulges in humorous dialogue with the host. Next he sings out the ranks

/192 cont./

*782 [776] and ages of the nine local divinities who are brothers. After this he announces the name and place of birth of the host, asks the shen to receive the offerings, and also asks for their protection. He then utters the chiao-na, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations, after which he sings the magic words of keng-yang-ch'un. Then he bids the shen farewell, and the ritual terminates.

The twenty-ninth part is Pan P'an-kuan /"impersonating a judge"/. A table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is placed a sheng of rice with several coins on it. There are also set out two cups of wine, two bowls of meat, a trayful of salted peppers, and a pot of wine. The sorcerer wears the [532] mask of a judge, a red garment, and a red kerchief around the head, and holds a spear in his right hand as a pen, and in his left hand a cash account book as well as a ling-p'ai /spirit tablet/. He walks in a semicircle outside the door, singing out the reason for going to the No hall. As he walks into the house, he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. He asks [522] to see the host and engages him in some humorous dialogue; he congratulates him and asks him to take part in the worship of the No shen. At the same time the gong and drum are sounded, and the sorcerer takes his place behind the table with his back toward the Peach Spring cave. On the right and the left of the table sit two other men, and the host sits before the table, facing the judge. The sorcerer sings, and the two men and the host sing in response. Wine is poured for the host to drink while good luck words are sung. He drinks four times while four passages are sung. After this, the host leaves the table. Then he performs the act of filing a petition, which is [522] purposely made full of jokes, which the sorcerer refutes. At last the purpose of the petition is given to be the fulfilling of a vow to the No shen. The sorcerer then opens up the cash account book and begins to read, carrying on at the same time a dialogue with the helpers. Now and then he makes a sign in the book with red ink and writes the character huan /"paid"/

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(1) Firing Mud Guns

A number of children gather together, each getting soft mud from a field and molding it into the shape of a bowl or basin, with a hole or several holes at the top. After they are finished, each child picks his up and smashes it on the ground, producing a resounding noise like the report of a gun (Illus. 117). When a mud gun falls on the ground and breaks without popping, then its owner is counted as losing and is eliminated from the contest, and helps the winner to make more guns. There are several kinds of mud guns, as in Illus. 118.

(2) Making Mud Coins

A quantity of clean clay earth is used. Water is added and molded into a small lump. Two large copper coins of the K'ang-hsi or Ch'ien-lung reign periods are used to press the earth to make a number of "coins." A thin stick is used to thread through the holes of the coins. These are rolled over a few times on the ground. Afterwards they are separated one from the other and dried in the sun. They are used in place of money to pay off losses in games. Each copper coin is worth 50 clay coins.

(3) Tattooing the Wrist

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Boys and girls about 12 or 13 years old, when having nothing else to do, often collect in groups of three to five in one place to amuse themselves by tattooing designs on each other's wrists. The method is as follows: First a long piece of hemp string is tied around the wrist, exposing the part to be tattooed, above which is tied another piece of string. At these two places the blood is stopped by being bound with the hemp string. Then the exposed part is hit with a piece of wood or bamboo until the skin becomes red, then purple. Then the desired design is lightly tattooed on it, causing the skin to bleed. Then color

2:Ling & Ruey--353 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
/236/
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Illus. 117. Firing mud guns.

Illus. 118. Various kinds of mud guns.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [573] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men [276] and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

533 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of [178] the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli," 774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies 793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so 796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere- [527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo" [157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The [831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The [533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing [535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving 524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

[169 cont.]

M 524 in a vertical direction, and each of its ends may lift themselves up to a height double that of the post. A youngster takes his place (astraddle or on his stomach) at each end of the pole, to which a rather rapid movement of horizontal rotation is given, combined with a vertical movement. These movements are induced by each one of the youngsters, who in his turn pushes against the ground. (Photo 168, Plate 42, shows one of these turning seesaws.) Some M 536 231 "Méo" are strolling entertainers and train performing monkeys. (Photo 385, Plate 42.)

We have found, in a rather large number of "Méo" homes, the M 231 [170] blackbirds known by the name of "mandarin blackbirds." They are slightly larger than our blackbirds. The beak is big and yellow; they have a hood and a little collar of yellow skin. Their ability to imitate is certainly surprising, for, not content with whistling like ordinary blackbirds, they imitate perfectly all the noises they hear: wails of the newborn, whinnying of horses, baying of dogs, coughs, gurglings of the water pipe, gratings of doors, and so on. These birds sell for very high prices.

[171] [Blank page in original text.]

[172] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

[173] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

L 101 131 161 The "Lolo," who form sizeable groupings in the provinces in the south of China, are represented in Tonkinese territory by only a few tribes, very unequally distributed along the frontier, from Baolac to near Phongtho, the total number of individuals in them scarcely exceeding 12,000.

L 131 361 The densest settlements are found in the region of Baolac, which contain the majority of the group, whose villages are more or

155: Abadie--243 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[168]

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199. "Méo" funeral. Digging the Grave.

198. "Méo" Funeral. The Interment.

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168. "Méo" Revolving Seesaw.

385. Performing Monkey Trained by a "Méo."

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/59 cont./

A 857 [834] [881] The situation is similar among the Akha. A conscious separation of the sexes does not take place until the beginning of puberty.

Nevertheless, there are games that are preferred by the one or the other sex. Boys, for instance, do not play with dolls, and girls avoid games requiring strength, since they would always lose to the boys. Similarly, girls automatically avoid games involving the use of weapons, which they do not learn how to handle. In such cases there is a natural separation into definite groups. Other games, however, such as the game of cooking, are equally popular among both sexes.

A M 524 The first toys given to infants when they are from six to eight months old are generally small bells, coins, or colorful fruits. Among the Akha there are in addition tassels made of wool or monkey hair, which the mother dangles enticingly before the eyes of the child and then gives to him when he has become aware of them. Already at the age of three years, the A M [856] children of the Meau and Akha, who develop earlier than European children, look for all kinds of toys for themselves. Utilitarian objects used by the adults are preferred, but they also play with little sticks, which are collected in the forest by older children, attached to strings, and swung back and forth.

With the exception of the toys for infants, the Meau parents rarely make playthings for the children, but under the guidance of their older siblings or other relatives the children are soon in a position to make their own toys, especially wooden tops and cloth balls. Both Meau and Akha children like to knead clay into animal and human figures (Ill. 65)[4] and to use the same material to build doll houses, in which the clay dolls or simply little sticks live. The little four- to six-year-old Meau girls like to plait wreaths of flowers with which they adorn themselves (Ill. 68),[2] or they make themselves necklaces out of the colorful dried berries and fruits of the forest for the same purpose.

A 524 The Akha children are given toys by their parents. /60/ The father carefully carves a small crossbow (Ill. 17) or bow and arrow; the mother makes dolls out of old rags and wood. The

[4] [See cat. 116, P471 - ANALYST]
[2] [See cat 116, P511 - ANALYST]

/60 cont./

A 524 children of the Akha also have a special fondness for the tobacco pipes and knives of the adults (Ill. 18).[2] They are serenely entrusted with these objects, and it would make a European mother's hair stand on end if she could see how the little children handle the large, keen-edged knives. I never saw an accident, however. On the contrary, the children showed themselves to be surprisingly skillful and soon learned to be masterfully adept at using the dangerous implements.

A M 857 Play-acting of all kinds is very popular. In this I noticed that both the Akha and the Meau children frequently include their smaller siblings. The larger child, for instance, is the animal, the smaller one, the owner or shepherd. I repeatedly observed the children at "pig-driving" or "cattle-saddling." Another such game is the "father-and-mother game"; if dolls "play," too, the children are the parents and the dolls the children. These doll-children are usually made of pieces of wood or fabric twisted together. The father-and-mother game in particular is happily played by boys and girls together. The hunting game also seems to be very popular. One child is the hunter, and the other children form a herd of deer or pigs. One child skins and cuts up the booty; another cuts the meat in strips in order to dry it in the air. The children have a great deal of imagination and are tireless in inventing such games.

A M 857 868 In these acting games the children attach no importance to facial expression, but more to an exact imitation of the sequence of events and the correct execution of the activity portrayed, which from their earliest years they have observed in adults. In this manner the children at play imitate all the activities of the adults. Long before they acquire the physical strength to do real work, they have an astonishing command of an activity. The girls, for example, learn all kinds of housework, such as cooking, sewing, wood-gathering (Ill. 15),[2] work in the fields, and the like, while the boys learn to hunt (Ill. 17 and Ill. 78),[3] set traps, chop wood, plait, and likewise field work. In short, the children learn all the work which

[1] [see cat. 116, p 108 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 87 - "]
[3] [" " " p 576 - "]

/60 cont./

A M 857 868 befits their sex. The doll, for example, is fed in the same manner as the mother /61/ is seen feeding the younger siblings at meals. These same meals are prepared for the dolls. The returning "hunters" are served liquor, and the world of the adults is incorporated in the play activity. The most popular games, however, are the "ball game" and the "laying out of a rice field," in which all the procedures, from the clearing away of the trees to the burning, from planting to harvesting, are carefully imitated.

Differences in the games according to age groups or sex cannot be established among either the Akha or Meau, because all age levels and both sexes play these games together. It can be said, however, that technical games are played only by the boys. To be sure, it never occurs to them to build a water wheel, but they are very skilled at making small traps, with which they catch smaller animals, such as birds, lizards, and the like. In only one instance did I see an Akha boy, about eight years of age, with a small windmill.

A M 857 524 532 The children look for materials for their toys in their environment and therefore use stones, sand, loam, clay, bark, wood, grasses, and bast (Ill. 16). They work with this material and use it to make their toys. In this manner they turn out representations of small houses, animals, human beings, implements, weapons, and the like in play. Among small children the representation is not very true to life, but beginning with the sixth year the characteristic features are gradually brought out more. Boys at the age of eight are already able to model quite realistically in clay, and even riders on horseback are clearly recognizable. The Meau children dress their clay dolls in palm-leaf skirts, to indicate the pleated skirts; in place of the turban small colorful pieces of cloth are used. In accordance with their own attire, Akha girls equip their dolls with a "girl's bonnet" made of leaves.

A [See cat. 116, p 88 - ANALYST]

/62 cont./

M 526 628 584 with the New Year's Festival (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"). The young people, however, find this all the more reason to train diligently throughout the year.

M 526 584 The special popularity of the ball game is connected with the fact that it affords an opportunity for sexual approach in accordance with the rules of the game as set up by the adults. The young men form a line opposite the girls, and each fellow plays with the girl opposite him. A cloth ball about the size of a fist (Fig. 1) is thrown by a player to his female partner, and she has to catch it and throw it back (Ill. 69, 70). If one does not /63/ succeed in catching the ball, a piece of clothing that is being worn must be given to the thrower. One can imagine that under these circumstances certain amusing complications are unavoidable if the game continues for some time. /Figs. 1-5 appear here./ One can often see a player fleeing almost naked into a house amidst the laughter of the spectators and then, clothed anew, continue the game.

M 526 ndi is the name for the Meau game with the shuttlecock, an original form of tennis (Ill. 72). The ball (Fig. 2) consists of a small bamboo body (A) with feathers (B) fastened to it. The paddles are carved out of wood and are similar to our table-tennis paddles (Fig. 3 to Fig. 5). As in tennis, two or four players face each other; the two sides take their positions in the same way and try to bat the ball over a line drawn on the ground, which replaces the tennis net, to the opposing player. The following game also belongs to this group of games. The children toss pieces of wood into the air. As the pieces fall, they are immediately batted up into the air again with bats. The one who most frequently makes a success hit is the winner.

M 524 A [524] Among the Meau tŏlŭ is the name of the game with the wooden top (Fig. 6), which the Akha call tsă. The top /Fig. 6 appears here/ is no different from the one used by our European children (Ill. 19 and Fig. 6). Unlike the shuttlecock

[See cat 116, p 512 - ANALYST]
[" " " p 514 - "]
[" " " p 109 - "]

39: Bernatzik--97 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

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Figs. 1-5. Various playthings of the Meau. Fig. 1, cloth ball. 1/6 nat. size.

Fig. 2, shuttlecock; A = wooden body, 1/5 nat. size; B = chicken feathers.

Fig. 3-5, wooden paddles for the shuttlecock game, about 1/22 nat. size.

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Fig. 6. Wooden top of the Meau and Akha, with whip. 1/7 nat. size.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/63 cont./

A M 524 game, it is played exclusively by men or boys. The original meaning of this game has been lost. Among the Lahu, however, where it has been preserved in thesame form, it is regarded as sacral, and the men play it because they /64/ believe that it gives the spirits special pleasure. Usually two boys or men participate in the top-game, one of whom throws his top with full force on a certain place, and the second tries not only to hit the top of the first player with his own and throw it off A M its course, but also to put his top in the place of the first one. [273] If he succeeds, the first player has to give something; among men this is usually a glass of liquor. Then they begin anew in reverse order. On rare occasions several players participate. In this case, the third player throws his top at that of the first player, if it has not already been thrown off course by the second player, otherwise at the one of the latter player, and so forth, until all have thrown their tops. The loser always has to give something to the winner. Thus, if the second player has succeeded in throwing the top of the first player off course, but then he himself is thrown off by the third player, the first must pay his obolus to the second, and the latter to the third.

M 526 The following games are usually played by groups of children from eight to twelve years of age.

nă nǫ̆ nan tŭ is a game of the Meau children. They form a chain by joining hands. The leader of the chain now tries to catch the last member. If he succeeds, the captured child goes to the head of the row, and the game is continued. When only one child is left at the "tail" of the chain, he crouches down on all fours and puts three stones under him. The other children now try to take away these "eggs" which he has "layed." The first child must defend himself by dealing out kicks and blows in all directions. Each child who succeeds in seizing an "egg" is permitted to "lay his three eggs," and thus the game goes on.

M 524 ntǫ tsă is a Meau game which is also a favorite among our boys. The children throw round pebbles at a small pit. The one who succeeds in hitting it gets the pebbles of his less skillful predecessors.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/67 cont./

M 526 "pride themselves on exhibiting their physical superiority by frequently wrestling or by comparing skill and strength in the execution of a task or the swiftness and strength of their calves in climbing difficult paths. . . ," observations that Abadie (2) repeats.

2. Page 151.

A [526] Footraces and wrestling according to special rules are unknown, however, among the Meau and Akha in Thailand.

A 526 Among the Akha competitive games are scarcely practiced. Only once did I watch a shooting match with crossbows among them; on the other hand, fighting without any rules is generally widespread.

M 524 /68/ Guessing games are little practiced among the Meau and are completely absent among the Akha.

A [524] tsă mĭ sŭ is one of the few Meau guessing games. In it a child takes, let us say, a lamp in his hand and asks another, who must not look: "What is this? It is a rider on horseback without feet or eyes and yet able to see?" The answer runs: "It is a light on your arm; it has no eyes or feet, but reaches into every corner."

tū is another guessing game. Grain, copper, and a coin are placed next to a child who does not look. He must now guess what the object is.

A M 524 I did not find any humorous riddle games /Scherzspiele/, teasing games /Neckspiele/, or war games. It is strange, too, that among both peoples string games, which otherwise are widespread throughout the world, are completely absent. Aside from the aforementioned shooting matches and footraces of the Meau, there are no other sporting games, even in rudimentary form, nor games that would point toward sadistic or masochistic tendencies.

A M 524 526 157 It is striking that many games of these mountain peoples of Farther India are absolutely identical with the games of the children of fully civilized European peoples /europäischen Vollkulturvölker/. This is all the more remarkable since there

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Akha A04
Miao AE5

/68 cont./

A M 524 526 171 is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can there be any thought of influences coming from Europe. Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the frequent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect a common origin.

A M 541 171 [525] There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are sometimes arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks, as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples. Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these fights.

A M 857 561 [252] Children begin to perform work at the age of four among both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect firewood (Ill. 38), which they carry home in their own small wood /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields, carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93), and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers, a particularly important task in a country where there is neither mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys, both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having complained about work that was too hard.

A M 857 561 461 Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games, there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[See cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]
[" " ", p 643- "]

39: Bernatzik--109 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 72 and 73/

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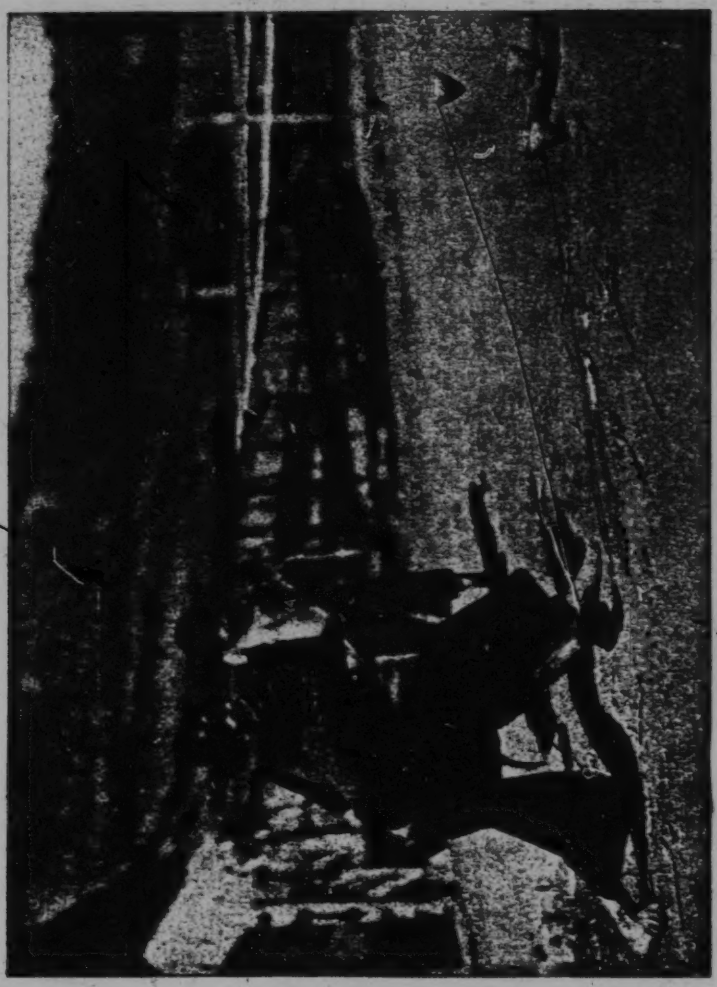

Ill. 19. The players in turn throw their tops at a definite target.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chin ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[525] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

776 551 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo [754] ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less fromless.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/68 cont./

A M 524 526 171 is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can there be any thought of influences coming from Europe. Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the frequent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect a common origin.

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[See cat. 116, p 272 - ANALYST]
[" " ", p 643 - "]

/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
773 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
775 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

/202/

CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is [181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example, [526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu [534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in [292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a [782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments [656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened [186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey [184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
526 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
[177] same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[411] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
773 swing:
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

2:Ling & Ruey--354 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/237/

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Illus. 119. Tilting among the Miao.

2:Ling & Ruey--355 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/238/

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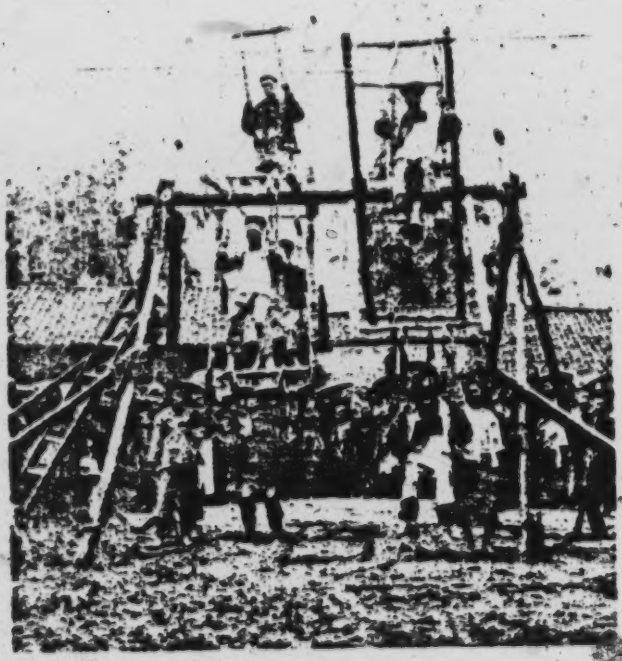

Illus. 120. Swinging among the Miao.

/239 cont./

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Shouting, he made known his invitation.
A maid from the Sleeping Tiger Mountain,
Came to ride on the eight-men swing.
She was loved by all present.
Soon, a go-between was found —
Man and wife were joined together for a
hundred years.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors

837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gū leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

●526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

/61 cont./

A M 857 532 In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67).[1] I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

A M 526 [533] There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

M 526 628 584 the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such, I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [See cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

/62 cont./

M 526 628 584 with the New Year's Festival (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"). The young people, however, find this all the more reason to train diligently throughout the year.

M 526 584 The special popularity of the ball game is connected with the fact that it affords an opportunity for sexual approach in accordance with the rules of the game as set up by the adults. The young men form a line opposite the girls, and each fellow plays with the girl opposite him. A cloth ball about the size of a fist (Fig. 1) is thrown by a player to his female partner, and she has to catch it and throw it back (Ill. 69, 70).[2] If one does not /63/ succeed in catching the ball, a piece of clothing that is being worn must be given to the thrower. One can imagine that under these circumstances certain amusing complications are unavoidable if the game continues for some time. /Figs. 1-5 appear here./ One can often see a player fleeing almost naked into a house amidst the laughter of the spectators and then, clothed anew, continue the game.

M 526 ndī is the name for the Meau game with the shuttlecock, an original form of tennis (Ill. 72).[2] The ball (Fig. 2) consists of a small bamboo body (A) with feathers (B) fastened to it. The paddles are carved out of wood and are similar to our table-tennis paddles (Fig. 3 to Fig. 5). As in tennis, two or four players face each other; the two sides take their positions in the same way and try to bat the ball over a line drawn on the ground, which replaces the tennis net, to the opposing player. The following game also belongs to this group of games. The children toss pieces of wood into the air. As the pieces fall, they are immediately batted up into the air again with bats. The one who most frequently makes a success hit is the winner.

M 524 A [524] Among the Meau tǒlū is the name of the game with the wooden top (Fig. 6), which the Akha call tsǎ. The top /Fig. 6 appears here/ is no different from the one used by our European children (Ill. 19[3] and Fig. 6). Unlike the shuttlecock

[2] [See cat 116, p 512 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 514 - "]
[3] [" " " p 109 - "]

39: Bernatzik--97 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

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Figs. 1-5. Various playthings of the Meau. Fig. 1, cloth ball, 1/6 nat. size.

Fig. 2, shuttlecock; A = wooden body, 1/5 nat. size; B = chicken feathers.

Fig. 3-5, wooden paddles for the shuttlecock game, about 1/22 nat. size.

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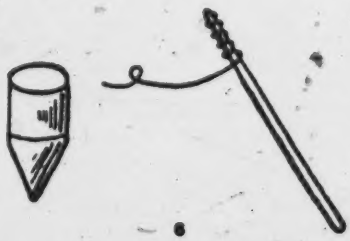

Fig. 6. Wooden top of the Meau and Akha, with whip. 1/7 nat. size.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/63 cont./

A M 524 game, it is played exclusively by men or boys. The original meaning of this game has been lost. Among the Lahu, however, where it has been preserved in thesame form, it is regarded as sacral, and the men play it beeause they /64/ believe that it gives the spirits special pleasure. Usually two boys or men participate in the top-game, one of whom throws his top with full force on a certain place, and the second tries not only to hit the top of the first player with his own and throw it off A M its course, but also to put his top in the place of the first one. [273] If he succeeds, the first player has to give something; among men this is usually a glass of liquor. Then they begin anew in reverse order. On rare occasions several players participate. In this case, the third player throws his top at that of the first player, if it has not already been thrown off course by the second player, otherwise at the one of the latter player, and so forth, until all have thrown their tops. The loser always has to give something to the winner. Thus, if the second player has succeeded in throwing the top of the first player off course, but then he himself is thrown off by the third player, the first must pay his obolus to the second, and the latter to the third.

M The following games are usually played by groups of children from eight to twelve years of age.
● 526

nă nǫ̆ nan tū is a game of the Meau children. They form a chain by joining hands. The leader of the chain now tries to catch the last member. If he succeeds, the captured child goes to the head of the row, and the game is continued. When only one child is left at the "tail" of the chain, he crouches down on all fours and puts three stones under him. The other children now try to take away these "eggs" which he has "layed." The first child must defend himself by dealing out kicks and blows in all directions. Each child who succeeds in seizing an "egg" is permitted to "lay his three eggs," and thus the game goes on.

M nto tsă is a Meau game which is also a favorite among
524 our boys. The children throw round pebbles at a small pit. The one who succeeds in hitting it gets the pebbles of his less skillful predecessors.

/64 cont./

M 526 A [526] bǔ kǔm mǒǎ of the Meau is none other than our game of hide-and-seek. One child closes his eyes while the others hide. The one who /65/ is found first must close his eyes next. The Akha children also like this game.

The Meau girls are very fond of a circle game (Ill. 71),[1] in which the girls hold hands and whirl about in a circle.

Scott (1) has observed another game. Two girls put their

1. II, p. 275.

feet against each other, hold hands, lean way back, and whirl around rapidly in a circle, as in our "Tellerreiben."

A M 526 A swing-game that I found among the Akha is described in the same way by Abadie (2) for the Meau, among whom I

2. Page 169.

did not find this game: "The Meau children often /Fig. 7 appears here/ play with the rotating swing." He adds that the M [177] Meau probably adopted this game from the Chinese, an opinion to which I do not subscribe.

A 526 The swing of the Akha is constructed somewhat differently from the one used by us. The board is pierced, and drawn through the hole and fastened, there is a rope or usually a twisted liana, which leads between the legs of the person swinging to a branch or any crossbeam to which the swing is fastened. Moreover, one does not swing to and fro, but twists around his own axis. Then he lets himself unwind in the opposite direction until the rope has resumed its natural position. "Our" swing, too, however, is found among the Akha. A rope or rattan is tied at both ends to a fence or a tree and forms the seat (Fig. 7).

Among the Akha, šeń tǒ ní is the name of the game that we call blindman's buff, and it is played according to exactly the same rules as among us.

1 [see cat. 116, p 513 - ANALYST]

/66 cont./

A 526 bóytsĕŭ is likewise a game of the Akha. Strips of bamboo are placed in a row upon the ground, thus dividing the area. On either side of the bamboo line a group of players, equal in number, take their positions. The point is to seize the head of the opponent, which the person attacked naturally tries to prevent by quickly turning and ducking. The winner is the one who finally succeeds in seizing the head of his opponent.

ŏkŏbĭŏ is the Akha name for a game in which a boy throws his cap at the playmates running past him, who try to dodge. /67/ The one who is nevertheless hit must take the place of the first thrower.

tsăytsăy is another Akha game. Bamboo strips are used to form a circle in which the players stay, except for one. This one runs around outside the circle and tries to hit someone in the group. As soon as a player is hit, the two exchange places, and the game starts anew.

dăkŏyŭă is an Akha game. A small pile of wood is heaped up, which a watchman with a stick in his hand must guard. The "robbers," however, come from all sides and attempt to steal the wood from the one who is trying to defend it. He kicks and strikes out and sometimes plants proper blows. Nevertheless, he cannot prevent the theft, and the winner is the one who succeeds in getting the last piece of wood.

pătsĕtsŏ is a gentler Akha game. The children form a row, each child hooks one leg into one of the child in front of him, and then they hop around in a circle (Ill. 21).

M 526 Competitive games and the determination to achieve record performances are familiar to the children of the Meau, very much in contrast to primitive peoples. For example, they know and like footraces and shooting matches with their little guns (Ill. 78) or the crossbow (Ill. 79) (see also the chapter, "Weapons"). To be sure, these are games played mostly, the M [868] shooting matches exclusively, by boys, who have already mastered the use of the weapons at the age of eight. In Tonkin competitive games seem to be even more widespread among the Meau. Lajonquière (1) reports that the Meau

1. II, p. 315.

[See cat. 116, P576 - ANALYST]

/67 cont./

M 526 "pride themselves on exhibiting their physical superiority by frequently wrestling or by comparing skill and strength in the execution of a task or the swiftness and strength of their calves in climbing difficult paths. . . ," observations that Abadie (2) repeats.

2. Page 151.

A [526] Footraces and wrestling according to special rules are unknown, however, among the Meau and Akha in Thailand.

A 526 Among the Akha competitive games are scarcely practiced. Only once did I watch a shooting match with crossbows among them; on the other hand, fighting without any rules is generally widespread.

M 524 /68/ Guessing games are little practiced among the Meau and are completely absent among the Akha.

A [524] tsă mĭ sŭ is one of the few Meau guessing games. In it a child takes, let us say, a lamp in his hand and asks another, who must not look: "What is this? It is a rider on horseback without feet or eyes and yet able to see?" The answer runs: "It is a light on your arm; it has no eyes or feet, but reaches into every corner."

tŭ is another guessing game. Grain, copper, and a coin are placed next to a child who does not look. He must now guess what the object is.

A M 524 I did not find any humorous riddle games /Scherzspiele/, teasing games /Neckspiele/, or war games. It is strange, too, that among both peoples string games, which otherwise are widespread throughout the world, are completely absent. Aside from the aforementioned shooting matches and footraces of the Meau, there are no other sporting games, even in rudimentary form, nor games that would point toward sadistic or masochistic tendencies.

A M 526 157

It is striking that many games of these mountain peoples of Farther India are absolutely identical with the games of the children of fully civilized European peoples /europäischen Vollkulturvölker/. This is all the more remarkable since there

A M 524 526 171

/68 cont./

A is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can
M there be any thought of influences coming from Europe.
524 Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the fre-
526 quent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect
171 a common origin.

There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha
A and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are some-
M times arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks,
541 as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples.
171 Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often
[525] lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights betwe[illegible]
crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring
Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these
fights.

A Children begin to perform work at the age of four among
M both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect fire-
857 wood (Ill. 38),[1] which they carry home in their own small wood
561 /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields,
[252] carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93),[2]
and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour
the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend
the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard
A the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers,
M a particularly important task in a country where there is neither
[203] mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the
latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest
help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned
to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the
exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys,
both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are
always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud
of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having
complained about work that was too hard.

A Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games,
M there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but
857 rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing
561 children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in
461 the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

1 [See cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 643- "]

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered
at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order
to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken
up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70), ¹ flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and
often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the
dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about
tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a
Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been
to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's
festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over,
he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
● 526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house
and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys
on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever
fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a
turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his
belongings."

¹ [see cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782] New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
[769] voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
[526] munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
[241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
[776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

142
291
526

Miao AES

/Between pp. 378 and 379/

Ill. 69. Meau girls toss the cloth ball to boys from the neighboring village.

Ill. 70. A person who does not catch the ball must give up an article of clothing as a forfeit.

39: Bernatzik--513 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 378 and 379/

291
526

Ill. 71. Meau girls playing the circle game.

39: Bernatzik--514 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 379/

142
526

Ill. 72. Game with shuttlecock and wooden bat among the Meau.

39: Bernatzik--724 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.

/34 cont'd/

622 whether there was also a property qualification. It is a fact, however, that the present chia-ch'ang, successors of the former shan-chia, all appear to be better off than the ordinary Miao people. Shan-chia is the keeper of knowledge for the Miao people. In his home he keeps the almanac, the Confucian classics, and other kinds of books. The public affairs of the village are under his direction and are all decided upon by him.

[527 787] According to an old Miao custom, on the eve of the New Year, the entire population of the village usually gathered in the shan-chia's home to present him with jars of wines and to offer congratulations. They sang and asked the shan-chia about things of the coming year. From his experience and greater learning, the shan-chia would answer them one by one. The song that they sang was called "The Old Villager," the words of which are as follows:

539 Creating the heaven, creating the earth—Emperor P'an has done;
He made the rites followed by later men.
In accord with the rites, dinner is served for two;
A bare table would trouble the venerable official.
The first cup, we offer to him to drink,
After the second and third cups, the sands turn to gold.*
Thousands of cups are for all the stars to drink,
So that the venerable tree /uncl[illegible] sitting at the table
may not be bored!
The golden/?/* cup is now respectfully put on the table,
Like a moon among the stars in the sky.
As two rows of stars now line the hall,
Also hope that the sun, standing above all the rest, will
protect them.
In P'eng-cheng hall, all the stars are now sitting,
Without rest, without settling down, they await the
difficulties of the coming spring.
Virtue spreads out to all the stars,
May the country be prosperous and the people be secure for
ever!

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [263] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and 262 have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 252 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [415] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 171 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 4. Festivals and Sports

527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered [788] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/135 cont'd/

554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
● 527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village
164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

000 /We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

●527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front,
262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival,
574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica,
[291] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but
000 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers
585 assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

●527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

/138 cont'd/

Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

● 527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

464 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[193] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[136] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

/19 cont./

M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
M 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[556] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they
[527] hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

*M 101 CC 563 /20 cont./
in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat M [167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is [462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also [517] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

[533] (14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in [167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, [291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and [583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's [577] family/.

[584] (15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei- [167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing- [782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also [574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices [291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps [302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair [167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads [291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very ● [527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices [782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer [769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, [776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there [531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered [386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

(18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[534] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
[167] Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
M Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
648 and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
175 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
CC calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
175 Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
563 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
669 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts, and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/ to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble, and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563

(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
526 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[177] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
[411] of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
773 swing:
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed. 292

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family. 241

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*. For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children. 805 996 241 527

*See p. 50.

805 796 527 541 The girls sat about two or three fires between the group of grave mounds and a bamboo thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[8] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

[764]

805 241 243 As soon as the first month was over (the middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made. 243 [252]

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more. 241

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain. 241 512

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"[7] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the 527

[7] These weigh twenty-four *ellis* (: pounds), or 32 pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

year began. During this period there was time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The technique of farming was identical with that of Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

[35b]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miso AE5

RITES OF INTENSIFICATION[1]

CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS

796 527 **The Lunar New Year.** Preparations for the period of leisure and festivity of which the lunar New Year was the central point began soon after the rice harvest. Glutinous rice cakes, some stuffed with beans, some made of the black rice, some colored red, but almost all white, rice wine, bean curd, pork in various forms, and sometimes beef had to be made ready not only for the feasts of the first month, but also for weddings, bullfights, and all occasions known as "invitations to drink wine." Of the weddings I saw or knew about all took place between the sixth of the tenth month and the eighteenth of the second month. Bullfights took place on the second day of the second month and in the eighth and ninth months.

They had to bring in a large supply of fuel, also, not only for the first fifteen days of the first month, at least, when as little work was done as possible, but also for the large amount of cooking involved in the making of these special foods. As many had new clothes as could afford them. This called for the dyeing of pieces of white cloth to a very dark blue, the cutting and making of garments, the embroidering of aprons and overpieces, the weaving of belts, and the making of pads for the babies. Clothing and bedding were washed wholesale so that no one need think of that for two or three weeks after the New Year. The whole village was put in order.

796 252 527 For the glutinous rice cakes the hulled rice was boiled to a stiff paste, which was then put into a large stone mortar and pounded with large, wooden mallets on long handles until it was of the right consistency to shape. If beans were to be put inside, they were boiled with herbs or ginger and salt to season them and the paste wrapped around them. Some liked a thin shell of paste, some a thicker one. For the pounding of the paste two strong men were needed; women did the rest. Freshly made cakes could be eaten as they were, for

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 the cooking and pounding heated them and
252 they had not yet become stiff and hard. At
527 this stage they were also good cut in pieces and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest the air dry them out too much they were kept in large jars full of water. When they formed the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable mixed with much red chillie was eaten with the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice were greatly prized because not much of this grain was raised and it was sweeter than the white. Red ones were liked because red is the color of joy.

796 One morning I went into the kitchen and
273 found the old man's first wife and the second
527 nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden cask with no top or bottom had been set, large end down, in one of the large kettles over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the old lady's task to keep just the right fire going under it. Sawdust was packed around the lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam. From a hole in one side of the cask ran a length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This equipment was owned by this household and borrowed by others when there was occasion to make a large supply. New wine was sweet and had some rice in it. Later it became sour or strong of alcohol.

796 Bean curd was made as follows: The soy
252 beans and water were dipped with a small
527 wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in the upper of two millstones set on a wooden frame at a convenient height. From between the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

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anything added to cause it to curdle. The mill was turned in one of two ways: Either a wooden handle stuck up beside the upper millstone so that one operator had to lean over to turn it, or a curved beam rose from the rod in the side of this stone and had a handle at right angles to it, supported by a rope from the beam above. One or two persons pushed and pulled this around. I helped when they were making bean curd at the time of the second old lady's funeral. A hot fire of straw and grass was kept burning beneath one of the large bowls. Into it the operator of the mill poured the contents of the buckets of bean milk until it was full. When the milk had boiled up it was poured into a wicker tray or scoop with a cloth in it, set over a wooden cask. When the whey had gone through, hastened by some pressure on the cloth, the cloth was laid on a flat board and the curd cut into squares.

The killing of the New Year pig was the occasion of an offering to the household gods and a feast in which all the dishes contained pork. In our family it was killed a week before New Year's Day. The old man's brother from Yang-niu-ts'un and his son, who went to school in Lung-li, the old man from House 33, and his sons helped. When I arrived a small table was set on the steps before the door. In the center of it was a *sheng* measure of rice with lighted incense sticks set in it, and at each corner a rice bowl containing (1) wine, (2) bean curd, (3) chillies, and (4) salt. To one corner of the table were fastened two long bamboo poles, both of which had some strips of white paper and leaves at the top. One was split finely to make a holder in which a bowl was set. The pig killed was a large one, worth well over a thousand Chinese dollars. The blood had been allowed to drip into a tub, after which the carcass had been put on a wooden frame, and the bristles scraped off. The entrails had been taken out and were being washed. The animal had been cut squarely in two from snout to tail. The two parts of the pig were taken into the hall and set on boards on the floor. They were then weighed and the women took pieces to make the dishes of the feast. The one I attended was of the following dishes: pig's blood broth, carrots and pork, celery and pork, and a soup

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of fat and lean pork, with a seasoning of chillies. All but the old man drank wine. I was invited to eat with the men and boys. The other women ate in the hall. After the feast the pig was cut up and the relatives went home with a big piece of it and two bunches of carrots. They gave me a piece of lean and a piece of fat.

796 252 527

The next day there was mist everywhere and it became colder and colder until there was ice all over the mountains, bending the bamboo down to the ground. It was thick enough on rice fields so that the children cut slabs of it and carried them about. There was also some snow. This weather pleased the people very much. They said it meant that the crops would be good this year. Mo-mei spent most of these days making a new long garment for her oldest cousin as she sat by my fire. Some of the other girls were there one day, and on another, one of the women from House 11 came.

796 527

The oldest nephew, Cheng-hsüan, and the son Cheng-hsiang spent most of the last day of the twelfth month writing appropriate New Year inscriptions in black on red or orange, and in white on blue paper. They got these formulae from a book of them. These strips of paper were pasted on the door frames and window frames, top and both sides. Red or orange indicated that the family was not in mourning, blue or white that it was. Those on blue paper Cheng-hsüan sent to his old home in Yang-niu-ts'un, as his mother had died during the year. (Cause of death: heart disease with edema.) That evening a feast was held in the big house at which the dishes were of pork — several of them — "long life noodles," bean curd, and a kind of spoon bread with egg in it. There were piles and piles of glutinous rice cakes laid out in the hall, and two young men were pounding more of the paste in a mortar. Some of the cakes had beans in them. I had given the family a large roll of firecrackers, half of which they set off at this time. The small boys scrambled for the paper cases. Incense sticks were set in at one side of the door sills of both the "new" and the "old" houses and the gate into the court.

The next morning they set off the rest of the roll of firecrackers and all had a special

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
252 pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
[124] then other things in turn. I sat until noon
with the old man and his second wife and
527 found them very ready to answer questions
about family history. The conversation led
into that channel in an interesting way. The
old man had been reading about Roosevelt in
the newspaper and asked me questions, being
most desirous of knowing whether there were
many people named Lo in the United States.
(The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and
he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo
his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
527 lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual
place, but they had no visitors as yet. During
the day children went around from house to
house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground.
They were given sunflower seeds and parched
beans and peas. That evening the family had
another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
fires in the houses, the women about several
533 fires at certain points in the village and just
527 inside the wood. The same women usually
composed each group, but now and then one
would visit a group not her own. The girls
now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell
Miao boys from other villages came each day.
There was much playing on bamboo flutes
which seemed to call for a certain tune. They
sang such songs as the farewell to the bride
a great deal and made up more words for it.
One of the young men wrote out for me the
song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered
overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'
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[2] See p. 8.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

527 796 292 123 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 574 527 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 796 527 **San Yüeh San.**[3] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[3] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine. 796 782

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village. 527

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter. 796 527 769

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves – roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5–17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking. 796 527 769

Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.[5] This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice — yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn. 796 527

Tuan Yang.[6] In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21–June 4.)

[6] The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Lung Hui.[7] For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

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Bullfights (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.[8] The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, *f*). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

[7] "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*. 796 782

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example. 796 782 252 [562]

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health. 796 782 527

[796]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be
782 preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always
have ten or more pair put away. After an old per-
527 son in the family dies all the families who have
them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set
it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

[80a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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luck until after burial, when it is put away. After the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This sign then can be observed from a great distance.

[80b]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

who are not Christians do not pray to or worship 771
any Supreme Being.

This is the more remarkable as they have 773
the story of a Creation. The Heh Miao say Vang-vai made heaven and earth, and Zie-ne made other things, but they never worship Vang-vai or Zie-ne. The Hua Miao say that in the beginning there was no heaven and earth. There was a man named Gloe-an, and his wife Ngo-a, and these had two sons. The elder, beating about with a brass hammer, made forty-eight heavens, or a heaven in forty-eight parts. The younger son, with an iron hammer, beat about and made earth in forty-eight compartments. We never heard of them worshipping these persons.

All the Miao have musical festivals once or 796
twice a year, now in one part of the country 527
and now in another. If asked why they hold these festivals, they say that if they failed to do so their harvests would be bad; and yet they do not profess to understand how the harvests are influenced by this custom. If ever there was a religious element in their musical festivals, there does not seem to be anything religious about them now. As at present conducted they are fêtes, attended by the people from all the countryside, at which there is not

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

796 only music but also pony-running and buffalo
•527 fights. These fêtes are great occasions for social intercourse among the old folk and for courting among the young. A young man once remarked to a missionary, "If I do not go to the festivals I shall never get a wife." Scores and hundreds of girls are to be seen there in all the glory of richly-embroidered clothes and heavy silver ornaments, and just as many young men in their finery.

534 The musical instrument they play at these festivals they call *Ki*, and the Chinese call it *Lu sen* or "six tones." They are made of bamboo pipes, sometimes six being let into a piece of wood like a hollow club, the handle of which is the mouth-piece. The noise—perhaps we ought to say sound—is produced by a brass tongue attached to a small metal frame (such as are used in concertinas and harmoniums) let into the bamboo tube, one in each of them. The sound is something like the sound of the bagpipes. They are made in sets of different sizes, the smallest having pipes about three feet long, and the largest with pipes twelve or fourteen feet long. The lower end of the large pipes is put into a drum or cylinder three or four feet long, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree. These large reeds give forth a very creepy

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
● [527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[180 cont.]

796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] [593] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

[195 cont.]

517 According to our investigations the Miao-I at An-shun have many
535 kinds of recreation, of which the most important are the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance, the "kan-piao," singing and playing musical instruments. These are discussed separately as follows.

535 (I) The Flower Dance. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao
527 in the An-shun area hold flower dances every year. This is an important collective recreation of the Miao during the farming holidays. We have asked the Miao people about the purpose of the flower dance. Their answer is that when Lord Hsüan of the Wei state in the Chou Dynasty built a new terrace to flirt with the woman of Ch'i, he inaugurated the flower dance for the Miao. The method of the flower dance is said to have been created by Yang-lu (considered the original ancestor of the Hua Miao). A local proverb has it that "if the Miao do not flower-dance, the grains will not sprout." The superstition that the flower dance can bring about a prosperous harvest is the result of a low-cultured tradition. All the Miao people believe in it wholeheartedly today as they did of old.

Among the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao, the time of the flower dance is generally in the first month of the lunar year, the dates varying slightly with different flower slopes (that is, the places where they dance), and depending upon the time when such places were first established. But once fixed, they cannot be changed later. According to our investigation, the locations for the dance are usually the most populated areas. There are altogether seven dancing slopes within the An-shun area, five for the Hua Miao and two for the Ch'ing Miao. The locations and the dates are listed below in the following table:

[196]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
East Gate Hamlet outside East Gate	First month: 7th, 8th, 9th	Hua Miao
Upper Village outside South Gate	First month: 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th	Ch'ing Miao

[196 cont.]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
527 Flower Dance Hill 535 Outside North Gate	First month, 4th, 5th, 6th	Hua Miao
[?] -chou in the Third District	First month: 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th	Ch'ing Miao
Chiang-chia-Ma-lung in the Fourth District	First month: 6th	Hua Miao
Ping-chai in the Fourth District	First month: 8th	Hua Miao
Chung-yü-shan in the Fourth District	First month: 10th	Hua Miao

Among the above locations the dancing areas at the Flower Dance Hill belonging to the Hua Miao and the Upper Village belonging to the Ch'ing Miao are the largest. The dates set for such occasions are not subject to change, wind or rain notwithstanding. On the day of the dance all the community, without regard to wealth, age or sex, go to the appointed place in groups. The festivity of the occasion can well be imagined. The following is a detailed description of the flower dance.

A. The Method of the Flower Dance. 1) The Flower Slope
527 and the Flower Tree. When the Miao perform the flower dance
535 they use the flower slope and the flower tree. The flower slope
842 is the place where they dance, also called the "Hua-ch'ang" [flower yard], located on a hill in the neighborhood of a village, or half-way up a hill, or on level ground. The owner of the land where the dance takes place is known as the "flower host," generally a very influential person of the area. The land chosen for the flower slope has a quality of permanency. Before the flower dance is held, the slope is decorated with a tree of about a dozen feet in height, known as the "flower tree." One day before the event the flower host, blowing a trumpet, would welcome the tree to the flower slope, preferably a tree with green branches and leaves on the top. It is best when the tree is stolen from

[196 cont.]

535 somebody else's land and duly cursed by him. The flower trees in
527 the various flower slopes are changed either once a year or [197]
842 once every few years, depending upon whether some family would receive the tree after the dance. If a childless couple in the Miao village near the flower slope should give a feast for the guests to receive the tree into their home, the host would be happy to have the tree removed. The following year a new flower tree would be found for the slope. At the same time the family receiving the tree would make its timber into a bed. When the childless couple sleep in this bed they would become fertile and produce a son.

535 2) Participants. When a certain area holds a flower dance,
527 men and women, old and young, from all the villages nearby would come in bands. Young men and women would carry bundles on their backs, and on approaching the flower slope the men would open them and change into new clothes and nailed boots, with short flutes dangling around the waist, and leather or wooden bags hanging behind. As headgear they use pheasant
[301] feathers adorned with strips of colored cloth streaming in the air. They carry in their hands five-pipe or six-pipe bamboo-wind instruments [lu-sheng]. The women also change into new clothes,
[292] new skirts and jackets of bright patterns. The Chinese merchants of the area would establish stalls to sell candies, fruits and toys. Arriving at the flower slope the men would surround the flower tree in a circle, dancing as they move along and playing the bamboo-wind instruments. Listening to the music, the dancers would make noise by stamping their nailed shoes on the ground as they dance along in a rhythmic din. After circling a few times, the paired dancers fall into line, making the steps now left, now right, and now making a break as they follow the cadence of the music. First the men play bamboo wind instruments and later the women play mouth organs. The crowd dances around the tree a few times or as many as a dozen times. Outside the slope still others would play clarinets [so-na, a type of clarinet], bamboo wind instruments, and flutes, forming bands by themselves. The women often form groups of their own. Some

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
[648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

[198 cont.]

535 go-between to arrange the match. Therefore, young men and
527 women everywhere try to make as many new clothes as possible
584 to be worn on this occasion. The dancers sometimes change their clothes a few times a day. In short, the custom of the flower dance has prevailed for a long time. Some dance with the hope of acquiring children while others, among the illusive shadows and to the tune of scintillating music, look secretly but intently for his or her future mate. For the unmarried men and women the purpose of the flower dance is to seek a partner in life.

535 (II) The Market Dance. The market dance is also an im-
527 portant annual event with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in
443 this area. The dance is similar to the flower dance, except that it does not require a flower tree and that it has no fixed date and place. It is held generally after the transplantation of young rice-plants in the fourth or fifth month, or after the ripening of the crop in the seventh or eighth month. It is held
[202] at the market fair, but the announcement is made at a previous fair by the host (or promoter, who is generally a Chinese) with two men, one beating a gong, and the other balancing a bamboo pole on his shoulder, on which is tied a belt with flower designs. This belt is presented as a souvenir by the girl to the boy when they talk love at the dance. When the two men circle around the fair once the crowd would know that the next one would be a market dance. On that occasion bands of men and women from all parts would come with new clothes as for the flower dance, men playing so-na and lu-sheng, and talking all the way. Arriving at the fair they would perch on the high mounds or stay in the low open ground outside the market place, playing musical instruments and singing songs. Young men and women take this opportunity to meet new friends or [199] renew old acquaintances.
[243] The old people believe that the market dance in the fourth month, when the buckwheat and other grains flower, can encourage the yielding of more crops, and the market dance in the seventh month can bring about firmer and larger seeds. The market dance is known proverbially as the "grain dance," a name which clearly reveals its superstitious origin.

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775].

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli," 774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies 793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so 796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere- [527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo" [157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The [831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The [533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing [535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving 524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

/48/

Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 The day on which a child is born is an important day in
[842] the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

844 Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of
[55C] some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and
[846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not
[178] taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition.

/55 cont./

A 551 [553] In addition to the name which every person receives at the time of admission into the family community, every man is given a second name by his father-in-law after the birth of his first child. Telford (3) /see footnote 3 above/ writes: "He is given part of the father's name."

Among the Akha, too, a definite distinction is made between names for boys and for girls, but unlike the situation among the Meau they do not have any special meaning and are merely names:

Boys' names are: tsǒpá, tsǒnium, tsǒnkō.

Girls' names are: minyu, tsǒpyō, mǐnā.

/56/ c) Children

M 855 [842] The villages of the Meau and even more those of the Akha are teeming with children, which is not surprising in view of the fertility of these peoples. True, the hygienic conditions, especially in the villages of the Meau, are as unfavorable as can be imagined (cf. the chapter, "Medicine"), in striking contrast to the impression given by the well-fed, contented children.

As soon as the little ones begin to crawl and to walk and thus come in contact with soil, dust, and soot, they are permanently covered with a thick crust of dirt, so that their true skin color is no longer recognizable. Their little noses run, their hair is unkempt and dirty, the remains of food stick M [515] [291] to their little fingers -- but all this does not prompt the mother to wash the child. Meau children are usually clothed only in faded rags which once were part of the clothing of adults (Ill. 67 and 68).[1] Even the articles of clothing made especially for the child, however, are soon entirely in a state of neglect due to the liveliness of the children and the complete lack of repair and scarcely fulfill the purpose of covering the body. Only a M festive day provides an occasion for every child to have new [291] clothing, to be washed, and to be combed, but this only happens [527]

[1] [see cat. 116, p511- ANALYST]

/56 cont./

M 855 [515] [527] a few times during the year. Even the older children are not brought up to be clean and orderly. It is not until the beginning of puberty that they develop a natural desire to keep themselves clean and to dress properly.

A 855 [515] [296] In the villages of the Akha, on the other hand, the children give the impression of being better cared for. They are washed once a day, in the morning or in the evening, and their clothes are also washed and kept in order. Moreover, the children of the Akha are lovingly adorned (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") and are a very charming sight (Ill. 7).

A M 853 Definite nursing hours are unknown among both tribes. The small baby is fed as soon as it cries, and since the children are as a rule healthy, they usually cry only when they are hungry or tired. Then the mother lifts the child up, puts it in a nursing position, with its back on her arm, and gives it her breast. When it is satisfied, /Ills. 14-17 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /57/ it is fastened again with a carrying cloth to her back, and, if it does not fall asleep immediately, the mother sings it to sleep.

A M 854 The child-carriers (Colored Pl. II, No. 11)[1] are the universe in the lives of babies. They are tied on the back constantly until they are able to crawl, and they are taken out for a short time only to be fed. Otherwise the baby, fastened in its carrier, accompanies the mother while she works in the fields, watches her do the housework (Ill. 66)[2] and is even taken along to a dance. Among the Akha I often saw young widows, with their children fastened in the carrier, dancing on the dance ground and disappearing into the forest with young chaps.

The small baby soon learns to raise himself up in the carrier and, like a little monkey, to cling fast to the mother's neck. Not only the smallest ones are carried about in this manner, however; even children three to five years old are often placed on the back of the mother or the father, either because they have grown tired on the march or because their small legs are unable to master the difficult terrain.

A M [855]

[1] [See cat. 1[illegible], p 240 - ANALYST]
[2] [See cat. 116, p472 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A /152 cont./
123 rang out in the distance. As we discovered later, it was fire-
535 works which the Akha had acquired from the Chinese. Mean-
[541] while the sound of mouth organs was heard drifting toward us;
[177] the noise grew louder and seemed to come closer, and we were quickly on our feet.

Shortly thereafter the first group of the festive throng arrived. It was several dozen young men, accompanied by a number of boys. In their gala costumes, richly hung with silver (Ill. 12), they posted themselves beside our tent and began to dance, while some of them started a huge fire. The flickering, crackling fire cast eerie shadows, which the blazing flames dispelled, on the figures stamping and leaping to the sound of their mouth organs. Over us arched the firmament with the twinkling tropical starry sky. It was one of the most beautiful and rewarding moments we were privileged to experience on this expedition. After a few hours the fire gradually died down, and the tired dancers returned to their village.

A These dances of the Akha, however, are usually danced
527 following a celebration, occasions that are presented in abundance
[535] because of the special liking of the Akha for celebrations. When the full moon shines at harvest time the sound of the mouth organs and the singing of the beautifully adorned girls with their reddened lips and cheeks resound the whole night through. The
M turn of the year is celebrated among both the Meau and Akha
[527] with festivals that last for days, but other occasions also are often presented for breaking the monotony of /153/ /Ill. 26-29 appear here on unnumbered pages/ work with a festival in honor of the spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Deities and Spirits") or of a distinguished guest. We, too, had the opportunity to participate as guests in several celebrations
A of the Akha along the Doy Tung in northern Thailand. In the
[123] following I shall give the description of one of these celebrations from the entries in my wife's journal:

A "At day a pig is slaughtered. Many men hold the loudly
M squealing animal, while one of them cuts its throat. Whereas
[23] the Meau always see to it that the spirits receive their share,
[782] the Akha do not concern themselves about this in the least. They drive a strong pole into the dead animal at the anus and
A out through the snout. Without any sacrificial ceremony and
[252] [see cat 116, p 37- ANALYST]

[TEXT continues on p214]

Miao AE5

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/431 cont./

805 114 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a [527] division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97). 1 For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at [825] night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up at the third crowing." [221] The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use [824] any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that [825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1 [see dat 116, p 663- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--663 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.490/

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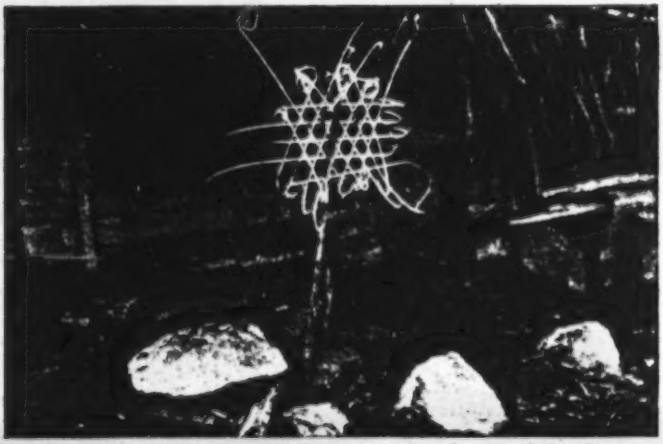

Ill. 97. Sacral sign, which, set up in front of the house door, announces the beginning of a holiday among the Meau.

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Ill. 98. Meau questions the spirits with the help of a stick oracle.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

*M 101 CC 563 M [167] [462] [517] [533] [167] [291] [583] [577] [584] [167] [782] [574] [291] [302] [167] M [291] M [527] [782] [769] [776] M [531] [386]

/20 cont./

in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. ---- Originally they were from Kuei-ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

/77 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
292 at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
[531] and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[764] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

/79/

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Illus. 43. Front view of a long gown of a Miao man of Sung-lin-shao, Meng-tzu, Yunnan. (2)

2:Ling & Ruey--114 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 44. Back view of a long gown of a Miao man of Sung-lin-shao, Meng-tzu, Yunnan. (1)

2:Ling & Ruey--115 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AEt

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Illus. 45. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (1)

Illus. 46. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (2)

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Illus. 48. Gayly dressed Miao women seen at Kao-yen-ho, Yung-sui.
(They had not brought along neck rings, hence they are not wearing any.)

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2:Ling & Ruey--118 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 49. A Kan-ch'eng Miao bride's garment (1).

2:Ling & Ruey--119 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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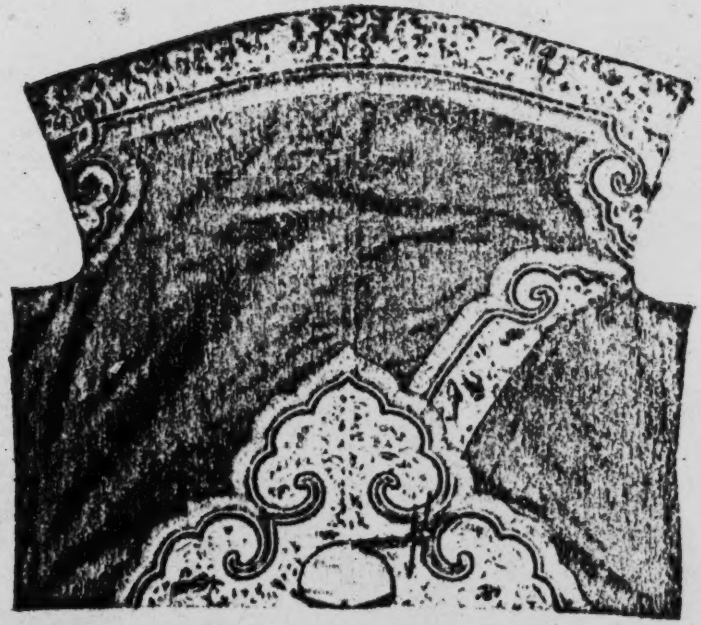

Illus. 50. A Kan-ch'eng Miao bride's garment (2).

2:Ling & Ruey--120 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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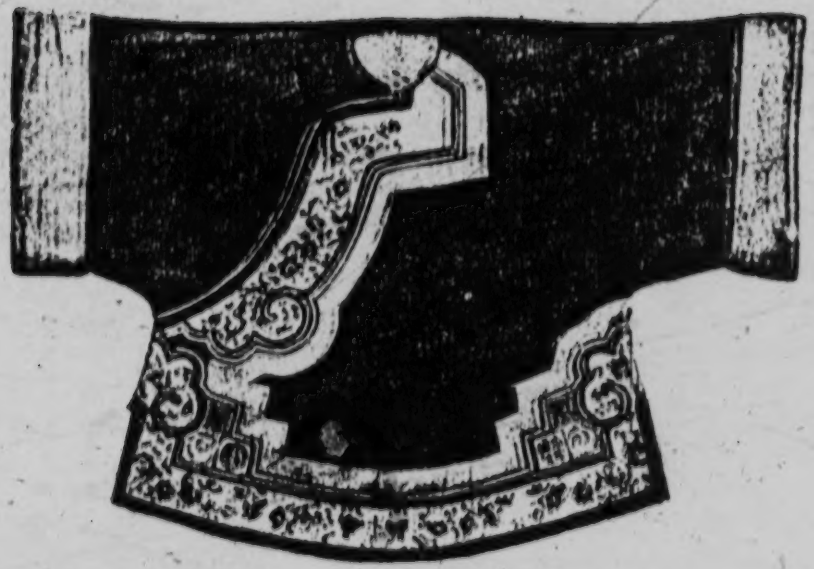

Illus. 51. A Kan-ch'eng bride's garment (3).

2:Ling & Ruey--121 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 52. A Kan-ch'eng Miao woman's vest.

2:Ling & Ruey--125 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

2:Ling & Ruey--126 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 56. Women's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[304] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting, fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men. The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells, and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/135 cont./

*782 wine and cooked rice. In addition meat is sliced, and seven slices strung together to make one string. In all, seven strings of meat are put on a platter. The sorcerer-priest utters an in-
[787] [776] cantation and divines with the chiao and sends off the kuei. This is the sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains.

The tenth part is performed at noon, when two "Five-Flower pillars (1) are set up in an open area, and to each pillar is

1. Five-Flower pillars are made of pine shan wood about 3 chang long, on which
•[531] are carved ornamental designs, which are smeared with red and white colors.

tied a pig. The hind legs of the pigs are bound together with hemp ropes. This rope must have been made by members of the lower generation. Moreover, a cock is tied to a small wooden pillar near the ornate pillars by means of a fine hemp string threaded through the beak. The sorcerer-priest stands under the eaves of the house, wearing a cap and long gown and holding in his hand a
[292] tree branch. The host wears a ceremonial hat and a red rug thrown over his body. He first picks up a bench and places it against one of the Five-Flower pillars, holding in his left hand a double-edged sword and a bamboo splint and flourishing the latter as if he were driving the pigs away. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation to send the pigs away, and after the incense and the paper are burned, the various members of the lower generation come out grasping weapons as in Illus. 61. They bow three times facing the interior of the house and three times facing the outside. Then they kill the pigs and the chicken.

The eleventh part is performed in front of the main house. A bamboo mat is spread on the ground and on it are placed the caps and clothes of the members of the lower generation. Behind the mat there is a bench, on which are placed a bowl of wine and a piece of water-buffalo meat. The sorcerer-priest stands outside
[292] the entrance, wearing a wide rain hat on his head and carrying a
[482] bamboo cage on his back, in which are clothes and other articles.

2: Ling & Ruey--200 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 61. Eating Pigs, C.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

291 way, and pieces are also put on both sides of the coat where it fastens, for a distance of six or seven inches down from the collar. The side seams are open for about eight inches from the bottom of the coat and are edged with red.

291 The skirt is a double piece of the same goods, the fold coming at the bottom, and reaches to the knees. It is tied
531 around the hips with a tape. The skirt is not embroidered, but is elaborately stamped with figures of trees, bamboo, etc., in a distinct pattern. The method of stamping is very ingenious. A small piece of bamboo about eight inches long is whittled to a very narrow width in the centre for a distance of a quarter or an eighth of an inch, and the two ends then brought together and fastened, leaving the narrow piece straight across the bottom. Some beeswax is melted, and the woman dips her bamboo instrument in the wax and puts it quickly on the undyed goods. Dipping, dipping, dipping she puts her pattern on in perfect regularity, without any sort of guide, if she be skilful at it. Then the cloth is dyed, but the dye cannot penetrate the wax, which is later scalded off with boiling water, and the pattern is left, a very faint blue on the dark blue skirt.

The kerchief is embroidered with many symbolic designs. It too is the same dark blue cloth, a piece about fourteen inches square. With lighter blue thread and silk of all colours the cloth is almost covered with cross stitch and other forms of embroidery. The younger women and the girls make their's very gay, the older women not so much so. It is said that a woman working steadily takes a month to finish one kerchief, and a woman who must work too, will often need a year to finish one. So they are not easy to buy, even at the price of one dollar which we always give. The central motif is always worked out on the square as a basis, with the octagon and the isosceles right triangle as the natural variations in the figures. The swastika symbol is used a great deal. Birds, butterflies, silkworm moths, trees, flowers, horses, dogs, dragons, tortoises, Loi children and Hainanese children (two very different figures—and never a figure of a Miao child)—these are some of the symbols I managed to identify. The women speak very little Hainanese and I know no Miao so it was impossible to get all their meanings. The kerchief is worn with one point over the forehead and one down the back of the neck, the other two corners being brought around and tied in a knot at the back of the head. The younger girls wear the same costume as the women with the exception that they usually have pointed hoods, also embroidered, or sometimes hoods with the crown cut out to show the kerchief beneath. The babies wear little

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao 301
women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type 144
from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monoga- [595]
mous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or 854
the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much 462
as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the sun and rain from the child.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

342 symbols for heaven and earth, ☰ and ☱.
353 One house I saw had a festoon of wooden daggers above the door, also. The first two copy Chinese custom and the third resembles a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of An-shun Hsien.

[531]

FIG. 7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, *c*), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

343 **Sanitary Arrangements.** The toilets of
514 the village were open cesspools or the woods and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

352 **Furniture.** In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

[22a]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

of these two most dissimilar dialects are compared, it is easily seen that they are both variations of a common speech. Naturally these variations are most marked in cases where the tribes are most widely separated geographically. But the differences of dialect in tribes which are only thirty or forty miles apart are sometimes very great. In some of these cases it is very often the commonest words which show the greatest changes; for instance, the pronouns, the negatives, and such common words as the verbs "to be" and "to have." This striking difference of speech among people who must at one time have spoken the same language suggests that they have not only been separated geographically, but have also been apart for long periods of time.

The Heh Miao call themselves *mp'eo* or *de mp'eo*. *De* is merely a personal prefix. This word or sound *mp'eo* also means embroidery. The Heh Miao women, and the women of most of the other Miao tribes, wear a good deal of embroidery in their costume. The amount of embroidery on the clothing of a Heh Miao young woman is astonishing. It takes them years to do the embroidery on the jacket and skirt in which they hope to be married, and one of the commonest sights in a Heh Miao village

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

291 is a group of young girls, sitting round the door
531 of one of the houses, laughing and chatting and doing their embroidery. When the costumes are finished, they are worn on gala days before they are married and on festive occasions for years afterwards. I have asked my teacher and others if they call themselves *mp'eo* because of the embroidery their women wear, but none of them was able to say why they call themselves by that name.

101 The Ya-chio Miao of Tatung, who live about one hundred miles distant from the nearest Heh Miao, call themselves *mp'ü*, which is the same word and means " embroidery " also with them. They also were not able to tell me why they are so named. The Hua Miao call themselves *hmung* and *hmung-a-li*. The Shui-hsi Miao and Peh Miao also call themselves *hmung*, and some of the other Miao call themselves *hmao*. Now all these words *mp'ü*, *mp'eo*, *hmao*, *hmung* are doubtless the same word, but whether *hmao* and *hmung* also mean embroidery or not in those dialects we are not at present able to say.

173 As these people have no literature, they can say very little that is trustworthy about their own origin and history. The Heh Miao say they came from Kiangsi province, and that is where the Chinese place the San Miao in the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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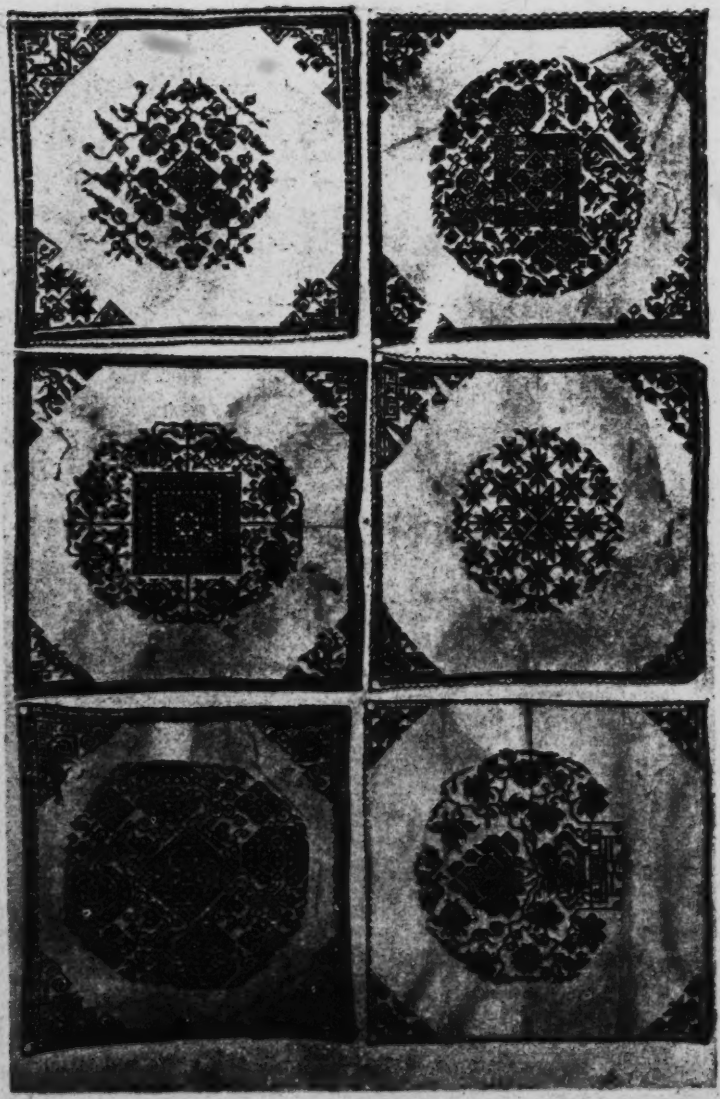

Ch'uan Miao embroidered handkerchiefs, now in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

[facing p. 44]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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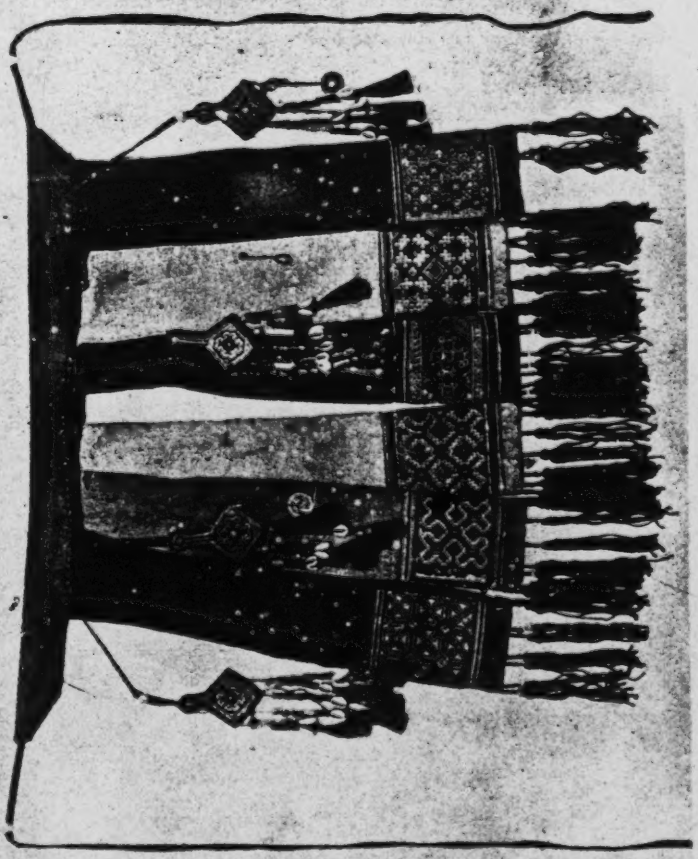

Ch'uan Miao embroidered pendants worn by the women suspended from the belt. In the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

[facing p. 48]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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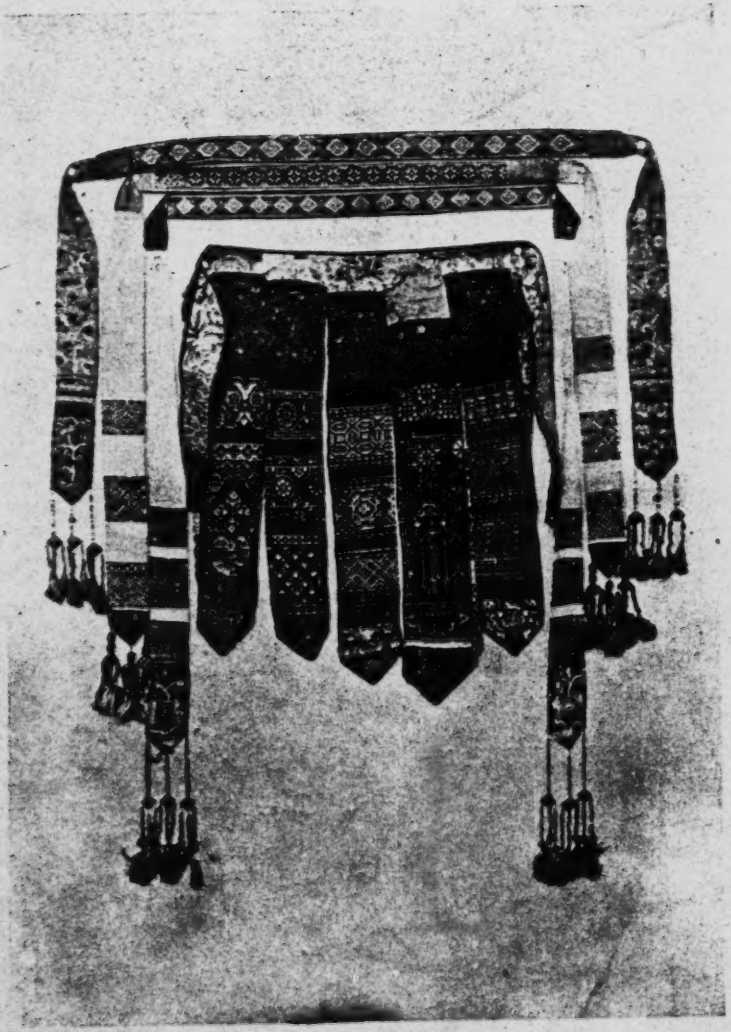

Ch'uan Miao women's embroidered hat bands and pendants worn suspended from the belt. *In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

[facing p. 52]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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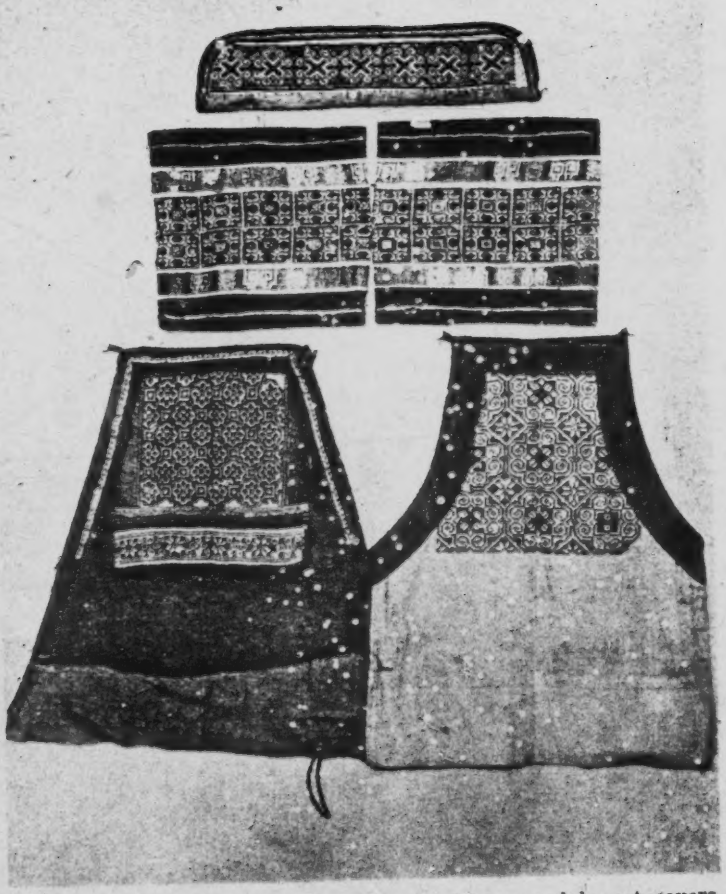

Ch'uan Miao embroidered neckband, sleeves, and breast covers.
In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology

[facing p. 56]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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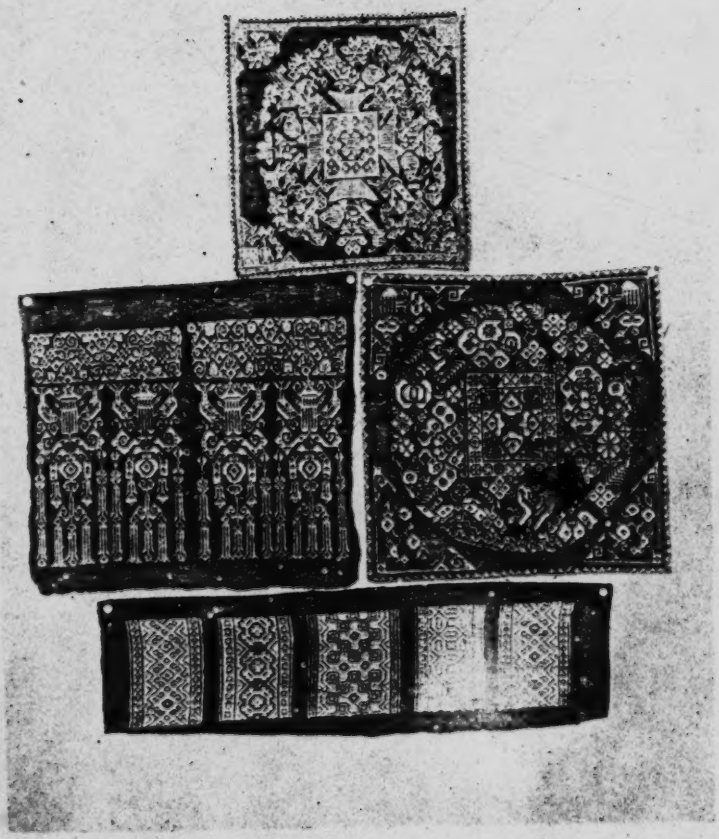

Ch'uan Miao embroidery—a halbard, two handkerchiefs, and an apron cloth—In the *West China Union University Muesum of Archaeology*

[facing p. 60]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

531

A Ch'uan Miao embroidery pattern, a duplicate of which Dr. Carl Schuster has found among the Rumanians.

[facing p. 64]

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron pot or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig, dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 234
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

[154 cont.]

292 When in working clothes, the "Méo" women go barefoot. The "dress" costume includes leggings of white linen, wrapped from ankles to knees, in a fashion often so voluminous that they constitute a real hazard when walking. (Photos 46, Plate 35; 105, Plate 39; 156 and 157, Plate 40; 419, Plate 39.) The ceremonial costume of the "Peu-meo" women is one of the most richly embroidered that we know of. (Photo 46, Plate 35, gives an idea of it, even though this black-and-white photograph cannot show the medley of multicolored embroidery, of such minute and careful workmanship and of such lively colors — reds, blues, greens, yellows)

Here, the jacket, which is of light- or dark-blue material, no longer has the shape of a sailor's collar described above. It is buttoned on the right side, is provided with an upright collar, is closed for three-quarters of its length, and is stiff with embroidery. The lower end of the sleeves carries several circular bands, white, red, blue, and green, without embroidery.

The skirt, of very fine material, light or dark blue, is pleated in a thousand pleats, the bottom very much decorated with designs (secured by marking in accordance with the process indicated for the "Man-tien"), the lower band consisting of a series of red or green rectangles, framed in white.

The most embroidered portions of the holiday dress are the aprons, the belts, and the headdress. Aprons are worn to the number of two or three, placed one on top of the other and hung from the neck by means of braided silk cords. The bottom part is plain and is worn pulled back to the side, so as to display the bottom of the skirt. The upper part is edged with a wide band of embroidery and bears in the center a big embroidered square where all the artistic fantasies of the "Peu-méo" women are given free rein. In addition, [531] all these embroideries are of a fineness and a regularity (rosettes, squares, and lozenges of openwork, flowers, and so on) which many European embroiderers might well envy.

Like the aprons, the belts are several and superimposed. First the wide belt, formed of blue, white, red, and green bands, serving to bind the entire costume (jacket, skirt, and aprons), on top of which is placed as many as five or six very finely embroidered belts, whose ends, which hang down behind the skirt, end in pompons of multicolored silks.

[155 cont.]

Opposite the shoulder, the top of the sleeve has first a circular
291 red band, three or four centimeters in width, followed by a wider
[531] green band, decorated with embroidery (varied rosettes and white lines).

The border of the jacket is furnished with narrow embroidered bands.

The skirt is long. It goes down to the ankles. The central section, at the height of the thighs, bears several horizontal bands (blues, reds, whites, and yellows) likewise decorated with embroidery. The apron, of dark blue, covers the front of the skirt.

The belt is very simple, often of red or green color, merely knotted about the waist, with two little ends which cross over and hang down in front.

The headdress of the "Moung-Cha-Méo" women has no turban.
[302] The hair is rolled in back of the head in a little chignon fastened by a wooden comb.

[156] The "Méo" women wear about the same jewelry as the
301 women of the other groups. Some of their jewelry is very characteristic, however. Thus, the "Peu-Méo" women, in addition to the rings and necklaces of the usual model, wear earrings of a special shape: A silver ring, hung from the lobe of the ear by a hook, holds five or six fine silver chains hanging down to the shoulder, each one carrying small silver plaques on which ornamental embossed designs are represented.

The earrings of the "Hoa-Méo" are yet more characteristic (photos 346, and 37, Plate 36). They are formed of two long silver branches in the shape of interrogation points. One end is fastened in the turban at the back of the head. The other end, furnished
[304] with a terminal button, passes through the earlobe (photo 346) or is attached to the lobe by means of a hook or a ring (photo 37). Sometimes the "Hoa-Méo" women wear earrings which hang down on the breast, which must be a veritable torment for the lobes, pulled about by so heavy a weight (photo 107, Plate 39).

In the description of the costumes, we have spoken only of
291 the working turbans and those used at great ceremonies. There still are turbans intermediate between these two categories, of which

415 [160 cont.]
482 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
[492] often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo" of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women
[854] place on their backs; enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
246 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
317 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
439 against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

155: Abadie--236 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
M100 AE5

[150]
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46. Young "Peu-méo" Engaged Couple in Dress Costume.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/85 cont.

A M 125 532 145

once more what he had represented. In all cases it turned out that the children remembered and repeated their first explanations, in other words, that they recognized what they had drawn.

The boys of both peoples do not draw designs, but figures exclusively; animals, plants, and hunting scenes, besides human representations, are predominant. While the Akha boys reach only a low level of development, it is significantly higher among the Meau. Moreover, there was a surprising similarity in the execution as well as in the choice of subject matter between the drawings of the Meau children and the drawings collected by me from Lapp children of the same age. In the case of the Akha drawings, /86/ however, this similarity was generally absent. In contrast to the Akha, there is furthermore among the Meau a strong factor of individual talent, which differs in the two sexes. The Meau girls are much more gifted than the boys, whereas among the Akha the achievements of the two sexes are fairly equal.

A M 125 531 532 145

As far as the girls are concerned, among the Meau they begin at the age of ten to draw ornamental designs; slightly older children contributed figure drawings and when somewhat older still, drew true to life. Thus, besides the ornamental designs, they also had a very good mastery of figures. Beginning at the age of seventeen figure drawing decreases among almost all the female persons tested among the Meau, and pattern drawing predominates. This is because the girls have a great deal to do with batik, and this work dominates their thinking. Even later, however, they have a technical mastery of figure-representation at a higher level of development, as was proved to me by the example of a woman who had seen drawings of the Lao and was immediately able to reproduce similar drawings from memory. The girls of the Akha showed considerably less talent. Most of them never went beyond the scribbling stage, and individual talent is little developed.

Miao AE5

/124/

Chapter 8

Art

a) Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation

531 [533] The Meau know neither sculpture nor painting. They do, however, have a marked gift for ornamental representation, which is shown especially in the ornamentation of their clothing. The skirts of the women and girls are provided with stylized plant designs, usually floral motifs (Ill. 61 and 86).[1] The diversity of these designs is extraordinary. On one woman's skirt alone I counted 22 different designs, not including the rich border ornamentation. I offer the drawings in Fig. 8 to Fig. 13 as examples of these floral designs. Figures 8, 9, 10, and Fig. 11 show the designs in the positive, that is to say, they show how the design-drawing actually appears on the skirt after the wax coating has been boiled off; Figures 12 and 13, on the other hand, represent the rough drawings which are put on the fabric with wax prior to the dyeing. The batik technique will be described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

The embroidery and appliqué work put on the clothing (see Colored Plates II, III, and IV,[2] as well as the detailed description in the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") show astonishingly great imagination and feeling for ornamentation and color composition. Geometric forms, as well as stylized animal motifs, such as snails, are popularly used in this work, whereas figure representations are entirely absent. /125/ /Fig. 8 appears here./

[532] That, aside from the purely ornamental, there is a feeling among the Meau for figure representation can clearly be seen in the children's drawings made upon my suggestion, even though these drawings primarily reveal the talent of the women for the ornamental. Moreover, a marked individual talent is shown, as has already been pointed out in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section "Mental Development." Among [554] the women, for instance, there are always some who enjoy special prestige as designers of beautiful batik patterns. Even

1 [See cat 116, pp 449 and 620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " pp 240-241, 437, 563 - "]

39: Bernatzik--175 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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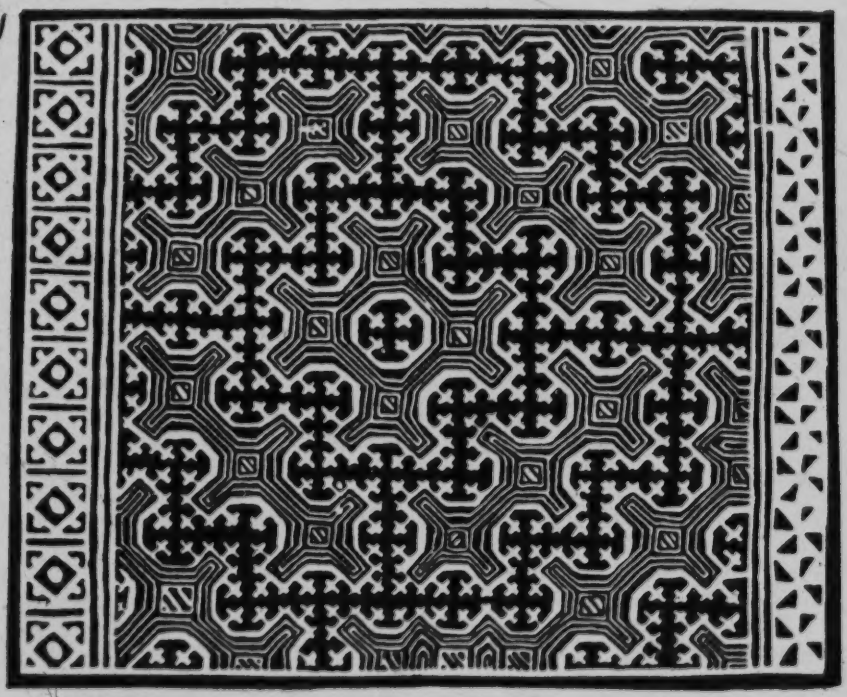

Fig. 8. Batik design of the Meau in the positive, after the dyeing. 1/3 nat. size.

though most of these patterns correspond to old traditional forms, there can be no doubt that the individual talent for design of the female artists provides further room for action. At any rate, /126/ [176] /Fig. 9 appears here/ we often found that the women had invented, so to speak, new designs. Colorful embroidery is also found on the clothing. Many of these splendid decorations (see also the chapter "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners") attracted the attention of travelers. Abadie (1) for example, writes:

1. Page 161.

/126 cont./

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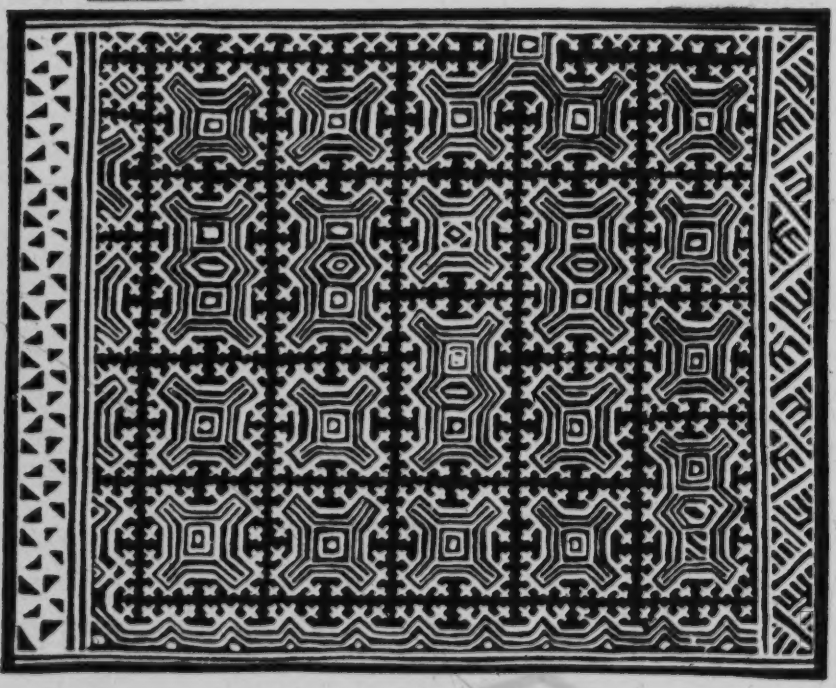


Fig. 9. Batik design of the Meau in the positive, after the dyeing. 1/3 nat. size.

"The art of embroidery is developed to a perfection that one would not expect among these tribes that are otherwise quite primitive. Young girls practice this intricate art from childhood and make all the pieces of their so richly adorned wedding costume themselves."

[585] [292]

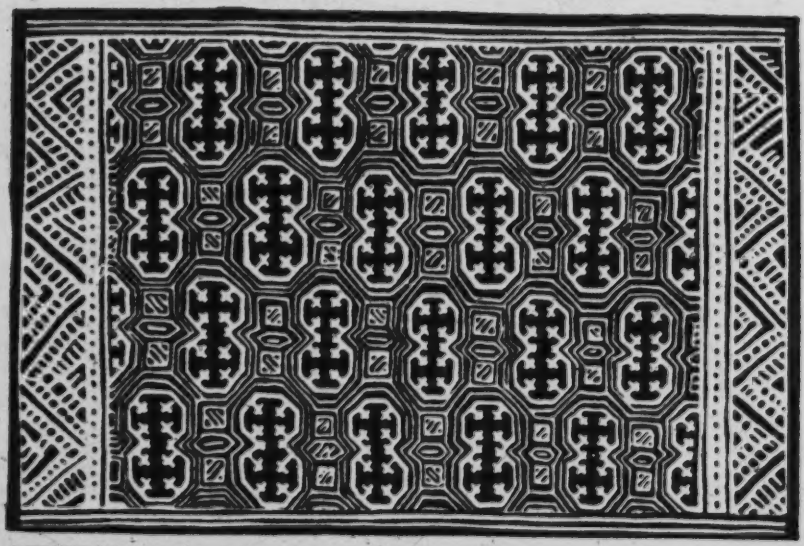
Lajonquière (2), too, writes about the art of wax painting,

2. II, p. 303.

namely, batik, and about the color combinations: "The colors that /127/ /Figs. 10 and 11 appear hare/ /128/ /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ /129/ are used the most are blue, red, and green,

[text continues on p. 179 - Analyst]

39: Bernatzik--177 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5



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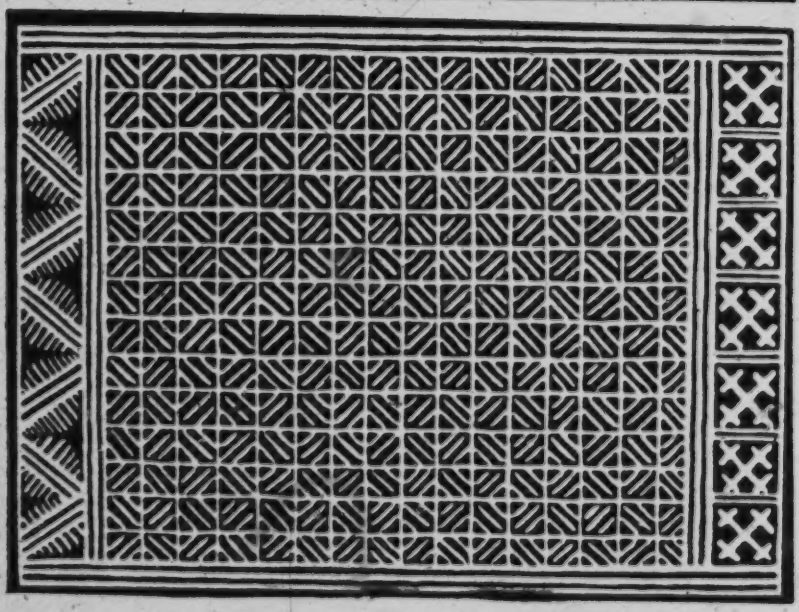

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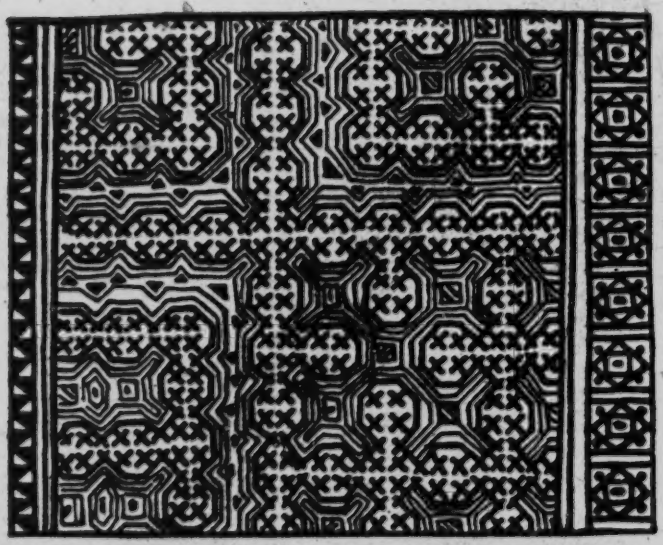
Figs. 10 and 11. Batik design of the Meau in the positive, after the dyeing. 1/3 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--178 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5
531



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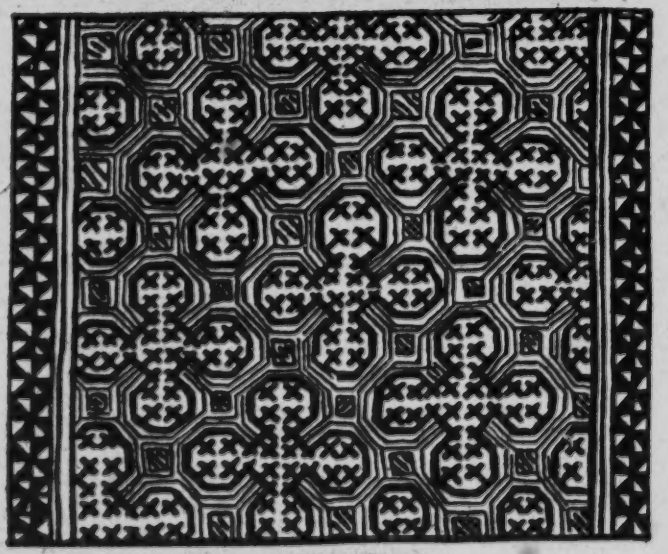

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Figs. 12 and 13. Batik design of the Meau in the negative, before the dyeing. 1/3 nat. size.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into M [778] [782] [413] which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of M [532] [114] Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood sculpture.

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though not universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to A [831] nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

1 [See cat 116, p 120 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

/129 cont./

M 325 [531] [301] [177] A [301] [531] A [531] [276]

The silver ornaments of the Meau (chapter on "Clothing and /130/ Ornaments," Fig. 211 to Fig. 227), as well as those of the Akha (Fig. 239 to Fig. 253 of the same chapter), are sometimes decorated with attractive incised designs. The chasing technique by means of which spiral designs /Fig. 15 appears here/ are produced on the silver scabbards for daggers (Fig. 15) and the embossing technique occasionally used on bracelets may have been borrowed from the Thai peoples, but the fact remains that the Meau silversmiths are quite able to compete with the Thai ornaments in beauty of workmanship, even though the Meau men practice these difficult techniques just as casually as even the most famous women produce their batik designs.

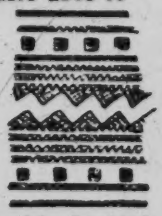

Fig. 14. Incised decoration on girl's pipe of the Akha. 2/1 nat. size.

A M 532

For test purposes, as has been mentioned, I had drawings made by both sexes. In the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children," I have described the guiding principles that I followed in this. These drawings provided an interesting insight into the drawing talents of the Akha as well as of the Meau.

In all the drawings, with the possible exception of Fig. 18, the complete lack of composition is striking. Only individual objects, animals, plants, or little scenes from daily /131/ life are ever represented. As a result many drawings are upside down or sideways. Usually one cannot determine by himself where the artist actually imagined the top or the bottom of the sheet to be. Actually, they focused their attention exclusively on that part of the drawing on which they were working at the moment. As soon as this was finished, the sheet was turned so that an adjacent free area of the sheet could be comfortably worked on, regardless of the position of the last drawing.

Akha as well as Meau men showed a special preference for representations of animals of the hunt and domestic animals; in addition, implements, weapons, and occasionally scenes

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/131 cont./

M
412
531

Fig. 15. Silver scabbard of the Meau, with spiral design in chase technique. 1/2 nat. size.

A
M
532

from everyday life were portrayed (Figs. 16, 17, 20, and 21). No difference in the talents of the two peoples in this respect was discovered so far as the men were concerned. Accordingly, in the performance of the men of both peoples the decorative fell behind the figurative. On the other hand, the higher development found among the Meau boys (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children") is also found among the adults.

/147 cont./

M 534 231 177 piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A M 533 The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Sometimes they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they

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M 534 [531]

Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

A M 533 [224] hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here./ The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

39: Bernatzik--240 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between 176 and 177/

Color Plate II
Clothing of the Meau
(Description, Vol. II, pp.432-436). About 1/15 nat. size.

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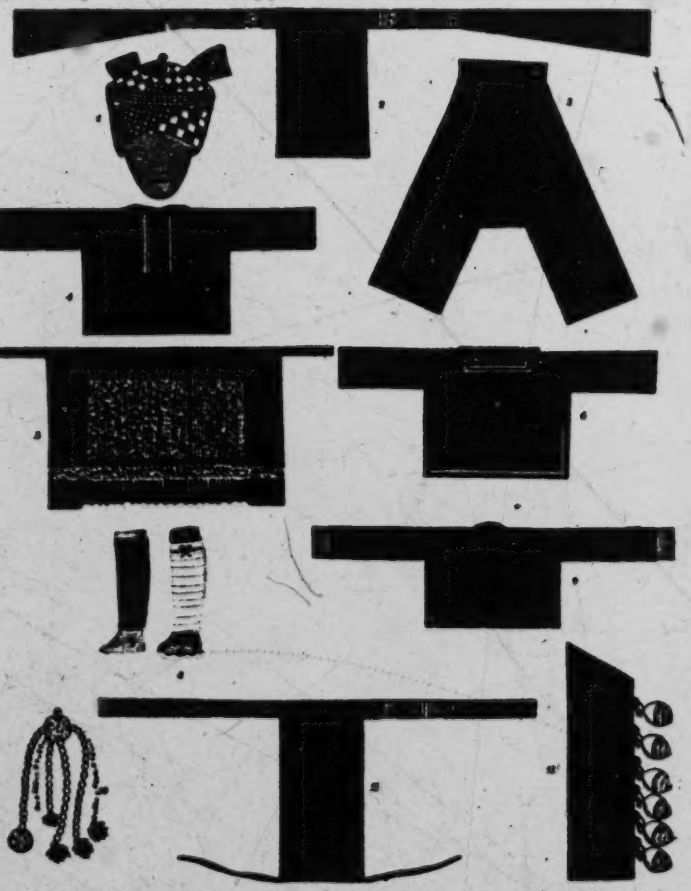

[301
854]

1. Women's turban. 2. Women's apron with embroidered bands. 3. Men's trousers. 4. Women's blouse from the front. 5. Pleated batik skirt from the front. 6. Women's blouse from the back. 7. Everyday leggings for women. 8. Wrap-around leggings for women's festive attire. 9. Men's jacket from the front. 10. Turban tassel for women. 11. Child-carrier with embroidered bands. 12. Side decoration of the men's jacket, with silver bells.

Miao AE5

778
531
[534]

[411]

[354]
[782]

Figs. 41-52. Altars of the Meau.

Fig. 41. Large altar for the worship of the ancestors and the teacher-spirit of the shaman, 1/24 nat. size: A = punched-out paper curtain as decoration for the wooden frame; B = small basket with incense candles; C = oracle horns; D = small tea

[787]

(continued)

Miao AE5

//Caption for Figs. 41-52 cont./

778 bowls and vessels for maize kernels, oil, or water; E = old
[411] battle sword of the Meau, stuck into the ground in order to forbid
[534] access to the evil spirits; F = gong; G = magic rattle of iron.
Fig. 42. Altar in the house of the chief, with incense candles, lamp, oracle horns, and the like, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 43. Altar for the assistant spirits of the shaman. The alter consists of a board with cultic apparatus and provided with a paper curtain, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 44. Altar for the teacher-spirit of the medicine men, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 45. Punch pattern for the
[531] altar paper. Figs. 46-50. Spirit-money of various denominations,
[354] about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 51. Altar lamp, 1/6 nat. size.
[782] Fig. 52. Blood-soaked chicken feathers on the paper curtain of an altar as a sacrifice for the souls of the ancestors.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788] dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
[562] purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not
[177] perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

778
411

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

/275 cont./

342 184 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/ north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] [789] [411] [283] [531] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

/319 cont./

291 are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of
[286] the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye-
[294] trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts").
[386] The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often re-
[292] placed, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark-
[439] blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese
[294] traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-
produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread, needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, always comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work
[292] clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has
[556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in
[531] the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as sometimes in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like that of the adults.

291 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well
531 as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[1] consists of the blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6), has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist. The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors. Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse, which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and 3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

1 [See cat 116, pp 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 492 - "]
3 [" " " pp 437, 563 - "]

/320 cont./

291 especially artistic. On the dark-blue background there are
531 yellow squares, and in them red squares set on the points are sewed. Similarly, all the other red parts of the pattern, as well as the narrow, white and colored stripes, are strips of material sewed on. Pattern 3 of Colored Plate IV is also produced in the same manner; only it should also be mentioned here that four lines in white silk, crossing one another, are embroidered on the black squares of cloth that are sewed on.
[868 This embroidery in stripes is extremely laborious work. As
[294 soon as the young girl has learned it from her mother, she starts on the embroidery of her future festive attire and often works on it for many years during all her free time. It must also be pointed out that the sailor collar is often worn reversed so that the beautiful embroidery is not visible. I noticed this among almost all the women of the Black Meau and trace it back to their thriftiness, which perhaps prompts them to protect the beautiful embroidery from the sun and rain.

184 The pleated skirt reaching only to the knees is very be-
291 coming to the women. It consists of a strip of material six
531 meters long, which is closely pleated and, by means of a binding holding the pleats together, to which narrow bands are fastened, is tied open in front around the middle. The skirt of the Black or Flowery Meau has three different longitudinal stripes (Ills. 58 and 61).[1] The upper one is plain blue, and the lower one is likewise dark blue, but with a strip of colorful cross-stitch embroidery sewed on (Colored Plate II, No. 5); the middle stripe is batik work (chapter, "Art," Figs. 8-13). The colorful strip of embroidery sewed on the rear edge of the skirt (Colored Plate III, Nos. 4 and 6) is provided according to the taste of the wearer, with the most varied /321/ cross-stitch patterns. One sees young girls embroidering on it
[294 whenever they have a minute of time (Ill. 87).[2]

[1] [See cat 116, pp 447 + 449- ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 620 - "]

/321 cont./

291 The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but
184 is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made
[101] of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue
apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or
•531 even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit
482 the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and
Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depend-
531 ing on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not
[550] it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important
[292] piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/321 cont./

291 is wound a black and white checked turban-cloth, usually
531 purchased. Then comes a similar, /322/ but usually larger-
checked cloth, and then a fourth, which resembles the second
one, and, finally, a black and white, small-checked band
about 80 centimeters long is put crosswise over this whole
structure of cloth and pinned fast. The turban tassel (Colored
Plate II, No. 10) is then fastened over the forehead. It con-
[301] sists of a silver coin pierced four times, on which hang little
chains of small, white and colored glass beads with red wool
tassels at the end (Ill. 60). Instead of the checked crossband, a
narrow, embroidered band is often placed over the turban.
[184] White and Black Meau wear the same type of turban. One
very commonly, however, sees women and girls without a
head covering, especially at work.

291 Whereas Savina (1) remarks that the women wear leggings
[184]

1. II, p. 211.

only on trips, among the Meau visited by us the leggings represent a regularly worn and important article of clothing. The workday legging (Colored Plate II, No. 7) consists of a dark-blue strip of cloth 60 centimeters long, which is put around the leg and is tied below the knee and above the ankle. It is not tight on the leg. The leggings of the festive attire
292 (Colored Plate II, No. 8) consist of a white strip of cloth six to seven meters long, which is wound around the leg from the bottom upward in narrow spirals and is tied on top with a narrow black band (Ill. 58). Depending on the length of the strip used, these leggings are sometimes rather bulky. The clothing of the women on festive days thus is distinguished from the everyday clothing only by the richness of the embroidery, the size of the turban, and the wound leggings.

/322 cont./

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79,[1] also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the [301] neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ [531] (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).[2]

The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [294] (Ill. 81).[3] In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [531] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of [439] purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark-[531] blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77),[4] and not wound high, as is customary among the women. In-[177] stead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese 292 caps (Ills. 55 and 56).[5] On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p706 - "]
3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p575 - "]
5 [see cat 116, p367 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--437 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 322 and 323/
Colored Plate III

Clothing of the Meau

((Description, Vol. II, pp. 433-436)

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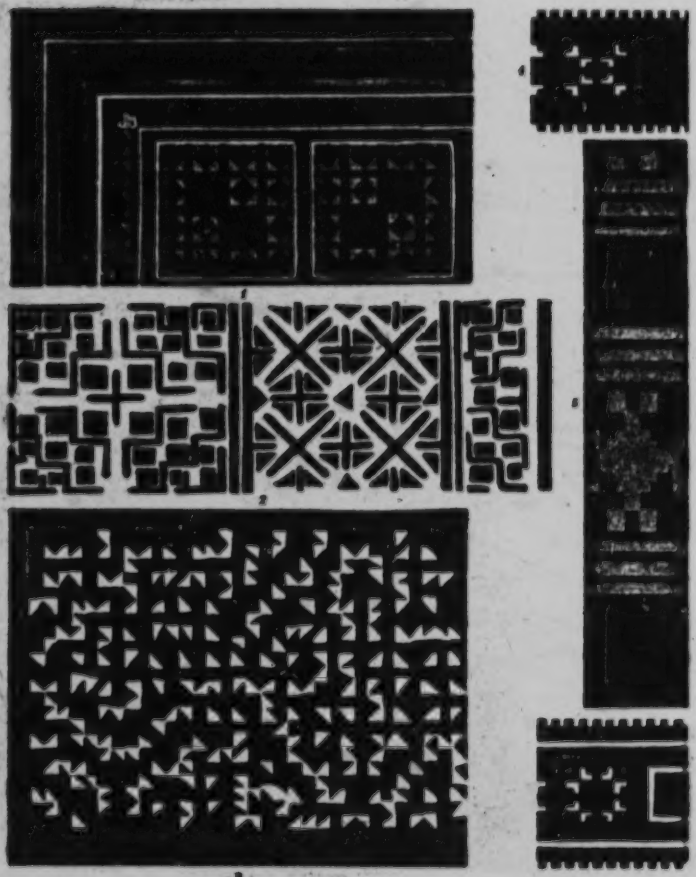

1 and 3. Women's collars with embroidery in appliqué technique (1 = about 1/3 nat. size; 3 = 9/20 nat. size). 2. Apron-band pattern, technique as on the women's collars (11/20 nat. size). 4 and 6. Cross-stitch pattern on the edges of the women's skirt (4 = 1/2 nat. size; 6 = 6/10 nat. size). 5. Cross-stitch pattern of the blue turban-cloth (nat. size).

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

1 [See cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " p 448 - "]
3 [" " p 595 - "]
4 [See cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

/325 cont./

301 are worn over one another (Ills. 52-54).[1] The most common are simple round hoops which are worn open at the neck or are provided with a fastener of silver rings (Fig. 213). Instead of the small silver rings, a silver clasp may also be used to close the hoop, as, for example, in the case of the large neck ring of the shaman, which is illustrated in Fig. 212. Some-
[789] times small charms, powder sewed into black cloth and the like, are attached to the neck hoop for protection against evil spirits (Fig. 211). The two bent ends of the neck hoop are
[531] usually provided with incised designs (Figs. 214-216). In
[412]

209 210

Figs. 209-210. Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 209. Wooden comb to stick in the hair, about 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 210. Bamboo comb for dressing the hair, about 1/3 nat. size.

addition to these typical solid silver hoops, such neck rings made of iron or copper, or of silver twisted with copper, are also worn (Fig. 217). All of the neck hoops are made by the Meau themselves and are also worn on workdays.

[325] The material for the making of silver ornaments is ob-
[177] tained by melting down the old Indochinese piaster pieces or Chinese silver coins. For a heavy men's hoop nine pieces of mon (which are old Indochinese silver coins) are required.

The earrings of the girls and women -- I did not see any on men -- are likewise made of solid silver. The most common form is provided with an arrow wound with fine silver wire (Fig. 218 and Ill. 60).[2] /326/ I have also often come across the large silver ear-pendants in the shape of reversed question marks, which Lajonquière (1) mentions, among the

1. II, p. 309.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448- "]

39: Bernatzik--442 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 211-216, 218-220. Ornaments of the Meau.

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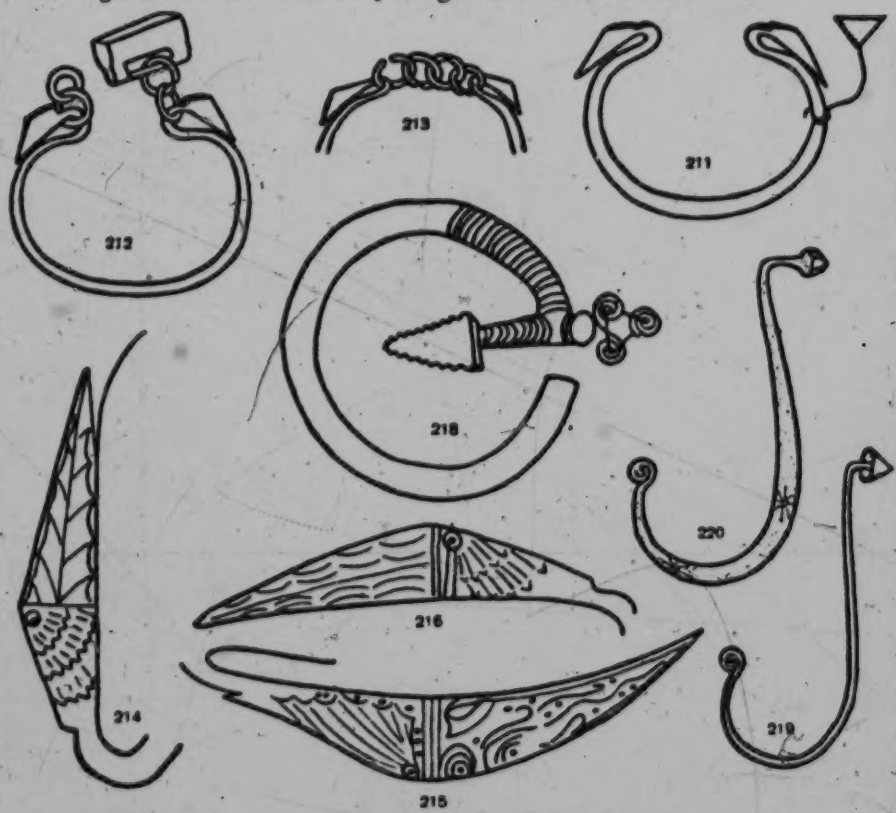
Figs. 211-212. Neck hoops, about 1/4 nat. size: Fig. 211, solid silver with a charm; Fig. 212, with a clasp. Fig. 213, ring fastener of a neck hoop; Figs. 214-216 bent ends with



incised design, 4/3 nat. size. Figs. 218-220. Ear ornaments of the girls and women: Figs. 218, silver earring, 5/4 nat. size; Figs. 219-220, silver ear-pendants, 1/4 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--443 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 217, 221-227. Ornaments of the Meau.

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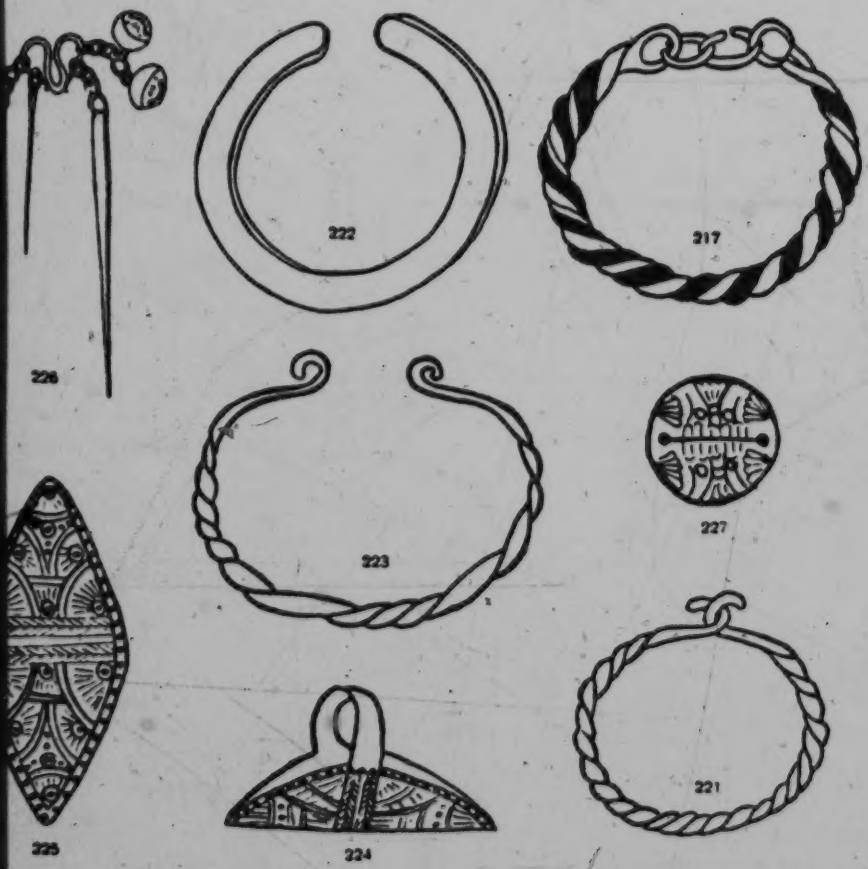
Fig. 217. Neck hoop, silver twisted with copper, about 1/3 nat. size. Figs. 221-223. Ankle rings: Fig. 221, made of twisted copper,



1/3 nat. size; Fig. 222, copper, 1/2 nat. size; Fig. 223, made of twisted iron, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 224. Silver finger-ring with a lavishly incised design, nat. size. Fig. 225. The same viewed from above, 4/3 nat. size. Fig. 226. Silver scratching-pin, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 227. Small silver bell with incised design, 4/3 nat. size. [534]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
[171] to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
[171] the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put on the still undyed material by the women with a special
[413] instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill.
●531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying
[415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

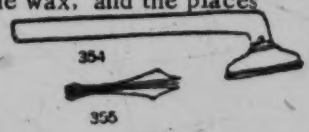


Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
[513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
[411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for
[262] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their
[177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p597 - "]

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants. In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure,
[413] for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely
[171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and br[illegible] usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and
[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

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/410 cont./

321 Among other materials used for handicrafts bone and ivory must also be mentioned. Knives (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) and knife handles, are made out of them, and they are also used in crossbows. The chopsticks of the well-to-do are usu- [412] [556] ally made of ivory.

289 Finally, the making of paper is still to be mentioned. Young green bamboo is chopped up, after the outer covering and the pith are removed, into pieces about 15 centimeters long and five centimeters wide. A quantity of wood ashes equal to a fifth of the amount of bamboo /Fig. 373 appears here/ is added and, with the addition of water, is cooked for about twelve hours, during which the water that evaporates is replaced as needed. At the end of this period the bamboo mixture is soft. Then the substance is pounded in order to crush the wood fibers (Ill. 84).1 At the same time any large or hard particles of wood remaining are carefully removed, and the mass of fibers is further cooked in the same lye solution after liana bark pulverized between stones /411/ has been added. After the substance has reached the proper consistency, it is spread as evenly as possible (Ill. 85)1 on cotton cloth, which is stretched between wooden frames (Fig. 373), and dried in the sun. With a special bone knife (see the chapter, [413] "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) the dried and therefore finished paper is carefully lifted off. As was described, it is punched by means of special punches before its use in sacral performances (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

• [531]

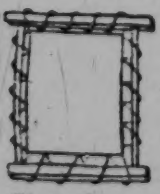

Fig. 373
Wooden Frame for Paper-making among the Meau.
1/60 nat. size.

1 [see cat. 116, p598- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--563 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 418 and 419/

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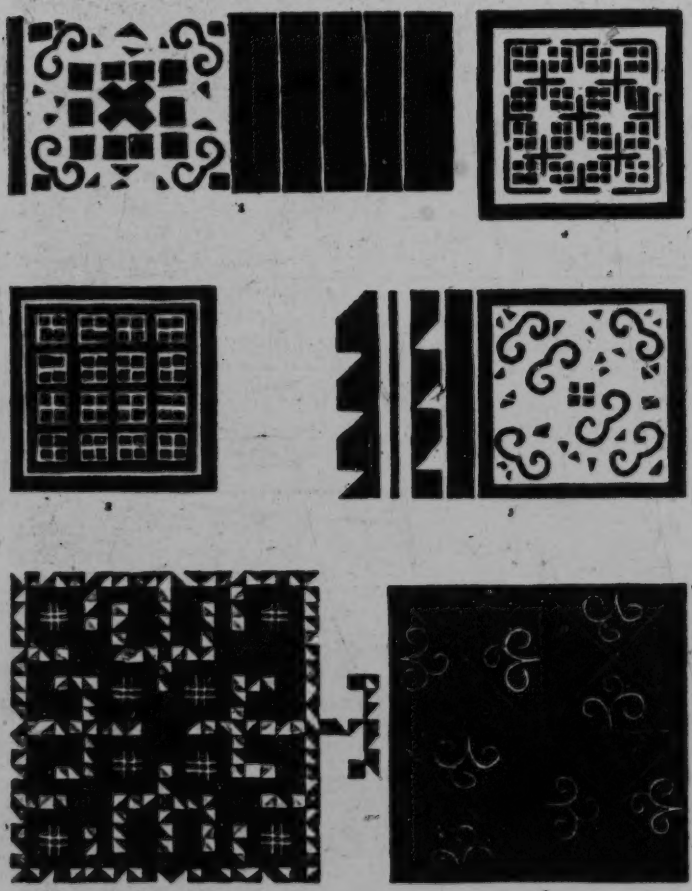

Colored Plate IV.
Clothing of the Meau
(Description, Vol. II, pp. 432-434).

1, 2, 4, 5, 6 = Apron-band patterns (1 = 11/15 nat. size, 2 = 4/5 nat. size, 4 = 5/6 nat. size, 5 = 5/6 nat. size, 6 = 7/8 nat. size). 3. Appliquéd embroidery on the collar of a woman s blouse (8/20 nat. size).

39: Bernatzik--620 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.458/

386
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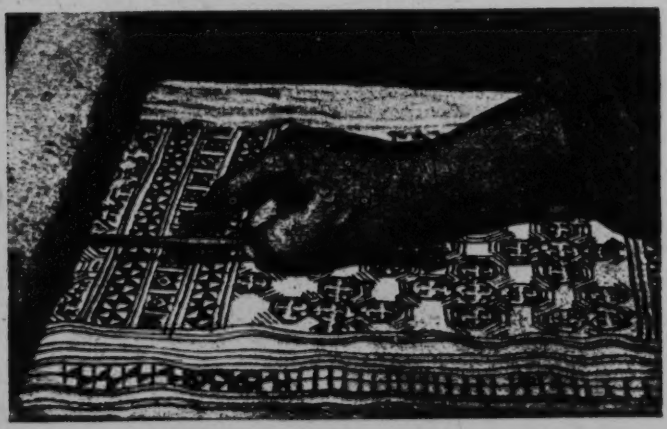

Ill. 86. Making batik work from hemp material among the Meau. The wax drawing is applied with a brass pen. [413]

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Ill. 87. Girl of the "Flowery" Meau sewing a new pleated skirt.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/475 cont./

A 576 [648] [609] The Akha, too, treat women and children well, but are not nearly as polite as the Meau, are more robust in every respect, and believe less in the authority of the Whites, whom they approach with confidence. In any case, among the Akha nothing is to be seen of any overly great politeness toward strangers or one another, though they greet one another with the customary "where are you going" or "where do you come from." A [554] Among the Akha, as among the Meau, the younger ones must wait until they are addressed by the older ones. The Akha, however, are not familiar with any gesture of greeting. For M [177] [576] them the handshaking, folding of hands, or placing them on the chest, as is customary among the valley dwellers, is as unknown as the greeting gestures of the Meau, which are probably influenced by the Chinese.

If the Akha combine a visit with a request, they observe the same custom as the Meau do and casually mention the reason for their coming only in connection with the departure, likewise A 192 576 announced several times. As "please," the Akha use the word etšĭbĭlă; as "thank you," mŭhā. I could not find expressions for disdain, veneration, esteem, and astonishment. Expressions of fear and horror are tšŏ gŭ yō or only a drawn-out ī; the expression for hatred is mă hŏ nŏn yă. As affirmation, they utter a drawn-out ō; as negation, măī; mădyă is said with the meaning of "there is none."

A M 531 [577] In representational artistic talent, the Akha women, like those of the Meau, are far superior to the men. To be sure, the men of both peoples hardly have any opportunity for /476/ pictorial representation, which, in connection with the production of the richly ornamented clothing, is one of the virtues of a good housewife (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"). Even in connection with these representations, how- A 152 126 ever, the greediness of the Akha became apparent. Not only did they demand exorbitant prices for everything that I wanted to acquire and, if I was unwilling to agree to it, disappear at once with their articles, never to appear again, but the Akha were also the only people to whom I had to give a special payment for every object that my wife wanted to sketch. It was

39: Bernatzik--726 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself.

[415]

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

779 /55/
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San Tsu	Tou-fu San Kuan	Wu-shang-hui
Hsi-tao wu-shang	Shih-erh Shang-ping /The twelve wounded soldiers/	P'in-pu-chi
Hao Kung-Chi /The good cock/	Shih-wu Shang Kung-chi /The fifteen injured cocks/	Shang-yüan-p'ou-hsiang
Chung-yüan Lo-p'a	Hsia-yüan Lo-p'a	Shih Kung-tsao /The four clerical officers/
Chao Shuai /General Chao/	Ma Shuai /General Ma/	Teng Shuai /General Teng/

776 As to which gods belong to the military group and which ones to the civilian group, I do not know. Each god seems to preside over a particular business. Their different duties are clearly divided. [532] Hence during the tso-chai ceremony, they only hung up ten or more pictures of gods who are in charge of the business of this particular ceremony. Because the pictorial representation and the duties of each god differ, the texts for each also are different. To save space in this book, I have merely copied the text of the Chiu-niang /the ninth lady/ section which is as follows:

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You, drummer, beat the drum of yang-shou;
Beat again the drum of chao-yang.
Hearing the tunes of the drum turned to yang,
Chiu-niang, highly praised, dismounted from her horse.
This morning you were in the temple of Fa-t'an.
The kung-tsao officer was ordered to bring you the invitation.
After you received the invitation from the kung-tsao,
The precious horses were prepared for you to go to the place of ceremony.
You dismounted in front of the altar,
And were welcomed to the ceremony, enjoying the burning incense.

1: Wang--63a S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (1)

The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (1)

(The black part is raised, the white recessed.)

The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (2)

/64/

532 The other one is inscribed on four sides of the seal with the symbol of a man, a dog, a dragon (?), and a pheonix (?) respectively. It is very interesting that the second seal is entirely different from the first one, (See illustration).

/65/Usually whenever a ceremony is performed both the civil-
796 ian and military Taoist priests are present. This was the case in
793 both the tso-chai and the chung-jen chai ceremonies that I personally observed.

The Taoist priesthood is open only to men. A man who intends
793 to be a Taoist priest must undergo a kind of Taoist initiation ceremony, one of which I once attended. It took place at the time of a tso-chai ceremony. As to whether they also have a particular ceremony for initiation at a fixed time and place, I do not know. The initiation rites of the civilian and military groups were conducted in much the same manner.

The manner in which a military priest was initiated was as follows: The candiate wearing a red Taoist robe were seated on a red rug (each priest has a red rug) in front of the altar. A piece of thin paper was put on his head. A picture of a god was fastened with red strings hung from his forehead. A group of old (referring to rank regardless of age) Taoist priests chanted and walked around him. Periodically at every stop of the chanting, they all kneeled down, tearing apart the thin paper on his head, after which they again walked around him. This was done three times. A pause in the ceremony was now announced.

After a short time the candidate was led into an open yard by the old priests and followed by other priests playing gongs and drums. While they were proceeding to the yard, the oldest /i.e. leading/ priest put a grass rug on the ground on which he turned several somersaults. In the yard the candiate was seated in front of a wooden platform. The old priests then took turns in going up the platform upon which they chanted and danced. When the chanting was over, a large net made of tree bark was spread out. The candidate was thrown into it and was lifted up and turned around

1: Wang--64a S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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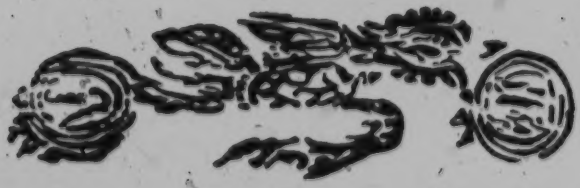
The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (2)

(b)

(a)

(c)



(d)

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably
163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate
171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his
165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time
622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with
217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

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Illus. 75. Images of Duke No
and Mother No.

/188 cont./

#782 [533] heavenly shen coming down to earth. After this, he jumps down from the table and sings out what he has seen in the No hall. He then asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. After singing a passage, he strikes the gong and drum several times, walks a few steps, and then conveys the No child into the embrace of the host, and continues singing about the origin of the fairy sister. After the singing, the host puts down the image of the No child on the bed, and the caretaker of the altar burns paper money. Then the farewell incantation to the shen is sung, after which the gong and the drum are struck and the ritual terminates.

The nineteenth part is Pan K'ai-shan /"impersonating Kai-shan"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red headkerchief and [532] a K'ai-shan mask, which has red whiskers and heavy eyebrows. Holding a wooden axe in his hand, he walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, dancing with hands and feet. First he sings about what he has seen en route to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. Next he asks to see the host to sing a passage of lucky words, after which he begins a conversation with the host, performing at the same [525] time. The conversation has no definite subject but is full of humor.

The twentieth part is Pan Suan-chiang /"impersonating Suan-chiang"/. The sorcerer with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding a cane and a spear, walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, while singing out the reasons for his going to the No hall and what he saw there. He asks to see the host and sings a passage of auspicious words and has a conversation with him, at the same time performing. After this the host withdraws. Another person dressed as K'ai-shan /name of a general/ engages in a conversation with Suan-chiang /also a general/, and performs. After this, they engage in a duel. K'ai-shan wins and Suan-chiang loses. But K'ai-shan withdraws first. Suan-chiang sings the farewell incantation to the shen, and the ritual ends.

/191 cont./

*782 heavy, it may be placed on a stool). The sorcerer, waving the ritual knife in his right hand, sings the magic words of Shao Yüan. After he has sung a long passage, the helpers put the basket on the ground. The sorcerer leads the host outdoors in front of the hsi-kung and utters the incantation to pledge the opponents in wine. After the incantation the sorcerer takes the two cups of wine in the basket held by the host and pours the wine on the ground, and puts the cups upside down in the basket. He then returns with the host in front of the Peach Spring cave, and squats on the ground. The host puts down the small winnowing basket, holds the prayer box in both hands, and kneels in front of the No shen. The sorcerer holds the liang-yüan in his hand and recites the ch'ou-yüan incantation. When the incantation is over, a helper burns the liang-yüan and the prayer box, as well as some paper money. The sorcerer sings the *[787] yüan magic words and divines the time when the No shen will go back. He also invokes protection for the peace of the family of the host, the increase of the six animals, and the abundance of the five grains. After the sheng chiao is obtained, the gong and drum are struck, and the sorcerer and the host stand up. The former blows the horn once, then rests it on his wrists, takes the three-step walk, and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After having blown the horn three times, the sorcerer takes off his garment and takes a rest. In the meantime the pork and the mutton /goat meat/ are cut up and placed in 12 bowls and put before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer takes the chiao-tzu, and after uttering the incantation for pledging *[787] with wine, seeks the sheng chiao, after which the ritual terminates.

The twenty-eighth part is Pan T'u-ti /"impersonating the local divinity of the soil"/. The sorcerer, wearing the mask [532] of the local divinity of the soil and holding his patron saint's [522] cane and whip, sings a few phrases in the main hall and then [776] engages in a humorous dialogue. Then he sings out the names of the malignant spirits of the 12 months and /192/ indulges in humorous dialogue with the host. Next he sings out the ranks

/192 cont./

*782 and ages of the nine local divinities who are brothers. After this he announces the name and place of birth of the host, asks [776] the shen to receive the offerings, and also asks for their protection. He then utters the chiao-na, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations, after which he sings the magic words of keng-yang-ch'un. Then he bids the shen farewell, and the ritual terminates.

The twenty-ninth part is Pan P'an-kuan /"impersonating a judge"/. A table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is placed a sheng of rice with several coins on it. There are also set out two cups of wine, two bowls of meat, a trayful of salted peppers, and a pot of wine. The sorcerer wears the [537] mask of a judge, a red garment, and a red kerchief around the head, and holds a spear in his right hand as a pen, and in his left hand a cash account book as well as a ling-p'ai /spirit tablet/. He walks in a semicircle outside the door, singing out the reason for going to the No hall. As he walks into the house, he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. He asks [522] to see the host and engages him in some humorous dialogue; he congratulates him and asks him to take part in the worship of the No shen. At the same time the gong and drum are sounded, and the sorcerer takes his place behind the table with his back toward the Peach Spring cave. On the right and the left of the table sit two other men, and the host sits before the table, facing the judge. The sorcerer sings, and the two men and the host sing in response. Wine is poured for the host to drink while good luck words are sung. He drinks four times while four passages are sung. After this, the host leaves the table. Then he performs the act of filing a petition, which is [522] purposely made full of jokes, which the sorcerer refutes. At last the purpose of the petition is given to be the fulfilling of a vow to the No shen. The sorcerer then opens up the cash account book and begins to read, carrying on at the same time a dialogue with the helpers. Now and then he makes a sign in the book with red ink and writes the character huan /"paid"/

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

/60 cont./

A M 857 868

befits their sex. The doll, for example, is fed in the same manner as the mother /61/ is seen feeding the younger siblings at meals. These same meals are prepared for the dolls. The returning "hunters" are served liquor, and the world of the adults is incorporated in the play activity. The most popular games, however, are the "ball game" and the "laying out of a rice field," in which all the procedures, from the clearing away of the trees to the burning, from planting to harvesting, are carefully imitated.

Differences in the games according to age groups or sex cannot be established among either the Akha or Meau, because all age levels and both sexes play these games together. It can be said, however, that technical games are played only by the boys. To be sure, it never occurs to them to build a water wheel, but they are very skilled at making small traps, with which they catch smaller animals, such as birds, lizards, and the like. In only one instance did I see an Akha boy, about eight years of age, with a small windmill.

A M 857 524 532

The children look for materials for their toys in their environment and therefore use stones, sand, loam, clay, bark, wood, grasses, and bast (Ill. 16).[1] They work with this material and use it to make their toys. In this manner they turn out representations of small houses, animals, human beings, implements, weapons, and the like in play. Among small children the representation is not very true to life, but beginning with the sixth year the characteristic features are gradually brought out more. Boys at the age of eight are already able to model quite realistically in clay, and even riders on horseback are clearly recognizable. The Meau children dress their clay dolls in palm-leaf skirts, to indicate the pleated skirts; in place of the turban small colorful pieces of cloth are used. In accordance with their own attire, Akha girls equip their dolls with a "girl's bonnet" made of leaves.

1 [See cat. 116, p 88 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/61 cont./

A M 857 532 In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67).[1] I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

A M 526 [533] There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

M 526 628 584 the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such, I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [See cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

/83 cont./

A M 857 [534] [538] may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, however, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M 533 M [868] [535] The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A 535 857 868 It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A M 532 Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

[1] [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

/84 cont./

A M 125 532 145

Pictorial representations are also foreign to both peoples. Though the children had never before seen pictorial representations, at the age of three or four they recognized drawings and photographs that I showed them, provided, of course, the representation was within their range of conception. Archers with crossbows or pictures of work in the fields or of the slaughtering of pigs immediately aroused their attention, and they tried to imitate the scene portrayed or the position, for instance, of the crossbow-archer. /85/ When I showed them pictures of European settlements and houses, however, I was immediately assailed with questions: "What is this? Why do you live in such houses? What do you eat? Are there as many children among you? Are they as white as you?" If I showed a child a photograph in which he himself was represented amidst his comrades, he recognized his companions immediately, but only in exceptional cases himself. On the other hand pubescent girls or boys sometimes did find themselves in the pictures. At any rate, the old idea that such children do not recognize pictures or drawings was refuted time and again.

In order to test their drawing ability, I had children of both sexes and of all age levels make drawings. I gave the one to be tested paper and pencil and left him alone for an hour (Ill. 67). The choice of subject was completely free. I prevented any influence from a third party and gained an insight into the mind of the child being tested. I have discussed the results of these experiments in detail in a special study (1) dealing

A M [114]

1. Bernatzik, VII.

with the drawings collected by me among various primitive peoples. In this present work it can merely be said that the boys of the Meau, as well as of the Akha, began to outgrow the scribbling stage at the age of ten, while at the age of fifteen or sixteen almost all the subjects tested were able to draw true to life. In each case I immediately afterwards wrote down the explanations given by the person tested. Sometimes I confronted a child days later with the drawing and asked him

[See cat 116, P511 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/85 cont. /

A M 125 532 145

once more what he had represented. In all cases it turned out that the children remembered and repeated their first explanations, in other words, that they recognized what they had drawn.

The boys of both peoples do not draw designs, but figures exclusively; animals, plants, and hunting scenes, besides human representations, are predominant. While the Akha boys reach only a low level of development, it is significantly higher among the Meau. Moreover, there was a surprising similarity in the execution as well as in the choice of subject matter between the drawings of the Meau children and the drawings collected by me from Lapp children of the same age. In the case of the Akha drawings, /86/ however, this similarity was generally absent. In contrast to the Akha, there is furthermore among the Meau a strong factor of individual talent, which differs in the two sexes. The Meau girls are much more gifted than the boys, whereas among the Akha the achievements of the two sexes are fairly equal.

A M 125 531 532 145

As far as the girls are concerned, among the Meau they begin at the age of ten to draw ornamental designs; slightly older children contributed figure drawings and when somewhat older still, drew true to life. Thus, besides the ornamental designs, they also had a very good mastery of figures. Beginning at the age of seventeen figure drawing decreases among almost all the female persons tested among the Meau, and pattern drawing predominates. This is because the girls have a great deal to do with batik, and this work dominates their thinking. Even later, however, they have a technical mastery of figure-representation at a higher level of development, as was proved to me by the example of a woman who had seen drawings of the Lao and was immediately able to reproduce similar drawings from memory. The girls of the Akha showed considerably less talent. Most of them never went beyond the scribbling stage, and individual talent is little developed.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/86 cont./

A M 145 125 532 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

M [825]

/124/

Chapter 8

Art

a) Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation

531 [532] The Meau know neither sculpture nor painting. They do, however, have a marked gift for ornamental representation, which is shown especially in the ornamentation of their clothing. The skirts of the women and girls are provided with stylized plant designs, usually floral motifs (Ill. 61 and 86).[1] The diversity of these designs is extraordinary. On one woman's skirt alone I counted 22 different designs, not including the rich border ornamentation. I offer the drawings in Fig. 8 to Fig. 13 as examples of these floral designs. Figures 8, 9, 10, and Fig. 11 show the designs in the positive, that is to say, they show how the design-drawing actually appears on the skirt after the wax coating has been boiled off; Figures 12 and 13, on the other hand, represent the rough drawings which are put on the fabric with wax prior to the dyeing. The batik technique will be described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

The embroidery and appliqué work put on the clothing (see Colored Plates II, III, and IV,[2] as well as the detailed description in the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") show astonishingly great imagination and feeling for ornamentation and color composition. Geometric forms, as well as stylized animal motifs, such as snails, are popularly used in this work, whereas figure representations are entirely absent. /125/ /Fig. 8 appears here./

[532] That, aside from the purely ornamental, there is a feeling among the Meau for figure representation can clearly be seen in the children's drawings made upon my suggestion, even though these drawings primarily reveal the talent of the women for the ornamental. Moreover, a marked individual talent is shown, as has already been pointed out in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section "Mental Development." Among [554] the women, for instance, there are always some who enjoy special prestige as designers of beautiful batik patterns. Even

1 [See cat 116, pp 449 and 620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 240-241, 437, 563 "]

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

M [778] [782] [413]

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood sculpture.

M [532] [114]

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though not universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

A [831]

A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

1 [See cat 116, p 120 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

/129 cont./

M 325 [531] [301] [177] A [301] [531]

The silver ornaments of the Meau (chapter on "Clothing and /130/ Ornaments," Fig. 211 to Fig. 227), as well as those of the Akha (Fig. 239 to Fig. 253 of the same chapter), are sometimes decorated with attractive incised designs. The chasing technique by means of which spiral designs /Fig. 15 appears here/ are produced on the silver scabbards for daggers (Fig. 15) and the embossing technique occasionally used on bracelets may have been borrowed from the Thai peoples, but the fact remains that the Meau silversmiths are quite able to compete with the Thai ornaments in beauty of workmanship, even though the Meau men practice these difficult techniques just as casually as even the most famous women produce their batik designs.

A [531] [276]

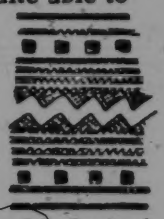

Fig. 14. Incised decoration on girl's pipe of the Akha. 2/1 nat. size.

A M 532

For test purposes, as has been mentioned, I had drawings made by both sexes. In the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children," I have described the guiding principles that I followed in this. These drawings provided an interesting insight into the drawing talents of the Akha as well as of the Meau.

In all the drawings, with the possible exception of Fig. 18, the complete lack of composition is striking. Only individual objects, animals, plants, or little scenes from daily /131/ life are ever represented. As a result many drawings are upside down or sideways. Usually one cannot determine by himself where the artist actually imagined the top or the bottom of the sheet to be. Actually, they focused their attention exclusively on that part of the drawing on which they were working at the moment. As soon as this was finished, the sheet was turned so that an adjacent free area of the sheet could be comfortably worked on, regardless of the position of the last drawing.

Akha as well as Meau men showed a special preference for representations of animals of the hunt and domestic animals; in addition, implements, weapons, and occasionally scenes

39: Bernatzik--181 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/131 cont./

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Fig. 15. Silver scabbard of the Meau, with spiral design in chase technique. 1/2 nat. size.

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from everyday life were portrayed (Figs. 16, 17, 20, and 21). No difference in the talents of the two peoples in this respect was discovered so far as the men were concerned. Accordingly, in the performance of the men of both peoples the decorative fell behind the figurative. On the other hand, the higher development found among the Meau boys (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children") is also found among the adults.

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/131 cont./

A M 532

The situation was different among the women. The Meau women were by far the best at drawing, much better than the men of their tribe. The decorative element was always predominant, probably because the drawing of ornamental designs, as has been mentioned, is practiced from childhood in the batik work. Individual women also drew animals and plants, but even these representations were usually decoratively stylized, often with an actually artistic verve (Fig. 19). More frequently, however, a rigid adherence to a design was definitely imposed upon the plant and animal representations (Fig. 18). Even in these cases, however, it could not be denied that there was "good taste" in our sense. It was otherwise among the Akha women. The content of their representations often included animals, besides objects from daily life. Their drawing talent, however, was far below that of the men of this tribe. In many cases they did not achieve any likeness at all. The individual talent shown by the Akha men and strongly pronounced among the Meau of both sexes, as was mentioned, was very slightly developed.

39: Bernatzik--183 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/132/

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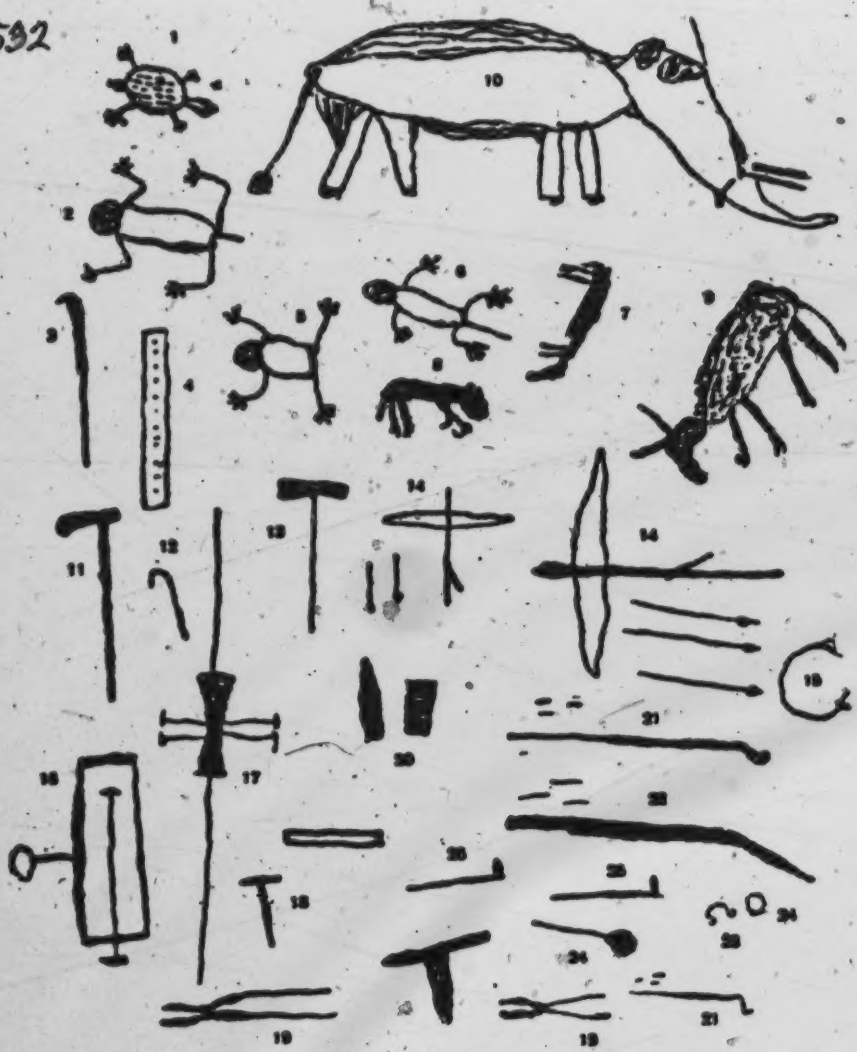

Fig. 16. (Captions on following page.)

Drawings of the Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, age 45. The chief is an excellent smith, hunter, and gunmaker.

/132 cont./

Caption for Fig. 16 on preceding page.

532

List of the objects represented: 1 = turtle, 2 = short-tailed monkey, 3 = jungle knife, 4 = smelting form for casting silver, 5 = gibbon, 6 = short-tailed monkey, 7 = horse, 8 = pig, 9 = deer, 10 = elephant, 11 = ax, 12 = sickle for cutting rice, 13 = drill, 14 = crossbow with two arrows, 15 = necklace, 16 = bellows, 17 = drill for boring gun barrels, 18 = hammer, 19 = blacksmith's tongs, 20 = two different anvils, 21 = flint-lock gun for children, with ammunition, 22 = elephant gun of the chief, with ammunition, 23 = necklace with charms for children, 24 = fire fan, 25 = axes.

/133/

Caption for Fig. 17 on p. 185.

List of the objects represented: 1 = people writing letters (the informant had observed my wife and me at work), 2 = a dwelling, 3 = chickens in the chicken coop, 4 = horse, 5 = Argus pheasant, 6 = cow, 7 = rooster, 8 = tree leaves, 9 = peacock, 10 = self-portrait of the artist, who depicts how he fells a tree, 11 = men with axes on their way to fell a tree, 12 = sickle for cutting rice, 13 = man with axes.

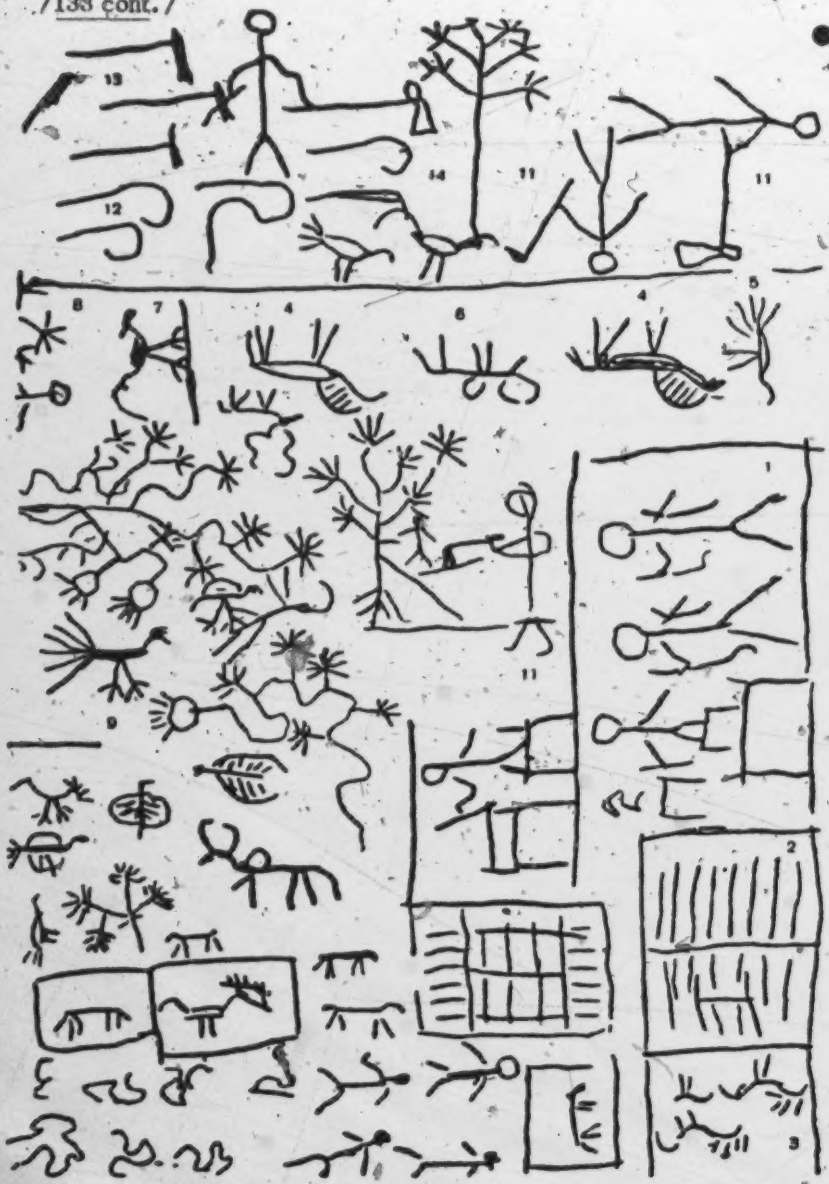

Fig. 17. Drawings of the Meau man, Yǎń wū, about 50 years of age. (Captions on p. 184.)

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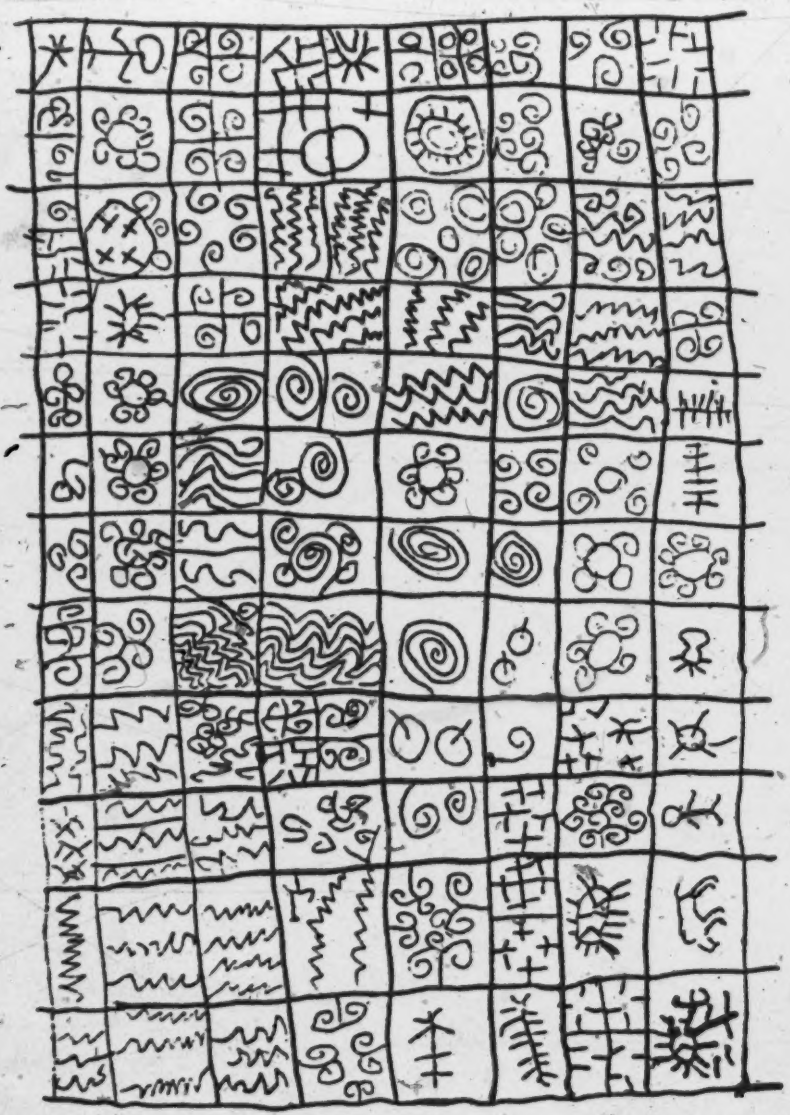

Fig. 18. Drawings of the Meau woman, Wǎn lǎ pǎu, about 38 years of age, the mother of nine living children. Only various fabric designs and decorations such as the woman is accustomed to making in batik work were depicted.

Fig. 19. Drawings made by the Meau girl, Ntsáy wǎn, about 15 years of age. List of the objects represented: 1 = mother with child at her breast, 2 and 3 = a woman with a stick beating a dog stealing from the pigs' feed, 4 = falling tree, 5 = tree with crown and roots, 6 = blossoms from a tree falling to the ground after blooming, 7 = a woman with a child on her back husking rice, a second woman pours in more rice.

(continued)

/135 cont./

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Fig. 19 (cont.)
8 and 8a = a woman fetches green vegetables from her kitchen garden; in the garden the poppies bloom, 9 = two wild cocks are sitting on a tree in the jungle fighting each other, 10 = fan-palm, 11 = monkey climbing a tree and being shot at by a man with the crossbow, 12 = two Argus pheasants devour a snake, 13 = design for a woman's collar, 14 = patterned apron-band.

/136/

Caption for Fig. 20. p. 189.

A
532

List of the objects represented:
1 = monkey on a tree, 2 = goat, 3 = a Thailand policeman, 4 = pig, 5 = deer, 6 = snake, 7 = calabash bowl, 8 = butterfly, 9 = wild boar with strong weapons, 10 = a sow, 11 = plaited work, 12 = cat, 13 = spider, 14 = an automobile (the artist had once seen such a vehicle in the town of Tschiengmai), 15 = wild goat, 16 = millepede, 17 = fresh-water shrimp, 18 = the artist says he forgot what he had drawn, 19 = wood louse, 20 = bird.

/151 cont./

A M 535 [883] [887] [532] the Akha and Meau. Old people of either sex do not dance under any circumstances, whether or not they are now widowed or unmarried. I have already discussed the participation of children at the dance entertainments in the sections, "Art in the Life of the Children" and "Sexual Development," in the chapter, "Life in the Community." Masks and masked dances are unfamiliar to both peoples.

A 123 535 609 Although the Akha are strictly endogamous, it is said, as my interpreter maintained, that on rare occasions they do not object to the participation of guests in their dances. I wanted to verify this statement, however, and suggested to my wife that she make an attempt to dance with the Akha women when the opportunity arose. On one of the following evenings my wife stepped into the circle of dancers. At first no one wanted to take her hand; a few even fled into the forest. Then my wife promptly seized by the hands two of the women taking flight, pulled them back to the dancing place, and soon all had lost their shyness before her, and even those who had fled returned. Two of the older girls then took my wife into the circle and taught her the dance steps. This visibly broke the ice. They found the khaki trousers and blouse of my wife abominable, but my wife had to confess that she had no festive garb. Nothing could be simpler! They gladly wanted to help her out with their clothing. Of course these garments of the Akha, among whom my wife looked like a giantess, did not fit at all. To be sure, /152/ nothing could be done, but the girls at least decked out my wife with ornaments and chains of beads made of dried fruits, and they were not satisfied until she was adorned with a great number of these chains, and then they all laughingly began to dance. All this had taken place without any ill-humor at all, and from this day on the Akha women, who before that had been very distrustful, lost all their shyness before us, which greatly facilitated our investigations.

A 123 535 [541] [177] To be sure, among the Akha, too, there may be a dance to honor someone, or the festively adorned dancers may invite him to accompany them to the dancing place, but even with all the good understanding we had not counted on belonging to this select group. One evening, however, it was about nine o'clock and we were already in our beds in the tent, when shots

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788] dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
[562] purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and
is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The
Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not
[177] perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of
dances.

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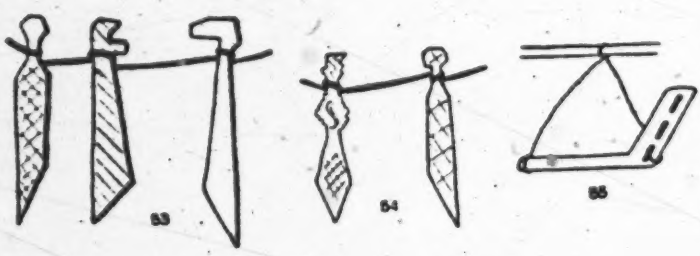


Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits,
they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but
not images.

/480 cont./
cultural elements drawn upon for proof are too few in number
174 and moreover in large part not characteristic for the Meau, and
[114] are often to be regarded as environmentally conditioned.

It is an interesting question whether the Meau may be classed in the circle of those peoples whose very ancient cultures are brought into relief from their surroundings by, among other things, megaliths, certain forms of animal sacrifice, and head-hunting. It is well-known that this culture is still alive today among the Naga and wild Wa and their neighbors. Relics in many places in Farther India, Hindustan, Indonesia, and beyond into the South Seas and traces in northwestern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East show that its spread must have been far greater in former times. -- I myself was able to identify the so-called "Moi peoples" of Indochina as belonging to this group, as I shall report in detail in another place. Judging by the available facts, there can be no doubt that the Meau do not belong to this cultural complex, even if the /481/ classification of the Meau language with the Mon-Khmer languages (see the chapter, "Language"), which is absolutely erroneous in my opinion, should be proved correct.

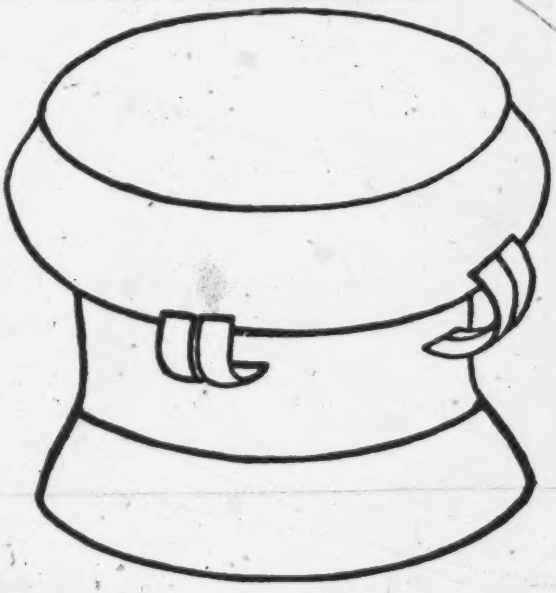
[325] For the question of the origin of the culture of the Meau, a bronze drum allegedly made by the Meau and cast by dead mold, which is in the possession of the ethnographic museum in Vienna and has not yet been described up to now,* is of special

* During the printing of the present work, a few statements about this drum by F. M. Schnitger appeared in the Archiv für Anthropologie, 1943, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

[534] significance. The shape of the drum is shown in Figures 423 and 424. The diameter of the striking surface is 70.5 centimeters. The drum is hollow, open at the bottom, and four bronze handles are attached to the side walls. It belongs to the group of bronze drums that Heger discussed in his work, Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien /Old Metal Drums from
[532] Southeast Asia/. /Fig. 423 appears here./ /482/ The drum

/482 cont./

174 surface (Fig. 424) shows in the center a sun with twelve rays,
532 around which several circles with various decorations, such as wedge patterns, rings, meanders, and rows of dots, seal it off. Then follows a band, about five centimeters wide, with representations /Fig. 424 appears here/ /483/ of human beings, houses, and various scenes. Two houses have a boat-shaped roof, the ends of which are ornamented with birds' heads. Similar houses are still found even today in various parts of Indonesia, New Guinea, etc. Above each roof stands a peacock. In one



[534]

Fig. 423. Sketch of the bronze drum, viewed obliquely from above, about 1/10 nat. size.

of the houses one can see mouth-organ players, in the other probably women preparing a meal. Beside each house there are two drums, each resting on a frame, /Fig. 425 appears here/ which are beaten with long drumsticks. These drums have the same shape as the very bronze drum being described here. Between the houses armed men with large feather crowns

39: Bernatzik--653 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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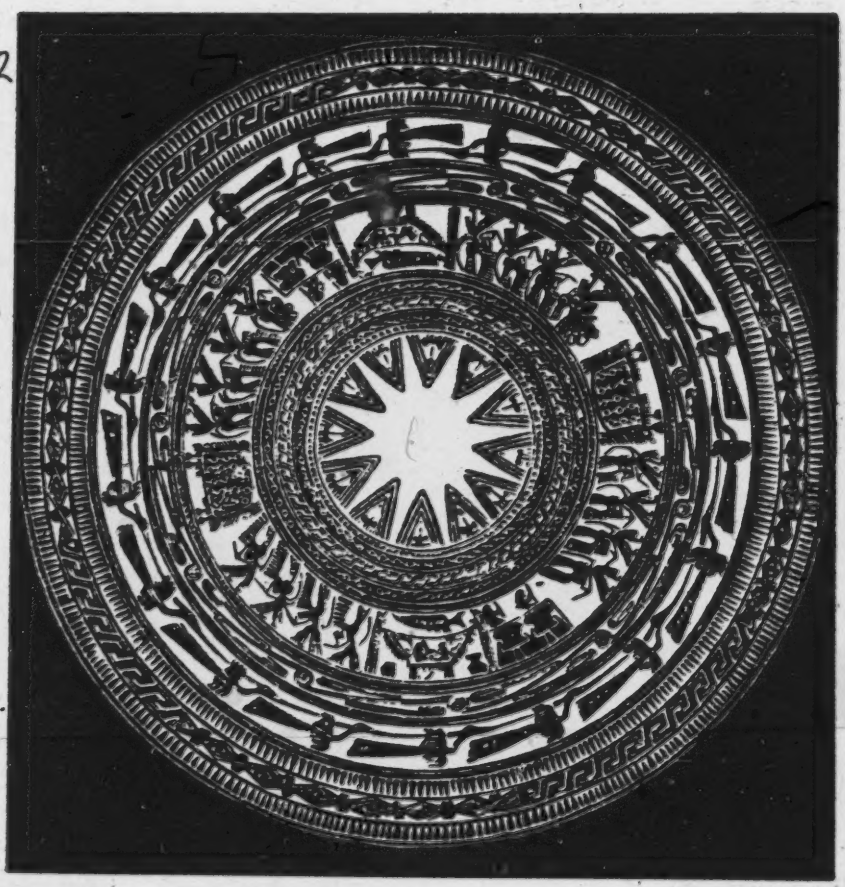

Fig. 424. A copy, faithful to the original, of the striking surface of a bronze drum from the region of Kaihwa (southeast Yunnan). Throughout centuries it is supposed to have been in the possession of the family of a Meau chief, which, according to its own tradition, brought it along from south of Kweichow. Now in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna.

39: Bernatzik--654 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/483 cont./

on their heads are dancing. The representation of their clothing reminds one of the festive clothing made of palm leaves, as they are worn to this day by some /484/ Naga and Dajak /Dyak/ tribes at their head-hunter celebrations. A man with

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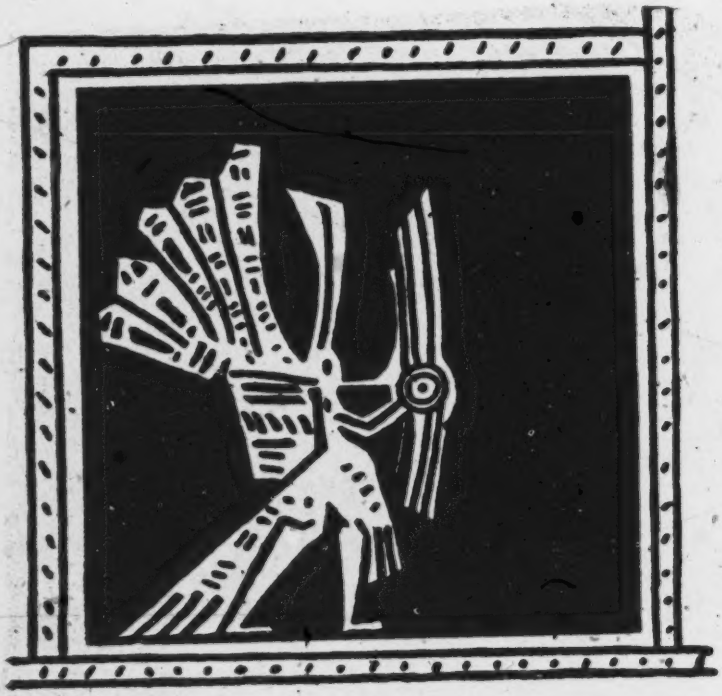

Fig. 425. Representation of a Mouth-organ Player with a Feather Crown. He is presumably clothed in a cloak of batiked bark-cloth. Natural size.

a crown, which presumably is made of argus-pheasant feathers, is blowing on a mouth organ (Fig. 425).

After this series of decorations there follows a representation of stylized birds, presumably flying herons arranged in the circle (Fig. 426).

On the outer surface of the drum, too, figurate representations are found. Especially striking here are four boats whose bows and sterns are clearly visible (Fig. 428). From a comparison with

/484 cont./

174 the sacral temple-boats still in use today on the Nan River in northeastern
●532 Thailand (Fig. 427), we can but assume that the bow is provided with a dragon's head and the stern with a dragon's tail /Fig. 426 appears here/ the latter presumably decorated with a flag. Rowers wearing feather crowns make up the crew of the boat. In each of two boats a person is sitting on a stool (Fig. 428); presumably this is a matter of shamans. Representations of sitting herons are put in between the boats. Eight reliefs, which represent warriors adorned with large feather crowns, form the lower edge of the drum. Among them a mouth-organ player

Fig. 426. Probably the representation of sitting herons, on the outer surface of the drum.
A copy true to nature, somewhat over 1/2 nat. size.

is clearly recognizable (Fig. 425). Several dancers hold a shield, two are swinging an ax (Fig. 429), and two others are holding a pear-shaped object in their hands (Fig. 430), which one could regard as a head-hunter's trophy. These men are adorned with large birds' heads looking backwards.

Taken as a whole, it is surely a matter of an over-all representation of a great celebration; it may be left undecided whether a celebration for the dead, a New Year's festival, a head-hunters' ceremony, or something similar is meant by it. The /485/ /Fig. 427 and 428 appear here/ affiliation of the producer with the culture complex of the megalith producer and head-hunter is probable in view of the cultural elements depicted. A precise treatment of this drum from an

39: Bernatzik--656 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Fig. 427. Sacral temple-boat, about 20 meters long, of the Lao on the Nan River in northeastern Thailand. A dragon's head is set on the bow of the boat; the rear stem carved out of wood, is decorated with a flag. Only the part of the boat projecting

Fig. 428.

out of the water is visible. Pen drawing from a photograph.

Fig. 428. Representation of a boat on the outer convex surface of the bronze drum. Human beings with feather crowns are rowing the boat, whose front part seems to end in a dragon's head. A figure sitting on a seat in front of the helmsman, perhaps a female shaman. About 1/2 nat. size.

Miao AE5
Kachin AP6

M /485 cont./
174 ethnological point of view is reserved for a work by F. M.
●532 Schnitger. What interests us in this connection is whether it is actually a matter of a Meau drum and whether the persons and scenes depicted are derived from cultural possessions of the Meau, as Schnitger assumes and as seems to follow from the tradition of the family from which the drum was acquired. The clothing of the women depicted is vaguely recognizable, but in no way resembles the present-day attire of the Meau women, which, as is apparent from some of the Chinese sources, /486/ has scarcely changed for thousands of years. Similarly the clothing of the dancers represented and especially the feather crowns do not in any way remind one of the present-day clothing of the Meau men. To be sure, it should be noted here that the present-day clothing of the men, such as the wearing of turbans, is presumably not autochthonous for the mountain peoples of this area. /Fig. 429 appears here./ It has not been incontestably determined how the head-covering looked in former times. In representations in the "albums," other head-coverings can occasionally be recognized, to be sure, and Bridgman (1), too, on the basis of such Chinese representations

1. Pages 260, 261, 265, 268 ff.

expressly mentions /487/ feather crowns as customary head-adornment among various Meau tribes, but doubtlessly all such drawings originated later, and moreover the possibility of confusion with members of another "barbarian" tribe is never to be excluded. /Fig. 430 appears here./

The following facts, however, may be of significance under these circumstances: Among the Katschin /Kachin/ west of Kengtung, a people who, as is known, like the Meau, come from similar living spaces and who find themselves in the midst of a similar migratory movement, the men now wear turbans, just like the Meau. On the occasion of the performance /488/
K [292] of the ancient sword-dances, however, the leaders of the
[796] Katschin wore splendid ancient ceremonial costumes and mighty feather crowns made of argus pheasant and peacock feathers (Fig. 431).

39: Bernatzik--658 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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(Fig. 431). I have already published an over-all scene of this dance in another place (Bernatzik (1)). These ceremonial garbs

1. IV, Ill. 75.

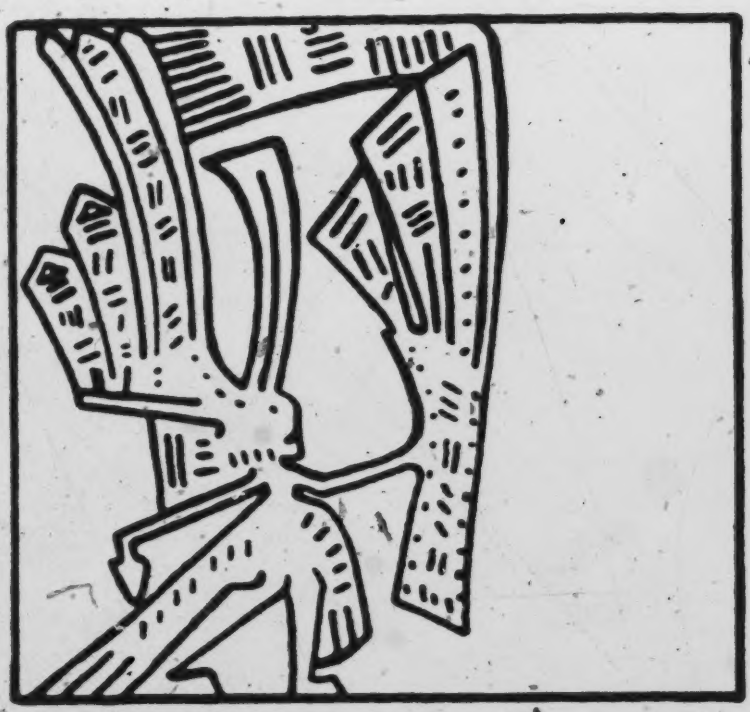

Fig. 429. Representation of a dancer with feather crown and shield on the outer surface of the drum. In one hand the dancer carries a pear-shaped object, which might be regarded as a head-hunter's trophy. Copy true to nature, 11/10 nat. size.

permit one to conclude that such feather crowns were formerly also used among other mountain peoples of the latest wave of migration, to which the Katschin as well as the Meau belong. /Fig. 431 appears here./

/488 cont./

The present absence of the feather crowns among the Meau is thus no proof that the feather crowns depicted on the drum were nevertheless not originally part of the cultural possessions of the Meau. 174 532

Among the cultural elements of the Meau recorded by me, there is no indication that the pictures on the drum

Fig. 430. Representation of a dancer with ax, shield, and feather crown on the outer surface of the drum. Copy true to nature, 11/10 nat. size.

have anything to do with the Meau. Rather, the custom of preserving the heads or at least parts of the hunting booty or of sacrificed animals, or /489/ any kind of references to head-hunting, as well as the kind of animal sacrifice characteristic of the Meau, point to the opposite.

Miao AE5
Kachin AP6

/489 cont./

Thus, almost all of the elements represented on the drum are not to be perceived as autochthonous cultural possessions of the Meau. Only the mouth organ could be designated as a Meau element. It, however, is much too widespread among other peoples to appear alone as valid proof.

M 174 532

Finally, if one considers the fact that the Meau have always been a mountain people that has at most

K 292 796

Fig. 431. Crown of Feathers from Argus Pheasants.

It is worn by leaders of the Katschin /Kachin/ dancers in a village west of the Kengtung market and is part of a sacral festive costume, which is still preserved only in places.

Pen drawing from a photograph.

occasionally navigated mountain rivers, he will find neither the representation of the many boats on the drum nor the association of boats with the cult explicable. The positively startling similarity between these boats and the sacral temple-boats (Fig. 427) of the Lao, one of the Thai peoples, is another indication that this

M 174 532

/489 cont./

174 cannot have anything to do with the Meau.

532 Furthermore, we come to the question of whether mountain peoples with a relatively lower culture, like the Meau, are to be credited at all with the production of such works of art as these drums represent. If one considers the perfect casting [325] and above all the ornamentation and plastic representation so well executed technically, this appears most improbable, quite apart from the fact that I could find no indications of any kind among the Meau that the technique of casting by dead form had been familiar to them at any time in their history. I would far rather speak of this work of art as the flowering of a high culture. Under these circumstances, and especially in view of the boats depicted, Von Eickstedt's conjecture, expressed orally to me, that a Thai people may have been involved as the original producer, is not to be rejected. Also the fact that the original homeland of several Thai peoples is to be sought not far from the region in which the Meau drum, according to its previous owners, was originally used at least does not argue against it.

174 To be sure, it is possible that the Meau, who, as their history leads one to suspect, had formerly developed a high culture or at least the beginnings of one, were checked in their development by martial events and oppressions following them, and their culture was subjected to a shrinking process. That a cultural atrophy of considerable proportions actually must have taken place /490/ can be verified by the far more primitive material culture in comparison with the spiritual culture. Even though it has still never been proved that such drums were made by the Meau, it is indeed theoretically possible, their great absolute antiquity being established, that they come from the cultural golden age of the Meau. The frequent statements in the literature to the effect that the Meau did beat bronze drums on various cultic occasions (Heger (1), Nan-chao (2) seem also

1. Pages 235 ff.

2. Pages 187 ff.

/48 cont'd/
585 designated. The two singers sang alternately. When they finished
[533] singing, the go-betweens returned to the small house /to join the bridegroom/. Then a humorous act was put on in the small house. It was called t'ao ch'ien-liang ("to collect land tax"). The act began with two persons representing the bride's family coming there to demand tobacco leaves. During this act, there was a very humorous and interesting dialogue. Prior to leaving the house, the two "tax collectors" sang a song outside the door.

After the humorous act was over, one of the go-betweens then carried the bridegroom on his back toward the bride's house. The order of the procession was the same as before. /49/ The bridegroom's party walked to the bride's house and stopped in front of the door of the side room where they were greeted by an usher from
[533] the bride's family. He greeted the bridegroom with a song. One of the go-betweens sang a song in reply. Between the bridegroom and the usher, there was a winnow in which were placed a wine pot and a wine cup. The usher then offered the wine to all the groom's party except the bridegroom. At this time, the young girls of the village again started making fun of the bridegroom, who stood still like a dummy. After singing and drinking, the go-betweens led the bridegroom to the central room of the bride's house. The interior decoration of this room was as follows: On the left side of the front door there was a censer and on the right side there were a pair of scissors and a sickle. In the center of the room, there was a big betel-nut shell with charcoal burning in it. Beside the betel-nut shell, there was a table on which a bottle of wine, two wine cups, two bowls of rice, and a bowl of cooked pork liver were set. When the bridegroom arrived at the door he stopped.

A man from the bride's family stood inside the door, holding the scissors and the sickle in his hand. Facing the bridegroom, he began to perform a ritual and to recite incantations. (It was said
[763] that this ceremony was to drive away the devils /from the body of the bridegroom/.) After that the bridegroom was invited into the room. Stepping over the charcoal, he passed in and was seated at the table. The two go-betweens and the umbrella carrier were

/70/

Chapter VIII. Songs and Legends

(1)

533 Singing is an important aspect of Miao life. Regardless of sex and age, almost all of them are talented singers. When we were traveling in the Miao mountains, the clear voices of Miao singers always struck our ears. In the deep woods of the high mountains with no one in sight, it usually gave us the poetic feeling that,

"The singing has ended; no one is in sight;
Only some mountain peaks remain green above the river."

831 Singing is the most natural medium of communication between
152 human hearts. The Miao have made full use of it. When a man
533 and woman fall in love, they sing to each other in order to express their mutual admiration. Inexpressibly happy at a reunion after a long separation, they sing to each other to express their happiness. Bidding farewell at a crossroad, they sing to express their sorrow at parting. Worn out during the busy seasons of agricultural work, they sing for physical relaxation. On festive occasions, they sing to add to the gaiety. In short, all their emotions—misery and happiness, grief and joy—are frankly expressed by singing.

533 Usually they sing their songs in dialogue style—such as between a man and a woman or between a host and a guest, etc. Due to long use, many of the songs have become formalized, so that the words of the replies are fixed. The ability to sing is very important in Miao social relations. For instance, their marriage is usually
584 based upon love. And singing is the principal means of courting.
533 /71/ On the fine spring days, Miao boys and girls usually go out in groups to sing to one another on the neighboring slopes. As the singers gradually draw closer, at this point, if you are a talented singer capable of answering your counterpart in the proper way,
533 victory will be yours. Otherwise, if the singing beauties move
[571] away because of poor answers, how depressed you would feel! At a fine banquet, when the hosts and guests sing alternately to each other, the good singers are always admired by the audience while

/71 cont'd/

533 poor ones cannot help being laughed at. Singing is an indispensable talent for the Miao in their social relations.

(2)

Their songs differ according to locality, and in general can be divided into two groups in accordance with two different styles, i.e., the free songs without set words and songs with fixed words. Generally speaking, the love songs and other songs of pleasure or sorrow are mostly of the former group, and every singer is a spontaneous composer. They sing what they feel at the moment.

533 The formal songs, which are sung at wedding feasts, in re-
571 ligious ceremonies, or between hosts and guests, are of the latter group with fixed texts and are uniform throughout the Miao area. These are not natural outflows of feeling but rather songs of still formality. Everyone can recite these by heart without requirement of talent. The free songs, however, are more flexible; whether the song is good or poor depends upon the talent of the individual singer.

Because the free songs have no fixed texts and because of language difficulties, we did not record them, which is a pity. However, there were copies of the fixed songs in almost every Miao family, as they are taught from generation to generation. We had a chance to collect a few samples. But they were all stiffly formalized. Hence, as far as artistic value is concerned, they can hardly be compared with the free songs cited before which were natural expressions of feelings.

533 /72/ Every aspect of the Miao life is expressed in singing.
536 The contents of their songs are, therefore, complex, multi-faceted, and all-comprehensive. We did not succeed in acquiring many of these songs. We shall now attempt to classify here those we did get:

(1) Songs relating to economic life, such as those sung during certain ceremonies in the process of ploughing or harvesting:

/72 cont'd/

Bringing in the Crops Song

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Bringing our grain crops home,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti* are with us as we bring our crops home,

* Shen Nung was a legendary emperor
who is the supposed teacher of husbandry.
T'u-ti is a term for a local divinity.

Escorting us all the way home to their shelter.
Safely placed in the granaries, these crops will draw the envy
of the emperor.
Thank you,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti,
For escorting and protecting the crops all the way home,
When the emperor bestows his attention on us, we'll think of
you.
From the palace in the capital, a messenger will be sent us,
And much glittering gold will accompany him.
The tenure of a hsiu /title of government office/ is only three
years,
But riches and honor come to an official.
For all this we will be much indebted to you,
And your kindness will be borne in the mind of the emperor
forever.

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539 (2) Songs connected with social activities, such as the one cited in Chapter IV; "The Song of the Old Villager."

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539
831 (3) Songs related to love between the sexes. For example, when an unmarried man and woman happen to run into each other in the street, the following is frequently sung:

First admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
Show how you feel according to your heart's desire.
What you desire is seen by others,

/72 cont'd/

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831

Just as plainly as the sun on the east and the sky on the west.
/73/ Second admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If one drinks as much as one wants at a feast,
People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water—
Drinking as much as one wants is a waste.
Third admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you are willing, for 10,000 autumns,
We'll join hands together;
On the bridge over the tangling rivers, we'll walk side by side.
Fourth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you find someone to join you at romantic eighteen;
You can live happily up to sixty.
Unhappy and middle-aged, that is a waste.
Sixth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When your brother comes here to stay for a while.
If he is against me, I will not please him even if I slaughter a dragon to treat him.
If he is agreeable, he will be pleased with a glass of cold water.
Seventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you hide a man in your room, that is a waste.
Moreover, I fear your man will be killed.
His life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Eighth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
You should not loan your money too freely, if you are rich.
You should be satisfied and not press, even if you cannot get back your principal.
Otherwise, you will feel regretful if someone kills himself.
Ninth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When you are in possession of a cow and a piece of land,
You should not hesitate to consider the coming of spring.
When you have no cow you cannot get an early start, even if spring is here;

/73 cont'd/

533 And a home without a cow is lost.
539 Tenth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
831 You should not stay idle when you see others learn to write;
/74/ Someday should you get involved in a lawsuit,
You'll know the difficulty of getting someone to write for you on a blank sheet of paper.
Eleventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
[161] Don't curse and utter foul words to your parents.
You are indebted to your parents for raising you.
Otherwise, your life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Twelfth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When the immortals come to fetch you to the king of the wheel,
You will be referred to the renowned king to receive judgment;
He may decided that you are to be reborn in your youth.

The following songs are frequently sung during such occasions as when a man and woman meet in a rendezvous, or when they bid each other farewell, feeling lost and sorrowful on seeing the loved one depart.

539 I. Seeing off my flower,
831 As the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky—
The dark clouds are escorting the moon, and in a little while will escort you,
Back to your melancholy land and melancholy home.
Farewell!

II. First farewell to my precious flower who will soon be returning home,
Like the clouds I see leaving the sky.
Looking at the clouds leaving the sky, how sad my humble heart is!
I am hiding my sadness at parting from my love.
Second farewell to my precious flower, from the dragon's noble land,

/86 cont'd/

539 When our masters plant grain,
585 May the crops multiply five-fold,
Rich grains growing to the tips,
Yielding crops enough for ten full granaries every year.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
That when you reach the mountain, fish and meat will come.
May the mountain horses and jade deer on which you come
Climb with all four feet without faltering.
/87/ When our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets.
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
May our masters' path go in ten directions:
May incense burn at the shrines every year.
May horses come from four directions for you to sit and ride.
May your sons grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
May all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials,
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans.
This year we judge this couple here to take their seats at the wedding ceremony.
Next year there will be another pair at the wedding feast.
Two judgments and two weddings match two couples.
Two couples will multiply so that two will become two by two.

533 The third and fourth songs of the above are sung by hosts and
585 guests, each taking the role of singing and answering. The hosts sing the song first (No. III above), and the guests answered with

/87 cont'd/
533 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part
585 mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The
[571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest
533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible.—Tr./

/88 cont'd/

533 We have copied a great many of the Miao songs above. These songs, because they have been made rigid through writing, have lost their original freshness and spontaneity. Moreover, the errors the Miao made in /89/ writing them out have rendered the songs sometimes almost unreadable. It is a great pity that the real charm and wit displayed in Miao songs cannot be appreciated from the pages here!

(3)

538 The moods conveyed to us by Miao songs, when they were sung,
152 were not those of loftiness and tragedy, but rather those of tenderness and delicate pathos. There are many breaks in the singing, but the tune during these breaks merely lengthens and weakens, the lingering sounds of the music not breaking off. Thus, it takes a
533 fairly long time to finish the singing of each song. Those songs which are sung as counterparts are started first by one in a group of persons. He stops at the end of the fourth line, and the opposite party will continue the singing with an answering part for another four lines. Then the first singer will pick up the singing again. In this manner, the singing is kept on with every four lines sung alternately by the two opposing parties. The form of Miao songs, as can be seen from the examples given above, is of two kinds: One kind has seven characters to a line. Most of the Miao songs are of this kind. The other kind has three-character lines alternating regularly with seven-character lines. Because of the difference in form, these two groups of songs are sung in different ways, which will be illustrated here. For example, in the singing of a song of
533 the first kind, take the following words:
539 "Jen hua tu ch'uan pu k'an shui, yin chiu t'an to yeh shih hsien."

/People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water, drinking as much as one wants is a waste./ (Excerpt from a Miao song). They are sung in the following manner:

(The dash between the words indicates the lengthened, carried-over tones from the preceding words).

/89 cont'd/

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539

Jen hua /people say/ O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — tu ch'uan /rowing a boat/ — pu k'an /ignoring/ — clo shui /water/ — ā hā — hum — yin chiu /drinking/ — clà t'an /as one wants/ — to /much/ — yeh shih /is/ — hsien /waste/ — O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hum — tu ch'uan — pu k'an — clà shui — tī hā — hum — yin chiu — t'an to O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — shih — hsien — yeh /particle of emphasis/ — shih — hsien — hā

/90/ Every two lines make up one unit in the song. Each unit is always sung as above, but a short pause is given between units.

Songs of the second kind are sung in the following two ways:

(a) Take the following words:

"Fen li le, yi szu tsai hou te hsiang feng." /Farewell, I am thinking that we shall meet again in the future./ They are sung in the following manner:

Fen li le /farewell/ — a hā — hum — yi szu /thinking/ — tsai /in the/ — hou /future/ — te /get to/ — hsiang /each other/ — feng /meet/ — hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hum — fen li clo — le tī hā — hum — yi szu — tsai hou O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hsiang — feng — te — hsiang — feng — hā —

(b) Take the following words:

"Sung hua ch'ü, wu yün sung yüeh kuo t'ien hsin."
/Seeing off my flower, (as) the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky./

They are sung in the following manner:

Sung /see off/ — hua /flower/ clo — ch'ü /go/ ā hā — hum — wu /dark/ yün /clouds/ — sung /see off/ lo — yüeh (moon) — kuo /across/ — t'ien /sky/ — hsin /heart/ — hoy — sung hua clo — ch'ü tī O hā — hum — wu yün sung yüeh O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — t'ien hsin — kuo — t'ien hsin — hā —

/91/

533 Every two lines in this kind of song also constitute one unit. If seven-character lines follow in the sequence, singing will be done in the manner of singing songs composed of seven-character lines.

This is all that we know about the ways Miao songs are sung. If there are other ways of singing them, we are not aware of them at present.

(4)

538 The legends of the Miao may be divided into two classes: One comprises those which are indigenous, and the other comprises those which have been introduced from outside. This distinction is immediately apparent when we take a look at the contents of the legends. Moreover, the legends may be divided into two classes from the point of view of form: those which have the same form as the songs, and those which do not. The legends with the same form as the songs are either the texts of the civilian and military Taoist priests, or the various songs for social occasions. These are easily available, since they have been written down. As regards those legends which are not in song form, they have been handed down entirely through oral transmission, and collecting them is difficult.

Of those legends which are indigenous, the most interesting are the ones which explain the process of the creation of heaven and earth and the origin of their ancestors. Two of this kind will be re-
539 773 corded as follows:

(a) The Little Girl of Fu-chi Sings:

You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! The drum is turned to Yang —
The little girl of Fu-chi arrives at the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Fu-sang Temple.
The kung-ts'ao /"merit official"/ was ordered to send you an invitation.
At the invitation of your masters,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the site of the altar.

/100 cont'd/

539 Who (Emperor P'ing) proposed the use of go-betweens?
173 As for Emperor P'an ... how many daughters?
Then he beckoned /for marriage into his family/ what young men of how many (five) surnames?
The first daughter married what (Teng) surname?
The second daughter married what (Chiang) family's young man?
The third daughter married what (Chao) surname?
The fourth daughter married what (Li) family's young man?
The fifth daughter married what (The family register is unclear) surname?
In the world today what is the custom for union? (Marriage)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many springs?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how are parents cared for?
The fifth daughter respectfully cared for them
And her parents lived a long time for many springs.
Her kindness was exalted and endless.
The record even though unclear mentions this and tells us about it.
Emperor P'an in his lifetime lived how many (Five hundred) years?
Graciously added to his life were how many (Sixty) springs?
/101/ Talk of ancient days are endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

533 Because these historical legends are all rhymed songs made of
538 lines of seven words each, they are frequently sung: The first, (a),
173 is sung by the Taoist priests during the "tso chai" ceremony. The next two, (b) and (c), are sung at wedding feasts with groups of men and women as the opposing singing parties. Interestingly, the contents of these legends provide answers to questions related to the origin of mankind, such as the creation of heaven and earth, the calamity of

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This is not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a
173 daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/135 cont'd/
554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171 585 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

M
+101 /20 cont./
cc in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently, they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[577] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[996] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
M are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[531] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
[386] is washed out and the designs appear.

/93 cont./

551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [517] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would [533]

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

584 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/97 cont./

585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 533 men and women of the host family gather in another group. 585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights, but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain

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574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
575 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

/141 cont./

*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to [178] the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes [788] out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] [535] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full [292] dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

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*782 *[787] to utter the chien-ling, chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. For each of these incantations the cheng chiao is sought, but for kou-hsiao the yin chiao will do. After the incantations are over, the gong and drum are sounded and the horn is blown. Then the horn is placed in the crook of both arms (as in the rituals for seeking a son and wheeling in money). The helpers burn the paper money, and the sorcerer does the three-step walk, simultaneously uttering the wheeling in money incantation. After a passage he turns toward the door, blows the horn once, and continues to recite another passage. He then turns toward the inside, blows the horn, and chants again, and again blows the horn. After the incantation is over, the sorcerer takes a rest. The helpers and the host and his relatives eat supper together, /186/ which is known as Hsia Ma Fan /the meal taken after dismounting from a horse/.

*782 533 The thirteenth part is the singing of the No song. The sorcerer-priest in his red headkerchief sits in front of the Peach Spring cave, while assembled friends and relatives of the host also sit in a circle in front of the cave. First the sorcerer begins to sing the No song, followed by each of the friends and relatives in turn, and then all in unison. There is no fixed length to the verses nor a fixed number of singers. The singing goes on until no one continues it, when they consider it ended. The texts of the verses cover a wide area. In addition to the verses telling of the No shen's virtues and requesting good fortune, and those for driving away misfortune, calamities, and difficulties, there are the "Song of the Origin of the No Shen" and the "Song of Duke No and Mother No," relating the story of the origin of the No shen. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1. The Myth about the Flood /not translated/.) The Miao think that [773] Duke No and Mother No were brother and younger sister and [776] that the Miao today are the descendants from the marriage between these two. (1) In addition they also sing and perform

[113] 1. See Ruey Yih-fu: Miao Tsu Hung Shui Ku Shih yü Fu Hsi Nü

[of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

*782 /186 cont./
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[143]

Wa te Ch'uan Shuo
/The Story of the Flood among the Miao and the Legend of Fu Hsi and Nü Wa/, in Jen-lui Hsüeh Chi K'an /Anthropological Review/, Vol. 1, No. 1.

the play, "Meng Chiang Nü," and the friends and relatives who come to see it toss out cash as "praising the song money."

*782 The fourteenth part[1] is checking in the troops. (This part
789 of the ritual is performed[1] only when the host desires to drive away evil influences, otherwise it may be omitted.) Rice straw is spread before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is laid a fine bamboo mat. The sorcerer, with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding two spears, stands on the mat and does the three-step walk. A helper picks up the colter of a plow and puts it in the fire until it is red. The sorcerer sings, swinging the spears. He first checks the troops in the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. For the east, north, and center he faces the inside of the house, whereas for the south and north /sic/ he faces outward. Next he checks the names of the 12 piao /body of troops/ leaders, and then the soldiers of the 12 months. After this checking, holding the two spears in his left hand and taking the chiao-tzu in
*[787] his right hand, he divines. If the yin chiao appears, it is considered that Duke No has mounted his horse; the yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the sheng chiao shows that all the other shen have mounted their horses. When the divination shows that all the shen have mounted their horses, the gong and drum are struck, the sorcerer priest blows his horn and grasps the spears, which have been in his left hand, separately and waves them to the left and right, does the three-step walk, and at the same time utters the hua-piao /"transforming the spears"/ incantation. After one passage, he goes

[1] [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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*782 grains will be abundant and resources will increase, and last he seeks the expulsion of the five pestilences, the hundred kuei, bandits, thieves, and all kinds of strange phenomena. After this, he inverts the two chiao-tzu on the tablet. Next he *782 utters the incantation about the origin of the chiao-tzu. He says *787 that the chiao-tzu originally were three persons: the yin chiao 773 had the surname Hsiao, the yang chiao, Kuo, and the sheng chiao, Tu. All three received offerings from humans at the place of the No Shen. When the incantation is finished, he *782 picks up the willow towel and rises together with the host. The helpers gather up the bedding and the rice straw.

/188/ The sixteenth part is K'ai Tung /"opening the cave"/. The sorcerer, with the red headkerchief and holding two hsien-feng banners in his hands, does the three-step walk at the front of the main hall and sings the magic K'ai Tung words, asking [776] the shen of the drama to emerge from the cave. After the singing, the gong and drum are struck, and the ritual terminates.

The seventeenth part is Pan Hsien Feng /"impersonating fairies"/. The sorcerer wears women's clothes and head orna- [292] ments to disguise himself as a woman and holds a hsien-feng banner or a fan. (If there are more than two pigs and two goats in the host's house, two females are impersonated.) The sorcerer-priest walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, singing out first the reasons why he has come to the No hall. Then he continues to sing about what he has seen in the hall, and asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. Then he sings to tell about the origin of hsien-feng. Finally, he bids the shen farewell. He accompanies the singing with movements of his hands and feet. After each passage of the singing, the gong and drum are sounded a few times and he moves several steps.

The eighteenth part is Pan Sung Tzu /"performing the handing over of a son"/. A square table is set up before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer-priest in the apparel for the [292] Pan Hsien Feng, stands on the table, holding the image of the [533] No child in his hand, and sings the song of farewell of the

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#782 heavenly shen coming down to earth. After this, he jumps
[533] down from the table and sings out what he has seen in the No hall. He then asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. After singing a passage, he strikes the gong and drum several times, walks a few steps, and then conveys the No child into the embrace of the host, and continues singing about the origin of the fairy sister. After the singing, the host puts down the image of the No child on the bed, and the caretaker of the altar burns paper money. Then the farewell incantation to the shen is sung, after which the gong and the drum are struck and the ritual terminates.

The nineteenth part is Pan K'ai-shan /"impersonating Kai-shan"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red headkerchief and
[532] a K'ai-shan mask, which has red whiskers and heavy eyebrows. Holding a wooden axe in his hand, he walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, dancing with hands and feet. First he sings about what he has seen en route to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. Next he asks to see the host to sing a passage of lucky words, after which he begins a conversation with the host, performing at the same
[522] time. The conversation has no definite subject but is full of humor.

The twentieth part is Pan Suan-chiang /"impersonating Suan-chiang"/. The sorcerer with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding a cane and a spear, walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, while singing out the reasons for his going to the No hall and what he saw there. He asks to see the host and sings a passage of auspicious words and has a conversation with him, at the same time performing. After this the host withdraws. Another person dressed as K'ai-shan /name of a general/ engages in a conversation with Suan-chiang /also a general/, and performs. After this, they engage in a duel. K'ai-shan wins and Suan-chiang loses. But K'ai-shan withdraws first. Suan-chiang sings the farewell incantation to the shen, and the ritual ends.

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*535

1. The Drumstick Dance

(1) The Combing-the-Hair Dance (Illus. 85)

Both men and women dance. A man's steps: Facing the drum, he beats it with his right hand, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung, tung, tung — tung. His body faces left, the toes of his right foot face the drum, his left foot is in the same direction as his body. The two feet are about 30 centimeters /kung fen/ apart, the right leg slightly bending. His left hand goes around the head twice as if combing the hair. The second time the hand is raised ready for combing again, and at the same time the left foot is on tiptoe, with the heel raised high. The left and right alternate in beating, there being no set number of times. /Illus. 80-88, pp. 207-12/ /213/

[533]

A woman's steps: Facing the drum, she beats it with her right hand, the drum beat also being tung, tung — tung, tung, tung — tung. With her body facing the drum, her ~~two feet~~ stretch out alternately to the beat of the drum. Her left hand goes across the right breast and around the head twice as if combing the hair. The left and right hands alternately beat, also without a set number of times, depending upon the endurance of the dancer. Afterward the tempo of the drum beating increases in short staccato beats, and her two feet leaping back and forth, each time she performs the hair-combing gesture once. To the accompaniment of fast beating, as the right hand beats the drum, the left foot stretches forth and the left hand combs the hair. Then the left hand beats the drum, and the right foot stretches forth and the right hand combs the hair in turn.

[533]

(2) Inserting-a-Flower Dance (Illus. 86)

Men and women both dance this. A man's steps: He beats the drum with his right hand, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung. Both the face and the body face left, the feet being

[533]

[text continues on p325]

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*535 about 50 centimeters apart. He holds the drumstick in his left hand as the flower. First he acts as if he were picking a flower from the ground, then inserts it into his hair, left and right alternating.

A woman's steps: She beats the drum with her right hand, the body halfway to the left and the two feet about 20 centimeters apart, like the "at ease" in military drill. When the right hand beats the drum, the left hand holds the lower part of the drumstick, first making the gesture of picking a flower from the earth and then sticking it into the hair.

(3) The Sword-Carrying Dance (Illus. 87)

[533] This dance is limited to men. The right hand beats the drum, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung. Both the face and body face left, the two feet apart as in the Inserting-Flower dance. The left hand goes around the waist in a great circle and closes tight against the back. The left and right hands perform alternately.

(4) The Flying-Bird Dance (Illus. 88)

This dance is limited to men. First the right hand beats the drum, the body faces left, the two feet being about 65 centimeters apart, with the toes of both feet pointing left. The left hand grasps the middle of the drumstick, the arm stretches straight, and bends forward and backward, with half of the body swaying in the gesture of opening up wings to fly. Left and right sides perform alternately.

(5) The Picking-the-Ear Dance (Illus. 89)

/214/ This is danced by both men and women. A man's steps: First the right hand beats the drum, with the body facing somewhat to the left, the two feet about 30 centimeters apart, the toes of the right foot pointing toward the drum and the toes

/214 cont./

*535 a few times the two feet continue to change position, crossing each other. When the left foot is crossing over the right foot he beats the drum with both hands from the left to the right. When the right foot is crossing over the left foot, the two drumsticks come down from the right to the left. Both hands bend in a triangle. When the left hand is on top and the right hand is at the bottom, the right hand hits the drum first, and [533] the left hand follows. The drum beats tung — tung, two beats. At the same time the right leg bends forward. Left and right alternate.

A woman dances by beating the drum with the right hand, the body facing the drum. The two feet are about 28 centimeters apart, the right foot pointing forward, the left foot slanting to the left, the heel raised. The left arm bends slightly above the shoulder and drops backward in the gesture of a butterfly flying. The beating of the drum with the right hand and the movements of the left foot and left hand must all be synchronized. In alternate turns the two feet step forth. When the dancer faces the drum, it is called ch'ien hua /forward flower/, and when the back is to the drum, /Illus. 89-92 on pp. 215-16/ /217/ it is called the hou hua /backward flower/. When the face is toward the left or right, it is called the "left flower" and the "right flower" respectively.

(8) The Round-Hand Drum Dance (Illus. 93, 94)

Both men and women may do this dance. A man dances by beating the drum with his right hand, his two feet about 70 centimeters apart. It may be divided into two kinds: the small round-hand dance and the large round-hand dance. In the small round-hand drum dance the dancer faces the drum, his two feet pointing together in the form of an arrow, the left hand bent and raised to head level, the wrist turning in a small circle; left and right alternate in this. In the large round-hand dance the dancer also faces the drum, the two feet standing parallel. The hand is straight out and then is revolved

[text continues on p330]

/217 cont./

*535 from the shoulder to form a large circle. When the hand reaches head level, the face turns outward.

A woman dances in the same way as a man, except that the arm turns in a circle and that is all.

(9) Monkey Dance (Illus. 95)

The rhythm of this dance is very fast; both men and women dance it. A man dances by beating the drum with the right [533] hand, tung, tung — tung, face toward the drum, left and right hands beating in turn. The two feet are about 38 centimeters apart parallel to each other. After beating several times, the dancer closes up the feet to form an arrow. The left and right hands each beats tung, tung — tung two times. Then he turns his body about but without moving his feet. The left hand beats the drum, tung, tung — tung, he turns and once more sounds three beats. After turning like this several times, the two drumsticks make seven drumbeats, tung, tung, tung, tung, [533] tung, tung, — tung, and turning and striking seven drumbeats, he continues turning, the faster the better.

A woman dances by squatting down on both feet; she begins to beat the drum first with the right hand, then left and right beat continuously. After beating several times, she turns her body left with her back facing the drum, the right hand continuing beating the drum. The left hand also beats backward, alternating with the right hand. She turns to the left and the right, the faster the better.

(10) The Drawing-Out-a-Fire-Pot Dance (Illus. 96)

This dance is limited to men. The drum is beaten with the right hand; the two feet are about 50 centimeters apart, forming an arrow. The distance between the two feet, however, depends upon the height of the drum; the higher the drum the closer the feet, the lower the drum the farther apart the feet. The left hand bends first forward then back in the gesture

/217 cont./

*535 of drawing out a feng-lu /a small, portable fire pot/. After a few times, the left and right hands and the left and right feet dance alternately. /Illus. 93-96 appear on pp. 218-19./

/220/ (11) The Forging-Iron Dance (Illus. 97)

Limited to men, this dance is performed by pointing the two feet in the form of an arrow with the toes facing forward, sometimes with the heels raised. The body of the dancer faces the drum, both hands first thrust backward, and when they swing forward they beat the drum.

(12) The Turning-a-Mill Dance (Illus. 98)

This is a men's dance. Both feet also are in the form of an arrow and about 60 centimeters apart, the heels raised. The right hand beats the drum first, tung, tung, — tung, twice, the left hand flings in a circle and then beats the drum, also [533] tung, tung, — tung. Then both hands descend on the drum at the same time, beating rapidly, producing tung — tung drumbeats, in the gesture of turning a mill. There is also the turning-a-small-mill dance. The feet, about 40 cm. apart, also form an arrow. The right hand beats the drum and the left hand circles before the drum in the gesture of turning a mill. Sometimes a woman also performs this turning-a-mill dance, but this is rarely seen.

(13) The Pulling-a-Beard Dance (Illus. 99)

This dance is limited to men. Body forward, the dancer has his feet parallel about 30 centimeters apart. His right hand beats the drum and his left hand, grasping a drumstick, is raised to the mouth with the thumb up to make the gesture of pulling on a beard; then the left hand stretches left in the gesture of straightening out the beard. The left and the right hand alternate in this act.

[text continues on p334]

/229 cont./

*535 (4) The Dog-Going-Through-a-Hole Dance (Illus. 112)

This dance follows immediately after the Lion-Chasing-a-Ball Dance. When beating the drum facing left, the right foot goes back a short step, the left hand beats the drum, the right hand goes under the right leg and beats, the left hand beats, the right hand beats, and again the left hand beats, the right hand going under the left leg to beat, the left hand beats. Turning the body around, the dancer beats the drum with the right hand, then with the left hand, and again with the right hand, the left hand goes under the right leg to beat the drum, the right hand beats, then the left hand, and again the right, the left hand goes under the left leg and beats, the right hand beats, then the left hand. The beating is continuous, the faster the better. /Illus. 109-14, on pp. 230-32./

/233/ (5) The Riding-a-Horse Dance (Illus. 113)

The dancer faces the drum with his two feet parallel, slightly squatting. The left hand beats the drum, the right hand, going under the right leg, beats, the left hand beats the drum, then the right hand beats, and the left hand, going under the left leg, beats, the right hand beats, then the left hand beats, and the right hand, going under the right leg, beats.

(6) The Fierce-Tiger-Sitting-in-a-Hall Dance (Illus. 114)

The dancer faces the drum, the body half turned to the left. The right hand beats the drum six times, tung, tung, [533] tung, tung, tung, tung, the left arm bent to the level of the left shoulder, the two feet parallel to each other. Then the left foot goes back one step, forming a right angle, the right foot goes back, then the left foot comes forward, still forming a right angle; the left hand beats the drum, the right arm bent to the level of the right shoulder.

[text continues on p 349]

/233 cont./

*535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow. [533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated, making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25 centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, [533] two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung— tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

857 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/ gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttlecock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese [177] children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on p351]

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
526 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
[177] same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[411] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
539 swing:
773
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

883 It might have been of the sort that existed
836 in An-lung Hsien. There between the time of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

883 THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

836 For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
539 If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the
535 young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one
533 heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an evening after work — at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was [50a]
also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

534 pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

533 They also made tunes on leaves and were said to be able to send messages in this way.
534 Among other Miao this was courting music,
584 accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

584 **Betrothal.** Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young people probably were acquainted.

585 **Wedding** (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food, men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
252 before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
[124] pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
527 then other things in turn. I sat until noon with the old man and his second wife and found them very ready to answer questions about family history. The conversation led into that channel in an interesting way. The old man had been reading about Roosevelt in the newspaper and asked me questions, being most desirous of knowing whether there were many people named Lo in the United States. (The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
527 lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual place, but they had no visitors as yet. During the day children went around from house to house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
533 fires in the houses, the women about several
527 fires at certain points in the village and just inside the wood. The same women usually composed each group, but now and then one would visit a group not her own. The girls now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'
123

[2] See p. 8.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

sound, the lowest note, we believe, to which 534
mortal ears are sensible. The tunes they play
are very monotonous.

At the Heh Miao festivals, five players in a 535
row, with instruments of different sizes, wheel 796
round and round the man who plays the large
pipes with the drum. A row of five young
women go round with them, sometimes facing
them and moving backwards, sometimes behind
and following. To alter their position the
young women wheel outside of the circle, let
the pipers go round, and then wheel in again.
This they call dancing, but there is no real
dancing about it; it is merely pacing, yet it
seems to interest them, and they do it very
seriously. We think it must be reckoned bad
form for them to laugh or smile while thus
engaged, for we have seen the girls severely
exerting themselves to keep their faces straight,
when they evidently wanted at least to smile.
As for the pipers, it is no laughing or smiling 533
matter for them. They exert themselves so 796
much that their cheeks are swollen, their eyes
seem to stand out of their heads, and the
perspiration streams down their red faces.
We have seen thirty or forty of these groups
of ten, circling round on one plot of ground,
hemmed in by hundreds of spectators. The

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

A Group of Heh Miao (Black Miao) Pipe-Players at Panghai.

To face page 66.

[Facing p. 66]

533

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

533 796 sound of so many pipes all playing independently at the same time and place is certainly not music, and soon becomes positively exasperating to some ears. On the edge of the crowd are sweetstuff and cake sellers, and other hawkers moving about.

796 All the Miao have these festivals, but the music and pacing are not the same. Among the Hua Miao and Shui-hsi Miao, the women do not dance, but men dressed up in women's clothes, with their hair done up like women, take their place. Among the Hua Miao, all the babies born during the year are taken to these festivals, and carried about on the backs of their fathers. Many of the Miao villages around Anshunfu have, besides the pipes, their own band of four musicians, provided with a drum, a pair of cymbals, and two flageolets or flutes. These musicians are often invited and paid by the Chinese to play at their marriages, funerals, and other functions.

541 796 The pony-runnings at these festivals are not races, and there are no prizes given. A piece of land is selected, level or nearly level, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. Along this they gallop in a line one after another. On reaching the end of the course they turn off, and walk or trot back again to the starting-

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [573] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men [276] and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

583 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao [178] at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are still being made. There are sometimes contests to see who can sing the largest number of them. When anything important happens, a song may be composed and it is sung and taught to others. If some good deed is done, the person that is benefitted may write a song and thus spread the knowledge of it abroad and to future generations. If an injustice is done, this is an efficient way of punishing the offender and of securing revenge. 533

There is nothing that could be called band music, although at funerals and other ceremonies the jointed bugles, called in Chinese *sa la tzŭ*, and brass gongs are used, and the ceremonial drum is accompanied in funeral and memorial ceremonies by the *liu shêng*. The mouth harp, made of brass or of bamboo, is played by lovers when they are sitting side by side and making love to each other. Tree leaves are used for making love when the lovers are far apart, for the noise is much louder and they are thought to be very efficient in winning the feminine heart, as the following proverb shows: 534

blo ŋ tgə gwa· bo· tgə Ta·
blo ŋ tgə ndˢao bo· tgə hnao.

which means:

> If the tree leaf does not resound, the wife will not come.
>
> If the tree leaf does not sound forth, the wife will not hear.

With both the mouth harp and the tree leaf the music is accompanied by audible words.[10]

Of special interest is the *liu shêng* 六笙, called by the Ch'uan Miao gaign or gʌn. It consists of a piece of wood two feet or more in length, hollow inside, and larger at the bottom than near the top. The upper portion is about an inch in diameter and the base is from two to three inches in diameter. Into holes in the larger part of this wood are inserted six bamboo tubes of unequal lengths in which there are brass reeds. The six notes made by means of these tubes are all harmonious so that two or more can be sounded at one time. The result, in the hands of a skillful musician, is beautiful music. Only men and boys play the *liu shêng* and the player always accompanies the music with dancing, so that the result is not unlike that of a Scotchman playing his bagpipes.

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10. Warning of the approach of robbers is sometimes given by means of tree leaf music which can be heard ten *li* distant. The speaker does not actually pronounce words. He or she makes the same tones with the same emphasis as if speaking the words or sentences and it is easily understood by another Ch'uan Miao. 202

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

533 To an untrained occidental ear, the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao seem to be very much alike and to resemble those used in western countries by the liturgical churches in their religious chants.[11]

The Ch'uan Miao distinguish at least the following different kinds of songs with appropriate tunes:—

1. Songs sung by go-betweens when making engagements.
2. Songs sung when sending the bride away from her home on her wedding day.
3. Songs sung when welcoming a bride at her wedding and at other times during a wedding.
4. Love songs, of which there are two kinds, those sung more loudly when the lovers are apart and those sung in very low tones when lovers are sitting close together.
5. War songs.
6. Hunting songs.
7. Fishing songs.
8. Songs sung by *tuan kung* 端公, while exorcising demons.
9. Songs sung at deaths and at funerals.
10. Songs sung during memorial ceremonies.

533 534 The music of the *liu shêng*[1] is distinguished as follows:—

1. That used when sweeping the house preparatory to a memorial festival.
2. When welcoming back home the souls of the dead.
3. When presenting the sacrificial animal to the ancestor.
4. When making a sacrificial offering of food or wine to the ancestor.
5. To distinguish time limits in the memorial ceremonies.
6. Thanking the filial son after feasts in the memorial ceremonies.
7. When sending or escorting the soul of the dead to heaven.
8. Tunes played just for amusement.

The mouth harp is played only in low, soothing tones when making love and audible words are spoken.

Only love songs are played with tree leaves. The music is louder than that of the mouth harp and audible words are spoken.

With the flute can be played

1. Love-songs, but words cannot be spoken.
2. Music merely for pleasure.

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11. While the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao are definite and regular, there is probably greater freedom for changes and variations than is the case in occidental music.

1 [SEE P. 31]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

836 On the second or third days of the second moon, at
tuan yang 端陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men
837 and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But sometimes a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men other than her husband objects to her husband's doing likewise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love affairs.

837 At the *tso chai* 做齋 ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 超渡
593 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests, old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that he will beat that person and if the person does not run away or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the house where the guests are being entertained, or in another house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife afterwards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has given them good complexions. Women who are popular with men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers or good at playing the *liu shêng* and dancing, or have money. Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great difference, and generally but not always ability to work is
533 esteemed. It is said that the most potent music of all in making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the musician.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

●533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

1k Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

this goes a hollow bamboo tube 2–3 feet long through which they blow; through the body go, at right angles to this blowing tube, 6 bamboo tubes ½-inch in diameter perforated by several holes. When played it sounds very much like Scot bagpipes. When they play it they dance. Their singing is not as falsetto as the Chinese. The clothes and hats of the women are often beautifully embroidered. Some men also wear embroidered clothes, but most of their (men's) clothing is like the Chinese. Neolithic stone implements were found in considerable numbers.

Conclusions.—The report of the blood-groups of 205 Ch'wan Miao (157 males and 48 females), an aboriginal type of Szechwan province, West China, is submitted. There is also a report made of 1,292 Chinese of that province. The Ch'wan Miao examined were adults, their blood-pressure was recorded,[2] photographs were taken and a complete physical anthropological examination was made.

The blood-groups of the Ch'wan are very low in A and high in B, as compared with the Szechwanese.

534
[533]
172
143
[P. 67 b]

[9 cont.]

517 purpose of these festivities is to celebrate in advance a rich harvest, and therefore the participants are numerous, especially the young men and women, who go there in new and pretty clothes with the object of finding a mate. As to moon dance, sitting in the moon, singing or chasing the moon, these are occasions specially designed for love-making by the young. [533] Both men and women are good singers, and they sing to drown out the sorrows in their chest, as well as to effect a lover's union. Anyone who fails to sing at marriage and funeral ceremonies will surely be disgraced. Singing, in short, is a necessary accomplishment. Within a short distance from the village there [443] is a level ground for the market fair held once in every six days; this is the center of trade for the Miao-I. On such occasions people gather together at the fair, bustling, loitering and looking around, their heart full of joy and fun. It gives them a respite from their routine toil. Aside from this they are fond of music. [534] Their musical instruments include the liu-sheng, wu-sheng [five tube bamboo wind instrument, flutes, harmonicas, so-na [a clarinet type wind instrument], brass drums, and p'i-pa [lute]. The liu-sheng is the most common instrument; it is made of bamboo with a gradation of notes resembling that of a military band. Its tune is like the plaintive call of a bird but with a variation of notes. The music accompanies simple dance steps, out of which they derive much pleasure and satisfaction.

4. Ceremonies and Customs

1) Marriage. The various Miao-I ethnic groups in Kweichow 584 are rather complicated, but their marriage customs, though varying to a certain extent, are generally the same among different tribes. Marriages are either arranged by parents or the parties themselves, but mostly follow the will of the former and take the advice of the go-between. To negotiate marriage [10] they first discuss gifts and dowries. After marriage the bride goes back to her parents 591 until she is about to give birth to a son. She is then confined to her husband's house. In ancient times, this custom was first

[18 cont.]

301 two silver bracelets and two or three finger rings. But when they put on their best embroidered clothes, then they would wear a kind of silver headgear with different kinds of silver pins in the chignon, and at least two or three solid silver necklaces, sometimes as many as a dozen; the number of bracelets and finger rings they wear is also doubled. They would have still more silver jewelry on the dress or attached to the waist. The [556] quantity of silver worn is an index to the wealth of the family, and so during festivals the women become exhibits in every family.

3. Marriage

584 Marriage among the Miao is mostly the result of love, but the mediation of the match-maker and the engagement ceremony are necessary before fixing the date of marriage. Young men and women [19] at the "liu sheng [reed-wind instrument] dance" in the first lunar month may openly fall in love with each other without the intervention of parents or brothers of the family. In ordinary times, especially during the holidays, they may also court each other at will. So on the mountain slope or in the field we often observe scenes of "yao-ma-lang" (i.e., love-making), when they sing songs to each other in questions [593] and answers. One party would ask a question in a song, and if the other party is willing she sings back the answer. These songs are extemporized, full of freedom and naturalness. Such serenades last till sunset when they begin to return home. After a suitable period of time, if their feelings persist then the parents would find a go-between to arrange the engagement. 836 This system of love and marriage seem very free, yet there is no promiscuity. Their conduct is regulated by unwritten laws and they all have a high sense of decency. For instance, yao-ma-lang is carried on out of sight of old people, and yet it has to be within sight of passers-by. Furthermore, men and women must remain at least five feet apart, and necking and embracing are taboo. (The Long-skirt Miao not far away from them permit

[199 cont.]
517 with weapons over a girl. Such brawls, known as "seeking
832 enemies," are not infrequent.
579

[200] (V) Musical Instruments. The Miao-I within the
534 district are fond of playing musical instruments. These include the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument], wu-sheng [five-pipe bamboo wind instrument], k'ou-ch'in [mouth organ or harmonica], hsiao-ti [flutes and fifes] and so-na [clarinet-type wood-wind instrument], of which the liu-sheng is the most common among the Miao-I. Each family, no matter how rich or poor, owns one. The instruments are described as follows:

(a) The liu-sheng. This instrument is called liu-sheng 六笙 because its bamboo tubes can give six [liu 六] tones. It is also called lu-sheng 蘆笙 from the word "lu" 蘆, meaning "bamboo-reed." It is made of six bamboo tubes of varying lengths, one end of which is inlaid with a brass plate as a metallic tongue. The bamboo tubes are inserted into either a round or square wooden case, at one end of which is a wooden handle. Each tube has a hole, through which the player blows and sucks, and which he stops at will with his fingers, thus issuing different sounds. The varying lengths of the bamboo tubes make it possible to have both high and low pitches.

The use of the liu-sheng is very extensive. At the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance and other gatherings this is the most important musical instrument. During the funeral ceremony the liu-sheng renders the most solemn music. Young men who wish to excel others have no regard for the time con-
[832] sumed in mastering the art of playing this instrument, for it is the best recommendation to the fair sex. The following are two com-
● 583 mon tunes for the six-tube bamboo wind-instrument. Its music, simple and clear, is used to accompany songs that are widely sung in the Miao-I area.

12: Wu and Ch'en--119 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[200 cont.]

No. 1

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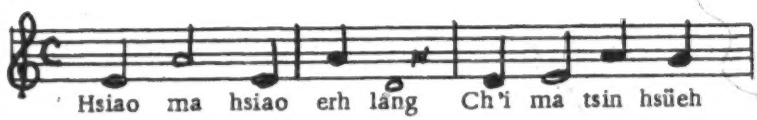

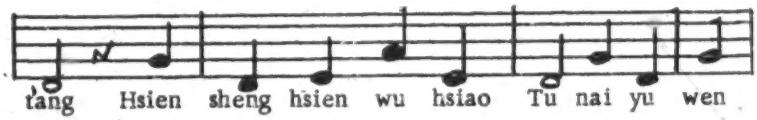

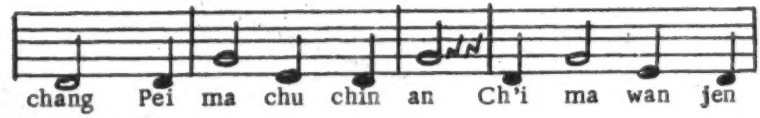

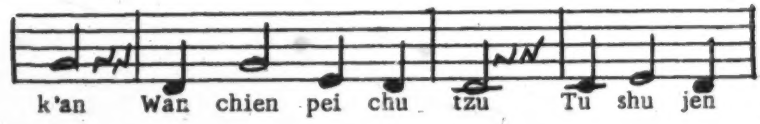

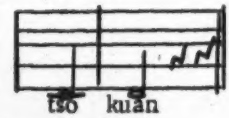

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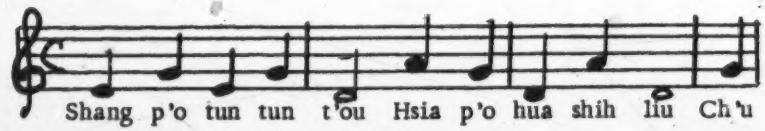
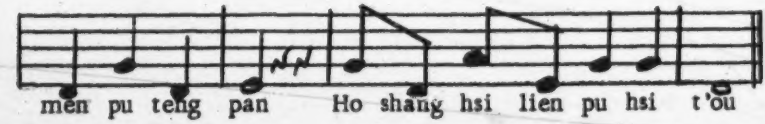




[201 cont.]

534 sizes. All the young men are fond of playing these instruments. It is a first step toward playing the so-na. On the other hand, a trumpeter must first learn how to play the flute or fife. The latter can also produce music with a seducive lilt, not any less licentious than the five-tube bamboo wind instrument.

[202] (e) The so-na. The Miao-I are very fond of playing the so-na, a clarinet type of instrument. One sees young men and cowboys practicing it. This popular instrument resembles the trumpet [la-pa] used in funeral ceremonies. Originally the use of the so-na was limited to funeral and sacrificial functions in the same way that the local Chinese use cymbals, gongs and drums. When the Miao-I have a funeral, people do [764] not sleep at night and the so-na is used to revive the spirit. Furthermore, as the lamentations at a Miao-I funeral are most sad and heart-rending, the so-na is used to drown out the pitiful wails so that they will not be heard outside. But, today, on all festive occasions such as weddings, both the Chinese and the Miao-I play this clarinet type of instrument to lend gaiety to the affairs.

Besides the above instruments there are also brass drums, lutes [p'i-pa], moon harps, two-string violins, wooden leaves and horns, but they are not as popular.

(VI) Singing. Singing is very popular among the various 533 Miao-I tribes in An-shun. It is regarded as a necessary requirement in social gatherings, and good singers are admired and applauded by the public. Singing provides a good medium for young men and women to get together. Those who cannot sing will have trouble in solving their marital problems. Therefore, the Miao-I men and ~~women~~ all know the words of the songs by heart since childhood. The structure of the songs is quite different from those sung by the local Chinese, and they sound exotic and peculiar to us. The following are some specimens of the songs sung by the Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Chung-chia; the words are freely translated, but the tunes cannot be reproduced here.

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

[166 cont.]

The young couple
591 either remains in the paternal home or found a new household, in accordance with their choice.

Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo."
583 When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's
[556] family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious
584 custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great
533 numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

It is during the days which follow this festival that the great
584 majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to
595 take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli," 774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies 793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so 796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere- [527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo" [157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The [831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The [533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing [535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving 524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanied by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/61 cont./

A M 857 532 In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67).[1] I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

A M 526 [533] There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

M 526 628 584 the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such , I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [See cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/83 cont./

A may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute
M /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life
857 of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I
[534] did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, how-
[538] ever, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so
533 tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially
M the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old
[868] do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the
[535] cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing
535 plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly
857 saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the
868 adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the
M chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamenta-
532 tion"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

1 [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

/88 cont./

M seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao
832 interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together.
883 Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the
morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They
123 tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because,
they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love,
and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels
himself very much the center of attention and declares that
if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends
M with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the
[515] girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to
cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces
and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma
M sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love
[533] songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief
joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the
same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where
do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

A That purely materialistic considerations play only a
M minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that
836 prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never
[548] yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is
[431] customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver
necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him
a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the
chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-
25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a
matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love
have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a
young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes
him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her
partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes
114
548
836

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported,
without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[776 688] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/100 cont./

595 On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has
[583] to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thǭ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yǭ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 The customs described by various other authors, each
585 according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[324] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women
[782] never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings
585 the wedding song:
533

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/104/

114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
584

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other.
[533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by [775] putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, [554] women, and children, with no differences other than that the sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/139/

b) Music and Musical Instruments

A M 533 The basic music is the same among both peoples; both peoples know singing ~~and~~ the use of musical instruments.

Singing

Singing plays an important role among the Meau as well as among the Akha; both sexes sing on various occasions. I found no confirmation for the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn that the Meau make music only in connection with burials. To be sure, the Akha enjoy singing even more than the Meau, for whom singing while working in the rice fields is prohibited by a taboo (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), whereas the Akha sing unhindered and by preference at just such work.

M [243] [784]

Among both peoples there are a few traditional songs of old whose texts are unalterable. The dance songs of the Akha girls belong to this group. The great majority of song texts, however, are improvised and depend on the situation and the singer. There are, for instance, many variations of the songs with which the mother sings her child to sleep. Hopes, wishes, and admonitions are woven into these lullabies of the Meau in which are repeated innumerable times and always to the same melody:

M [854]

M [539]

"Sleep well, my child, I shall cover you to keep you warm and go into the rice field to get fodder for our animals."

"Sleep, my girl, and do not cry, otherwise the dogs and the pigs will bite you."

"Sleep well, my boy, and do not play with knives and do not lose your covering."

"Sleep, my child, I shall go into the rice field and cut sugar cane for you and bring you good food."

A M 533 832 Singing is very important for lovers; it gives them a chance to express the intensity of their emotions, knowledge, mental ability, ready wit, and humor. It is significant that

/139 cont./

A among both peoples good singers always find special approval
M among the girls. It should also be pointed out that /140/ a
533 pronounced love for one's native village runs through many of
832 the love songs, which would not be expected among either the
[621] Meau or Akha, since both, as seminomadic peoples, often
[186] change their habitation sites. One might assume, therefore, that no special attachment to their villages would develop, but since the opposite is the case, it seems to indicate that the nomadic inclination of these peoples is only a secondary development (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "Causes of the Migrations").

M The most impressive are the love songs of the Meau,
539 which sometimes betray a really lyrical feeling:
832 "I came to your village in order to love you, but you would not even speak to me; this has made my heart sick with pain."

"I am a strong young man. Oh, why will you not hold my hand?" (Here the singer complains that the girl came to the rendezvous, but now is unwilling to surrender.)

"I visited you in your house, but you did not love me, so I am leaving."

"Now I have come to you, and if you will only stroke my neck, I shall be happy for several years, even if you do not grant me anything else."

"Speak only two words, and I shall be happy for a long time" (the "two words" mean a confirmation of love in return).

"I came to your house; why did you not offer me a cold drink?" (Girls present a "cold drink," that is, water, to the
M friend toward whom they are favorably inclined. Liquor is
[273] regarded as a very obvious invitation.)

"I came to your house, in front of which there is a tree with three fruits. Eat only one fruit, the others are poisonous!" (The singer has heard that his sweetheart has two other friends and warns her.)

Miao AE5

/140 cont./

539 The lover also often assures the girl of his faithfulness
832 with a song: "If someone offers me two oranges, I shall eat only one!"

"If two cups of clear water are offered to me, I shall drink only one!" (This indicates that he will not accept a "cold drink" from another girl.)

[836] /141/ Keepsakes are also cherished by the lovers, as is shown by the following definitely lyrical songs:

"If you give me a kerchief, I shall take care of it as I would of you. Whenever I see it, I shall think of you." -- The girl, to whom the boy has given a neck-ring, replies: "When I look at your neck-ring, your embraces will be present to me and I shall think of you."

The following song has particularly fervent words:

"I shall press your kerchief to my breast. If I remain alive, I shall return, and if I should die, my soul will hover around you as a good spirit."

Marabail (1), too, published love songs of the Meau:

1. Pages 296 and 298.

"The young man: 'Man is born only once. Just as the bee and the butterfly seek out the distant flower, so are human beings forced to cover long distances to find those with whom they are to unite. We two are from different villages, yet we want to marry. It is heaven that wishes this, heaven that is just and never errs.' The girl replies: 'Like the reed and the plum tree we are separated by endless distances. One should not jest so. Since you give me the example of the bees, however, we need only imitate them. Expect me then in the evening at nightfall, and I shall not fail to come.'"

539 Savina (2), too, is one of the authors who mention and

2. II, p. 197.

[533] record such alternate songs: "Most of the songs consist of questions and answers." He then gives the song of a mother who mourns for her deceased children: "The little children to

/141 cont./

539 whom the mothers sing in the evening awaken in the morning with the first light. Why then do mine, who have already slept so long, never awaken anymore?

"Every spring when the peach trees bloom by the houses, the little swallows return and again fill their old nests on the smoky roofs with eggs. Why do my children never return anymore to look at their poor little beds?

"Every year when the maize is in bloom in the fields, the cuckoos return to see once more the lonely trees on the mountains and the rocks on the banks /142/ of the turbulent river. Why then do my poor children never return to see their old mother?

When the fruits fall from the tree, they sprout and come up beside it. Why do my children, who sank down at my side, never rise again?

"The grains of rice send out shoots in the water of the rice fields, as do the kernels of maize in the fields surrounded by rocks. Then why do the children of poor mothers never grow up again out of their cold graves?"

114 The texts of these songs show that Abadie's statement (1),
533

1. Page 169.

"The songs in the language of the Meau are always humorous and even erotic," corresponds as little to the facts as the report by Lajonquière (2): "Their songs are always erotic and almost

2. II, p. 312.

never depart from the following theme: the singer addresses a woman who is passing by, asks her what the news is, invites her to sit down beside him, becomes obtrusive. When she continues on her way, he scolds or mocks her."

539 To be sure, there are songs which have such a content:
832 "I have come to you in your house, and now you do not want to grant me your favors. Now I shall go to another house and there buy water for my money. The water there is colder than your's. When I drink it, I am happy, for then another girl loves me."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/142 cont./

M 539 832 A lover to whom favors were granted often sings of his luck in many successive sentences: "Now I have to leave your village, and whenever I remember your embraces, my soul will be happy. Now I must leave, but I shall think only of returning. My soul wanders in the clouds (meaning: you have bewitched me) and not on earth. And when I return and hold your hand, I shall not be able to stop the flow of words until the end of my life (meaning: he will take her as his wife for life). What are you going to give me then to fill my soul and to stop the flow of my words? (a clear allusion to the sexual act, the only moment when the lovers are silent). Whatever you give me I shall give back to you all my life long."

M 533 M [484] In these songs rhythm plays no role, and melody only a minor one. The words are produced in a high-pitched voice with wholly /143/ unrelated high notes. Even while traveling no rhythm is maintained and marching in our sense is unknown to these peoples. There is singing, however, on every occasion: upon setting out to hunt, in connection with the preparations for the caravan when it is necessary to look for new village sites, in connection with bringing in the harvest, and in connection with housework. Lajonquière (1) reports similarly on the Meau.

1. II, p. 311.

There are no professional singers or bards, and similarly no epics heroic songs, or war songs, which formerly, at least among the Meau, were probably present. In any case, however, they cannot be found today. On the other hand, I was able to find two melodies among the Meau and one among the Akha to A [533] which texts similar to our Alpine "ditties" are sung. Often, however, the performer only sings words which happen to come into his head.

M [171] The sound of the songs of the Meau is very reminiscent of the "joiken" of the Lapps (2), although in the case of the

2. Bernatzik, VI, pp. 78 ff.

A M 533 832 joiken there are no words. Alternate songs to which texts are

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

A M [177] All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

M 114 533 538

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

[1] [See cat 116, p124 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
[171] Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instru-
171 ment, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
●533 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
534 form (Ill. 75)[4] among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral in-
[778] strument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as
[562] women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

4 [see cat. 116, p 574 – ANALYST]

/145 cont./

534 For the manufacturing process, the length of the pipes, which, along with the diameter, determines the pitch, is always chosen so that their tone is somewhat lower than the one actually aimed for; finally the instrument is tuned by appropriately shortening the tubes. Each pipe is provided with a /Figs. 24-27 appear here/ blow hole that leads into the body of the mouth organ, and with a keyhole that is stopped with a finger. The tone is produced by stopping the keyhole and blowing into the pipe. In addition the vibration parts for the mouth organ are so constructed that the same tone is produced by blowing air in or by sucking it out. Not until the end of the process is the silver mouthpiece put on. The construction of this instrument makes it possible to breathe while playing. Thus, during the sacral dances one can play uninterruptedly. This is very [535] important since the players always dance and play at the same time. The actual use of the instrument is best shown by the drawings and photographs. While the intervals between the individual pipe tones are fixed, the absolute pitch of the basic flute is left to the taste of the manufacturer; it also depends on the size of the instrument. Thus the mouth organs differ considerably from one another in basic pitch, but agree melodically. The use of the pitch pipe is not customary.

[533] /146/ Another instrument of the Meau, which is especially popular among lovers and is played by both sexes, is the jew's-harp (Fig. 27). It consists of a sheet of brass or bronze with a vibrating tongue in the middle. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the right thumb; the oral cavity acts as the sounding board (Ill. 77). 1

Furthermore, there are two kinds of flute. The simple rod flute (Ill. 76) 1 consists of a wooden or bamboo body and has six finger holes on the upper side and one on the under side tuned in major. /Figs. 28-29 appear here./ The hole on the under side is sometimes stopped. The simple construction of the flute is shown in the drawings (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). Both sexes play this flute as well as the one described below. [114] Lajonquière (1), too, mentions flutes and mouth organs. He [562] [533]

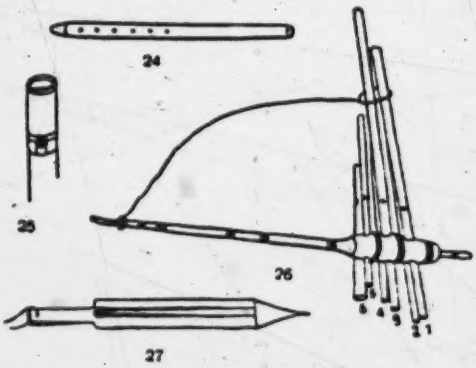
1. II, p. 311.

1 [see cat 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His
[114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs
[562] with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau
[533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical Instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages
[463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area.
533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the
[243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [752] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's [202] celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute of the Meau. 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 28, from above, Fig. 29, side view and blow-hole.

● 533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/147 cont./

M 534 231 177 piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A M 533 The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Sometimes they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they

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31

M 534 [531]

Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

A M 533 [224] hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here./ The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well
[756] as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/283 cont./

M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.

Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [353] M [513] M [231]

Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M 883 [243] M [836] [533]

The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

A 361 166 [241] [623]

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr. /

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[12] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/36 cont'd/

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This is the large drum being preserved in the home of the chia-ch'ang. The drum is made of deer skin and each drum has two drum sticks.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
M Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
648 and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
175 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
CC calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
175 Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
563 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
669 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563
(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/202/

CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is
[181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example,
[526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu
[534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in
[292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a
[782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments
[656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened
[186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey
[184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

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M 174 *535 at Nan-Yang. They very much resemble the drum dance of the Hung Miao today. This strengthens the belief that the drum dance was brought into the Miao area during the Han dynasty. Further, according to the legend still prevalent today in the C [175] [535] Miao area, in ancient times the Miao lived in Honan. The ancient Chinese records refer to the Mao Jung at Yin-ti in Honan province. From the geographical standpoint the theory also seems close to facts.

M *535 The drum dance of the Miao may be divided into two kinds: the solo dance and the duet dance. The solo dance is done by one person beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping the waist of the drum (Illus. 84-116). The duet dance is done by two persons beating the drum and dancing and one person M [562] tapping (Illus. 81, 82, and 83). There is no restriction as to sex, any combination being permitted.

[534] The size of the drum was probably set in former times, but now there are no uniform requirements. The drum is hoisted on a wooden frame and the stick /pang/ used for tapping is about a ch'ih long, and the drumstick is about half a ch'ih.

There are two kinds of dances: the drumstick dance and the fist dance, the difference being that in the former the drum is M struck with the drumstick and in the latter with the fist. The [562] fist dances, except for the ta-pa-pa dance (see later), are men's dances and are not practiced by women. As for the drumstick dances, although they are for both men and women, there is a certain number exclusively for men. When we observed the Miao dances we felt at first that the movements were rather complicated, but after detailed analysis they are rather simple. Since within the short space of five minutes they can dance over 20 different steps in very rapid motion, each being interchangeable with the other, on-lookers cannot help but feel that the steps are extremely intricate. Following are accounts of the drumstick dance and the fist dance.

2:Ling & Ruey--318 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 80. Miao women's drum dance group at Kan-ch'eng.

2:Ling & Ruey--319 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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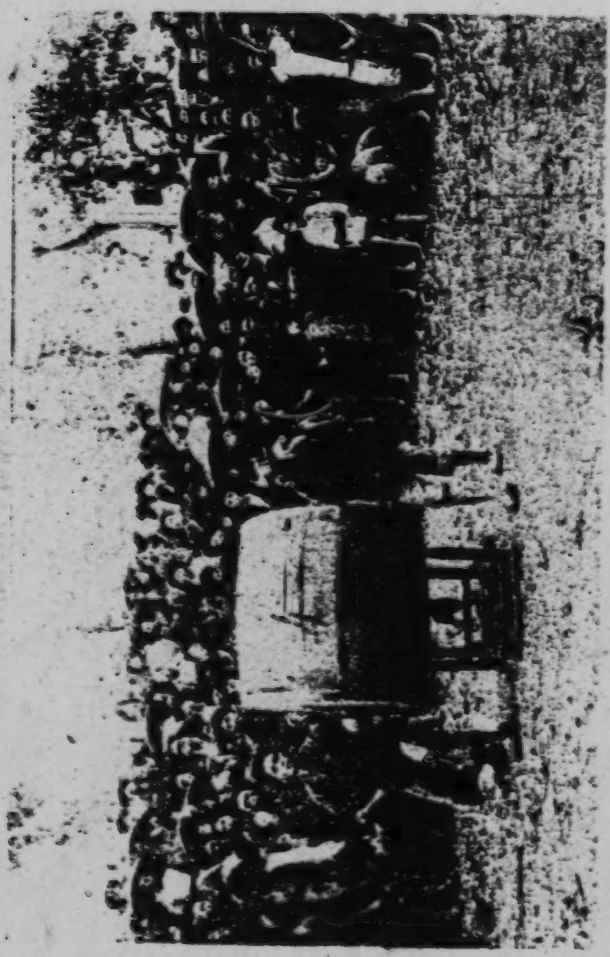

Illus. 81. Men's duet drum dance at Hsin-chai, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--320 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 82. Woman's solo drum dance at Kao-yen Ho, Yung-sui.

2:Ling & Ruey--321 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 83. Women's duet drum dance at Kao-yen Ho, Yung-sui.

2:Ling & Ruey--322 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 84. Woman's solo dance at Kan-ch'eng.

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Illus. 85. Woman's Hair-Combing Dance.

Illus. 86. Inserting-a-Flower Dance.

/212/

Illus. 87. The Sword-Carrying Dance.

Illus. 88. The Bird-Flying Dance.

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Illus. 89. Woman's Picking-the-Ear Dance.

Illus. 90. Lifting-the-Tripod Dance.

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Illus. 91. Flower-Hand Drum Dance.

Illus. 92. Woman's Flower-Hand Drum Dance.

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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

883 It might have been of the sort that existed
in An-lung Hsien. There between the time
836 of her betrothal and her marriage, which were
arranged by the two families, a Miao girl
would, without letting her family know, very
often have relations with a young man of her
own choosing, and bear him a child. I was
told that often a husband would not acknowl-
edge the first child, even if it were a son, and
that when family property was divided this
child would receive no share. The mother,
however, usually managed to get money for
her love child, so that he might not be with-
out inheritance. From the similarity of the
songs sung in the two places, I suspected that
the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao
village. Here are translations of the two songs.
The one from An-lung was definitely an in-
vitation from a young man for sexual inter-
course. Some girls were more forward and
grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei
managed matters so that she and the girls she
favored got most of the attention.

883 THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

836 For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
539 If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come
again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red
flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother
(you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the
flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine
places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the
young men of the village brought out their
535 *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one
533 heard the *lu sheng* only when they were prac-
tising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an
evening after work — at a bullfight, when the
young people were together in a village after
a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral.
Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and
lu sheng, went on from dusk till dawn for as
many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was [50a]
also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

534 pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

533 They also made tunes on leaves and were
534 said to be able to send messages in this way. Among other Miao this was courting music,
584 accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

584 **Betrothal.** Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young people probably were acquainted.

585 Wedding (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food, men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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[For captions, see p. 91b.
--Analyst]

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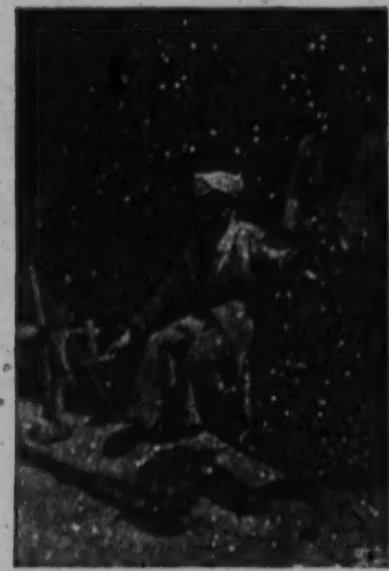
4-Mickey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AES-Miao AES



a, The *lu-sheng*. *b*, The *lu-sheng*, showing men dancing as they play the instrument. *c*. Old woman in ragged clothing. *d*, Two school boys before the shrine to the local deity at the south of the village. *e*, Woman winding bobbins from the ball in a tub of water, one of the priests is behind her. *f*, "Old Black" Miao, showing embroidery like that on the old woman's body at burial (see p. 56).

[916]

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must [834] be recorded that though married women expose their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women 292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after 302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after 301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men, as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear- 292 rings, and on gala occasions every one, man or woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and harmonises beautifully with the mountains on which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary to be presented with a gala gown. English friends are highly amused when they are told that such a gown was grown in a village garden. Like Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet, the woollen texture is made from wool sheared from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is obtained from plants and roots gathered on the hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music. 534 The musical instrument par excellence is the *ggeh* which is played by the young men, who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A *ggeh* is made of bamboo pipes,

from four to six being let into a piece of hollowed 534
wood, the handle of this forming the mouthpiece. The sound, which is something like that of bagpipes, is produced by brass reeds fixed into the tubes which are of different lengths. Tunes played on these instruments seem weird and monotonous to the Westerner but they play a dangerous part in the life of the young people. When, on moonlight nights, pipers come to the outskirts of a village the music is irresistible to the girls, who go out to the players, and after posture-like dancing and antiphonal singing spend the night in their company. It is not unheard of for a mother to encourage her own fourteen-year-old daughter to go out to these youths. Human nature can sink very low.

The Miao are yellow-skinned and broad-nosed; 141
they are of short stature and have straight black hair. Occasionally one meets with a boy or girl whose hair is reddish and such children are unpopular. Like the Chinese the Miao language is tonal and [193]
mono-syllabic; in every other respect it is entirely 194
different. Happily their language is more easily learnt than Chinese, though the tones are quite as confusing. As an illustration, take a word which we would spell with the letters D and A. Pronounced with what scholars would term an upper even tone "*da*" means "to drag", "to seize"; pronounced with an ascending tone "*da*" means "to kill", with a departing tone "to come", with a lower even tone "to die" or "to kick". It will be readily understood how bewildering such a language can be.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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only music but also pony-running and buffalo fights. These fêtes are great occasions for social intercourse among the old folk and for courting among the young. A young man once remarked to a missionary, "If I do not go to the festivals I shall never get a wife." Scores and hundreds of girls are to be seen there in all the glory of richly-embroidered clothes and heavy silver ornaments, and just as many young men in their finery.

534

The musical instrument they play at these festivals they call *Ki*, and the Chinese call it *Lu sen* or "six tones." They are made of bamboo pipes, sometimes six being let into a piece of wood like a hollow club, the handle of which is the mouth-piece. The noise—perhaps we ought to say sound—is produced by a brass tongue attached to a small metal frame (such as are used in concertinas and harmoniums) let into the bamboo tube, one in each of them. The sound is something like the sound of the bagpipes. They are made in sets of different sizes, the smallest having pipes about three feet long, and the largest with pipes twelve or fourteen feet long. The lower end of the large pipes is put into a drum or cylinder three or four feet long, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree. These large reeds give forth a very creepy

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

sound, the lowest note, we believe, to which 534
mortal ears are sensible. The tunes they play are very monotonous.

At the Heh Miao festivals, five players in a 535
row, with instruments of different sizes, wheel 796
round and round the man who plays the large pipes with the drum. A row of five young women go round with them, sometimes facing them and moving backwards, sometimes behind and following. To alter their position the young women wheel outside of the circle, let the pipers go round, and then wheel in again. This they call dancing, but there is no real dancing about it; it is merely pacing, yet it seems to interest them, and they do it very seriously. We think it must be reckoned bad form for them to laugh or smile while thus engaged, for we have seen the girls severely exerting themselves to keep their faces straight, when they evidently wanted at least to smile. As for the pipers, it is no laughing or smiling 533
matter for them. They exert themselves so 796
much that their cheeks are swollen, their eyes seem to stand out of their heads, and the perspiration streams down their red faces. We have seen thirty or forty of these groups of ten, circling round on one plot of ground, hemmed in by hundreds of spectators. The

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are still being made. There are sometimes contests to see who can sing the largest number of them. When anything important happens, a song may be composed and it is sung and taught to others. If some good deed is done, the person that is benefitted may write a song and thus spread the knowledge of it abroad and to future generations. If an injustice is done, this is an efficient way of punishing the offender and of securing revenge. 533

There is nothing that could be called band music, although at funerals and other ceremonies the jointed bugles, called in Chinese *sa la tzŭ*, and brass gongs are used, and the ceremonial drum is accompanied in funeral and memorial ceremonies by the *liu shêng*. The mouth harp, made of brass or of bamboo, is played by lovers when they are sitting side by side and making love to each other. Tree leaves are used for making love when the lovers are far apart, for the noise is much louder and they are thought to be very efficient in winning the feminine heart, as the following proverb shows: 534

bloŋ tgə gwa· bo· tgə Ta·
bloŋ tgə ndᵃao bo· tgə hnao.

which means:

If the tree leaf does not resound, the wife will not come.

If the tree leaf does not sound forth, the wife will not hear.

With both the mouth harp and the tree leaf the music is accompanied by audible words.[10]

Of special interest is the *liu shêng* 六笙, called by the Ch'uan Miao gaign or gʌn. It consists of a piece of wood two feet or more in length, hollow inside, and larger at the bottom than near the top. The upper portion is about an inch in diameter and the base is from two to three inches in diameter. Into holes in the larger part of this wood are inserted six bamboo tubes of unequal lengths in which there are brass reeds. The six notes made by means of these tubes are all harmonious so that two or more can be sounded at one time. The result, in the hands of a skillful musician, is beautiful music. Only men and boys play the *liu shêng* and the player always accompanies the music with dancing, so that the result is not unlike that of a Scotchman playing his bagpipes.

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10. Warning of the approach of robbers is sometimes given by means of tree leaf music which can be heard ten *li* distant. The speaker does not actually pronounce words. He or she makes the same tones with the same emphasis as if speaking the words or sentences and it is easily understood by another Ch'uan Miao. 202

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

533 To an untrained occidental ear, the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao seem to be very much alike and to resemble those used in western countries by the liturgical churches in their religious chants.[11]

The Ch'uan Miao distinguish at least the following different kinds of songs with appropriate tunes:—

1. Songs sung by go-betweens when making engagements.
2. Songs sung when sending the bride away from her home on her wedding day.
3. Songs sung when welcoming a bride at her wedding and at other times during a wedding.
4. Love songs, of which there are two kinds, those sung more loudly when the lovers are apart and those sung in very low tones when lovers are sitting close together.
5. War songs.
6. Hunting songs.
7. Fishing songs.
8. Songs sung by *tuan kung* 端公, while exorcising demons.
9. Songs sung at deaths and at funerals.
10. Songs sung during memorial ceremonies.

The music of the *liu shêng*[1] is distinguished as follows:—

533 534

1. That used when sweeping the house preparatory to a memorial festival.
2. When welcoming back home the souls of the dead.
3. When presenting the sacrificial animal to the ancestor.
4. When making a sacrificial offering of food or wine to the ancestor.
5. To distinguish time limits in the memorial ceremonies.
6. Thanking the filial son after feasts in the memorial ceremonies.
7. When sending or escorting the soul of the dead to heaven.
8. Tunes played just for amusement.

The mouth harp is played only in low, soothing tones when making love and audible words are spoken.

Only love songs are played with tree leaves. The music is louder than that of the mouth harp and audible words are spoken.

With the flute can be played

1. Love-songs, but words cannot be spoken.
2. Music merely for pleasure.

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11. While the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao are definite and regular, there is probably greater freedom for changes and variations than is the case in occidental music.

1 [SEE P. 31]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

534 Jointed bugles and cymbals and brass gongs are more rarely used but they can be played at almost any time.

574 The Ch'uan Miao are very hospitable. A friend can stay in a home for a week or ten days and he will be given food and a bed and charged nothing for them. Chickens are considered especially good and appropriate for entertaining guests. Sometimes both a cock and a hen are killed and some of the meat may be left for the guest to take home with him. The greatest hospitality a Ch'uan Miao can show is to kill a young grown cow or bull and to give a feast to which other friends are invited. Next in importance to a cow is a sheep or goat, then a pig and then a chicken.

572 Friendship among the Ch'uan Miao is sincere and deep and they respond to friendship and kindly treatment. By the very tones of the voice it can be discerned whether the Ch'uan Miao is very friendly and familiar with the person to whom he is speaking, or only fairly so, or not at all, or is an enemy.

V. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

831 Friendship, fellowship, appreciation, sympathy, love and marriage between the sexes is as natural as eating, and they are craved by most people of both sexes. The sex appeal may be one of the most powerful influences for good or for evil. If satisfaction cannot be had in normal and approved ways it will often be sought in ways that are irregular and harmful.

The life of the average Ch'uan Miao, who lives in a simple hut on a high mountain, with no pictures or ornaments in the home, no schools or books, meager furniture, much hard work, few neighbors, simple food, no theatricals and little or no play, is humdrum. It is not unnatural that aside from eating sexual love and sexual intercourse are among the primary enjoyments of life.

The Ch'uan Miao customs in the past have apparently been such that affection between men and women resulted in sexual intercourse, generally illicit. Nearly all the love songs tell of love affairs between men and other men's wives or between women and men to whom they were not married but with whom they enjoyed sexual relations. Some of the legends express disapproval of parents who raised objections because young men were spending the nights in the bedrooms of their daughters and others mention with approval the fact that parents purposely had outside doors for the bedrooms of their daughters so that their lovers could easily enter and spend the night there.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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A Ch'uan Miao magician performing a ceremony to exorcise demons.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

5344

Ch'uan Miao men playing the wind instrument called the gaign or *lin shêng* and beating the ceremonial drum. While they do this they perform a folk dance.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 66]

1k Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

Some Ch'wan Miao Characteristics.—The Ch'wan Miao are a very isolated, segregated, financially poor group of people almost certainly with no European contacts. They live in the mountains at an elevation of about 3,000 feet. They are mainly an agricultural people, although they are also pastoral and some are hunters. They travel entirely on foot. Their crops are mainly maize and rice. They eat very little meat (mostly mutton) and few vegetables; their chief diet is maize and/or rice. 105

The Ch'wan Miao have been permeated very considerably by the culture of the Chinese and the grade of that culture is not low. Given equal advantages the Miao are as intellectual as the Chinese. Some students, under great handicaps, have persevered and graduated from our University. 177

They have a distinct unwritten language, which differs markedly from the Chinese. Many of the males are bilingual. Their folklore, songs and music are distinct from those of the Chinese. They have a peculiar bamboo wind-instrument; it consists of a body of a bamboo tube 6–8 inches long by 3 inches in diameter. To the centre of 197 534

[P. 67a]

1k Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

this goes a hollow bamboo tube 2–3 feet long through which they blow; through the body go, at right angles to this blowing tube, 6 bamboo tubes ½-inch in diameter perforated by several holes. When played it sounds very much like Scot bagpipes. When they play it they dance. Their singing is not as falsetto as the Chinese. The clothes and hats of the women are often beautifully embroidered. Some men also wear embroidered clothes, but most of their (men's) clothing is like the Chinese. Neolithic stone implements were found in considerable numbers.

Conclusions.—The report of the blood-groups of 205 Ch'wan Miao (157 males and 48 females), an aboriginal type of Szechwan province, West China, is submitted. There is also a report made of 1,292 Chinese of that province. The Ch'wan Miao examined were adults, their blood-pressure was recorded,[2] photographs were taken and a complete physical anthropological examination was made.

The blood-groups of the Ch'wan are very low in A and high in B, as compared with the Szechwanese.

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[533]
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[p. 67b]

[9 cont.]

517 purpose of these festivities is to celebrate in advance a rich harvest, and therefore the participants are numerous, especially the young men and women, who go there in new and pretty clothes with the object of finding a mate. As to moon dance, sitting in the moon, singing or chasing the moon, these are occasions specially designed for love-making by the young.

[533] Both men and women are good singers, and they sing to drown out the sorrows in their chest, as well as to effect a lover's union. Anyone who fails to sing at marriage and funeral ceremonies will surely be disgraced. Singing, in short, is a necessary accomplishment. Within a short distance from the village there

[443] is a level ground for the market fair held once in every six days; this is the center of trade for the Miao-I. On such occasions people gather together at the fair, bustling, loitering and looking around, their heart full of joy and fun. It gives them a respite from their routine toil. Aside from this they are fond of music.

[534] Their musical instruments include the liu-sheng, wu-sheng [five tube bamboo wind instrument, flutes, harmonicas, so-na [a clarinet type wind instrument], brass drums, and p'i-pa [lute]. The liu-sheng is the most common instrument; it is made of bamboo with a gradation of notes resembling that of a military band. Its tune is like the plaintive call of a bird but with a variation of notes. The music accompanies simple dance steps, out of which they derive much pleasure and satisfaction.

4. Ceremonies and Customs

1) Marriage. The various Miao-I ethnic groups in Kweichow

584 are rather complicated, but their marriage customs, though varying to a certain extent, are generally the same among different tribes. Marriages are either arranged by parents or the parties themselves, but mostly follow the will of the former and take the advice of the go-between. To negotiate marriage [10] they first discuss gifts and dowries. After marriage the bride goes back to her parents

591 until she is about to give birth to a son. She is then confined to her husband's house. In ancient times, this custom was first

[199 cont.]

(III) The Moon Dance. The moon dance in the fourth month
535 is the nocturnal meeting of the Miao-I in the An-shun area. Ac-
832 cording to Miao-I customs, whenever the moon and the stars are bright, young men and women may go out at this period of the year in groups of a few persons or a dozen or more each to some quiet, lonely spots in the vicinity of the village to play music and dance. The steps for the dance are the same as those for the flower dance. Young girls who are attracted by the music are not prevented by parents from running out to watch the dance. A man's glory is to extract a smile from a girl, and when her parents are not taking notice he may take her to the woods to whisper to her honeyed words of love. Therefore, the moon dance is an occasion for love-making by the Miao-I youths.

(IV) The "Kan-piao." The moon dance described above
519 provides night recreations and scenes of love serenades for the
832 Miao-I. The "kan-piao" is another form of recreation that gives men and women a chance to fall in love, but it may be pursued during night or day. The "kan-piao" is also known by various names such as "ta-ma-lan," "yao-ma-lang," "ta-piao," and "ling-piao." To perform it, the man would first whistle
[534] by means of some leaves in the mouth or play the flute as a signal to entice the lover to some shaded nook to exchange lovers' vows. An ideal place for "kan-piao" is a deep forest out of reach of human footsteps. In former times, in isolated places outside the village, there were erected little sheds called "flower chambers" for the rendezvous of young men and women. These flower chambers, however, are now nine out of ten destroyed. Ordinarily, when they carry on "kan-piao," the man would take the girl home, otherwise he would be accused of kidnapping. If a girl takes a man home, her parents would
[574] not only leave them alone, but are also obliged to kill a chicken and provide wine in order to show the graciousness of their daughter in receiving guests. The custom of "kan-piao" is most popular with the Chung-chia in the An-shun district. They have comparatively fewer forms of recreation than the Hua Miao, and the young people among them often indulge in "kan-piao" as a
[579] happy pastime. Often in "kan-piao" a man gets into a fight

[199 cont.]
517 with weapons over a girl. Such brawls, known as "seeking
832 enemies," are not infrequent.
579

[200] (V) Musical Instruments. The Miao-I within the
534 district are fond of playing musical instruments. These include the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument], wu-sheng [five-pipe bamboo wind instrument], k'ou-ch'in [mouth organ or harmonica], hsiao-ti [flutes and fifes] and so-na [clarinet-type wood-wind instrument], of which the liu-sheng is the most common among the Miao-I. Each family, no matter how rich or poor, owns one. The instruments are described as follows:

(a) The liu-sheng. This instrument is called liu-sheng 六笙 because its bamboo tubes can give six [liu 六] tones. It is also called lu-sheng 蘆笙 from the word "lu" 蘆, meaning "bamboo-reed." It is made of six bamboo tubes of varying lengths, one end of which is inlaid with a brass plate as a metallic tongue. The bamboo tubes are inserted into either a round or square wooden case, at one end of which is a wooden handle. Each tube has a hole, through which the player blows and sucks, and which he stops at will with his fingers, thus issuing different sounds. The varying lengths of the bamboo tubes make it possible to have both high and low pitches.

The use of the liu-sheng is very extensive. At the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance and other gatherings this is the most important musical instrument. During the funeral ceremony the liu-sheng renders the most solemn music. Young men who wish to excel others have no regard for the time con-
[832] sumed in mastering the art of playing this instrument, for it is the best recommendation to the fair sex. The following are two com-
533 mon tunes for the six-tube bamboo wind-instrument. Its music, simple and clear, is used to accompany songs that are widely sung in the Miao-I area.

[201 cont.]

No. 1

539

On a little pony a little boy
  Has gone riding to school:
The teacher thinks that I'm too small,
  But my stomach flows with learning.

On a white horse with a golden saddle,
  I ride as I watch people.
I see the white pillars
  Where a student has become official.

No. 2

Up the slope the rider nods his head;
  Down the slope there are slippery pebbles,
Going outdoors without a mate,
  The monk washes his face but not his head.

534 (b) The wu-sheng. The five-tube bamboo wind instrument is almost constructed similarly to the six-tube instrument, except it has five holes instead of six and that its shape is slightly flatter. This instrument is played by young men with licentious tunes to seduce young women, and generally accompanied by dancing.

(c) The k'ou-ch'in. The mouth organ is a woman's musical instrument among the Hua Miao. It is made of two pieces of brass plates each three inches long, with a crevice hollowed out in the center in the form of a tongue-shaped awl. It is played against the lips by blowing out and sucking in air, the thumb plucking lightly at the end of the brass plate with each breath. The pitch and quantity of the notes are regulated by the mouth. The little tunes from this instrument are very pleasant to hear.

(d) The hsiao-ti. The flutes and fifes are made by the Miao themselves from bamboo tubes of varying lengths and

[201 cont.]

534 sizes. All the young men are fond of playing these instruments. It is a first step toward playing the so-na. On the other hand, a trumpeter must first learn how to play the flute or fife. The latter can also produce music with a seducive lilt, not any less licentious than the five-tube bamboo wind instrument.

[202] (e) The so-na. The Miao-I are very fond of playing the so-na, a clarinet type of instrument. One sees young men and cowboys practicing it. This popular instrument resembles the trumpet [la-pa] used in funeral ceremonies. Originally the use of the so-na was limited to funeral and sacrificial functions in the same way that the local Chinese use cymbals, gongs and drums. When the Miao-I have a funeral, people do [764] not sleep at night and the so-na is used to revive the spirit. Furthermore, as the lamentations at a Miao-I funeral are most sad and heart-rending, the so-na is used to drown out the pitiful wails so that they will not be heard outside. But, today, on all festive occasions such as weddings, both the Chinese and the Miao-I play this clarinet type of instrument to lend gaiety to the affairs.

Besides the above instruments there are also brass drums, lutes [p'i-pa], moon harps, two-string violins, wooden leaves and horns, but they are not as popular.

533 (VI) Singing. Singing is very popular among the various Miao-I tribes in An-hsun. It is regarded as a necessary requirement in social gatherings, and good singers are admired and applauded by the public. Singing provides a good medium for young men and women to get together. Those who cannot sing will have trouble in solving their marital problems. Therefore, the Miao-I men and women all know the words of the songs by heart since childhood. The structure of the songs is quite different from those sung by the local Chinese, and they sound exotic and peculiar to us. The following are some specimens of the songs sung by the Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Chung-chia; the words are freely translated, but the tunes cannot be reproduced here.

[162 cont.]

534 They construct a musical instrument of an entirely special model called "sen," a sort of "pipe of Pan," formed of a tube which swells out very much in its lower portion. Into this swollen section are fitted six or eight reed pipes of varying lengths, pierced with holes and set at right angles to the large tube. The player obtains continuous sounds by successive aspirations and expirations. The scale is rather extended, as it provides from twelve to sixteen notes and numerous cords. The player of the "sen" dances while playing. (See photo 155, Plate 40.) The "sen" of the "Méo" very much re-
[171] sembles the Laotian "ken."

The "Méo" also make tambourines, copper cymbals, a sort of
[237] bagpipe with a nasal sound, produced by a goatskin sack of voluminous dimensions, and a small guitar with a long neck, made from a turtle's shell covered with a tightly stretched snake's skin.

In the area which gave them birth, the "Méo" were, without
631 doubt, formed into groupings placed under the orders of chiefs of
648 their race and preserving a certain independence in relation to the neighboring Chinese authorities. In the matter of the tribes who have immigrated into Tonkin, they have had to place themselves little by little under the authority of local native functionaries and of the commandants of sectors, spheres, and provinces.

In accordance with the importance of their groupings, these tribes are organized into communes (region of Dong-Van) placed under the authority of a "toung-tcha" (corresponding to "ly-truong Thai") in direct contact with the chiefs of canton ("quan-châu") or with the commandants of sectors. These communes are subdivided into quarters commanded by a "ping-t'éou" who has under his orders a certain number of "siao-phay," the latter having, in general, authority over the groups of hamlets or villages built in the same valley or on the same slope of a mountain chain. [163] In the regions where the "Méo" population is too scattered to form a distinct commune, the "Méo" have only some "siao-phay" and sometimes a "ping-t'éou" placed administratively under the authority of the "pho-ly" or of the "ly-truong" of the "Thai" race.

158: Diguet--128 G-3 (ca 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
MIEO AE5

291
534

Meo flutist

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but there are also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Lao at the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are precious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

/83 cont./

A may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute
M /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life
857 of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I
[534] did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, how-
[538] ever, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so
533 tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially
M the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old
[868] do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the
[535] cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing
535 plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly
857 saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the
868 adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the
M chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamenta-
532 tion"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

[1] [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. A M [177] Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When M 114 533 538 Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

1 [See cat 116, p124 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
171 Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instrument, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest form (Ill. 75)* among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral instrument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver. The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

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[778]
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* [See cat. 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/145 cont./

534 For the manufacturing process, the length of the pipes, which, along with the diameter, determines the pitch, is always chosen so that their tone is somewhat lower than the one actually aimed for; finally the instrument is tuned by appropriately shortening the tubes. Each pipe is provided with a /Figs. 24-27 appear here/ blow hole that leads into the body of the mouth organ, and with a keyhole that is stopped with a finger. The tone is produced by stopping the keyhole and blowing into the pipe. In addition the vibration parts for the mouth organ are so constructed that the same tone is produced by blowing air in or by sucking it out. Not until the end of the process is the silver mouthpiece put on. The construction of this instrument makes it possible to breathe while playing. Thus, during the sacral dances one can play uninterruptedly. This is very [535] important since the players always dance and play at the same time. The actual use of the instrument is best shown by the drawings and photographs. While the intervals between the individual pipe tones are fixed, the absolute pitch of the basic flute is left to the taste of the manufacturer; it also depends on the size of the instrument. Thus the mouth organs differ considerably from one another in basic pitch, but agree melodically. The use of the pitch pipe is not customary.

[533] /146/ Another instrument of the Meau, which is especially popular among lovers and is played by both sexes, is the jew's-harp (Fig. 27). It consists of a sheet of brass or bronze with a vibrating tongue in the middle. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the right thumb; the oral cavity acts as the sounding board (Ill. 77). 1

Furthermore, there are two kinds of flute. The simple rod flute (Ill. 76) 1 consists of a wooden or bamboo body and has six finger holes on the upper side and one on the under side tuned in major. /Figs. 28-29 appear here./ The hole on the under side is sometimes stopped. The simple construction of the flute is shown in the drawings (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). Both sexes play this flute as well as the one described below. [114] Lajonquière (1), too, mentions flutes and mouth organs. He [562] [533]

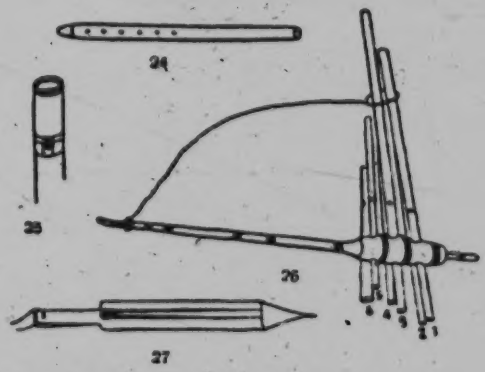
1. II. p. 311.

1 [See cat 116, p.574 - ANALYST]

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His
[114 statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs
562 with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau
533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages
[463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area.
533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the
[243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

/147/

534 Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums,
[171] xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be
[202] used for communication over great distances. On the other
[177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with
[75] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally
[796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's
[202] celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

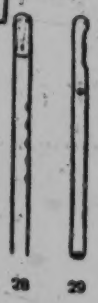


Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute of the Meau. 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 28, from above, Fig. 29, side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians.
231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them.
534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of
177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/147 cont./

M 534 231 177 piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A M 533 The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Sometimes they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they

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M 534 [531]

Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

A M 533 [224] hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here./ The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/148 cont./

A 534 [177] [796] [789] [171]

The musical instruments of the Akha are in part similar to those of the Meau. The Akha, too, use small flat gongs, which are made either of bronze or brass and are always of Chinese origin. They are beaten for the New Year's festival, and furthermore they are regarded as a kind of cult instrument and as such serve to drive away the evil spirits. Otherwise, however, there are no sacral instruments; even the mouth organ (Ill. 25 1 and Fig. 36),

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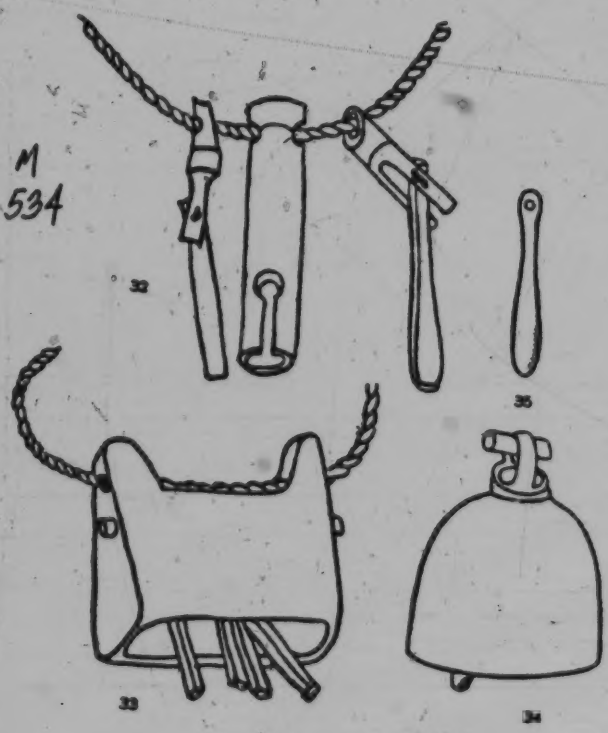

Figs. 32-35. Cowbells of the Meau. Fig. 32, bamboo bell, 1/5 nat. size; Fig. 33, wooden bell, 1/5 nat. size; Fig. 34, brass bell, 1/3 nat. size; Fig. 35, brass clapper for it.

A 534 171

which is the most important musical instrument of the Akha and in shape and tuning is identical with the instruments of the Lisu, Lahu, and other /149/ mountain peoples of Farther India, is not

1 [see cat 116, p133- ANALYST]

/178 cont./

756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
789 should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
[778] of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
[782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [see cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

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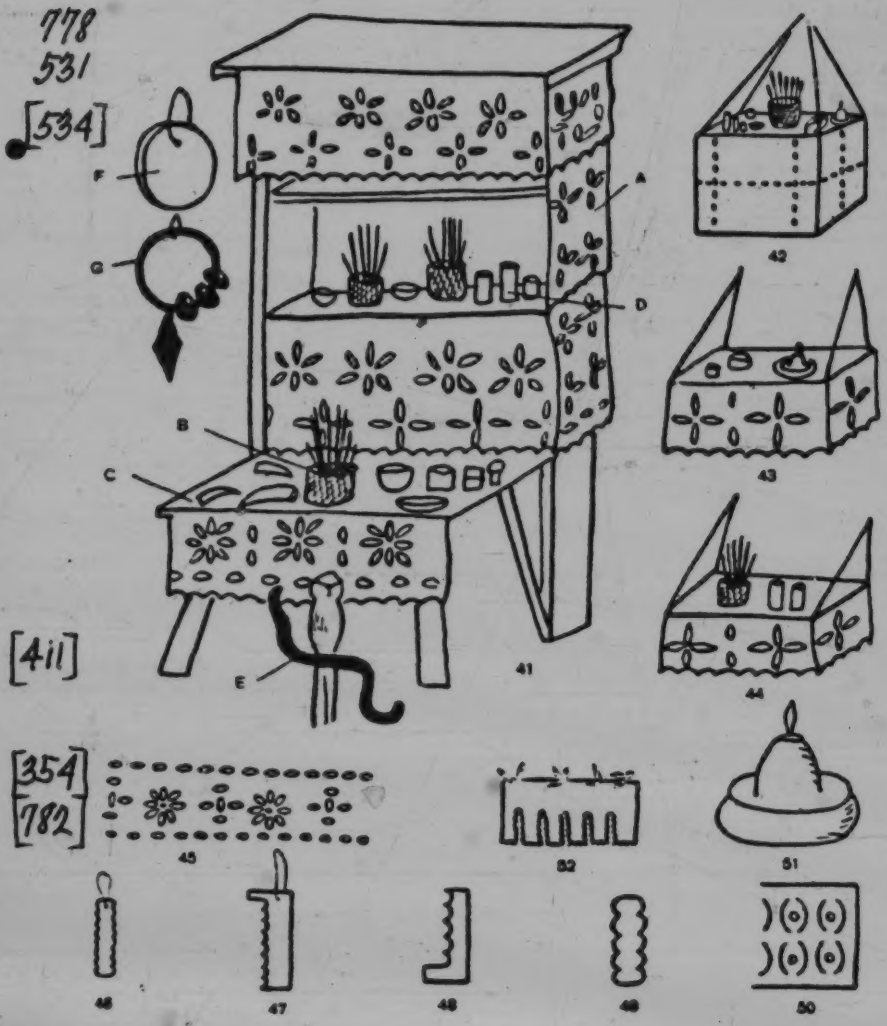

Figs. 41-52. Altars of the Meau.

Fig. 41. Large altar for the worship of the ancestors and the teacher-spirit of the shaman. 1/24 nat. size: A = punched-out paper curtain as decoration for the wooden frame; B = small basket with incense candles; C = oracle horns; D = small tea

[787]

(continued)

Miao AE5

//Caption for Figs. 41-52 cont./

778 bowls and vessels for maize kernels, oil, or water; E = old
[411] battle sword of the Meau, stuck into the ground in order to forbid
[534] access to the evil spirits; F = gong; G = magic rattle of iron.
Fig. 42. Altar in the house of the chief, with incense candles, lamp, oracle horns, and the like, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 43. Altar for the assistant spirits of the shaman. The alter consists of a board with cultic apparatus and provided with a paper curtain, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 44. Altar for the teacher-spirit of the
[531] medicine men, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 45. Punch pattern for the
[354] altar paper. Figs. 46-50. Spirit-money of various denominations,
[782] about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 51. Altar lamp, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 52. Blood-soaked chicken feathers on the paper curtain of an altar as a sacrifice for the souls of the ancestors.

/210 cont./

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
[413] however, only after it has been punched with the special punches in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
787 Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
[177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses,
[177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

39: Bernatzik--443 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 217, 221-227. Ornaments of the Meau.

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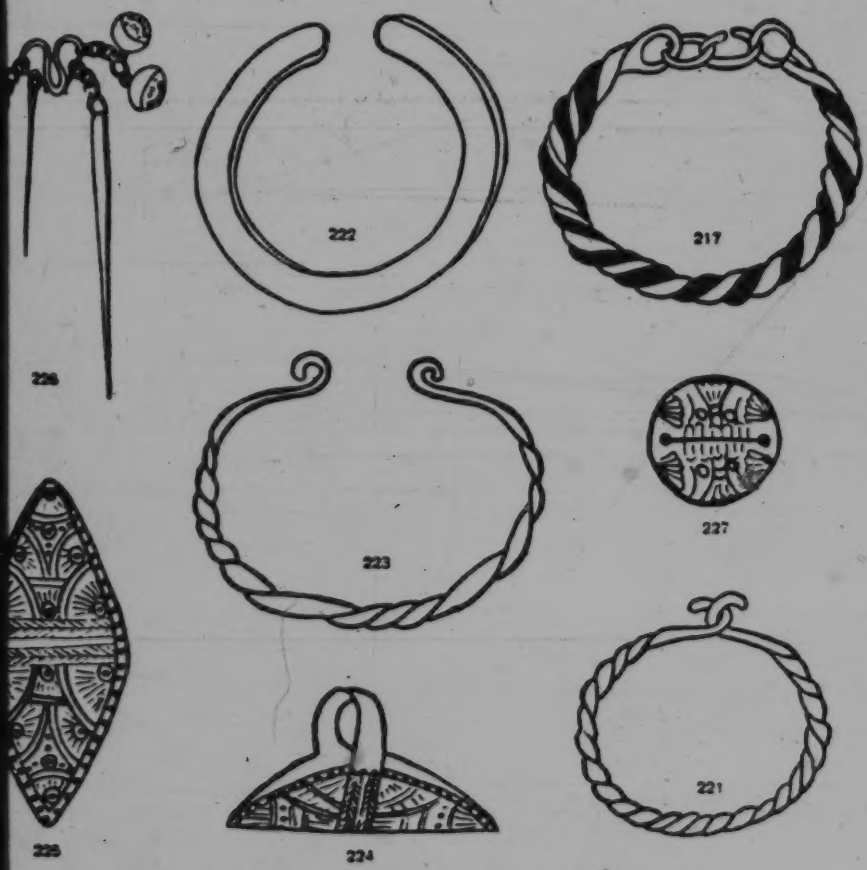
Fig. 217. Neck hoop, silver twisted with copper, about 1/3 nat. size. Figs. 221-223. Ankle rings: Fig. 221, made of twisted copper,



1/3 nat. size; Fig. 222, copper, 1/2 nat. size; Fig. 223, made of twisted iron, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 224. Silver finger-ring with a lavishly incised design, nat. size. Fig. 225. The same viewed from above, 4/3 nat. size. Fig. 226. Silver scratching-pin, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 227. Small silver bell with incised design, 4/3 nat. size. [534]

39: Bernatzik--466 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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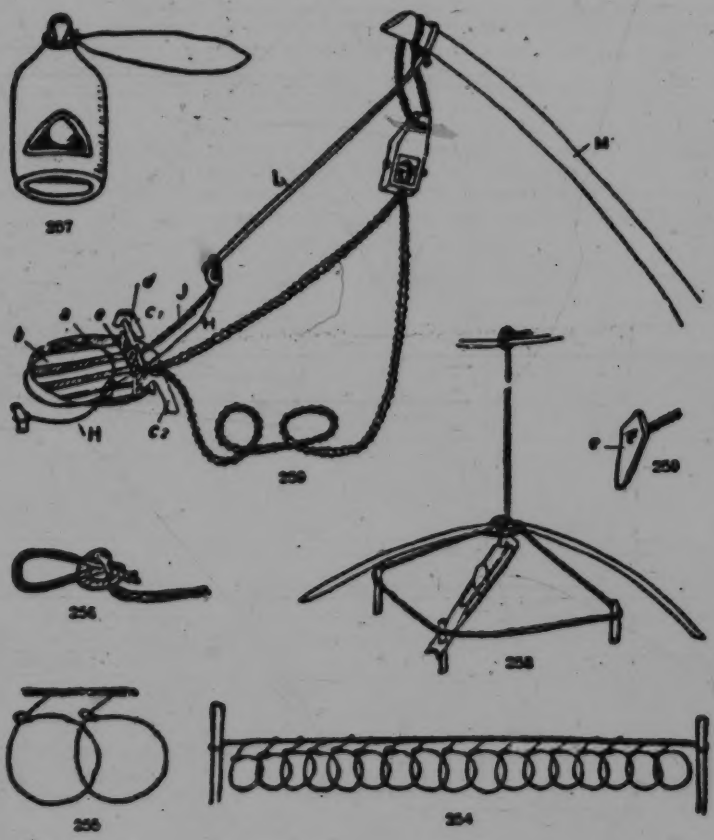
Figs. 254-259. Snaring Equipment of the Meau.

Figs. 254-256. Snaring nooses in a row arrangement: Fig. 254, complete picture, 1/20 nat. size; Fig. 255, arrangement of the nooses; Fig. 256, noose



[534]

knot. Fig. 257. Decoy whistle for bird-hunting, 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 258. Bird trap, 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 259. Deer trap, 1/15 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--574 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Between pp. 426 and 427/
142
302
291
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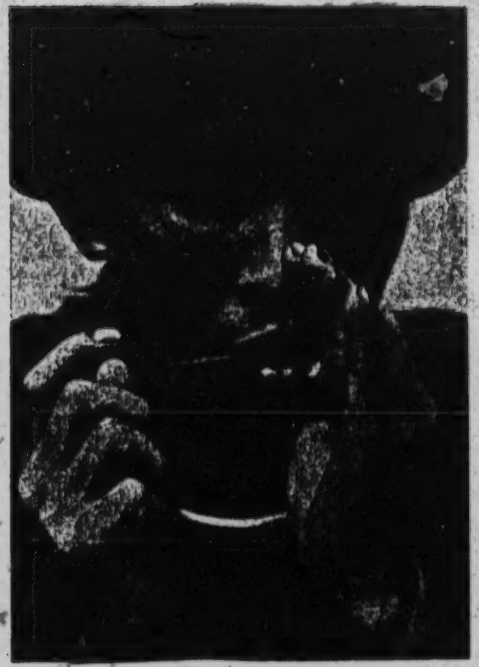
Miao AES

Ill. 75. Mouth organ of the Meau, made with a silver-mounted wooden body and six bamboo pipes.

39: Bernatzik--575 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5
/Between pp. 426 and 427/

Ill. 76. Rod flute of the Meau, made of bamboo. With a blowhole and six finger-holes.



Ill. 77. Jew's-harp of the Meau, made out of a brass or bronze plate with a vibrating tongue.

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/480 cont./
cultural elements drawn upon for proof are too few in number
174 and moreover in large part not characteristic for the Meau, and
[114] are often to be regarded as environmentally conditioned.

It is an interesting question whether the Meau may be classed in the circle of those peoples whose very ancient cultures are brought into relief from their surroundings by, among other things, megaliths, certain forms of animal sacrifice, and head-hunting. It is well-known that this culture is still alive today among the Naga and wild Wa and their neighbors. Relics in many places in Farther India, Hindustan, Indonesia, and beyond into the South Seas and traces in northwestern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East show that its spread must have been far greater in former times. -- I myself was able to identify the so-called "Moi peoples" of Indochina as belonging to this group, as I shall report in detail in another place. Judging by the available facts, there can be no doubt that the Meau do not belong to this cultural complex, even if the /481/ classification of the Meau language with the Mon-Khmer languages (see the chapter, "Language"), which is absolutely erroneous in my opinion, should be proved correct.

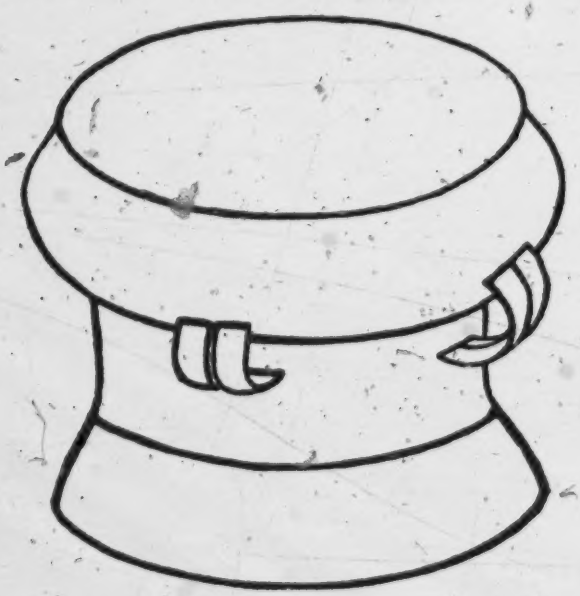
[325] For the question of the origin of the culture of the Meau, a bronze drum allegedly made by the Meau and cast by dead mold, which is in the possession of the ethnographic museum in Vienna and has not yet been described up to now,* is of special

* During the printing of the present work, a few statements about this drum by F. M. Schnitger appeared in the Archiv für Anthropologie, 1943, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

[534] significance. The shape of the drum is shown in Figures 423 and 424. The diameter of the striking surface is 70.5 centimeters. The drum is hollow, open at the bottom, and four bronze handles are attached to the side walls. It belongs to the group of bronze drums that Heger discussed in his work, Alte
[532] Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien /Old Metal Drums from Southeast Asia/. /Fig. 423 appears here./ /482/ The drum

/482 cont./

174 surface (Fig. 424) shows in the center a sun with twelve rays,
532 around which several circles with various decorations, such as wedge patterns, rings, meanders, and rows of dots, seal it off. Then follows a band, about five centimeters wide, with representations /Fig. 424 appears here/ /483/ of human beings, houses, and various scenes. Two houses have a boat-shaped roof, the ends of which are ornamented with birds' heads. Similar houses are still found even today in various parts of Indonesia, New Guinea, etc. Above each roof stands a peacock. In one



•[534]

Fig. 423. Sketch of the bronze drum, viewed obliquely from above, about 1/10 nat. size.

of the houses one can see mouth-organ players, in the other probably women preparing a meal. Beside each house there are two drums, each resting on a frame, /Fig. 425 appears here/ which are beaten with long drumsticks. These drums have the same shape as the very bronze drum being described here. Between the houses armed men with large feather crowns

/491 cont./

A. M 174 In recapitulation, it can be said: The culture of the Meau and of the /492/ Akha is not unitary; rather, within it there are elements that point to Tibetan as well as Mongolian influences. Especially many Chinese influences appear. The history of the Meau and the anthropology of both peoples, and presumably the languages as well, confirm these facts. The cultures of both peoples not only do not seem to belong to the group that is characterized by megaliths and head-hunting, but, on the contrary, are rather to be classified with the migratory wave that shattered the unity of this megalithic culture in the living spaces of Farther India. Without further ado, it is conceivable that the Meau and Akha, upon contact with these peoples, adopted individual elements, but any scientific proof of this is lacking. -- The Meau drum in the Vienna ethnographic museum was probably not made by the Meau. A Thai people may come into the matter eventually as the producer. This does not by any means contest the fact that this and similar drums were formerly used in the cult of the Meau.

M [534]

/493/ Chapter 33

Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand

a) General Remarks

T 563 167 It is apparent from the comprehensively described cultural picture of the most important mountain peoples of Farther India that they, as semi-nomads, are in continual movement and because of that constantly pose new problems for the sedentary peoples of the plains, under whose political control they theoretically stand. This prompts me to discuss more thoroughly the colonial-political problems arising out of this. In doing this, it will be necessary to pick out from among the manifold elements already described those factors that are more closely connected with them.

/VII cont./

534 Ills. 75-77. Musical instruments.

Ill. 75. The mouth organ of the Meau, which differs in size and construction from the instruments of the other mountain peoples of Farther India (cf. Ill. 25). The instrument is carefully carved out of wood and mounted with silver rings. The inserted flutes are made of bamboo. As among the Akha, the instrument is played exclusively by men and usually simultaneously with dancing. The mouth organ is of greatest significance for the Meau as a sacral musical instrument.

[562] [535]

Ill. 76. Simple rod-flute of the Meau, made of bamboo, with one blow hole and six finger holes on the upper side and one finger hole on the under side. The latter is kept shut during the playing.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp. The instrument consists of a brass or bronze plate, the center of which is cut out to form a tongue. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the thumb of the right hand; the oral cavity forms the sounding board. A change in the size of the oral cavity produces a change of pitch.

Ills. 78-80 and 91-96. Means of subsistence.

411 Ill. 78. Flintlock gun, the chief weapon in war and for hunting, which the Meau make themselves, as well as the black gunpowder. The gun does not have a butt like the European gun, but merely a pistol stock. Lead or iron bullets are used. Although accuracy and penetrating power are slight, measured by European weapons, the Meau kill even big game with their guns.

Ill. 79. Crossbow. Next to the flintlock guns, the crossbow is the most important weapon of the Meau. Nevertheless, it is of less importance than among the Akha, who have almost no guns, and is usually used only for hunting birds and small game. With poisoned arrows, however, even large game and pachyderms are killed.

[223] [224]

223 Ill. 80. As passionate hunters, the Meau are masters at setting traps. The illustration shows a hunter who is setting a snare to catch wild birds. As soon as the bird touches the trigger stick, the noose jerks upward and the booty is caught in it.

535

/For detailed information on the various types of Miao drumstick and fist dances, see category 116, pp. 310-350./

/94 cont./

636 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

514 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/141 cont./

*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to [178] the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes [788] out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, [535] "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full [292] dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. 857 517 [535]

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836 [496]

883 It might have been of the sort that existed
in An-lung Hsien. There between the time
836 of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

883 THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

For a long time I have been coming here.
836 The cool water here produces cool melons.
539 If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *sna ts'ao* is red.

883 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the
535 young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one
533 heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an evening after work — at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was [50a]
also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

593 From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

766 **Death and Burial.** When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

757 When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

764 535 The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

*A rectangle of brown "grass paper" with a de-

764 when the man of fifty-odd died, but was told
535 they danced for him. A man of about the same age died in Lo-ying, another Cowrie Shell Miao village near Yang-niu-ts'un. For him they danced two nights. A tripod was set up before a house in Yang-niu-ts'un in which lived a woman whose maiden name was Lo and who had come from that village.

764 The first funeral I saw was that of the oldest inhabitant of the village of Yang-chia-sai, a woman of eighty-four. She was related to practically everyone in the whole village and had relatives in other villages, as well. Moreover, she was the only one of her generation left in the village. Two nephews were with the aviation corps of the army, stationed in Kunming. She died on the twenty-third of the first month. I knew nothing about it until I heard the sound of drumming the next day and saw before the house of nearly every family in the village a tripod formed of carrying poles or other poles of the same length, tied together near the top. A wicker scoop rested on top of them, in which was a spray of thorn tied with rushes, a pair of chopsticks, and two bowls, one containing a cooked green vegetable and one cooked rice.

I followed the sound of the drum and found in the house in which the old lady's widowed daughter-in-law lived the following things: In the central room, near the right side as one faced the door and with its foot toward the door, was a coffin, raised a little from the floor. This was of the Chinese type and of wood of the proper thickness. The lid of the coffin was reversed. On it at the upper end was the body of the little, old lady, dressed in her best — new, high Chinese shoes, two pair of new trousers, the short pleated skirt worn by a bride and her attendants, the two aprons, three blouses, the outer one of orange silk, the overpiece, and her best turban with embroidered scarf. On the right side of her body at the waist was a large bunch of tobacco leaves. One of the local priests, who in this case, however, was acting in his capacity as a nephew, was kneeling at the foot of the coffin burning spirit money.[6] This he lighted in the flame of one of two red candles,

sign cut in it, used only for ritual purposes.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 square measure of rice with incense sticks in it.

764 That night the young girls, even the tiny
535 ones, of the village and those from other villages who had come to the funeral danced around the room in which the coffin stood. Gradually young men playing the *lu sheng* joined them until there were nine. The little girls soon dropped out and went home to bed. The drum and *lu sheng* were played together, occasionally the drum alone. Some of the beats were on the bone. The rhythm was sometimes steady as if for marching; sometimes with several quick beats (usually six), a rest, and then one; sometimes syncopated, with many beats first on the drum and then on the bone. The dancing was a bouncing with bending of the knees, first on one foot and then on the other. The *lu sheng* players also danced and set the rhythm for the girls, who stood very close side by side in groups moving exactly together. The women of our household dressed me in their tribal costume and told me to go, too. I found the steady beat easy to follow, but not the syncopation, and the girls constantly urged me to be more vigorous. My efforts were almost too much for the solemnity of the old man's son, who was one of the *lu sheng* players. This drum and *lu sheng* playing were repeated for the succeeding three nights from dusk until dawn. During the day some of the small boys played on these instruments. All the Cowrie Shell Miao seemed to be musical and able to play, sing, and dance.

764 During the day men wrote appropriate sentiments in black on white paper and pasted them over the red ones on door and window frames. Banners of checked cloth with similar sentiments on white paper pasted to them were presented by guests as they arrived and someone in the family set them up against the front of the house. As groups of relatives from other villages arrived gunpowder charges or firecrackers were set off. Women in the groups knelt beside the coffin and sang the wailing song. On the third day after her death the most important men and women of the village were invited to a feast. I was included. A pig which one group brought had been killed and the dishes were of fat pork cooked in various ways, dry and fresh bean curd,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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[For captions, see p. 91b.
--Analyst]

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778

4.Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

[9.16]

a, The *lu-sheng*. *b*, The *lu-sheng*, showing men dancing as they play the instrument. *c*. Old woman in ragged clothing. *d*, Two school boys before the shrine to the local deity at the south of the village. *e*, Woman winding bobbins from the ball in a tub of water, one of the priests is behind her. *f*, "Old Black" Miao, showing embroidery like that on the old woman's body at burial (see p. 56).

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must [834] be recorded that though married women expose their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women 292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after 302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after 301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men, as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear- 292 rings, and on gala occasions every one, man or woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and harmonises beautifully with the mountains on which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary to be presented with a gala gown. English friends are highly amused when they are told that such a gown was grown in a village garden. Like Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet, the woollen texture is made from wool sheared from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is obtained from plants and roots gathered on the hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music. 534 The musical instrument par excellence is the *ggeh* which is played by the young men, who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A *ggeh* is made of bamboo pipes,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

sound, the lowest note, we believe, to which 534
mortal ears are sensible. The tunes they play
are very monotonous.

At the Heh Miao festivals, five players in a 535
row, with instruments of different sizes, wheel 796
round and round the man who plays the large
pipes with the drum. A row of five young
women go round with them, sometimes facing
them and moving backwards, sometimes behind
and following. To alter their position the
young women wheel outside of the circle, let
the pipers go round, and then wheel in again.
This they call dancing, but there is no real
dancing about it; it is merely pacing, yet it
seems to interest them, and they do it very
seriously. We think it must be reckoned bad
form for them to laugh or smile while thus
engaged, for we have seen the girls severely
exerting themselves to keep their faces straight,
when they evidently wanted at least to smile.
As for the pipers, it is no laughing or smiling 533
matter for them. They exert themselves so 796
much that their cheeks are swollen, their eyes
seem to stand out of their heads, and the
perspiration streams down their red faces.
We have seen thirty or forty of these groups
of ten, circling round on one plot of ground,
hemmed in by hundreds of spectators. The

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine.. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

796 635 The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating [769] oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

[195 cont.]

517 According to our investigations the Miao-I at An-shun have many
535 kinds of recreation, of which the most important are the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance, the "kan-piao," singing and playing musical instruments. These are discussed separately as follows.

535 (I) The Flower Dance. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao
527 in the An-shun area hold flower dances every year. This is an important collective recreation of the Miao during the farming holidays. We have asked the Miao people about the purpose of the flower dance. Their answer is that when Lord Hsüan of the Wei state in the Chou Dynasty built a new terrace to flirt with the woman of Ch'i, he inaugurated the flower dance for the Miao. The method of the flower dance is said to have been created by Yang-lu (considered the original ancestor of the Hua Miao). A local proverb has it that "if the Miao do not flower-dance, the grains will not sprout." The superstition that the flower dance can bring about a prosperous harvest is the result of a low-cultured tradition. All the Miao people believe in it wholeheartedly today as they did of old.

Among the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao, the time of the flower dance is generally in the first month of the lunar year, the dates varying slightly with different flower slopes (that is, the places where they dance), and depending upon the time when such places were first established. But once fixed, they cannot be changed later. According to our investigation, the locations for the dance are usually the most populated areas. There are altogether seven dancing slopes within the An-shun area, five for the Hua Miao and two for the Ch'ing Miao. The locations and the dates are listed below in the following table:

[196]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
East Gate Hamlet outside East Gate	First month: 7th, 8th, 9th	Hua Miao
Upper Village outside South Gate	First month: 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th	Ch'ing Miao

[196 cont.]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
527 Flower Dance Hill 535 Outside North Gate	First month, 4th, 5th, 6th	Hua Miao
[?] -chou in the Third District	First month: 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th	Ch'ing Miao
Chiang-chia-Ma-lung in the Fourth District	First month: 6th	Hua Miao
Ping-chai in the Fourth District	First month: 8th	Hua Miao
Chung-yü-shan in the Fourth District	First month: 10th	Hua Miao

Among the above locations the dancing areas at the Flower Dance Hill belonging to the Hua Miao and the Upper Village belonging to the Ch'ing Miao are the largest. The dates set for such occasions are not subject to change, wind or rain notwithstanding. On the day of the dance all the community, without regard to wealth, age or sex, go to the appointed place in groups. The festivity of the occasion can well be imagined. The following is a detailed description of the flower dance.

A. The Method of the Flower Dance. 1) The Flower Slope
527 and the Flower Tree. When the Miao perform the flower dance
535 they use the flower slope and the flower tree. The flower slope
842 is the place where they dance, also called the "Hua-ch'ang" [flower yard], located on a hill in the neighborhood of a village, or half-way up a hill, or on level ground. The owner of the land where the dance takes place is known as the "flower host," generally a very influential person of the area. The land chosen for the flower slope has a quality of permanency. Before the flower dance is held, the slope is decorated with a tree of about a dozen feet in height, known as the "flower tree." One day before the event the flower host, blowing a trumpet, would welcome the tree to the flower slope, preferably a tree with green branches and leaves on the top. It is best when the tree is stolen from

[196 cont.]
535 somebody else's land and duly cursed by him. The flower trees in
527 the various flower slopes are changed either once a year, or [197]
842 once every few years, depending upon whether some family would receive the tree after the dance. If a childless couple in the Miao village near the flower slope should give a feast for the guests to receive the tree into their home, the host would be happy to have the tree removed. The following year a new flower tree would be found for the slope. At the same time the family receiving the tree would make its timber into a bed. When the childless couple sleep in this bed they would become fertile and produce a son.

535 2) Participants. When a certain area holds a flower dance,
527 men and women, old and young, from all the villages nearby would come in bands. Young men and women would carry bundles on their backs, and on approaching the flower slope the men would open them and change into new clothes and nailed boots, with short flutes dangling around the waist, and leather or wooden bags hanging behind. As headgear they use pheasant
[301] feathers adorned with strips of colored cloth streaming in the air. They carry in their hands five-pipe or six-pipe bamboo-wind instruments [lu-sheng]. The women also change into new clothes,
[292] new skirts and jackets of bright patterns. The Chinese merchants of the area would establish stalls to sell candies, fruits and toys. Arriving at the flower slope the men would surround the flower tree in a circle, dancing as they move along and playing the bamboo-wind instruments. Listening to the music, the dancers would make noise by stamping their nailed shoes on the ground as they dance along in a rhythmic din. After circling a few times, the paired dancers fall into line, making the steps now left, now right, and now making a break as they follow the cadence of the music. First the men play bamboo wind instruments and later the women play mouth organs. The crowd dances around the tree a few times or as many as a dozen times. Outside the slope still others would play clarinets [so-na, a type of clarinet], bamboo wind instruments, and flutes, forming bands by themselves. The women often form groups of their own. Some

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
[648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

[198 cont.]

535 527 584 go-between to arrange the match. Therefore, young men and women everywhere try to make as many new clothes as possible to be worn on this occasion. The dancers sometimes change their clothes a few times a day. In short, the custom of the flower dance has prevailed for a long time. Some dance with the hope of acquiring children while others, among the illusive shadows and to the tune of scintillating music, look secretly but intently for his or her future mate. For the unmarried men and women the purpose of the flower dance is to seek a partner in life.

535 527 443 (II) The Market Dance. The market dance is also an important annual event with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in this area. The dance is similar to the flower dance, except that it does not require a flower tree and that it has no fixed date and place. It is held generally after the transplantation of young rice-plants in the fourth or fifth month, or after the ripening of the crop in the seventh or eighth month. It is held [202] at the market fair, but the announcement is made at a previous fair by the host (or promoter, who is generally a Chinese) with two men, one beating a gong, and the other balancing a bamboo pole on his shoulder, on which is tied a belt with flower designs. This belt is presented as a souvenir by the girl to the boy when they talk love at the dance. When the two men circle around the fair once the crowd would know that the next one would be a market dance. On that occasion bands of men and women from all parts would come with new clothes as for the flower dance, men playing so-na and lu-sheng, and talking all the way. Arriving at the fair they would perch on the high mounds or stay in the low open ground outside the market place, playing musical instruments and singing songs. Young men and women take this opportunity to meet new friends or [199] renew old acquaintances. [243] The old people believe that the market dance in the fourth month, when the buckwheat and other grains flower, can encourage the yielding of more crops, and the market dance in the seventh month can bring about firmer and larger seeds. The market dance is known proverbially as the "grain dance," a name which clearly reveals its superstitious origin.

[199 cont.]

535 832 (III) The Moon Dance. The moon dance in the fourth month is the nocturnal meeting of the Miao-I in the An-shun area. According to Miao-I customs, whenever the moon and the stars are bright, young men and women may go out at this period of the year in groups of a few persons or a dozen or more each to some quiet, lonely spots in the vicinity of the village to play music and dance. The steps for the dance are the same as those for the flower dance. Young girls who are attracted by the music are not prevented by parents from running out to watch the dance. A man's glory is to extract a smile from a girl, and when her parents are not taking notice he may take her to the woods to whisper to her honeyed words of love. Therefore, the moon dance is an occasion for love-making by the Miao-I youths.

517 832 (IV) The "Kan-piao." The moon dance described above provides night recreations and scenes of love serenades for the Miao-I. The "kan-piao" is another form of recreation that gives men and women a chance to fall in love, but it may be pursued during night or day. The "kan-piao" is also known by various names such as "ta-ma-lan," "yao-ma-lang," "ta-piao," and "ling-piao." To perform it, the man would first whistle [534] by means of some leaves in the mouth or play the flute as a signal to entice the lover to some shaded nook to exchange lovers' vows. An ideal place for "kan-piao" is a deep forest out of reach of human footsteps. In former times, in isolated places outside the village, there were erected little sheds called "flower chambers" for the rendezvous of young men and women. These flower chambers, however, are now nine out of ten destroyed. Ordinarily, when they carry on "kan-piao," the man would take the girl home, otherwise he would be accused of kidnapping. If a girl takes a man home, her parents would [574] not only leave them alone, but are also obliged to kill a chicken and provide wine in order to show the graciousness of their daughter in receiving guests. The custom of "kan-piao" is most popular with the Chung-chia in the An-shun district. They have comparatively fewer forms of recreation than the Hua Miao, and the young people among them often indulge in "kan-piao" as a [579] happy pastime. Often in "kan-piao" a man gets into a fight

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli," 774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies 793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so 796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere- [527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo" [157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The [831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The [533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing [535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving 524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

155: Abadie--241 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[164]

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[535]

154. The "marriage fair" of the "Méo" of Pha-Long.

155. The Dance of the "Méo" "sen" Player.

292

156.

157.

Groups of Young Women of Various "Méo" Tribes of the Pha-Long Region, Come to the Marriage Fair.

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/83 cont./

A M 857 [534] [538] may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, however, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M 533 M [868] [535] The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A 535 857 868 It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A M 532 Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

1 [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

/145 cont./

534 For the manufacturing process, the length of the pipes, which, along with the diameter, determines the pitch, is always chosen so that their tone is somewhat lower than the one actually aimed for; finally the instrument is tuned by appropriately shortening the tubes. Each pipe is provided with a /Figs. 24-27 appear here/ blow hole that leads into the body of the mouth organ, and with a keyhole that is stopped with a finger. The tone is produced by stopping the keyhole and blowing into the pipe. In addition the vibration parts for the mouth organ are so constructed that the same tone is produced by blowing air in or by sucking it out. Not until the end of the process is the silver mouthpiece put on. The construction of this instrument makes it possible to breathe while playing. Thus, during the sacral dances one can play uninterruptedly. This is very [535] important since the players always dance and play at the same time. The actual use of the instrument is best shown by the drawings and photographs. While the intervals between the individual pipe tones are fixed, the absolute pitch of the basic flute is left to the taste of the manufacturer; it also depends on the size of the instrument. Thus the mouth organs differ considerably from one another in basic pitch, but agree melodically. The use of the pitch pipe is not customary.

[533] /146/ Another instrument of the Meau, which is especially popular among lovers and is played by both sexes, is the jew's-harp (Fig. 27). It consists of a sheet of brass or bronze with a vibrating tongue in the middle. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the right thumb; the oral cavity acts as the sounding board (Ill. 77). 1

Furthermore, there are two kinds of flute. The simple rod flute (Ill. 76) 1 consists of a wooden or bamboo body and has six finger holes on the upper side and one on the under side tuned in major. /Figs. 28-29 appear here./ The hole on the under side is sometimes stopped. The simple construction of the flute is shown in the drawings (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). Both sexes play this flute as well as the one described below. [114] Lajonquière (1), too, mentions flutes and mouth organs. He
[562]
[533]

1. II, p. 311.

1 [see cat 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

c) Dancing

A M 535 [171] In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance; which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

M 114 535 796 [764] The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

M [273] they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

/150 cont./

M 114 535 796 [769] I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A 535 The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example, but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the A [832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the A [832] Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A M 535 883 The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only the young people take part in these dances, no married women of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both

1 [See cat. 116, p 131- ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 132- "]

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/151 cont./

A M 535 [883] [887] [532] the Akha and Meau. Old people of either sex do not dance under any circumstances, whether or not they are now widowed or unmarried. I have already discussed the participation of children at the dance entertainments in the sections, "Art in the Life of the Children" and "Sexual Development," in the chapter, "Life in the Community." Masks and masked dances are unfamiliar to both peoples.

A 123 535 609 Although the Akha are strictly endogamous, it is said, as my interpreter maintained, that on rare occasions they do not object to the participation of guests in their dances. I wanted to verify this statement, however, and suggested to my wife that she make an attempt to dance with the Akha women when the opportunity arose. On one of the following evenings my wife stepped into the circle of dancers. At first no one wanted to take her hand; a few even fled into the forest. Then my wife promptly seized by the hands two of the women taking flight, pulled them back to the dancing place, and soon all had lost their shyness before her, and even those who had fled returned. Two of the older girls then took my wife into the circle and taught her the dance steps. This visibly broke the ice. They found the khaki trousers and blouse of my wife abominable, but my wife had to confess that she had no festive garb. Nothing could be simpler! They gladly wanted to help her out with their clothing. Of course these garments of the Akha, among whom my wife looked like a giantess, did not fit at all. To be sure, /152/ nothing could be done, but the girls at least decked out my wife with ornaments and chains of beads made of dried fruits, and they were not satisfied until she was adorned with a great number of these chains, and then they all laughingly began to dance. All this had taken place without any ill-humor at all, and from this day on the Akha women, who before that had been very distrustful, lost all their shyness before us, which greatly facilitated our investigations.

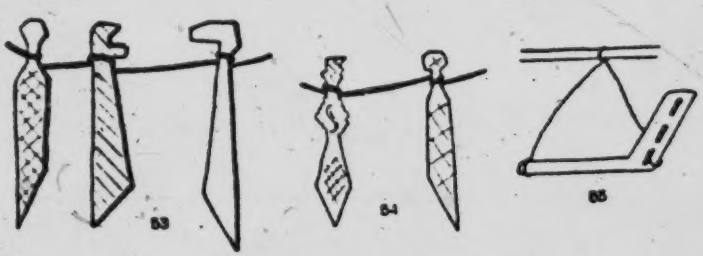
A 123 535 [541] [177] To be sure, among the Akha, too, there may be a dance to honor someone, or the festively adorned dancers may invite him to accompany them to the dancing place, but even with all the good understanding we had not counted on belonging to this select group. One evening, however, it was about nine o'clock and we were already in our beds in the tent, when shots

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

[788] [783] [562] [177]

778 411



Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 571 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, say, a joining together of the young people at the time of initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

[881] [782]

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

532 778 [779]

39: Bernatzik--725 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VII cont./

534 Ills. 75-77. Musical instruments.

Ill. 75. The mouth organ of the Meau, which differs in size and construction from the instruments of the other mountain peoples of Farther India (cf. Ill. 25). The instrument is carefully carved out of wood and mounted with silver rings. The inserted flutes are made of bamboo. As among the Akha, the instrument is played exclusively by men and usually simultaneously with dancing. The mouth organ is of greatest significance for the Meau as a sacral musical instrument.

[562] [535]

Ill. 76. Simple rod-flute of the Meau, made of bamboo, with one blow hole and six finger holes on the upper side and one finger hole on the under side. The latter is kept shut during the playing.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp. The instrument consists of a brass or bronze plate, the center of which is cut out to form a tongue. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the thumb of the right hand; the oral cavity forms the sounding board. A change in the size of the oral cavity produces a change of pitch.

Ills. 78-80 and 91-96. Means of subsistence.

411 Ill. 78. Flintlock gun, the chief weapon in war and for hunting, which the Meau make themselves, as well as the black gunpowder. The gun does not have a butt like the European gun, but merely a pistol stock. Lead or iron bullets are used. Although accuracy and penetrating power are slight, measured by European weapons, the Meau kill even big game with their guns.

Ill. 79. Crossbow. Next to the flintlock guns, the crossbow is the most important weapon of the Meau. Nevertheless, it is of less importance than among the Akha, who have almost no guns, and is usually used only for hunting birds and small game. With poisoned arrows, however, even large game and pachyderms are killed.

[223] [224]

223 Ill. 80. As passionate hunters, the Meau are masters at setting traps. The illustration shows a hunter who is setting a snare to catch wild birds. As soon as the bird touches the trigger stick, the noose jerks upward and the booty is caught in it.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837

to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gū leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[169 cont.]

M 524 in a vertical direction, and each of its ends may lift themselves up to a height double that of the post. A youngster takes his place (astraddle or on his stomach) at each end of the pole, to which a rather rapid movement of horizontal rotation is given, combined with a vertical movement. These movements are induced by each one of the youngsters, who in his turn pushes against the ground. (Photo 168, Plate 42, shows one of these turning seesaws.) Some M [536] [231] "Méo" are strolling entertainers and train performing monkeys. (Photo 385, Plate 42.)

M 231 We have found, in a rather large number of "Méo" homes, the [170] blackbirds known by the name of "mandarin blackbirds." They are slightly larger than our blackbirds. The beak is big and yellow; they have a hood and a little collar of yellow skin. Their ability to imitate is certainly surprising, for, not content with whistling like ordinary blackbirds, they imitate perfectly all the noises they hear: wails of the newborn, whinnying of horses, baying of dogs, coughs, gurglings of the water pipe, gratings of doors, and so on. These birds sell for very high prices.

[171] [Blank page in original text.]

[172] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

[173] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

L 101 131 161 The "Lolo," who form sizeable groupings in the provinces in the south of China, are represented in Tonkinese territory by only a few tribes, very unequally distributed along the frontier, from Baolac to near Phongtho, the total number of individuals in them scarcely exceeding 12,000.

L 131 361 The densest settlements are found in the region of Baolac, which contain the majority of the group, whose villages are more or

/71 cont'd/

533 poor ones cannot help being laughed at. Singing is an indispensable talent for the Miao in their social relations.

(2)

Their songs differ according to locality, and in general can be divided into two groups in accordance with two different styles, i.e., the free songs without set words and songs with fixed words. Generally speaking, the love songs and other songs of pleasure or sorrow are mostly of the former group, and every singer is a spontaneous composer. They sing what they feel at the moment.

533 The formal songs, which are sung at wedding feasts, in re-
571 ligious ceremonies, or between hosts and guests, are of the latter group with fixed texts and are uniform throughout the Miao area. These are not natural outflows of feeling but rather songs of still formality. Everyone can recite these by heart without requirement of talent. The free songs, however, are more flexible; whether the song is good or poor depends upon the talent of the individual singer.

Because the free songs have no fixed texts and because of language difficulties, we did not record them, which is a pity. However, there were copies of the fixed songs in almost every Miao family, as they are taught from generation to generation. We had a chance to collect a few samples. But they were all stiffly formalized. Hence, as far as artistic value is concerned, they can hardly be compared with the free songs cited before which were natural expressions of feelings.

533 /72/ Every aspect of the Miao life is expressed in singing.
● 538 The contents of their songs are, therefore, complex, multi-faceted, and all-comprehensive. We did not succeed in acquiring many of these songs. We shall now attempt to classify here those we did get:

(1) Songs relating to economic life, such as those sung during certain ceremonies in the process of ploughing or harvesting:

/88 cont'd/

533 We have copied a great many of the Miao songs above. These songs, because they have been made rigid through writing, have lost their original freshness and spontaneity. Moreover, the errors the Miao made in /89/ writing them out have rendered the songs sometimes almost unreadable. It is a great pity that the real charm and wit displayed in Miao songs cannot be appreciated from the pages here!

(3)

538 The moods conveyed to us by Miao songs, when they were sung,
152 were not those of loftiness and tragedy, but rather those of tenderness and delicate pathos. There are many breaks in the singing, but the tune during these breaks merely lengthens and weakens, the lingering sounds of the music not breaking off. Thus, it takes a
533 fairly long time to finish the singing of each song. Those songs which are sung as counterparts are started first by one in a group of persons. He stops at the end of the fourth line, and the opposite party will continue the singing with an answering part for another four lines. Then the first singer will pick up the singing again. In this manner, the singing is kept on with every four lines sung alternately by the two opposing parties. The form of Miao songs, as can be seen from the examples given above, is of two kinds: One kind has seven characters to a line. Most of the Miao songs are of this kind. The other kind has three-character lines alternating regularly with seven-character lines. Because of the difference in form, these two groups of songs are sung in different ways, which will be illustrated here. For example, in the singing of a song of
533 the first kind, take the following words:

539 "Jen hua tu ch'uan pu k'an shui, yin chiu t'an to yeh shih hsien."

/People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water, drinking as much as one wants is a waste./ (Excerpt from a Miao song). They are sung in the following manner:

(The dash between the words indicates the lengthened, carried-over tones from the preceding words).

/91/

533 Every two lines in this kind of song also constitute one unit. If seven-character lines follow in the sequence, singing will be done in the manner of singing songs composed of seven-character lines.

This is all that we know about the ways Miao songs are sung. If there are other ways of singing them, we are not aware of them at present.

(4)

538 The legends of the Miao may be divided into two classes: One comprises those which are indigenous, and the other comprises those which have been introduced from outside. This distinction is immediately apparent when we take a look at the contents of the legends. Moreover, the legends may be divided into two classes from the point of view of form: those which have the same form as the songs, and those which do not. The legends with the same form as the songs are either the texts of the civilian and military Taoist priests, or the various songs for social occasions. These are easily available, since they have been written down. As regards those legends which are not in song form, they have been handed down entirely through oral transmission, and collecting them is difficult.

Of those legends which are indigenous, the most interesting are the ones which explain the process of the creation of heaven and earth and the origin of their ancestors. Two of this kind will be re-
539 773 corded as follows:

(a) The Little Girl of Fu-chi Sings:
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! The drum is turned to Yang —
The little girl of Fu-chi arrives at the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Fu-sang Temple.
The kung-ts'ao /"merit official"/ was ordered to send you an invitation.
At the invitation of your masters,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the site of the altar.

/100 cont'd/

539 Who (Emperor P'ing) proposed the use of go-betweens?
173 As for Emperor P'an ... how many daughters?
Then he beckoned /for marriage into his family/ what young men of how many (five) surnames?
The first daughter married what (Teng) surname?
The second daughter married what (Chiang) family's young man?
The third daughter married what (Chao) surname?
The fourth daughter married what (Li) family's young man?
The fifth daughter married what (The family register is unclear) surname?
In the world today what is the custom for union? (Marriage)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many springs?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how are parents cared for?
The fifth daughter respectfully cared for them
And her parents lived a long time for many springs.
Her kindness was exalted and endless.
The record even though unclear mentions this and tells us about it.
Emperor P'an in his lifetime lived how many (Five hundred) years?
Graciously added to his life were how many (Sixty) springs?
/101/ Talk of ancient days are endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

533 Because these historical legends are all rhymed songs made of
538 lines of seven words each, they are frequently sung: The first, (a),
173 is sung by the Taoist priests during the "tso chai" ceremony. The next two, (b) and (c), are sung at wedding feasts with groups of men and women as the opposing singing parties. Interestingly, the contents of these legends provide answers to questions related to the origin of mankind, such as the creation of heaven and earth, the calamity of

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This is not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a
773 daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/101 cont'd/

539 they were children of a dog. One day /102/ when the dog, feeling
773 lazy, did not go to the mountains to hunt, he was beaten by the two children. Upon this, their mother scolded them severely and told them the truth. She said that they were born of her union with the dog and that the dog was in fact their father. She further told them that since they were children of a dog, nobody would ever want to marry them. It was thus wise that they should marry each other in order to continue the line. After the brother and sister were married, they had two boys. When they grew up, the two boys were not able to get along with each other and often quarreled. Their mother became disgusted and drove them out. One fled up to the mountain, and the other down to the sea. The one who went up the mountain became the ancestor of the Miao; the one who went down to the sea became the ancestor of the Tanka /boat people of Canton/. Henceforth, the descendants of these two groups have not walked on the prince's land nor paid taxes.

773 This legend gives us a picture of how the ancestors of the Miao were symbolically conceived of by them (i.e., born of a dog), what kind of economic life they led at the beginning (i.e., hunting), and what kind of marriages between those of the same blood originally existed among them (i.e., marriage between brother and sister), and also what the relationship between the two groups, Miao and Tanka, was like, etc. What important implications all this revealed to us in our study of the Miao social system!

●538 As regard to the legends which were brought to the Miao from outside, these are numerous. Due to limited space here, only the following sample, which consists of a section of the sad and romantic story of a Mr. Yen Hui and a Miss Chang Meng-wo is given here:

539

The Ancient Song of Meng-wo

Speaking at leisure of old tales and books,
Let me sing the story of Meng-wo.
Thousands of other old tales have been told over and over again,
Let me sing now the story of Meng-wo:

/110 cont'd/

M 831 539

Then they bought a long plank of wood,
For Meng-wo to be put upon.
/111/ When the Taoist priests had finished the funeral ceremony,
Husband and wife were sent up the hillside.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
On the left there was the Green Dragon, on the right the White Tiger.
From behind the Jade Goddess protects their grave site.
In front the scarlet bird* comes to pay its respects.

/* A position in geomancy./

At the back were fierce tigers facing spotted leopards.
Sing to the end the ancient tale of Meng-wo.
So that it will be spread over the five lakes and the four seas.

M 538

In addition to the above, there are the Song of San Pe Ying T'ai /"the three heroic elders"/, the Song of Chiu Niang /"the three girls"/, the Song of T'ang Hsien Chang Shih Niang /"the ten women of T'ang Hsien Chang"/, the Song of Mai Ch'en, etc. All of them are well engraved in the heart of every Miao. Because they are all lengthy pieces, space does not permit us to include them in the present report.

/112/ Chapter IX. Intergroup Relations between the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao.

(1)

M H 648 121

The Chinese constitute the majority of the inhabitants of Hainan Island. Next are the Li and the Miao. The intergroup relationship of the three ethnic groups—the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao, particularly the first two—has constituted an /important/ part of the history of Hainan, and naturally it still will be at the core of problems

/135 cont'd/

554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

212 173 their lives. Before they managed to get back again on the bank, they swallowed a great deal of water, and with the water they swallowed all the characters they knew, and have been without characters ever since! This may be regarded as an historical romance with a basis of fact. They did move west away from the Chinese, and the sheet of water was doubtless the Tungting Lake. But are we to gather from it that there was a time when they had some characters, but have since forgotten them?

538 If the Miao have no literature, they have plenty of legends handed down from earlier times. Who composed these legends no one knows; they are taught by the older people to the girls and boys. Many of them are in verse, five syllables to a line, the stanzas being of unequal length, one stanza interrogative and one responsive. These are sung or recited at their festivals by two persons or two groups, generally one group of young men and one group of young women, one group interrogating and the other responding. Among these legends, which I have written down from the dictation of my Heh Miao teacher, is a story of the Creation and a story of the Flood. The story of Creation commences:

7: Clarke M[illegible] (no date) 1911 AE[illegible] M.ao AE

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Who made heaven and earth?
Who made insects?
Who made men?
Made male and made female?
I who speak don't know.

Vang-vai (Heavenly King) made heaven and earth.
Zie-ne made insects.
Zie-ne made men and demons,
Made male and made female.
How is it you don't know?

How made heaven and earth?
How made insects?
How made men and demons?
Made male and made female?
I who speak don't know.

Heavenly King is (or was) intelligent.
Spat a lot of spittle into his hand,
Clapped his hands with a noise,
Produced heaven and earth.
Tall wild grass made insects.
Stones made men and demons.
Made male and made female.
How is it you don't know?

Made heaven in what way?
Made earth in what way?
Thus by rote I sing,
But don't understand.

Made heaven like a sun-hat.
Made earth like a dust-pan.
Why don't you understand?
Made heaven a single lump,
Made earth a single lump.

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Who put heaven up?
Heaven then so very high.
Who separated earth low down?
Earth then deep and low.
I sing and don't understand.

The poem then goes on to relate how heaven and earth were kept apart after they were separated. They tried all sorts of wood and all sorts of metal, and at length decided to prop up heaven with pillars made of silver. But where were they to get fire to melt the silver? Fire had gone up to heaven; how were they to bring it down? Fire eventually came down from heaven in a stone, and with raw steel and tinder they extracted the fire from the stone. After heaven had been propped up with silver pillars, the sun and moon and milky-way were fixed in their places. The sun, however, went away and would not come back. Thereupon they sent various beasts and birds to call the sun to return, but they would not go; or if they went, the sun refused to come at their call. Finally, they sent the cock to call the sun to return, and when the cock crew the sun came back. The poem concludes that the proof of this is that when the cock crows the sun rises!

"Heavenly King" is a translation of *Vang-*

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773 down into the valley, he showed her the two knives in the scabbard and she finally consented to be his wife. In course of time a child was born to them without any limbs. A-Zie was very angry, and taking a big knife killed the child, chopped it to bits, and scattered the bits all over the hill-side. Next morning they discovered that these pieces had all changed into men and women, and thus the earth was repeopled.

Part of this legend may, as an illustration of all, be given in a rough translation of the Metric Version:

773
• 538

Zie demanded his sister in marriage,
His sister spoke,
Spoke how?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Then his sister spoke,
You want to marry your sister;
Lift up a millstone each opposite,
Let go to roll to the valley;
(If) they roll and make one,
You marry your sister.
If the stones rest apart in the valley,
(We) both go and rest in our own place.
So his sister spoke,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

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Let the stones go into the valley; 773
Did the stones then make one (or) 538
Did the stones rest apart?
I who sing don't know.

The stones rested apart.
Zie contrived wickedly,
Put stones in the valley,
Called his sister to come
To see the stones become one.
A-Zie then spoke,
Now we two will marry,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

His sister again spoke,
Spoke words nicely,
How did she speak?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

His sister again spoke,
Take knives each on a separate hill,
Throw the knives into the valley;
(If they) enter into one sheath,
We two will marry.
(If) the knives rest apart,
We will rest apart.
So his sister spoke,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

A-Zie then hit on a plan,
Made up his mind what to do,
He would have his sister for wife.
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

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A-Zie then hit on a plan,
He made his heart wicked,
Made two pairs of knives,
He placed knives in the valley,
(They) rested apart.
Threw and went into the grass,
(He) called his sister to come
To see the two knives in a pair.
Now we two will marry,
He would have his sister for wife,
Why don't you understand?

Would have his sister for wife,
The two returned home.
Who did they ask (about it)?
Commanded what?
So the two got married.
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

So the two returned home,
And asked their Mother,
Their Mother then said,
Heaven has no people,
Earth has no people,
You two must marry.
Kill buffaloes, kill cows, receive guests,
Hang meat on the branches of the "Zan" tree,
Call your brother cousin,[1]
Hang meat on the branches of the "Ma sang" tree,
Call your Mother mother-in-law,
So their Mother spoke,
Spoke words thus,
And the two got married.
Why don't you understand?

[1] Not a human being but a genius or fairy; the same with the guests.

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So the two got married,
Afterwards they had a child,
Had a child, what sort?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Afterwards they had a child,
Had a child like a hammer,
Why don't you understand?

They had a child which had no arms or legs—this is why they say it was like a hammer.

Had a child like a hammer,
Zie saw, did Zie love it?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Zie saw and did not love it,
Zie saw and Zie got angry,
Why don't you understand?

A-Zie was full of anger,
Took the child and did what?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

A-Zie was full of anger,
Zie drew out a great knife,
Took the child and chopped it up,
Why don't you understand?

Zie took the child and chopped it up,
Where did he throw (the pieces)?
Flesh went and got a name,
What did they become and what were they called?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

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773
538

He sowed them on the hill,
In the morning they became people,
Thus they got a name,
What they became so they were called,
Why don't you understand?

773 Mr. H. J. Hewitt had the same story told him, in a different way, by the Hua Miao. Years ago they told me their story, but I did not write it down; so here is Mr. Hewitt's version.

According to this, two brothers ploughed a field one day, and next morning found the soil all replaced and smoothed over as if it had never been disturbed. This happened four times, and being greatly perplexed they decided to plough the field over once more and observe what happened. In the middle of the night while the brothers were watching, one on one side of the field and the other on the other side, they saw an old woman descend from heaven with a board in her hand, who, after replacing the clods of earth, smoothed them with the board. The elder brother at once shouted to the younger one to come and help him to kill the old woman who had undone all their work. But the younger brother suggested that they should first ask her why she did this and put them to so much trouble. So they

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NOT ONLY DO THE MIAO SING AND RECITE THE OLD
538 legends in verse, handed down from very early times, but they are also, or at least some of them are, great story-tellers. Some of these stories I took down from the dictation of my Miao teacher. They are not like Chinese stories, which are moral or immoral—mostly moral. Miao stories are not moral, but if we should say they were immoral, it might suggest a wrong opinion of them. We might, I think, call them unmoral, for they do not teach or illustrate the beauty of filial piety, loyalty, truthfulness, or any other moral excellence. In their stories one or more persons are clumsily crafty, and other persons are preternaturally simple. It is the crafty or lying people who always come off best, to the confusion of all honest and simple folk. That sort of thing amuses them immensely.

Some of their stories profess to explain in an amusing, if not satisfactory, way how certain things happen to be as they are. We have mentioned already how the Miao explain why they have no written characters, and why the sun rises when the cock crows. We shall now give a couple of short stories told to explain certain facts in natural history, which may interest our readers.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

The Dog, the Cat, the Rat, and the Sheep

"Once upon a time the dog and the cat agreed to be cousins. The dog said, 'We two have now agreed to be cousins, there must be no stealing between us.' The cat replied, 'We shall steal other people's things; we two are kinsfolk, how can we rob one another?' 538

"Not long afterwards the dog took off his horns, and putting them on one side, stooped down to lick the inside of a stone mortar. In a little time he straightened himself, looked around, and not seeing his horns, said to the cat, 'Have you seen my horns?' The cat replied, 'I have not seen them. I certainly do not look after your horns for you.'

"The dog searched everywhere, but could not find them, and meeting the rat, he asked if he had seen them. The rat answered, 'I know where they are.' 'Well,' said the dog, 'you tell me where they are.' The rat replied, 'Your cousin the cat has stolen your horns and put them in a cupboard.' The dog went to the cupboard and found it was shut, so he said to the rat, 'You get in and bring them out for me.' The rat inquired what reward he should get for doing this, and the dog replied, 'When I eat anything, you shall eat with me.'

7; Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

538 "So the rat gnawed a hole in the cupboard, and dragged out the horns with his teeth. As he was doing this the cat saw him, and snatched them away. The dog thereupon pursued the cat, and the cat made off to the top of a tree. The dog at the foot of the tree cried out, 'Beat him!' The cat at the top of the tree said, 'I'm not afraid.' When it was dark the dog went home, and the cat, coming down from the tree, gave the horns to the sheep.

"And now the cat worries the rat, and the dog likes to chase the sheep and bite them. So instead of friendship there is enmity between them all, because of things that happened long ago."

The Swallow and the Toad

"In old times the rice plant bore grain from the bottom to the top of the stalk. This just suited the swallow, but the toad did not like it. 'It would be well,' said he, 'if instead of one harvest in the year there were three harvests per annum.' 'No,' said the swallow, 'it would be better if one harvest yielded enough for three years.' 'That,' objected the toad, 'would be very bad.' 'How would it be very bad?' asked the swallow. 'Because,' replied the toad, 'the ground would be overgrown with

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

weeds.' 'But,' urged the swallow, 'the weeds would be very convenient, we could rest in the shade of them.' 'You only think of yourself,' said the toad. 'Well,' asked the swallow, 'how would it be bad for you?' 'I prefer,' said the toad, 'that there should be three harvests every year; thus there would be no weeds, and the snakes would not be able to seize me.' 538

"The swallow, however, would not agree to any such arrangement, and so they quarrelled.

"'You go,' suggested the swallow to the toad, 'and make an accusation against me.' 'Accuse you!' cried the toad; 'yes, I certainly shall go and accuse you.' The swallow thought the toad would be a long time on the road, so he said to the toad, 'You go first. I'll come along at my leisure.'

"The toad, however, was clever. He took a piece of wood and threw it in the water, and getting upon the piece of wood he floated quickly down with the stream. In this way he was the first to arrive before the king.

"The king asked him what he came about, and the toad replied, 'I have come to make an accusation.' 'Concerning what matter,' inquired the king, 'do you wish to make an accusation?' 'I desire,' said the toad, 'that

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

538 there should be three crops every year to supply the year's need. The swallow will not agree to this, and says he prefers that one year's crop should suffice for three years. I say that thus the ground would be overgrown with weeds, and the snake would come and eat me. So we quarrelled over it, and the swallow beat me.'

"Thereupon the king allowed the claim of the toad that every year there should be three crops, and the toad returned to his home.

"Later on the swallow, having delayed and amused himself on the way, arrived. The king asked him, 'What have you come about?' The swallow replied, 'I have come to make an accusation.' 'Concerning what matter,' demanded the king, 'do you wish to make an accusation?' 'I desire,' said the swallow, 'that one harvest should suffice for three years. The toad will not consent to this, and he beat me, so I have come to accuse him.'

"'But,' said the king, 'the matter is already decided. You will find it recorded here. You can read it.'

"The swallow, seeing the toad's claim was allowed, kept on protesting, whereupon the king with his hand hit the swallow on the top of the head, and ever since the top of the swallow's head has been flat."

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

VIII. LEGENDS

538 It has already been stated that much of the history and folklore of the Ch'uan Miao has been put into verse from and is sung or chanted by the men and women on various occasions so that they are handed down as songs from generation to generation. There are of course some legends that are not in verse form and are not sung and much of the past history of the group has been lost, but there seems to be no poetry among these people that is not sung or chanted.

It is a well-known fact that the stories spread from group to group and that some stories have spread over most of the world. No doubt some of the Ch'uan Miao legends and stories have been learned from other cultural groups, but many have originated among the Ch'uan Miao themselves. There are old men and women who know hundreds of these legends and songs and gladly teach them to younger people. It is said, however, that many of the young folk are not learning them so that in a few generations they may be forgotten. This will be a real loss for they reflect the history, experiences, customs, ideals, and presuppositions of the people.

538 173 Among the great variety of songs and legends one is historical. There are occasionally to be found in these stories bits of history that have not been recorded in any book. One story tells of the final defeat of the Miao in Kiangsi Province. According to this legend, the Chinese then had guns and cannon. I myself heard the old Ch'uan Miao sing this legend and took it down sentence by sentence as it was translated into Chinese for me by a Ch'uan Miao friend. Those who sang and translated the song knew very little about Kwangtung and Kiangsi Provinces. Another legend tells of a forced migration to Szechwan with their hands tied behind their backs. Still another tells of the settlement of the first Ch'uan Miao at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨. Going farther back into history, there are legends that indicate that their ancestors lived in a land where there were Chinese and also camels; this land surely must have been in North China. There are legends that say, "My ancestors lived in a hot southern climate," and describe conditions that point to a land in the south beyond the frontiers of China. There are stories that reflect conditions in a late neolithic age, or at least an age before metal was in common use, as for instance the story of the man who killed a bear by striking it with a stone axe. One very interesting story tells how monkeys lost their tails by sitting on them and so gradually became men.

The legend about the defeat of the Miao by the Chinese in Kwangtung is as follows:—

"The heavens are empty, the earth is small. The Chinese arose and fought us Miao. When we heard this evil news, when the Chinese reached Kwangtung, they brought cannon

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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and guns and we were much afraid. When they had conquered Kiangsi, the Miao T'ien Ho 天火 (fire from heaven) blew his bugle, and Earth Fire 地火 took up his sword and curved bows and mustered soldiers as far as the horizon. The Chinese in attacking the Miao towns fought rapidly, attacking quickly, and even chickens and dogs were frightened. The Miao soldiers went and fought them but the Chinese broke open the Miao cities. The Chinese soldiers, when they saw the Miao soldiers covering the surrounding hills, were unable to hold back the Miao soldiers and fled and took refuge on the cliffs. The Chinese used a trick, making boats and chariots, filling them with soldiers, and came again to fight the Miao. The Miao were then defeated. The Chinese took possession of the Miao land and ordered the Miao to make them three thousand bows and arrows. The Miao could not oppose them and took refuge in caves."

It is not impossible that the migration of the Ch'uan Miao to Szechwan occurred under Yung Chêng 雍正 about the year 1733.

There is a legend that seems to imply a blood relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. It states that originally the Chinese and the Miao were one family. They were two brothers. The Miao was the older, the more powerful and the more respected brother and the Chinese was the younger. The parents died and were buried. The brothers separated and lost all trace of each other. They both commemorated their ancestors at the same grave but at different times so that they did not meet. The younger brother, the Chinese, worshipped later in the year, so that the older brother noticed that somebody was worshipping at the grave of his parents. "Who is doing this and for what reason?" he asked. Then he began to watch and caught the younger brother. A disagreement ensued. They did not recognize each other so each blamed the other for worshipping at his ancestral grave. Instead of fighting, they went to law about it. The official asked the Miao, "What evidence have you that this is your ancestral grave?" He replied, "I have buried a millstone a certain distance to the right of the grave." He asked the younger brother the same question. He answered, "I have buried a brass gong a certain distance to the left of the grave." The official sent men to dig and found both the millstone and the gong. Then it became known that the two men were brothers. But in the centuries that followed the descendants of the two brothers grew apart and forgot their common ancestry so that the Chinese have forgotten it altogether. Moreover, the Chinese descendants have become more and more powerful and numerous so that the Miao are now the younger and weaker brothers and the Chinese are the older and stronger brothers.

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538 173 There is a variation of this legend which states that when the two brothers first separated they took a brass gong and broke it in two, each brother burying his piece near the grave. Later, at the official investigation, the two parts fitted together, proving their common ancestry.

The Ch'uan Miao trace their ancestry to a female ancestor called Na Bo Hmo Ntsə or the Miao mother named Ntsə.

One legend is that of P'an Ku 盤古, a great superman who with his hammer and chisel carved out the sky and the earth. The Chinese also have this legend and it is a question whether the Miao learned it from the Chinese or the Chinese from the Miao. An interesting fact is that this was not a creation of original materials but a shaping of the sky and the earth out of substances that already existed.

Savina found among the Miao of Tongkin the Biblical story of the flood, the tower of Babylon, the confusion of tongues, and a migration across northern Asia, finally reaching Tongkin. I have always suspected that the Miao of Tongkin learned these stories in recent times from Christian sources. I have not found the slightest trace of them among the Ch'uan Miao.

538 773 The story of the flood as I have learned it from Ch'uan Miao friends is as follows. Two brothers were hoeing a piece of land in order to plant a crop. Every morning when they returned to the field they found the soil turned back as it had been before they began work. One night, they kept watch to see who was doing this and saw an old man come onto the field and begin turning the soil back. When they asked for an explanation, the old man said, "It is useless for you to plant a crop. The world will be flooded and all the crops will be ruined and all the people will be drowned." Then they went and asked ʒ̄e sʌu what to do about it. He advised each of them to make a large tub or barrel and to get into it when the flood arose. So the younger brother made a wooden tub and the older brother made one of iron. When the rains descended and the floods came, each brother got into his tub. The iron tub sank and the older brother was drowned but the wooden tub floated and so the younger brother was saved.

There is a variation of this story by which a brother and a sister were saved from the flood. There were no other people on earth, but they were brother and sister and had the same name, so it was not right for them to marry. They made three tests which finally proved to their satisfaction that it was the will of Ntsə that they should marry. One of these tests was the rolling of two round stones from opposite sides of a gulch or canyon. Their stopping together was a proof of the will of Ntsə that they should marry. Savina says that in the legend as he received it, it was not

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

538 clear whether the two stones were two round pieces of a stonegrinder or not. The Ch'uan Miao assured me that they
773 were not two round pieces of a stone grinder but merely two round stones and that they rolled down from opposite hill-or mountain-sides, the opposite sides of a canyon.

Another kind of legend is that which gives an explanation for Ch'uan Miao customs. There are many of them and not a few of the customs here described were first learned about in a legend. As an illustration I will tell the story of the origin of raising chickens.

A man was walking through the woods. A pheasant flew out cackling and the man found some pheasant chicks. These he took home and fed and gradually they became very tame and grew up as pets. The family liked them so much that they did not kill them and eat them. When these chicks grew up they laid eggs and hatched out more chicks which in turn grew up. This family gave some of the fowl to other families and gradually people learned to raise chickens.

538 There are many love songs or songs that relate the experiences of lovers, for the Ch'uan Miao have had their
837 share of Romeos and Juliets. Some of these songs tell of love between men and their wives or between men and women whom they love and wish to marry, but probably ninety percent of the love songs tell of love affairs between married men and women who are not their wives or between married women and men who are not their husbands, or between unmarried people who do not expect to get married, and in nearly all of these cases it is stated or implied that there was sexual intercourse between them. It seems to be assumed that love between the sexes will result in sexual intercourse and the pure love song that plays such a large part in the literature of the world is hard to find.

IX. RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

In my opinion the Ch'uan Miao are a very religious people,
771 but they have no religious organization, no images of gods, and no temples. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and through their religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a satisfying life in which the basal needs of food, sex, protection or security, and play and amusement are satisfied. Two of the fundamentals in the Ch'uan Miao religion are belief in demons which cause disease and other calamities and for whose exorcism ceremonies are required, and the ancestral cult with its ceremonial offerings and commemoration.

[135 cont.]

627 After a decision is rendered in this fashion both parties would
773 show compliance and would not carry the case to the law courts. Although the mythology handed down from mouth to mouth does not have religious contents, it becomes a kind of prophecy to those people who hold everything pertaining to their ancestors in the highest respect. It is entirely due to this inherent respect for their ancestors that the ancestral myth is recounted before carrying out the punishment or at the time of settling a dispute. The idea is to employ the will of the ancestors to restrain the actions of their descendants. It is interesting to note that the mythology of the Sheng Miao, meant originally to inform posterity of the stories of their ancestors' life, has also assumed the corrective and preventive functions of law.

773 [136] The ancestral myth recorded by this writer consists
538 of three versions, which are scattered over every corner of the Sheng Miao area. Although these versions show some variance, they have the same origin. The original mythology of all ethnic groups is told in verses or songs so that they can be remembered easily by posterity. The first two versions of the ancestral myth are told by the Sheng Miao as prose stories due to the disappearance of the poetical versions in the course of time. The third version is a song sung by the Sheng Miao, and few indeed are those elders in the whole area who can sing the song in its entirety. It therefore still retains all its simple primitive character. The whole song has 488 lines and represents the pure myth of the Sheng Miao regarding the origin of man. The three versions are given as follows.

The First Version

There was an old woman who descended from heaven to
539 the earth with a melon seed. She planted this seed on the top of a mountain range. After three days the seed sprouted and the vine extended to more than two feet. After seven days the melon plant covered the whole mountain, yielding many large melons. Among the melons there was the melon king so large that it could accommodate several dozen persons inside. It

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

[152 cont.]

538 lot is otherwise so hard. Below are given two extracts from "Méo" songs, borrowed from the work of P. Marabail (op. cit., pp. 296 and 298):

539 892 1. Love song:

The Young Man. — One is born only once. As the bee and the butterfly go far off in search of flowers, so human creatures are obliged to make long journeys to seek out those beings with whom they should unite. In like fashion we two are of different villages and yet we are about to wed. It is Heaven that has so willed it, He who is just and is never mistaken.

The Young Woman. — No, we are like the reed and the plum tree, which are separated by long distances. Don't make fun of it in that way. But since you tell me of the example of the bees, we have only to follow it. Wait for me then this evening at nightfall and I shall take care not to miss the rendezvous.

2. Prayer:

May we have an abundant harvest of maize! May the 539 wind blow with moderation and the rain fall with regularity! Then 782 more than a hundred plants will give rich harvests. Thus the mandarins will have a tranquil people to rule. Oh, that these desires may be completely realized! Let us beat the drum to celebrate autumn.

The costume of the men scarcely varies from one tribe to an- 291 other (see photo 204, Plate 38, in which representatives of various "Méo" tribes of Upper Tonkin appear). It consists of a jacket which buttons [153] usually in front of the right shoulder as well as on the side, and goes down just below the hips, a long pantaloon falling to the feet and held up by a belt, a turban of variable size, wrapped in a haphazard fashion.

Among those tribes which are in direct contact with the Chinese, [177] the masculine costume approaches that of the Chinese, the jacket buttons in front by means of a variable number of braided loops and buttons and the turban is often replaced by a small skullcap.

The "Méo" usually go about barefooted. Some wear sandals with soles of rattan or bamboo fiber, or even the Chinese heelless

/83 cont./

A may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute
M /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life
857 of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I
[534] did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, how-
[538] ever, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so
533 tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially
M the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old
[868] do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the
[535] cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing
535 plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly
857 saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the
868 adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the
M chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they
532 never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

[1] [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] A M [177] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When M 114 533 538 Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

1 [See cat 116, p 124 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/219 cont./

A 784 All these prohibitions are in force for all the Akha who are in a situation connected with a taboo, for instance, pregnancy or sickness. There is no taboo that embraces social or political groups.

Every taboo is strictly observed. Transgression do occur, of course, but only through carelessness. The transgressor always A [688] [787] [756] hastens to the shaman and immediately tells him what has happened, whereupon the shaman questions the offended spirit as to the form of expiation required of the transgressor.

The prohibition that strangers may not walk about alone A 123 609 784 in the village borders on taboo. I was told that such an act offends the spirits, whose wrath is then felt, not by the stranger, but by the inhabitants of the village. I had the impression, however, that this was more a pretext to prevent our investigations in the villages, since it was apparently disagreeable to the Akha A [126] to be watched by us. I therefore, for example, had to take my photographs with telescopic Tessar lenses from a great distance.

If one tries to obtain an explanation for the taboos, the A 178 784 [756] answer is always: "Because the spirits wish it and our /220/ ancestors did so." The prohibitions were therefore handed down from ancient times and cannot be modified or moderated by the shamans, just as they likewise do not have the power to create new taboos.

A 779 As numerous as the taboo rules are, the Akha, too, do not have any totemistic conceptions in any form.

/221/

Chapter 10

Myths and Fairy Tales

M 114 538 773 Undoubtedly myths and fairy tales must be present in considerable numbers among all the mountain peoples of Farther India. Nevertheless, relatively few became known to me from the Meau in Thailand, and even in the literature I was able to find little about the fund of Meau myths.

/221 cont./

182 Especially among a people as mentally alert and of such
538 high standing as the Meau, one can probably see in this fact an
773 indication that we have here an economically-conditioned cultural loss. Poetry, like every free artistic activity, requires not only mental ability, but also security in the basic conditions of life. That the mental ability in any case is present among the Meau is attested to, in addition to the communications from Savina, by both the mental development of the children and, above all, the spiritual culture which both the Meau and the Akha have developed. People who need all their strength in order merely, with the hardest work, to avoid starvation, however, cannot possibly have the energy required for poetic invention. Traditional lore maintains itself longer, but it, too, disappears if there is not sufficient time and leisure to cultivate it.

773 Nevertheless, among the Meau in Thailand I was able to
[184] record a number of legends which often are identical to a great extent with the corresponding myths and tales that other authors have recorded among the Meau in Tonkin. Accordingly, I am presenting the recorded material in the grouping most useful for comparative purposes. Concerning /222/ the origin of the human race, the following was reported to me:

In the beginning the earth was flooded by the ocean. When the water had gradually created its own pathways and earth became visible, a pair of siblings was living there. The brother impregnated the sister, and she gave birth to a gourd, which instead of seeds contained germ cells from which, in the course of time, human beings developed.

539 Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) also describe this episode,

1. II, p. 314.

2. Page 168.

but these authors state that the Meau have knowledge of the Deluge and the siblings were the only survivors of this natural catastrophe. Savina (3) also described the creation of human beings:

3. II, p. 244.

/31 cont'd/

595 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness of single men" would be inevitable.

When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided

428 among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons, his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose hus-

597 band comes to live in her family. A son adopted as an heir also has the right to inherit.

551 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539 /32/
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MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS
A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS
MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS — BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture inKwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

/32 cont'd/

●539 auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung,
601 Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different. /

Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng; Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

602 With this kind of family register, although a family has increased and scattered to different places, the relationship of the family members is maintained without interruption. Consequently, those of the same surname related by blood are forever connected and the awareness of the kin group is very deeply rooted. There were a number of Miao who were able to tell us in great detail about the localities from which they had migrated and distant localities in which they still had many cousins living. The Miao headman, Mr. Wang Fu-shou of Pao-ch'a village in Ta-ch'i, frequently called me lao-tsung /"venerable kinsman"/. /The author, Wang Hsing-jui, has the same surname. / This was an expression of a feeling of kin group relationship. Since the kin group consciousness still exists, it is very natural that the feelings of the people of the same surname thus extend even to those not closely related.

[221] Since their livelihood is chiefly dependent upon farming on the
61 mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

/34 cont'd/

622 whether there was also a property qualification. It is a fact, however, that the present chia-ch'ang, successors of the former shan-chia, all appear to be better off than the ordinary Miao people. Shan-chia is the keeper of knowledge for the Miao people. In his home he keeps the almanac, the Confucian classics, and other kinds of books. The public affairs of the village are under his direction and are all decided upon by him.

[527 787] According to an old Miao custom, on the eve of the New Year, the entire population of the village usually gathered in the shan-chia's home to present him with jars of wines and to offer congratulations. They sang and asked the shan-chia about things of the coming year. From his experience and greater learning, the shan-chia would answer them one by one. The song that they sang was called "The Old Villager," the words of which are as follows:

539 Creating the heaven, creating the earth—Emperor P'an has done;
He made the rites followed by later men.
In accord with the rites, dinner is served for two;
A bare table would trouble the venerable official.
The first cup, we offer to him to drink,
After the second and third cups, the sands turn to gold.*
Thousands of cups are for all the stars to drink,
So that the venerable tree /unc[illegible] sitting at the table may not be bored!
The golden/?/* cup is now respectfully put on the table,
Like a moon among the stars in the sky.
As two rows of stars now line the hall,
Also hope that the sun, standing above all the rest, will protect them.
In P'eng-cheng hall, all the stars are now sitting,
Without rest, without settling down, they await the difficulties of the coming spring.
Virtue spreads out to all the stars,
May the country be prosperous and the people be secure for ever!

/34 cont'd/

539 Is the year chia-tzu an intercalary year without an intercalary day?

/35/ We ask you, venerable sir, to tell us:
Where may we find the greatest benefit?
What is the most auspicious direction for the door to open toward?
Will we be fortunate again this year, or will no leaves grow?
Where is the best place for planting crops?
We beg you, venerable sir, to tell us:
Will all the stars be safe and happy for a million years?
On which side of the mountain shall we live safely?
Will the world be peaceful and the people have plenty of food?
This year has passed and the next year approaches.
We ask you what your plan is for scattering and settling down.
Once your plan is made known to the stars,
Prepare the horses and things for the journey.
We ask you, venerable sir, about the tree of the Official of the Spring,
And how much water and fish there will be for the coming year.
What amount of fish should be caught and animals be hunted?
How will be the spring rain and the sprouts of grain?
We beg you, venerable sir, to tell us.
This is why all the stars have come here.

/* This Miao folk song is very obscure even in the Chinese text. Many words were obviously miswritten by the original Miao copyist who miswrote the Chinese characters replacing them with those having the same sound. For instance, the character chin ("the present") in the sixth and ninth lines may be a miswriting of chin ("gold"); kan-tai a miswriting of kan-t'ai ("a dry or clean table") in the eighth

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr. /

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[12] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/37 cont'd/

427 amount. If the property is rented, the duration as well as the rate of rent /38/ is fixed. It is to be paid either in one payment or by yearly instalment. After the contract has expired, they are either to move away or to renew the contract, which is determined by mutual agreement. If the property is purchased, the price is usually 423 greater than if it were rented. After the contract is signed, the rights of the mountain are transferred to the Miao purchaser, who may make use of it as he will. The original seller no longer has any rights whatever. The reason why some people among the Miao are able to remain for relatively longer periods in one locality is that they have acquired the ownership of the mountains they live on. [675] Whether the mountain is rented or purchased, a contract is signed by both parties. The name of the mountain, the price or rent, and the duration if it is rented, are clearly stated. There are many mountains which have been purchased with joint funds of the villagers, [622] but on the contract only the name of the shan-chia or chia-ch'ang is written, because he is the representative of the whole village during the negotiations and the contract is also kept by him. In the home of a Miao chia-ch'ang, we saw many different contracts of this kind. Some of them are translated as follows:

675 "We, the signers of the contract for Ya-nan Mountain, T'ung
539 Li, Lao Ta-k'ai, Shih Chün and Ying Kuo-ying-chi, having ex-
423 amined the vegetation and marked the soil, hereby agree that the price of the mountain shall be 66 dollars. The expenses of tao-ping /the commission?/ shall be 350 cash and a peck of rice from each family. The mountain products, ching-pi, shan-ma, deer horn, bear gall, red and white rattan, are all the property of the owners of the mountain; they shall not be stolen or sold. The Miao will be allowed to cut wood on this mountain for the next 25 years. This contract shall not be revoked on any pretext. Since oral agreement is subject to dispute, this written contract has been drawn as evidence.

Witnessed by Ch'iu K'ai-i

/38 cont'd/

675 This contract is signed in public on the fifteenth day of the
539 second month of the twenty-sixth year of Kuang-hsü, the year of
423 Keng-tze /1900/."

"Again: On the preceding day, the Miao people signed an agreement to pay 270 silver dollars for the mountain land of Mao-kai Mountain. This contract is signed on the seventh day of the first month of the sixteenth year of the Republic /1927/."

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675 /39/ "The rent of Mt. Mao-jui shall be roughly one peck of
423 rice, 350 cash, one jar of wine, and one chicken, to be collected
427 every year."
436

"Wang Kung-ch'ing

427 A new contract has been signed in the year ting-mao of the
675 Republic /1927/; every family is to pay four dollars in the spring of every year. The expenses for tao-ping /commission?/ shall be 305 cash from each family; the expenses for shih-sheng /?/, 100 cash; one chicken, one peck of rice, and one jar of wine from each family.

Black beans, edible fungi, and other mountain products are all included."

The above are contracts for renting mountains.

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423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased from
675 the sellers Li Yüng-sheng, Li Yüng-sheng /sic/, and Mei Ch'ang-sheng. Mt. Mao-jui has been purchased in the twenty-second year of Kuang-hsü /1896/. The price agreed upon is 100 large silver dollars."

779 /55/
776

San Tsu	Tou-fu San Kuan	Wu-shang-hui
Hsi-tao wu-shang	Shih-erh Shang-ping /The twelve wounded soldiers/	P'in-pu-chi
Hao Kung-Chi /The good cock/	Shih-wu Shang Kung-chi /The fifteen injured cocks/	Shang-yüan-p'ou-hsiang
Chung-yüan Lo-p'a	Hsia-yüan Lo-p'a	Shih Kung-tsao /The four clerical officers/
Chao Shuai /General Chao/	Ma Shuai /General Ma/	Teng Shuai /General Teng/

776 As to which gods belong to the military group and which ones to the civilian group, I do not know. Each god seems to preside over a particular business. Their different duties are clearly divided. [532] Hence during the tso-chai ceremony, they only hung up ten or more pictures of gods who are in charge of the business of this particular ceremony. Because the pictorial representation and the duties of each god differ, the texts for each also are different. To save space in this book, I have merely copied the text of the Chiu-niang /the ninth lady/ section which is as follows:

779 ●539 You, drummer, beat the drum of yang-shou;
Beat again the drum of chao-yang.
Hearing the tunes of the drum turned to yang,
Chiu-niang, highly praised, dismounted from her horse.
This morning you were in the temple of Fa-t'an.
The kung-tsao officer was ordered to bring you the invitation.
After you received the invitation from the kung-tsao,
The precious horses were prepared for you to go to the place of ceremony.
You dismounted in front of the altar,
And were welcomed to the ceremony, enjoying the burning incense.

/55 cont'd/

779
539

While the worship-settling wine was served at eight tables,
The boys were singing the song of yüan-chang below the tables.
/56/ Has the personal story of Chiu-niang not been told?
Every spring has its source, and every flower has its root.
The wind was blowing from peak to peak;
The current of the water flooded over falls and falls.
Bought up by her parents, she was a clever child.
Niang was very calm and pretty,
Her eyes were as bright as the Seven Stars, and her eyebrows, were like the crescent moon.
Her face was as smooth as the paper made in the Easter Capital;
Her head and feet were equally beautiful.
The flowers she wore were as fresh as the morning stars in the eastern sky.
There was a san-shan cap on her head;
It was decorated with gold dust.
Her blouse was embroidered with pearls;
Her eight-piece silk slip was long enough to touch the floor.
Her elder brother's name was T'ang T'ai-pao;
He was a very handsome young man.
To her parents were born a boy and a girl before Niang.
She, T'ang Chiu-niang, was her parents' youngest child.
One morning she entered the garden;
Inspired by the lushness of the flowers, she pondered for a while.
Going through the Upper Village, there was not a handsome one;
Passing the Lower Village, there was not one gallant.
There was a cousin named Yang-erh who lived in the Middle Village;
He had a handsome bearing and a gallant personality.
Awakening at dawn the next morning,
She was waiting for him on the roadside where people passed carrying water.
There she met Cousin Yang-erh.
"Cousin Erh, please, listen to me.

/56 cont'd/

779
539

I have been waiting especially for you this morning;
I should like you to be my companion tonight."
/57/ "Listen to me," Yang-erh replied.
"If you are willing to think of me.
You are an excellent gown maker;
Make a pair of long gowns for me,
And a pair of short ones,
And a pair of under garments,
On which are embroidered a drake and duck with fine silk.
Were all my clothes made by you, Niang,
I would look fine and handsome."
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Listen to me, Cousin Erh,
Whatever food and wine you like, I have all ready in the kitchen.
I'll prepare the wine whenever you like.
The wine is the Ninth Month Wine,
That I will drink with you for remembrance."
Yang-erh then turned to Chiu-niang and said:
"Chiu-niang, please, listen to me:
I won't drink the wine served in a gold cup,
I would like to taste it through your lips."
The East Hall was opened, set with tables and chairs.
Dragons, phoenixes, and drakes and ducks were displayed,
And Yang-erh was received in her home.
He was entertained with different dishes and wines:
Three kinds of food and five kinds of flavors were put on the table;
Boiled pork and choice fish were in the center.
Fruits were offered to him while they were drinking the first cup.
She took away his long robe while the second cup was served.
She became tipsy after the third cup was emptied.
Her face was as pink as a row of /red/ flowers;

/58/

779
539

He also became dizzy after the third cup
And went into the inner room to look for Chiu-niang.
The tables and dishes were taken away and the chairs were rearranged.
They went to the bedroom hand in hand.
After sitting a while in the inner room,
They both began undressing.
The long gown was hung up on the gold hook.
The short gown was hung on the beams of her bed.
The head kerchief was put on the bamboo clothes holder;
The shoes were put in her shoe box.
With both hands, he slid open her silk mosquito net,
And asked her where the double pillow was.
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Cousin Erh, why do you speak so thoughtlessly;
Before this, I have been a maid living in the inner room,
I don't know why I should have a double pillow."
During the first tien of the first keng they slept together,
Like a pair of bamboo . .
During the second tien of the second keng he was sleeping by her feet,
Which looked like a pair of ivory combs.
They were sleeping so deeply during the third keng,
Just like two dead persons on the high bed.
The cocks began to crow during the fourth keng;
At the fifth keng, it seemed there were hundreds of flowers waving around them.
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Cousin, please, listen to me.
I have a golden cock which has not yet crowed.
My silver cock will report to me at dawn."
They kept sleeping on the same pillow, just like
A pair of blooming flowers.
/59/When Chiu-niang awoke it was dawn,
She asked Yang-erh to get dressed.

/59 cont'd/

779
539

She led him from the East Hall to the West Hall.
From the West Hall they reached the North Hall, which was too long,
Where they met her sister-in-law who said:
"You, sister-in-law, have had a man at home!"
Her brother also saw them.
Soon the neighbors gathered.
They arrested Yang-erh and put him in irons.
They fastened his legs with hemp ropes and iron locks.
They beat Yang-erh out of his skin.
The beating was so painful that
Yang-erh began to cry out and shout to Chiu-niang,
Who then came to her brother.
"Brother," she said, "please listen to me.
I saw you beating Yang-erh as if you were beating me.
You will violate the law if you beat Yang-erh to death.
Chiu-niang then began to think of a scheme;
Later she did hit upon one.
With her left hand, she took off her dragon-and-phoenix hair pin.
With her right hand, she set the granary afire.
Her brother turned away to fight the fire;
Niang then set her lover free to go home.
He was freed with a voiceless cry.
He was freed like a released lamb.
After Yang-erh had gone about three or five li,
Chiu-niang then called him back and said to him:
"You should prepare agates, pearls, and four pecks of silver.
Each peck containing eighty thousand pairs of cash.
/60/ You should save numerous strings of cash, and
I will go into exile with you never to return.
You should take up the silk clothes /business/.
You must not gamble to make me worry.
You must not amuse yourself in the brothels,
That will make you spiritually sick.

/60 cont'd/

779
539

There will be plenty of wine in the shop when you want to drink,
Soup and grain when you are hungry.
If you want to eat meat, please eat the finely cut parts;
Don't eat the bones which might choke you to death.
If you want to build a house, build a high one.
Don't build a low one for that would make other people jeer at you.
To desire fine ladies is the habit of all men in the world,
But who else has a deeper heart than mine?"
They said good-by at the crossroad;
Chiu-niang returned to her room.
She was thinking of hanging herself;
Yet she had not taken leave of her parents.
First, she prayed: "My brother and his wife
Should take good care of our parents.
They must not serve cold rice to our father to eat;
They must not serve cold wine to our father to drink."
Second, she said farewell to the bamboo clothes holder:
"You will never again see your lady hanging up her clothes."
Third, she said good-by to the red silk mosquito net:
"You will never again see younger sister return to her room."
Fourth, she bade farewell to her scissors and measures:
"You will never see younger sister measuring and cutting cloth."
Fifth, she bade farewell to the seven red boxes:
"There will be no more clothes for you to carry."
/61/ Sixth, she prayed in farewell to the six relatives of the nine lanes:
"Yoy will never again see younger sister walking about the countryside.
You will never see her washing her face in the morning;
You will never see her come home at night."
Seventh, she bade farewell to the rivers and piers:
"You will never see her washing clothes."
Eight, she prayed in farewell to the family altar and incense:
"You will never see younger sister burn the incense sticks."

/61 cont'd/

779
539

Ninth, she prayed in farewell to her dear parents:
"Your daughter has committed suicide and entered the world of drunkards."
Finally, she prayed in farewell to gallant Cousin Yang-erh:
"We two will be separated forever!"
She hung herself during the first keng:
She was dead at the second.
In the third keng, her spirit appeared in a dream of her parents.
Her father was wakened by a nightmare.
Holding a lamp, he went to the room of younger sister.
At the first glance in her room, he saw her,
She was hanging from the high beam.
Lady T'ang began to cry.
Over and over, she called, "Chiu-niang."
Then she said, "Every girl in the world loves gallant young men;
Why shouldn't I think about /Chiu-niang/."
Then she began to call: "T'ang Tai-pao, my son.
Hurry up, take the long ladder and bring her down."
Her body was washed with incense perfume;
Dressed up in red silk clothes.
A coffin made of camphor wood was bought.
Chiu-niang's body was put into it.
The East Hall was cleaned up for her coffin.
The South Hall was used for the memorial service.
/62/ A geomancer was invited to look for a good grave site.
The wide road leading southward was a good place for spreading a reputation.
Her coffin was carried across the royal river of nine turns.
Her coffin was carried cross the royal river of nine turns.
She was buried at the entrance of the wide road to the south.
The tomb of the victim of love was seen by everybody who passed by.
The tomb was protected by a green dragon on the left;
And by a white tiger on the right.

/62 cont'd/

779 Hundreds of birds bowed in front of it.
539 The goddess of jade protected her from behind.
When a Taoist priest passed by, he would repeat the name of Buddha;
When a Buddhist priest passed by, he would burn some incense.
When an old man of sixty passed by, he would say mournfully:
"What a pity that one so bright died young!"
When an old woman of sixty passed by, she might say sadly:
"What a pity one so bright did not live long!"
When a young fellow of eighteen passed by, he would murmur:
"Why am I not so lucky as to court a clever girl like her?"
When a young girl of eighteen passed by, she might say with grief,
"Why did such a clever girl have to be buried so young?"
Men and women are kindly advised hereby,
If you have children, think early of their futures.
Should your neighbor to the east have a son, his marriage must not wait long!
Should your neighbor to the west have a daughter, must she not be married while young?
One must not follow the example of Sister Chiu of the T'ang family,
Without a husband, she died like a blossoming /rose/.
Chiu-niang is now here in person to bless those in front of the altar.
You, Chiu-niang, give your blessing to whoever is leading the horse.

779 195 The Taoist books of the Miao are mostly written in this poetic style with seven words in each line. They have nothing to do with the preaching of Taoism. This aspect is /63/ worthy of study.
793 795 Both the civilian and military Taoist priests use wooden seals inscribed with different symbols. The civilian Taoist priests have two rectangular seals of the same size, (See illustration). The military Taoist priests also have two wooden seals, one of which is inscribed with symbols similar to those of the civilian Taoist priests.

/72 cont'd/

539
241

Bringing in the Crops Song

Bringing our grain crops home,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti* are with us as we bring our crops home,

* Shen Nung was a legendary emperor
who is the supposed teacher of husbandry.
T'u-ti is a term for a local divinity.

Escorting us all the way home to their shelter.
Safely placed in the granaries, these crops will draw the envy of the emperor.
Thank you,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti,
For escorting and protecting the crops all the way home.
When the emperor bestows his attention on us, we'll think of you.
From the palace in the capital, a messenger will be sent us,
And much glittering gold will accompany him.
The tenure of a hsiu /title of government office/ is only three years,
But riches and honor come to an official.
For all this we will be much indebted to you,
And your kindness will be borne in the mind of the emperor forever.

533
539 (2) Songs connected with social activities, such as the one cited in Chapter IV; "The Song of the Old Villager."

533
539 (3) Songs related to love between the sexes. For example, when an unmarried man and woman happen to run into each other in the street, the following is frequently sung:
831

First admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
Show how you feel according to your heart's desire.
What you desire is seen by others,

/72 cont'd/

533
●539
831

Just as plainly as the sun on the east and the sky on the west.
/73/ Second admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If one drinks as much as one wants at a feast,
People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water—
Drinking as much as one wants is a waste.
Third admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you are willing, for 10,000 autumns,
We'll join hands together;
On the bridge over the tangling rivers, we'll walk side by side.
Fourth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you find someone to join you at romantic eighteen;
You can live happily up to sixty.
Unhappy and middle-aged, that is a waste.
Sixth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When your brother comes here to stay for a while.
If he is against me, I will not please him even if I slaughter a dragon to treat him.
If he is agreeable, he will be pleased with a glass of cold water.
Seventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you hide a man in your room, that is a waste.
Moreover, I fear your man will be killed.
His life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Eighth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
You should not loan your money too freely, if you are rich.
You should be satisfied and not press, even if you cannot get back your principal.
Otherwise, you will feel regretful if someone kills himself.
Ninth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When you are in possession of a cow and a piece of land,
You should not hesitate to consider the coming of spring.
When you have no cow you cannot get an early start, even if spring is here;

/73 cont'd/

533 And a home without a cow is lost.
● 539 Tenth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
831 You should not stay idle when you see others learn to write,
/74/ Someday should you get involved in a lawsuit,
You'll know the difficulty of getting someone to write for you on a blank sheet of paper.
Eleventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
[161] Don't curse and utter foul words to your parents.
You are indebted to your parents for raising you.
Otherwise, your life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Twelfth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When the immortals come to fetch you to the king of the wheel,
You will be referred to the renowned king to receive judgment;
He may decided that you are to be reborn in your youth.

The following songs are frequently sung during such occasions as when a man and woman meet in a rendezvous, or when they bid each other farewell, feeling lost and sorrowful on seeing the loved one depart.

539 I. Seeing off my flower,
831 As the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky—
The dark clouds are escorting the moon, and in a little while will escort you,
Back to your melancholy land and melancholy home.
Farewell!

II. First farewell to my precious flower who will soon be returning home,
Like the clouds I see leaving the sky.
Looking at the clouds leaving the sky, how sad my humble heart is!
I am hiding my sadness at parting from my love.
Second farewell to my precious flower, from the dragon's noble land,

/74 cont'd/

539
631

Who is leaving this noble land to return home.
In tears I am seeing my flower off;
My tears are hidden in my heart.
Third farewell to my young, romantic sweetheart,
Leaving this noble land, unmindful of herself.
Fourth farewell to my young, noble sweetheart.
Seeing my flower glib and clever, I cannot bear to let her go.
/75/ If you feel sick at heart.../obscure/
Why not come back when halfway, and you'll not have to worry any more!
Fifth farewell to my angel from heavenly T'ao-yüan /an Arcadia/.
With sad thoughts, my tears are falling on my breast.
For you, angel flower, I remained alive.
For you, my flower, I'll end my life.
Sixth farewell to my romantic one— with great pain in my heart.
My grief is piercing my heart like a sharp knife.
There is much danger on the road;
Take care of yourself, while you are far away.
Seventh farewell to my precious dragon flower—with great pain in my heart.
It is like fire burning in my breast.
If fire burned my breast, I would not wish to die.
But if I did not need you /?/, my dragon pearl, I would wish to die.
Eighth farewell to my precious flower, take care on the road.
Pairs of teardrops flow down my breast.
I feel pain in my heart that you are risking your life.
Come back when halfway, and you'll not need to worry anymore.
Ninth farewell to drake and duck*, wealth and fortune are split and scattered.

/75 cont'd/

/* Symbol of conjugal fidelity and happiness. —Ed./

● 539
831

Every step forward on the road step by step separates us.
Dark leaves are falling off the flowers, birds are leaving the trees.
Thinking sadly of my flower, I cannot bear to let her go.
Tenth farewell, the clouds and rain and the singing are drifting away.
Together we happily dallied here in this place;
Now I am returning to my gloomy house, with tears in my eyes.
Sorrow and depression will be found in the flowers and trees.
Farewell!
I think of our meeting again in the future.
I am staying here in my own native place.
I will wait for you for the next two or three years.
Farewell!
/76/ One day apart means ten thousand days' thinking of you.
After three years' waiting, heaven cannot bid over our wills:
The tie which our former lives predestined will bind us to no more.

III. Riding through Wu-chou Fu on horseback,
Turning my head, I met the fairest one.
Together we were so happy after I met my fairest one with goose-shaped brows.
At night I looked at the five planetary gods /i.e., the stars/, and bowed,
That wealth might befall heaven's gate before the trip,
And gently drop thirteen points better than my own wish.
Water flowed down our faces as we parted /?/,
Separating from my flower, we shall not meet again in this age.
Best wishes to you, my flower, the Goddess of Mercy,

/76 cont'd/

539
831

Like the clouds drifting and turning away from the hills.
Clouds leaving the hills, my thoughts are endless.
Thinking of you, I feel empty and lost that we shall meet no more.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Hsien-pei seeing off Ying-t'ai,
Ying-t'ai returned to the Jen-ch'a mountains.
But Hsien-pei grieved to death for his flower.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Tou-nü /"bean girl"/ bidding farewell to Mi-shen /god of rice/,
Mi-shen was bewitched by Tou-nü;
But Tou-nü changed her heart and married another.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Shih-nü /"tenth girl"/ bidding farewell to T'ang-hsien,
T'ang-hsien went to the capital and was appointed to the office of hsiao-kuan.
And on the way back he met Tuan-yang-ch'un.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like San-nü /"third girl"/ bidding farewell to Han-p'ing.
/77/ Han-p'ing died for San-nü,
As Tsung-huang lost his head because of covetousness.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Shao-nü /"young girl"/ taking leave of Wen-lung,
I hope that you will remain as fair as Shao-nü.
Like Tung-yung taking leave of Yang-ch'un,
Who sold his body to bury his parents.
I wish I could sell my body at my precious one's native place.
Farewell, my fairest, the autumn lotus.
We shall pursue different roads on our way;
" " " " " " " ".
The moon splits into two parts to return to her path.
Farewell!
With the brush in my hand I'll paint you;

/77 cont'd/

539
831

The picture will be so exactly like you, your face and your brows.
Thinking of you, I'll look at it from time to time.
Farewell!
I'll write about my deep feelings on the Pa-hsien desk;
Writing often will somehow quiet my feelings.
I will not write my verses in double lines.
Clouds and rain bid my autumn lotus away;
Like drawing the knife to cut through the binding vines.
Cutting the vines into two will not cut my fairest from me—
The autumn lotus will resist the cutting without anyone knowing it.
Farewell!
They say my flower hastens past the mountain,
/The next two lines are too obscure to be translated.—Ed./
Farewell, my flower!
Seeing my flower off past Shih-huang,
/78/ Seeing my flower off just past Shih-huang,
Shih-huang draws his hands and does not turn his head.

539
585

(4) Songs sung and answered by the hosts and the guests, taking reciprocal turns, at wedding feasts, are showin in the following several sections:

I. Many thanks to the p'ing-tung /go-between/ who matched this couple.
They have come here today and have met in front of this table.
Carried by ts'ai-huo from Tien-men, village,
They arrived at the bridge; their arrival was announced by the eight carriers.
They passed over the bridge without turning.
Their horoscopes were destined by Heaven.
The alliance was checked in the Wen-ch'ü-an, /?/
They did know that it was stated that they too should meet.
They were not then drake and duck /yüan-yang/ at the House of Yüan-yang.

/78 cont'd/

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But they are now judged to be yüan-yang on this earth.
Now they are going back to the House of Yüan-yang,
To sit and decide whereto they should fly together.
/Two lines omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The Dipper and its seven stars together give them judgment;
The Southern Dipper and its six stars will fly with them,
To go and visit the chuang-yüan /In China the leading graduate of the Hanlin Academy/—and with much eloquence on their lips.
The book with tzu-wei /name of a constellation?/ will record all this.

/Song II omitted because of obscurity in meaning.—Tr./

/79/III. Tonight we have the mighty dragons as our guests.
We have no golden tables and polished chairs for them to sit on.
Chairs made of white wood will have to do for the officials to sit on.
They will have to sit here before bare tables.
See the officials have arrived!
See the officials come in through the door!
See the officials, so witty, sit at the tables!
We have no golden tables nor polished chairs for them.
Good water from the well!
The water from the well flows clear and clean in all directions:
One flows down the green-silk hall,
And the other flows down the tower of the Noble Gate.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the dragons face to face.
We are poor people and we have nothing to offer;
We have to serve cold water as tea for the mighty dragons.
We are a humble family;
We are poor and miserable and have nothing good to eat.
As for a drink, we have neither tea nor wine.
Don't let us offend the honored ones.

/79 cont'd/

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If the wine is not good,
If is like offering well water to officials.
Cold water is offered to the noble officials to drink.
One cup will make the officials feel good.
This is a humble family without golden wine cups.
White stones placed in a line on the table will be the cups;
White stones as cups are not right—
They will not look in line, no matter how you put them on the table.
/80/ We have no golden wine cups; we have only earthenware.
Nor have we golden tables or polished chairs for you.
The officials have red sedans with polished chairs.
We are poor and miserable and cannot afford all this.
We offer drinks to the noble officials with our hands.
After one cup, they will feel good.
We know you honorable ones are disgusted with the taste of our wine;
We know you are disgusted with our rough hands.
You are grumbling because we cannot afford to offer big baked cakes.
Grape myrtle /?/ and green vegetables are placed on the table.
" " " " " " " " " "
Plain vegetables on the table are tasteless—even with salt.
We are miserable!
We think of whatever we can do—our humble hearts are good. /?/
The kindness of the dragon's heart is shown more than when he is in his palace;
It is our rare honor to have them come to our feast.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the tigers face to face.
On these big, bare tables we can offer nothing.
It is like the eastern sea cutting off the sandy net. /?/
We cannot give the honored ones everything.
Ashamed that our lowly family has not yet established a house—

/80 cont'd/

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585

Without tables, without chairs, we are not yet established,
Without bowls and without plates, there is nothing we can put on the tables in lines or rows.
Rice is served!
We offer rice to the honorable officials with our humble hands.
/81/ The honorable ones who have come here have no chairs to sit on,
Like swallows sitting on a crossbeam,
And falling on the ground, the noble ones get hurt.
Their clothes are torn, making them feel bad.
Our family is poor and has no golden chopsticks.
Green bamboo and polished chopsticks we offer to the officials to hold.
Red sedans and golden chopsticks are in Kwangtung—
They are too rare to fall into our hands.
The honorable and witty officials have come from a long distance,
And sit here now as if before bare tables.
Before bare tables, with no wine to drink,
Your hearts are becoming unfriendly.
In the hall five tables /...obscure/ are used up,
Like six pairs of drakes and ducks joined together.
In the hall a group of stars are now sitting at the tables,
...to wish fortune to the family.
When one goes into the woods to cut some bamboo, one stirs the trees.
When one goes down to the water to draw out the fish nets, one arouses the dragon.
First, may our landlords' houses have riches and honor,
May strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed.
May all our landlords enjoy long life,
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu*.

/* The Methuselah of China./

/81 cont'd/

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Second, may our masters seek to become immortals.
Once one cultivates Buddhist immortality, it will lead to becoming chuang-yüan /highest graduate of the Hanlin Academy/.
A chuang-yüan's virtue is seen seeking the way to immortality.
And each man will be seen as naturally intelligent.
Third, may our masters' houses be favored with riches and honor,
May their stalls be full of livestock: pigs, sheep, cattle, and horses;
And when they are released from the stalls,
May no eagles, birds, or big snakes dare to touch them. /82/
Fourth, may our masters have long lives,
Long lives like P'eng Tsu's.
P'eng Tsu, many years; our masters, many years!
P'eng Tsu, many springs; our masters, many springs!
Fifth, when our masters sow their seeds,
May the crops grow and multiply five-fold.
Flourishing so that every year nine granaries of grain will be harvested.
Sixth, as our masters pass on the mountain roads,
And arrive at the yellow mountain,
May the mountain horses and yellow deer reach it,
Climbing with all four feet without faltering.
Seventh, when our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets;
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
Eighth, may our masters enjoy long life—
Lives as long as green silk stretching over a hundred thousand feet long;
May you talk with eloquence to the judge in the other world,
So that no sickness nor evil spirits will dare to befall your families.

/82 cont'd/

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Ninth, may our masters' work in burning be successful,
So that each /?/ year light will appear at the shrines,
And fields will be bright without ploughing,
And your sons will grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
Tenth, may all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials.
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans
May the high families before us be endlessly blessed,
So that we small stars facing them will not know how to act, /83/
And bamboos and firecrackers break forth the good tidings to old and young.
/This next line is obscure./
Eleventh, may our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
Twelfth, may you rise to a new office as a distinguished official of the highest degree,
With five boys and five girls lined up before you,
With your pigs producing dragons and your hens producing phoenixes,
With people, tens of thousands of them, under your office.
Three steps forward, three steps backward;
Three steps backward, the wedding will be over.
Two young branches with pure thoughts
Pray that you go up to the ... tables
That all the stars will be seated
And hasten to eat and drink tea.
With hands on our breasts we thank the distinguished ones.
All the stars are now leaving to have a walk outside,
Strolling in a line, two in a row.
We have great feeling for you at the moment you pass by here.

/83 cont'd/

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IV. All the various officials have been wandering about looking for the moon.
We have found the moon.
We have had the luck to receive their honorable favor.
When first we were summoned,
It was somewhat like the eastern capital summoning us to the moon.
This is a wedding matched by the six points.
Coming into this flower place, we look around,
And hope the son of heaven /the hosts/ will guide our steps.
We come into the autumn (...) bamboo tree mountain,
We come into the Tower of the Noble Gate,
/84/ The Tower of the Noble Gate is so well furnished.
Polished chairs line up on the four sides.
Our hosts offers us the best white rice—
Placed on the table, its fragrance spreads over the whole feast.
Even before eating it, one feels good in the heart.
Our honorable host's family has riches and honor.
Gold bowls and silver cups confront us.
This is like the occasion in the palace of the Jade Emperor at Peking—
Dragons and phoenixes in lines and rows shining all over the sky.
Our hosts offer us the best golden chopsticks—
Their ends and tips are coated with gold,
Glittering and brightening all the corners of the hall.
Our hosts' house has riches and honor.
The bright table in front shines up toward the sky.
This is like the city river at I-fu,
With dragons and phoenixes in rows and lines reddening the four sides with brightness.
Our hosts have everything, thousands and tens of thousands.
Gold wine cups are placed in lines on the feast tables,
This is like the dazzling stars appearing in the sky.

/84 cont'd/

539
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Wine placed in them gives off a bouquet reaching the sky.
Our hosts have the best of wine and rice;
Placed on the feast tables, its fragrance reaches everywhere—
Its fragrance reaches a distance of four li,
It can be compared to the dragon's liver....
For two years they prepared for the southern stars.
Our hosts, honorable and rich, sit by the line of tables,
Offering us rice and drink out of golden bowls.
All the stars feel good after drinking so much. /85/
/Two lines omitted here because of omissions in the text./
Golden vases are placed at the line of tables,
In rows and pairs to match the heavenly stars.
Our host has many riches and much honor
The bouquet of the jade wine and the gold cups spreads over the whole feast
Having drunk it this year is an immense pleasure.
The bouquet will grace our mouths for sixty years.
To travel by horseback to the drake and duck
Is like receiving the courtesy and hospitality of a Literary Chancellor.
We very much hope that the honorable ones will guide us in our manners,
And lead us around the four corners with open hands.
The Southern Dipper and the Six Ranks all appear here.
All have come to pay a visit at the Hall of the Son of Heaven.
Officials have come on foot to visit the learned ones;
We have come from a distance for the wedding.
Letting loose the horses and holding a pearl, we enter the hall.
When the new officials are published before the emperor,
On the list will be clearly listed all of you,
To be entered and commented on forever.
We very much hope all the stars /hosts/ will guide us in our manners,

/85 cont'd/

539
585

Like the bright moon guiding the stars in roaming around.
Endless words and phrases cannot be exhausted to express our feelings,
For getting the stars back in the mazy river /of heaven/.
If so many high and wise ones will condescend to hear us:
We draw our hands to give our wishes for the coming winter and the four seasons.
We all give our wishes for the coming winter and the four seasons.
May sickness and evil spirits dare not come to your house,
/86/ And every season of each year may safely befall you,
And may you have lives as long as green silk stretching over ten thousand feet long.
May riches and honor come to our landlords,
And strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed,
Precious things in gold caskets at the head of the bed.
And may silken cloth and satin embroideries fill the whole hall.
Moreover, riches and honor to our landlords,
Riches and honor greater than Shih Tsung's,
And may our landlords have everything that can be had,
And for ten thousand years may they be known as wise.
Moreover, may our masters seek to become immortals.
In the other world the chuang yüan /the highest graduate/ will be at peace in the former heaven /Taoist term for previous existence/.
The T'ien Shih /"heavenly teacher," a term for the head of the Taoist sect/ will mark this on his golden list.
Divine powers will carry the spirit to the Jade Palace.
Riches and honor to our masters' house.
May herds of cows and horses multiply in all the stalls.
When they are released from the stalls to go outdoors,
May no eagles, birds, and great snakes dare to touch them.
Long life to our masters—
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu, who lived so long.

/86 cont'd/

539 When our masters plant grain,
585 May the crops multiply five-fold,
Rich grains growing to the tips,
Yielding crops enough for ten full granaries every year.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
That when you reach the mountain, fish and meat will come.
May the mountain horses and jade deer on which you come
Climb with all four feet without faltering.
/87/ When our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets.
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
May our masters' path go in ten directions:
May incense burn at the shrines every year.
May horses come from four directions for you to sit and ride.
May your sons grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
May all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials,
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans.
This year we judge this couple here to take their seats at the wedding ceremony.
Next year there will be another pair at the wedding feast.
Two judgments and two weddings match two couples.
Two couples will multiply so that two will become two by two.

533 The third and fourth songs of the above are sung by hosts and
585 guests, each taking the role of singing and answering. The hosts sing the song first (No. III above), and the guests answered with

/87 cont'd/
533 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part
585 mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The
[571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest
533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

● 539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days.
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible.—Tr./

/88 cont'd/

533 We have copied a great many of the Miao songs above. These songs, because they have been made rigid through writing, have lost their original freshness and spontaneity. Moreover, the errors the Miao made in /89/ writing them out have rendered the songs sometimes almost unreadable. It is a great pity that the real charm and wit displayed in Miao songs cannot be appreciated from the pages here!

(3)

538 The moods conveyed to us by Miao songs, when they were sung,
152 were not those of loftiness and tragedy, but rather those of tenderness and delicate pathos. There are many breaks in the singing, but the tune during these breaks merely lengthens and weakens, the lingering sounds of the music not breaking off. Thus, it takes a
533 fairly long time to finish the singing of each song. Those songs which are sung as counterparts are started first by one in a group of persons. He stops at the end of the fourth line, and the opposite party will continue the singing with an answering part for another four lines. Then the first singer will pick up the singing again. In this manner, the singing is kept on with every four lines sung alternately by the two opposing parties. The form of Miao songs, as can be seen from the examples given above, is of two kinds: One kind has seven characters to a line. Most of the Miao songs are of this kind. The other kind has three-character lines alternating regularly with seven-character lines. Because of the difference in form, these two groups of songs are sung in different ways, which will be illustrated here. For example, in the singing of a song of
533 the first kind, take the following words:

534 "Jen hua tu ch'uan pu k'an shui, yin chiu t'an to yeh shih hsien."

/People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water, drinking as much as one wants is a waste./ (Excerpt from a Miao song). They are sung in the following manner:

(The dash between the words indicates the lengthened, carried-over tones from the preceding words).

/89 cont'd/

533
539

Jen hua /people say/ O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — tu ch'uan /rowing a boat/ — pu k'an /ignoring/ — clo shui /water/ — ā hā — hum — yin chiu /drinking/ — clā t'an /as one wants/ — to /much/ — yeh shih /is/ — hsien /waste/ — O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hum — tu ch'uan — pu k'an — clā shui — tī hā — hum — yin chiu — t'an to O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — shih — hsien — yeh /particle of emphasis/ — shih — hsien — hā

/90/ Every two lines make up one unit in the song. Each unit is always sung as above, but a short pause is given between units.

Songs of the second kind are sung in the following two ways:

(a) Take the following words:

"Fen li le, yi szu tsai hou te hsiang feng." /Farewell, I am thinking that we shall meet again in the future./ They are sung in the following manner:

Fen li le /farewell/ — a hā — hum — yi szu /thinking/ — tsai /in the/ — hou /future/ — te /get to/ — hsiang /each other/ — feng /meet/ — hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hum — fen li clo — le tī hā — hum — yi szu — tsai hou O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — hsiang — feng — te — hsiang — feng — hā —

(b) Take the following words:

"Sung hua ch'ü, wu yün sung yüeh kuo t'ien hsin."
/Seeing off my flower, (as) the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky./

They are sung in the following manner:

Sung /see off/ — hua /flower/ clo — ch'ü /go/ ā hā — hum — wu /dark/ yün /clouds/ — sung /see off/ lo — yüeh (moon) — kuo /across/ — t'ien /sky/ — hsin /heart/ — hoy — sung hua clo — ch'ü tī O hā — hum — wu yün sung yüeh O hoy — ǔ Vǐt — t'ien hsin — kuo — t'ien hsin — hā —

/91/

533 Every two lines in this kind of song also constitute one unit. If seven-character lines follow in the sequence, singing will be done in the manner of singing songs composed of seven-character lines.

This is all that we know about the ways Miao songs are sung. If there are other ways of singing them, we are not aware of them at present.

(4)

538 The legends of the Miao may be divided into two classes: One comprises those which are indigenous, and the other comprises those which have been introduced from outside. This distinction is immediately apparent when we take a look at the contents of the legends. Moreover, the legends may be divided into two classes from the point of view of form: those which have the same form as the songs, and those which do not. The legends with the same form as the songs are either the texts of the civilian and military Taoist priests, or the various songs for social occasions. These are easily available, since they have been written down. As regards those legends which are not in song form, they have been handed down entirely through oral transmission, and collecting them is difficult.

Of those legends which are indigenous, the most interesting are the ones which explain the process of the creation of heaven and earth and the origin of their ancestors. Two of this kind will be recorded as follows:

539 773

(a) The Little Girl of Fu-chi Sings:
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! The drum is turned to Yang —
The little girl of Fu-chi arrives at the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Fu-sang Temple.
The kung-ts'ao /"merit official"/ was ordered to send you an invitation.
At the invitation of your masters,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the site of the altar.

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773

You dismounted in front of the Heavenly Hall.
You were received at the royal feast to sing your first graces.
You looked at the Emperor and the Empress before you began to sing,
To sing the song of the little girl of Fu-chi:
There is in the official records of the olden days: thunder fell to the ground.
Honorable Chang with his feet kept it in the heart of Ts'ang.
Honorable Thunder said to Honorable Chang:
"Take a basin of water and wash yourself all over.
Take a basin of water and ... all over.
I think it will work to get me out of the heart of Ts'ang."
When Honorable Thunder finally got out of Ts'ang,
He offered his teeth to acknowledge the favor.
The teeth he granted were the seeds of felicity —
In three generations all debts were redeemed.
Then there were a brother and his younger sister to whom Honorable Thunder said:
"Take a knife with sharpened edge and put it in the heart of the stove."
They took a knife with sharpened edge and put it in the heart of the stove.
Then they carried wood and water and put them into the heart of the stove.
When they had filled the stove with wood and water,
They had a dream that in the east there rose a cloud.
The cloud did not seem like a cloud,
It truly was an extraordinary cloud.
Rain fell for seven days and seven nights.
For seven days and seven nights it darkened heaven and earth.
For seven days and seven nights the Flood rose.
The stove was thrown up to the level of heaven.
After seven days and seven nights the Flood subsided;
And the stove fell into the Koulkun Mountains.
Next morning they got up early.

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They had seen in a dream that there was peace but there were no men.

/93/ When they walked past the foot of the /Koulkun/ Mountains,
They met Green Bamboo in the woods.
Then the brother and his younger sister inquired of Green Bamboo:
"Are there any people in the world?"
To the brother and sister Green Bamboo replied:
"There is not a single man in the world,
There is not a single ghost in heaven,
And there is not a single soul on earth,
As all men in the world were drowned by the flood."
He earnestly proposed that the brother and sister should become man and wife.
But the brother and sister were offended.
They chopped Green Bamboo's root with a big sword, and said:
"If you, Green Bamboo, grow together as before,
We, brother and sister, will get married and become man and wife.
If you do not grow whole again,
The world will certainly be without mankind."
If one walks past the foot of the Koulkun Mountains,
One will see the body of Mr. Green Bamboo:
Originally he was without nodes and joints —
Now one will see the scars left by the sister's sword.
Next morning they got up early.
As the cock crowed they ate breakfast, then again went into the woods.
There they inquired of Tortoise:
"Are there any people in the world?"
To the brother and sister Tortoise replied:
"There is not a single man in the world,
There is not a single ghost in heaven,
And there is not a single soul on earth,

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773

As all men in the world were drowned by the flood."
He earnestly proposed that the brother and sister should become man and wife.
/94/ But the brother and sister were offended.
They chopped Tortoise with a big sword, and said:
"If you, Tortoise, grow whole as before,
We, brother and sister, will get married and become man and wife.
If one walks past the foot of the Koulkun Mountains,
One will see the reborn body of Tortoise:
Originally he had a smooth and shining shell —
Now one will see the sword scars there.
Then the hearts of the brother and sister were still unwilling.
They bought and burned incense whose fume rose up to the clouds.
They burned incense in two places;
The fumes of the two crossed and reached the heart of the sky.
They made a vow that they, brother and sister, would become man and wife.
And their marriage lasted spring after spring,
For three and five years as man and wife.
For three and five years they had no child.
Then they gave birth to a lump of blood.
They thought of a plan to make mankind from it.
They made people under three hundred and sixty surnames.
Half of them were officials and the other half were common people.
Mankind did not have rice to eat:
They ate leaves of trees and hearts of rattan.
Mankind did not have clothes to wear:
They used leaves of trees to make gowns and skirts /i.e., women's clothes/.
There were more men than women:
That is why there are bachelors in the world today.
There was once a mouse at the top of Tzu-wei Mountain.

/94 cont'd/

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773

He was looking around with a seed of grain in his mouth.
Shen Nung /legendary emperor, supposed teacher of husbandry/ took the seed and planted it.
That was the origin of grain.
/95/ That is why today there is enough to eat in the world,
Passed straight down for generations to the present.
Now whosoever believes in him will prosper.
Looking beyond the high mountains the sacred divine one will return.
Shen Nung will arrive at the temple to guard and bless us in person,
To protect us from calamities from heaven and eradicate suffering and ills according to the heart of heaven.
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! the drum is tuned to Yang.
P'an Ku /legendary being who created the universe/ descends to the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Ch'ing-tsao Temple.
Because respect was bestowed on you by the masters, you were invited to sing your first graces.
At the words of invitation,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the scene of the aerials.
You dismounted in front of the Heavenly Hall.
You were received at the royal feast to sing your first graces.
You entered the feast and received a drink of An-ch'ih wine,
And sat at the feast and began to sing your first graces.
You looked at the Emperor and the Empress before you began to sing,
To sing of P'an Ku himself.
In the old, old times Emperor P'an Ku
Opened up the first day, in the person of P'an Ku himself.
There was not yet heaven nor earth,
No sun, no moon, nor that which is between heaven and earth.
But there was first the Jade Emperor, as it was told by P'an Ku.

/95 cont'd/

539 773 "The Jade Emperor and I were produced together.
We were not reared by a father and mother.
But we were born out of many-colored dark clouds.
The Jade Emperor evolved many changes in heaven.
He created heaven, earth, and all that which is between heaven and earth.
/96/ The Jade Emperor has three hundred and six transformations of his eyes.
P'an Ku had three hundred and six transformations of his body.
The left eye became the sun;
The right eye became the moon.
The earth on top of the mountains are what was on his head.
The fish in the deep waters are what was his liver and heart.
His teeth became money and jewels.
And his bones became great rocks.
His flesh became golden earth.
His red blood became flowing water in the rivers.
His fingernails became trees in the mountains.
His hands and feet became stars.
His stomach and entrails became the nine bright pearls.
His feet and toes became ponds and pools in the fields.
And the bones and flesh in his whole body were all changed,
The stars and trees were from his body.
Today he comes here to bless us in person,
To eradicate sickness and calamities according to the heart of heaven. (End)

539 (b) Song to be sung at the temple. (The following song is in the form of questions and answers. The words in the parentheses are the answering parts.)

(The first part of the song is omitted here.)

Who opened the sky and established the earth? (Prince P'an)
How many pillars were used in making heaven and earth? (Five)
How many chang between heaven and earth? (Ninety thousand)

7 /96 cont'd/
539

How many chang (Ninety thousand) to heaven and how many wide? (Ninety thousand)
What countries are eight days to the east?
How many provinces are eight days to the south?
How many countries are eight days to the west?
How many people are in the provinces of the eight days to the north?
/97/ How many stars appear in the central sky?
We ask you, officials, to let us know.
We ask you what year was the flood?
Under which emperor were the people killed by the flood?
Which year was it when the flood subsided?
In the beginning how many emperors (Five) crossed the oceans.
Where (The transformed corpse of Buddha after death) did the branches begin to divide?
Which emperor (Li) was born in which palace? (T'ang)
Where did he succeed and how well?
Which emperor (Li) fulfilled which emperor's (P'an's) rule?
Which emperor (P'an) was capable of ruling the world?
Which emperor (P'an) delimited boundaries at which place? (Fu-tze Mts.)
He opened up how many paths (Five) and established what custom? (Marriage)
Which prince (P'an) first established this ceremony?
When it was set up in the world, what was sought? (Descendants)
As for the system of matching horoscopes of betrothed couples, who (Grandson Lü) made it?
What was it made for on this earth? (Marriage)
When matching horoscopes how many characters (Five) are offered...?
When this is done, the characters set up what? (Marriage)
When Emperor P'an was born who brought him up? (Wu...)
He was brought up in what place? (Ch'u Hsien)
Emperor P'an married what family's (Hsien) daughter?

/97 cont'd/

●539 Who (Prince P'ing) arrived at making what (Go-between) custom?
The sacred register was produced in what (T'ang) dynasty?
In which dynasty (Ch'ing) was set up what custom? (Wang Ch'ien)
On what day did the wedding of the Emperor P'an take place?
When was the couple united?
How many (Five) daughters were born to Emperor P'an?
Then /he beckoned for marriage into his family/ what gentleman (Shan-ju) of how many surnames? (Five)
/98/ The first daughter married what surname? (Teng)
The second daughter married what family's young man? (Chiang)
The third daughter married what surname? (Chao)
The fourth daughter married what family's young man? (Li)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how long are parents cared for?
Prince P'an in his lifetime lived how many years? (Five hundred)
Graciously added were how many (Six) tens of springs?
When Emperor P'an made the world, what kind did he make?
He made what kind (Heaven and earth) and set up what custom? (Marriage)
When he made metals, wood, water, fire, and earth,
How did he have being born and dying?
From what (Hair) did he make the Huang-mao Mountains
From what (Bones) did he make Ta-shih /"great stone"/ Mountain?
From what (Hands) did he produce mountain bamboo?
From what (The viscera) did he make mountain rattan?
Who (The Jade Emperor) decided on the rules governing heaven and earth?

/98 cont'd/

539 Who (T'ien Shih*) first settled peace in the world?

/* "heavenly teacher," head of the Taoist sect. —Ed./

In the beginning what (P'ing) prince first sat in the palace?
He sat in what chou /district/? (Peking)
He ruled in what dynasty? (T'ang dynasty)
Emperor P'an delimited boundaries in what place? (Fu-tsu Mountains)
How many (Five) paths were opened up and what custom was established? (Marriage)
We ask you what year (The first year of Chia-tzu) did Ko-tou /?"singing bean"/ die?
Who (Hsien, "immortal") took him and buried him on what mountain?
He was buried on what (Nan, "south") mountain facing what direction?
How many (Five) hundreds of mud bricks were put up in a heap?
/99/ Talk of ancient times is endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

539 (c) (The name of this song has been lost; it is also of the
173 question and answer form.)

(Preceding part omitted.)

When heaven was opened and earth established, who did it?
When heaven and earth were made, how many pillars were there?
How many chang were there between heaven and earth?
How many chang to heaven, how many chang wide?
There was both birth and death.
Eight days to the east are what kind of countries?
Eight days to the south are what kinds of gates /?/ ?
Eight days to the west are what kinds of countries?
Eight doors to the north are what kinds of gates?

/99 cont'd/

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Flowing from the center, how many stars appear?
We ask you, Spring Officials, let us know.
We ask you when was the flood?
Under which emperor were the people killed by the flood?
We ask you in which year (The first year of Chia-tze) did the flood subside?
It flowed in what direction? (Koulkun Mts.)
In the beginning how many (Five) princes crossed the oceans?
Where (Transformed corpse) did the branches begin to divide?
What (P'an) prince was born in what palace? (Me-shui Palace)
Where did he succeed (Ch'ing Dynasty) and how (Ten thousand soldiers) well?
Which emperor (Li) fulfilled which (P'an) emperor's rule?
Which (P'an) emperor was capable of ruling the world?
Which (P'an) emperor delimited boundaries at what place? (Fu-tze Mts.)
He opened up how many (Five) paths, and established what custom? (Marriage)
/100/ In the beginning this rule was made by whom? (Emperor P'an)
When it was set up in the world, who (Descendants) was sought?
As for the system of matching horoscopes of betrothal couples, who (Lü Tsai) devised it?
When it was devised in the world, it concluded what custom? (Marriage)
When matching horoscopes, how many (Seven) characters are offered...?
When this is done, how many (Eight) characters conclude what custom? (Marriage)
As for Emperor P'an, who (Wu-yün) brought him up in the beginning?
He was brought up in what place? (Ch'u Hsien)
The sacred register was produced in what dynasty? (Ch'ing)
Which (Ch'ing) dynasty set up what custom? (Imperial Gate)
Emperor P'an married what (Hsien) family's daughter?

/100 cont'd/

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Who (Emperor P'ing) proposed the use of go-betweens?
As for Emperor P'an ... how many daughters?
Then he beckoned /for marriage into his family/ what young men of how many (five) surnames?
The first daughter married what (Teng) surname?
The second daughter married what (Chiang) family's young man?
The third daughter married what (Chao) surname?
The fourth daughter married what (Li) family's young man?
The fifth daughter married what (The family register is unclear) surname?
In the world today what is the custom for union? (Marriage)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many springs?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how are parents cared for?
The fifth daughter respectfully cared for them
And her parents lived a long time for many springs.
Her kindness was exalted and endless.
The record even though unclear mentions this and tells us about it.
Emperor P'an in his lifetime lived how many (Five hundred) years?
Graciously added to his life were how many (Sixty) springs?
/101/ Talk of ancient days are endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

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Because these historical legends are all rhymed songs made of lines of seven words each, they are frequently sung: The first, (a), is sung by the Taoist priests during the "tso chai" ceremony. The next two, (b) and (c), are sung at wedding feasts with groups of men and women as the opposing singing parties. Interestingly, the contents of these legends provide answers to questions related to the origin of mankind, such as the creation of heaven and earth, the calamity of

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This is not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a
773 daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/101 cont'd/

539 they were children of a dog. One day /102/ when the dog, feeling
773 lazy, did not go to the mountains to hunt, he was beaten by the two children. Upon this, their mother scolded them severely and told them the truth. She said that they were born of her union with the dog and that the dog was in fact their father. She further told them that since they were children of a dog, nobody would ever want to marry them. It was thus wise that they should marry each other in order to continue the line. After the brother and sister were married, they had two boys. When they grew up, the two boys were not able to get along with each other and often quarreled. Their mother became disgusted and drove them out. One fled up to the mountain, and the other down to the sea. The one who went up the mountain became the ancestor of the Miao; the one who went down to the sea became the ancestor of the Tanka /boat people of Canton/. Henceforth, the descendants of these two groups have not walked on the prince's land nor paid taxes.

773 This legend gives us a picture of how the ancestors of the Miao were symbolically conceived of by them (i.e., born of a dog), what kind of economic life they led at the beginning (i.e., hunting), and what kind of marriages between those of the same blood originally existed among them (i.e., marriage between brother and sister), and also what the relationship between the two groups, Miao and Tanka, was like, etc. What important implications all this revealed to us in our study of the Miao social system!

538 As regard to the legends which were brought to the Miao from outside, these are numerous. Due to limited space here, only the following sample, which consists of a section of the sad and romantic story of a Mr. Yen Hui and a Miss Chang Meng-wo is given here:

539 The Ancient Song of Meng-wo

Speaking at leisure of old tales and books,
Let me sing the story of Meng-wo.
Thousands of other old tales have been told over and over again,
Let me sing now the story of Meng-wo:

/102 cont'd/

539 Mr. Chang lived in a place both high and low.
He lived in a place named Chang Pai Ch'ang.
The family had three thousand strings of cash .
East, west, south, and north they had established farms.
/103/ Mr. Chang had no son but had two daughters.
The two of them made a couple, which excelled any son:
The elder daughter was named Precious Gem;
And the younger one was named Chang Meng-wo.
The elder one had natural skill in weaving thin brocade embroidery;
The younger one had natural skill in weaning silk gauze.
They wove the Yellow River with nine turns.
They wove ducks and drakes paired with male and female phoenixes.
They wove male and female unicorns paired with lions.
They wove fierce tigers paired with leopards.
When their needlework was compared,
The tapestry was no better than the silk gauze.
Everything that was woven by them was real:
It is good art to write like the teacher and to render the tiger real.
The elder daughter was married at eighteen to a secretary of state.
594 539 The younger at fifteen left her parents.
When Meng-wo was about seventeen or eighteen,
She had never stepped outside the front door.
Now in the Upper Village there was a knowledgable old woman named Huang.
She wrote out young girls' fortunes and acted as a go-between.
She wrote out fortunes in all the chous /districts/.
In the nine chous and ten districts /hsien/, she was without parallel in this.
She came then to try her book, at the house of the young gentleman Yen,
Who was highly literate and knew the Three-Character Classic by heart.

/103 cont'd/

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People say it was in the third month when flowers bloom in wild profusion.
The two sisters wanted to go out to look at the fragrant flowers.
This morning they did now know what their fate would be during the year.
The two bowed deeply and said:
"If you, father and mother, give us the word,
We 'll go back to comb and dress ourselves.
/104/ If you, father and mother, do not give us permission,
We shall not dare go out the door."
Their father and mother replied:
"Listen to what we say, daughters,
When you go, take your horoscopes.
Go together and come home early, both of you."
Upon these words from the mouths of their father and mother,
They went to comb and dress themselves up for the trip.
Their hairdo had been in the style of a coiling dragon's moustache;
Now they made one of the style named "Looking for a Husband."
They looked in the bronze mirror placed in front of them.
Their faces were like that of the young girl of the village in the Peach Paradise.
Long and short golden hairpins were inserted all over the hair,
Well stuck in on the four sides, high and up.
They walked like Kuan Yin /Goddess of Mercy/ when about to come out from the sea,
And sat like the immortal of the village in the Peach Paradise.
Passing through the east street to the south street,
Across the west street and back from the north street,
And at the crossroads and thoroughfares,
Their looks excelled that of all the people in the whole district of Tuan-lieh.
The district of Tuan-chou did not have /sic/ thousands and tens of thousands,

/104 cont'd/

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But only Meng-wo's looks stood out.
Walking further they came to a flower garden village.
Behold, flowers flourished on the trees,
They saw tender peach blossoms just opened up.
Half of the leaves on the trees were green, and the other half yellow.
Yellow bees pierced the flowers in pairs,
Butterflies sojourned on trees in couples.
Yen Hui, attired in finely embroidered silk and satin,
Passed by on horseback and saw Meng-wo.
/105/ "Little girl, whose family do you come from?
What do your father and mother call you?"
Meng-wo replied to Yen Hui,
"Hsiu tsai", please listen to my words.

/" A graduate of the former first degree in the Chinese examination system. /

My father is called Elder Chang,
He produced me as the little girl named Chang Meng-wo.
May I inquire hsiu tsai's honorable name?
What is your order in the family?"
Yen Hui replied to Meng-wo, saying:
"Beautiful one, please listen to my words,
I am the third son of the Hui family.
I have come here to have a look at the flowers."
They did not dare to tarry too long in the garden of flowers,
They returned to their respective homes.
Their affinity had been set in a previous life.
Now they met as drake and duck.
Returning home and sitting in his private room,
Yen Hui began to think in his heart,
During the day he thought endlessly and did not eat.
At night he thought endlessly and could not sleep.
Mr. Yen, hearing of his son's tears,

/105 cont'd/

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Talked the matter over with his wife.
"We have brought you up to an adult, Yen Hui.
A man's life is like the autumn grass."
Yen Hui immediately replied:
"Father, please listen to my words.
If you want me to marry someone, don't choose a girl from another family.
I wish to take pretty Chang Meng-wo."
To this Mr. Yen immediately replied:
"My son, please listen to my words.
/106/ Man and wife are predestined in the previouls life.
What is regulated in the previous life determines a couple.
If it is predestined, you will meet each other.
If it is not predestined, the two of you will part."
Yen Hui replied to his father and mother,
"Father, listen to my words.
If I can have the Chang family's daughter,
I am willing to die on the third day."
Hearing these words, Mr. Yen began to think in his heart.
The next morning he called for the old woman Huang.
And asked the old woman Huang to act as go-between.
He asked that the old woman Huang hurry,
And go to the house of Chang to act as go-between.
She went to Mr. Chang's and sat in the doorway.
Mr. Chang invited her into the upper hall.
And asked the old woman Huang to sit down in the upper hall.
Tea and boiling soup were prepared in the kitchen.
After the tea came and before they had drunk three cups,
Then the old woman Huang began to talk.
"What have you come here about, old woman Huang?"
The old woman Huang blushed as she was about to speak.
Mr. Chang said to the old woman Huang:
"Whatever you have to say, please do so freely."
The old woman Huang replied to Mr. Chang:
"Please listen to my words.

/106 cont'd/

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People say that your family has a daughter,
Who is now at the proper age of eighteen."
Mr. Chang replied to the old woman Huang:
"If the horoscopes are in harmony, then a union may be made."
/107/ The old woman Huang replied to Mr. Chang, saying:
"There are also the betrothal gifts which should come in pairs of gold and silver."
Mr. Chang replied to the old woman Huang, saying:
"Please listen to my words.
First, there must be five hundred strings of copper coins.
Second, there must be three pecks of pearls.
Third, there must be fifty pairs of gold hairpins.
Fourth, there must be fifty pairs of spun silks.
Fifth, there must be fifty pairs of gold hens.
Sixth, there must be ten pairs of dragon geese.
Seventh, there must be fifty pairs of large pigs.
Eighth, there must be fifty pairs of silky sheep.
Ninth, there must be thirty-six containers /?/ of wine.
Tenth, there must be silver cups to cover the container tops.
If you can get all these ten gifts,
You can make a match for Meng-wo."
When Yen Hui heard these words,
He immediately began to think in his heart.
Opening up the south storehouse of betrothal gifts,
He took out gold and silver by tens of thousands.
He took out copper coins by the thousand and tens of thousands strings.
He took out three pecks of pearls.
He took out fifty pairs of gold hairpins.
He took out fifty pairs of spun silks.
He took out fifty pairs of gold hens.
He took out fifty pairs of silky sheep.
He took out fifty pairs of large pigs.
He took out fifty pairs of dragon geese.
He took out thirty-six containers of wine.

/107 cont'd/

●539 He took out silver cups to cover the container tops.
584 /108/ Eight hundred men carried the wealth of gifts,
On the way to the betrothal of Meng-wo.
831 But not half a month after the betrothal was made,
539 Yen Hui fell ill and lay on the high bed.
First they wrote a letter reporting that he was ill.
Second they wrote a letter reporting that he was dead.
The letter arrived while she was eating.
Tears blowed in her eyes, dropping in pairs.
She put down her chopsticks and read the message.
Read it once, then read it again.
In the message there were no idle words.
There was but sad news that the two were parted.
Meng-wo undid her coiling dragon hairdo and put on the mourning sign.
She took off the gold hairpins and put them inside the dragon box.
Mr. Chang went to the Upper Village to borrow a big horse;
Meng-wo went to the Lower Village and borrowed a sedan chair.
Mr. Chang mounted the horse and went with bowed head.
Meng-wo was behind him still proud and fine.
Mr. Chang turned his head and scolded his daughter:
"Whose family ever brought up a girl to go looking for a man?"
Meng-wo answered her father, saying:
"I am going to the house of Yen to burn filial incense.
Where has there ever been an ox yoked with two yokes?
A horse saddled with two saddles?
A bow fitted with two arrows?
Or a girl who married two husbands?
It is difficult for a horse with two saddles to carry passengers on his back.
A girl married to two men would be the laughing stock of all."
They arrived and were seated in the main hall of the house of Yen,

/108 cont'd/

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They opened up the coffin and took a look at the corpse within.
/109/ Meng-wo's tears flowed in streams.
Then she said to Mr. Yen:
"With the heart to raise your son you did not have the heart to save him.
Now my feelings are in a turmoil.
Livestock, big and small, must not have been slaughtered.
White paper and incense must not have been burned.
Who did not make wishes before the gods?
Who did not burn incense before the altar?"
Hearing Meng-wo's words, Mr. Yen replied:
"Little girl, please listen to my words.
We raised our son with our whole hearts to provide against old age:
To store up grains is to guard against famine in the distant future.
Livestock, big and small, have been slaughtered.
Thousands of pieces of white paper, gold and silver have been burned.
In the morning we killed pigs and sheep as offerings to the ghosts.
At night we killed chickens and ducks as offerings to the five shang /persons who died young/.
Containers of wine were continuously placed on the altar.
Wine was poured before the shrine to make a paste.
Everything was done, but our good wishes were of no avail.
'I'll never get out of bed.'
We replied to our son, saying:
'My son, what has caused your ailment?'
Yen Hui replied to us, saying:
'Please listen to my words now:
I am now struck with a serious illness.
My life will shortly end, and I'll see Yen Wang (king of hell).
When the oil is burned up the light in the lamp coldly dies.
Giving up life, I shall shortly come to Yen Wang.'

/109 cont'd/

631 To this we replied, saying:
539 'Son, why do you utter these words?
/110/ You have been betrothed for only half a month on this earth.
Why do you give up life and go to the place of the departed?'
Yen Hui replied to us, saying:
'Father and mother, please listen to my words.
When death arrives, there is no distinction between old and young.
The breath in my throat is getting short--I cannot bear it for long.
Everyone in the world wants to live a hundred years.
I am unlucky, and my life cannot be long.
Yen Wang does not care whether a person is old or young.
He does not think of it when he marks with his pen in the register.
Everyone wants to be a son of heaven.
My luck is short, and I cannot desire so much.
Please send word to my betrothed:
I pray that Meng-wo will marry another man.'
Then his body was bathed with scented water,
And placed in a coffin of red silk.
Before yellow leaves have fallen, a green one has dropped.
We sent cassocks everywhere for people to wear.
We know that Meng-wo's gods have taken his life away.
We know that our son's life was short."
When Meng-wo heard these words
She meditated for a long time.
Then she took a key and opened a basket.
She took a key and opened a box.
She took out red silk cloth two changs long.
She took out red silk cloth two changs long.
At the first night watch she hung herself, at the second night watch she was dead.
Husband and wife both lay dead in the hall.

/110 cont'd/

M 831 539

Then they bought a long plank of wood,
For Meng-wo to be put upon.
/111/ When the Taoist priests had finished the funeral ceremony,
Husband and wife were sent up the hillside.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
On the left there was the Green Dragon, on the right the White Tiger.
From behind the Jade Goddess protects their grave site.
In front the scarlet bird* comes to pay its respects.

/* A position in geomancy. /

At the back were fierce tigers facing spotted leopards.
Sing to the end the ancient tale of Meng-wo.
So that it will be spread over the five lakes and the four seas.

M 538

In addition to the above, there are the Song of San Pe Ying T'ai /"the three heroic elders"/, the Song of Chiu Niang /"the three girls"/, the Song of T'ang Hsien Chang Shih Niang /"the ten women of T'ang Hsien Chang"/, the Song of Mai Ch'en, etc. All of them are well engraved in the heart of every Miao. Because they are all lengthy pieces, space does not permit us to include them in the present report.

/112/ Chapter IX. Intergroup Relations between the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao.

(1)

M H 648 121

The Chinese constitute the majority of the inhabitants of Hainan Island. Next are the Li and the Miao. The intergroup relationship of the three ethnic groups—the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao, particularly the first two—has constituted an /important/ part of the history of Hainan, and naturally it still will be at the core of problems

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.
[301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's
585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's
[177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's
[756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and
[782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense
[787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kowtows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and
[556] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At
585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense
782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.
[75] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

/96 cont./

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The bride arriving here brings
Great luck and great prosperity.
The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family, she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to welcome her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
[776] To officiate at this marriage rite.
We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest
[756] has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads
the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits
down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started.
The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire
would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement back-
ward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement
then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside
or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated
she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao
grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After
washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
517 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
526 same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[177] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
[411] of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the swing:
773
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

/239 cont./

539
526
773

Shouting, he made known his invitation.
A maid from the Sleeping Tiger Mountain,
Came to ride on the eight-men swing.
She was loved by all present.
Soon, a go-between was found —
Man and wife were joined together for a
hundred years.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

883 It might have been of the sort that existed
in An-lung Hsien. There between the time
836 of her betrothal and her marriage, which were
arranged by the two families, a Miao girl
would, without letting her family know, very
often have relations with a young man of her
own choosing, and bear him a child. I was
told that often a husband would not acknowl-
edge the first child, even if it were a son, and
that when family property was divided this
child would receive no share. The mother,
however, usually managed to get money for
her love child, so that he might not be with-
out inheritance. From the similarity of the
songs sung in the two places, I suspected that
the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao
village. Here are translations of the two songs.
The one from An-lung was definitely an in-
vitation from a young man for sexual inter-
course. Some girls were more forward and
grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei
managed matters so that she and the girls she
favored got most of the attention.

883 THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

836 For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
539 If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come
again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red
flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother
(you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the
flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine
places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the
535 young men of the village brought out their
lu sheng and the girls danced. Otherwise one
533 heard the *lu sheng* only when they were prac-
tising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an
evening after work — at a bullfight, when the
young people were together in a village after
a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral.
Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and
lu sheng, went on from dusk till dawn for as
many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was [50a]
also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

576 one another's left shoulder and asking "*Dieh zao nioh gioh?*"—"Are you well?" An adult greets children by rubbing or patting his or her head. The form of farewell is (the host) "Go slowly, go slowly" (the parting guest) "Sit slowly, sit slowly". They are wonderfully hospitable and guests are expected to eat to satisfy. How often the traveller sees them stuff away basin after basin of maize until he fears there will be a terrible accident! People will go short themselves so that visitors be generously treated. Should a guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and cooked—it is not always meticulously clean—and upon the departure of the guest a leg of the animal is always given to him. A non-observance of this custom would be a serious breach of good manners, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor. Hospitality is as characteristic of them as of the Arab, and a Miao will borrow food to entertain a guest. Though poor, thriftless and no lovers of fighting, they are simple and generous, honest and lovable. One of the child races of the world, they are as old as the Chinese, and when Moses led the children of Israel through the wilderness, the Miao were hunting wild beasts on their beloved hills and at the close of day their bards would sing a Miao version of the Creation, the Flood, and the Re-population of the World; and story-tellers would narrate quaint legends which have been handed down to this generation. Here is one. Would not Kipling have enjoyed it?

574 181

773 Long, long ago, instead of there being only one

•539

sun in the skies, there were six, and in those days the world was beautifully warm. One year, however, the rain refused to come and by degrees all vegetables and trees were withered. A meeting of the old men was held to discuss what could be done. One man said this and another that until it was finally decided that the suns must be shot. A famous archer called Yang Yah was called and ordered to shoot the suns. Bringing his cross-bow and arrows, Yang Yah looked up at the suns and observed they were a long distance away. Fortunately, near by, there was a small lake in which all six suns were reflected and the happy thought came to Yang Yah that if he could shoot the reflections the same purpose would be served as hitting the suns themselves. Adjusting an arrow and taking careful aim, he released the trigger and hit sun number one right in the centre, upon which sun number one promptly disappeared. He shot a second arrow and sun number two disappeared, and so on with suns number, three, four and five, but as Yang Yah adjusted his arrow to shoot sun number six, this sun became vastly afraid and away it went beyond the horizon. The next morning—well, really there wasn't a next morning, as the sun refused to come out and day after day darkness was upon the face of the earth. To bring water from the springs people had to carry torches, and to plough the land, lights were suspended from the horns of the cows. What was to be done? A second gathering of the old men of the tribe was held; once more one man suggested this and another

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539

suggested that, until finally it was proposed that some one should call to the sun and ask him to come out, assuring him that no one would shoot him. But how were they to call to the sun? It was thought that a tiger would be able to do this rather well; so one was brought and loudly it roared. "Dear me!" thought the sun, "the people are still angry with me, I won't go out yet." Then some one wondered whether it wouldn't be a good thing to use a cow to call to the sun. The lowing of a cow is far-reaching and yet not so frightening as the roar of a tiger. So a cow was brought and loudly it lowed. "Aha!" thought the sun, "they are not quite so displeased with me as they were, but they are still angry; so I won't go out yet." Then some one had the happy idea of using a cock; the crow of a cock is far-reaching yet pleasing, and being placed on a perch, it crowed lustily. "What a very nice sound that is," thought the sun, "I'll just look out to see what is happening," and he peeped over the horizon. People were so pleased to see him that they shouted for joy. The sun was quite as delighted as the people, and from the red of the morning he fashioned a little comb which he placed on the head of the cock. Now every morning, before the sun comes out, the cock crows to tell him it is all right, no one will shoot him.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

797 devotion to Christ fascinated me. I have listened to him preach the Gospel in brilliant Chinese and then go into our Stone-Gateway Chapel and in Miao sway an audience of a thousand tribesmen. He would discuss plans and schemes with Miao deacons, comfort and encourage mothers and then romp like a boy with Miao children who, when he said good-bye, would sit by the wayside and cry as though their little hearts would break. I longed to become like him. "Flowers of God's heart" he used to call the kiddies, and woe betide any one who caused one of these to stumble.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the White Teacher was confronted was that the Miao possessed no written characters. Pollard solved the problem by providing phonetic signs to represent Miao sounds and by adapting the system employed in shorthand of vocalising consonants. This system of writing came to be known as "The Pollard Script" and since it was quickly and easily learned by the Miao, they became proud of having their language in a written form which they could call their own. Pollard used the script for the translation of passages of scripture, hymns and simple Christian doctrines, and afterwards primers were prepared. Later the Gospel of St. Mark and other Gospels were translated and put into circulation and no one will ever be able to calculate the enormous influence which the light-giving Word has exerted on
797 the Miao. Before the Pollard script, books and a
212 library were unknown. The great majority of
539 these tribesmen had never handled even a sheet of

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

writing paper or a pen. They had heard that once upon a time there were books; a tribal legend described how long, long ago the Miao lived on the north side of the Yangtze River, but the conquering Chinese came and drove them from their land and homes. Coming to the river and possessing no boats they debated what should be done with the books and in the end they strapped them to their shoulders and swam across, but the water ran so swiftly and the river was so wide, that the books were washed away and fishes swallowed them. This was the story. When the British and Foreign Bible Society sent the first Gospels and these were distributed the legend grew—the-once-upon-a-time lost books had been found, found in the white man's country, and they told the incomparable story that Jesus loved the Miao. Only the imagination can conceive what this meant to those hillmen; some of whom travelled for days to view the books. The establishment of schools brought light and understanding to the minds of both boys and girls; fathers would undertake all the work in their fields so that a son might be free to study; and mothers carrying supplies to their boys at school would trudge weary miles over hills and mountains.

On September 15th, 1915, Samuel Pollard, the greatest missionary who ever worked in South-West China, passed into eternal rest. For eleven years he had lived day and night for his Miao who, when he died, said to his lifelong chum, Frank Dymond: "He is ours, let us bury him; we will

one meets with legends which might be termed universal, but there is a charm about some of these that bears translation into English. This is the story of Nglieh-giah.

539 The *nglieh-giah* is a small bird, a little bigger than a sparrow. It is very dark blue in colour with a snow-white head and in South-West China it is always seen by the side of streams or rivers, hopping from stone to stone or flitting from rock to rock, ever gazing into the water as though searching for something. Legend says that long, long ago Nglieh-giah, as a youth, fell in love with the daughter of the king of under-the-waters. Her name was Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang. Nglieh-giah's wooing was successful and the day came when he proudly led her as his bride to the poor little hut where he lived. Nglieh-giah was so destitute that he had no cattle, but his wife was more than equal to this. She sent him to her father with instructions that when her father wished to give him a present, as he undoubtedly would do, Nglieh-giah was to decline everything and later to ask for two hairs from his father-in-law's beard. These were to be placed in a covered basket which Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang gave to Nglieh-giah at the same time explaining that though as he returned home the basket would grow heavier and heavier, he was on no account to look within. Away went Nglieh-giah to his father-in-law's home and as had been said he was offered this and that, but declining every proffered gift he asked for two hairs from his host's beard, and these being given to him they were placed in the

basket and the lid put on. Then Nglieh-giah 539
started on his homeward journey. As he went along the basket became heavier and heavier, until Nglieh-giah, unable to restrain his curiosity any longer, peeped inside, when behold there jumped out all kinds of wild beasts—tigers and leopards, wolves and bears, and many other kinds too, and there flew out all kinds of birds—crows, magpies, eagles and kites, red-billed jays and pheasants, larks and thrushes. The lid was shut quickly, but not before these had escaped. When Nglieh-giah reached home and gave the basket to his wife, she scolded him severely for opening it since now, she said, our animals will be few. We will only have chickens, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, cats and dogs. With the passing of time, by the help and wisdom of his wife, Nglieh-giah grew rich, but alas, he grew tired of Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang and his love towards her waxed cold. One day he was invited to a feast given by Pluto, king of the underworld and being a good piper Nglieh-giah became very popular, and after this he was asked frequently to Pluto's realm. Now Pluto had two beautiful daughters who were much admired by Nglieh-giah and one day he asked them to marry him. "But you already have a wife," said these girls, "you must first get rid of her." Angry and disappointed, Nglieh-giah returned home and, quarrelling with his wife, he said he didn't want her any more and that she must go away. His wife begged him not to behave in such an ungallant manner, but Nglieh-giah became so querulous and ungracious

539 that at length Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang said that since he had brought her from the waters he must take her back to the river. Nglieh-giah did this, and as his wife walked into the river she once more begged him not to give her up, but Nglieh-giah had grown hard and cruel and he wouldn't change his mind. Farther and farther she walked into the river, begging that he would not send her away, but Nglieh-giah insisted on her going. Just before Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang disappeared under the waters she waved a rattan stick which she was carrying and suddenly all her cattle came scampering up and they too disappeared with her under the water. On Nglieh-giah's returning home he discovered that all his cattle had vanished, even his gala clothes had gone. However, taking his reed pipes he went off to Pluto's home but here, too, things had changed. Instead of being petted and welcomed by Pluto's daughters, he was ridiculed and spat upon by them, who told him he was ugly and poor and altogether undesirable. Disappointed and filled with remorse, Nglieh-giah went back to the river, where he wandered up and down the banks looking for his wife. Meeting a frog he was asked what was the matter and bursting into tears Nglieh-giah told his uncle, the frog, all that had happened.

"Oh," said the frog, "I'll help you. I'll swallow the water, only you must not laugh." The frog commenced to swallow, but on seeing its stomach growing bigger and bigger Nglieh-giah laughed outright, whereupon all the water came back.

Presently he met a toad who also enquired what was the matter and who, on the same condition as had been made by the frog, offered to swallow the water. So the toad commenced to swallow and eventually there at the bottom of the river Nglieh-giah saw his pretty wife sitting at her loom weaving snowy white cloth. Hastening down to her he said how very, very sorry he was for all that had happened and begged her to return to him. "No, no," she said, "I cannot come back, but I will give you this length of cloth," and taking a knife she cut from the loom the cloth she was weaving, and this Nglieh-giah wound round his head. To this very day you may still see Nglieh-giah hopping from stone to stone or flitting from rock to rock ever looking for his wife.

With stories like these they beguile the hours till it is time to sleep.

On the following morning after breakfast, members and scholars will gather to wish us God-speed. They will walk with us some two or three miles, and then, arranging themselves, the group will sing "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah" or one of their many hymns, the whole hillside re-echoing to their singing. After praying with them and saying "good-bye" we will mount our ponies and set off to some other out-station. It always makes one sad to say good-bye; it is like leaving a few sheep in a wilderness. As we move along we will sometimes hear young shepherds singing hymns which have become very dear to them: "Oh happy day", "Rock of Ages", and those simple but heart-

[19 cont.]

836 embracing.) So, pre-marital relations between men and women are rare if not altogether absent. The following are some of the love songs they sing to each other in free translation:

539

I

You seem not to care for me,
But with you I'm in love.
It is as keen as a dagger,
For you are too beautiful.

When I scale the mountain peak,
Day and night my thoughts wander,
Your image they continue to seek.
What magic have you yonder?

II

Ye maids who marriage have not known,
How many are there in your village?
One of you I wish to call my own
To share my route and tillage.
In the village we shall sit, you and I,
For shortly we shall be two genii.

III

In that village there are pretty flowers,
In that village there are pretty maids;
Their faces are like snow flakes on the bowers,
Their brows, a crescent moon that never fades.
Please, send me one to adore,
And I shall never ask for more.

[20]

IV

● 539 Now we sing together a mountain song,
Next year should our paths cross again,
You two as a married couple shall come along,
While I'll be alone in my loneliness.

V

Formerly, my lover you were,
Like water and jug, always there.
Only a little separation,
And another man is here!
Pray, where do I stand now?

VI

I wish to have a woman like you,
Snow-white, bright eyed too,
Healthy, precious like gold.
And, frankly, it may be told -

I want to take you home to my village,
And if you couldn't come within five days,
Surely, before you shall gladly die.

VII

I love you,
I love your clothes so clean,
I love your teeth, silver rimmed,
And your voices, mild and pleasing.

VIII

The wind sweeps through the rice field,
Calmly, leisurely, one washes sand in the waves,

[20 cont.]

539 Little sister thinking of her boy -
In pain;
Big brother thinking of his girl -
Nonchalantly.

IX

After breakfast a cliff we climb,
We throw leaves down the sand-bank,
Fishes are dead, big and small --
Without lover, 'tis never all.

X

The ants climbing a tree do not fear its height,
When you woo a maiden, you fear not another's
might.
In love you should not be afraid of death,
Distant Yunnan is so near if you must measure
your sword.

584 The engagement procedure is rather simple, and no exchange of "eight characters" [indicating the year, month, day and hour of the birth of betrothed persons] or selection of a lucky date is required. After the approval of the parents, the go-
583 between may formally make arrangements, first bringing over
584 the dowry in the form of a "chao-tai" [visiting belt?] to the boy's home. The return gift from the boy's family, which must now be agreed upon, averages from ten to forty dollars in cash. The boy's family further sends through the go-between a flower patterned cloth parasol for deposit in the girl's family ~~and for~~ use by the future bride when she goes to the husband's house at the time of the wedding. On the day of the engagement the boy's family may not provide a feast, but has to despatch three or four young men carrying to the girl's family wine, glutinous rice, chickens and ducks as well as $3.60, known as "niece's cash." (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a

[114 cont.]

121

habits. The development of the plot of the story, furthermore, will, on the whole, exhibit clearly what is considered right and what wrong. .... Material of this kind does not represent a systematic description of the ethnology of the people, but it has the merit of bringing out those points which are of interest to the people themselves. They present in a way an autobiography of the tribe." (1)

[1. Franz Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909-1910 (Washington, D.C., 1916), p. 393.]

As to the origin of man, stories vary according to different
121 racial groups. Among these, however, there are points of
171 similarity such as the story of the flood, the rescue of a small
773 number of people favored by the spirits and ghosts, marriages between brothers and sisters, and so on. There are many such stories among the Miao in Kweichow, and in several respects their central theme is rather analogous to that of similar tales among other racial groups elsewhere in the world. The following is an account of some mythological tales among the Hua Miao and the Hê Miao for the reference of ethnologists.

2. The Folklore of the Hua Miao

[115] One day two brothers finished ploughing a field.
539 The next morning they found, to their surprise, that their previous day's work was undone by some people for the field was levelled down as if it had never been ploughed. In their distress and uncertainty they had to plough the field all over again. But the second morning they found that the field was once more levelled. This was repeated four times and they were greatly

[115 cont.]

539 astonished. At last they decided to plough once more, but they concealed themselves that night by the side of the field and kept a secret watch. When midnight came they found an old woman descending from the sky with a wooden plank. She first removed the earth lumps and then with the wooden plank levelled the earth. The elder brother immediately informed the younger one of his wish to kill the old woman, but the younger brother did not consent as he felt she was entitled to a hearing before any action was taken. In the course of cross-examination it was discovered from the old woman that their effort would be futile for soon they would be visited by a flood. She instructed the elder brother that when the flood came he should hide himself in an iron drum, and she also told the younger brother to chop down a tree trunk and to make a hollow inside in the shape of a drum so that he could hide himself there in the event of a flood. Afterwards the flood did come, and the elder brother inside the iron drum was drowned shortly, but the younger brother, who had asked his younger sister to hide with him in the drum-like tree trunk survived the disaster together. The flood, however, was furious and rose as high as the horizons so that the tree trunk was tossed about by the waves, floating here and there. One day it was seen by a fairy who was greatly astonished. This fairy thought that he himself had twelve horns on his head, but the tree trunk had even many more (all the little branches on the trunk were regarded by the fairy as horns), and fearing that the multi-horned monster would do him harm, he ordered the dragon eels, lizards and tadpoles to dig holes in the earth. The holes conducted the water underground and in twenty days the flood completely subsided. The tree trunk floated down with the retreating flood, but unfortunately it landed on a high precipitous cliff and was unable to touch the ground. Soon a mother eagle came to nest on the tree trunk and laid two eggs, which produced two young eagles. Taking advantage of their presence, the brother made plans for escape. He pulled out a lot of his hair and made it into a thread, which he tied on the feathers of the young eagles to prevent them from

[115 cont.]

539 flying. After a considerable time the mother eagle, seeing that her children could not fly, began to get worried [116] and consulted a fairy. The latter asked the eagle to seek the help of the tree trunk, but in recompense the tree trunk had to be lowered to the ground. Thereupon the eagle begged of the tree trunk, and of course the brother inside the trunk could easily grant the request, and he made the disposition of the trunk a condition. When this was agreed upon, he released the wings of the little eagles by removing the hair thread. The little eagles were free to fly out and at the same time the mother eagle removed the trunk to the ground. When the brother and sister stepped out on the level ground, they raised their eyes and found no kinsmen anywhere. There was no fire to keep warm, or rice to satisfy their hunger. Suddenly the brother saw a red robin resting hard by. He picked up a piece of scrap iron and threw it over. The missile missed the bird but hit a rock, scattering sparks all around. Thus they learned the method of making fire. They gathered a heap of dried straw and lit it to keep warm.

There being no other human beings in the world, the brother begged his sister to marry him. The latter refused, whereupon the brother proposed that they both should go up the mountain and from its top each toss a piece of round, smooth millstone down the valley, and if the two stones should roll together they should get married. Thus they undertook the test, and the two stones actually rolled together, but the sister was still unwilling and proposed a second test. The sister took a needle and the brother a piece of thread, both of which were to be thrown into the valley, and if the thread should pierce through the needle hole then the sister would be willing to be married. The result being that the needle was threaded, they became husband and wife. Afterwards they had a son, but it was a monster without arms and legs. They went to consult a fairy, who told them to cut up the monster into a hundred pieces and to scatter them everywhere. The next morning all these pieces of flesh became men and women. They adopted as their names the objects they hit upon, such as Shui (water), Mu (wood) and

[116 cont.]

539 Shih (stone), and from these came the beginning of the hundred names.

Among the Ta Hua Miao [Big Flowery Miao] in Wei-ning there is a somewhat similar kind of myth about the origin of man. According to this story, the day after the recession of the flood two persons, who were brother and sister, went out to examine the situation. They saw a piece of rotton wood in a distant forest. Picking it up, the brother hit it and unexpectedly it yielded fire. The smoke curled skyward and was [117] seen by the God of Thunder, who dispatched a messenger to inquire who was responsible for the fire. The brother and sister told their story. When the messenger went back to make his report, the Thunder God said: "Mankind has already been exterminated, but that these two are not dead must be the will of Heaven." So he ordered them to be married. The brother was reluctant because he felt that marriage between kinsmen was against the law of human relationships, but the Thunder God asked them to consult the Lord of Felicity, who decided that marriage should take place. The brother and sister also went through the same tests of tossing millstones and threading the needle as in the previous story. Among the Ta Hua Miao there is a song of the flood, which may be translated as follows:

The Song of the Flood

In the beginning of things - how exuberant
In an era, peaceful and distant,
Heaven and earth knew no strife
And carefree and abundant was life.
Things were created when cosmos dawned,
Together with a man and his mate.
To them two sons and a girl were born,
The eldest named Yü Huang.
[118]
Chih Lai was the second son,
And a daughter named Yi Ming.

[118 cont.]

●539 Spirits and men had love and peace,
Sharing the sun, which gave life to all.
So said the first man and his wife
To Yü Huang and Chih Lai:
"You two must go to the field,
To till the land with diligence."
And so the two sons went afield,
And soon the waste land was made to yield.
But in the dead of night
The Lord of Felicity sent along
A messenger named Hsien Ming
With a written order and a spirit wand
To Yü Huang and Chih Lai, announcing
"The end of the world in a flood.

[119]

"So why should your toil be continued?"
But Yü Huang and Chih Lai heeded not,
And field work still the two pursued -
The words of God were soon forgot.
The Lord of Felicity waxed furious,
And dispatched Hsien Ming once again
With magic wand on mission curious
At night as the moon began to wane.
The field was hardened as if unploughed,
And weeds and rushes grew lush.
At night the brothers quietly waited
At yonder fields the prowler to catch.
They found Hsien Ming, the messenger.
"Let's condemn the man to death," said Yü Huang.

[120]

"No, let us ask him why," was Chih Lai's reply.
And Hsien Ming, nodding, said: "Aye, aye,
"When thirteen strikes, the cycle ends,
The darkened sky will be overcast,
In angry waves the flood descends
To wipe away the earth at last."
But Yü Huang and Chih Lai gave no credence,

[120 cont.]

539

As day followed night, and night followed day
In uninterrupted sequence, and time it was
For the thirteen hour here to stay.
And lo! soon came the raging flood
To bear out the words of the Lord of Felicity.
Yü Huang, who had a heart cruel and wicked,
Was given an iron boat by the god.
To Chih Lai with a merciful heart
[121]
The Lord gave a pinewood boat:
The iron boat sank with the load,
But the pine boat was found afloat.
Chih Lai and his sister were the only survivors;
Even birds and beasts were all drowned,
Except some white eggs in the pine boat,
Which in the armpit they hatched.
In the boat were hatched out some little chicks.
There was no life on the boundless sea:
No fowls or dogs, birds or beasts.
All sounds were hushed except the voice
Of Chih Lai and Yi Ming talking to each other,
And the chicks making a slight noise,
For in the world all life had perished.
So Chih Lai had no other way but to ask
[122]
Hsien Ming, Messenger of the Lord of Felicity:
"Now that mankind is destroyed,
Except the two of us, brother and sister,
What shall we do to live?"
"As mankind has been wiped out from the world,
So you too, brother and sister, should unite
In wedlock, to be the progenitors of mankind."
"But how can there be marriage between us brother
and sister?
The words of the Lord of Felicity we dare not follow."
"If hesitant you still are,
Why not divine your Destiny by rolling down

[122 cont.]

539

Two halves of a millstone from east and west of the river?"
And, so brother and sister hurried back
To the boat and there rolled down the bank the millstone.
And who would imagine that the two halves were united

[123]

Not only once but as many as four times!
Then brother and sister no longer hesitated,
But husband and wife they became.
Looking back at the shore, Chih Lai saw
A pheasant stand there on yonder rock,
And picking up a piece of iron, he aimed at it.
Who would imagine that the iron hit the rock
And there from the crevice sparks came forth.
The sparks burnt the grass on the rock
As flames and smoke curled up to the skies.
Now brother and sister had fire to cook their food.
All on earth was once again in a peaceful mood,
And the universe returned to its primeval calm and ease.
The myriad things thrived; men and spirits lived in peace.
The flood was gone and the world in harmony.
Brother and sister loved each other tenderly;
From their wedlock sons and daughters sprang.
The eldest son was Chao Yung,
The second son Chao Yang;
And the third son Chao Yao.
For myriads of generations the people in the world
Were their descendants all.

[114] (This song was translated [into Chinese] by Mr. Yang Han-hsien and published in Kweichow jih-pao [Kweichow Times], "The Social Studies Supplement," No. 9, edited by the Social Science Research Institute of the Ta-hsia University.)

[123 cont.]

539

3. The Folklore of the Hê Miao at Pa-chai

It was said that at the very beginning there were nine eggs in a certain mountain cave. (It was not known whence the eggs came.) After having been hatched by "Mother Sun," eight sons were born, the eldest was Thunder, the other seven being Dragon, Snake, Tiger, Nine-headed Monster, Python, Wolf and Monkey. The last one who came out said that the ninth refused to follow him. The mother thought it was a spoiled egg and she was about to crush it when she heard a voice inside saying: "Mother, do not crush me. I am coming out in three days. My name is Lao Yen. When I come out I should be the eldest brother." The mother complied and hugged the egg for three more days when at last a boy was born. This son was the cleverest of all and immediately was able to talk. It was said that he was closely related to mankind.

[125] After the birth of the ninth son there was no harmony among the brothers. Lao Yen, who acted most strangely, always made fun of his brothers. The mother had already decided to send the eldest son Thunder to heaven to administer the skies. The youngest son, Lao Yen, was displeased and at the same time harbored evil intentions to harm the other seven brothers. One day he invited them to an outing on the mountain, but had previously laid down a plan to trap them. When all the others had climbed up the mountain he set fire to the foot of the mountain on all sides. But the brothers discovered the plot in time and fled home. When the mother knew that the youngest son was full of intrigues, she summoned all the eight brothers together and said to them: "Since you are close together like the four limbs, you should not plot against each other. Lao Yen is the youngest, but also the cleverest. So all the affairs on earth should be administered by him, and the rest of you should obey him. ...." Thus Lao Yen, being commissioned by the mother, began to administer all earthly affairs, but he was by nature lazy and did not attend to agriculture. When

[125 cont.]

539 Thunder looked down from heaven he saw the land was overgrown with weeds, and he reprimanded Lao Yen, saying: "Being head of the earth, why don't you begin cultivation?" Lao Yen replied: "I have no cow." Thereupon Thunder sent down a cow. Lao Yen slaughtered the cow and ate it. He stuck the tail outside a stone cave. When Thunder came down to earth to investigate, he found the field still barren. Furious, Thunder asked: "Where is the cow?" Lao Yen had evil intentions to harm Thunder and a thought suddenly flashed across his mind.

He said to Thunder: "The cow has been locked up in the cave. I go inside to push and you stay outside to pull the tail. What do you say?"

Thunder did not doubt his intention. Actually Lao Yen also tugged at the tail from inside the cave, and when he saw Thunder was pulling with all his might, he let go of the tail and Thunder went rolling down the hill. Lao Yen thought he had killed his brother, but actually Thunder hit a pile of straw and was unhurt. When Thunder went back to heaven he planned for vengeance. Later Lao Yen also knew that Thunder was still at large and became more cautious, but he still made evil plans.

One day Thunder arrived, gathering storm and rain, and flung an axe in the direction of Lao Yen. It missed its target, but in the movement Thunder lost his equilibrium and fell down to earth and was caught by Lao Yen, who put the captive in an iron cage. Lao Yen planned to select a lucky day to kill Thunder. Each time Lao Yen left the house he took care to warn the neighbors not to give water to Thunder, because with water [126] Thunder would become mighty again. One day after Lao Yen had left, a neighbor's two children (brother and sister) came around the house. Thunder begged them to give him some water. The two, fearing Lao Yen, did not dare to accede to the request, but were finally persuaded by Thunder to bring over some water.

With water in his possession Thunder said to the children: "Lao Yen is a wicked person. I want to drown him in a big flood. You two go quickly to plant some gourds, which will soon flower and bear fruit. Be sure to choose the biggest and

[126 cont.]

539 the most solid one and dig out the seeds. When flood comes you can sit in the gourd to save your lives."

After so saying, Thunder jumped out of the iron cage and went away. The brother and sister did what they were told. Shortly, the flood actually came, drowning everything on earth, except the brother and sister who were saved in the gourd. Afterwards the two married, producing offspring who are the people of the world today.

4. The Folklore of the Short-skirt Hê Miao

Among the Short-skirt Hê Miao at Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Tan-chiang and Pa-chai there is also a story of the flood and the marriage between brother and sister. In some respects, its content is rather different from that of the previous story. According to their folklore when heaven and earth were first created there were a couple, the man named Kao-chia-liang (Miao pronunciation) and the woman, Hu-chia-hsiu. They had a son and a daughter, the son named Pan-yang and the daughter, Ch'ê-yang. When Ch'ê-yang grew up she became a beautiful woman, whom Kao-chia-liang secretly married. When Hu-chia-hsiu knew of the affair she gave her husband no peace all day long, with the result that they divided the property and the woman drove her husband away from home. Three years elapsed, but Hu-chia-hsiu could not live like a widow and went away in search of Kao-chia-liang. At this time Hu-chia-hsiu became pregnant and laid by the roadside twelve stone eggs, eleven of which broke open on touching the ground. Each broken egg produced [127] a male adult. But the last stone egg did not break on touching the ground, and instead a human voice inside said that after three days he was to come out to join the rest. Three days later an adult male actually emerged. The twelve persons called each other brothers, but the youngest was the cleverest of all and envied by the rest. To acquire the property

[127 cont.]

539 of the parents they were engaged in constant fights. One day the twelve brothers drank together, but the youngest brother filled his gourd with cold water and poured real wine into his brothers' cups. When they were drunk and fast asleep, he lit a pile of straw and pushed his brothers into the fire to be burned alive. After death one brother became Thunder and ascended into the sky; one became a dragon and descended into the water; one became a snake and crept into a hole; one became a tiger and hid himself deep in the woods; one became a weasel and climbed up a hill; the other six all became animals and went away in search of food. When Thunder reached heaven he thought of revenge by sending down a disastrous flood to drown his wicked brother. But the youngest brother managed to reach heaven in time and did not return to earth until after the flood had subsided. One day he met a beautiful young woman, who was his younger sister born afterwards by his mother. They married each other and soon gave birth to an eyeless and noseless monster shaped like a melon. They killed the monster, cut it into twelve pieces and abandoned them on the ground. Unexpectedly each piece of flesh became the ancestor of a Miao tribe, and the last piece was the forefather of the Short-skirt Hê Miao today.

5. Conclusion

773 171 The myths regarding the origin of man are generally alike in substance among the Hê Miao at Pa-chai, the Hua Miao and the Short-skirt Hê Miao. [128] A few points worthy of note are: first, the stories are not related to man's first ancestors after the creation, but to the resuscitation of mankind after the flood. They are not the stories of Adam and Eve but those of Noah. The story of the flood is found in the myths of all these primitive peoples. The Miao are supposed to have originally migrated from Hunan and Kiangsi, and the flood referred to in their myths was probably the legendary flood during the time

[135 cont.]

627 After a decision is rendered in this fashion both parties would
773 show compliance and would not carry the case to the law courts. Although the mythology handed down from mouth to mouth does not have religious contents, it becomes a kind of prophecy to those people who hold everything pertaining to their ancestors in the highest respect. It is entirely due to this inherent respect for their ancestors that the ancestral myth is recounted before carrying out the punishment or at the time of settling a dispute. The idea is to employ the will of the ancestors to restrain the actions of their descendants. It is interesting to note that the mythology of the Sheng Miao, meant originally to inform posterity of the stories of their ancestors' life, has also assumed the corrective and preventive functions of law.

773 [136] The ancestral myth recorded by this writer consists
538 of three versions, which are scattered over every corner of the Sheng Miao area. Although these versions show some variance, they have the same origin. The original mythology of all ethnic groups is told in verses or songs so that they can be remembered easily by posterity. The first two versions of the ancestral myth are told by the Sheng Miao as prose stories due to the disappearance of the poetical versions in the course of time. The third version is a song sung by the Sheng Miao, and few indeed are those elders in the whole area who can sing the song in its entirety. It therefore still retains all its simple primitive character. The whole song has 488 lines and represents the pure myth of the Sheng Miao regarding the origin of man. The three versions are given as follows.

The First Version

539 There was an old woman who descended from heaven to the earth with a melon seed. She planted this seed on the top of a mountain range. After three days the seed sprouted and the vine extended to more than two feet. After seven days the melon plant covered the whole mountain, yielding many large melons. Among the melons there was the melon king so large that it could accommodate several dozen persons inside. It

[136 cont.]

539 happened that at the time a torrential rain inundated the whole world and drowned all mankind except a brother and sister - their names are not known - who hid themselves in the great melon. The melon floated hither and thither until - we do not know how - it reached heaven. The people in heaven asked the brother and sister to come down to earth and permitted them to become husband and wife. They came down and married but could not find any food to eat. Thereupon they began to eat the melon. At that time they met the old woman, who was the planter of the melon seed. She said to them: "Eating the melon will give you children." Indeed after a while a son was born. But the parents were unhappy with the melon child, and cutting him with a knife into a number of pieces, they scattered them at the foot of a nearby mountain. Afterwards the bones of the melon child became the Miao, the liver became the Sui-chia, and the neck became the T'ung-chia. In addition there were two other pieces, one of which became the [137] Miao king and the other the Han [Chinese] king. The Miao king was named Lao Tung, and the Han king, Lao Li. Lao Tung lived on the highland which included the present Li-p'ing, Yung-ts'ung and Hsia-chiang. Lao Li went down along the river as far as Kwangtung where he settled. His influence extended over a very large area and he became exceedingly prosperous. He asked Lao Tung to join him in Kwangtung, but because the two struggled for the possession of a salt well Lao Li killed Lao Tung. When Lao Tung went to Kwangtung he brought with him two sons, one called Lao Ting and the other Lao Ch'un. After the death of their father they went back to the highlands and settled along the Tzu-wen River (about 10 li from Hsia-chiang) to cultivate the land, and became more and more prosperous. They decided to avenge their father's death and always went down to molest and rob Lao Fu, Lao Li's son. Lao Fu could not stand it any longer and together with Lao Li he went to discuss with them a permanent settlement of their territory. The method for demarcation was to invoke the will of heaven through divination. They agreed to settle down in any place where luck would have them. Being cunning and shrewd, Lao Li and his son Lao Fu had

[137 cont.]

539 previously laid down a plan, according to which one was to hide underneath a big bridge and the other to hold a banner in a mountain cave. They then agreed that they should yell to heaven and see to whom heaven would respond. The favored party would have the first choice. Lao Ting yelled first but there was no response. Then Lao Li yelled. When he yelled at heaven, heaven responded; when he yelled at the earth, the earth echoed. Thus Lao Ting and his brother were again robbed of the fruits of their labor by the father and his son. Being unable to remain at the Tzu-wen River they had to withdraw to the deep mountains (the area occupied by the Sheng Miao today). The Miao along the river then came into contact with Lao Li and his son. Lao Fu further cultivated good relations with the Yao, but became enemies of the T'ung-chia and Sui-chia. Later, on account of repeated disputes they opened a mass meeting at Tu-shan and Li-po, where they decided to have bull fights, liu-sheng playing, song-singing, and huan-ku-chang [lit., the settlement of old debts] as recreations of the Miao and Yao, and opera singing and the New Year festivities as recreations of the Han [Chinese]. After the meeting the pen used was given to the Chinese and the left-over chicken feet were given to the Miao. Thus the descendants of the Chinese learned to read and write and became officials because their ancestors received the pen. The descendants of the Miao became farmers because their ancestors got the chicken feet. The sons of Lao Ting and Lao Fu were Lao Lüeh and Lao Kao. The events after this are not clear.

[138] The Second Version

In ancient times there were a couple who had six children. The eldest son was called En [blessing]; the second, Liu [thunder]; the third, Hu [tiger]; the fourth, Lung [dragon]; the fifth, Shê [snake]; and the sixth, Mei [fascination]. Soon the father died. The children lived apart according to their responsibilities. En looked after the earth; Lui, the heaven; Hu, the mountain; Lung, the forest; Shê, the cave; sister Mei

[138 cont.]

539 and the old mother lived together with En. Wishing to cultivate the field, En went to heaven to borrow a cow from Lui and promised to return the animal the following year. But after the field was cultivated there was nothing to eat. Therefore, En slaughtered the cow and fed the family. He stuck the tail and the head of the cow in the crevices of a rock outside his house. When Lui asked En for the cow the latter replied, "The rock outside has eaten up the cow." Lui scolded the rock for having eaten the cow, but the rock replied, "En has eaten it, and if you do not believe me, go to his house and search in the wooden tub -- there is still some beef left." Lui became angry and threw down a javelin from the sky to hit En. En was aware of this and had on his back the bark of an old tree. While throwing the javelin Lui was careless and slipped. He fell down to earth and was caught by En, who purposely asked, "Do you prefer to be locked up in a big drum or in an iron store room?" Lui knew that En had a wicked heart and used to beat the drum with a wooden club, and therefore he asked to be locked up in the store room. So Lui was locked up in an iron store room. At the same time En asked Lui to make a red rope, saying that when the whole room was filled with the rope he would be set free. En dug a hole into the store room and drew out the rope from time to time. Lui did not know this trick. After six years of work he still could not fill the room with rope. He could only heave sighs. One day an old man who was looking for manure, passed by. Lui yelled to the man and asked him whether he had seen his javelin. The old man told him that the javelin was tossed by En to the manure pit. Lui begged the old man to retrieve it and clean it for him. When Lui got the javelin he was so happy that he kept on playing with it, yielding flashes of light. The old man outside was stunned. Lui thanked him for his trouble and wished him to be the richest man on earth. With the javelin Lui was able to break open the iron store house and ascended to heaven. At that time En was drawing out the rope to T'ai-nan (ancient Miao locality). When he came back [139] he did not find Lui and became greatly alarmed for he knew Lui would not

[139 cont.]

539 stop there. Lui's hatred for En was very deep and he planned to kill him. He therefore gathered all his magic power and brought about a great flood. Soon the whole world was inundated. En escorted his mother and sister to a stone cave for refuge. He cut for himself a big tree and collected a cluster of bees in a gourd. The flood reached the sky, and En's boat floated down the gateway of Lui's house, just as the latter was rejoicing over the drowning of his enemy. When he heard the sound outside his gate he opened it and was greatly astonished to find En in his boat. En said that the flood could not drown him, but the gourd when heated over the fire would be able to kill him. Lui foolishly believed in his words, and taking the gourd he put it over the fire. The bees in the gourd could not stand the heat and all came out to sting. Lui and all his family were stung, suffering great pains. En said, "For medicine you have to go down to earth." Lui therefore called back the flood and followed En to the earth. En picked up a few frog leaves [?].

"These leaves are neither rare nor strange. In heaven we have them in great abundance," Lui said.

"If I do not lead you down to earth, you would not call back the water," replied En.

Lui recognized En's ability, and the two brothers made peace with each other, promising never to be enemies again. They divided the heaven and earth as their respective spheres of control. At that time the earth, being washed over by the flood, could provide nothing that could be eaten as food, except a grain of rice offered to En by a rat hiding in a hole. En planted the seed and obtained food. Then he thought of a wife and went to ask a little insect.

"Is there any woman left in the world to become my wife?"

The insect replied, "There are only you and your sister, but you two can marry. Let one of you go up the hill and the other go down the hill, each under a parasol. When you meet midway on the hill you two will be like distant cousins coming from two distant places."

The brother and sister actually became husband and wife. After two years they suddenly gave birth to a child without four

[139 cont.]
539 limbs in the shape of a melon. En was furious and cut up his monster child with a big knife into a number of pieces and threw them around on the top of a mountain. The second day when En climbed up the mountain he found that the pieces of flesh had become a number of men and women. Then En set fire to the bamboo, which crackled and exploded. [140] This fire provoked laughter from the men and women on the mountain, who soon uttered sounds and talked in three different languages, the Chinese, the Tung and the Miao.

The Third Version

[128]

[Editor's note: The following is a free translation of the original song. In the latter part, a number of verses, mostly repetitious, have been omitted.]

In very ancient times,
Our story must begin,
When men had to build houses
And burn the field for cultivation.

Cutting the trees required
Two days going up the slope,
And one day going downward, -
Spared only was a big tree.

A tumor grew from the tree;
On its branches the birds nested.
No one dared to chop it:
A goat was asked to divine.

The goat said: "Go ahead."
With a hatchet hacking both ways.
And two knives at the same time,
They chopped for two days.

[140 cont.]

●539

They hacked a long while
Then a wind suddenly came.
Down the tree went crashed,
But the trunk was saved.

The top of the tree fell,
To the ditch side;
The top went rotting out,
But below, the tree continued to grow.

A nest was underneath;
Two birds were nigh;
Two insects crawled by,
Making a feeble flap.

When the insects flew down
They were larger than the birds;
The two were same in size,
But two different insects.

They flew to the nest
And five eggs they laid:
White and round and large.
Who was there to hatch?

A little bird came
To ask the right to hatch:
Which egg to hatch first?
For twelve months she brooded.

The little bird chirped,
And looked closely around:
How tiny was her little self,
And food had yet be found.

Hungry and starving,
The bird flew away

[140 cont.]

539 In search of fruits and flowers,
When an eagle she met.

The eagle, wishing to hatch
The eggs, came to inquire.
After eleven months
She cried a few times.

The eagle also felt
She was in the mouth;
Hiding without food,
No longer would she hatch.

And to the Dew away
In search of chicks.
Who else next would stay
These little eggs to brood?

Who was the father of the eggs?
Let him come to hatch
These five eggs large and white,
An inscrutable batch.

One egg bore a Dragon in the river
And the Dragon produced a fish;
One egg became Thunder in the sky,
And one En and Mei, who on earth remained.

One egg produced a Tiger,
Another, a Snake,
And they all came to share
The father's wealth on the mountain top.

The land was equally divided
Save a big hilly farm
With seven waterfalls from the cave
Coveted by En and Thunder.

[140 cont.]

539

En and Thunder disagreed
For their share of this land:
In spite of kinship blood
Thunder sent down flood.

En's father was very old,
High-nosed and quite frail;
He sat on a wooden bench,
Eating with chopsticks.

The land was re-apportioned:
Nine thousand ch'ih [a measurement for land]
Thunder took;
The remaining seventy thousand ch'ih
Were still on the bank.

Dragon received the land
Along the river banks:
[141] En had nothing left to take,
And so with a sword he went to cultivate.

To Li-t'ang he soon went
Cucumbers to grow:
The second moon quickly faded,
And fifth moon came in a row.

The cucumbers growing ripe
Were seen by the monkeys wild,
Who removed the bridge
To an alien land.

En's mother had a fall,
And down a deep precipice she rolled:
In the throes of life or death
She had hardly a breath.

For her who was still alive
They each kept watch overnight:

[141 cont.]

539

Who was the lucky fellow
A new field to possess?

One hundred ninety thousand
Mow was the size of the land:
The bin was full of harvest grain:
For the sons to put up claims.

Thunder was the oldest son
And came to turn the field:
After a whole night's vigil,
Mother was still alive.

She still could take rice;
She still could spin yarn;
Charcoal she still could burn:
But who was the second son?

Dragon was the second son:
So he was called from the river edge
To carry home more fuel;
And firewood was cut on the ledge.

Firewood was taken from the river bank,
And Dragon came to spend the night
When Mother was still up,
Eating rice and doing fine.

Mother could still spin
And weave, and charcoal make:
En was called to come back
With firewood, which he cut on the slope.

A night's vigil En did keep,
But Mother did not die:
He watched until early morn
When the cock began to crow.

[141 cont.]

539

The spacious field En aspired,
The spacious field to till:
With both hands on her neck,
He contrived his aged mother to strangle,
To send her to death
With all his strength.

The spacious field En aspired,
The spacious field to till:
A pestilence was found
To mean Mother's body,
The trench was all around
And she had to be buried.

The coffin was made of iron
And steel too was used;
In heaven her burial should take place
When the coffin lid was sealed.

Dragon too wanted
To have her entombed
In a stone coffin
By the river bank.

But there was sister Mei,
Who made Mother's clothes.
On earth she wished Mother to be,
Where she could be within reach.

Oh, our poor Mother!
Don't believe in Thunder,
Dragon was unkind,
Mei only was to be trusted.

Trees had to be felled
And rice seedlings planted;
The foliage cast its shade
And the trees had to be cut.

[141 cont.]

539 Four planks of pinewood
Were all that the coffin had,
To be carried to the village
And there safely buried.

Once more the field became
A subject of contention:
Who was to lay claim on the field
That yielded nine tins of grain.

Who was the elder brother?
Who was the first to decide?
If worse should come to the worst,
All the brothers should abide.

And so Thunder made his claim,
But the brothers railed:
When Thunder went up to heaven,
It rained, it thundered, it hailed.

En came forth to say:
"This field brings ill luck;
Second brother, Dragon, may
In turn make his claim."

Dragon could not make up his mind,
And so to the river he rushed,
[142] Breaking the embankment --
And all about was laid waste.

En came forth to say:
"This field brings ill luck."
He wished sister Mei
Would at last save the day.

And so the sister said:
"Two months have passed,
All the grass is dead --
Let the cat go down the ditch to have a look."

[142 cont.]

539

For this a light was lit
To show the cat around:
En was at last asked
To take a final look.

En with another fire
Was ready to proceed;
But the cat turned around
To report to Thunder.

Snake too was asked,
But En knew it all;
Lighting a straw torch,
He set fire in his wake.

The fire soon spread everywhere,
And the country was a waste.
The cat ran for dear life,
And snake as well made haste,

While Dragon plunged deep into the water,
But Thunder alone was not afraid;
He sat down, waiting.
For the fire him to overtake.

The fire was fast approaching,
Destroying, devastating;
When the heat grew too strong,
Thunder skyward dashed along.

High up in the sky
Rain water was kept,
While to earth it was denied;
So the field was parched.

The earth was all cracked
And walking was a pain;

[142 cont.]

539

And water Thunder held,
Up in the sky.

Without water the field
Refused to yield:
En decided to ascend to heaven
To Thunder to plead.

It was in the ninth month
When rain was released,
The field was eased;
And the fish swam about.

But En was so selfish;
He ate all the fish:
When Thunder came down,
All the fish were gone.

Thunder was really angry now:
When to heaven he went back
He took with him the only cow
That tilled the field.

Without the cow En was forlorn:
And he took a dog to help him;
The dog kept barking all the day
Without doing work in the field.

Thunder, looking down from heaven,
Could not resist laughter:
En once more was high and dry --
A good lesson for hereafter.

And so once more En implored
Forgiveness and his cow.
Thunder gave him the cow
To work on the earth.

[142 cont.]

539

After the field was ploughed,
En killed the cow for food
Just as Thunder was coming down to earth
To drive the cow to its heavenly home.

That cow deserved death,
So En told Thunder;
It went grazing on a cliff,
Fell down, and was devoured by the cliff.

Now En thought of Thunder's wife,
And up to heaven he went.
But she loved En not,
For Thunder only she desired.

When Thunder returned home,
In anger he roared:
Wicked was En to have robbed my field,
Seized my cow and coveted my wife.

Thunder vowed vengeance: for these wrongs
En had to pay with his life.
Thunder was to let loose a terrific flood,
Overflowing heaven and earth.

En had built a small house,
But Thunder had kicked it to pieces.
Another hut En had built
And again it had been destroyed.

So En went to ask Mother Goose;
She urged En to build a bamboo hut
To be thatched with palm leaves
And covered with green moss.

[142 cont.]

539

Next time when Thunder kicked,
He slipped in an awful fall.
Once more Thunder was entrapped,
And in an iron bin he was laid.

En went out to a far land
To seek as much silver
As he could get to buy salt
With which to pickle Thunder.

Alone in the house was Mei,
Making soup to wash her hair.
She left the soup by the bin,
And when Thunder had it,
His strength he soon regained;
Once more the earth he shook.

Ascending his heavenly domain,
He gave Mei a little seed.
The seed sprouted and grew
Into a melon as big as a bin.

To punish En, Thunder struck
With rain and storm and hail:
Men sought shelter, trying to duck
The rage of Thunder without avail.

The hailstones were like water pails;
Some as big as wooden tables.
Down they fell in endless streams,
Playing havoc on men and houses.

Old men were killed in their beds;
Eighty thousand people were drowned.
The water reached heaven,
Flooding everyone except En.

[143 cont.]

539

En gathered three pumpkins:
Inside one he hid himself;
The other two were for his dog and the bees.
With these he sailed up to heaven.

When En arrived at Thunder's gate,
A challenge he sent:
"If these melons you can break,
A conqueror you would be."

When the melons were opened,
A host of bees hidden there
Came swarming helter-skelter,
And Thunder's wife was stung.

A small insect triedto make peace,
And told Thunder that the flood had to cease:
[144] When En returned to the earth,
Thunder and lightning were all around.

When the earth was by lightning struck,
Mountain ridges all grew up;
But all the world was a barren waste,
Save an eagle flying in haste.

En stopped the eagle and asked:
"Is there somewhere a woman left?"
"The feud of you brothers has made a mess,
And woman there's none, I confess."

And so En inquired of an old dame,
Who said Mei and En should married be:
With the world bereft of human beings,
Brother and sister were to be united.

[144 cont.]

539

From this wedlock came a son,
Without eyes and without ears, --
No more, no less, like a melon he looked --
And the parents were all in tears.

En cut the monster into lumps,
And tossed them around high and low,
They became the Sui-chia and the Chuang,
And the Nine Tribes.

All the people in the world
Were originally unable to speak;
They knew not how to eat rice
Or to enjoy the joys of sex.

En boiled some beans to eat as rice,
And soon he broke wind.
The Han [Chinese] cried "ch'ih-fan";
The Tung, "chi-kou";

The Miao, "no-nüeh";
All meaning "eating rice."
After this the Han, Miao, and Tung,
They all had speech.

3. Conclusions

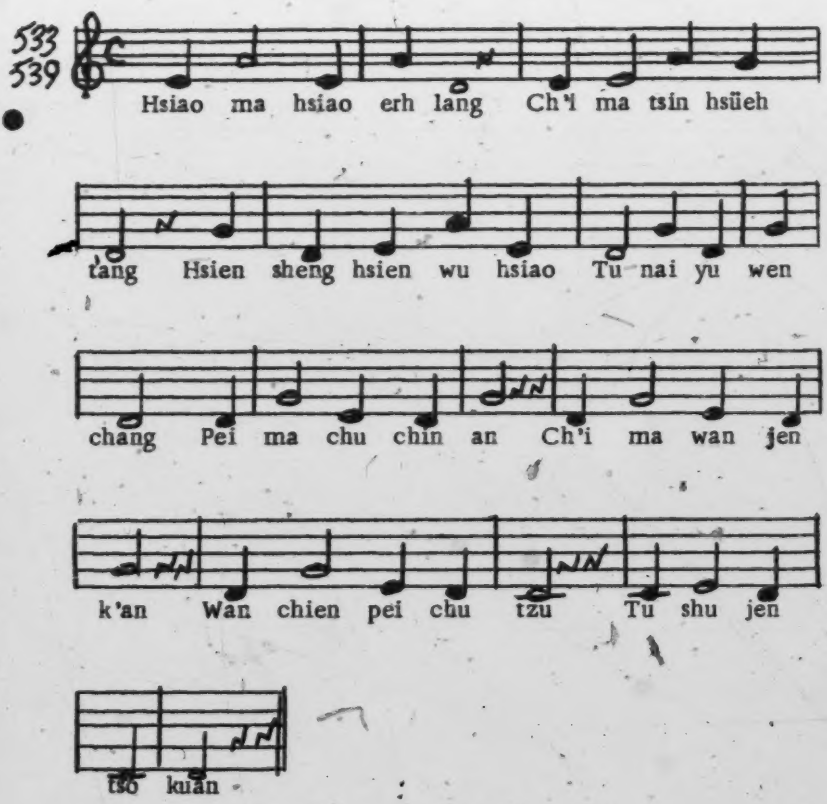
773 Based on these three versions of the Miao myth, the following points deserve attention.

1. It is without doubt that though superficially the three versions seem different, they actually originate from the same story, altered here and there by later story-tellers. The common theme of these versions is: "Once in ancient times there was a flood, which destroyed all mankind except a brother and sister, who escaped from the disaster. After the flood had subsided, brother and sister were forced to marry each other. They bore a son who looked like a melon. In anger the father cut it into

12: Wu and Ch'en--119 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[200 cont.]

No. 1



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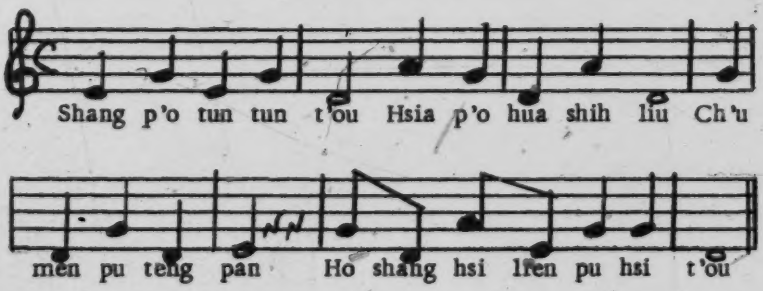

[201 cont.]

No. 1

539

On a little pony a little boy
Has gone riding to school:
The teacher thinks that I'm too small,
But my stomach flows with learning.

On a white horse with a golden saddle,
I ride as I watch people.
I see the white pillars
Where a student has become official.

No. 2

Up the slope the rider nods his head;
Down the slope there are slippery pebbles,
Going outdoors without a mate,
The monk washes his face but not his head.

534 (b) The wu-sheng. The five-tube bamboo wind instrument is almost constructed similarly to the six-tube instrument, except it has five holes instead of six and that its shape is slightly flatter. This instrument is played by young men with licentious tunes to seduce young women, and generally accompanied by dancing.

(c) The k'ou-ch'in. The mouth organ is a woman's musical instrument among the Hua Miao. It is made of two pieces of brass plates each three inches long, with a crevice hollowed out in the center in the form of a tongue-shaped awl. It is played against the lips by blowing out and sucking in air, the thumb plucking lightly at the end of the brass plate with each breath. The pitch and quantity of the notes are regulated by the mouth. The little tunes from this instrument are very pleasant to hear.

(d) The hsiao-ti. The flutes and fifes are made by the Miao themselves from bamboo tubes of varying lengths and

[202 cont.]

No. 1

539

The field is large and the earth is raw;
To plough it fills me with fright and awe:
I dig, I rake, I shovel and I pound —
Useless, save a maiden wife is found.

[203]

No. 2

The weeds by the roadside yield white flowers;
Homeless, I seek other people's bowers:
When fuel is gathered, rice is cold —
My tears and woes are manifold.

No. 3

On the mu-i I sadly mourn, [mu-i - music instrument]
And play the music until dawn:
When girls hear the woeful strain,
From copious tears they can't refrain.

No. 4

Here and there the father cries,
All at home the mother sighs:
Whither have all the children gone?
In the woods they sing a song.

No. 5

Thinly the rain falls dripping,
Ruefully comes an orphaned stripling:
How much cold rice has he eaten?
How many a time is he beaten?

No. 6

Tobacco crop is bad this year;
My star and luck are sad I fear:
Every tiny flow'r I pluck
Bears no leaf and has no luck.

[203 cont.]

No. 7

539

The seventh day of seventh moon
Is pheasant hunting season soon:
The pheasant flies across the pass,
My girl and I are alone at last.

No. 8

The gold tipped chopstick falls
Where the pretty maiden calls:
I purposely toss it around
So that my maiden can be found.

No. 9

This road to Kweichow, winding and long;
Vehicles run all night till dawn:
Reaching homestead with a pang
Of joy, for soon it is Kweiyang.

No. 10

Birds in heaven fly in pairs;
The man in clouds assumes stupid airs —
Hey, you fool!
There's none prettier than she who's there.

(b) The songs of the Ching-miao. (Free translation from
[114] the Miao language into Chinese, but faithful translation from
the Chinese into English.)

Ordinary Love Songs (Serenades for Kan-piao)

No. 1

The moon rises in the gloaming,
With our lovers we go roaming;

[203 cont.]

539

But when the moon suspends on high,
We settle down for a lovers' sigh.

No. 2

Many buttons adorn my gown;
I have brother, you have wife:
If you agree, my brother you own,
But give her to me for all my life.

No. 3

Peaches half red are in June;
I love maidens with a blush,
Lilting, bending to my tune,
Rosy faces all a-flush.

No. 4

Outside your door grows an ash,
Bending, swinging with the wind:
Fair maid, do not feel abash;
Without your beck'ning, I'm not the kind.

[204] No. 5

The girls carry water a long while,
But the tank is empty yet;
They traversed many a tedious mile
Only their lovers to beget.

No. 6 (Male voice)

Fell a bamboo in the grove,
And a fishing line I throw;
But not a single catch I prove,
Save a Chengtu maid in tow.

[204 cont.]

(Female voice)

539

The stars emerge upon the stars;
Two stars entwine in one part;
Gold hook upon the silver hook;
Your heart clinging on my heart.

No. 7 (Male voice)

Do not worry, do not weep;
Wrinkles show on your forehead:
If my words you loyally keep,
Many good days are far ahead.

(Female voice)

Do not worry, do not weep;
At my hip a banjo slings
To drown our songs and voices deep,
But pluck not my heartstrings.

No. 8 (Male voice)

The grass is leveled and rain descends;
The field is ready for planting:
Come and tell me what transcends
My love for you to land in.

(Female voice)

The rain falls on a simple rogue,
Leveling the grass, readying the field;
What confidences I him owe
To his droll flirtations yield?

[204 cont.]

539

Planting Songs (sung in the field)

No. 1

The planting maids are busy planting:
Who has the time to come ranting,
Chasing after the maiden fair?
No, not till the harvest is there.

[205]

No. 2

The unplanted seeds must be kept:
No one has any free time left
To bother with man or sister —
Not even to attend to a blister.

No. 3

The rice is planted in serried ranks,
And water flows in from buried tanks:
Who is singing two rows down?
Where's your sister? You only frown.

No. 4

The plants must be placed with care,
Ridding the stalk and leaving it bare:
Our legs are soaked in watery mud;
Hardly we hear any sounding thud.

No. 5

Down the terrace are other fields:
The painted face a servant shields;
The eel in mud is still an eel,
Which salt makes tasteful a great deal.

[205 cont.]

No. 6

539

The high mountain is so near yonder;
To the deep water there we wander;
On the bridge the maid eats meal,
But in the cow shed our love will seal.

Wine Song (Sung at feast)

Here's some gift to relation sent;
To receive it a fair cousin smiles:
For us a table and benches set,
And the host runs home many miles.

A crowded table is not our worry;
Your wine is what we fear:
For to eat and drink and all a-flurry,
To be intoxicated here.

[114] (c) The Songs of the Chung-chia. (Free translation from the Miao language, but faithful translation from the Chinese.)

No. 1

The pouch is chiselled on two sides;
We share the road from different homes:
To talk to you - my yearning urge,
But fear some one's vengeance surge.

No. 2

Three scarves hidden by a screen;
A maid has her good husband seen:
Others move on silently,
Bending, tearful, mournfully.

[205 cont.]

No. 3

539

A large lot of land without border —
Grass grows amuck, good for fodder:
This is what we mortals are
In this world without a lucky star.

No. 4

A long time I've not this roadway passed;
Moss and lichens cover it fast.
'Neath the lichens a trickle flows;
Here we drink to end our woes.

No. 5

Yonger maid, astride the fence,
In her hand a basket carries:
Why she stops, there and thence,
Why she stops and waits and tarries?

No. 6

In life and death she follows me
To the court of the magistrate:
Thirty thrashings tenderly;
Leave me alone — that is straight.

[206] No. 7

When sun descends the slope is dark;
When a cloth is dipped in dye;
When a maid forsakes me in the park —
All linger on, the cloth and I.

[206 cont.]

No. 8

539

The groom is seventeen and the bride,
A maid of eighteen summers fair;
The duck is killed and the chicken fried
To honor the everlasting pair.

No. 9

But if for reasons they must sever,
Tear drops flow down in pain lest
The Judge refuse to let as ever
Him go east and her go west.

No. 10

At the market yester morn
Many items were displayed;
I searched for you here and yon;
At last returned, quite dismayed.

[152 cont.]

538 lot is otherwise so hard. Below are given two extracts from "Méo" songs, borrowed from the work of P. Marabail (op. cit., pp. 296 and 298):

539 832 1. Love song:

The Young Man. — One is born only once. As the bee and the butterfly go far off in search of flowers, so human creatures are obliged to make long journeys to seek out those beings with whom they should unite. In like fashion we two are of different villages and yet we are about to wed. It is Heaven that has so willed it, He who is just and is never mistaken.

The Young Woman. — No, we are like the reed and the plum tree, which are separated by long distances. Don't make fun of it in that way. But since you tell me of the example of the bees, we have only to follow it. Wait for me then this evening at nightfall and I shall take care not to miss the rendezvous.

2. Prayer:

May we have an abundant harvest of maize! May the 539 wind blow with moderation and the rain fall with regularity! Then 782 more than a hundred plants will give rich harvests. Thus the mandarins will have a tranquil people to rule. Oh, that these desires may be completely realized! Let us beat the drum to celebrate autumn.

The costume of the men scarcely varies from one tribe to an- 291 other (see photo 204, Plate 38, in which representatives of various "Méo" tribes of Upper Tonkin appear). It consists of a jacket which buttons [153] usually in front of the right shoulder as well as on the side, and goes down just below the hips, a long pantaloon falling to the feet and held up by a belt, a turban of variable size, wrapped in a haphazard fashion.

Among those tribes which are in direct contact with the Chinese, [177] the masculine costume approaches that of the Chinese, the jacket buttons in front by means of a variable number of braided loops and buttons and the turban is often replaced by a small skullcap.

The "Méo" usually go about barefooted. Some wear sandals with soles of rattan or bamboo fiber, or even the Chinese heelless

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/139/

b) Music and Musical Instruments

A M 533 The basic music is the same among both peoples; both peoples know singing and the use of musical instruments.

Singing

Singing plays an important role among the Meau as well as among the Akha; both sexes sing on various occasions. I found no confirmation for the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn that the Meau make music only in connection with burials. To be sure, the Akha enjoy singing even more than the Meau, for whom singing while working in the rice fields is prohibited by a taboo (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), whereas the Akha sing unhindered and by preference at just such work.

M [248] [784]

Among both peoples there are a few traditional songs of old whose texts are unalterable. The dance songs of the Akha girls belong to this group. The great majority of song texts, however, are improvised and depend on the situation and the singer. There are, for instance, many variations of the songs with which the mother sings her child to sleep. Hopes, wishes, and admonitions are woven into these lullabies of the Meau in which are repeated innumerable times and always to the same melody:

M [854]

M [539]

"Sleep well, my child, I shall cover you to keep you warm and go into the rice field to get fodder for our animals."

"Sleep, my girl, and do not cry, otherwise the dogs and the pigs will bite you."

"Sleep well, my boy, and do not play with knives and do not lose your covering."

"Sleep, my child, I shall go into the rice field and cut sugar cane for you and bring you good food."

A M 533 832 Singing is very important for lovers; it gives them a chance to express the intensity of their emotions, knowledge, mental ability, ready wit, and humor. It is significant that

/139 cont./

A among both peoples good singers always find special approval
M among the girls. It should also be pointed out that /140/ a
533 pronounced love for one's native village runs through many of
832 the love songs, which would not be expected among either the
[621] Meau or Akha, since both, as seminomadic peoples, often
[186] change their habitation sites. One might assume, therefore, that no special attachment to their villages would develop, but since the opposite is the case, it seems to indicate that the nomadic inclination of these peoples is only a secondary development (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "Causes of the Migrations").

M The most impressive are the love songs of the Meau,
533 which sometimes betray a really lyrical feeling:
832 "I came to your village in order to love you, but you would not even speak to me; this has made my heart sick with pain."

"I am a strong young man. Oh, why will you not hold my hand?" (Here the singer complains that the girl came to the rendezvous, but now is unwilling to surrender.)

"I visited you in your house, but you did not love me, so I am leaving."

"Now I have come to you, and if you will only stroke my neck, I shall be happy for several years, even if you do not grant me anything else."

"Speak only two words, and I shall be happy for a long time" (the "two words" mean a confirmation of love in return).

"I came to your house; why did you not offer me a cold drink?" (Girls present a "cold drink," that is, water, to the
M friend toward whom they are favorably inclined. Liquor is
[273] regarded as a very obvious invitation.)

"I came to your house, in front of which there is a tree with three fruits. Eat only one fruit, the others are poisonous!" (The singer has heard that his sweetheart has two other friends and warns her.)

/140 cont./

539 The lover also often assures the girl of his faithfulness
832 with a song: "If someone offers me two oranges, I shall eat only one!"

"If two cups of clear water are offered to me, I shall drink only one!" (This indicates that he will not accept a "cold drink" from another girl.)

[836] /141/ Keepsakes are also cherished by the lovers, as is shown by the following definitely lyrical songs:

"If you give me a kerchief, I shall take care of it as I would of you. Whenever I see it, I shall think of you." -- The girl, to whom the boy has given a neck-ring, replies: "When I look at your neck-ring, your embraces will be present to me and I shall think of you."

The following song has particularly fervent words:

"I shall press your kerchief to my breast. If I remain alive, I shall return, and if I should die, my soul will hover around you as a good spirit."

Marabail (1), too, published love songs of the Meau:

1. Pages 296 and 298.

"The young man: 'Man is born only once. Just as the bee and the butterfly seek out the distant flower, so are human beings forced to cover long distances to find those with whom they are to unite. We two are from different villages, yet we want to marry. It is heaven that wishes this, heaven that is just and never errs.' The girl replies: 'Like the reed and the plum tree we are separated by endless distances. One should not jest so. Since you give me the example of the bees, however, we need only imitate them. Expect me then in the evening at nightfall, and I shall not fail to come.'"

539 Savina (2), too, is one of the authors who mention and

2. II, p. 197.

[533] record such alternate songs: "Most of the songs consist of questions and answers." He then gives the song of a mother who mourns for her deceased children: "The little children to

/141 cont./

539 whom the mothers sing in the evening awaken in the morning with the first light. Why then do mine, who have already slept so long, never awaken anymore?

"Every spring when the peach trees bloom by the houses, the little swallows return and again fill their old nests on the smoky roofs with eggs. Why do my children never return anymore to look at their poor little beds?

"Every year when the maize is in bloom in the fields, the cuckoos return to see once more the lonely trees on the mountains and the rocks on the banks /142/ of the turbulent river. Why then do my poor children never return to see their old mother?

When the fruits fall from the tree, they sprout and come up beside it. Why do my children, who sank down at my side, never rise again?

"The grains of rice send out shoots in the water of the rice fields, as do the kernels of maize in the fields surrounded by rocks. Then why do the children of poor mothers never grow up again out of their cold graves?"

114 533 The texts of these songs show that Abadie's statement (1),

1. Page 169.

"The songs in the language of the Meau are always humorous and even erotic," corresponds as little to the facts as the report by Lajonquière (2): "Their songs are always erotic and almost

2. II, p. 312.

never depart from the following theme: the singer addresses a woman who is passing by, asks her what the news is, invites her to sit down beside him, becomes obtrusive. When she continues on her way, he scolds or mocks her."

539 832 To be sure, there are songs which have such a content: "I have come to you in your house, and now you do not want to grant me your favors. Now I shall go to another house and there buy water for my money. The water there is colder than your's. When I drink it, I am happy, for then another girl loves me."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/142 cont./

M 539 832 A lover to whom favors were granted often sings of his luck in many successive sentences: "Now I have to leave your village, and whenever I remember your embraces, my soul will be happy. Now I must leave, but I shall think only of returning. My soul wanders in the clouds (meaning: you have bewitched me) and not on earth. And when I return and hold your hand, I shall not be able to stop the flow of words until the end of my life (meaning: he will take her as his wife for life). What are you going to give me then to fill my soul and to stop the flow of my words? (a clear allusion to the sexual act, the only moment when the lovers are silent). Whatever you give me I shall give back to you all my life long."

M 533 In these songs rhythm plays no role, and melody only a minor one. The words are produced in a high-pitched voice with wholly /143/ unrelated high notes. Even while traveling M [484] no rhythm is maintained and marching in our sense is unknown to these peoples. There is singing, however, on every occasion: upon setting out to hunt, in connection with the preparations for the caravan when it is necessary to look for new village sites, in connection with bringing in the harvest, and in connection with housework. Lajonquière (1) reports similarly on the Meau.

1. II, p. 311.

There are no professional singers or bards, and similarly no epics heroic songs, or war songs, which formerly, at least among the Meau, were probably present. In any case, however, they cannot be found today. On the other hand, I was able to A [533] find two melodies among the Meau and one among the Akha to which texts similar to our Alpine "ditties" are sung. Often, however, the performer only sings words which happen to come into his head.

M [171] The sound of the songs of the Meau is very reminiscent of the "joiken" of the Lapps (2), although in the case of the

2. Bernatzik, VI, pp. 78 ff.

A M 533 832 joiken there are no words. Alternate songs to which texts are

/221 cont./

182 538 773 Especially among a people as mentally alert and of such high standing as the Meau, one can probably see in this fact an indication that we have here an economically-conditioned cultural loss. Poetry, like every free artistic activity, requires not only mental ability, but also security in the basic conditions of life. That the mental ability in any case is present among the Meau is attested to, in addition to the communications from Savina, by both the mental development of the children and, above all, the spiritual culture which both the Meau and the Akha have developed. People who need all their strength in order merely, with the hardest work, to avoid starvation, however, cannot possibly have the energy required for poetic invention. Traditional lore maintains itself longer, but it, too, disappears if there is not sufficient time and leisure to cultivate it.

773 [184] Nevertheless, among the Meau in Thailand I was able to record a number of legends which often are identical to a great extent with the corresponding myths and tales that other authors have recorded among the Meau in Tonkin. Accordingly, I am presenting the recorded material in the grouping most useful for comparative purposes. Concerning /222/ the origin of the human race, the following was reported to me:

In the beginning the earth was flooded by the ocean. When the water had gradually created its own pathways and earth became visible, a pair of siblings was living there. The brother impregnated the sister, and she gave birth to a gourd, which instead of seeds contained germ cells from which, in the course of time, human beings developed.

539 Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) also describe this episode,

1. II, p. 314.

2. Page 168

but these authors state that the Meau have knowledge of the Deluge and the siblings were the only survivors of this natural catastrophe. Savina (3) also described the creation of human beings:

3. II, p. 244.

/222 cont./

539 "As soon as the earth became dry, the Lord took a piece of it and shaped the body of the first man. He blew breath into him and gave him a soul in his belly and a voice. The man was created first, and then the woman. In the daytime the Lord spoke to them. Nowadays he speaks to them only at night, and then through a young girl that appears to them in dreams."

The same author (4) also presents a Flood legend in which

4. II, p. 245.

the creation story of the other authors can easily be recognized:

"One day, water covered the whole earth and rose to heaven. Two pairs of human beings tried to save themselves and climbed to heaven in drums. One pair hid in an iron drum, which toppled over. The other pair sat down in a very light wooden drum and reached heaven. In this drum there were all kinds of grain kernels. These two human beings were brother and sister. The Lord asked them why they had come to heaven. They said because the earth was flooded. The Lord then sent a dragon to earth in the shape of a rainbow, in order to dry it out. The water fell, and the drum likewise; after fifty days it again stood on earth. A mighty eagle took the human beings on its wings in order to take them to a dry spot. Because the eagle found no food, the brother and sister fed it with their own flesh. For this purpose they each took /223/ a piece from the back of the head, one from under the arms, and one from behind the knees. This is why there are still hollows at these places today.

"Brother and sister immediately began to cultivate the soil and to sow grain. The brother was still small, but the sister was already big. When the brother had become bigger, he wanted to marry his sister. The latter refused, because heaven had forbidden marriage between brother and sister. The brother observed that she was the only woman on earth. They then decided to try to discover the wishes of the Lord of Heaven. First they rolled a millstone from a mountain into the plains: the two pieces of the stone did not separate. Next they threw two needles into the air; they did not separate, but fell down to earth together. The same

/223 cont./

539 happened with two coins. Thus the will of heaven had become apparent, and brother and sister cohabited. Their child, however, had neither a head nor hands and feet; it was round like an egg. Perhaps the child is sitting in the egg, they thought, but that was not the case. The pieces which were cut from the egg, however, turned into children. For this reason the egg was divided into as many pieces as possible. The result was an endless number of children, and the earth became repopulated."

114 539 797 Savina reports a number of myths which show an astonishing similarity with Old Testament accounts. He stresses the precise and unaltered transmission of tradition by the Meau. Among the Meau in Thailand I likewise found several myths which, on the whole, seem similar in content to the narratives given by Savina, but they show considerable deviations at decisive points. There are two explanations for these differences. Either the author, under the influence of his own world-view, has involuntarily influenced the statements of the Meau, or the ancestors of the Meau studied by him were at one time under the influence of Christian missionaries. This would not be impossible since it is known that Christian missionaries have been active for centuries in the old territories occupied by the Meau in South China, though the Meau there deserted these territories as a result of the various struggles previously discussed in the chapter, "History." Thus, it is conceivable that the Christian elements adopted, which /224/ show a remote resemblance to the peculiar conceptions of the Meau, were woven in, and Savina then regarded this mixture as characteristic manifestations of the Meau. Under these circumstances the ethnological conclusions that Savina ties in with this fund of myths which he discovered are to be accepted with caution.

539 Savina (1) relates in detail the Meau legend concerning

1. II, p. 243.

the creation of the earth:

"The Lord of Heaven, Ndo Chu or Chu Lau, created heaven and earth in seven days, first heaven, and then earth. The earth

/224 cont./

539 was beautiful and yielded fruits without labor. It was covered with flowers as large as baskets. The Lord created ten suns and nine moons and many stars. The people regarded the stars as luminous stones and feared that they would fall down and kill them. They therefore asked the Lord of Heaven to remove them. This he did not do; instead he spread a tremendous blue veil over the earth in order to protect the people against the falling of the stars. The suns were female, and the moons male. The Lord gave them a soul and blew breath into them. For seven years they dried out the earth, and during this period it was always day; there was no night. Then the Lord created the plants, the animals, and, finally, human beings. At the same time, he created forests in the moon. The trees grew in large flooded plains. The people took the tops of the fallen trees and made arrows out of them, with which they shot at the suns and the moons. Nine suns and eight moons were extinguished. One sun and one moon fled and concealed themselves; during this period eternal night prevailed. For seven years the people lived in darkness; then they asked the sun and the moon to return. They would not, however. The tiger, too, begged in vain. After seven years they appeared again, after the seventh [825] crowing of the cock. Since that time cocks wear a comb as a reward."

The Meau in Thailand similarly told me that formerly there were many suns and moons on the firmament, that the stars arose from the union of the male moons and the female suns, and, furthermore, that the suns and the moons had died in the course of time. /225/ The other statements given by Savina are unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

Then I was told about an earlier age of happiness. The description coincides almost literally with that given by Savina (1):

1. II, p. 180.

/225 cont./

539 There are songs... "about a Golden Age during which weeds did not yet grow in the fields, maize leaves were edible, and the ripe grain flew through the air into the house... Unfortunately, one day a wife did not obey her husband and refused to sweep out her house in order to receive the grain. Since then, grass grows with the maize, maize leaves are edible only for buffalo, and the kernels have to be laboriously carried home in carrying baskets. [482] The Meau say that the invention of the carrying basket stems from that ancient time."

The same author (2) gives still another version of this

2. II, p. 247.

legendary age of happiness, one which I did not find confirmed anywhere in Thailand:

"The Lord made human beings immortal. In the beginning man ate nothing but vegetables. He did not work, the earth produced everything without work. Human beings traveled between heaven and earth. One day, however, a woman ate a white strawberry, which she was not supposed to touch, and drank from a forbidden spring. Since then human beings must work and die. For a long time, however, human beings still became very old, eight hundred or nine hundred years, but misfortune and failures gradually shortened their lives. After the woman's crime, human beings had to leave their dwelling places and were never allowed to return."

Concerning the original home of the Meau the shaman of Kun Fa reported to me: The first land that the Meau inhabited was many years' journeys to the north of their present territory. Half the time was day, half was night. During the night all the water became rigid and formed large smooth boulders and fine white sand. Human beings, animals, and plants were much smaller than in the present land of the Meau. People did not have to suffer from heat as the Meau in the valleys do today, but rather from cold, and they had to cover their bodies with the skins of animals.

/226/
539 Savina (1) gives a similar account: "The first dwelling

1. II, p. 245.

place of the Meau was at the other end of the earth. It was a country with long winters and long nights -- nights of six months. The human beings and the trees were small. The water was frozen, and the earth was covered with snow. Everybody wore furs."

The same author (1) also gives an interesting legend

1. II, p. 245.

which I could not find confirmed among the Meau in Thailand: "The first king of the Meau was a child who remained in the womb for three years. It then lived in a palace of pure gold. One day dissension arose between the Meau and their neighbors about land. The king ordered both parties to depart at nightfall and return before sunrise. Each would be owner of the land that they had traveled over during the night. The party that did not return on time would have to remain at the place where the rising sun caught it. At daybreak the Meau found themselves on a high mountain. Since then the Meau live on mountains."

In the same place Savina gives an account of the origin of languages, which I could not find confirmed in any form:

"When human beings became too numerous on earth, they tried to reach heaven by means of a ladder. The Lord of Heaven, however destroyed with lightning all those who had climbed up. Formerly, all human beings spoke the same language, but since that day every family has spoken a different language. Human beings did not understand one another any more and separated."

/226 cont./

272 One of my informants told me a legend that explains the
539 origin of the prohibition against drinking milk. At the same
574 time it shows how highly important hospitality is regarded among the Meau, since its neglect is punished so severely:

"In olden times there lived a Meau who had seven wives. The chief wife was a Meau, the first secondary wife, a Haw, that is to say, a Chinese, and the other secondary wives were all Meau. Each of these wives gave birth to a son. One day, an old man came and asked for milk. He first asked the chief wife, and then the other Meau wives, but they all refused him. Finally, he turned to the Haw wife, and she took pity on him and gave him milk. When he left, the /227/ old man said: 'Oh, you Haw woman, you have a good heart. Therefore you Haw people may eat and drink whatever you like. In the future, however, the Meau shall be forbidden to drink milk.'"

539 Concerning the origin of the shamans, I was able to learn
756 various details, which Savina (1), however, has taken down in

1. II, p. 209.

greater detail and more fully among the Meau in Tonkin:

"There once lived two men, Ngionggi and Xigi. One day when they were on the seashore they saw an island in the middle of the waves. On this island a crane was sitting on a nest with eggs. The two men took these eggs, pierced and emptied them, and put them back in the nest. When the crane saw that they had been pierced, it filled them with a special substance and hatched them out after forty days. When Ngionggi and Xigi saw this, they took some of the substance, because they thought that they could arouse the dead with it. They tried it first on the corpses of an earthworm and an ant, which immediately came back to life. They then went into a village whose chief had just died, and they brought him back to life. Loaded with presents, they traveled on and everywhere they raised up the dead. One day they decided to return to their families. Their wives and children, however, had died a long time ago, and they were unable

/227 cont./

539 756 to revive their dry bones. Mad with grief, they threw their medicine into a cave and decided to die. Their countrymen tried in vain to prevent them from doing so. They did not succeed, but Ngionggi and Xigi consoled them by saying: 'After our death shall appear to some of you in your dreams in the shape of a virgin and teach you how to cure the sick. Consult these men when you are ill, and you will recover!' Since that time the Meau consult their shamans whenever they are sick."

539 114 I could not find any legends that tell of the historical development of the Meau, nor have other authors, so far as I know, published such legendary material. Only Von Eickstedt (2)

2. II, p. 52.

recorded a legend of the Meau, and a similar version is also reported by Leuschner (3). Von Eickstedt asserts that it is a Man

171 539

3. Page 44.

legend, which, however, is also claimed by the Meau:

/228/ "The Chinese emperor Ti Ku (about 500 B. C.) is said to have promised the hand of his third daughter and the advantages accruing from this to the one who would rid him of his most dangerous enemy, who would kill the latter and bring his head. A yellow dog by the name of Pan Hu heard this, accomplished the deed, and married the princess, who bore him six sons and six daughters. From these stem the various Man tribes. A division of the realm took place, according to which the Chinese were given the valleys and the Man the mountains."

Von Eickstedt correctly concludes that when the Chinese, during an attack by presumably northern warlike nomads, turned to the neighboring mountain peoples for help and the latter actually defeated the enemy, the chief of the mountain peoples was given a daughter of the imperial house along with the political advantages connected with it.

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Akha A04

/228 cont./

M 171 539 Now it follows, however, that this legend belongs to the culture of the Yau (Man) and not to that of the Meau, though it is, of course, quite possible that the Meau, who in Indochina and Thailand often live in the immediate neighborhood of other tribes, have borrowed cultural elements from their neighbors. It is noteworthy for the general ethnology of Farther India that similar motifs may be found among other hoe-culture peoples, as well as in the legends of the gathering people, the Moken* /Mawken/, the inhabitants of the Mergui Archipelago, on which I have published in another place (1).

1. IV, p. 45.

A 773 The Akha, like the Meau, have no concrete conception of the creation of the world and the natural phenomena. Myths concerning this are lacking.

A [82] [789] I was able to find only a single exception, a moon myth. It indicates that an eclipse of the moon causes great alarm since it is believed that a dog is about to devour the moon. To prevent this, crossbows and firearms are fired at the sky.

[114] I could not find any more detailed information in the literature either. Scott (2) mentions in passing that, during the

2. Burma and beyond, p. 270.

festivals of the Akha, "clan legends" were recited so that they will not forget them. Unfortunately, however, he does not give a single legend.

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

[273] (10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[167] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[291] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[714] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[411] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[648] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth.

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide.

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants

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805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
527 thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
541 embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or
[764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[2] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring
243 appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

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Lung Hui.[7] For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

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Bullfights (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.[8] The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, *f*). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

[7] "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

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the fights were going on a large group of men brought their caged thrushes together in one place to hear them sing against one another.

For this occasion both young men and young women wore very good clothing, new if possible. There were not many married women present. Two girls wore a silver ornament on the back of the overpiece (fig. 17, *c*), consisting of silver chains of beads to one silver cowrie shell, then to three, and then to five silver bells of various shapes. These made a fine tinkling as they walked. Two girls were dressed in the layers of colored blouses with embroidered pieces on the upper sleeves and silver disks covering the whole overpiece, trousers, and aprons, but not the pleated skirt. Several wore the fancy scarf on the turban. Two young men played the *lu speng* at intervals during the afternoon.

The fights lasted from about ten o'clock in the morning to late afternoon, when the guests went to the nearby villages. For much of the night the girls and young men played the *lu speng*, talked and sang. The next day they went home, but the fights were held for three successive afternoons. I was invited to spend two weeks in Yang-niu-ts'un with relatives of those from Yang-chia-sai.

Another was held on this same field early in the eighth month of the lunar calendar. On the tenth, one was held at Hsin-ch'ang, a market town a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un. It took place in a level space just outside the village, with the road leading into the village crossing it well to one side. There were two slopes here, also. Only a few people stood on the west one, though they were joined by others as the sun came lower. It was a very hot day. Each group of villagers had flags of white with a design which faintly resembled a dragon on them, and staves topped with a rosette of white chicken feathers and other rosettes of colored paper at intervals along them.

We were early enough this time for the ceremony of *ta ch'ang*. This was a procession consisting of groups of men, including one or two in the orange or yellow robes of the

*The opening ceremony.

[76b]

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priest. One priest led the bull, one man had a gong, one a long stick upon which was festooned a long, lighted string of firecrackers, two trumpets, and several villagers the banners and staves. Most of the bulls were covered with bright cloths of various colors or with red ribbons. The procession followed the foot of the hill upon which we stood, went around a clump of trees well beyond it, along the foot of the opposite hill, around the whole village and back to the field, where the bulls were divested of their finery and the banners and staves were set up in their former places. The "field" was thus defined as a plowed part which had been somewhat leveled off, one sodded and more level, some land on either side of the stone road leading into the village, and the village itself. As the procession moved nine gunpowder charges were set off twice at each end of the plowed section.

At this fight there was no gong when a fight was to be held, but a group of men with bamboo staves in their hands went to invite two bulls at either end of the field to be led on. It was so hot that only one really good fight took place. Most of the bulls just looked at one another as if to say, "Well, what do you think of that thing!" and then looked away. Sometimes one at once turned and ran.

It was market day at Hsin-ch'ang and those who attended the market also watched the fight. For the occasion even the little girls wore their best. This included the embroidered scarf on the turban showing the design on the edge, silver on the overpiece up to a maximum, which was the whole front and shoulder pieces covered with silver disks, large and small, four-petalled flowers of cowrie shells in the back with rows of shells suspended from them in two tiers, and a silver ornament consisting of chains, shells, and bells. It must have represented a goodly sum of money, as it could be bought only with real silver in the lump or Chinese silver dollars. Dr. Wu, in his account of the fight and sacrifice held each twelfth year, the initial one of a cycle, or "the year of the rat," speaks of a bullfight as a harvest festival coming after the harvest, when the period of relaxation begins, but this particular fight came right in the midst of harvest when the villagers were at their busiest.

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Two other fights I saw were held on the tenth of the ninth month of one year and the nineteenth of the ninth month the next year, at the meadow just outside Yang-chia-sai. Just before the first one we had been having bad weather for some time and, while it did not rain that day, it was still gray, misty in the valleys, and wet under foot. There was also a cold northeast wind. Therefore, fewer came than would have been the case had the weather been fine and the roads dry. The crowd seemed to be composed mostly of Chung-chia and Chinese from neighboring villages, with only a few visiting Cowrie Shell Miao. The audience filled the rise of ground with grave mounds on it to the east of the field. Sellers of noodles, nuts, candy, and wine occupied a piece of ground nearby.

Before the fights began a table was set up in the middle of the field and the usual objects of worship set upon it: a measure of rice with candles and incense sticks set in it, bowls of wine, and so on. The priests, of whom there were five, bowed to the ground before it before the *ta ch'ang* procession took place. After the procession it was removed and a cluster of lighted incense sticks was stuck in the ground at that place until they burned down. The procession consisted of five boys bearing large red banners on bamboo poles, a group of musicians, the five priests in orange silk robes, of whom the first carried a horn of wine which he spilled as he walked. The others carried umbrellas. After them came men with firecrackers and gongs and the gayly decked bulls, each led by one man. Some bulls without trappings did not go in the procession. This one followed the road to the south, around the group of Chinese houses and the temple, coming back to the highway along the wood, thence to the Tu Ti Miao, and onto the field, where they disbanded. The larger element of worship may have been due to the presence of important ancestral graves near by. However, this may have taken place at the Hsin-ch'ang field. I could not see what took place about a table there.

There were about a dozen bulls at the Yang-chia-sai fight and the fights were about as usual — some acted bored, one or two ran right off the field, two stampeded toward the

796 sellers of food, and there were one or two
541 really good fights. The banners were washed next day, and kept by our family.

The day of the fight held at the same place on the nineteenth of the ninth month of the following year was a bitterly cold one. So few bulls were brought that there was no procession. There was a larger group of Cowrie Shell Miao there than on the former occasion, however, because a young man in the village had just been married and the large group of wedding guests from other villages was still there. Several of the village girls put on their best clothes. There was one stam-

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pede into the sellers of sweetmeats which created much excitement and amusement, but no harm was done. Two bulls fought extremely well. Even after one bull had run off the field the other pursued him and continued the fight in a rice field until one of them had had enough and ran again. After the fights a feast was held at the home of the bridegroom, to which they invited me. The bride and her attendants and the bridegroom had already gone back to her village. Some of the guests sat at tables outside, but there was a group of men in one house and a group of the principal women guests in the other. I was asked to eat with them.

[78 b]

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Bullfighting Among the Cowrie Shell Miao*

Dr. Wu Tzu-lin**

79/ 541 Bullfighting among the Cowrie Shell Miao is a part of ancestral worship. Originally it was an act in the great sacrifice when they killed a bull to pay reverence to their ancestors, doubtless so that the ancestors might see that only the value of a bull was sufficient to express their respect for so important a divinity. In the economy of an agricultural village, to kill a bull every year is an impossibility because of poverty, so that among the Cowrie Shell Miao each *tzu* year the wealthy do it once, and it is called *ta*. Between two such sacrifices there must be an interval of eleven full years, but in these eleven years they must do much in the way of preparation. First, the selection of the bull is an especially important thing. Bulls which clash horns must be male water buffalo, and their physique and the form of their horns are all extremely important. Besides, they pay special attention to the feeding of the bull. The daily work of the bull is comparatively light, the food, however, comparatively rich. Until almost the time of the duel what they eat is special, so that the bulls selected to fight are reared to be large, fat, and, of course, quite unlike those used for plowing.

Bullfights are all conducted in the ninth or tenth month of the Chinese calendar. On the one hand, of course, it is a token of remembrance of the ancestors; on the other, it is a kind of ritual pastime at a comparatively short interval after harvest. Having worked all year, in their big meeting on this day they forget all their troubles. So, although the formal sacrifice of killing a bull must come at intervals of eleven years, really the two or three pre-

*From an article in a local newspaper in Kweiyang, 1940.

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ceding the sacrifice are all a preliminary to the fight. Thus, in ordinary years, while the bullfight is little like *the* fight, yet sometimes it has a period of preliminary offering. The elders of the villages used to make their decision and, about Ch'ing Ming, send a notice inscribed on a tablet of wood to villages within a radius of ten li to make their selection. In recent years instead of wood they use the red scroll and write on it, "Having fixed such and such a day of such and such a month, we hope each relative or friend who has a bull will come and bring it. So and so respectfully gives notice."

The arena for the fight is a piece of level land near a village or a rice field trampled smooth after water has been put upon it. Before the fight, at about nine in the morning, all the families lead the bulls to the field and, after they have assembled begin a *fu ch'ang* ritual. Each family makes the bull go around the boundary of the arena, with the body of the bull covered with red cloth and red silk given by relatives and friends. Wealthy people also put on the tips of the horns a sheath of silver three to four inches long. The priest puts on a yellow robe and, carrying in his hands a bull's horn full of rice wine, follows the bull, from time to time pouring wine on the path. A man following strikes a gong and another sets off firecrackers to add dignity. This is the first act of the fight.

From noon to three in the afternoon is the actual time of bullfighting. At the field the elders of the villages take charge. They also appoint a man as master of ceremonies, who roughly selects bulls of

[78d]

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equal body and horn points and matches them as fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop.

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As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second act of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone—first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on

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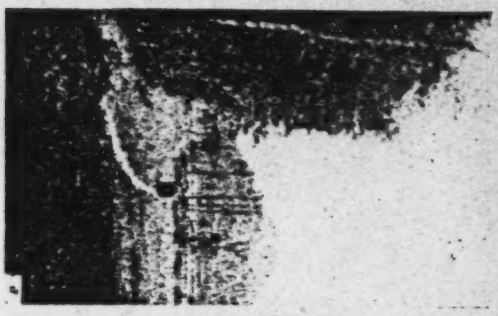

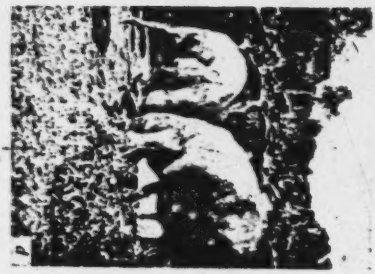

[For captions, see p. 90b. -- Analyst]

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a, Two women of the village following the path across the buffalo bullfighting meadow. *b*, Men on the bullfighting field, procession in the background. *c*, Back view of girls viewing bullfight, showing silver ornaments, embroidery band, and turbans. *d*, Bulls actually fighting. *e*, Group of men at bullfight with caged thrushes. *f*, Bulls fighting and spectators, showing group of men with staves.

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

533 796 sound of so many pipes all playing independently at the same time and place is certainly not music, and soon becomes positively exasperating to some ears. On the edge of the crowd are sweetstuff and cake sellers, and other hawkers moving about.

796 All the Miao have these festivals, but the music and pacing are not the same. Among the Hua Miao and Shui-hsi Miao, the women do not dance, but men dressed up in women's clothes, with their hair done up like women, take their place. Among the Hua Miao, all the babies born during the year are taken to these festivals, and carried about on the backs of their fathers. Many of the Miao villages around Anshunfu have, besides the pipes, their own band of four musicians, provided with a drum, a pair of cymbals, and two flageolets or flutes. These musicians are often invited and paid by the Chinese to play at their marriages, funerals, and other functions.

541 796 The pony-runnings at these festivals are not races, and there are no prizes given. A piece of land is selected, level or nearly level, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. Along this they gallop in a line one after another. On reaching the end of the course they turn off, and walk or trot back again to the starting-

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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place, like boys who have made a slide on the ice. When on the course they gallop the ponies at the top of their speed. Any one on a pony can join in or leave off when he likes.

We have attended these festivals, but have never seen a buffalo fight. We have seen men urging on the buffaloes to fight with one another, but the animals either did not understand what was expected of them or they had too much sense to do anything so foolish. On one occasion we saw a buffalo, exasperated by these attempts, break away from its tormentors and tear away at full speed across the ground. It overturned a pony and its rider, but did not attempt to gore them. All the buffalo wanted was to get clear away, and as everybody there showed the utmost possible alacrity to give it plenty of room, it succeeded. We have heard, however, that buffaloes do fight sometimes at these festivals, and that now and then one gets killed in the contest. They also fight sometimes of their own accord. We once saw two combatant buffaloes with their horns locked together, and half of the village pulling at ropes attached to their hind legs. They were finally pulled apart, and neither of them seemed any the worse for the encounter.

The Miao and, we think, all the other races

/68 cont./

A is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can
M there be any thought of influences coming from Europe.
524 Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the fre-
526 quent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect
171 a common origin.

There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha
A and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are some-
M times arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks,
541 as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples.
171 Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often
[525] lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between
crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring
Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these
fights.

A Children begin to perform work at the age of four among
M both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect fire-
857 wood (Ill. 38),[1] which they carry home in their own small wood
561 /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields,
[252] carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93),[2]
and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour
the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend
the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard
A the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers,
M a particularly important task in a country where there is neither
[203] mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven, at the
latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest
help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned
to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the
exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys,
both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are
always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud
of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having
complained about work that was too hard.

A Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games,
M there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but
857 rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing
561 children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in
461 the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[1] [See cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p 643- "]

[167 cont.]

684 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must
586 refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general
548 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather
778 easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon
548 see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously ob-
764 served among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like
[769] the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then
[825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all-day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

● 548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624] The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
[361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

/88 cont./

M seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao
832 interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together.
883 Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the
morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They
123 tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because,
they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love,
and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels
himself very much the center of attention and declares that
if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends
M with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the
[515] girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to
cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces
and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma
M sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love
[533] songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief
joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the
same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where
do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

A That purely materialistic considerations play only a
M minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that
836 prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never
[548] yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is
[431] customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver
necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him
a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the
chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-
25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a
matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love
have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a
young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes
him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her
partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes
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1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported,
without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[776 any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832 hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/113 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
583 price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same
[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),
[184]

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

/9 cont'd/

131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

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Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-m[illegible]	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/10 cont'd/

Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

/31 cont'd/

595 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness of single men" would be inevitable.

428 When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons, his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose husband comes to live in her family. A son adopted as an heir also has

597 the right to inherit.

531 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539 /32/

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MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS
A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS
MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS — BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture inKwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

1: Wang--46 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. ●551 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- 583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [431] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in-608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
514 animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
M 251 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[813] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M 241 cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
171 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
352 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there ●551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

/93 cont./

551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [517] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would [533]

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
● 551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/169 cont.

(9) The Kuei of the High Slope

*782 [731] [776] [691] This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife, seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the in-
*[787] cantation, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-tzu, the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551] [776] [755] The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (揚 and 楊). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

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[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

piece of gray cloth with the Chinese character meaning "to inform" on it. The father accompanied this procession. When they got to their destination a feast was held, at which the pig was made into the chief dishes. 852

Naming of Children. Miss Li said that boys were named after animals and girls "Mei" (daughter, or younger sister) with a number or other designation to indicate their position in the family. I did hear one boy given the Miao word for Rooster as a name; but most of the boys had Chinese names of good meaning. In one family all the five boys except the youngest had names in which one of the two characters was the same for all. When the oldest boy went to middle school in Lung-li he took a "school name." The names I heard for girls were "Mei" with some word of pleasant meaning, such as "Happiness," "Treasure," "Purity." 853

In the case of boys a "generation name," chosen before the child was born, was also given. He was not called by this name, however, until he had his own wife and family. It was kept in the family records and in those of the *lien pao*. In the village of Yang-chia-sai the oldest generation had the generation name "Heng," with an individual one, the next generation "Cheng," and the third "Tan." But several men of the second oldest generation were still called by their "baby names," and none of the third generation by anything but the familiar names or nicknames. Girls kept their childhood name until they entered their husband's homes permanently, after which they were known as XXX (husband's surname) XX (maiden name) Family; that is, XXX of the XX Family. After her husband died she was known as Widow XX (maiden name) and, if, as almost always happened, in the same village there were several widows with the same maiden name, she was known as Widow XX whose eldest son was named Y. For instance, if a man in Yang-chia-sai, whose surname, of course, was Yang, married a woman from the Wu family, she would be known after she entered his family 551 562

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chin ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[525] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

776 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, 551 banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo [754] ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less fromless.

[146 cont.]

773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

Miao AE5

/54 cont./

851 608 123 [787]

During my visit to the Meau village of Nam Fa in northern Thailand I was asked by the Meau Tua Sen Kun to assume sponsorship for his newborn son (1). I was told that it

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 188 ff.

was regarded as an auspicious omen that I, a powerful foreigner, was present in the village at the time of the birth.

● 551 As names for boys those of famous ancestors are preferred on the ground that boys continue the family. The child may also be given the name of the sponsor. For girls one chooses at will a name which, like all names, has a special meaning. A sharp distinction is made between names for boys and those for girls.

	Names	Meaning
Boys:	lǖ	pure
	pǎu	surety, guarantor (2)

2. Cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law."

	tšü	has everything
	fö	to have many children to care for him
	tšǎn	to grow
	pǎn	to flourish
	tsuṅ	bud
Girls:	tšǎy	slender
	yí	round
	ltšay	fearful
	tšá	plain
	mǎy	good
	ltšóa	green leaf

Akha A04
Miao AE5

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In addition, each individual has a family name. This is changed by girls when they marry for that of the husband.

Differing from my observations, Lajonquière (1) describes

1. II, p. 317.

the name-giving, which, according to him, does not take place until after the end of the confinement; "At the end of this period, parents and friends gather in order to bring presents for the child. At the same time, he is given a name, the same one that his grandparents had. Finally, there is the usual eating, drinking, and singing." The statements quoted here have been borrowed verbatim by Abadie (2).

2. Page 165.

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It is much simpler among the Akha. In general, the mother of the woman gives the child its name during the birth without further ceremony. There is also sponsorship, however, which is similar to that practiced among the Meau. As among the latter, during the ceremony the child's wrist is likewise joined to the sponsor with a piece of string. Telford (3) gives a

3. Page 103.

somewhat different description and also ascribes a different meaning to the piece of string, as is shown by the following: "When children are born among the Kaw (Akha) they slaughter two chickens, one for the name-giving ceremony and one as food for the mother and child. Its soul is asked to descend into the body, and strings are tied around its wrists in order to hold the soul fast."

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[774]

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In giving the name the Akha select the name of a recently deceased family member.

/265 cont./

621 596 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

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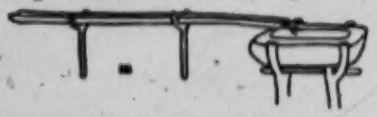

Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 [596] relatives live in one village.

In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 621 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice [343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per- [551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize [343] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the [551] house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/265 cont./

592 621 [551] is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4 It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
164 pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good
[732] worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with
the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on
unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to dis-
tinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses.
2. Granary housing.
3. Stables.
4. Smithies.
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a
definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent
the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which
guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the
house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges
into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impsession because of the darkness prevailing in
it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and
furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described
seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort
and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked
335 irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On
the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[TEXT continues on P. 369]

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

piece of gray cloth with the Chinese character meaning "to inform" on it. The father accompanied this procession. When they got to their destination a feast was held, at which the pig was made into the chief dishes. 852

Naming of Children. Miss Li said that boys were named after animals and girls "Mei" (daughter, or younger sister) with a number or other designation to indicate their position in the family. I did hear one boy given the Miao word for Rooster as a name; but most of the boys had Chinese names of good meaning. In one family all the five boys except the youngest had names in which one of the two characters was the same for all. When the oldest boy went to middle school in Lung-li he took a "school name." The names I heard for girls were "Mei" with some word of pleasant meaning, such as "Happiness," "Treasure," "Purity." 553

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[29 cont.]
751 "guardian" for the purpose of getting protection. This is be-
756 cause the body of the priest is supposed to be endowed with a spiritual quality that can put the ghosts in their places. Therefore, children receiving his guardianship can avoid illness. Often a priest may have several hundred people under his protection. To apply for it the protégé has to present a pair of shoes, a handkerchief, a cock and some glutinous rice to the
[553] guiding spirit of the priest, after which offering the protégé is given a new name.

Priesthood among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not a profes-
756 sion, the shaman being a full-time farmer, carpenter or blacksmith. It is only a side-line. Each time the priest performs some service, his remuneration consists of a few insignificant "lucky" items. It is said that priesthood is not a willing choice. Every priest has at least twenty to thirty different spirits seeking his mediumship, and if he refuses the spirits would derange his mind. So once seized by the spirits a man cannot help being a priest. He then cuts a piece of red paper into a row of human forms [30] and pastes them before his ancestral altar. A board is nailed horizontally against the wall, on which two or three tea cups are placed. After each magic performance, the head of
[782] the cow, pig, or dog used in the ritual must be brought home to be sacrificed before the altar. But chickens and ducks used for the same purpose need not be brought home.

The capability of the shamans varies. Some can only catch small or wild ghosts but are unable to subdue big and fierce ghosts, who only surrender to priests with greater supernatural powers. Therefore, priests are divided into several classes. While performing magic, the priest may be assisted by a t'ung-shih [instructor] who is a less spiritually gifted person. The latter can only assist the priest but cannot engage the ghosts alone, and so his remuneration is still less. He may be fed for the services rendered without extra rewards.

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
● 553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /551/
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1. II, p. 317.

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2. Page 165.

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A In giving the name the Akha select the name of a re-
551 cently deceased family member.

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439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

/40 cont'd/
421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while [263] eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 262 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are 252 entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [415] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/65 cont'd/

793 several times and then put back on the ground. After that he was entertained with a meal and wine. Then they returned to the altar. The ceremony was now over.

The initiation ceremony of the civilian Taoist priests was similar to that of the military group. The only difference between them was that they did not have the part performed in the yard. Moreover, at the time the civilian priests chanted before the altar, when they kneeled down after chanting, they combed the hair of the candiate with a wooden comb, which was not done by the military priests.

793 554 /66/ After the Taoist initiation ceremony, the new priest was given a Taoist name. The names given by the two groups were entirely different. Either group, however, has a set of five characters any one of which is used as a prefix to another character in formulating a two-character name. The five characters of the civilian group were "Yin, Yün, Tao, Miao, and Wan," and those of the military group were "Ying, Sheng, Fa, Hsien, and Wan." The method of formulating a Taoist name was to put any one character after one of the five characters. For instance, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village was a civilian Taoist priest. His Taoist name was Yin-ts'ai. Thus every Taoist priest's name clearly indicates whether he is a civilian or military priest. Moreover, the order of the Taoist names is followed by father and son. As Lu Tsun-ying's Taoist name is Yin-ts'ai, his son's Taoist name would be Yün-X. His grandson's Taoist name would be Tao-X. At the end of the series, they start over again at the beginning. There is no age limit for the Taoist initiation. During the initiation ceremony which I observed there were five candiates, of whom the oldest was about twenty and the youngest one was a two- or three-year-old unweaned child who was carried by his mother. Right after the initiation the older ones begin to learn to chant the liturgies and to perform other ritual matters from the older priests, and after some time they could carry out their duties as priests. The younger ones have to wait for a period of years, before studying but once one is initiated, one is qualified to have the status of a Taoist priest.

/66 cont'd/

715 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
713 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/134 cont'd/

764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second month, twenty-seventh day. (Saturday)

The program for the tso-chai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call back the soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests, 554 793 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each [179] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

/135 cont'd/

554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

/93 cont./

M 114 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said,

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 [163] Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [513] [833] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bride-[152] groom into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of [782] [769] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days addi- [775] tional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, women, and children, with no differences other than that the [554] sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/124/

Chapter 8

Art

a) Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation

531/ [532] The Meau know neither sculpture nor painting. They do, however, have a marked gift for ornamental representation, which is shown especially in the ornamentation of their clothing. The skirts of the women and girls are provided with stylized plant designs, usually floral motifs (Ill. 61 and 86).[1] The diversity of these designs is extraordinary. On one woman's skirt alone I counted 22 different designs, not including the rich border ornamentation. I offer the drawings in Fig. 8 to Fig. 13 as examples of these floral designs. Figures 8, 9, 10, and Fig. 11 show the designs in the positive, that is to say, they show how the design-drawing actually appears on the skirt after the wax coating has been boiled off; Figures 12 and 13, on the other hand, represent the rough drawings which are put on the fabric with wax prior to the dyeing. The batik technique will be described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

The embroidery and appliqué work put on the clothing (see Colored Plates II, III, and IV,[2] as well as the detailed description in the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") show astonishingly great imagination and feeling for ornamentation and color composition. Geometric forms, as well as stylized animal motifs, such as snails, are popularly used in this work, whereas figure representations are entirely absent. /125/ /Fig. 8 appears here./

[532] That, aside from the purely ornamental, there is a feeling among the Meau for figure representation can clearly be seen in the children's drawings made upon my suggestion, even though these drawings primarily reveal the talent of the women for the ornamental. Moreover, a marked individual talent is shown, as has already been pointed out in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section "Mental Development." Among [554] the women, for instance, there are always some who enjoy special prestige as designers of beautiful batik patterns. Even

1 [See ext 116, pp 449 and 620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 240-241, 437, 563 - "]

/176 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they
[302] do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the
[292] back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
756 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
787 spirit of all the shamans, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsŭ, and the three pairs of
[782] assistant spirits, tă fŭ yé, ltĭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé. The teacher-
776 spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
[801] Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/323 cont./

292 Against rain, the men wear coarsely plaited rain hats made of straw.

The men's clothing of the Meau does not differ from the
291 clothing of the boys. As Lajonquière (1) remarks, men's
184

1. II, p. 307.

[177] clothing is the same among all the tribes. Only the tribes that live in close contact with the Chinese are said to resemble them more and more in dress.

Another author, Abadie (2), also mentions fur-lined vests

2. Page 153.

such as the cold continental climate of Yunnan probably requires, but not that of Indochina or Thailand. The statements of other authors, such as Lajonquière (3) and Savina (4), show that the

3. II.

4. II, p. 211.

clothing of the Meau otherwise, even in other countries, does not essentially differ from that described here. /324/

I could not find footgear anywhere among the Meau in Thailand. Other authors, too, mention this. It is also stated,
[177] however, (1) that some Meau have adopted the Chinese custom

1. Abadie, p. 153.

[824] of wearing sandals with soles made of rattan fibers or bamboo or even Chinese slippers made of canvas. Sandals plaited out of bamboo fibers are also mentioned. One author (2) reports

2. Savi[illegible], II, p. 211.

[554] that among the various Meau tribes in Tonkin the clothing of

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[956] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[2] [see cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]
[3] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

576 Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the [576] Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of [554] greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

Miao AE5
Akha A04

M /460 cont./
181 to observe this talent for languages. The Meau usually speaks
[191] at least one and usually two or more foreign languages in addition to his mother tongue. To possess knowledge is regarded among the Meau as wise; a person without knowledge is stupid,
M as they say. It was often expressed: one who masters life,
[46] knows how to do the work in the house and in the fields properly,
[555] is wise. The desire for the best performance is already shown by this attitude, and likewise by the competitive games of the children (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section,
M "Children at Play and Work").
181 Almost all the authors mention the indomitable desire
648 for freedom of the Meau, which is already apparent from their historical traditions and the organization of their army, as well as their aversion to being ruled by members of other peoples. Abadie (3) asserts: "It is necessary to mention the repugnance

3. Page 163.

with which the Meau suffer their subordination under a Thai chief. Even if this is limited merely to trifling matters which only rarely affect the life of the Meau..." Savina (4) also

4. II, p. 232.

emphasizes this desire for independence, and Lajonquière (5)

5. II, p. 302.

gives a brief outline characterization: "The 'Meau' is regarded as an intelligent and skillful worker. The characteristic trait of his moral attitude is his deep love of freedom. At the slightest punishment or limitation, he sets out with all his belongings to seek a corner where he will find freedom. He is courageous and daring, keeps his word, and is open in his speech."
A Moreover, I found the Meau physically strong, hardened,
M and capable of great resistance against hunger, thirst, and all
147 physical exertion. The women, however, sometimes appear

/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. 231 511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated ● 556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, [227] tun, sâr co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

/40 cont'd/

421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
● 556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
648 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

/19 cont./

M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
M 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
[556] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[527] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described [184] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The [551] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen [354] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just [778] the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and M the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The 342 partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars [353] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families [556] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17). [251] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is [231] for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig 514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women. Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain- M ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the 251 storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air. If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down. [813] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi- M cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain 241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural 171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the 352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area consists of land routes and waterways. The most important C waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a 487 comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth, extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang, another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

2:Ling & Ruey--69 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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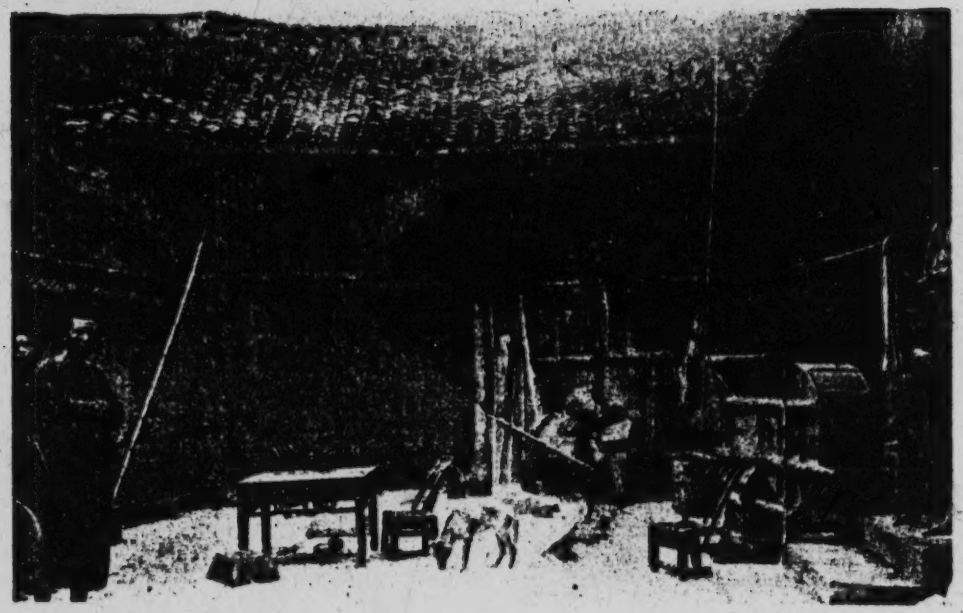


Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

/76 cont./

252 [222] The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 [415] Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they 252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half 262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several [556] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[304] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting,
fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced
by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver
rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were
wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race
horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver
hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or
four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver
comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver
chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore
no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were
also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on
not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men.
The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited
a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells,
and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and
even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This
description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing
Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places
as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
684 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
[837] they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/95 cont./

584 Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been
[177] thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine
[556] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ɲaŋ˨ tɕɤ˥ mp'a˨), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense
[782] has to take place, which is called /soŋ˨ t'iɤ˥), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally
[583] consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat.
[556] The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon
[583] the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash
584 and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom. [301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's 585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's [177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's [756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and [782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense [787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kowtows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and [556] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At 585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense 782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine. [752] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
575 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[552] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/100 cont./

000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich
[556] sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[752] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled
764 in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[752] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [842] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [177] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" [755] to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "wash- [783] ing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seek- [777] ing resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies [842] performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [554] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/156 cont./

(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ɕi˧ zoŋ˩] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother/chiu-mu; is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

[203] [602] [292] [493] [843]

/168 cont./

*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [231] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some bystanders' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the [178] Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

[776] [556] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[787] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

/169 cont./

(7) The Great Yen-lao Shen

*782 This shen is sacrificed to after the death of a person in [776] a family. It is said this shen may be frightened by the sound of [765] wailing and crying, and they ask him to excuse them, and also protect the family wealth. A square table is set up to the right [556] of the main entrance inside the main house, and on it are placed seven stacks of paper money, in which three sticks of incense are stuck in. On the side is a bowl of chaff, already burnt. There are also seven bowls of wine and seven piles of mi-pa. Behind the table is a bamboo frame, on which seven strings of silver paper ingots are hung. The sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands before the table, uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After this he divines with the *[787] chiao-tzu. When it is found that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the sacrifice. After inviting the spirit to accept the sacrificial objects, the sorcerer-priest takes a little recess. The host then takes out a certain number of pieces of cooked beef and divides them into seven piles on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup and a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck seven pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer-priest then resumes his original position and invites the shen once more to take the offerings. After *[787] divining with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper and utters the incantation to send off the shen.

(8) The Great Yen-t'ang Shen

[765] They sacrifice to this shen for the same reason as that for [776] the Great Yen-lao shen. The ritual is also the same. But the arrangements are marked by the absence of the bamboo frame and the silver paper ingots. The other things such as the paper money, wine, mi-pa, and chopsticks are the same, except that each item numbers five instead of seven and pork is used instead of beef, also in five piles.

/174 cont./

*782 755 tea, five piles of mi-pa, five stacks of paper money. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding a ritual knife and a chiao-tzu, squats in front of the winnowing basket. *[787] He utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu, sips the tea, and states the reason. When the divination indicates that the shen can cure the ailment, then he again takes a cup of tea and utters an incantation into the cup, and rubs the tea on the eyes of the patient. After this the host and his friends and relatives in the village come to the house, and after they are assembled, the sorcerer-priest burns the paper to send off the shen.

The ritual for the Day Tea Shen is the same as that for the Early Tea Shen. That for the Night Tea Shen is also the same, except that it is held inside the house and that when all arrangements are in order and the sorcerer-priest is ready to perform the lights are extinguished.

(18) Offering Thanks to the Earth

*782 556 [776] A Miao family which has held a Welcoming the Dragon ceremony has dug a "dragon chamber" in the center of the main house (see "Welcoming the Dragon"), which is the place where the dragon shen is. Offering Thanks to the Earth is also called "Comforting the Dragon," to make the dragon shen happy in his chamber, thus bringing prosperity to the household. Therefore in Offering Thanks to the Earth the dragon chamber becomes the center of activities. They draw the eight diagrams outside it *782 with powdered lime. In the middle of the diagrams are written the two characters chung-ying /"the center"/. Outside the diagrams is drawn a circle. Outside the circle are drawn five bows with arrow and the four characters chiu kung pa kua /"nine palaces, and eight diagrams"/. Twenty-three bowls are used: eleven bowls of wine; five bowls of uncooked rice, with a stick of incense and a candle inserted in each: five bowls of mi-pa; one bowl of tofu; and one bowl of tao-t'ou with a pair of chopsticks placed on it. There are also ten stacks of paper money, laid on each diagram within the circle and one

[18 cont.]

301 two silver bracelets and two or three finger rings. But when they put on their best embroidered clothes, then they would wear a kind of silver headgear with different kinds of silver pins in the chignon, and at least two or three solid silver necklaces, sometimes as many as a dozen; the number of bracelets and finger rings they wear is also doubled. They would have still more silver jewelry on the dress or attached to the waist. The [556] quantity of silver worn is an index to the wealth of the family, and so during festivals the women become exhibits in every family.

3. Marriage

584 Marriage among the Miao is mostly the result of love, but the mediation of the match-maker and the engagement ceremony are necessary before fixing the date of marriage. Young men and women [19] at the "liu sheng [reed-wind instrument] dance" in the first lunar month may openly fall in love with each other without the intervention of parents or brothers of the family. In ordinary times, especially during the holidays, they may also court each other at will. So on the mountain slope or in the field we often observe scenes of "yao-ma-lang" (i.e., love-making), when they sing songs to each other in questions [593] and answers. One party would ask a question in a song, and if the other party is willing she sings back the answer. These songs are extemporized, full of freedom and naturalness. Such serenades last till sunset when they begin to return home. After a suitable period of time, if their feelings persist then the parents would find a go-between to arrange the engagement. 836 This system of love and marriage seem very free, yet there is no promiscuity. Their conduct is regulated by unwritten laws and they all have a high sense of decency. For instance, yao-ma-lang is carried on out of sight of old people, and yet it has to be within sight of passers-by. Furthermore, men and women must remain at least five feet apart, and necking and embracing are taboo. (The Long-skirt Miao not far away from them permit

[166 cont.]

591 The young couple either remains in the paternal home or found a new household, in accordance with their choice.

Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo."
583 When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's
[556] family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious
584 custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great
583 numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

It is during the days which follow this festival that the great
584 majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

595 Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

39: Bernatzik--75 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/48/

Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 The day on which a child is born is an important day in
[842] the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

844 Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of
[556] some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, sever[illegible] with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and
[846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not
[178] taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition,

/49 cont./

846 After the delivery the mother remains on her bed, and the husband cares for her in the same manner as at the end of her pregnancy. The husband tries to relieve her of all work. The length of the confinement depends on economic circum-
[556] stances. Among poor people it often lasts only a few days, among prosperous women it sometimes extends up to thirty days. In any case, among the Meau, it is prolonged as much as possible, since it is believed that the longer the confinement the healthier and stronger the woman will become and the more children she will therefore be able to bear.

I was unable to find any traces of the couvade among the Meau. On the other hand, Abadie (1) reported that the custom

1. Page 165.

occurs among some Meau tribes in China. He adds that in Tonkin this custom is not practiced, but that one could observe practices that seem to be derived from it. The author then mentions as such practices: "Vegetarian diet for the husband; a prohibition against his being absent or crossing the heights that form the boundary toward the neighboring valleys." Much more convincing is an illustration of the couvade given by Chang-Kong Chiu in his Kultur der Miao-tse (2) and the illustration in

2. Page 59.

the Album Gotha (3). In these cases, however, it is not en-

3. Reproduced in the Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift, 1916, p. 281.

tirely certain whether these illustrations actually refer to the Meau or perhaps to another Chinese mountain tribe.

845 The Meau are especially happy about the birth of twins
[777] and regard it as an omen of good luck. They even try to raise
[732] weaklings, deformed children, and cripples. The hard struggle for survival, however, almost always prevents their growing up.

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by [775] putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, [554] women, and children, with no differences other than that the sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

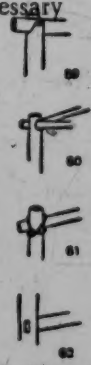
description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

764 "One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
775 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse,
is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the
[574] spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

/273 cont./

342 Caption for Fig. 70 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

[353] Key to symbols:

A = storage lofts
B = supporting posts
C = ridge post
H = crossbeam of roof
J = roof beam
K = longitudinal roof beam
L = ladder to the storage loft

/274/

[32] The boards of the house wall (Ill. 106), roughly hewn with the ax, are about three to four centimeters thick and between 15 and 35 centimeters wide. They are /Fig. 71 appears here/ not joined to one another tightly, but rather show narrower or wider spaces, through which air and light can enter the windowless room. The boards are thrust into the loamy ground and tied on the inside and outside to a lower and an upper crossbeam, which in turn are fastened to the supporting posts driven firmly into the ground (Fig. 71; further, the chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 117). Lajonquière (1), in connection with the

342
333
184

1. II, p. 306.

description of the Meau houses in Tonkin, mentions, besides walls "made of planks nowhere fitting together," which he calls the "ordinary type," also walls made of pounded earth, which occur only in "the most complete type of house." Abadie (2),

2. Page 156.

[556] too, mentions that the houses of the rich have walls of pounded earth or mud, and describes their erection as follows: "The pounded earth is prepared in two ways. The earth, kneaded with water, is dried in the sun in a form in the shape of a parallelepiped and, depending on the thickness of the wall, is put side by side in double or triple layers. In the second case the moistened earth is tamped down between two boards, the space

[SEE Cat 116, P 706 - ANALYST]

/274 cont./

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] [177] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only rep-sent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

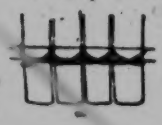


Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).[1]

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the
[251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).[2]

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.
[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

[1 [See cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
[2 [" " " p665 - "]

/278 cont./

2. Granaries

343 Whereas the dwellings of the Meau are always built on the ground, the granaries rest on piles up to two meters high, in order to protect the field produce from the humidity and from the unwelcome intrusion of mice, rats, pigs, and from the other domestic animals. There are open granaries, which usually are several meters long and three to /279/ four meters high and consist of merely a /Fig. 79 appears here/ platform covered by a leaf-roof. Field produce is stored here as long as it still needs drying. During the rainy season, however, granaries which are closed off by four board-walls and built very solidly are used. They have only one small doorlike opening, through which one has to creep in order to store ears of maize, sheaves of grain, millet, or tubers in it (Fig. 79).

3. Stables

231 Although special shelters are always built for chickens and
343 pigs, these domestic animals usually stay in the dwelling during the day or in its immediate vicinity. The pigs lie in the living room under a bench or table or at the hearth, as they please. /Figs. 80-82 appear here/ /280/ while the chickens busily search for food in all the nooks and corners. No scrap is scorned.
[417] Chicken coops in the form of large boxes (Figs. 80 and 81) are usually lodged at the house wall. They are made of boards joined together and are closed with a suitable piece of wood (Fig. 80, A). There are also, however, chicken houses resting on piles (Fig. 82).

231 The pigpens are put together with stout wooden sticks and are
343 of various sizes, according to the wealth of the owner /Figs. 83
417 and 84 appear here/ (Fig. 83). There are large troughs for fodder inside the pens (Fig. 84). At night the cattle are housed in
[554] hurdle-like stables. In them, on an underlayer of boards that is raised about 15 centimeters and rests on stones, and under a gabled roof covered with palm leaves, they are well-protected from dampness. The hurdle is enclosed on the sides with a

/319 cont./

291 are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of
[286] the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye-
[294] trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts").
[386] The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often re-
[292] placed, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark-
[439] blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese
[294] traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread, needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, always comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work
[292] clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has
[556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in
[531] the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as sometimes in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like that of the adults.

291 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well
531 as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[1] consists of the blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6), has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist. The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors. Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse, which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and 3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

1 [See cat 116, pp 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 492 - "]
3 [" " " pp 439, 563 - "]

/321 cont./

291 The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but
184 is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made
[101] of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue
531 apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2 and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit
482 the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and
531 Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not
[552] it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important
[292] piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [439] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable [439] if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [435] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great im- [595] portance. My informant had this to thank for being able to buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market:

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

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/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

M [562] [114]

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

M [763] [757] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

/410 cont./

321 Among other materials used for handicrafts bone and ivory must also be mentioned. Knives (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) and knife handles, are made out of them, and they are also used in crossbows. The chopsticks of the well-to-do are usu- [412] [556] ally made of ivory.

289 Finally, the making of paper is still to be mentioned. Young green bamboo is chopped up, after the outer covering and the pith are removed, into pieces about 15 centimeters long and five centimeters wide. A quantity of wood ashes equal to a fifth of the amount of bamboo /Fig. 373 appears here/ is added and, with the addition of water, is cooked for about twelve hours, during which the water that evaporates is replaced as needed. At the end of this period the bamboo mixture is soft. Then the substance is pounded in order to crush the wood fibers (Ill. 84).1 At the same time any large or hard particles of wood remaining are carefully removed, and the mass of fibers is further cooked in the same lye solution after liana bark pulverized between stones /411/ has been added. After the substance has reached the proper consistency, it is spread as evenly as possible (Ill. 85)1 on cotton cloth, which is stretched between wooden frames (Fig. 373), and dried in the sun. With a special bone knife (see the chapter, [413] "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) the dried and therefore finished paper is carefully lifted off. As was described, it is punched by means of special punches before its use in sacral performances (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

[531]

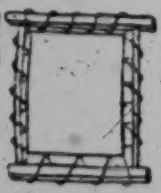

Fig. 373
Wooden Frame for Paper-making among the Meau.
1/60 nat. size.

1 [See cat. 116, p598-ANALYST]

/464 cont./

152 556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

439 435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yam, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

574 [123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /465/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.

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/108 cont./

A 595 [422] [606] [179] even the clothes of the secondary wives, belong to her. Among the Akha, the position of the daughter-in-law, who is the first to be called upon for assistance in all the difficult or unpleasant work of the women, is similar to her position among the Meau, and presumably has likewise been influenced by the Chinese. Among the Akha, as among the Meau, after the wedding both sexes are required to observe marital fidelity, A M 837 684 which among the Meau at least is not always followed. If a man commits adultery with a girl, it is considered unimportant, provided that there are no consequences. If there are, the man must marry the girl or pay an indemnity agreed upon. It is different if a man commits adultery with a married woman and the affair is discovered. In this case, the seducer has to pay the deceived husband the entire bride price or he will be punished by the village chief. Moreover, the disclosure of A M [558] such a case is a terrible disgrace for the seducer, whose prestige in the community suffers greatly (see the section, "Dissolution of Marriage," in this chapter).

The obligation for marital fidelity for both sexes is stricter among the Akha than among the Meau.

A 184 837 Telford (1) reports that among the Akha of Kengtung

1. Page 108.

a married, but childless woman may have sexual intercourse now and then with an unmarried man. If she becomes pregnant, her husband has to /109/ slaughter a pig and give it to her lover. I assume that the reference to a slaughtered pig means that a sacrificial feast must be arranged.

A M 837 432 583 M 174 583 432 Wife exchange, the lending of wives, and outright wife-purchase, under which I do not include the indirect purchase for marriage described above, are equally unknown among the Meau and Akha. It can be assumed, I think, that in former times among the Meau a purchase of wives in some form as yet unknown might have been practiced. In any case this is indicated by the fact that the Meau believe it is not proper to sell the household broom, because this would be tantamount

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
578 easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such
595 sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
[583] know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

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A M 524 526 171 is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can there be any thought of influences coming from Europe. Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the frequent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect a common origin.

A M 541 171 [525] There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are sometimes arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks, as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples. Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these fights.

A M 857 561 [252] Children begin to perform work at the age of four among both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect firewood (Ill. 38),[1] which they carry home in their own small wood /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields, carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93),[2] and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers, a particularly important task in a country where there is neither mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys, both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having complained about work that was too hard.

A M 857 561 461 Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games, there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[1] [See cat. 116, p 272 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", p 643 - "]

/69 cont./

A M 857 561 461 is first of all adjusted to their physical strength; in short, the playful imitation of adult activity is automatically replaced by actual work as soon as the necessary strength is there. Secondly, the work depends upon the seasons since, in general, the work of the Meau is conditioned by them.

Otherwise, there is no regulation of activity, either within the work group or with respect to the time that is to be spent at work and at play. Everything is arranged according to the work of the adults, into which all the children are always drawn. At the time when the fields are cultivated or when new villages are to be laid out, everyone must work uninterruptedly according to his strength from dawn to dusk, but during the period after the harvest there are long stretches of leisure, and the days are then filled with laughter and games. In any case, there is no more importance attached to a child's reaching the working age than to his completion of the sixth year, which is so significant for our children.

/70/ In general, it can be said that both sexes at about the age of sixteen are fully able to perform the work of the adults.

2. The Children's Group

A M 857 [156] As soon as the children of the Meau and Akha are three or four years old, they are admitted into the children's group (Ill. 14). Even earlier, however, they are taken along by their older siblings, on whose backs they participate in the games. There seems to be hardly any eccentrics among the children; at any rate, I never saw a child going about by himself.

M 857 157 The composition of the children's group varies greatly and depends on which children happen to have free time. Among the Meau, the leader of the group is always the child present at the moment who is physically the strongest, although there is no noticeable competition for the position of leader. All of them, however, know exactly who is the strongest, and accordingly they submit to him without demur. Sometimes there are scuffles within the group. Competition

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182 limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582 lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[434] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ʔ ʑ̊ i˥] in the Miao language, and a ku woman
is called [mp'ɑ˥ ʑ̊ i˥]. Most of the ku women are loved by
their husbands, /200/ which is called /t'ɕio˧ ʑ̊ i˥/, meaning
seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/206 cont./

M 174 *535 at Nan-Yang. They very much resemble the drum dance of the Hung Miao today. This strengthens the belief that the drum dance was brought into the Miao area during the Han dynasty. Further, according to the legend still prevalent today in the C [175] [535] Miao area, in ancient times the Miao lived in Honan. The ancient Chinese records refer to the Mao Jung at Yin-ti in Honan province. From the geographical standpoint the theory also seems close to facts.

M *535 The drum dance of the Miao may be divided into two kinds: the solo dance and the duet dance. The solo dance is done by one person beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping the waist of the drum (Illus. 84-116). The duet dance is done by two persons beating the drum and dancing and one person M [562] [534] tapping (Illus. 81, 82, and 83). There is no restriction as to sex, any combination being permitted.

The size of the drum was probably set in former times, but now there are no uniform requirements. The drum is hoisted on a wooden frame and the stick /pang/ used for tapping is about a ch'ih long, and the drumstick is about half a ch'ih.

There are two kinds of dances: the drumstick dance and the fist dance, the difference being that in the former the drum is struck with the drumstick and in the latter with the fist. The M [562] fist dances, except for the ta-pa-pa dance (see later), are men's dances and are not practiced by women. As for the drumstick dances, although they are for both men and women, there is a certain number exclusively for men. When we observed the Miao dances we felt at first that the movements were rather complicated, but after detailed analysis they are rather simple. Since within the short space of five minutes they can dance over 20 different steps in very rapid motion, each being interchangeable with the other, on-lookers cannot help but feel that the steps are extremely intricate. Following are accounts of the drumstick dance and the fist dance.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

piece of gray cloth with the Chinese character meaning "to inform" on it. The father accompanied this procession. When they got to their destination a feast was held, at which the pig was made into the chief dishes. 852

Naming of Children. Miss Li said that boys were named after animals and girls "Mei" (daughter, or younger sister) with a number or other designation to indicate their position in the family. I did hear one boy given the Miao word for Rooster as a name; but most of the boys had Chinese names of good meaning. In one family all the five boys except the youngest had names in which one of the two characters was the same for all. When the oldest boy went to middle school in Lung-li he took a "school name." The names I heard for girls were "Mei" with some word of pleasant meaning, such as "Happiness," "Treasure," "Purity." 553

In the case of boys a "generation name," chosen before the child was born, was also given. He was not called by this name, however, until he had his own wife and family. It was kept in the family records and in those of the *lien pao*. In the village of Yang-chia-sai the oldest generation had the generation name "Heng," with an individual one, the next generation "Cheng," and the third "Tan." But several men of the second oldest generation were still called by their "baby names," and none of the third generation by anything but the familiar names or nicknames. Girls kept their childhood name until they entered their husband's homes permanently, after which they were known as XXX (husband's surname) XX (maiden name) Family; that is, XXX of the XX Family. After her husband died she was known as Widow XX (maiden name) and, if, as almost always happened, in the same village there were several widows with the same maiden name, she was known as Widow XX whose eldest son was named Y. For instance, if a man in Yang-chia-sai, whose surname, of course, was Yang, married a woman from the Wu family, she would be known after she entered his family 551 562

4: Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

511 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife
562 were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Edu-**
292 **cation.** While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*. 796 782

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example. 796 782 252 [562]

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health. 796 782 527

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[292] [177] The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. 291 562 But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

131 /131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their MIAO AE5
living at high altitudes and their difficulty in acclimating in the lower valleys. In fact they seek to compensate for a lower altitude by a higher altitude. They require a severe climate, which they enjoyed on the high plateau of Yunnan and Szechwan and which they were forced to evacuate. They live especially on limestone peaks, and when some families live at the bottoms of cirques, the altitude of these goes up at least to a thousand meters. They prefer steep slopes where their little house appears to be suspended like a cage on the side of a wall.

Section 2

Physical and Moral Natures

142 147 143 The Meo is short and thick-set, his average height must be about 1.58 meters. He is right to be proud of the name Meo which was given to him by the Annamese as a contemptuous title. As a matter of fact, he climbs like a cat. Along trails where we must use hands and knees, he may be seen going ahead slowly but with supple ease, even though he often is carrying a loaded pack-basket on his back. His resistance to fatigue is very great while he remains above 800 meters altitude, below this he thinks he is in danger of being taken ill in the hot season.

142 157 [461] ●562 142 The Meo has a nearly white complexion, hard and prominent features, brown eyes and hair like all the inhabitants of Indochina, aside from a few unusual specimens with reddish hair and blue eyes. He is as hard-working as the Thai is indolent. More courageous than most of the natives, he would be as dangerous to have as an enemy as he has been useful to us as an ally on certain occasions, such as the conquest of Dongquan in 1893. The Meo woman is not pretty. She is a crude country-woman and a hard worker whose sturdiness is incompatible with all grace and style. However, the young women attract one's eye by the freshness of their pink and white faces, the air of health and vigor which they give forth, and their well-developed figures, which are emphasized by their very picturesque costumes. /132/ The high pitch and the weakness of their voice makes it resemble a small girl's. In short, youth and freshness endow the crude woman of the mountain with the same allure as all women. Unfortunately, like her neighbors of the valleys, she is subjected to hard toil in the fields at an early age. Moreover, she marries young and the cares of maternity added to those of house-keeping cause her to lose her shape and to take away her fresh appearance very quickly.

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide
[562] to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
[626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's
[684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the
[851] seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

/119 cont./

764 This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),
[775]

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; more-
[789] over, a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In
[767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member
775 of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),
[114]
[562]

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.
765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237 snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
171] Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instru-
171 ment, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
533 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
534 form (Ill. 75)[4] among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral in-
[778] strument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as
● [562] women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

4 [see cat. 116, p 574 – ANALYST]

/145 cont./

534 For the manufacturing process, the length of the pipes, which, along with the diameter, determines the pitch, is always chosen so that their tone is somewhat lower than the one actually aimed for; finally the instrument is tuned by appropriately shortening the tubes. Each pipe is provided with a /Figs. 24-27 appear here/ blow hole that leads into the body of the mouth organ, and with a keyhole that is stopped with a finger. The tone is produced by stopping the keyhole and blowing into the pipe. In addition the vibration parts for the mouth organ are so constructed that the same tone is produced by blowing air in or by sucking it out. Not until the end of the process is the silver mouthpiece put on. The construction of this instrument makes it possible to breathe while playing. Thus, during the sacral dances one can play uninterruptedly. This is very important since the players always dance and play at the same [535] time. The actual use of the instrument is best shown by the drawings and photographs. While the intervals between the individual pipe tones are fixed, the absolute pitch of the basic flute is left to the taste of the manufacturer; it also depends on the size of the instrument. Thus the mouth organs differ considerably from one another in basic pitch, but agree melodically. The use of the pitch pipe is not customary.

[533] /146/ Another instrument of the Meau, which is especially popular among lovers and is played by both sexes, is the jew's-harp (Fig. 27). It consists of a sheet of brass or bronze with a vibrating tongue in the middle. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the right thumb; the oral cavity acts as the sounding board (Ill. 77). 1

Furthermore, there are two kinds of flute. The simple rod flute (Ill. 76) 1 consists of a wooden or bamboo body and has six finger holes on the upper side and one on the under side tuned in major. /Figs. 28-29 appear here./ The hole on the under side is sometimes stopped. The simple construction of the flute is shown in the drawings (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). Both sexes play this flute as well as the one described below. [114] Lajonquière (1), too, mentions flutes and mouth organs. He
[562]
[533]

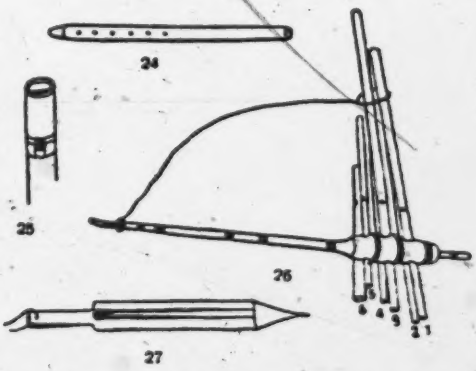
1. II, p. 311.

1 [see cat 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His
[114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs
[562] with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau
[533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages
[463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area.
533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the
[243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

/176 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on
[562] the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The
[302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair-style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing
[292] mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of
756 his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
787 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
[782] spirit of all the shamans, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsŭ, and the three pairs of
[776] assistant spirits, tă fŭ yĕ, lŭ fŭ yĕ, and săn fŭ yĕ. The teacher-
[801] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau. Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

[788] [783] [562] [177]

778 411

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 571 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, say, a joining together of the young people at the time of initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

[881] [782]

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

532 778 [779]

/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house
596 upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. Moreover, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the sons who are already independent and own their own houses receive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot
[608] inherit anything.

428 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For cal-
803 culating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however, and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions. Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament; if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is distributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance with the system just described. The same procedure is followed with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from
[562] any inheritance, although they retain what was already their
[422] personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of the deceased who are already independent and therefore no
[597] longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

428
562

1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest
[597] male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the
[589] widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

M 687 /250 cont./

In former times treason may also have been punished by death, but none of my informants could remember a case.

M 696 /251/ Capital punishment is executed in three ways. Beating the criminal to death is regarded as the mildest form, and decapitation is regarded as more severe punishment. As the most severe form, the condemned person is first shot and then beheaded. Capital punishment is not only meted out to men, M [562] but also to women.

Dhuraratsadorn (1), as he writes, could not learn anything

1. Page 170.

about capital punishment. It was only reported to him that condemned persons "quietly disappeared." The author continues: M [626] "Nobody wants to have anything to do with the family of the executed person, and even children refuse to play with his children, because the Meau believe that they are persons of a bad breed."

A 673 Among the Akha, too, there are fixed punishments for various offenses. Theft, robbery, arson, bodily injury, and [681] adultery, as well as the violation of the incest prohibitions and false testimony by a witness, are regarded as crimes.

M [673] In contrast to the Meau, the Akha make no distinction between a deed that was premeditated and one caused by negligence. Even the latter is punished as though it had been done intentionally. Like the procedure among the Meau, the A 692 sentence is made in accordance with established customary law with which the older men are thoroughly familiar through experience. The verdict itself is decided by a majority vote of the assembly of house-owners and the decision is regarded as incontestable; it is announced by the village chief.

A 674 In the villages visited by me, I was told that murder and homicide, as well as kidnapping, had not occurred within human memory; I could therefore not ascertain the penalties for these crimes. It was always said that such serious crimes do not occur among the Akha.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/377 cont./

M 264 [262] [412] however, they take something along in order to eat at noon. The meals consist of some coarse maize dough in a bucket, some beans, and some vegetables. Spoons or chopsticks are used. Only on festive occasions is meat eaten. Some pork is always smoked and saved for important guests."

[574] [562] Meals are eaten together, except when strangers are present as guests (Ill. 106, 107);[1] even for the cold snack in the fields all sit down together.

A 262 No differently than the Meau, the Akha, too, in addition to their domestic animals and cultivated plants, use a great number of wild plants and all kinds of animals for food. Of the birds /378/ they disdain vultures and ravens, but not the hornbill. They also do not eat the numerous lizards ignored also by the Meau, as well as the larvae of flies, but on the other hand they do consume dogs, which are not eaten by the Meau.

A 252 [462] The preparation of meals among the Akha is likewise clean, but it differs in several ways from Meau cooking, while being related to it in the principal features. Among the Akha, too, it is usually the women who prepare the food, but the men very frequently help.

As a rule, the Akha cut meat into small pieces and cook it in water; they also chop it up, season it with spices, and then consume it raw. Curdled blood or the entrails of animals are prepared and eaten in the same way. Cooking pits and heated stones are also unknown to the Akha. Besides lard and the suet of the hunting booty, and in addition to the fats, the seeds of a sesame-like, oily plant must be mentioned. They A [782] are used in connection with offerings and simply by adding these seeds to the rice before it is cooked (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo").

A 251 [262] The basic foodstuff among the Akha is likewise rice, which is eaten at every meal. First of all it is freed from the husks and cleaned, and then it is ready to be cooked. Among the Akha its preparation is different then among the Meau. They soak it in water overnight and then cook it in the same

[1] [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that M [562] the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and [114] children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

M [763] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death [757] easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/393 cont./

A 411 [283] [824] [415] cord is usually wound with a strip of bast in the center, because the most wear and tear is there. The arrows (Fig. 325), often poisoned at the tip, are made of bamboo throughout (Ill. 35)[1] and feathered with the same material. They are kept and carried around in quivers (Ill. 30[2] and Fig. 326) of wood or likewise bamboo.

The accuracy of the crossbow marksmen is considerable. I saw a little squirrel fall at the first shot at a distance of 20 A [224] meters. The penetrating power of the crossbow of the Akha is also very great. Stags and does are regularly killed even without poisoned arrows, and the Akha are able to slay even tigers with their crossbow, but they prefer to avoid these large cats. /Figs. 321-326 appear here. /

/394/

Chapter 20

Military Affairs and War

M 181 721 The Meau are a warlike people who, at the risk of their lives and property, resist any subjugation and courageously face the enemy in defiance of death. Savina (1) describes them:

1. II, p. 232.

"Mild and timid in peace, they are wild and cruel in war."

M 648 In fact, it was only their infinitely superior greater strength of numbers that enabled the Chinese to subjugate the M 701 Meau. Every Meau who is able to carry a weapon is subject to military service, as well as boys as soon as they are able [702] to handle the men's crossbow. Children and women, on the other hand, are excluded from active military service, though [562] history has recorded instances of outstanding personal contributions in war by Meau women. Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ also mentions them: "Many a woman has become famous in war..."

1 [see cat 116, p270 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p249 - "]

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
[264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[832] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[521] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[602] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
[562] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for
[609] women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at
[123] all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before
the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward
us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their
presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant.
Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor
enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many
peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires
about the wife and children of the host. As has already been
pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
"Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
[562] case the women before the men, since that is regarded as im-
proper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left
over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only
then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series
of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female
against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man,
[832] if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it.
This also applies to married women who therefore may pour
brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo
regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the
chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage
Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/VII cont./

534 Ills. 75-77. Musical instruments.

Ill. 75. The mouth organ of the Meau, which differs in size and construction from the instruments of the other mountain peoples of Farther India (cf. Ill. 25). The instrument is carefully carved out of wood and mounted with silver rings. The inserted flutes are made of bamboo. As among the Akha, the instrument is played exclusively by men and usually simultaneously with dancing. The mouth organ is of greatest significance for the Meau as a sacral musical instrument.

[562] [535]

Ill. 76. Simple rod-flute of the Meau, made of bamboo, with one blow hole and six finger holes on the upper side and one finger hole on the under side. The latter is kept shut during the playing.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp. The instrument consists of a brass or bronze plate, the center of which is cut out to form a tongue. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the thumb of the right hand; the oral cavity forms the sounding board. A change in the size of the oral cavity produces a change of pitch.

Ills. 78-80 and 91-96. Means of subsistence.

411 Ill. 78. Flintlock gun, the chief weapon in war and for hunting, which the Meau make themselves, as well as the black gunpowder. The gun does not have a butt like the European gun, but merely a pistol stock. Lead or iron bullets are used. Although accuracy and penetrating power are slight, measured by European weapons, the Meau kill even big game with their guns.

Ill. 79. Crossbow. Next to the flintlock guns, the crossbow is the most important weapon of the Meau. Nevertheless, it is of less importance than among the Akha, who have almost no guns, and is usually used only for hunting birds and small game. With poisoned arrows, however, even large game and pachyderms are killed.

[223] [224]

223 Ill. 80. As passionate hunters, the Meau are masters at setting traps. The illustration shows a hunter who is setting a snare to catch wild birds. As soon as the bird touches the trigger stick, the noose jerks upward and the booty is caught in it.

113, 592, 131, 563, 105 Miao AE5

[For information pertaining to the household size, distribution, and tribal subdivisions of the Miao, see 2: Wiens AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 282-284, 286-287. For a cultural summary of the Miao, see ibid., category 116, Pp. 51, 318. --Analyst]

113, 427, 563 Miao AE5

/For a short description of the relationship of the Miao and the Lolo (Yi), and the effects of Communist rule on this relationship, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 83-84/

/vi/

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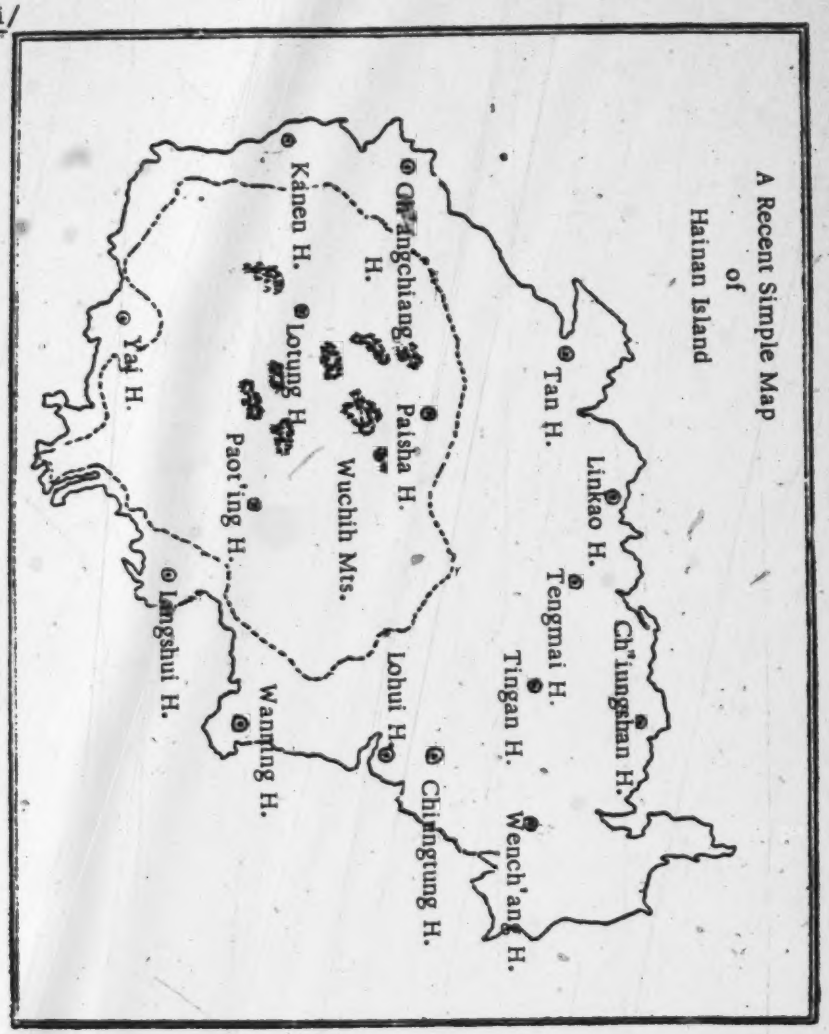

162 The space encircled by the broken line is the Li area where both the
● 53 Li and the Miao are intermingled, although the Miao people live in
361 the more remote area high in the mountains. The actual distribution of the Miao population in the three hsien (Pai-sha, Lo-tung, and Pao-t'ing) has not yet been investigated in detail, but its general distribution can be roughly estimated.

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PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, however, sharply divides the dominant from the minor peoples — the *hsien*[1] towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily

[1] A *hsien* is a district — a subdivision of a province, roughly comparable to our county.

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563 go through one of their villages while the women were away in the fields without knowing that he had seen non-Chinese people, for their faces look no different, and the costumes of the men are the same, while the houses, though perhaps poorer, do not deviate from ordinary rural Chinese architectural standards except for the layout of the village. Unless he were a very persistent and hardy traveler, however, the chances that he would reach such a village are remote, for these people inhabit refuge areas, and their homes are tucked away in the higher valleys and on the less fertile mountain slopes. Along the larger rivers, the main highroads of China, the traveler would see only Chinese.

The one province of China which is least fertile, least productive, and least influenced by the far-reaching arm of Western culture is Kweichow. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kweichow contains a larger proportion of non-Chinese "aborigines" than the other provinces of southern China. With more aborigines and fewer Chinese, and with less immediate Chinese influence than elsewhere, Kweichow is the ideal place in which to study the non-Chinese—in this case the Miao. That is why, in 1940, Miss Portia Mickey went there.

114 121 Before she undertook to study the daily life of a Miao village, Miss Mickey had had some ten years of experience in China, during which time she acquired a knowledge of Chinese. Aside from her linguistic qualification, she is a natural field ethnographer. Quiet and unobtrusive, she masks with her mild personality keen powers of observation, discrimination, and persistence. To go alone into the most backward part of the most backward province of China in war time, to live there under local conditions of nutrition and sanitation, and at the same time to keep detailed records of everything that went on, was a feat of no little courage and endurance for a small woman no longer young, on her first anthropological expedition.

roughly comparable to our county.

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173 feudal lords; land was given to garrisons and soldier villages which they were to keep "from generation to generation."

The entire tale is too long to tell here, but one small portion may be of interest.[2a] During the first period of the reign of Han Wu-ti (140–135 B.C.) an envoy was sent to Nan-yüeh, in the region occupied by present-day Kwangsi and Kwangtung. During his visit he was offered a relish of betel pepper from Shu, an ancient state with its capital at Ch'engtu. When he inquired whence this relish came, he was told that it was brought from Tsang-ko in the northwest by a river which has its source in the mountains northwest of Ting-fan-hsien in Kweichow. Upon his return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an) he inquired further concerning this relish and was told that it was a product peculiar to Shu, from which it had been taken in private trade to Yeh-lang, a state in what is now the western part of Kweichow and Kwangsi. It occurred to the envoy that by this trade route a way might be afforded for an army recruited in Yeh-lang to proceed against wealthy Nan-yüeh. Accordingly, he memorialized the throne and the project of constructing a road to this river was started; but the road was never finished because the soldiers engaged upon it suffered too much from weariness, hunger, and the "dampness of the weather," and the expense of keeping native peoples from revolt was too great.

The tradition and folklore of those peoples who have no written language, as well as Chinese historical writings, support the contention of all Kweichow people that their ancestors were immigrants from other provinces. Some came from the region between the lakes of Tung-t'ing in Hunan and Po-ying in Kiangsi, some across the borders from Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Szechuan. Among them were forced or voluntary immigrants who came as families or clans, garrison soldiers without families who married women from non-Chinese groups, and in more recent years farmers, business and professional men, and officials. [6a]

●563 **Division of Peoples and Their Location.** S. R. Clarke[3] divides the people of the province

[2a] Cheng Teh-k'un, 1945. [3] Clarke, 1911.

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563 into six groups: First, two groups of Chinese — the Lao Han-jen ("Old Chinese"), who came as garrison soldiers from the ninth to the twelfth century and whose descendants through marriage with non-Chinese women are often taken at first to be tribes people, and the K'e-chia ("Guest people"). Some of the first speak an old Chinese dialect and their women wear most picturesque costumes. The headdress of the women in one group in An-shun Hsien gives them the name of Feng-t'ou jen (Phoenix-headed people). The K'e-chia first came from Kiangsi, not always willingly; later many came from Hunan and Szechuan. Second, the non-Chinese Kei-lao, Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia. Other western writers generally classify them by languages.

Chinese gazetteers give altogether just one hundred names for these peoples and suggest various methods by which they may be classified. In the notes to his translation of the Miao-Man section of the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh[4] Dr. Lin Yüeh-hwa places them in seven groups: the Miao proper, the Chung-chia, the Nung-chia, the Ch'i-lao, the Lo-lo, the Yao, and the P'o. The Research Bureau of the Sociology Department of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, of which Dr. Wu Tzu-lin was head, classified them as Lo-lo (more politely known as I-pien), Kei-lao, a Tai group, and Miao.

The I-pien are found in the extreme northwestern part of the province and are divided into T'u-mu or T'u-ssu, descendants of feudal lords, Hei-I, freemen and landowners, and Pai-I, serfs or slaves. Many of the Hei-I have in recent years taken the title and authority of T'u-ssu, while the latter have been rapidly disappearing. The Kei-lao, whose name is also pronounced Ch'i-lao, are found in fairly large numbers in P'u-ting, An-lung, and Lu-shan hsien. There are two explanations of the name Lo-lo. Some say it comes from the spirit basket (*lo lo*) hung up in the most sacred corner of the house. If this is so, their resentment against the name is understandable as an insult to their religion. The Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh[5] says that at the close of the Sui and the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty the capable leaders among the Man people [6b]

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were advanced to the status of Kuei-chu. The Lo-tien people east of Kweiyang then called the Kuei-chu of the Lo family by the abbreviated title of Lo-kuei, which was finally corrupted to Lo-lo. This same source gives the origin of the Ch'i-lao or Kei-lao as Szechuan, from whence they were spread over the provinces of Kweichow and Kwangtung. In this source and by themselves the Kei-lao are divided into ten groups with such interesting names as Ch'ing (Blue), Hung (Red), Yeh-t'ou (Head-adorning), P'i-p'ao (long robe), Ch'ien-t'ou (Head-shaving), Ta-ya (Teeth-knocking), Kuo-ch'uan (Pot-ring), and Ta-t'ieh (Iron-working).

The Tai group includes the Chung-chia, Tung-chia, Shui-chia, and T'ung-chia. Of these, the Chung-chia in the central and southern sections of the province and the Tung-chia in the southeastern are most numerous and widely distributed, while the Shui-chia in the four southern hsien of Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, and Tu-chiang and the T'ung-chia in Lo-ch'ang and San-chiang Hsien are few. The origin of the name, Chung-chia, is given in the An-shun Fu-chih as follows: originally the words were written 重甲, meaning "heavy armor," and refer to the heavy infantry of invading armies. There are references to immigrating clans by the name of Tung and T'ung and of garrison soldiers who took the name of their commander, Chung. These people all speak Tai dialects and probably came from Szechuan, the ancestral home of the Tai, or from Kwangsi. The Shui-chia are fairly recent arrivals from Kwangsi.

For the Miao people there are as many as eighty or ninety different names. At Ta Hsia University, following the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh,[6] they are classified as Hua (Flowery), Hei (Black), Ch'ing (Blue), Pai (White), and Hung (Red) Miao, according to the predominant color of the tribal dress. Of these the Hua Miao in the west and northwest and the Hei Miao in the southeast are most numerous and widespread, while the Ch'ing Miao and Pai Miao in the central and the Hung Miao in the northeastern parts of the province are much less numerous and

[7a]

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more restricted in distribution. All other 563
names apply to sub-groups.

These often seem to be rather in the nature 101
of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians.

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played 301
and still do play various roles in China. From 436
very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger [7] quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in Dynasty they used cowries in trade." Marco

[7b]

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brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and
563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the
463 whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-
596 workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (王) family. They had
764 intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one
342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one.
342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

[20a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark. 241 412

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make 241 412 463 563

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability. 241 412 463 563 [322]

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain. 415

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un. 231

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only 462

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which 796
were the greatest social events of the year,
for many villages joined in them and those 571
from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born.

These work-tasks and festivals involved 571
varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders.

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It 596
was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes.

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell 621
Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially en- [563]
titled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of
443 protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessaries as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means "family" or "tribe."
563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the "Miao tribe" or
101 "tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsï*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

of speaking of them. People, unless they wish to be rude, should speak and write of them as *Miao*, or *Miao-chia*. 563 101

Of the four races mentioned above, the Miao-chia and Chung-chia are numerous and important, the I-chia not so numerous but still important. Later on these will be dealt with at greater length. The Keh-lao, however, are now nearly extinct; many of them have married into Chung-chia and Old Chinese families. Some writers have spoken of them as extinct. As far as we know, there are now only several hamlets of them in the Anshun prefecture, which altogether do not number more than two or three hundred families. 563

These people claim, and rightly, we believe, to be the real aborigines of that region. In some parts of the province the Miao claim to be the aborigines, but where the Miao and Keh-lao occupy the same district, the Miao allow that the Keh-lao were there before themselves. From the similarity of names, we might suppose that these Lao or Keh-lao are the same as a branch of the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, southern Yunnan, and other regions. This, however, we think is not so, as we have good reason to conclude that the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, and elsewhere, are the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

563 same or closely related to the Chung-chia of Kweichow.

The language of the Keh-lao is quite different from every other spoken in the province, although like all the languages spoken in Kweichow it is syllabic and, we think, tonic. Most of them can also speak Chinese. The men dress as Chinese and wear the queue, but the women wear a costume peculiar to themselves, and have their hair done up in a knob at the top of their head, much like the style of a Taoist priest. Like all the other non-Chinese races the women do not bind their feet. In appearance they are, we think, most like the Miao.

All the Keh-lao we know or have heard of are in Anshun prefecture. Mr. and Mrs. Adam have visited some of them and have been kindly welcomed by them. About fifteen miles from Anshunfu, on the way to Ten-ten, an out-station among the Miao, is a Keh-lao hamlet where Mr. and Mrs. Adam always rest and have a meal, as there are no inns on the way to Ten-ten. The same family always entertains them, furnishing hot water for them, food for their coolies, and grass for their ponies. On the first occasion the old lady, when offered money for her hospitality, was quite offended, and said, "Ah well! don't come back again." However,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

the difficulty was got over by always taking a present for the hostess or her grand-daughter. We have been in that hamlet, and if we had not been told they were Keh-lao, should certainly have thought they were Miao.

563

The Keh-lao, like all the inhabitants of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, are great believers in demons and are very superstitious, but thus far we have had no opportunity of learning more of their religious notions. They are also known under the following names: *Hua*[1] Keh-lao, from the various colours in the dress of the women; *Ya-ya*[2] Keh-lao, from the custom of breaking a front tooth of a bride before she goes to her husband's home. They are also called the *Hung*[3] Keh-lao, that is the Red Keh-lao. Possibly Keh-lao means aboriginal, but this is only a guess. The Chinese have other names for them, but as these are the reverse of complimentary, out of respect for an ancient and vanishing people we shall not in these pages hand those names down to posterity.

[1] Hua = parti-coloured. [2] Ya = tooth. [3] Hung = red.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

774 A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it
778 is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries. A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is a living being that can speak. He has a definite character and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is lighting. It is this knife that causes the damage when lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

. . . . . .

177 The greatest changes in all their history are now taking place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited
797 these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the
563 Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years. Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and one graduate of the West China Union University gave the money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager for modern education and higher culture. With the continued help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese people, they can become an enlighteed race that will be an asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to the British Empire.

lk: Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impractic- ticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
161 Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[p. 66a]

11: Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

563 175 Szechwan was occupied by the Pre-Chinese aborigines called the Shu and Pa.[3] These were highly civilized by 1200 B.C. and had temples, schools, irrigation, etc. The Chinese entered the territory in small numbers about 200 B.C. From 250 A.D. they came in increasing numbers, but were not the main leading and controlling body until the sixteenth century. In 1449 a Chinese tyrant of exceeding cruelty massacred the majority of the population. The province, being such a rich prize, was soon re-populated by the Chinese from the other provinces.

125 *Method Employed in Blood-Grouping.*—Drops of blood were secured by pricking the lobe of the ear or the finger. This blood was placed in 5 c.c. of normal saline, and well shaken. A drop of standard serum from Group II and Group III was placed on separate marked cover slips. Using a small pipette, one drop of blood-suspension was added to each of the standard sera. The entire preparation was then well mixed and mounted on hollow ground slides and ringed with vaseline. After standing at room temperature for half an hour the preparation was examined by the low power objective, and the presence or absence of clumping was observed.

The sera employed were obtained from the Department of Pathology of West China Union University. All the sera were used up in the field during the examinations. The results are shown in the Table below:—

143

	O	*A*	*B*	*A B*	*Total*
Chwan Miao -	74	23	80	28	205
per cent.	36·1	11·2	39·0	13·7	
Szechwanese -	487	375	289	141	1,292[4]
per cent.	37·7	29·0	22·4	10·9	

808 Sincere gratitude and deep appreciation is extended to Professor R. Ruggles Gates for the inspiration given us in anthropological study. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and help—re sera and apparatus—given us by Drs. Lenox, Williams and Cheo, of the Department of Pathology. Our thanks are due to Dr. Agnew for taking the photographs: his dietetic and dental studies are to be published shortly. The blood grouping was done chiefly by Mr. S. C. H. Yang, who was assisted in part by Dr. Beh. The anthropological measurements, which have now been analyzed statistically, were done by Drs. Morse and Beh, assisted by Mr. Liao as recorder.

[4] Of these 1,292 Chinese, 1,000 were collected and/or observed by Dr. R. G. Lo and 292 by S. C. H. Yang.

12: Wu and Ch'en--1 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

General Conditions of the Miao-I in Kweichow

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Introduction

The year before last I was commissioned by certain organizations to investigate the conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow. After having received the order, I left for the Miao-I areas of the various hsien districts to start work on the spot. Unfortunately, the references I had previously gathered were of little use. After I had reached the Miao-I district, all that I had seen and heard through personal contacts in the wild mountains and lonely hamlets I recorded faithfully on the spot in the midst of fatigue and traveling. In three years I covered the whole province, and the amount of material I collected was immense. Before it had been organized and put into shape, inquiries came from many quarters concerned with the welfare of the Miao-I people, but these could not be replied to one by one. Furthermore, conditions in the Miao-I areas are quite different from those in the interior, and people who have never been there are prone to picture the Miao-I as a mysterious people and to distort the facts about them. The present article "General Conditions of the Miao-I Societies in Kweichow" serves as an introduction to a knowledge of the Miao-I areas. It is hoped that the readers will be pleased with this survey.

2. Racial Groups

1) Origin and History. Among the 450,000,000 Chinese nationals, there are a large number of ethnic groups. According to ancient history, there were the Hua-hsia, the Tung-i, the Ching, the Wu, the Pa-yueh, the Tung-hu, the Su-shen, the Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh [Turks], the Ch'iang, the Hsi-ts'ang [Tibetans], the Miao, the Yao, and many others. After a thousand years [2] of assimilation and amalgamation, those who

[2 cont.]

175 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the
563 Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic groups with different habits and customs.

We are here concerned with the origin and history of the
101 Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early
175 Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man"
[563] [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u [a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with
[133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys, and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

S [92 cont.]
684 then the life of the lover will be threatened when the affair comes to the knowledge of her husband or fiancé. If both lovers are killed, society takes no notice of the case; but if only one party is killed, the other could still prosecute the matter.

S There are other restrictions between men and women. If
562 male guests arrive, only the host of the family sits at the table,
574 and the mistress takes no part in the reception. Likewise, if female guests arrive, the hostess will act her part but the master of the house will ignore the visit, at most exchanging a few polite remarks. Male and female guests are rarely seen sharing the same table. On the other hand, when men and women are found wining and singing together the women would be considered as crazy and shameless, and public opinion would be to their detriment.

From this it may be seen that the relationship between men and women among the Sui-chia, although not reaching the extent of "not handing things to each other," is subject to the closest scrutiny from all sides.

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[113] The Story of the Miao Ancestors

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

M There are many different Miao-I tribes in Kweichow, but
174 in the opinion of modern anthropologists they fall into three
● 563 large groups. According to their geographical distribution those in the east are mostly the Miao, those in the south and the southwest are mostly the Chung-chia, and those in the northwest along the Wei-ning area are mostly the Lolo. The Miao probably came from Hunan. (Originally they were distributed in Central

[113 cont.]
174 China, and later due to pressure from the Chinese they migrated
●563 to the south.) The Chung-chia probably came from Yunnan and Kwangsi and together with the Siamese [Thai] belong to the Pai-Shan linguistic group. The Lolo came from the borders of Szechwan and Yunnan, and their language is of the same branch as that of the Burmese. To confirm or to disprove this
121 theory we have to be guided by two criteria in our study: first, the criterion of physical anthropology, and second, the criterion of cultural anthropology. Within the confines of physical anthropology, besides the measurement of head and nose indices and cheek-bone protrusion, the study of blood types has become a reliable standard of racial classification in modern anthropology. Within the confines of cultural anthropology the comparison of languages is an important method of study, while a comparative study of customs, folklore and myths is also exceedingly valuable.

The comparative study of myths and folklore is highly regarded by American anthropologists because the similarities in these tales can establish evidences of kinship and mutual influences between various ethnic groups. This method of study is generally known as the historical method of anthropology. It is not concerned with the historical value of mythology for the group, nor with its effect upon the tribal people, nor with its literary value. This [114] method is concerned only with an objective comparison of all the stories to determine the particular group to which the tribes belong and the route of their migration.

Mythology and folklore represent the background of a certain period and reflect the degree of civilization of a tribal group at the time the myths originated. Franz Boas, the leading anthropologist today, has collected over a hundred mythological tales among the Tsimshian Indians and the following is his conclusion:

> "It is obvious that in the tales of a people those incidents of the everyday life that are of importance to them will appear either incidentally or as the basis of a plot. Most of the references to the mode of life of the people will be an accurate reflection of their

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AE5

from T'ai. It then had a thin super-stratum of Pa people, With its Pa culture strongly influenced by Tibetan (Miao?) culture, imposed upon it. Thus, it is obviously at least controversial whether the Ch'u were of T'ai or of Miao stock. This problem would be easier to solve could we accept Lacouperie's adjective "Mon-Taic" for a common stock from which both Miao (mon) and T'ai derived. But, as Cochrane has pointed out,[54] considerable doubt is thrown on this theory by the fact that they originally used quite different sets of words in their language. Seidenfaden characterizes Lacouperie's "Mon-taic" theory "fantastic".[55]

In the view of the present writer, the explanation of the contradictions and perplexities lies in the multi-ethnic structure of the Ch'u state. The Ch'u rulers may very well have been Sinicized "Man" of the Miao ethnic group, but their subjects most probably included both Miao and T'ai ethnic groups and undoubtedly Yao and other groups as well. The valley-dwelling, rice-cultivating T'ai probably formed the bulk of the population, and it is likely enough that a T'ai variety of speech was the most widely spoken tongue in the Ch'u domain. When we consider the examples of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties in China, we see an alien ethnic ruling group gradually adopting the language and culture of its predominant Chinese subjects. The same type of process may well have occurred with an alien Miao (Man) ruling stratum over a T'ai sub-stratum in which T'ai vocabulary either crept into the language of the ruling stratum or in which the Miao rulers adopted Sino-T'ai speech. This would explain why the few words that have come down from the Ch'u speech appear to be T'ai and why Erkes found evidences connecting the Ch'u speech with Miao speech. It seems to this writer to be a mistake to regard Ch'u as a single ethnic entity. Ch'u should be regarded as a political entity under Man (Miao) rulers who had become highly Sinicized by the last half of the Chou Dynasty.

Originally, the Ch'u derived from western Ssu-ch'uan. As the Ch'u tribe moved eastward, it assumed the leadership of the earlier Miao tribes that had preceded the Ch'u in the migration. Gathering strength, the kingdom incorporated many smaller non-Miao states and tribes, as described in the Ch'u genealogy. During the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, the Ch'u absorbed 49 states, large and small, including parts of Ho-nan, Shan-tung, An-hui, Hu-pei, Hu-nan, and Shen-hsi. Certainly, in language groups

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it included Han-Chinese, Southern Man, Eastern Yi, and the Wu and Yueh speaking peoples. Thus, although originally composed of Miao people, with its encompassment of this large segment of the Yang-tzu and adjacent drainages, the large variety of peoples became intermixed and fused to form a new group both in culture and in blood. The original Miao (as well as T'ai) element became lost in it.

On the other hand, the earlier Miao migrants south of the T'ung-t'ing region had long since consolidated their strength and resisted absorption by Ch'u. They were able to maintain their independence to the south of imperialist Ch'u. These Miao were the Wu Ling Man of the Five Streams region of northwestern Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou. They were powerful enough to give stiff combat to the Ch'u rulers. Thus, in the Records of the Southern Man of the Later Han History it is stated that: at the time of King Wu of Ch'u, the Man, together with the Lo-tzu (a small state centered at present Ich'eng District in Hupei) defeated the Ch'u army and killed its General Ch'ü Hsia. Ch'u, which had come to amalgamate so many cultural elements and which had become highly Sinicized, was unable to absorb this independent group of Miao that had migrated southward and was destined to preserve a Miao entity to modern times.[56]

While it is not to be doubted that the Ch'u drew many Han-Chinese into their court circles and official bureaucracy as their Sinicization progressed, it is not necessary to follow Hirth[1] in considering that the tribes peoples of Ch'u were ruled by an upper crust of Han-Chinese who became gradually "infected with barbarian qualities." This sort of a development is not impossible, of course, for it occurred in the case of the southern kingdom of Nan Yueh. But the preceding exposition of the Sinicization of the proud Miao rulers of Ch'u gives an equally convincing explanation of the "cultural problems encountered by the student of Chinese history a few centuries later in the shape of important changes that must have taken place in the popular views of the masses, in folklore, superstitions and art."[57] Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, no doubt was a Sinicized tribesman of Ch'u, probably of Miao or T'ai stock. His fondness for the mountain wilds of South China and the lonely communion with nature points to such an affinity. However, this writer certainly goes along with Hirth in quoting Chavannes that:

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Ts'in and Ch'u were not, in the proper sense of the word, to be comprised among the kingdoms of the middle [China Proper]. Their populations, though civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the time when Tsin and Ts'i fell victims to internal dissensions, Ts'in and Ch'u became the leading actors in that drama destined to end with the triumph of Ts'in and the establishment of the empire by Ts'in Shi-huang-ti in 221 B.C. We may thus say that the revolution which finally led to the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that this is the reason why Ssu-ma Kuang makes this year the starting point of his great history entitled: Tzi-chi-t'ung-kien.

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By the Ch'in and Han periods the Sinicized Ch'u inhabitants had joined the ranks of the Han-Chinese in exerting pressure against their former relatives, the Man or Miao peoples on their southern fringe as well as against other ethnic groups not conforming to Han culture. The Southern Man Records of the Later Han History says that when Tao Wang, King of Ch'u, appointed Wu Ch'i his prime minister, he sent him south to seize the Man-Yueh state and thereby added T'ung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu to his possessions. Moreover, when Chao Wang of the Ch'in invaded the Ch'u Kingdom, he garnered the Man-Yi tribal territories and first established Ch'ien-chung Department (with the seat of administration at the site of present-day Yuan-ling in Hu-nan). The Han Dynasty changed this to Wu Ling Department. Its territory included the Hu-nan prefectures of Ch'ang-te, Ch'en-chou, Yuan-chou, and Pao-ching, and the Kuei-chou prefectures of Ssu-chou, Shih-chien, T'ung-jen, Li-p'ing and Ssu-nan. Thus, by the Han period, the Wu Ling Man tribes were occupying not only the hilly region between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes, but also the eastern part of Kuei-chou.[58]

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The Hua-yang Kuo-chih states that the Ch'ien-chung Man were the Wu-ch'i Man whose people were scattered over the region of the Wu Ch'i or Five Streams. These streams are the Ch'en, Yu, Wu, another Wu, and Yuan. Apparently the Miao who come into the historical picture of the two Han periods had migrated to Hu-pei and then Hu-nan, centering at Yuan-ling District. Following up the Yuan River southwestward they settled in the drain-

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Dynasty and the beginning of the Sui (A.D. 220-581), not only did North China experience the aggression of the Wu-Hu (Five Tatar tribes), but it also faced the northward menace of the Miao-Man. The division of China between northern and southern dynasties created a kind of a no-man's-land between the two areas where political control was loose and chaotic. Moreover, during the relatively peaceful four centuries that the Han Dynasty held sway, the mixed peoples of the former Ch'u Kingdom had become completely assimilated to Han-Chinese civilization and now presented a bloc that prevented the further western (Ssu-ch'uan) Miao movement into the territories of Hu-nan and Kuei-chou via the accustomed route. The Tibetan Ch'iang and the Tatar pressures from the west at the same time kept the Miao on the move in Ssu-ch'uan. The result was that the former eastward movement was diverted into the eastern reaches of the Ta-pa and Ch'in-ling mountains and thus brought the Miao into the political vacuum of the no-man's-land. These northward invading Miao, then, did not come from the Hu-nan region, but from the upper tributaries of the Yang-tzu, i.e., from western Ssu-ch'uan.[60]

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These Miao migrants spread into northeastern Hu-pei, where they were called the Yü-chou Man. From there they overflowed into the valleys of the Yang-tzu, Huai, Ju and Han Rivers. The areas occupied by them include northern An-hui, the Shen-hsi borders, and the heart of Ho-nan. Some tribes even penetrated as far north as Sui-yuan Province. Between A.D. 403 and 561 there were more than 40 instances of Miao uprisings between the Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers. In one outstanding respect, Chiang Ying-liang said, these Miao-Man uprisings differed from those of other frontier tribesmen seeking plunder in a robber-fashion. These were really struggles arising from attempts to seize political control from the existing body of land-holding people. Moreover, both northern and southern dynasties competed to gain the adherence of the Miao gentry, and there were many Miao leaders in high positions in the various courts of the competing dynasties. These appointments were given them because they voluntarily submitted their allegiance, or as a reward for military aid against the opposing dynasty, or because the court on one side or the other wished to gain the support of strong Miao leaders who had succeeded in seizing territory and establishing their domination.[61]

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During this period of confusion in the melting pot of

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China Proper, the fusing process of some 300 years welded the different peoples into a single body in which Han-culture submerged not only the Northern Tatar nomads, but also the numerically smaller Miao tribes. Therefore, we find that what was called the Southern Man during the T'ang, Sung, and Yuan Dynasties was limited to those in China south of the Yang-tzu. The restoration of Han-Chinese rule over the Chinese empire in A.D. 618 prevented the further eastward migration of Miao remnants from the old Miao homeland in the east Hsi-k'ang and west Ssu-ch'uan mountain lands. The remnant tribes either were assimilated into Han culture or became exterminated by Ch'iang or Han-Chinese rulers. A few may have migrated southwestwards and southeastwards from Hsi-k'ang.

After the Han period the area of western Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou became the stronghold of the Miao. This area accordingly became the scene for conquest and development by the first T'ang rulers. The meaning of the phrase "chih-chou" (organizing administrative districts) as applied to the Miao may be looked at from two viewpoints, said Chiang. If characterized sympathetically, it was the development of the Man territory and the cultural assimilation into a higher civilization of the Man peoples. If characterized unsympathetically, the process meant the ruthless subjugation and the oppression of the Man-Miao and the aggressive occupation of their lands.[62]

In the turmoil following the T'ang and known as the Five Dynasties period (A.D. 907-960), Ma Yin, an adventurer, occupied Ch'ang-sha and proclaimed himself king of a new state of Ch'u (one of ten states of this period). Of course, the Miao had taken the opportunity of reasserting their own independence, and Ma found it necessary to subjugate the Man-Yi and with this was able to incorporate Chiang Chou as well as Ch'i and Chin Departments into his domain. Chiang Chou was in present Kuei-chou territory. By this period, therefore, Han-Chinese political organization had penetrated deep into the upper drainage of the Five Streams.

The Sung Dynasty took the most vigorous and positive steps in opening up the Southern Man territory (in more than one way the advance of the Han-Chinese into tribal territories reminds one of the American "opening up" of the Indian Territory). These steps had two results. They caused the assimilation of those that were willing to submit or the flight and migration into the adjoining territories of central and eastern Kuei-chou and the areas of

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Ling-nan in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. By T'ang times, the Miao had reached as far south as Ts'un-yi in Kuei-chou, but it is not clear whether they were spread all over Kuei-chou during T'ang and Sung times. It seems unlikely that they had, because the Lolo tribesmen were in occupation of large parts of southern and western Kuei-chou.

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The history of the Lolo in the Ch'ien Shu or History of Kuei-chou states that the An Clan of Lolo in the Ta-ting area was in occupation there as early as the Three Kingdoms period (3rd and 4th centuries). The chief of the clan was "enfeoffed" as King of Lo-tien State. (Actually, enfeoffment merely meant the confirmation of the de facto position the tribal chieftain already held). This was conferred by Chu-ko Liang of the Ssu-ch'uan Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-265). The An Clan chief's hereditary succession was confirmed by the T'ang and Sung Dynasties as a matter of expediency. This was not changed by succeeding Han-Chinese dynasties. Kublai Khan gave the An Clan chief the title An-fu-ssu, later changed to the higher Hsuan-wei-ssu plus the added designation Marquis of Lo-tien. The Ming Emperor made him Hsuan-wei-ssu of Kuei-chou. From all this, it would appear that the incoming Miao migrants did not reach this far west. The Miao probably traveled up the three rivers Yuan, Ch'en and Yu from Hu-nan, making the upper reaches their base area. In northern Kuei-chou the Miao eventually reached the Districts of Ts'un-yi and Tzu-t'ung. In southern Kuei-chou they reached An-shun and Tz'u-yün Districts.[63]

There are not many Miao people in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, and their history here is comparatively short. They probably came first to northern Kuang-hsi during the Yuan Dynasty, said Hsu Sung-shih.[64] Because of the frequent military operations of the Yuan and Ming against them, the Miao of Kuei-chou began to migrate out of the Kuei-chou province.[65] When Kublai Khan conquered the Kuei-chou territory, it was organized as Shun-yuan Lu (Shun-yuan Province). The Yuan Shu (History of the Yuan) tells of the suppression of the T'ung-Miao-Man. There is a so-called "Long-Bridge tomb plaque of the 300 Chung (Red Yao tribe) nobles" in Lung-sheng District of northern Kuang-hsi. This states that the ancestors of these nobles were Ching-chou (southwest Hu-nan) Miao, and that they had come into Kuang-hsi only since the Yuan Dynasty. However, the Miao have come across the southern ranges into Ling-nan in large numbers only since the Ming Dynasty.

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In 1381 the first Ming Emperor appointed Marquis Yi

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Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily understandable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate southward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-1567), there was a major suppression campaign against the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears relatively even except where mountain systems such as the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface. The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the one in the foreground have been eroded far below the surface of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers cultivate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon. Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes quickly with crop cultivation.

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troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their descendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-nan.[66]

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During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their territories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand, and suppression and extermination on the other. There was hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when suppression or pacification campaigns were not being undertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major suppression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating the migratory movements of the modern period. (The Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover, these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and massacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields. The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the pushing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land considered of little value by Han-Chinese.[68] (The parallel situation with respect to the American treatment of the Indians is noteworthy.)

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The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not coordinated events and were put down by Governor-General Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

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circled and besieged Ts'un-yi. In spite of the efforts of 20,000 Imperial troops under the command of the Kuei-chou Commandant, little progress against the Miao was made until Lo Jao-tien took personal command, driving them back to their strongholds in the Lei-t'ai Mountains.[69] The British officer Wingate, traveling from Hu-nan to Burma in the 1890's, describes the devastation suffered by the Han-Chinese towns from which they had not yet recovered even at that late period. He said: "At a place called Ching-chi on the Wu Ho [in Kuei-chou] is a town wall of some miles in circumference which once enclosed a prosperous town of several thousand families, but which now only contains a few officials' houses and a temple or two. It is one among many others which have suffered during the wars which the Chinese have had with the Miao or aborigines living in the hills south of the river."[70]

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As pointed out in a preceding page, the suppressions of the last two centuries started a new period of migration for the modern Miao. The various tribes or clan groups feeling the pressure of encroaching Chinese agriculturalists in Kuei-chou, sought the higher secluded mountain fastnesses of surrounding provinces. The Black Miao gradually drifted to Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi. The Red Miao in the vicinity of T'ung-jen Hsien in eastern Kuei-chou migrated eastward to the three western Districts of Hu-nan. Some of the White Miao entered Ssu-ch'uan to their northwest. Tribes of the Hua Miao or Flowery Miao traveled westward through An-shun to the eastern part of Yun-nan, northward to Wu-ting District, and farther on to the north and south banks of the Chin-sha Chiang. Some of them also traveled southeastward through Yun-nan to the northern parts of Annam and Tongking. The Blue Miao scattered in many directions and are found now mostly in Hu-nan, Kuang-hsi, and Yun-nan. Many of these southwest provinces have representatives of different tribes of Miao. As far southwest as Ssu-mao in Yun-nan small groups of White, Blue, and Flowery Miao have penetrated. When the different groups of Miao live together in one locality, they soon tend to become much alike in cultural practices and dress, so that it is hard to distinguish members of one group from those of another.[71]

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The above delineation of Miao history and migration brings us back to the consideration of the groups related to the Miao discussed in Chapter II, in particular the Fan, who developed in the southwestern periphery of China Prop-

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er. Among other evidences of a close relationship between the modern Miao and the ancient Fan is the fact that seven ancient family or clan names among the Fan also occur among the modern Miao.[72] The Fan have formed a kind of buffer between the Tibetan Ch'iang and the Han-Chinese and often bore the brunt of eastward expansionist pressure of the Ch'iang tribes. The culture of the Fan has drawn close to that of the Ch'iang.[73] The debate among Chinese researchers as to whether these Ch'iang are the same as the Ch'iang of the oracle bones has never been decided, although everything seems to point to this conclusion.[74] This group of Tibetan Ch'iang people during the Han period when they first became more exactly known, inhabited the northern part of Tibet, the Kokonor or Lake Ch'ing-hai region. Parts of Kan-su, great parts of Shen-hsi, and the border regions of Ssu-ch'uan and even parts of Hu-pei and Shan-hsi were occupied by them.[75]

The 32 tribes and folk of the Fan Group as mentioned in Chinese history on the whole occupied the region of present day Kuei-chou and the northwest part of Kuang-hsi. References to them are limited almost entirely to the Sung Dynasty period. We must assume, said Eberhard, that prior to the Sung the habitat of these tribes had not yet been penetrated by the Han-Chinese. More important and difficult is the question as to why the references cease after the Sung period. From then on the expression Fan only applies to tribes in the Tibetan Plateau and no more to this group in Kuei-chou and Kuang-hsi. From this period on and especially during the Ming Dynasty the name Miao becomes prominent (it may be well to recall here the hypothesis about Mao and Miao). Since references to migrations are lacking, said Eberhard, we must assume a tie-up between Fan and Miao. Unfortunately, all the references to the Kuei-chou Fan are very short and poor. The Chinese sources know little of these tribes and most often give no more than the name attaching them to a description of the Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang. (We shall come to further references to Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang in our discussion of the early history of Ling-nan later in this chapter.) Eberhard with some uncertainty included the Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang peoples with the Wu Man Group. Various indications link the Fan with the Lolo and in a large sense to the Tibetan peoples. Nevertheless, the Fan have characteristics of the South Chinese cultures and appear to be the direct forefathers of the present-day

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Miao tribes.[76]

The Miao themselves, interpreted from their culture, represent an intermixture of a large number of differing cultural elements, including Chuang or T'ai, Yao, and Tibetan.[77]

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The historical sources have indicated that the Man or Miao peoples migrated eastward from western Ssu-ch'uan or the eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau. This places their origin in the region occupied by the Fan in modern times. In fact, whether conscious of the distinction between Miao and Fan or not, both Boulger and Grantham called the west Ssu-ch'uan Fan by the term Miao when they discussed the great Fan uprisings of 1746 and 1772-76 on the Big and Little Gold River tributaries of the Ta-tu Ho in the plateau land northwest of Ch'eng-tu.[78]

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In a sense more fortunate than the Kuei-chou Miao, the West Ssu-ch'uan Fan occupy lands even less attractive to the agricultural Han-Chinese than the high mountain slopes of Kuei-chou. Without the inducement of low-lying valley lands for the Han-Chinese farmers such as exist in Kuei-chou, the lands of the Fan are occupied by Han-Chinese only in the chief towns and there only by merchants and official elements. The problem of Fan displacement by Han-Chinese agriculturalists has not arisen to the same extent therefore. Here, then, tribal autonomy has been enabled to continue for a longer time and more thoroughly than in Kuei-chou.

8. The History and Migrations of the Lolo

In our preceding discussion of the early spread of the Miao into Kuei-chou, it was noted that this spread was probably checked in southern and western Kuei-chou by the Lolo who were recorded as masters and occupants of the area in the 3rd Century A.D. Wissman said that the entire highland triangle of Central and northeast Yun-nan was occupied by the Lolo prior to the coming of the Han-Chinese.[79] Their stronghold comprises the Ta-liang Shan, a mass of high mountains at the meeting point of Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan and Hsi-k'ang.[80] They are the group referred to in Chinese texts under the more inclusive ethnic name of Wu Man or Black Man, from the dark brown skin pigment of this race of people. Eickstedt and Eberhard classed them as Austro-Asiatic in racial stock, otherwise known as a branch of the Tibeto-Burman peoples.

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urgings, no less than three successive expeditions (the Sourisseau, 624
Friquegnon and Dussault columns) and two years of difficult and 669
costly operations were necessary to restore order and suppress the Yunnanese bands. The deposition of the Chao-Fa -- applicable both to himself and his heirs -- was decreed in April 1916, and the former principality was converted into a simple "muong." Phra-Ong-Kham died in China in 1923, and when his family offered to make its submission it was given permission to return to Muong-Sing.

2. The Meo rebellion (1919-1921). While these events were M
transpiring the Meos, who lived mainly high up on the peaks of 563
Luang-Prabang and Tran-Ninh (1), had maintained a proper atti- 669
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1. See above, p. 212. 787

tude even though approached by the Chao-Fa and the /358/ Chinese brigands. Nor had they seemed at first to pay any more attention to the movement which their fellows in Tonkin had just initiated in the basin of the upper Black River.

Continuing to live apart from other races in jealous isolation, they had nevertheless seemed for some time past to be moving towards closer terms with the provincial administration, which had succeeded in interesting them in road projects. But in July 1919 one of the leaders of the Tonkin rebellion who was being pursued by our troops and was called Batchay came to seek refuge among them. From this lair he sent out emissaries whose mission it was to devote themselves to secret propaganda efforts among the Meo groupings of Upper Laos in favor of a king who, "accomplishing the will of Heaven, was to bring them happiness, peace and prosperity." The rumor rapidly circulated among these credulous tribes that a prophecy which had fallen from the sky was summoning all Meos to revolt and form a great independent kingdom with its capital at Dien-Bien-Phu or Muong-Heup. To the accompaniment of incantations and magic formulas, the able-bodied population was called to march against the Laotians, Khas and Annamites and to build the palace of the awaited sovereign.

/359/ In vain did the king of Luang-Prabang send messages to L
the Meo leaders in protest against these absurd rumors. Within a M
few weeks armed bands were formed which began to ransom and 563
pillage the villages of Tran-Ninh, Luang-Prabang and the Houa- 669
Phan. Our militia had to occupy the outpost of Muong-Heup, which

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was attacked on August 15. It repulsed the assailants, two of which were killed and some ten wounded. The Muong-Ngoi outpost was then reinforced by riflemen under the command of Lieutenant Distanti, and detachments led by Laotian leaders scoured the country. On September 23, however, Lieutenant Distanti fell into an ambush and suffered a mortal wound, and in October we committed the error of evacuating Muong-Heup, an action which heightened Batchay's prestige still further and provoked a veritable panic among the terrorized populace.

The matter was becoming serious, and reinforcements had to be sent from Hanoi and Saigon. A military column was organized and placed under the direction of Colonel Angeli, who was able to free the plateau of Xieng-Khouang and part of the Houa-Phan only after fierce battles at Ban-Ban, Bergerie, Ban-Phadeng and Pakkha /360/ (January-May 1920). At the same time attempts had been made to enter into negotiations with the principal rebel leaders so as to open their eyes to the dangers and ordeals into which they were drawing their families. A few submissions were obtained in this manner, but when the rainy season halted all operations Batchay profited from the respite in order to regroup his partisans east of Nam-Ou.

In December Commander Dorey resumed the offensive, and despite the many obstacles in a "land bristling with mountains, sown with ambushes and devoid of all resources" succeeded in driving the Meos "from one entrenched position to the next," harrying them without respite, encircling them and decimating them with such rapidity that a month later all their bands were either destroyed or had surrendered, that Batchay was in flight and abandoned by the last survivors, and that the column could be disbanded in March 1921 (1).

1. Batchay's refuge was not discovered until October 1922. Surprised by Khas in the vicinity of Muong-Heup, he was killed by the latter on November 17.

Thus ended, almost as suddenly as it had broken out, this surprising insurrection which was uniquely due to the fanatacism of skittish and excessively superstitious tribes which were /361/ blindly obedient (like the southern Khas towards the Phou-Mi-Boun) to leaders who imposed on them by practices drawn from the lowest kind of sorcery. It is indeed a proven fact that the Meos had not been exposed to the

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not L
at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. M
Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups 563
in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive 669
measures.

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the L
cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special M
administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal 563
autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite inter- 636
mediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the popu- 609
lations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial
antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintain-
ing a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and
devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms 178
which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In 563
the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes
of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their
customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last repre-
sentatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of com-
munication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese
family.

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 000
369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page
376 is blank. --Translator/

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624 361] The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma
563 phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Man race. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the seo phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock, which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [736]

to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648

Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563

Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common.

M [114]

Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[782] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[604] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
[768] a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

751 thereupon became suspect of being a witch.
758 Finally feelings ran so high that some of the men, armed with staves, entered the woman's house and literally beat her to death.

754 Men who practise the "black art" sometimes come to a bad end. One wizard, who had been accused several times of "overlooking" people, was rather proud that it should be thought he possessed this power. One day the brother of a man of some influence was taken ill, and within a short while he died, killed, it was believed, by a secret arrow released by this wizard. The elder brother was so infuriated that on the day of the burial he had the wizard brought to the village, beaten with bludgeons until he lost consciousness, carried to a newly dug grave and unceremoniously flung into it. On top of the unconscious but living wizard was lowered the coffin containing his supposed unfortunate victim, and the grave was filled up.

566 Another aspect of Miao life which needs our understanding and sympathy, is the dominance of the landlords, called for the most part "*t'u-muh*". The words "*t'u-muh*" are the Chinese for "earth's eyes" and are probably used to designate the enfeoffed eldest sons of aforetime Nosu chiefs. While some Miao are the tenants of small landowners, either Chinese or Nosu, a majority till the land of *t'u-muh*, who, as a class, are crafty, corrupt, capricious and at times inhumanly cruel. Before the Chinese Republic was founded in 1911, these *t'u-muh* had immense power; and though

occasionally one meets a *t'u-muh* who is humane, 566
the records of the others would not bear investigation. Oppressing the Miao, these *t'u-muh* exacted from them such heavy rents that it was impossible for them to make any progress. In one case it was calculated that each Miao tenant gave one hundred days' labour per year. A Miao could [671]
never get any redress, since in Manchu days, even if a Miao had dared to sue for justice, the law was always on the side of the rich, as is suggested by the Chinese proverb: "The doors of the law courts are always open; but if you only have right on your side, and not money, don't enter them."

If a Miao were lucky enough to breed a good foal, the *t'u-muh* would demand it; were he sufficiently thrifty to save a little *sycee*, the *t'u-muh* would find ways and means of getting hold of it; were his cattle to increase, the *t'u-muh* would trump up an excuse for inordinate extortion. The stories told of these overlords bear witness to the degrading effects that absolute authority and tyranny may have on a man. There were two brothers, both *t'u-muh*, and the younger, who was unmarried, was suspected by his elder brother of becoming too fond of his wife. On account of this, the elder brother arranged with a Szechuan boxer to murder his brother, for which the award was to be two hundred dollars. In course of time the brother was murdered and the boxer came for his promised recompense, but instead of being paid, he was trussed up like a pig and offered as a human sacrifice at the grave of the murdered younger brother to appease,

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

566 it was said, the departed spirit of the victim of this atrocity.

Such, then, are some of the conditions under which the Miao lived. Round their necks were the millstones of ignorance and oppression, and humanly speaking, they could never climb higher. They were chained in the Slough of Despond.

131 489 [423] And now let us travel to Miao-land, where these men and women dwell, a people who are amongst the most needy in the world. "Miao-land" is not a stretch of country where you will find Flowery Miao exclusively, because the Miao do not possess land. Miao-land is a section of China inhabited by a preponderance of Chinese, patches of Nosu and, in less accessible regions, large communities of Miao.

Embarking on either a French or a British steamer in that most beautiful harbour of Hongkong, we will slip down the China coast and after two, three or four days glide gently up the delta of the Red River into Haiphong. Here we will board a train which, after chugging for three days (at times the gradient is so steep that one feels that by leaning forward one could help the puffing engine), the train will deposit you in Yunnanfu, the capital of the province of Yunnan. The Tonkin-Yunnan railway, with its ascending slopes, its dauntless bridges, its viaducts and tortuous tunnels, is one of the engineering feats of the world of which the French nation may justly be proud. Kunming (Yunnanfu) is the terminus, but our

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [263] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and 262 have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 252 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [415] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

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/36 cont./

M 592 737 always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled according to the social organization. Such survivors of an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they can to be useful to the community.

A 466 Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however, do not live in the house of the employer and are completely "free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha A 937 solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their position as "free" Akha.

A M ●567 M [648] Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A M 571 114 On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right, totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567] In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[731] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

The most common punishment is whipping, which the
681 village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection
[622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad-
[683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made
[689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver,
685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100
693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright
567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

/70/

Chapter VIII. Songs and Legends

(1)

533 Singing is an important aspect of Miao life. Regardless of sex and age, almost all of them are talented singers. When we were traveling in the Miao mountains, the clear voices of Miao singers always struck our ears. In the deep woods of the high mountains with no one in sight, it usually gave us the poetic feeling that,

"The singing has ended; no one is in sight;
Only some mountain peaks remain green above the river."

831 Singing is the most natural medium of communication between
152 human hearts. The Miao have made full use of it. When a man
533 and woman fall in love, they sing to each other in order to express their mutual admiration. Inexpressibly happy at a reunion after a long separation, they sing to each other to express their happiness. Bidding farewell at a crossroad, they sing to express their sorrow at parting. Worn out during the busy seasons of agricultural work, they sing for physical relaxation. On festive occasions, they sing to add to the gaiety. In short, all their emotions—misery and happiness, grief and joy—are frankly expressed by singing.

533 Usually they sing their songs in dialogue style—such as between a man and a woman or between a host and a guest, etc. Due to long use, many of the songs have become formalized, so that the words of the replies are fixed. The ability to sing is very important in Miao social relations. For instance, their marriage is usually
584 based upon love. And singing is the principal means of courting.
533 /71/ On the fine spring days, Miao boys and girls usually go out in groups to sing to one another on the neighboring slopes. As the singers gradually draw closer, at this point, if you are a talented singer capable of answering your counterpart in the proper way,
533 victory will be yours. Otherwise, if the singing beauties move
[571] away because of poor answers, how depressed you would feel! At a fine banquet, when the hosts and guests sing alternately to each other, the good singers are always admired by the audience while

/71 cont'd/

533 poor ones cannot help being laughed at. Singing is an indispensable talent for the Miao in their social relations.

(2)

Their songs differ according to locality, and in general can be divided into two groups in accordance with two different styles, i.e., the free songs without set words and songs with fixed words. Generally speaking, the love songs and other songs of pleasure or sorrow are mostly of the former group, and every singer is a spontaneous composer. They sing what they feel at the moment.

533 The formal songs, which are sung at wedding feasts, in re-
●571 ligious ceremonies, or between hosts and guests, are of the latter group with fixed texts and are uniform throughout the Miao area. These are not natural outflows of feeling but rather songs of still formality. Everyone can recite these by heart without requirement of talent. The free songs, however, are more flexible; whether the song is good or poor depends upon the talent of the individual singer.

Because the free songs have no fixed texts and because of language difficulties, we did not record them, which is a pity. However, there were copies of the fixed songs in almost every Miao family, as they are taught from generation to generation. We had a chance to collect a few samples. But they were all stiffly formalized. Hence, as far as artistic value is concerned, they can hardly be compared with the free songs cited before which were natural expressions of feelings.

533 /72/ Every aspect of the Miao life is expressed in singing.
536 The contents of their songs are, therefore, complex, multi-faceted, and all-comprehensive. We did not succeed in acquiring many of these songs. We shall now attempt to classify here those we did get:

(1) Songs relating to economic life, such as those sung during certain ceremonies in the process of ploughing or harvesting:

/87 cont'd/

533 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part
585 mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The
[571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest
533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible.—Tr./

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

THE daily tasks of living furnished the framework for group activities within the family and between families. Such activities included those connected with the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the cleaning of stables and the transportation of fertilizer, fishing and digging for water chestnuts, going to the mountains for firewood, and to market to sell and buy, and the construction and repair of a house, for these in which members of several households worked together were greatly enjoyed in the doing and always followed by a special meal furnished by the owners of the house, stable, or fields worked upon that day. When they went to market they waited until several had their loads ready before starting off. They also returned in groups and stopped to rest and talk at a point about half way, where they could drink from a spring or in a wayside teahouse. 571

When a household was of the extended family type living in a connected group of buildings, they furnished among themselves a good deal of social life, for men and women worked together or the women in their group, children played together, and together they gathered around the firepits to eat, talk, and smoke. On rainy days the women also came together to sew, make thread, and mend. Even when the buildings were more separate, the homes tended to be grouped so that the households mingled freely and helped one another at work or in the entertainment of guests. A group of girls were often seen in the home of one of them embroidering, chatting very gayly over designs and plans, smoking, and laughing. The village was not extensive and there was constant opportunity to meet and talk, with much teasing and laughter. Women carried leaves of tobacco in the folds of their turbans, men in rolls in little metal boxes; pipes and tobacco were shared in a group. 592

Calendric feasts afforded the opportunity for both interfamily and intervillage activities. The festivals of the lunar New Year, Ch'ing Ming, and San Yüeh San, as well as lesser festivals such as Tuan Yang and Hsiao Mang, were accompanied by offerings to the house 796 571

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born. 796 571

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders. 571

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes. 596

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village 621 [563]

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
546 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organiza-
M tions are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the
571 Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the
114 existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans.
614 Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also
592 the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves.
[736] In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
[842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/36 cont./

M always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused
592 whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an
737 individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled according to the social organization. Such survivors of an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they can to be useful to the community.

A Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free
466 and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however, do not live in the house of the employer and are completely "free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha
A solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of
737 old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their position as "free" Akha.

A Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense
M of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-
567 slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," M section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese
[648] traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-
M right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would
● 571 be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right,
114 totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

/37 cont./

A M ●571 114 Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

M [171]

2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/ Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

M 631 From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

M [648] regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788] dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
[562] purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
[177] dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

778
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Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

534 Jointed bugles and cymbals and brass gongs are more rarely used but they can be played at almost any time.

574 The Ch'uan Miao are very hospitable. A friend can stay in a home for a week or ten days and he will be given food and a bed and charged nothing for them. Chickens are considered especially good and appropriate for entertaining guests. Sometimes both a cock and a hen are killed and some of the meat may be left for the guest to take home with him. The greatest hospitality a Ch'uan Miao can show is to kill a young grown cow or bull and to give a feast to which other friends are invited. Next in importance to a cow is a sheep or goat, then a pig and then a chicken.

572 Friendship among the Ch'uan Miao is sincere and deep and they respond to friendship and kindly treatment. By the very tones of the voice it can be discerned whether the Ch'uan Miao is very friendly and familiar with the person to whom he is speaking, or only fairly so, or not at all, or is an enemy.

V. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

831 Friendship, fellowship, appreciation, sympathy, love and marriage between the sexes is as natural as eating, and they are craved by most people of both sexes. The sex appeal may be one of the most powerful influences for good or for evil. If satisfaction cannot be had in normal and approved ways it will often be sought in ways that are irregular and harmful.

The life of the average Ch'uan Miao, who lives in a simple hut on a high mountain, with no pictures or ornaments in the home, no schools or books, meager furniture, much hard work, few neighbors, simple food, no theatricals and little or no play, is humdrum. It is not unnatural that aside from eating sexual love and sexual intercourse are among the primary enjoyments of life.

The Ch'uan Miao customs in the past have apparently been such that affection between men and women resulted in sexual intercourse, generally illicit. Nearly all the love songs tell of love affairs between men and other men's wives or between women and men to whom they were not married but with whom they enjoyed sexual relations. Some of the legends express disapproval of parents who raised objections because young men were spending the nights in the bedrooms of their daughters and others mention with approval the fact that parents purposely had outside doors for the bedrooms of their daughters so that their lovers could easily enter and spend the night there.

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise [572] instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [774] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [756] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes 836 out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home.

[Text continues on p. 112]

/98 cont./

584 marriage /99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find [648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage 584 promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary 608 assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men 614 participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always 686 decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected 184 bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 584 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/87 cont'd/

533 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part
585 mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The
[571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest
533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible.—Tr./

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

000 We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, ●574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, [291] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but 000 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/140 cont'd/

587 In the evening the bride was accompanied to her husband's house by a female go-between. She carried her small not yet weaned baby boy at her breast. The groom welcomed her to the banquet which had been prepared, to which he had invited many friends and relatives. As wine flowed into their mouths, songs flowed out. First the guests took turns singing songs to the bride, and the bride answered them, one by one. The bride then moved to sing songs reciprocally with the parents of the groom. But all the time, the groom stood aside, attending everyone, and did not drink or sing. We turned on the phonograph at the door to add to their good spirits and were dragged in to have a drink with them. I forced a few mouthfuls down, then hurriedly, on the pretext of going to change the record, sneaked out from their company. Since I was not used to liquor, it would have been embarrassing if I had let myself join them in their drinking spree.

/141/ Third month, ninth day. (Tuesday)

585 In the afternoon we moved out of Mr. Wang's house to stay in
574 Wen-hua center. On our way through the upper Hsiao village, we saw a family having a big wedding banquet with a lot of guests. The bridegroom, upon seeing us, rushed out to block our way and insisted upon our joining their wedding party. After resisting in vain, we were dragged in to the party. Yüan-chiung, not able to understand their dialect, was lucky to have escaped their dragging. At the house I was rushed to the head seat at the table. I declined stubbornly, excusing myself by saying that I had to attend to my luggage which was following me and could not stay too long. The host placed a large cup of strong wine in front of me and another for himself, insisting that we both should empty the cups before I left them. His manner was so earnest and serious that I felt there was no room to retreat. I was so taken aback with this large cup of wine that I thought of a scheme. I took half a cup, and, while he was not noticing, I spit it out on the floor, with a handkerchief covering my mouth. The host was still insistent that the cup should

/141 cont'd/

585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

M
+101 /20 cont./
cc in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[577] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
M are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[531] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
[386] is washed out and the designs appear.

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M 782 CC 563 M [167] * [101]

/21 cont./

(20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him. They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox, the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns, and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off the four legs of the ox and carry them home. The rest of the guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

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/22 cont./

(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

/77 cont./

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miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
●574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those
000

/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and
[574] friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that
302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's.
[585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by
[171] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[554] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash
584 and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/97 cont./

585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 533 men and women of the host family gather in another group. 585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights, but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain 574 585

/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
585 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head. While the presents are being announced, the men and women
[533] sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21 and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

/143 cont./

*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the guests are leaving. Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each [574] receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

755 Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other
*782 place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao con-
774 sider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer-
[753] priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called [lio˥ kuei˧˥], originally meaning "kuei of springs." The two kuei in-
[776] voked are called [nan˧ nɯ˧ lio˥ ui˧] and [nan˧ mad˧ lio˥ tei˧˥]. The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kuei.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family 123
with whom I lived would accept no money
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all 421
the firewood I needed for heating and cooking.
In addition, now and then they brought me
vegetables from their own gardens, included
me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of
something special at other times. But, once I
began to knit caps for them and give them
medicines, prints of individual snapshots,
and a treat for the children upon my return
from market, they expected me to continue all
those things for themselves and all their rela-
tives, even when the war made communica-
tions difficult and prices, accordingly, in-
creasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they
lacked social standards. For instance, chil-
dren were repeatedly rebuked when they
went between the fire and those who were
sitting around it. At feasts it was considered
inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a
guest's wine bowl to become empty. No
guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men
and women, girls and boys mingled freely,
for they considered themselves one large
family. There was much goodnatured teas-
ing and repartee. Children, however, often
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated 152
arguments took place among adults on occa-
sion. One morning some of the older men of
the village were discussing something with
the old man of our family. Not only did the
talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but
some one of them broke a bowl by throwing
it onto the stones of the court outside his
room. But on the whole the Miao village was
a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct lan-
guage group, belonging to the Sinitic family
of languages. They have no written lan-
guage. My informant, however, declared
that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient
Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time
their ancestor migrated. There are either 194
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 193

[96]

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
596 vited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight.
[515] In this family I saw the evening foot-washing,
[574] at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
353 leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

352 foreign clock, both broken. The usual seat was a small, rectangular stool about eight inches high, often lacking a leg or two. In some houses I saw a few sections of log, straw hassocks, or low, long benches. Sometimes a long, wide bench stood under the window. Beds were a wooden frame or box on four legs or supported by two sawhorses. In one house thick coffin boards laid on blocks of wood formed a bed. However, not all houses had beds or enough for all the family downstairs, so that some of them slept in the loft. Beds usually had a thick straw mattress, a straw mat, or both. A few had a mat of felt. There were comfortables of the Chinese type —a pad of cotton with a removable cover not quite as large as the pad on one side and large enough on the other to fold over and overlap the first piece, with mitered corners. Others were like a rug with a nap, woven of straw on a vertical loom. Hard, small, bolster-shaped pillows were stuffed with cotton and were for looks only.

352 252 574 264 Even where there was a built-up stove with cooking bowls fitted into it, much of the cooking was done in smaller bowls on an iron hoop on three legs. On the inner side of the ring were three prongs toward the center to support the bowl. This set over the fire in the floor, which also provided heat. The big stove was used for cooking rice, when a large number were to be cooked for, to make bean curd, to distill wine, or to prepare the mash for animals. Even at feasts men and women often sat around separate floor fires and ate from dishes set on a board across the bowl or from the broth being cooked in it. At times when there were many guests, such as a wedding or funeral, the men usually ate indoors, the women at tables out-of-doors. At the New Year feasts in the house men and women ate together, as well as for the evening meal after the work of the day was done. For the fires there were iron tongs and in the ashes were set earthen pots for tea. Over the fire were suspended a square of interwoven bamboo used as a shelf, a piece of iron with several hooks, and pieces of pork or beef in loops of straw.

352 Other furniture included wooden cupboards for food or one built on the outside of the house with doors opening into the room, various baskets and jars, trays and bowls (set

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

262 people waded from one end of the pond to
252 the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about
252 dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was al-
574 ways on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

24 Children seemed always to have something
857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

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then embroidered in color. In front the design was of red and green (see fig. 9) with three lines of green, red, and blue lengthwise on either side. Over the shoulder and in the back it was a straight line of alternate orange and dark blue down the center with a wavy line of alternate red and green on either side. These two were sewed together with herringbone stitch in white. The outer edge of the blue piece was turned under and covered with a weaving stitch in two or five colors, as the maker wished. In front and back, between the white strips, were set strips of dark blue embroidered in horizontal bands of cross-stitch in white, each stitch crossing one thread. On the under side the stitches had to be horizontal. Almost at the top in each strip was a medallion in color, in which a dark red was predominant (figs. 19, *a-c*; 20, *a*, *d*). The one in front had a cross, and diagonal lines in the corners. That in the back had a design of crosses, with a bit of blue, green, and yellow in the open spaces. The strip in the back was wider than that in front. Two pieces were made for the back, the upper one of color or black on white, the lower one of color on red. These were sewed on across the ends so that the lower side was a little wider than the upper. Across the very end was sewed a row of about twenty cowrie shells. In front a strip of blue was sewed across the three strips and strings fastened to it. On the under side a strip of bright blue was sewed on over the white strip which lay on the shoulders. 301

I tried to make the overpiece but was not very successful. Not that I felt too badly about it, for they said that women over fifty were not supposed to be able to see to do it. I managed to make the strips of dark blue worked solidly in lines all the way up and down the strip and with mitered corners, and the zigzag lines on the white pieces, to fasten them together with herringbone stitch, and to turn in the edges with a weaving stitch in color. But the fine cross-stitch in the center strips was too much for me and I learned only that the stitches must be horizontal on the under side by doing them the other way. 295

An invitation to "drink wine" in another village called for new trousers, blouse, and overpiece, if possible, and the wide turban. 292 574

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243 very widely scattered near to and far from the
805 village, so that when the plants were ready for
241 transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

241 This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and
243 seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) con-
805 tinued for more than a month. During that
594 time the young people, both married and single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

241 During the third month (the second half of
312 April and the first half of May, 1942) there was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the bucket (regularly used for carrying water) 241
down into the pond, up and over the bank (fig. 15, *e*). They got into a very nice rhythm. I had seen the second nephew turning a bean mill once, but aside from this that was the only real work I had seen either of these men do. The nephew seemed to be ashamed of it, too, for he stopped abruptly when he thought I was going to take his picture. However, evidently today everyone had to work. A younger boy was fishing and the other children playing nearby, so that it was quite a family party.

By the beginning of the fourth month 243
(May 15, 1942) rice plants were ready for 574
transplanting. Fields nearly to Lung-li, which is at a lower altitude, had already had plants set out in them (fig. 15, *a*). On the fourth of the month of the year I lived with them (May 18, 1942) our household again was first. They made quite an occasion of setting out the plants in a large square field, beyond the low hills and right beside a good-sized Chung-chia village. Very early the women of the family, with the exception of the old man's two wives, together with the women and girls of other households, bundled together the rice plants from one of the seed beds and piled them into their carrying baskets (fig. 16, *e*) — the same ones which had been used earlier to carry straw and manure. Two men were plowing and two harrowing in the flooded field when the long line of women approached and began tossing the bundles into the field. Before the plowing and harrowing were entirely finished the setting out of plants had begun. With Mo-mei setting the pace, each woman took a strip the width of the field, then turned and worked the length of it. They went home for a long lunch period about two o'clock. Afterward not all of them returned, but the work was finished well before dark. The usual good meal, featuring bean curd, was served. The family nonchalantly appropriated my bowls and chopsticks to use with theirs.

They were now in the midst of the busiest 241
season of the year, for the harvest of wheat and its accompanying crops of broad beans, rape, and peas came just when the rice was ready for transplanting. One day I helped a widow (the chief shamaness of the village)

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year began. During this period there was time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The technique of farming was identical with that of Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood.

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

[356]

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527 796 292 123 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 574 527 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 796 527 San Yüeh San.[8] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[8] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

576 one another's left shoulder and asking "*Dieh zao nioh gioh?*"—"Are you well?" An adult greets children by rubbing or patting his or her head. The form of farewell is (the host) "Go slowly, go slowly" (the parting guest) "Sit slowly, sit slowly". 574 181 They are wonderfully hospitable and guests are expected to eat to satisfy. How often the traveller sees them stuff away basin after basin of maize until he fears there will be a terrible accident! People will go short themselves so that visitors be generously treated. Should a guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and cooked—it is not always meticulously clean—and upon the departure of the guest a leg of the animal is always given to him. A non-observance of this custom would be a serious breach of good manners, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor. Hospitality is as characteristic of them as of the Arab, and a Miao will borrow food to entertain a guest. Though poor, thriftless and no lovers of fighting, they are simple and generous, honest and lovable. One of the child races of the world, they are as old as the Chinese, and when Moses led the children of Israel through the wilderness, the Miao were hunting wild beasts on their beloved hills and at the close of day their bards would sing a Miao version of the Creation, the Flood, and the Re-population of the World; and story-tellers would narrate quaint legends which have been handed down to this generation. Here is one. Would not Kipling have enjoyed it?

773 539 Long, long ago, instead of there being only one

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

534 Jointed bugles and cymbals and brass gongs are more rarely used but they can be played at almost any time.

574 The Ch'uan Miao are very hospitable. A friend can stay in a home for a week or ten days and he will be given food and a bed and charged nothing for them. Chickens are considered especially good and appropriate for entertaining guests. Sometimes both a cock and a hen are killed and some of the meat may be left for the guest to take home with him. The greatest hospitality a Ch'uan Miao can show is to kill a young grown cow or bull and to give a feast to which other friends are invited. Next in importance to a cow is a sheep or goat, then a pig and then a chicken.

572 Friendship among the Ch'uan Miao is sincere and deep and they respond to friendship and kindly treatment. By the very tones of the voice it can be discerned whether the Ch'uan Miao is very friendly and familiar with the person to whom he is speaking, or only fairly so, or not at all, or is an enemy.

V. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

831 Friendship, fellowship, appreciation, sympathy, love and marriage between the sexes is as natural as eating, and they are craved by most people of both sexes. The sex appeal may be one of the most powerful influences for good or for evil. If satisfaction cannot be had in normal and approved ways it will often be sought in ways that are irregular and harmful.

The life of the average Ch'uan Miao, who lives in a simple hut on a high mountain, with no pictures or ornaments in the home, no schools or books, meager furniture, much hard work, few neighbors, simple food, no theatricals and little or no play, is humdrum. It is not unnatural that aside from eating sexual love and sexual intercourse are among the primary enjoyments of life.

The Ch'uan Miao customs in the past have apparently been such that affection between men and women resulted in sexual intercourse, generally illicit. Nearly all the love songs tell of love affairs between men and other men's wives or between women and men to whom they were not married but with whom they enjoyed sexual relations. Some of the legends express disapproval of parents who raised objections because young men were spending the nights in the bedrooms of their daughters and others mention with approval the fact that parents purposely had outside doors for the bedrooms of their daughters so that their lovers could easily enter and spend the night there.

[181 cont.]
796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and fire-crackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

[182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
241 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after
796 breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the
786 Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district 796 535 have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New 796 Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating [769] oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

[199 cont.]

(III) The Moon Dance. The moon dance in the fourth month
535 is the nocturnal meeting of the Miao-I in the An-shun area. Ac-
832 cording to Miao-I customs, whenever the moon and the stars are bright, young men and women may go out at this period of the year in groups of a few persons or a dozen or more each to some quiet, lonely spots in the vicinity of the village to play music and dance. The steps for the dance are the same as those for the flower dance. Young girls who are attracted by the music are not prevented by parents from running out to watch the dance. A man's glory is to extract a smile from a girl, and when her parents are not taking notice he may take her to the woods to whisper to her honeyed words of love. Therefore, the moon dance is an occasion for love-making by the Miao-I youths.

(IV) The "Kan-piao." The moon dance described above
517 provides night recreations and scenes of love serenades for the
832 Miao-I. The "kan-piao" is another form of recreation that gives men and women a chance to fall in love, but it may be pursued during night or day. The "kan-piao" is also known by various names such as "ta-ma-lan," "yao-ma-lang," "ta-piao," and "ling-piao." To perform it, the man would first whistle
[534] by means of some leaves in the mouth or play the flute as a signal to entice the lover to some shaded nook to exchange lovers' vows. An ideal place for "kan-piao" is a deep forest out of reach of human footsteps. In former times, in isolated places outside the village, there were erected little sheds called "flower chambers" for the rendezvous of young men and women. These flower chambers, however, are now nine out of ten destroyed. Ordinarily, when they carry on "kan-piao," the man would take the girl home, otherwise he would be accused of kidnapping. If a girl takes a man home, her parents would
[574] not only leave them alone, but are also obliged to kill a chicken and provide wine in order to show the graciousness of their daughter in receiving guests. The custom of "kan-piao" is most popular with the Chung-chia in the An-shun district. They have comparatively fewer forms of recreation than the Hua Miao, and the young people among them often indulge in "kan-piao" as a
[579] happy pastime. Often in "kan-piao" a man gets into a fight

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

574 797 The missionary had made one trip to the Meos and was well pleased with his reception. The Meos, he said, were delightful children. Since tribes at this cultural level are hospitable to the last degree and much given to humouring strangers' whims, the whole village seemed to have foregathered and listened most attentively while he preached. It seemed to me that if the missionary had preached in Meo it was rather an achievement and I asked him whether, in fact, he had done this, or had contented himself with Laotian, which most Meos understand. 'I did neither,' he said. 'I preached in English, and from the way my words were received I feel that we may have started something up there.'

000 It may be doubted that in thus boldly treating the language barrier as non-existent the evangelist had succeeded in communicating anything of the Christian point of view to his Meo audience. But this performance was, in fact, no more than the *reductio ad absurdum* of a situation which had arisen even with the first Jesuit missionaries. The separating gulf of language, of thought and of tradition, was too wide and deep. Father Buzome, for example, the first missionary to be sent to Indo-China by the Society of Jesus at Macao, was, if possible, even less effective. The Father preached with the aid of phrases prepared in advance for him by ships' interpreters, and as a result carried out a number of baptisms. It was only by the accident of watching a farcical theatrical performance in which he saw himself represented, that he found out to his sorrow that his converts had no idea, even, of what the term Christian meant. One of the players was dressed to represent the Father, but was provided with a great artificial stomach. He had a boy as his assistant. The turn consisted in asking the boy 'whether he would go into the Belly of the Portuguese?' The boy then replied that he would, and the player stuffed him into the artificial stomach; repeating this ridiculous procedure many times, to the great diversion of the onlookers.

To his horror Father Buzome realized that the invitation to enter the belly of the Portuguese was precisely the phrase he had been

/97 cont./

A 582 Among the Akha, the marriage age for both sexes is between the sixteenth and twentieth year.

e) Courtship and Betrothal

M 583 183 For a Meau boy there are several ways to marry a girl. A common way taken is probably the one whereby a boy loves a girl, she bears a child, and later the parents of both give their consent. This way does not conform to the demands of "public opinion" and is therefore not customary among respectable families. A second way is to go out looking for a wife. M 584 The young man visits the various villages and selects a girl. Then he goes to his father or to the head of his large /extended/ M [787] family and asks for his advice. The ancestors are queried about it by way of an ordeal (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). If the outcome of the ordeal is unfavorable, the young man drops the idea, but if the result is auspicious, he visits the girl's village again and asks her whether she consents to the proposed M [836] marriage. If the girl agrees, she leaves her parents' home in great secrecy and sleeps with the young man in the house of his parents. The next day, the young man's parents visit the parents of the bride in order to inform them of the fact, and they send them a pig. The latter for their part also slaughter M [574] one and invite the relatives of the bridal couple to a feast. The two animals are eaten, rice liquor is copiously served, and the day for the wedding is set.

It often happens, however, that the girl refuses to leave her parents' house without their consent, that is to say, secretly. In this case, the young man /98/ asks his parents to visit the parents of the bride and ask for the girl. If the bride's parents give their consent, then everything is in order and the wedding day can be set. If the bride's parents do not give their permission, however, it is up to the girl to make the decision. M [836] She can still decide to spend a night secretly with the boy in his parents' home or simply to have intercourse with him until

/98 cont./

584 she becomes pregnant. In both cases, the parents of the girl
[836] will immediately withdraw their opposition.

583 It also happens in practice that the young people disregard all formalities and begin with cohabitation without consulting their parents. In this case, too, the parents of the girl can do nothing but belatedly approve of the accomplished fact.

584 When one considers all the various ways, it is apparent
593 that the girl's parents cannot assert their will against that of the daughter. The father of the young man, on the other hand, into whose sib and, in most cases, household community the girl is to be received, can exert extensive influence upon the decision of his son. If the father or head of the family does not like the girl, he can ultimately give the refusal of the ancestors as a pretext, and no son will dare to undertake anything against their will.

583 In contrast to my observations, Lajonquière reports of the
584 Meau in Indochina, as does Abadie (1) in almost the same words:

1. Page 166.

"It happens that marriages are concluded against the will of the parents. In this case the young people flee and, if they are found, pay an indemnity to the father of the girl. A small
[574] feast is celebrated, and everything is settled."

584 Marabail (2) makes the following statements on this

2. Page 459.

subject: "If a Meau wants to marry, he tells his father, without asking him for permission, for he is completely free. The father then sends two friends to the house of the girl's father. When they arrive, they plant two incense sticks in the ground in front of the door and light them. The master of the house then comes out and asks what they want. He listens to them,
[574] invites them to his room, and gives them something to drink. This is the sign that he has accepted the offer. As soon as the

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bridegroom [152] into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of [782] [769] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/101 cont./

184 584 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ

2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps out-
[574] side the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food
[201] and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."
[114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 574 585 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great

2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife.
[583] This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages, appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

764 "One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
775 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse, is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70),[1] flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night,
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

[1] [See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/209 cont./

484 782 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 782 114 261 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moderate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-

1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau [796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time [776 241] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

782 Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by
796

1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth [769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them. [24] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the [769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

[114] In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
[177] sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however, are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/226 cont./

272 539 574 One of my informants told me a legend that explains the origin of the prohibition against drinking milk. At the same time it shows how highly important hospitality is regarded among the Meau, since its neglect is punished so severely:

"In olden times there lived a Meau who had seven wives. The chief wife was a Meau, the first secondary wife, a Haw, that is to say, a Chinese, and the other secondary wives were all Meau. Each of these wives gave birth to a son. One day, an old man came and asked for milk. He first asked the chief wife, and then the other Meau wives, but they all refused him. Finally, he turned to the Haw wife, and she took pity on him and gave him milk. When he left, the /227/ old man said: 'Oh, you Haw woman, you have a good heart. Therefore you Haw people may eat and drink whatever you like. In the future, however, the Meau shall be forbidden to drink milk.'"

539 756 Concerning the origin of the shamans, I was able to learn various details, which Savina (1), however, has taken down in

1. II, p. 209.

greater detail and more fully among the Meau in Tonkin:

"There once lived two men, Ngionggi and Xigi. One day when they were on the seashore they saw an island in the middle of the waves. On this island a crane was sitting on a nest with eggs. The two men took these eggs, pierced and emptied them, and put them back in the nest. When the crane saw that they had been pierced, it filled them with a special substance and hatched them out after forty days. When Ngionggi and Xigi saw this, they took some of the substance, because they thought that they could arouse the dead with it. They tried it first on the corpses of an earthworm and an ant, which immediately came back to life. They then went into a village whose chief had just died, and they brought him back to life. Loaded with presents, they traveled on and everywhere they raised up the dead. One day they decided to return to their families. Their wives and children, however, had died a long time ago, and they were unable

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa [103] (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore rep- [574] resents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and [351] vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

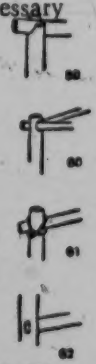
361 We did not come across any fortified villages among the 712 Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

[1] [see cat 116, p707- ANALYST]

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children,
[858] that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

/298 cont./

342 Corresponding to the division of a Meau house into a cook-
352 ing and living room, to sleeping and storage rooms, the equipment is also adapted to these purposes. (Abadie (1) and

1. Page 157.

Maspero describe the equipment of the house essentially in agreement with my observations.)

513 The sleeping rooms are enclosed by high boards loosely
[342] joined together. The doorless entrance to the sleeping room is usually hidden from view from the living room by a second wall. The place for lying down takes up the whole bedroom;
[352] thus, the bed (Fig. 115) is the size of the enclosed space (Fig. 116). It consists of wooden posts driven into the ground, upon which the frame of wooden or bamboo sticks is tied. A large plaited sleeping mat is spread out on it. On the bed lie old clothes, rags, and blankets, which, rolled up, also serve as pillows, since these are not made separately. Small shelves
[353] are usually put on the wall above the bed, on which pipes, tobacco, combs, and other personal "treasures" lie about. All kinds of stuff are put under the bed, especially baskets with clothing, cloth, and personal belongings.

/299/ Aside from these relatively large sleeping places and beds, it also happens frequently that numbers of the family, especially half-grown children, merely sleep on the floor on an outspread mat and covered with blankets. These blankets are like our quilts; a filling of a kapok-like material or cotton is covered with a self-woven fabric. /Figs. 115-116 appear here./
[434] Everywhere, however, one also finds blankets purchased from the Chinese. The sleeping place for guests is a mat-covered
[574] platform about 50 centimeters high.

342 Whereas Savina (1) describes the arrangements of the
513

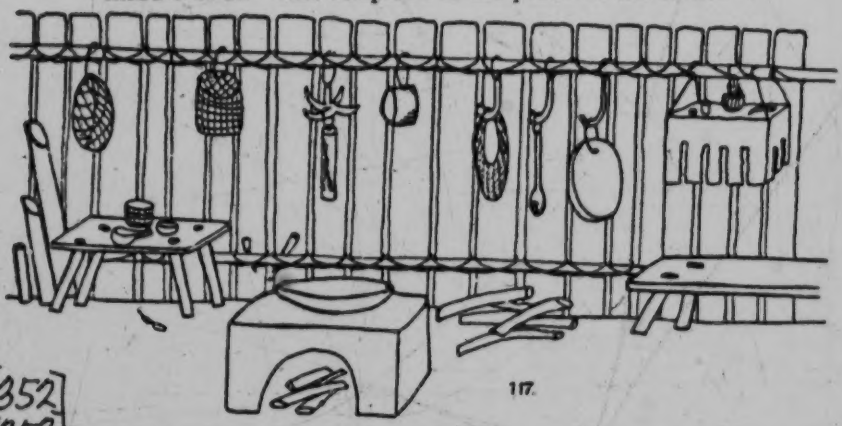
1. II, p. 190.

house and the sleeping rooms along the lines of my survey, Lajonquière (2) writes: "In the interior there is often no

2. II, p. 306.

/300/

354 [574] The large open fireplace, which is usually near the guest room or in the room itself, consists of an elevated, /Fig. 118 appears here/ square, mud base, on which a circle of stones is built, with the firewood in layers in the middle of it. This fireplace is the place of the father of



[352] [353] [415] [778]

Fig. 117. Wall in the cooking and living room of the Meau. 1/50 nat. size.

From left to right, hanging above: basket, basketwork bag, rolling pin, chopping block, carrying net, wooden ladle, gong, altar. From left to right, below: bamboo water-containers, little parking-table, knife sticking in the wall, cooking hearth with iron pot, firewood, bench to sit on.

Fig. 118. Hearth of the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

This fireplace is

354 /300 cont./ the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]

Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
[264] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[574] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[262] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/377 cont./

M 264 [262] [412] however, they take something along in order to eat at noon. The meals consist of some coarse maize dough in a bucket, some beans, and some vegetables. Spoons or chopsticks are used. Only on festive occasions is meat eaten. Some pork is always smoked and saved for important guests."

[574] [562] Meals are eaten together, except when strangers are present as guests (Ill. 106, 107);[1] even for the cold snack in the fields all sit down together.

A 262 No differently than the Meau, the Akha, too, in addition to their domestic animals and cultivated plants, use a great number of wild plants and all kinds of animals for food. Of the birds /378/ they disdain vultures and ravens, but not the hornbill. They also do not eat the numerous lizards ignored also by the Meau, as well as the larvae of flies, but on the other hand they do consume dogs, which are not eaten by the Meau.

A 252 [462] The preparation of meals among the Akha is likewise clean, but it differs in several ways from Meau cooking, while being related to it in the principal features. Among the Akha, too, it is usually the women who prepare the food, but the men very frequently help.

As a rule, the Akha cut meat into small pieces and cook it in water; they also chop it up, season it with spices, and then consume it raw. Curdled blood or the entrails of animals are prepared and eaten in the same way. Cooking pits and heated stones are also unknown to the Akha. Besides lard and the suet of the hunting booty, and in addition to the fats, the seeds of a sesame-like, oily plant must be mentioned. They A [782] are used in connection with offerings and simply by adding these seeds to the rice before it is cooked (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo").

A 252 [262] The basic foodstuff among the Akha is likewise rice, which is eaten at every meal. First of all it is freed from the husks and cleaned, and then it is ready to be cooked. Among the Akha its preparation is different then among the Meau. They soak it in water overnight and then cook it in the same

1 [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]

/464 cont./

152 556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

439 435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yarn, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

574 [123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /465/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.

/465 cont./

123 574 We experienced this hospitality of the Meau on several occasions. For example, when I visited one Meau village, the chief was absent. Nevertheless, his son provided me generously with all kinds of foodstuffs, though the harvest had not yet begun and the Meau themselves were therefore very short of food supplies, and my wife and I, as well as my porters and accompanying persons, represented a crowd of people who needed a great deal. When the chief returned from hunting after about eight days, I wanted to pay for everything, but he declined: "You are the first Whites to visit my village. I am glad that my people were in a position to give you hospitality, and I would never accept any compensation for something that is taken for granted." He was not to be dissuaded from this viewpoint.

574 648 The attitude of the Meau toward the Yumbri (Phi Tong Luang) is likewise typical. These shy nomads of the primeval forest, who lead their primitive existence in the forests colonized by the Meau, who are regarded by the Lao, Tin, Kamuk, and the other neighboring peoples as evil spirits, are murdered or are cheated and exploited in the most brutal ways, and whose fear of other people therefore knows no bounds, have confidence only in the Meau. The latter do not take advantage of their superiority over the primitives and grant them protection, help, and even shelter at the warming fireplace, when they knock at their doors, hungry and drenched by the rain, and offer their scanty forest products in exchange for rice or meat. The special hospitality of the Meau is mentioned by many authors, /466/ for example, [152] by Savina (1) and Abadie (2). At any rate, it shows how little

1. II, pp. 189 and 232.

2. Page 151.

greedy the Meau are.

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[264] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[832] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[521] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[602] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for
[562] women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at
[609] all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before
[125] the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward
us.

•574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their
presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant.
Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor
enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many
peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires
about the wife and children of the host. As has already been
pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
"Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
[562] case the women before the men, since that is regarded as im-
proper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left
over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only
then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series
of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female
against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man,
[832] if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it.
This also applies to married women who therefore may pour
brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo
regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the
chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage
Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

576 Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the [576] Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of [554] greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/172 cont./

*782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] [578] [770] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mischief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one inadvertently walks into a house where this performance is going on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs [171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore, [570] [409] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family 123
with whom I lived would accept no money 421
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often 152
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei[14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either 194
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 193

[96]

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

low stools, not more than four inches high, and 352
close at hand is an article of furniture which serves as a table, though it would be flattering to call it by that name. Arranged by the side of the walls are a grain bin, a cistern or tub in which the drinking water is kept, a contrivance which serves as a bed, a large iron pan for cooking and other purposes, and innumerable odds and ends which to you would appear useless but to the owner are valued family possessions. On rudely contrived shelves or in a roughly made cupboard are several earthenware or wooden basins with primitive chopsticks and spoons. You will notice the loom, which is 286
as primitive as that used in the days of the Biblical Pharaohs. It will interest you and you will wish to examine the framework, the warp beam, lease rods, shed stick, heddle-rod, cloth beam and unfinished fabric. Happily it is not a fixture and can be moved outside the house, so that the weary housewife can weave in the sun. For the most part the articles enumerated, together with bundles of clothes, form the whole household possessions of a Miao family. The tragedy of these mud huts 342
is not so much the poverty as the ugliness and the absence of cleanliness. The missionary often has to sleep in a house such as this, and when his bed has been set against the dividing wall, if this has been made of wattle as it frequently is, some animal will push his head through a hole in the partition to have a look at the stranger.

Miao salute one another with great cordiality, 576
men greeting men, and women, women, by rubbing

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

576 one another's left shoulder and asking "*Dieh zao nioh gioh?*"—"Are you well?" An adult greets children by rubbing or patting his or her head. The form of farewell is (the host) "Go slowly, go slowly" (the parting guest) "Sit slowly, sit slowly". They are wonderfully hospitable and guests are expected to eat to satisfy. How often the traveller sees them stuff away basin after basin of maize until he fears there will be a terrible accident! People will go short themselves so that visitors be generously treated. Should a guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and cooked—it is not always meticulously clean—and upon the departure of the guest a leg of the animal is always given to him. A non-observance of this custom would be a serious breach of good manners, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor. Hospitality is as characteristic of them as of the Arab, and a Miao will borrow food to entertain a guest. Though poor, thriftless and no lovers of fighting, they are simple and generous, honest and lovable. One of the child races of the world, they are as old as the Chinese, and when Moses led the children of Israel through the wilderness, the Miao were hunting wild beasts on their beloved hills and at the close of day their bards would sing a Miao version of the Creation, the Flood, and the Re-population of the World; and story-tellers would narrate quaint legends which have been handed down to this generation. Here is one. Would not Kipling have enjoyed it?

574 181

773 539 Long, long ago, instead of there being only one

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Miao AE5

A M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are

M 157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
[264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[832] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[521] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
[602] public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[562] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[609] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
[125] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant. Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires about the wife and children of the host. As has already been pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
[562] "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no case the women before the men, since that is regarded as improper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
[832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man, if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it. This also applies to married women who therefore may pour brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

576 Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the [576] Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of [554] greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

/467 cont./

426 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in
576 collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 As "please," the Meau use the word tau or tau men ye,
576 which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is to tse, but one usually says to tse ho lo, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use ya; as negation, ku tsi oa. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lau si yun; veneration = lau si lu le; contempt = hu yu; fear, horror = hui; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ou.

156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the
115 Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some
156 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is
622 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced
123 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/475 cont./

A 576 [648] [609] The Akha, too, treat women and children well, but are not nearly as polite as the Meau, are more robust in every respect, and believe less in the authority of the Whites, whom they approach with confidence. In any case, among the Akha nothing is to be seen of any overly great politeness toward strangers or one another, though they greet one another with the customary "where are you going" or "where do you come from." A [554] Among the Akha, as among the Meau, the younger ones must wait until they are addressed by the older ones. The Akha, however, are not familiar with any gesture of greeting. For M [177] [576] them the handshaking, folding of hands, or placing them on the chest, as is customary among the valley dwellers, is as unknown as the greeting gestures of the Meau, which are probably influenced by the Chinese.

If the Akha combine a visit with a request, they observe the same custom as the Meau do and casually mention the reason for their coming only in connection with the departure, likewise A 192 576 announced several times. As "please," the Akha use the word etšibilǎ; as "thank you," mǔhǎ. I could not find expressions for disdain, veneration, esteem, and astonishment. Expressions of fear and horror are tšǒ gǔ yō or only a drawn-out ī; the expression for hatred is mǎ hǒ nǒn yǎ. As affirmation, they utter a drawn-out ō; as negation, mǎī; mǎdyǎ is said with the meaning of "there is none."

A M 531 [577] In representational artistic talent, the Akha women, like those of the Meau, are far superior to the men. To be sure, the men of both peoples hardly have any opportunity for /476/ pictorial representation, which, in connection with the production of the richly ornamented clothing, is one of the virtues of a good housewife (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"). A 152 126 Even in connection with these representations, however, the greediness of the Akha became apparent. Not only did they demand exorbitant prices for everything that I wanted to acquire and, if I was unwilling to agree to it, disappear at once with their articles, never to appear again, but the Akha were also the only people to whom I had to give a special payment for every object that my wife wanted to sketch. It was

/90 cont./

833 scratching, biting the eyelashes, nose-rubbing, in brief, the elements that play such a significant role among some inhabitants of the South Seas.

In contrast to the complicated overtures, the sexual act itself is simple and almost primitive. This is all the more strange in view of the fact that, unlike other peoples, there are no religious prohibitions to compel limitations in this respect, and otherwise the Meau are very imaginative. Nevertheless, they definitely reject all variations, in which, as is known, their Chinese neighbors are so unrivaled. The woman always lies on her back with her legs extended or slightly bent; the man lies on top of her, body against body, and their cheeks touch. Other positions are in part unknown and in part rejected. The Meau say of the Yau, who prefer the reverse position of [186] the woman: "They copulate like dogs, this is not good for human beings." -- After the ejaculation both partners sleep a while, and then the girl gets up softly and prepares a meal for her friend from provisions that she has brought along; they eat, and the love play begins anew.

836 The settlement of love intrigues is interesting and characteristic of the attitude of the Meau. If it becomes known that a girl has several lovers, the latter ask her jointly whose love she enjoyed first. The others then withdraw without protest, and a young man would never think of competing with another for his girl.

577 836 As long as sexual intercourse does not result in pregnancy no one thinks of marriage. An attempt is made, only for the sake of public opinion, to keep all love affairs secret. In such matters no one will censure a lie, which is otherwise so strictly condemned by the Meau. Now, the villages of the Meau in northern Thailand are small, moreover, the members of the village community are subject to the marriage prohibition, since most of them are related by blood or belong to the sib. Hence, the young men must often walk for hours or days to reach their beloved. If a young man then returns home dead-tired and his father, as is unlikely, should ask him where

/90 cont./

577 836 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] [143] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] [614] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 833 513 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/253 cont./

692 the office of judge for him. In such cases, if an appeal is made
[622] against his decision, the village chief is then the next higher
[596] court. In disputes within a large family, the head of the family
[693] officiates. For serious decisions, assemblies under the chairmanship of the village chief or the great chief are convened, as I have reported in the chapter, "Political Organization."

695 The judge, with the help of witnesses, tries to determine the facts of the case. Special importance is attached to the testimony of the witnesses, and can be, according to my experience, because among the Meau the witnesses always tell the truth, at least subjectively. Dhuraratsadorn (1) seems to have

1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in
[681] favor of the accused. If it later turns out that he falsely denied
[626] his guilt, he is expelled from the community and must leave the village, for otherwise he would be killed."

In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to
[577] tell the truth, regardless of whether or not it is damaging to the witness or whether there are ties of kinship with the parties or
[687] witnesses. A refusal to give testimony is not permitted; false statements are punished severely.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

/461 cont./

577 aforementioned honesty which condemns lying to such an extent that it is not resorted to even if, in giving testimony, a father could thereby save his son, as I have already discussed in detail in the chapter, "Law and /462/ the Administration of Justice." Considering their urge for freedom, the Meau can otherwise be designated as thoroughly disciplined.

181 153 648 Moreover, they have both presence of mind and the ability to make decisions, and are also very enterprising. While I was staying in northern Thailand in 1937, a group of about 100 Meau including men, women, and children quite unexpectedly [166] appeared in the Thailand city of Lampang. They indicated that they wanted to seek out new residence sites farther to the south. They were allowed to camp at the railway station, and after a week railway coaches were put at their disposal, and they were actually transported to the southwest where they were allotted new dwelling space in the mountains there. If one considers what it means for the Meau to descend into the hated valleys and, in addition, to venture into the city of a Thai people, one will be convinced that such enterprise and determination are not readily found among any of the other mountain peoples of Farther India.

181 153 The Meau face the tasks of life quite methodically, and accordingly Savina (1) characterizes them: "Accustomed to

1. II, p. 185.

disentangling everything alone, a Meau never falls into difficulties." Marabail (2) comes to the following conclusion: "Whereas

2. Page 463.

the Man (Yau) is full of imagination and religion, the Meau is a materialist..."

/463 cont./

152 Emotions are readily apparent among the Meau. When a woman told us that three years ago her three sons had died of cholera within a few days, tears came into her eyes and she sobbed violently, though she was trying to master her emotions.

152 734 We were often able to observe how tenderly the Meau care for their sick. For example, a shaman had a completely paralyzed son about 22 years of age, who, however, was very active mentally. During the very first days of our stay, the old man carried his son on his back into our camp to ask me for help and healing. When I explained to him the hopelessness of the situation -- it was a case of progressive paralysis -- tears ran down his cheeks. Indeed, he had already so often beseeched his ancestors for help and offered them many sacrifices in vain. Nevertheless from then on the Meau always carried his son into our camp whenever I had some business with him, and tenderly laid him down near us so that he could participate in our conversations and thus be diverted.

156 123 The Meau are good-natured and companionable. In this connection I recall with what matter-of-fact hunting comradeship one Meau relieved me of my gun and rucksack and loaded them on his own back when he saw that, under the burden, I could scarcely keep up with his rapid pace in the steep thicket.

123 577 /464/ The Meau are almost excessively polite, without any influence on this behavior by materialistic mental reservations. Their innate politeness sometimes leads the Meau to little "white lies," which, however, according to their conception, are not regarded as lies. I had with me a white goat which was supposed to serve as tiger bait and had given it to the Meau to pasture in the maize fields. One day a Meau came to me and said: "Your goat seems to be sick. It has a wound in the stomach and has no appetite. I think that it will soon die." I, of course, had the goat brought to me immediately. It only had the skin on its stomach scratched a bit, and otherwise the animal was completely healthy. Later on it turned out that it had been in the way of the Meau during their harvesting.

/475 cont./

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/152 cont./

*782 [t[illegible] [illegible]-mang]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kuei mang
783 jen[illegible] [illegible]] and [kuei mang jen[illegible] [illegible]]. The time is in broad
825 daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only
[776] necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some
627 matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is
[578] wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible]]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine
[778] for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is
[776] necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple"](1) to drink blood.

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

/172 cont./

*782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mis-
[578] chief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to
come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one in-
[776] advertently walks into a house where this performance is going
on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a
performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs
[171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore,
[576] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he
[609] does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it
all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all
right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to
get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid
of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to
spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*[787] voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and distributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over, the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
[578] the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe from this kuei.

[821]
[776]
[755]

(16) The Wind Kuei

If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better, it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /73 cont./
883 consider which partner they could marry, and, in short, no longer live only in the present. They are entirely satisfied
M with the way of life prescribed by the sib laws. There are
[578] never any disputes between the generations. On the contrary, the young people treat the older ones with veneration and respect, and it never occurs to them to criticize existing institutions.

M Similarly, their attitude toward religious matters does
869 not change. Since early childhood these matters have played
755 a major role in their lives (see the chapter, "Religion and
771 Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). They have re-
[883] peatedly seen the shaman drive away evil spirits and believe that in doing so he has freed other children, and perhaps themselves, of these spirits and therefore of sicknesses (see the chapter, "Medicine"). Moreover, they have heard that in case of the death of a child, the shaman was weaker than the evil spirits. They do not doubt for a moment the existence of such spirits, whose activity and effect have been so strikingly and obviously demonstrated, for the death of a child always makes a lasting impression upon his playmates.

A /74/ Things are somewhat different among the Akha.
881 Probably as a result of premature sexual intercourse (see the
[896] section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter), the actual beginning of puberty brings with it only slight psychological changes.

A The pubescent Akha give no thought to the past or the
881 future. They do not criticize, but rather are completely satis-
883 fied with the way the adults regulate life. Similarly there is no criticism among them concerning the traditions and even less about religious matters, which in general do not play
A nearly as decisive a role as among the Meau. An exaggerated
[776] fear of the spirits is as unknown to the adolescents as to the
[781] adults. There is no period of passivity or of intense activity, no withdrawal or shame on the part of girls menstruating for the first time. The pubescent Akha for the most part have long been informed, and they therefore expect the advent of puberty with all the accompanying circumstances. There is no daydreaming or introspection among them. With the increase

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
[578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such
[595] sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
[583] know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

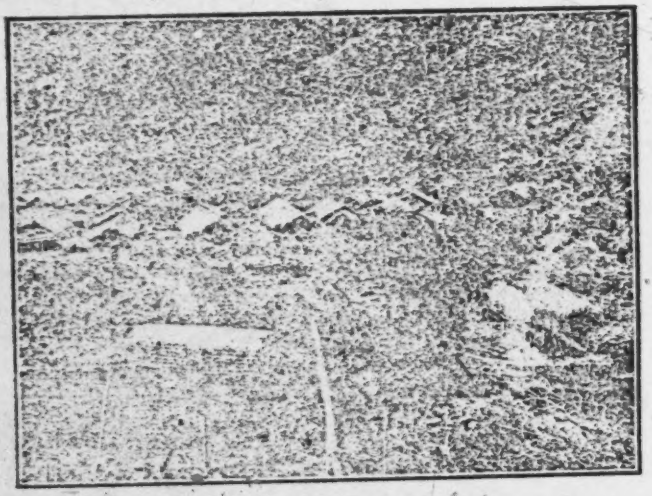
/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords.



MIAO VILLAGE.

The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned.

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between

174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being dis-
579 tilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

836. The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House", where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

7: Clarke M-3 . (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

settled by the landlord, and their matrimonial 627
disputes are settled among themselves, so there is very little litigation among them in the Chinese courts.

To help the reader to understand the con- 579
ditions under which the people of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, live outside the cities and towns, it should be mentioned that in most parts of the province there are local bands of robbers, dacoits they would be called in Burma, who prey upon travellers and upon the people who live in little villages and hamlets. As the population varies all over the province, some of these bands are composed of Chinese, some of Miao, and some of Chinese and Miao.

Two or three years ago when we were at 579
Panghai, two days south-west of Chenyüan, 628
the Panghai robbers, while prowling not far from Pingtsai, fifteen miles lower down the river, kidnapped a Miao girl who was sister, or something else, to one of the Pingtsai band of robbers. The Pingtsai robbers resented this and threatened to come to Panghai and attack the Panghai band. Thereupon there was a great sharpening of swords and spears in Panghai market-place and much tall talk. The Pingtsai men, however, did not come, and we never heard how the affair was settled. Both

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

579 628 these bands were made up of Chinese and Miao. Not infrequently Yamen runners and soldiers are connected with these bands and go out with them on their marauding expeditions. Some of the local gentry and Justices of the Peace, too, are often in league with them and share the plunder.

579 651 As far as we are able to judge, the Miao are not difficult to govern. They are not turbulent people, and if let alone or justly treated would never cause any trouble. But they do assert themselves sometimes even now, when the extortion of Yamen tax-gatherers drives them to desperation. Four years ago when Mr. and Mrs. B. Curtis Waters were travelling from Tushan to Kweiyang, they put up at an inn in the prefectural city of Tuyün. Suddenly about two thousand Heh Miao marched into the city armed with swords, spears, and guns. They called out to the shopkeepers and people in the street not to be afraid, they would not rob or injure them, all they wanted was the Prefect, and him they were going to kill. They rushed into the Prefect's Yamen, and wounded one of the secretaries whom they mistook for the Prefect, and the Prefect had time to escape. That revolt was provoked by the Yamen tax-collectors, who, under the pretext of founding

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

schools, squeezed the Miao unmercifully. The 579
District or County magistrate, whose Yamen 651
was within the city, reasoned with them and persuaded them to go away. They returned to their homes, and later on the affair was settled by the nominal punishment of some of the Miao and a more just collection of the education rate.

Of all the Miao in Kweichow, the Heh or 463
Black Miao are the most intelligent and the most self-reliant. Most of them own the land they cultivate, many of them are well-to-do, and in many respects they seem nearly equal, if not quite equal, to the Chinese peasantry around them. We have observed, however, that the artisans among them are neither so skilful nor so trustworthy as those among the Chinese. The Heh Miao not only bring their [443]
cattle and produce to market, but many of them engage in trade and open stalls on the market-place. Some of them buy pigs, rice, and other local products, and carry them for sale in their own boats to Hungkiang in Hunan. On the river that flows from Kai-li to Kienyang Hun, fifteen miles above Hungkiang, all the boatmen appear to be Miao. Elsewhere, however, the Miao seem to be poorer and inferior to the Chinese and Chung-chia. In Weining

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

126 with the singer or with the person who collected the songs to make sure that they were as nearly correct as possible. Finally, often with the help of my wife, I worked over the translations in order to improve the English without changing the meaning.

In all, I collected 752 songs, legends, historical and etiological traditions, and short stories, but not all these could be included in this volume. In the romanization of Chinese words the Wade system has been used, while the Miao words and phrases are generally in the international script.

579 One difficulty in pursuing my researches was the robbers, who might appear at any place at any time. The Ch'uan Miao region is very mountainous and abounds in forests, natural caves, and rock shelters. These make it easy for brigands and thieves to conceal themselves along the roads and to escape after a robbery. Many times I was prevented by the officials from taking a proposed trip because of the presence of bands of robbers. I have had numerous narrow escapes.

123 At first the Ch'uan Miao were very reluctant to give information about their beliefs and customs. They often told me that previously they had rarely given such information to Chinese or Westerners and that when they were asked they gave evasive answers. But during the years of contact with these people, a very warm friendship grew up between us, and they became very cooperative and helpful. Without their assistance it would have been impossible to carry on the study of their language and customs. They gave me the name of Na K'wa Dai Lo, or great and kindly teacher, and they always welcomed me to their homes. Several times they met me with bugles and banners, later giving banquets to show their friendly welcome. They permitted me to take pictures freely, gave me the information I wanted, and helped me collect stories and songs and learn their language. Some of them sold to me, for the West China Union University Museum, beautiful embroidered garments that were heirlooms. I am sincerely and deeply grateful to my Ch'uan Miao friends for their assistance.

In 1934 I obtained the help of Hsiung Ch'ao Sung, who could read and write Chinese and who had traveled widely in the Ch'uan Miao region. He gave me much valuable assistance in studying the language and customs, and it was through him that I collected most of the stories and songs. Yang Ch'ing Ming came to Chengtu to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School, and during his stay in Chengtu he rendered valuable help in my studies.

000 Lin Min Chun, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology, helped me translate Ch'uan Miao words and phrases into English and into Chinese, and further assisted by searching Chinese histories for references to the Ch'uan Miao. Similar aid was rendered by Dr. Cheng Teh K'un, my successor as curator of the museum. Dr. Serge Elisseeff, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Prof. Jesse Moncrieff, who was president of the Union Language School at Chengtu, aided me in clarifying the Ch'uan Miao sounds and taking them down in the international script. My wife, Alicia Morey Graham, spent a great deal of time correcting the notes and typing the stories and songs.

[199 cont.]

(III) The Moon Dance. The moon dance in the fourth month
535 is the nocturnal meeting of the Miao-I in the An-shun area. Ac-
832 cording to Miao-I customs, whenever the moon and the stars are bright, young men and women may go out at this period of the year in groups of a few persons or a dozen or more each to some quiet, lonely spots in the vicinity of the village to play music and dance. The steps for the dance are the same as those for the flower dance. Young girls who are attracted by the music are not prevented by parents from running out to watch the dance. A man's glory is to extract a smile from a girl, and when her parents are not taking notice he may take her to the woods to whisper to her honeyed words of love. Therefore, the moon dance is an occasion for love-making by the Miao-I youths.

(IV) The "Kan-piao." The moon dance described above
517 provides night recreations and scenes of love serenades for the
832 Miao-I. The "kan-piao" is another form of recreation that gives men and women a chance to fall in love, but it may be pursued during night or day. The "kan-piao" is also known by various names such as "ta-ma-lan," "yao-ma-lang," "ta-piao," and "ling-piao." To perform it, the man would first whistle
[534] by means of some leaves in the mouth or play the flute as a signal to entice the lover to some shaded nook to exchange lovers' vows. An ideal place for "kan-piao" is a deep forest out of reach of human footsteps. In former times, in isolated places outside the village, there were erected little sheds called "flower chambers" for the rendezvous of young men and women. These flower chambers, however, are now nine out of ten destroyed. Ordinarily, when they carry on "kan-piao," the man would take the girl home, otherwise he would be accused of kidnapping. If a girl takes a man home, her parents would
[574] not only leave them alone, but are also obliged to kill a chicken and provide wine in order to show the graciousness of their daughter in receiving guests. The custom of "kan-piao" is most popular with the Chung-chia in the An-shun district. They have comparatively fewer forms of recreation than the Hua Miao, and the young people among them often indulge in "kan-piao" as a
[579] happy pastime. Often in "kan-piao" a man gets into a fight

[199 cont.]
517 with weapons over a girl. Such brawls, known as "seeking
832 enemies," are not infrequent.
579

[200] (V) Musical Instruments. The Miao-I within the
534 district are fond of playing musical instruments. These include the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument], wu-sheng [five-pipe bamboo wind instrument], k'ou-ch'in [mouth organ or harmonica], hsiao-ti [flutes and fifes] and so-na [clarinet-type wood-wind instrument], of which the liu-sheng is the most common among the Miao-I. Each family, no matter how rich or poor, owns one. The instruments are described as follows:

(a) The liu-sheng. This instrument is called liu-sheng 六笙 because its bamboo tubes can give six [liu 六] tones. It is also called lu-sheng 盧笙 from the word "lu" 盧, meaning "bamboo-reed." It is made of six bamboo tubes of varying lengths, one end of which is inlaid with a brass plate as a metallic tongue. The bamboo tubes are inserted into either a round or square wooden case, at one end of which is a wooden handle. Each tube has a hole, through which the player blows and sucks, and which he stops at will with his fingers, thus issuing different sounds. The varying lengths of the bamboo tubes make it possible to have both high and low pitches.

The use of the liu-sheng is very extensive. At the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance and other gatherings this is the most important musical instrument. During the funeral ceremony the liu-sheng renders the most solemn music. Young men who wish to excel others have no regard for the time con-
[832] sumed in mastering the art of playing this instrument, for it is the best recommendation to the fair sex. The following are two com-
533 mon tunes for the six-tube bamboo wind-instrument. Its music, simple and clear, is used to accompany songs that are widely sung in the Miao-I area.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

581 181 There is a strong sentiment against marrying daughters into families that live far away or in desolate places on high mountains. The common belief that the Miao love to live on the high and rugged mountains and are unwilling to live on the rich and level plains is as great a mistake as historians ever made. The Miao live on the high and rugged mountains because they are a defeated people and have been forced to do so. The Ch'uan Miao name for heaven is "Ntao ni l∧u G∧u bl" or "the ancient level country of God." It is a land where there are no more steep mountains to climb.

585 Before the bride leaves her home, a meal is provided by her parents for her and for those who escort her. In the wedding procession there are generally one or more old women, relatives of the bride, a male relative or friend who manages the procession, the brothers of the bride and other friends who choose to go along. If it is a long distance to the groom's home, a meal is provided to be eaten by the way. In the bridal procession are generally carried such clothing, boxes, chests of drawers or other objects that have been given as bridal presents by her parents to the bride. The manager carries with him a bamboo tree with roots which symbolizes the large number of descendants of the couple. It is also supposed to have magic power to help the family thus to prosper. Sometimes a branch of a tea tree is also carried. Some plant the bamboo tree and others hang it up on the wall of the house. The *lin sheng* is not used at weddings for its notes are thought to be too sad for such occasions.

On arriving at the home of the groom, the brothers of the bride generally escort her into the house as a protection from demons. If she has no brothers, first cousins will do and lacking these, other male relatives may be invited to act as brothers. When entering the house the bride covers her face with a black and a white cloth. Her older brother goes in front and she holds onto his belt. Behind her an older or younger brother holds an umbrella over her as protection from demons.

Sometimes the bride and her companions enter the home and walk around in a circle three times. At other times, the Chinese custom of kowtowing three times to parents, relatives, and friends is followed. Tea is soon offered to the guests. According to an old custom that is no longer observed, the meat of a particular kind of bird and fish were provided at wedding feasts. There is always a wedding feast for the relatives and friends. One of the male relatives later counts before all the clothing, chests of drawers, and other things that have been sent along by the bride's parents. When her relatives and friends finally depart, the groom and his relatives go through a form of detaining her by force. This shows that

/90 cont./

577 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on
836 the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

•581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs [143] rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with [614] their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their
833 bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives
513 do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/11 cont'd/

175 "If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise
161 Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-enforcements." If these "Han-ta troops," "Lang-t'u soldiers," and the "Lang-mu," the "Ta-shou," etc., all were Miao troops, or if Miao troops constituted a part of them, we may conclude that the Miao troops who were repeatedly moved there could not have numbered less /12/ than 10,000. Another important question is whether these Miao troops brought their women along with them, or whether it was only in a later period that they began to increase prolifically through marrying the women of other groups in the Hainan
175 area? This is a very interesting question worthy of study. It is, of
162 course, closely related to the physical type of the present Miao people, and it is also directly related to the question of the number of original Miao immigrants. As far as I know, even at the present
[582] time, marriage among the Miao is still limited to their own group. To marry members of other groups (such as the Chinese, Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and others) is forbidden. Thus it is very probable that the Miao troops brought their women with them when they first came. There might have been an equal number of women accompanying
161 the original 10,000 Miao troops. Hence, the number of earliest Miao
175 immigrants would have been over 10,000 at the very least.

[27] Secondly, we shall examine the numbers recorded in the local annals. In the annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, it is stated that the Miao in Tan-chou consisted of "about 90 families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than a thousand." Since they numbered "less than a thousand," we may suppose that there were 500. An average village might consist of ten families of five members each. According to the same source, there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district. To use the same method of statistical averages for measurement, the five villages might have consisted of 50 families with 250 individuals. According to the annals of Kan-en district, there were "several hundred Miao families" in this particular district. Let us suppose that there were 500 families. Using the same method of calculation, there might have been 50 villages with a total population of 2,500, not counting those who

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582] marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584 marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
596 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

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Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 651 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- 583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [131] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in- 608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

/50 cont'd/

585 stood outside the door waiting for a Taoist priest to perform the ritual before entering the house. After that she entered the house escorted by a woman. In the evening the bridegroom's family also held a dinner to entertain their relatives and friends, and that brought an end to the wedding ceremony. After the wedding was over, the two bridesmaids were each rewarded with 300 cash and three catties of pork. The cash was given by the bride's family and the pork by the bridegroom's.

On the morning of the third day, the new couple went back to the bride's home; but on the fourth, they went over to the bridegroom's home again and returned to the bride's home the day after.

585 Thereafter, the bridegroom remained in his wife's home and became
608 a member of her family, sharing all the privileges and obligations. After the death of his parents-in-law, he may either move away from his wife's family with his wife, or change his surname to that of his father-in-law so that he becomes a member of that family forever.

585 I did not have the opportunity to observe personally the manner in which the wedding of the ch'ü-hsi type is celebrated. However, it was said that it is entirely similar to the wedding of the chao-chui type except that the roles of the families of the man and woman are reversed.

587 There is no ceremony when a widow remarries, nor are there any betrothal gifts. When they decide to be married, the man merely furnishes a chicken, which they eat together, and the marriage is concluded.

There are some additional points worth noting about marriage among the Miao.

● 582 /51/ (1) Those who have the same surnames are not allowed to marry one another. However, if they are sure that they have no particular blood relationship but simply have the same surname, the marriage is sometimes permissable.

(2) The average age to marry for either sex is about twenty.

585 (3) The Miao people avoid getting married in the third month of the lunar year, when the cotton flower and a plant called toon

/141 cont'd/

585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
882 The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[763]

2:Ling & Ruey--128 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also
582 with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization
[614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage
[177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of
[551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big
177 dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family
594 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and
764 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him.
[345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered
[584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing
517 Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would
[533]

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

•582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

514 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
684 they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
[837] as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AF5

582 585 [591] The young people are married at seventeen or eighteen, and it seems to make no difference whether the young couple live with the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or set up housekeeping in their own home. The wedding is usually held at the groom's home, two or three young girls and a young man or two from his village going for the bride and escorting her back. The bride wears no distinctive dress except a peculiar headdress under her kerchief, and an embroidered girdle of undyed cloth. She also carries two small towels of this same material thrown over her shoulders, and one to cover her face. According to their custom, the bride and groom sit on the same bench and eat and drink together, and then declare their allegiance to the family by serving tea to the parents or in some other simple way.

771 [797] The Miao in their heathen state apparently worshipped any and all gods in an effort to appease them but with little definite idea or set ritual. Idols do not seem to be in evidence in their houses, and being a roving people, they have no temples. They have within the last few years become interested in the Gospel and whole villages have become Christian, much as has been the case in the mass movement, so-called, in India. They are a simple people, highly emotional and temperamentally religious, which is often true of hill peoples. Thus certain emotional phases of religion immediately become paramount in their eyes, and without careful teaching they are liable to be led astray on these points.

797 [2,2] The Miao have no written language of their own, but pick up Chinese character with amazing rapidity. The Christian villages each put up a chapel at their own expense, meet every morning for prayer before they go to their work, and every evening for a short service and an hour or so of study. When a Chinese evangelist or a missionary comes to the village, they study until midnight, when they are sent home in self-defence by the teachers—and at 2 a.m. they are up pounding rice, so that we wonder when they sleep. They are a wonderfully interesting people, these "Children of the Forest," as they style themselves, and it is a rare privilege to be among them and come to know them.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (揚 and 楊). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

[9a]

[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Sexual attraction naturally results in love affairs and love affairs naturally result in sexual intercourse. Sometimes this results in marriage but often it does not. 584

Children are often married at a very early age. It is not uncommon for a child to be married when only three or four years old and most children are married by the time they are twelve. Of course these are not love matches, and serious love affairs later in life with men and women to whom they are not married are quite likely to occur. 582

The normal way is for engagements to be made by the parents of the boy through go-betweens. The initiative is taken by the parents of the young man. When they have decided that they wish to make an engagement between their son and a certain girl, they call two go-betweens who are invited to a meal in the boy's home. A chicken is killed for the meal and its tongue, its bones and other parts of its body are examined to ascertain whether or not the circumstances are propitious. 584

If the signs are propitious, the middle men proceed to the home of the girl. There they endeavor to secure a favorable reply from the girl's parents who in turn call in go-betweens. If her parents are favorable, the go-betweens are feasted and they proceed to determine the details of the gift which must be given by the boy's parents to those of the girl. The gift may include pork, domestic animals, rice, beans, corn, money, or any other commodity. When the engagement presents have been given and accepted by the girl's parents, the engagement is complete and is seldom broken. There is a second feast for the go-betweens and other friends at the time when the engagement gifts are presented. The engagement is a contract between the parents of the young people. While the bride is not actually purchased, the value of the gift often goes a long way towards securing a favorable decision by the girl's parents.

When the go-betweens arrive at the home of the girl much of the work of making the engagement is often done by means of songs. By certain songs they announce their mission to the girl's parents. Other songs carry the work along, even to the matter of approximately arranging the gift. There are songs when the gifts are presented. Sometimes these songs take the form of contests when the two sets of go-betweens ridicule or try to outwit each other or see who can keep going the longest.

When the parents are unwilling to marry off a daughter, or nobody seeks her hand in marriage, or when the parents are unable or fail to make an engagement for a son, the marriageable person endeavors to win a mate. For this purpose he or she goes to the market place on the third day of the third moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽 on the fifth day of the

[10 cont.]

591 practiced by one tribe and then followed by others for so long a time that at last it was firmly established. There are only a few
587 couples who are separated. In such cases, they would participate in moon dance, chasing the moon, yao-ma-lang or kan-piao, and other such agencies of free love to seek their mate for a second marriage.

When a boy reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen the
584 [582] parents usually negotiate marriage for him. First, a friend or a relative is asked to approach a girl's family to propose marriage. When the latter family approves, the go-between would bring the boy and his parents over for an interview. If both sides are satisfied, they then start negotiations of gifts and dowry and make arrangements for the engagement. If one side is not satisfied the matter is dropped. This refers to total strangers: between those who are acquainted with each other such arrangements are unnecessary. In the old days the gift and dowry were
583 given in terms of the number of cows instead of money. Recently, they have been changed to silver pieces, and the larger the amount, the more magnificent it is for the girl's family. If the amount is small then the girl's status is considered low and it becomes a disgrace to the family. When the question of the bride price is settled (with the Hua Miao the highest gift comes to $100 or more) the go-between appoints a date to convey it to the girl's family. Accepting the gift, the family gives a feast, in which friends and relatives are invited to keep the go-between company and to regale him with meat and wine. This is the engagement. Before the wedding day, the gift donation must be fully paid up through the go-between; but if the girl's family is fond of the future son-in-law, half or all the bride price may be
585 waived. On the wedding day the bridegroom's family sends along a man and a woman to welcome the bride, and sometimes the groom goes there himself. (But the groom must provide meat and wine as a welcome home feast.) The bride's parents would ask a few young girls to keep the bride company the night before, and before daybreak the party would commence the wedding march, the bride shaded under a bridal parasol. On arrival at the groom's house, the members of the party have to leap across

[20 cont.] (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a
583 cousin on the mother's side, and if she is to marry somebody
584 else, she has to give money to her maternal uncle. This money
[582] is called "niece's cash.") The girl's family would then give a feast in honor of the go-between and invite other guests to keep him company.

585 [21] Marriages generally take place during the winter harvest in the second lunar month or the autumn harvest in the tenth lunar month. At that time the groom's family will again despatch three or four young men to the bride's family, carrying nine catties of pork, a package of glutinous rice weighing about two or three catties together with the cash gift negotiated at the time of the engagement. Announcement will also be made of the date for receiving the bride (about twenty days away on a horse day or a cow day). The return gift from the girl's family at the time consists only of a package of glutinous rice and a duck. But on the wedding day the bride's family has to despatch two men early in the morning to send over to the groom's family a slaughtered pig of about fifty to sixty catties and two big baskets, approximately four pecks, of glutinous rice to herald the arrival of the bride. At the wedding march the bride is arrayed in a flowered dress, holding in her hand the flowered parasol, sent previously by the groom's family, and accompanied by eleven male and female relatives. But halfway six of them must retract their steps because grown-up girls may not visit the groom. Among the other five, one young woman acts as the bride's maid and always keeps her company. The groom's family also despatches men to carry wine and rice to meet the bridal party halfway. When the two groups meet they picnic in the field. After this the bride and her kinsmen are conducted to the groom's family.

The bridal chamber is not so well decorated as that of the Chinese, and the furniture in the room is simple and plain.
[352] Except for one or two chests of drawers for the bride's clothes which come as a part of the dowry, the rest is provided by the groom and consists of a bed, a few stools, a wooden face-basin and a foot-basin. Quilts, pillows and mat are also provided by the groom's family. That day the celebration consists of singing

[22 cont.]

586 marriage. The amount of indemnity varies from under one hundred to several hundred dollars, fixed and guaranteed by relatives of both families at the time of negotiation to avoid future complications. Of course, this kind of divorce is not only limited to pre-arranged marriages by parents, the fact is that even in marriages of love, separations often occur due to incompatibility and difference of opinions. But whenever children are born within the wedlock, divorces never occur.

768 There are very few cases of young widowhood among
587 the Miao-I. According to customs a young widow may return
[589] to her own family six months after the death of her husband. Among the neighboring Long-skirt Miao the wife may go out through the back door to "yao-ma lang" with another man hardly before her husband breathes his last on the deathbed. The children of the deceased father generally remain in his family to be looked after by the grandparents, but the widow may bring them along to her own family if her deceased husband's family is poor and unable to support them. [23] At the same time the widow's parents may proceed to find another husband for their daughter. After marriage the second husband has to pay $4.20 to the wife's family, from which $1.20 is given to the deceased husband's family as "incense money" for sacrifices to his spirit. At the wedding the bride is escorted on foot by two old women to her husband's house, where feasts may be given and the occasion celebrated if his family is well-to-do.

Of course, the Miao also have certain taboos in their
582 marriage system. Between sisters and brothers, between cousins and, like the Chinese, between parties of the same surname, no marriage takes place. Sometimes certain families are not matched with others although their surnames are different. For instance, the Yang family at P'ing-chai in the Chou-ch'i district in Lu-shan never have marital relations with the Pan family across the river at Hsin-chai. Between the Chinese and the Miao there are also very few instances of intermarriage. In the country the Miao, who consist of the majority of the population, maintain the most friendly relations in utter social equality

[23 cont.]

582 with the Chinese who live among them. Many of the Chinese speak the Miao language and are even influenced by the Miao in certain habits and customs, but intermarriages are extremely rare. Actually this is not only true of the Miao and the Chinese, but also of the different Miao groups. For instance at Chou-ch'i in the Lu-shan area there are 4,000 Short-skirt Hê Miao, about 200 to 300 Chinese, and less than 100 Mu-lao Miao. For marriage, these few Mu-lao Miao have to seek contacts in other Mu-lao villages very far away and never for a moment would they think of intermarrying the Short-skirt Hê Miao on the spot.

4. Funeral

764 When a Short-skirt Hê Miao dies his family decides on a lucky day to invite three or four relatives to specially wail [777] aloud for him. The corpse is placed on a temporary scaffold about five feet from the ground on the left side of the hall and covered with sheets of coarse native cloth of about six feet long and two feet wide. The married daughters as a rule each present a sheet. [24] The unmarried daughters at home also collectively present one, though in some rich families everyone gives a sheet. These different colored sheets are used to line the coffin at the time of interment. When the corpse is being moved out of the house, the family members all wear hemp cloth on their heads and weep aloud around the body. At the same time they despatch messengers to announce the bereave- [202] ment to relatives living far away. In case the deceased is a man, they fire hunting rifles at the gate, or in the case of a woman, firecrackers so that those relatives within earshot may be apprised. The little table in front of the corpse is complete with spirit tablet, incense and candles, four bowls of glutinous rice, twelve cups of wine, a pig's heart and stomach, and other offerings. A priest is engaged to "open the way." He wields a dagger and a bunch of straw, uttering magic words and brandishing, at the same time, the dagger and straw, in an effort to drive away evil spirits that may obstruct the way.

/86 cont'd/ - [MIAO]

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [583]

Mo [585 171]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

/86 cont'd/

Mi 582

has the force of law, which requires taking a wife of one's own race. Savina, Hist. des Miao, p. 284.

/87/ B. Marriages of Widows as Official Wives

Mo 587 589

Summary. -- 1. Rights of widows, theory and practice. 2. Procedure for the purchase of a widow. 3. Departure of the widow. 4. Settling of accounts. 5. Marriage of widows. 6. Two typical abductions of widows. 7. Vestiges of marriage by abduction among the T'ou-jen.

1. Rights of Widows, Theory and Practice

When parents give a daughter in marriage, they say, "We have taken leave of our daughter," or "We have given our daughter," or even with a slight scorn "We have sold her"; which denotes clearly that a girl's marriage is not her own affair but definitely the business of her parents. On the other hand, when a widow marries, they say, "She has found a man," that is, that she herself has chosen her husband and that she has acted in complete freedom. Besides, the adage says, "Ts'ien kia yeou tié-niang, heou-kia yeou pen-jen," i.e., the first marriage is arranged by the parents, subsequent marriages no longer depend on the parents but on the widow herself.

The terminology used to indicate these two kinds of marriages, as well as this adage, both throw light on the new situation of a woman in widowhood. Everything depends on her; she will remarry or not, and she will choose by herself the husband she wants. At least this is the theory. Yet in practice her right will be respected as long as her owners find no disadvantage in the decision taken by her. It may even happen that she is married off by force by her parents-in-law, and even that she is simply abducted by an unknown man. This is to say that everywhere praxis differt a speculatione /"practice differs from theory"/. But /88/ let us remember this: in case of litigation, everywhere among the T'ou-jen, the rights of the widow

Mo [183]

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan,
582 or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

/32 cont./

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children; no limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and [582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child [428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qualified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but [851] are received into the family community with the same ceremony as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights for this child from its former family.

597 184 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this, [595] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named, must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these statements.

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide
[562] to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

/93 cont./

M 114 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said.

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 [163] Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [519] [833] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] 614 [736] to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648 Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563 Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. M [114] Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/110 cont./

A 582 648 563 114 [609] [535]

Among the Akha, on the other hand, the strict tribal endogamy is not relaxed even theoretically. As a rule strangers to the tribe may not even appear at the dancing places as spectators! The Census of Burma (1), however, speaks of a

1. Vol.. XI, p. 183.

strong mixture with the Chinese, which I myself was unable to verify anywhere. Scott (2), too, mentions that the Akha women

2. II, p. 270.

are instantly willing to marry any stranger," and that the "girls are inexpensive and not particular." To be sure, these reports say nothing about what region they are dealing with, so I was unable to ascertain whether or not these were perhaps tribal splinter-groups that more or less voluntarily were subject to the Chinese.

A M 582 835

Besides the above-mentioned and practiced tribal endogamy, among the Meau, as well as among the Akha, blood relationship up to the third generation /Glied, "member, rank, generation"/ is viewed as an obstacle to marriage. Beyond that, however, among both peoples bearers of the same name may marry.

A 835 614 178

Though the incest rules are strictly applied -- Telford (3)

3. Page 149.

even writes that incest is punished by being buried alive -- nevertheless among the Akha there is a custom that relaxes these regulations. It is of special importance particularly in the mountains of Thailand, where there are small enclaves of the very prolific Akha, who are able to maintain only loose connections with the compactly settled groups. If in such enclaves there are especially many offspring, even for the Akha, within a sib, the two oldest family heads, who are usually brothers, organize a great festival in which all the members

A [574]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/110 cont./

A 835 614 178 [574] of the family participate. For this gathering pigs are slaughtered, and rice and alcohol are served. Then the two eldest divide the younger members of the family into two groups, each of which is placed under one of the two heads. Then the two elders decide to form different families from then on. From this moment on the members of the two newly-formed groups may intermarry, no matter what their actual blood relationship may be. /111/

A 582 Otherwise the great importance attached to the obstacles to marriage may be seen from the social customs, which in part are observed in such a way that the young people cannot be tempted to violate the existing obstacles to marriage (see the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

A M 582 [614] [621] Theoretically local exogamy does not prevail among either the Akha or the Meau. In the small Meau villages in northern Thailand, however, which are usually inhabited by only a single sib, it is observed in practice, since bearers of other family names are rarely found in one village. Except for the marriage restrictions described, however, there is a free choice of mates; among neither the Akha nor the Meau can an individual be forced to select his partner from a certain sib or a certain village. Savina (1) speaks in general of exogamy.

A M [114]

1. II, p. 284.

It seems to me, however, that he does not interpret the concept quite correctly, for from his description of the conditions it becomes unmistakably clear that true tribal endogamy is involved.

g) Dissolution of Marriage

M 587 Upon the death of one of the spouses, the surviving party may marry again among both the Meau and Akha.

A [587] If the wife dies, the husband as a rule simply takes a new wife as though he had never been married (see the section on

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II, p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II, p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

"One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
764 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
775 string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse,
is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 101 162 291 184 /455 cont./

any rate, it turned out that the "Black" and the "Flowery Meau" are identical with the "White Meau" and actually differ only in that the women of the one Meau wear dark-blue skirts with stylized floral patterns in batik work, while those of the other Meau wear white skirts. Neither in the language nor in any racial or cultural element did further differences come to light. [582] For judging the matter it seems to me to be especially decisive that the tribal endogamy which is otherwise strictly observed in practice does not apply between these three Meau tribes; thus, Black and White Meau may freely intermarry.

A 131 162 [167]

The Akha, too, like the Meau, reached the region inhabited by them today only in the course of their wandering. Among them, too, their continuous migratory movement obstructs any demographic coverage. With respect to Burma, the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1) of the year 1900 stated that the

1. Vol. I, p. 588.

Akha belonged among the most numerous and most widespread mountain peoples of Kengtung. This supposedly could be stated positively for the eastern uplands. At any rate, they were supposed to be a people more numerous than most of their neighbors. Telford (2) /456/ considers them the numerically strongest

2. Page 90.

mountain people in the state of Kengtung and states that their homeland, like that of the Katschin /Kachin/ and Lahu, was China. Consequently, they are of "Mongolian origin."

The census of the state of Kengtung gives for the year 1931 12,968 Akha (6,484 houses). It is certain that only a part of that portion of the people living in Kengtung is included in this figure. The official Burma Census Rep. (1) of the same year

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 183.

gives 40,407 Akha for Burma as against 34,265 individuals in

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 551 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- •583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [831] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in-608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

M
*101 /20 cont./
CC in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[517] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[307] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
M Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
[291] numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
M with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
[527] women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[782] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[769] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[776] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

584 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from
[583] cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
684 they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
[837] as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/95 cont./

584 Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been
[177] thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine
[556] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ɲiaŋ7 tɛɤ mpʿa7), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense
[782] has to take place, which is called /soŋ7 tʿiɤ), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally
[583] consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat. The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon
[556] the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may
[583] omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
●583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the
584 lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom. [301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's 585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's [177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and [756] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the [782] ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kow- [787] tows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and [556] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At 585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense 782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine. [756] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
585 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made
as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather
like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it
often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger
blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

[10 cont.]

591 practiced by one tribe and then followed by others for so long a time that at last it was firmly established. There are only a few couples who are separated. In such cases, they would participate 587 in moon dance, chasing the moon, yao-ma-lang or kan-piao, and other such agencies of free love to seek their mate for a second marriage.

When a boy reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen the 584 [582] parents usually negotiate marriage for him. First, a friend or a relative is asked to approach a girl's family to propose marriage. When the latter family approves, the go-between would bring the boy and his parents over for an interview. If both sides are satisfied, they then start negotiations of gifts and dowry and make arrangements for the engagement. If one side is not satisfied the matter is dropped. This refers to total strangers: between those who are acquainted with each other such arrangements are unnecessary. In the old days the gift and dowry were 583 given in terms of the number of cows instead of money. Recently, they have been changed to silver pieces, and the larger the amount, the more magnificent it is for the girl's family. If the amount is small then the girl's status is considered low and it becomes a disgrace to the family. When the question of the bride price is settled (with the Hua Miao the highest gift comes to $100 or more) the go-between appoints a date to convey it to the girl's family. Accepting the gift, the family gives a feast, in which friends and relatives are invited to keep the go-between company and to regale him with meat and wine. This is the engagement. Before the wedding day, the gift donation must be fully paid up through the go-between; but if the girl's family is fond of the future son-in-law, half or all the bride price may be waived. On the wedding day the bridegroom's family sends along 585 a man and a woman to welcome the bride, and sometimes the groom goes there himself. (But the groom must provide meat and wine as a welcome home feast.) The bride's parents would ask a few young girls to keep the bride company the night before, and before daybreak the party would commence the wedding march, the bride shaded under a bridal parasol. On arrival at the groom's house, the members of the party have to leap across

[20 cont.]

539 Little sister thinking of her boy -
In pain;
Big brother thinking of his girl -
Nonchalantly.

IX

After breakfast a cliff we climb,
We throw leaves down the sand-bank,
Fishes are dead, big and small --
Without lover, 'tis never all.

X

The ants climbing a tree do not fear its height,
When you woo a maiden, you fear not another's might.
In love you should not be afraid of death,
Distant Yunnan is so near if you must measure your sword.

584 The engagement procedure is rather simple, and no exchange of "eight characters" [indicating the year, month, day and hour of the birth of betrothed persons] or selection of a lucky date is required. After the approval of the parents, the go-
583 between may formally make arrangements, first bringing over
584 the dowry in the form of a "chao-tai" [visiting belt?] to the boy's home. The return gift from the boy's family, which must now be agreed upon, averages from ten to forty dollars in cash. The boy's family further sends through the go-between a flower patterned cloth parasol for deposit in the girl's family and for use by the future bride when she goes to the husband's house at the time of the wedding. On the day of the engagement the boy's family may not provide a feast, but has to despatch three or four young men carrying to the girl's family wine, glutinous rice, chickens and ducks as well as $3.60, known as "niece's cash." (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a

[20 cont.] (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a
583 cousin on the mother's side, and if she is to marry somebody
584 else, she has to give money to her maternal uncle. This money
[582] is called "niece's cash.") The girl's family would then give a feast in honor of the go-between and invite other guests to keep him company.

585 [21] Marriages generally take place during the winter harvest in the second lunar month or the autumn harvest in the tenth lunar month. At that time the groom's family will again despatch three or four young men to the bride's family, carrying nine catties of pork, a package of glutinous rice weighing about two or three catties together with the cash gift negotiated at the time of the engagement. Announcement will also be made of the date for receiving the bride (about twenty days away on a horse day or a cow day). The return gift from the girl's family at the time consists only of a package of glutinous rice and a duck. But on the wedding day the bride's family has to despatch two men early in the morning to send over to the groom's family a slaughtered pig of about fifty to sixty catties and two big baskets, approximately four pecks, of glutinous rice to herald the arrival of the bride. At the wedding march the bride is arrayed in a flowered dress, holding in her hand the flowered parasol, sent previously by the groom's family, and accompanied by eleven male and female relatives. But halfway six of them must retract their steps because grown-up girls may not visit the groom. Among the other five, one young woman acts as the bride's maid and always keeps her company. The groom's family also despatches men to carry wine and rice to meet the bridal party halfway. When the two groups meet they picnic in the field. After this the bride and her kinsmen are conducted to the groom's family.

The bridal chamber is not so well decorated as that of the Chinese, and the furniture in the room is simple and plain.
[352] Except for one or two chests of drawers for the bride's clothes which come as a part of the dowry, the rest is provided by the groom and consists of a bed, a few stools, a wooden face-basin and a foot-basin. Quilts, pillows and mat are also provided by the groom's family. That day the celebration consists of singing

[21 cont.]

585 and drinking, which lasts throughout the night, neither hosts nor guests retiring. That night, the bride and groom do not share the room together. When tired the bride may lie down with the groom's younger sister. The next day the bride and her kinsmen return to her home. After three more days the bride is re-escorted to her husband's family by her brothers and male cousins. After a few days' stay she returns once more to her parents. Thus the wedding ceremony officially terminates. Later, every 591 time the husband wants his wife back he has to send over two or three sheng of glutinous rice to her family, and she will then come back with an escort of her kinsmen. Each year from the second to the eighth lunar month when farm work in her husband's family requires the help of the wife, she often goes over [22] but only for a few days as a guest without participating in housecleaning and cooking. Not until she becomes pregnant does the wife begin normal living with her husband to assume the responsibilities of the mistress of the household. This custom probably is a vestige of the transition from a maternal to a paternal society. In a maternal society the married woman does not leave her parents after marriage. The fact that the Miao woman does not stay with her husband before his child is born is probably due to this tradition. The paternal society lays much emphasis upon offsprings: only those women capable of procreation are considered good wives. The marriage before 589 conception, from the point of view of having heirs, is only 591 experimental. Therefore the wife cannot enjoy all her rights and privileges, and at the same time she may not assume the responsibilities associated with them. The result is a sort of quasi-marriage, that is, marriage in fact but not in form.

586 There are a small number of pre-arranged marriages [584] among the Short-skirt Hê Miao, negotiated by parents when the parties concerned are mere children. In such a marriage the bride often refuses to go back to her husband's family soon after returning to her own. This kind of girl is allowed to marry again on the condition that her second husband pays indemnity to the first one for expenses which the latter may incur in another

[MIAO]

/86 cont'd/

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [585]

Mo [585 171]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

[165 cont.]

585 The ceremonies which accompany the conclusion of a "Méo" marriage are just so many excuses for feasts and drinking bouts.

When a young man has cast his choice upon a young woman, 584 he informs his father of his intentions. The latter selects two old men belonging to the family, whom he charges with going and making the official request in marriage. These two intermediaries, bearing gifts, go to the home of the young woman and are received by her father, who offers them food and drink. If this offer is made within the house, it means that the request is accepted in principle and that the terms may now be discussed. The neighbors are asked in and a small feast is held. (If the offer is made outside the house, it means that the request is not approved, the intermediaries content themselves with eating a morsel and drinking a small cup of alcohol, and withdraw without having entered the home.) The intermediaries then return to the home of the young man to announce the happy result of their mission and to participate in a series of feasts, which last for two days and to which all the relatives and friends of the fiancé are invited. The fiancé receives on this occasion all the gifts [583] which will enable him to make up the amount of the dowry agreed upon.

The engagements usually last only a short time. The "Méo" 585 pay no attention to the agreement of the horoscopes. Upon the day [787] [166] set for the marriage, the fiancé, accompanied by his friends and preceded by flute players, betakes himself to his fiancée's home, where he presents his gifts and where a monstrous feast begins which lasts throughout the day. The fiancée spends the night in her own house, surrounded by her friends, who aid her in making her preparations. The morning of the next day the fiancée dons her garments for grand ceremonies, which she generally wears only on that day. (If the fiancé is of another tribe, she assumes the costume of that tribe.) The cortege, formed of the two spouses accompanied by their friends of both sexes and preceded by "sen" players, goes to the home of the young man where the young wife is presented to her parents-in-law. In the tribes where ancestral worship is practiced, [769] the newlyweds prostrate themselves before the altar. Then begin the feasts, the dances, and the songs, which often last for several days, according to the resources of the fiancé. The young couple

[166 cont.]

591 either remains in the paternal home or found a new household, in accordance with their choice. The young couple

Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo."
583 When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's
[556] family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious
584 custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great
583 numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

It is during the days which follow this festival that the great
584 majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

595 Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

/97 cont./

A 582 Among the Akha, the marriage age for both sexes is between the sixteenth and twentieth year.

e) Courtship and Betrothal

M 583 183 For a Meau boy there are several ways to marry a girl. A common way taken is probably the one whereby a boy loves a girl, she bears a child, and later the parents of both give their consent. This way does not conform to the demands of "public opinion" and is therefore not customary among respectable families. A second way is to go out looking for a wife. M 584 The young man visits the various villages and selects a girl. Then he goes to his father or to the head of his large /extended/ M [787] family and asks for his advice. The ancestors are queried about it by way of an ordeal (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). If the outcome of the ordeal is unfavorable, the young man drops the idea, but if the result is auspicious, he visits the girl's village again and asks her whether she consents to the proposed M [836] marriage. If the girl agrees, she leaves her parents' home in great secrecy and sleeps with the young man in the house of his parents. The next day, the young man's parents visit the parents of the bride in order to inform them of the fact, and M [574] they send them a pig. The latter for their part also now slaughter one and invite the relatives of the bridal couple to a feast. The two animals are eaten, rice liquor is copiously served, and the day for the wedding is set.

It often happens, however, that the girl refuses to leave her parents' house without their consent, that is to say, secretly. In this case, the young man /98/ asks his parents to visit the parents of the bride and ask for the girl. If the bride's parents give their consent, then everything is in order and the wedding day can be set. If the bride's parents do not give their permission, however, it is up to the girl to make the decision. M [836] She can still decide to spend a night secretly with the boy in his parents' home or simply to have intercourse with him until

/98 cont./

584 she becomes pregnant. In both cases, the parents of the girl
[836] will immediately withdraw their opposition.

583 It also happens in practice that the young people disregard all formalities and begin with cohabitation without consulting their parents. In this case, too, the parents of the girl can do nothing but belatedly approve of the accomplished fact.

584 When one considers all the various ways, it is apparent
593 that the girl's parents cannot assert their will against that of the daughter. The father of the young man, on the other hand, into whose sib and, in most cases, household community the girl is to be received, can exert extensive influence upon the decision of his son. If the father or head of the family does not like the girl, he can ultimately give the refusal of the ancestors as a pretext, and no son will dare to undertake anything against their will.

583 In contrast to my observations, Lajonquière reports of the
584 Meau in Indochina, as does Abadie (1) in almost the same words:

1. Page 166.

"It happens that marriages are concluded against the will of the parents. In this case the young people flee and, if they are found, pay an indemnity to the father of the girl. A small
[574] feast is celebrated, and everything is settled."

584 Marabail (2) makes the following statements on this

2. Page 459.

subject: "If a Meau wants to marry, he tells his father, without asking him for permission, for he is completely free. The father then sends two friends to the house of the girl's father. When they arrive, they plant two incense sticks in the ground in front of the door and light them. The master of the house then comes out and asks what they want. He listens to them,
[574] invites them to his room, and gives them something to drink. This is the sign that he has accepted the offer. As soon as the

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bride-[152] groom into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of [782] [769] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thǭ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yǭ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[264] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings

585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/101 cont./

184 584 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ

2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps out-
[574] side the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food
[201] and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."
[114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 574 585 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great

2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife.
[583] This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

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/103 cont./

184 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when ap-
585 propriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the rela-
tives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding
is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's
[583] parents demand 'ngön sin sot,' the money which is required for
the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with
their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals ....,
[426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the
moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 This extending of credit for the purchase price is con-
426 firmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II, p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by
[114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which
184 we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4)-and according to
595

4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile.

/104/
114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wiyes as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
584

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other. These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young
[533] men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

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M /104 cont./
184 mouth organ, last throughout the afternoon. The vendors of
584 alcohol and cakes do a thriving business while the young men and girls become more closely acquainted and lay the basis for a future union... During the days which follow this festival
M most of the official marriage proposals are made."
184 Lajonquière (4) describes a custom which is likewise un-
583

4. II, p. 315.

known among the Meau of Thailand: "The 'Notice von Quan-Ba' says that as soon as the marriage is arranged the young man serves for two years in the house of his future /105/ father-in-law and that the marriage is finally settled only at the end of this period, after both parties have had a chance to become acquainted with each other."

A Among the Akha there are two kinds of betrothal. The
584 most common kind is the silent betrothal; the young people
[301] simply agree to marry. In this case the young man gives the girl one or several silver arm-rings, depending on his means, and the girl gives him a small gift in return. Such betrothals can also be broken off without much ado; the party breaking off the betrothal gives the gifts back to the other party, who, however, keeps the gifts given to him.

In the case of a public betrothal, however, the father of the bridegroom asks the bride's father for his daughter's hand. In general it is the young man who initiates this marriage offer, requesting his father to undertake the proposal. It also happens, however, that a father seeks to obtain the hand of a girl for his son without obtaining the consent of the son in advance. In each of the two cases the bride's father asks his daughter. If she accepts the proposal, the go-between, that is, the father of the young man, is given a bottle of alcohol. This means that the betrothal is concluded and cannot simply be dissolved without the agreement of the other party. If one party breaks
A off the betrothal, the father of the other party has to be paid
[686] a large pig and 11 pieces of silver (ticals) as an indemnity from

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/108 cont./

A even the clothes of the secondary wives, belong to her.
595 Among the Akha, the position of the daughter-in-law, who is
[422] the first to be called upon for assistance in all the difficult or
[606] unpleasant work of the women, is similar to her position among
[179] the Meau, and presumably has likewise been influenced by the Chinese. Among the Akha, as among the Meau, after the
A wedding both sexes are required to observe marital fidelity,
M which among the Meau at least is not always followed. If a
837 man commits adultery with a girl, it is considered unimportant,
684 provided that there are no consequences. If there are, the man must marry the girl or pay an indemnity agreed upon. It is different if a man commits adultery with a married woman and the affair is discovered. In this case, the seducer has to pay the deceived husband the entire bride price or he will be punished by the village chief. Moreover, the disclosure of
A such a case is a terrible disgrace for the seducer, whose prestige
M in the community suffers greatly (see the section, "Dissolution
[558] of Marriage," in this chapter).

The obligation for marital fidelity for both sexes is stricter among the Akha than among the Meau.

A Telford (1) reports that among the Akha of Kengtung
184
837

1. Page 108.

a married, but childless woman may have sexual intercourse now and then with an unmarried man. If she becomes pregnant, her husband has to /109/ slaughter a pig and give it to her lover. I assume that the reference to a slaughtered pig means that a sacrificial feast must be arranged.

A Wife exchange, the lending of wives, and outright wife-
M purchase, under which I do not include the indirect purchase
837 for marriage described above, are equally unknown among the
432 Meau and Akha. It can be assumed, I think, that in former
583 times among the Meau a purchase of wives in some form as
M yet unknown might have been practiced. In any case this is
174 indicated by the fact that the Meau believe it is not proper
583 to sell the household broom, because this would be tantamount
432

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [736]

to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648

Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563

Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

M [114]

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
[578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common.
[595] The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among
[583]

/113 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
[583] price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same
[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of
[184] the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 651 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the ●584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- 583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [43] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in- 608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

/70/

Chapter VIII. Songs and Legends

(1)

533 Singing is an important aspect of Miao life. Regardless of sex and age, almost all of them are talented singers. When we were traveling in the Miao mountains, the clear voices of Miao singers always struck our ears. In the deep woods of the high mountains with no one in sight, it usually gave us the poetic feeling that,

"The singing has ended; no one is in sight;
Only some mountain peaks remain green above the river."

831 Singing is the most natural medium of communication between
152 human hearts. The Miao have made full use of it. When a man
533 and woman fall in love, they sing to each other in order to express their mutual admiration. Inexpressibly happy at a reunion after a long separation, they sing to each other to express their happiness. Bidding farewell at a crossroad, they sing to express their sorrow at parting. Worn out during the busy seasons of agricultural work, they sing for physical relaxation. On festive occasions, they sing to add to the gaiety. In short, all their emotions—misery and happiness, grief and joy—are frankly expressed by singing.

533 Usually they sing their songs in dialogue style—such as between a man and a woman or between a host and a guest, etc. Due to long use, many of the songs have become formalized, so that the words of the replies are fixed. The ability to sing is very important in Miao social relations. For instance, their marriage is usually
584 based upon love. And singing is the principal means of courting.
533 /71/ On the fine spring days, Miao boys and girls usually go out in groups to sing to one another on the neighboring slopes. As the singers gradually draw closer, at this point, if you are a talented singer capable of answering your counterpart in the proper way,
533 victory will be yours. Otherwise, if the singing beauties move
[571] away because of poor answers, how depressed you would feel! At a fine banquet, when the hosts and guests sing alternately to each other, the good singers are always admired by the audience while

/102 cont'd/

539 Mr. Chang lived in a place both high and low.
He lived in a place named Chang Pai Ch'ang.
The family had three thousand strings of cash .
East, west, south, and north they had established farms.
/103/ Mr. Chang had no son but had two daughters.
The two of them made a couple, which excelled any son:
The elder daughter was named Precious Gem;
And the younger one was named Chang Meng-wo.
The elder one had natural skill in weaving thin brocade embroidery;
The younger one had natural skill in weaning silk gauze.
They wove the Yellow River with nine turns.
They wove ducks and drakes paired with male and female phoenixes.
They wove male and female unicorns paired with lions.
They wove fierce tigers paired with leopards.
When their needlework was compared,
The tapestry was no better than the silk gauze.
Everything that was woven by them was real:
It is good art to write like the teacher and to render the tiger real.
● 594 The elder daughter was married at eighteen to a secretary of state.
539 The younger at fifteen left her parents.
When Meng-wo was about seventeen or eighteen,
She had never stepped outside the front door.
Now in the Upper Village there was a knowledgable old woman named Huang,
She wrote out young girls' fortunes and acted as a go-between.
She wrote out fortunes in all the chous /districts/.
In the nine chous and ten districts /hsien/, she was without parallel in this.
She came then to try her book, at the house of the young gentleman Yen,
Who was highly literate and knew the Three-Character Classic by heart.

/103 cont'd/

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People say it was in the third month when flowers bloom in wild profusion.
The two sisters wanted to go out to look at the fragrant flowers.
This morning they did now know what their fate would be during the year.
The two bowed deeply and said:
"If you, father and mother, give us the word,
We 'll go back to comb and dress ourselves.
/104/ If you, father and mother, do not give us permission,
We shall not dare go out the door."
Their father and mother replied:
"Listen to what we say, daughters,
When you go, take your horoscopes.
Go together and come home early, both of you."
Upon these words from the mouths of their father and mother,
They went to comb and dress themselves up for the trip.
Their hairdo had been in the style of a coiling dragon's moustache;
Now they made one of the style named "Looking for a Husband."
They looked in the bronze mirror placed in front of them.
Their faces were like that of the young girl of the village in the Peach Paradise.
Long and short golden hairpins were inserted all over the hair,
Well stuck in on the four sides, high and up.
They walked like Kuan Yin /Goddess of Mercy/ when about to come out from the sea,
And sat like the immortal of the village in the Peach Paradise.
Passing through the east street to the south street,
Across the west street and back from the north street,
And at the crossroads and thoroughfares,
Their looks excelled that of all the people in the whole district of Tuan-lieh.
The district of Tuan-chou did not have /sic/ thousands and tens of thousands,

/104 cont'd/

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But only Meng-wo's looks stood out.
Walking further they came to a flower garden village.
Behold, flowers flourished on the trees,
They saw tender peach blossoms just opened up.
Half of the leaves on the trees were green, and the other half yellow.
Yellow bees pierced the flowers in pairs,
Butterflies sojourned on trees in couples.
Yen Hui, attired in finely embroidered silk and satin,
Passed by on horseback and saw Meng-wo.
/105/ "Little girl, whose family do you come from?
What do your father and mother call you?"
Meng-wo replied to Yen Hui,
"Hsiu tsai*, please listen to my words.

/* A graduate of the former first degree in the Chinese examination system. /

My father is called Elder Chang,
He produced me as the little girl named Chang Meng-wo.
May I inquire hsiu tsai's honorable name?
What is your order in the family?"
Yen Hui replied to Meng-wo, saying:
"Beautiful one, please listen to my words,
I am the third son of the Hui family.
I have come here to have a look at the flowers."
They did not dare to tarry too long in the garden of flowers,
They returned to their respective homes.
Their affinity had been set in a previous life.
Now they met as drake and duck.
Returning home and sitting in his private room,
Yen Hui began to think in his heart,
During the day he thought endlessly and did not eat.
At night he thought endlessly and could not sleep.
Mr. Yen, hearing of his son's tears,

/105 cont'd/

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Talked the matter over with his wife.
"We have brought you up to an adult, Yen Hui.
A man's life is like the autumn grass."
Yen Hui immediately replied:
"Father, please listen to my words.
If you want me to marry someone, don't choose a girl from another family.
I wish to take pretty Chang Meng-wo."
To this Mr. Yen immediately replied:
"My son, please listen to my words.
/106/ Man and wife are predestined in the previouls life.
What is regulated in the previous life determines a couple.
If it is predestined, you will meet each other.
If it is not predestined, the two of you will part."
Yen Hui replied to his father and mother,
"Father, listen to my words.
If I can have the Chang family's daughter,
I am willing to die on the third day."
Hearing these words, Mr. Yen began to think in his heart.
The next morning he called for the old woman Huang.
And asked the old woman Huang to act as go-between.
He asked that the old woman Huang hurry,
And go to the house of Chang to act as go-between.
She went to Mr. Chang's and sat in the doorway.
Mr. Chang invited her into the upper hall.
And asked the old woman Huang to sit down in the upper hall.
Tea and boiling soup were prepared in the kitchen.
After the tea came and before they had drunk three cups,
Then the old woman Huang began to talk.
"What have you come here about, old woman Huang?"
The old woman Huang blushed as she was about to speak.
Mr. Chang said to the old woman Huang:
"Whatever you have to say, please do so freely."
The old woman Huang replied to Mr. Chang:
"Please listen to my words.

/106 cont'd/

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People say that your family has a daughter,
Who is now at the proper age of eighteen."
Mr. Chang replied to the old woman Huang:
"If the horoscopes are in harmony, then a union may be made."
/107/ The old woman Huang replied to Mr. Chang, saying:
"There are also the betrothal gifts which should come in pairs of gold and silver."
Mr. Chang replied to the old woman Huang, saying:
"Please listen to my words.
First, there must be five hundred strings of copper coins.
Second, there must be three pecks of pearls.
Third, there must be fifty pairs of gold hairpins.
Fourth, there must be fifty pairs of spun silks.
Fifth, there must be fifty pairs of gold hens.
Sixth, there must be ten pairs of dragon geese.
Seventh, there must be fifty pairs of large pigs.
Eighth, there must be fifty pairs of silky sheep.
Ninth, there must be thirty-six containers /?/ of wine.
Tenth, there must be silver cups to cover the container tops.
If you can get all these ten gifts,
You can make a match for Meng-wo."
When Yen Hui heard these words,
He immediately began to think in his heart.
Opening up the south storehouse of betrothal gifts,
He took out gold and silver by tens of thousands.
He took out copper coins by the thousand and tens of thousands strings.
He took out three pecks of pearls.
He took out fifty pairs of gold hairpins.
He took out fifty pairs of spun silks.
He took out fifty pairs of gold hens.
He took out fifty pairs of silky sheep.
He took out fifty pairs of large pigs.
He took out fifty pairs of dragon geese.
He took out thirty-six containers of wine.

/107 cont'd/

539 He took out silver cups to cover the container tops.
●584 /108/ Eight hundred men carried the wealth of gifts,
On the way to the betrothal of Meng-wo.
831 But not half a month after the betrothal was made,
539 Yen Hui fell ill and lay on the high bed.
First they wrote a letter reporting that he was ill.
Second they wrote a letter reporting that he was dead.
The letter arrived while she was eating.
Tears blowed in her eyes, dropping in pairs.
She put down her chopsticks and read the message.
Read it once, then read it again.
In the message there were no idle words.
There was but sad news that the two were parted.
Meng-wo undid her coiling dragon hairdo and put on the mourning sign.
She took off the gold hairpins and put them inside the dragon box.
Mr. Chang went to the Upper Village to borrow a big horse;
Meng-wo went to the Lower Village and borrowed a sedan chair.
Mr. Chang mounted the horse and went with bowed head.
Meng-wo was behind him still proud and fine.
Mr. Chang turned his head and scolded his daughter:
"Whose family ever brought up a girl to go looking for a man?"
Meng-wo answered her father, saying:
"I am going to the house of Yen to burn filial incense.
Where has there ever been an ox yoked with two yokes?
A horse saddled with two saddles?
A bow fitted with two arrows?
Or a girl who married two husbands?
It is difficult for a horse with two saddles to carry passengers on his back.
A girl married to two men would be the laughing stock of all."
They arrived and were seated in the main hall of the house of Yen.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribemen.

M (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[345] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[533] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[517] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[584] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money
[583] from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

M
*101 /20 cont./
CC in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[577] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
M are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[531] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
[386] is washed out and the designs appear.

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a [517] betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [533] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

584 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
684 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
[837] they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/95 cont./

584 Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been
[177] thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine
[556] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ɲiaŋ˥ tɛɣ mpʿa˥), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is
[782] allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense has to take place, which is called /soŋ˥ tʿiɤɣ), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally
[583] consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat.
[556] The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may
[583] omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the
584 lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

year began. During this period there was 527
time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went 521
from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth 574
month (November 13). On the third of the 584
tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the 241
slackest season of the year, there was still 252
much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The tech- 241
nique of farming was identical with that of 462
Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood.

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 56 ff.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

534 pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

533 They also made tunes on leaves and were said to be able to send messages in this way.
534 Among other Miao this was courting music,
584 accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

584 **Betrothal.** Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young people probably were acquainted.

585 **Wedding** (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food, men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

764 782 the oxen killed among them are killed as offerings to their ancestors or to demons. We were never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 796 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Very often a couple or a group of young people 584 go out for long walks together. It would be well, for obvious reasons, if there were less of that sort of thing. After living for some time among the Chinese, who are nothing if not conventional, and among whom Mrs. Grundy is well-nigh omnipotent, it is surprising and amusing to visit a Kweichow market among the Miao, and see the lads and lasses frolicking with one another on the street and around the stalls. It reminds one of a country fair at home.

But sometimes, and not infrequently, the girl's parents object to her lover, and from mercenary motives arrange a marriage without consulting the inclinations of the young people. The price paid for a wife among the Miao is usually from thirty to sixty Mexican dollars. These mercenary marriages nearly always prove a miserable failure, and lead to numerous daughter-in-law disputes. Not that those marriages which are the result of mutual liking are always happy. We imagine that many, perhaps one-half of the Miao women over thirty years of age, have been married once or twice to men who are now living, before they settled down with the man they now call their husband.

We know one girl who left her first husband because she did not like him. After her parents

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

584 had repaid the money the husband's family had expended on the marriage, she married again, and now seems settled and contented with her husband and two or three children. Another woman we know was betrothed when a girl to a man who left home for awhile, and while he was away her parents married her to another. When the man to whom she had been betrothed came back and claimed her, the man who had married her gave her up, and she became the wife of the other. We know another young woman, not yet thirty, who is subject to epileptic fits, who has been married half-a-dozen, perhaps a dozen, times. When her new husband discovers she is subject to these fits, he sends her home again and does not want her.

585 After a marriage has been arranged, a day is fixed for the receiving of the bride. The kinsfolk and friends of both parties are invited, a room is cleared out—sometimes it is the cow-house, which is really a part of the dwelling-house—and seats put all round against the wall for the guests. The guests all make presents to the bridegroom's family—rice, or jars of whisky, and sometimes silver. These contributions to their host considerably diminish the cost of the marriage feast. The bride, who walks from her

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[224] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [573] [276] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

583 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao [178] at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. [584] The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Sexual attraction naturally results in love affairs and love affairs naturally result in sexual intercourse. Sometimes this results in marriage but often it does not. 584

Children are often married at a very early age. It is not uncommon for a child to be married when only three or four years old and most children are married by the time they are twelve. Of course these are not love matches, and serious love affairs later in life with men and women to whom they are not married are quite likely to occur. 582

The normal way is for engagements to be made by the parents of the boy through go-betweens. The initiative is taken by the parents of the young man. When they have decided that they wish to make an engagement between their son and a certain girl, they call two go-betweens who are invited to a meal in the boy's home. A chicken is killed for the meal and its tongue, its bones and other parts of its body are examined to ascertain whether or not the circumstances are propitious. 584

If the signs are propitious, the middle men proceed to the home of the girl. There they endeavor to secure a favorable reply from the girl's parents who in turn call in go-betweens. If her parents are favorable, the go-betweens are feasted and they proceed to determine the details of the gift which must be given by the boy's parents to those of the girl. The gift may include pork, domestic animals, rice, beans, corn, money, or any other commodity. When the engagement presents have been given and accepted by the girl's parents, the engagement is complete and is seldom broken. There is a second feast for the go-betweens and other friends at the time when the engagement gifts are presented. The engagement is a contract between the parents of the young people. While the bride is not actually purchased, the value of the gift often goes a long way towards securing a favorable decision by the girl's parents.

When the go-betweens arrive at the home of the girl much of the work of making the engagement is often done by means of songs. By certain songs they announce their mission to the girl's parents. Other songs carry the work along, even to the matter of approximately arranging the gift. There are songs when the gifts are presented. Sometimes these songs take the form of contests when the two sets of go-betweens ridicule or try to outwit each other or see who can keep going the longest.

When the parents are unwilling to marry off a daughter, or nobody seeks her hand in marriage, or when the parents are unable or fail to make an engagement for a son, the marriageable person endeavors to win a mate. For this purpose he or she goes to the market place on the third day of the third moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽 on the fifth day of the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

584 fifth moon, or at some other convenient time, or attends one of the Miao feasts or festivals, or joins those playing on the mountain-sides at New Year time. Either the boy or the girl can make the first advances. The methods are to look lovingly
584 with the eyes, to squeeze hands and to speak loving words.
833 This is inconvenient if there are many people about. A boy may take a girl's handkerchief or a girl take a boy's. Then the person who gets the handkerchief goes away and the other says, "That person has taken my handkerchief. Stay here and I will go after him (or her)." Then in a quiet secluded place they make love. They say loving words, squeeze each other's hands, and embrace. A very great evidence of love is when one spits and the other swallows the spittal. Copulation often follows after which a handkerchief or a ring may be given by the boy to the girl or *vice versa* and they make a vow such as, "If you do not marry me and marry another, you must take this engagement present and eat it and then I will make no trouble." It is believed by the Ch'uan Miao men that copulation is one of the surest ways to a woman's affection.

584 Later the parents must be informed and they must secure go-betweens and arrange engagement presents and so on. If the parents do not agree, then the young people run away together or the man carries away the girl. Then all the neighbors and friends urge the parents to consent and if they still do not agree the neighbors and friends practically compel them to do so. The gifts to the girl's parents are generally less than they would have been if the young people had been engaged and married in the usual way.

Marriage by capture is not unknown among the Ch'uan Miao. Sometimes the girls are quite willing to get married in this way, and it is said that happy marriages often result. Sometimes a man uses this method because he is in love with the girl.

Parents generally desire to marry off their daughters, for it is the custom of marrying daughters into other homes that makes possible the securing of daughters-in-law to labor in the home and to give birth to descendants. Besides, the girl's parents receive engagement gifts and these are sometimes very valuable.

585 The bride generally weeps before leaving her parental home. Sometimes the sorrow is pretended but at other times she is sad and unwilling to go and the parents and friends and relatives have to use persuasion and even coercion. There is an old custom by which the parents actually push the girl out of the house. It is customary for the girl and her parents to weep, either as a matter of form or because of sincere sorrow.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[9 cont.]

517 purpose of these festivities is to celebrate in advance a rich harvest, and therefore the participants are numerous, especially the young men and women, who go there in new and pretty clothes with the object of finding a mate. As to moon dance, sitting in the moon, singing or chasing the moon, these are occasions specially designed for love-making by the young.

[533] Both men and women are good singers, and they sing to drown out the sorrows in their chest, as well as to effect a lover's union. Anyone who fails to sing at marriage and funeral ceremonies will surely be disgraced. Singing, in short, is a necessary accomplishment. Within a short distance from the village there

[443] is a level ground for the market fair held once in every six days; this is the center of trade for the Miao-I. On such occasions people gather together at the fair, bustling, loitering and looking around, their heart full of joy and fun. It gives them a respite from their routine toil. Aside from this they are fond of music.

[534] Their musical instruments include the liu-sheng, wu-sheng [five tube bamboo wind instrument, flutes, harmonicas, so-na [a clarinet type wind instrument], brass drums, and p'i-pa [lute]. The liu-sheng is the most common instrument; it is made of bamboo with a gradation of notes resembling that of a military band. Its tune is like the plaintive call of a bird but with a variation of notes. The music accompanies simple dance steps, out of which they derive much pleasure and satisfaction.

4. Ceremonies and Customs

584 1) Marriage. The various Miao-I ethnic groups in Kweichow are rather complicated, but their marriage customs, though varying to a certain extent, are generally the same among different tribes. Marriages are either arranged by parents or the parties themselves, but mostly follow the will of the former and take the advice of the go-between. To negotiate marriage [10] they first discuss gifts and dowries. After marriage the bride goes back to her parents

591 until she is about to give birth to a son. She is then confined to her husband's house. In ancient times, this custom was first

[10 cont.]

591 practiced by one tribe and then followed by others for so long a time that at last it was firmly established. There are only a few couples who are separated. In such cases, they would participate 587 in moon dance, chasing the moon, yao-ma-lang or kan-piao, and other such agencies of free love to seek their mate for a second marriage.

584 When a boy reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen the [582] parents usually negotiate marriage for him. First, a friend or a relative is asked to approach a girl's family to propose marriage. When the latter family approves, the go-between would bring the boy and his parents over for an interview. If both sides are satisfied, they then start negotiations of gifts and dowry and make arrangements for the engagement. If one side is not satisfied the matter is dropped. This refers to total strangers: between those who are acquainted with each other such arrangements are unnecessary. 583 In the old days the gift and dowry were given in terms of the number of cows instead of money. Recently, they have been changed to silver pieces, and the larger the amount, the more magnificent it is for the girl's family. If the amount is small then the girl's status is considered low and it becomes a disgrace to the family. When the question of the bride price is settled (with the Hua Miao the highest gift comes to $100 or more) the go-between appoints a date to convey it to the girl's family. Accepting the gift, the family gives a feast, in which friends and relatives are invited to keep the go-between company and to regale him with meat and wine. This is the engagement. Before the wedding day, the gift donation must be fully paid up through the go-between; but if the girl's family is fond of the future son-in-law, half or all the bride price may be 585 waived. On the wedding day the bridegroom's family sends along a man and a woman to welcome the bride, and sometimes the groom goes there himself. (But the groom must provide meat and wine as a welcome home feast.) The bride's parents would ask a few young girls to keep the bride company the night before, and before daybreak the party would commence the wedding march, the bride shaded under a bridal parasol. On arrival at the groom's house, the members of the party have to leap across

[18 cont.]

301 two silver bracelets and two or three finger rings. But when they put on their best embroidered clothes, then they would wear a kind of silver headgear with different kinds of silver pins in the chignon, and at least two or three solid silver necklaces, sometimes as many as a dozen; the number of bracelets and finger rings they wear is also doubled. They would have still more silver jewelry on the dress or attached to the waist. The [556] quantity of silver worn is an index to the wealth of the family, and so during festivals the women become exhibits in every family.

3. Marriage

584 Marriage among the Miao is mostly the result of love, but the mediation of the match-maker and the engagement ceremony are necessary before fixing the date of marriage. Young men and women [19] at the "liu sheng [reed-wind instrument] dance" in the first lunar month may openly fall in love with each other without the intervention of parents or brothers of the family. In ordinary times, especially during the holidays, they may also court each other at will. So on the mountain slope or in the field we often observe scenes of "yao-ma-lang" (i.e., love-making), when they sing songs to each other in questions [533] and answers. One party would ask a question in a song, and if the other party is willing she sings back the answer. These songs are extemporized, full of freedom and naturalness. Such serenades last till sunset when they begin to return home. After a suitable period of time, if their feelings persist then the parents would find a go-between to arrange the engagement. 836 This system of love and marriage seem very free, yet there is no promiscuity. Their conduct is regulated by unwritten laws and they all have a high sense of decency. For instance, yao-ma-lang is carried on out of sight of old people, and yet it has to be within sight of passers-by. Furthermore, men and women must remain at least five feet apart, and necking and embracing are taboo. (The Long-skirt Miao not far away from them permit

[20 cont.]

539 Little sister thinking of her boy -
In pain;
Big brother thinking of his girl -
Nonchalantly.

IX

After breakfast a cliff we climb,
We throw leaves down the sand-bank,
Fishes are dead, big and small --
Without lover, 'tis never all.

X

The ants climbing a tree do not fear its height,
When you woo a maiden, you fear not another's
might.
In love you should not be afraid of death,
Distant Yunnan is so near if you must measure
your sword.

584 The engagement procedure is rather simple, and no exchange of "eight characters" [indicating the year, month, day and hour of the birth of betrothed persons] or selection of a lucky date is required. After the approval of the parents, the go-583 between may formally make arrangements, first bringing over 584 the dowry in the form of a "chao-tai" [visiting belt?] to the boy's home. The return gift from the boy's family, which must now be agreed upon, averages from ten to forty dollars in cash. The boy's family further sends through the go-between a flower patterned cloth parasol for deposit in the girl's family and for use by the future bride when she goes to the husband's house at the time of the wedding. On the day of the engagement the boy's family may not provide a feast, but has to despatch three or four young men carrying to the girl's family wine, glutinous rice, chickens and ducks as well as $3.60, known as "niece's cash." (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a

[20 cont.] (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a
583 cousin on the mother's side, and if she is to marry somebody
584 else, she has to give money to her maternal uncle. This money
[582] is called "niece's cash.") The girl's family would then give a feast in honor of the go-between and invite other guests to keep him company.

585 [21] Marriages generally take place during the winter harvest in the second lunar month or the autumn harvest in the tenth lunar month. At that time the groom's family will again despatch three or four young men to the bride's family, carrying nine catties of pork, a package of glutinous rice weighing about two or three catties together with the cash gift negotiated at the time of the engagement. Announcement will also be made of the date for receiving the bride (about twenty days away on a horse day or a cow day). The return gift from the girl's family at the time consists only of a package of glutinous rice and a duck. But on the wedding day the bride's family has to despatch two men early in the morning to send over to the groom's family a slaughtered pig of about fifty to sixty catties and two big baskets, approximately four pecks, of glutinous rice to herald the arrival of the bride. At the wedding march the bride is arrayed in a flowered dress, holding in her hand the flowered parasol, sent previously by the groom's family, and accompanied by eleven male and female relatives. But halfway six of them must retract their steps because grown-up girls may not visit the groom. Among the other five, one young woman acts as the bride's maid and always keeps her company. The groom's family also despatches men to carry wine and rice to meet the bridal party halfway. When the two groups meet they picnic in the field. After this the bride and her kinsmen are conducted to the groom's family.

The bridal chamber is not so well decorated as that of the Chinese, and the furniture in the room is simple and plain.
[352] Except for one or two chests of drawers for the bride's clothes which come as a part of the dowry, the rest is provided by the groom and consists of a bed, a few stools, a wooden face-basin and a foot-basin. Quilts, pillows and mat are also provided by the groom's family. That day the celebration consists of singing

[21 cont.]

585 and drinking, which lasts throughout the night, neither hosts nor guests retiring. That night, the bride and groom do not share the room together. When tired the bride may lie down with the groom's younger sister. The next day the bride and her kinsmen return to her home. After three more days the bride is re-escorted to her husband's family by her brothers and male cousins. After a few days' stay she returns once more to her parents. Thus the wedding ceremony officially terminates. Later, every
591 time the husband wants his wife back he has to send over two or three sheng of glutinous rice to her family, and she will then come back with an escort of her kinsmen. Each year from the second to the eighth lunar month when farm work in her husband's family requires the help of the wife, she often goes over [22] but only for a few days as a guest without participating in housecleaning and cooking. Not until she becomes pregnant does the wife begin normal living with her husband to assume the responsibilities of the mistress of the household. This custom probably is a vestige of the transition from a maternal to a paternal society. In a maternal society the married woman does not leave her parents after marriage. The fact that the Miao woman does not stay with her husband before his child is born is probably due to this tradition. The paternal society lays much emphasis upon offsprings: only those women capable of procreation are considered good wives. The marriage before
583 conception, from the point of view of having heirs, is only
591 experimental. Therefore the wife cannot enjoy all her rights and privileges, and at the same time she may not assume the responsibilities associated with them. The result is a sort of quasi-marriage, that is, marriage in fact but not in form.

586 There are a small number of pre-arranged marriages among the Short-skirt Hê Miao, negotiated by parents when the
[584] parties concerned are mere children. In such a marriage the bride often refuses to go back to her husband's family soon after returning to her own. This kind of girl is allowed to marry again on the condition that her second husband pays indemnity to the first one for expenses which the latter may incur in another

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
[648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

[198 cont.]

535 527 584 go-between to arrange the match. Therefore, young men and women everywhere try to make as many new clothes as possible to be worn on this occasion. The dancers sometimes change their clothes a few times a day. In short, the custom of the flower dance has prevailed for a long time. Some dance with the hope of acquiring children while others, among the illusive shadows and to the tune of scintillating music, look secretly but intently for his or her future mate. For the unmarried men and women the purpose of the flower dance is to seek a partner in life.

535 527 443 (II) The Market Dance. The market dance is also an important annual event with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in this area. The dance is similar to the flower dance, except that it does not require a flower tree and that it has no fixed date and place. It is held generally after the transplantation of young rice-plants in the fourth or fifth month, or after the ripening of the crop in the seventh or eighth month. It is held [202] at the market fair, but the announcement is made at a previous fair by the host (or promoter, who is generally a Chinese) with two men, one beating a gong, and the other balancing a bamboo pole on his shoulder, on which is tied a belt with flower designs. This belt is presented as a souvenir by the girl to the boy when they talk love at the dance. When the two men circle around the fair once the crowd would know that the next one would be a market dance. On that occasion bands of men and women from all parts would come with new clothes as for the flower dance, men playing so-na and lu-sheng, and talking all the way. Arriving at the fair they would perch on the high mounds or stay in the low open ground outside the market place, playing musical instruments and singing songs. Young men and women take this opportunity to meet new friends or [199] renew old acquaintances. [243] The old people believe that the market dance in the fourth month, when the buckwheat and other grains flower, can encourage the yielding of more crops, and the market dance in the seventh month can bring about firmer and larger seeds. The market dance is known proverbially as the "grain dance," a name which clearly reveals its superstitious origin.

[165 cont.]

585 The ceremonies which accompany the conclusion of a "Méo" marriage are just so many excuses for feasts and drinking bouts.

When a young man has cast his choice upon a young woman, 584 he informs his father of his intentions. The latter selects two old men belonging to the family, whom he charges with going and making the official request in marriage. These two intermediaries, bearing gifts, go to the home of the young woman and are received by her father, who offers them food and drink. If this offer is made within the house, it means that the request is accepted in principle and that the terms may now be discussed. The neighbors are asked in and a small feast is held. (If the offer is made outside the house, it means that the request is not approved, the intermediaries content themselves with eating a morsel and drinking a small cup of alcohol, and withdraw without having entered the home.) The intermediaries then return to the home of the young man to announce the happy result of their mission and to participate in a series of feasts, which last for two days and to which all the relatives and friends of the fiancé are invited. The fiancé receives on this occasion all the gifts [583] which will enable him to make up the amount of the dowry agreed upon.

The engagements usually last only a short time. The "Méo" 585 pay no attention to the agreement of the horoscopes. Upon the day [787] [166] set for the marriage, the fiancé, accompanied by his friends and preceded by flute players, betakes himself to his fiancée's home, where he presents his gifts and where a monstrous feast begins which lasts throughout the day. The fiancée spends the night in her own house, surrounded by her friends, who aid her in making her preparations. The morning of the next day the fiancée dons her garments for grand ceremonies, which she generally wears only on that day. (If the fiancé is of another tribe, she assumes the costume of that tribe.) The cortège, formed of the two spouses accompanied by their friends of both sexes and preceded by "sen" players, goes to the home of the young man where the young wife is presented to her parents-in-law. In the tribes where ancestral worship is practiced, [769] the newlyweds prostrate themselves before the altar. Then begin the feasts, the dances, and the songs, which often last for several 000 days, according to the resources of the fiancé. The young couple

[166 cont.]

591 either remains in the paternal home or found a new household, in accordance with their choice. The young couple

Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo."
583 When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's
[556] family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

584 In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious
533 custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

It is during the days which follow this festival that the great
584 majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

595 Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

[164]

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154. The "marriage fair" of the "Méo" of Pha-Long.

155. The Dance of the "Méo" "sen" Player.

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156.

157.

Groups of Young Women of Various "Méo" Tribes of the Pha-Long Region, Come to the Marriage Fair.

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mothe or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mothe is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

584 to the envoys outside the threshold, it means that the proposal is rejected. If, on the contrary, he invites them to enter, it is a sign that it has been received favorably. In this case the incense sticks are brought into the house and stuck into the ash-bowl of the ancestral altar. The neighbors are invited in and informed of the news, and the happy event is feted by emptying several cups of maize-brandy, while discussing the size of the dowry which should be brought by the young man and the day on which to have the wedding.

The intermediaries return to the fiance's house to inform his father of the result of their negotiations. Shortly after, a celebration is held there to inform relatives and friends of the good news, and the banquet continues for two or three days. Each guest brings the young man a small gift to assist him in paying his dowry, which frequently amountssto 100 piasters, 100 kilos of meat, as much brandy, and about ten chickens.

585 On the day set for the wedding, a procession is formed at the groom's house which /143/ includes at least six men and two women, and they go in procession to the young bride's home, preceded by musicians playing clarinet and flute. The feasting lasts all day long. The following night the dowry is put into the hands of the young woman's father, and on the morning of the next day they start out to return to the home of the young man's father. The bride, dressed in her finest garments, joins the procession, accompanied by relatives and friends, and followed by a servant carrying the small trunk in which her belongings are arranged. She is cheered along the way by the young folks from neighboring hamlets, perched on the rocks which border the paths. Before entering the husband's house, everyone is offered a loving-cup of brandy, which all drink from the neck of the same gourd. The young people prostrate themselves before the ancestral altar. A new feast awaits them, and the roistering continues for another two or three days. When the young man's family cannot meet considerable expense which a wedding imposes under usual conditions, they make a contract with the young woman's family under the terms of which the fiance will go and work in the home of his future father-in-law for two or three years.

When two sweethearts have decided to wed without the consent of their parents, they are compelled to flee the paternal roof, and go and establish a household in a forgotten corner of the mountain. At the end of a certain time they reappear before their parents, and the young man is forgiven by paying an indemnity to his father-in-law.

/61 cont./

A M 857 532 In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67).[1] I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

A M 526 [533] There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

M 526 628 584 the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such, I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [See cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

/62 cont./

M 526 628 584 with the New Year's Festival (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"). The young people, however, find this all the more reason to train diligently throughout the year.

M 526 584 The special popularity of the ball game is connected with the fact that it affords an opportunity for sexual approach in accordance with the rules of the game as set up by the adults. The young men form a line opposite the girls, and each fellow plays with the girl opposite him. A cloth ball about the size of a fist (Fig. 1) is thrown by a player to his female partner, and she has to catch it and throw it back (Ill. 69, 70).[2] If one does not /63/ succeed in catching the ball, a piece of clothing that is being worn must be given to the thrower. One can imagine that under these circumstances certain amusing complications are unavoidable if the game continues for some time. /Figs. 1-5 appear here./ One can often see a player fleeing almost naked into a house amidst the laughter of the spectators and then, clothed anew, continue the game.

M 526 ndī is the name for the Meau game with the shuttlecock, an original form of tennis (Ill. 72).[2] The ball (Fig. 2) consists of a small bamboo body (A) with feathers (B) fastened to it. The paddles are carved out of wood and are similar to our table-tennis paddles (Fig. 3 to Fig. 5). As in tennis, two or four players face each other; the two sides take their positions in the same way and try to bat the ball over a line drawn on the ground, which replaces the tennis net, to the opposing player. The following game also belongs to this group of games. The children toss pieces of wood into the air. As the pieces fall, they are immediately batted up into the air again with bats. The one who most frequently makes a success hit is the winner.

M 524 A [524] Among the Meau tŏlū is the name of the game with the wooden top (Fig. 6), which the Akha call tsă. The top /Fig. 6 appears here/ is no different from the one used by our European children (Ill. 19[3] and Fig. 6). Unlike the shuttlecock

[2 [See cat 116, P 512 - ANALYST]
[2 [" " " P 514 - "]
[3 [" " " P 109 - "]

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide
[562] to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

/97 cont./

A 582 Among the Akha, the marriage age for both sexes is between the sixteenth and twentieth year.

e) Courtship and Betrothal

M 583 183 For a Meau boy there are several ways to marry a girl. A common way taken is probably the one whereby a boy loves a girl, she bears a child, and later the parents of both give their consent. This way does not conform to the demands of "public opinion" and is therefore not customary among respectable families. A second way is to go out looking for a wife. M ●584 The young man visits the various villages and selects a girl. Then he goes to his father or to the head of his large /extended/ M [787] family and asks for his advice. The ancestors are queried about it by way of an ordeal (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). If the outcome of the ordeal is unfavorable, the young man drops the idea, but if the result is auspicious, he visits the girl's village again and asks her whether she consents to the proposed M marriage. If the girl agrees, she leaves her parents' home in [836] great secrecy and sleeps with the young man in the house of his parents. The next day, the young man's parents visit the parents of the bride in order to inform them of the fact, and M they send them a pig. The latter for their part also now slaughter [574] one and invite the relatives of the bridal couple to a feast. The two animals are eaten, rice liquor is copiously served, and the day for the wedding is set.

It often happens, however, that the girl refuses to leave her parents' house without their consent, that is to say, secretly. In this case, the young man /98/ asks his parents to visit the parents of the bride and ask for the girl. If the bride's parents give their consent, then everything is in order and the wedding day can be set. If the bride's parents do not give their permission, however, it is up to the girl to make the decision. M She can still decide to spend a night secretly with the boy in [836] his parents' home or simply to have intercourse with him until

/98 cont./

584 she becomes pregnant. In both cases, the parents of the girl
[836] will immediately withdraw their opposition.

583 It also happens in practice that the young people disregard all formalities and begin with cohabitation without consulting their parents. In this case, too, the parents of the girl can do nothing but belatedly approve of the accomplished fact.

584 593 When one considers all the various ways, it is apparent that the girl's parents cannot assert their will against that of the daughter. The father of the young man, on the other hand, into whose sib and, in most cases, household community the girl is to be received, can exert extensive influence upon the decision of his son. If the father or head of the family does not like the girl, he can ultimately give the refusal of the ancestors as a pretext, and no son will dare to undertake anything against their will.

583 584 In contrast to my observations, Lajonquière reports of the Meau in Indochina, as does Abadie (1) in almost the same words:

1. Page 166.

"It happens that marriages are concluded against the will of the parents. In this case the young people flee and, if they are found, pay an indemnity to the father of the girl. A small
[574] feast is celebrated, and everything is settled."

584 Marabail (2) makes the following statements on this

2. Page 459.

subject: "If a Meau wants to marry, he tells his father, without asking him for permission, for he is completely free. The father then sends two friends to the house of the girl's father. When they arrive, they plant two incense sticks in the ground in front of the door and light them. The master of the house then comes out and asks what they want. He listens to them,
[574] invites them to his room, and gives them something to drink. This is the sign that he has accepted the offer. As soon as the

/98 cont./

584 marriage /99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find [648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage 584 promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary 608 assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men 614 participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always 686 decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 184 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from 584

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

/101 cont./

184 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ
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2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps out-
[574] side the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food
[201] and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."
[114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great
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2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife.
[583] This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

/102 cont./

184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

/103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim.

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1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The
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2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

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114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II. p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
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3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other. These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young
[533] men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /104 cont./
184 mouth organ, last throughout the afternoon. The vendors of
584 alcohol and cakes do a thriving business while the young men and girls become more closely acquainted and lay the basis for a future union... During the days which follow this festival
M most of the official marriage proposals are made."
184 Lajonquière (4) describes a custom which is likewise un-
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4. II, p. 315.

known among the Meau of Thailand: "The 'Notice von Quan-Ba' says that as soon as the marriage is arranged the young man serves for two years in the house of his future /105/ father-in-law and that the marriage is finally settled only at the end of this period, after both parties have had a chance to become acquainted with each other."

A Among the Akha there are two kinds of betrothal. The
584 most common kind is the silent betrothal; the young people
[301] simply agree to marry. In this case the young man gives the girl one or several silver arm-rings, depending on his means, and the girl gives him a small gift in return. Such betrothals can also be broken off without much ado; the party breaking off the betrothal gives the gifts back to the other party, who, however, keeps the gifts given to him.

In the case of a public betrothal, however, the father of the bridegroom asks the bride's father for his daughter's hand. In general it is the young man who initiates this marriage offer, requesting his father to undertake the proposal. It also happens, however, that a father seeks to obtain the hand of a girl for his son without obtaining the consent of the son in advance. In each of the two cases the bride's father asks his daughter. If she accepts the proposal, the go-between, that is, the father of the young man, is given a bottle of alcohol. This means that the betrothal is concluded and cannot simply be dissolved without the agreement of the other party. If one party breaks
A off the betrothal, the father of the other party has to be paid
[686] a large pig and 11 pieces of silver (ticals) as an indemnity from

/47 cont'd/

585 Before the wedding someone is invited by both families to select an auspicious day for the wedding in accordance with the hour, day, month, and year of birth of both the girl and boy. Once the date is selected, both families then begin to prepare for the wedding. If the wedding is of the ch'ü-hsi type, the bridegroom's family comes to the bride's family to go to meet the bride. Otherwise, the bridegroom is received at the home of his wife.

123 At one time, the author attended a Miao wedding ceremony of the chao-chui type. The following account was written in accordance with what I saw that day. It may help the reader to understand the usual manner in which a Miao wedding is celebrated.

585 On the wedding day, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were very busy. All their relatives and friends gathered at their homes to offer congratulations. Cows and pigs were slaughtered. All day long, the bride's family particularly, was in a turmoil. Not until evening, however, did the principal part of the wedding ceremony begin. The bridegroom wore a long gown, a riding [292] jacket, socks, and shoes. His head was covered with a large pointed kerchief, which also covered most of his face, as if the bridegroom was very shy. He was carried out from his home on the back of a male go-between. Close behind them another man holding a wide open cloth umbrella to cover him followed step by step. They were preceded by another male go-between followed by a man who carried the wedding gifts. The wedding gifts consisted of wine and [43] tobacco leaves. The two go-betweens and the men who carried the umbrella and the wedding gifts were formally dressed in long gowns, riding jackets, socks, shoes, etc. After the bridegroom had come a few steps from out the door, the go-between at the front of the procession fired a few firecrackers and the procession paused. Not until they heard the explosion of the firecrackers set off by the bride's family did they continue to go ahead. (In this wedding, the two families happened to be close neighbors. The sound of the firecrackers could be heard from either side.) After they had walked halfway they stopped once more. In a moment two young girls sent ahead from the bride's family (called pan-niang, "bridesmaids")

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585 came forward to greet them. They then alternately walked and sang, and the umbrella carriers also sang in response to them. They all stopped walking while singing. In the intervals between singing they proceeded ahead for a few steps, then stopped and sang again. This process had been repeated four times before they reached a small house adjacent to the bride's home. /48/ While this wedding march was in process, the boys and girls looking on also had a good deal of fun. Some of them had encircled the go-between who walked at the head, asking for tobacco leaves; others—mostly girls—closely hemmed in the bridegroom, making fun of him, teasing him, striking him with their hands, or kicking him with their feet; some of them suddenly took away his kerchief and put a battered bamboo rain hat on his head. The bridegroom, however, remained like a wooden dummy without daring to move. Fortunately, he was protected by his male escorts, otherwise, he might have been torn apart.

After the bridegroom's party had reached the small house, the first part of the wedding ceremony was over: The small house had been previously rented /by the bride's family/ for 200 cash, but the owner of the house had to entertain the bridegroom and his escorts with a dinner of chicken and wine, costing more than the rent he received. Having finished their dinner in the small house, the go-betweens and the gift carrier, holding betel nuts in their hands (or using tobacco leaves as a substitute), went to the bride's house where their counterparts were ready waiting for them. There was a dinner with wine prepared on the table in one of the side rooms, and some friends and relatives of the bride's family had been invited to sit there to await the arrival of the bridegroom's party. The go-betweens walked up to the girl's house but stopped outside the door. Only one man was sent in to get admission from the guests at the feast. After awhile he returned and led the others into the room. After they were seated facing the guests invited by the bride's family, they drank toasts to each other. Then both sides sang back and forth. The singer from the bridegroom's family was the umbrella holder; that of the bride's party was one of the guests previously

/48 cont'd/

585 designated. The two singers sang alternately. When they finished
[533] singing, the go-betweens returned to the small house /to join the bridegroom/. Then a humorous act was put on in the small house. It was called t'ao ch'ien-liang ("to collect land tax"). The act began with two persons representing the bride's family coming there to demand tobacco leaves. During this act, there was a very humorous and interesting dialogue. Prior to leaving the house, the two "tax collectors" sang a song outside the door.

After the humorous act was over, one of the go-betweens then carried the bridegroom on his back toward the bride's house. The order of the procession was the same as before. /49/ The bridegroom's party walked to the bride's house and stopped in front of the door of the side room where they were greeted by an usher from
[533] the bride's family. He greeted the bridegroom with a song. One of the go-betweens sang a song in reply. Between the bridegroom and the usher, there was a winnow in which were placed a wine pot and a wine cup. The usher then offered the wine to all the groom's party except the bridegroom. At this time, the young girls of the village again started making fun of the bridegroom, who stood still like a dummy. After singing and drinking, the go-betweens led the bridegroom to the central room of the bride's house. The interior decoration of this room was as follows: On the left side of the front door there was a censer and on the right side there were a pair of scissors and a sickle. In the center of the room, there was a big betel-nut shell with charcoal burning in it. Beside the betel-nut shell, there was a table on which a bottle of wine, two wine cups, two bowls of rice, and a bowl of cooked pork liver were set. When the bridegroom arrived at the door he stopped.

A man from the bride's family stood inside the door, holding the scissors and the sickle in his hand. Facing the bridegroom, he began to perform a ritual and to recite incantations. (It was said
[703] that this ceremony was to drive away the devils /from the body of the bridegroom/.) After that the bridegroom was invited into the room. Stepping over the charcoal, he passed in and was seated at the table. The two go-betweens and the umbrella carrier were

/49 cont'd/

585 seated with the bridegroom in two rows facing each other. In a short time the bride was led out by a bridesmaid from the inner room and seated beside the bridegroom. Her head was also covered with a pointed kerchief which also covered half her face. After they were all seated, the bridesmaid and the go-betweens began offering wine to the bride and groom. After the wine they were offered the rice and pork liver. Then the go-betweens and the bridesmaid respectively took away the kerchiefs from the heads of both the bride and the bridegroom. As soon as their faces had been revealed, the couple immediately left their seats. The bridegroom hurried back to the small house and the bride to her room. The others, however, still continued to drink and sing for a long time before they dispersed. Later they gathered together in one of the side rooms. This time both men and women participated; they sang and drank till dawn.

The next morning the bride's family held a formal dinner in the side room to entertain all the guests. The bridegroom was led by one of the go-betweens to offer wine to each guest. At the same time one of the guests stood up and delivered a speech, the gist of which was advising the bridegroom to respect his elders, to work hard, to live a happy married life, to cooperate with his wife in the management of domestic affairs, etc. After listening to this advice, /50/ the bridegroom went into the main hall of the bride's house and offered wine to the elders and other members of the family. After this was done, he went directly to the bride's room but returned shortly to the small house to rest. What he did in the bride's room, I did not find out.

In the same afternoon the bride, escorted by a woman and followed by a young girl who carried a bundle of her clothes on her back, walked to the bridegroom's home. The bride was dressed as follows: Holding a oiled-paper umbrella, she wore a new dress and
E42 293 a round cap but was barefoot. In the bridegroom's home the scissors, sickle, and charcoal were also set up in the same way as in the bride's home the day before. Before entering the house, the bride

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585 stood outside the door waiting for a Taoist priest to perform the ritual before entering the house. After that she entered the house escorted by a woman. In the evening the bridegroom's family also held a dinner to entertain their relatives and friends, and that brought an end to the wedding ceremony. After the wedding was over, the two bridesmaids were each rewarded with 300 cash and three catties of pork. The cash was given by the bride's family and the pork by the bridegroom's.

On the morning of the third day, the new couple went back to the bride's home; but on the fourth, they went over to the bridegroom's home again and returned to the bride's home the day after.

585 Thereafter, the bridegroom remained in his wife's home and became
608 a member of her family, sharing all the privileges and obligations. After the death of his parents-in-law, he may either move away from his wife's family with his wife, or change his surname to that of his father-in-law so that he becomes a member of that family forever.

585 I did not have the opportunity to observe personally the manner in which the wedding of the ch'ü-hsi type is celebrated. However, it was said that it is entirely similar to the wedding of the chao-chui type except that the roles of the families of the man and woman are reversed.

587 There is no ceremony when a widow remarries, nor are there any betrothal gifts. When they decide to be married, the man merely furnishes a chicken, which they eat together, and the marriage is concluded.

There are some additional points worth noting about marriage among the Miao.

582 /51/ (1) Those who have the same surnames are not allowed to marry one another. However, if they are sure that they have no particular blood relationship but simply have the same surname, the marriage is sometimes permissable.

(2) The average age to marry for either sex is about twenty.

585 (3) The Miao people avoid getting married in the third month of the lunar year, when the cotton flower and a plant called toon

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585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[763] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[764] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

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The picture will be so exactly like you, your face and your brows.
Thinking of you, I'll look at it from time to time.
Farewell!
I'll write about my deep feelings on the Pa-hsien desk;
Writing often will somehow quiet my feelings.
I will not write my verses in double lines.
Clouds and rain bid my autumn lotus away;
Like drawing the knife to cut through the binding vines.
Cutting the vines into two will not cut my fairest from me—
The autumn lotus will resist the cutting without anyone knowing it.
Farewell!
They say my flower hastens past the mountain,
/The next two lines are too obscure to be translated.—Ed./
Farewell, my flower!
Seeing my flower off past Shih-huang,
/78/ Seeing my flower off just past Shih-huang,
Shih-huang draws his hands and does not turn his head.

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(4) Songs sung and answered by the hosts and the guests, taking reciprocal turns, at wedding feasts, are showin in the following several sections:

I. Many thanks to the p'ing-tung /go-between/ who matched this couple.
They have come here today and have met in front of this table.
Carried by ts'ai-huo from Tien-men, village,
They arrived at the bridge; their arrival was announced by the eight carriers.
They passed over the bridge without turning.
Their horoscopes were destined by Heaven.
The alliance was checked in the Wen-ch'ü-an, /?/
They did know that it was stated that they too should meet.
They were not then drake and duck /yüan-yang/ at the House of Yüan-yang.

/78 cont'd/

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But they are now judged to be yüan-yang on this earth.
Now they are going back to the House of Yüan-yang,
To sit and decide whereto they should fly together.
/Two lines omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The Dipper and its seven stars together give them judgment;
The Southern Dipper and its six stars will fly with them,
To go and visit the chuang-yüan /In China the leading graduate of the Hanlin Academy/—and with much eloquence on their lips.
The book with tzu-wei /name of a constellation?/ will record all this.

/Song II omitted because of obscurity in meaning.—Tr./

/79/III. Tonight we have the mighty dragons as our guests.
We have no golden tables and polished chairs for them to sit on.
Chairs made of white wood will have to do for the officials to sit on.
They will have to sit here before bare tables.
See the officials have arrived!
See the officials come in through the door!
See the officials, so witty, sit at the tables!
We have no golden tables nor polished chairs for them.
Good water from the well!
The water from the well flows clear and clean in all directions:
One flows down the green-silk hall,
And the other flows down the tower of the Noble Gate.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the dragons face to face.
We are poor people and we have nothing to offer;
We have to serve cold water as tea for the mighty dragons.
We are a humble family;
We are poor and miserable and have nothing good to eat.
As for a drink, we have neither tea nor wine.
Don't let us offend the honored ones.

/79 cont'd/

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If the wine is not good,
If is like offering well water to officials.
Cold water is offered to the noble officials to drink.
One cup will make the officials feel good;
This is a humble family without golden wine cups.
White stones placed in a line on the table will be the cups;
White stones as cups are not right—
They will not look in line, no matter how you put them on the table.
/80/ We have no golden wine cups; we have only earthenware.
Nor have we golden tables or polished chairs for you.
The officials have red sedans with polished chairs.
We are poor and miserable and cannot afford all this.
We offer drinks to the noble officials with our hands.
After one cup, they will feel good.
We know you honorable ones are disgusted with the taste of our wine;
We know you are disgusted with our rough hands.
You are grumbling because we cannot afford to offer big baked cakes.
Grape myrtle /?/ and green vegetables are placed on the table.
" " " " " " " " "
Plain vegetables on the table are tasteless—even with salt.
We are miserable!
We think of whatever we can do—our humble hearts are good. /?/
The kindness of the dragon's heart is shown more than when he is in his palace;
It is our rare honor to have them come to our feast.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the tigers face to face.
On these big, bare tables we can offer nothing.
It is like the eastern sea cutting off the sandy net. /?/
We cannot give the honored ones everything.
Ashamed that our lowly family has not yet established a house—

/80 cont'd/

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Without tables, without chairs, we are not yet established,
Without bowls and without plates, there is nothing we can put on the tables in lines or rows.
Rice is served!
We offer rice to the honorable officials with our humble hands.
/81/ The honorable ones who have come here have no chairs to sit on,
Like swallows sitting on a crossbeam,
And falling on the ground, the noble ones get hurt.
Their clothes are torn, making them feel bad.
Our family is poor and has no golden chopsticks.
Green bamboo and polished chopsticks we offer to the officials to hold.
Red sedans and golden chopsticks are in Kwangtung—
They are too rare to fall into our hands.
The honorable and witty officials have come from a long distance,
And sit here now as if before bare tables.
Before bare tables, with no wine to drink,
Your hearts are becoming unfriendly.
In the hall five tables /...obscure/ are used up,
Like six pairs of drakes and ducks joined together.
In the hall a group of stars are now sitting at the tables,
...to wish fortune to the family.
When one goes into the woods to cut some bamboo, one stirs the trees.
When one goes down to the water to draw out the fish nets, one arouses the dragon.
First, may our landlords' houses have riches and honor,
May strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed.
May all our landlords enjoy long life,
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu*.

/* The Methuselah of China./

/81 cont'd/

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Second, may our masters seek to become immortals.
Once one cultivates Buddhist immortality, it will lead to becoming chuang-yüan /highest graduate of the Hanlin Academy/.
A chuang-yüan's virtue is seen seeking the way to immortality.
And each man will be seen as naturally intelligent.
Third, may our masters' houses be favored with riches and honor,
May their stalls be full of livestock: pigs, sheep, cattle, and horses;
And when they are released from the stalls,
May no eagles, birds, or big snakes dare to touch them. /82/
Fourth, may our masters have long lives,
Long lives like P'eng Tsu's.
P'eng Tsu, many years; our masters, many years!
P'eng Tsu, many springs; our masters, many springs!
Fifth, when our masters sow their seeds,
May the crops grow and multiply five-fold.
Flourishing so that every year nine granaries of grain will be harvested.
Sixth, as our masters pass on the mountain roads,
And arrive at the yellow mountain,
May the mountain horses and yellow deer reach it,
Climbing with all four feet without faltering.
Seventh, when our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets;
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
Eighth, may our masters enjoy long life—
Lives as long as green silk stretching over a hundred thousand feet long;
May you talk with eloquence to the judge in the other world,
So that no sickness nor evil spirits will dare to befall your families.

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Ninth, may our masters' work in burning be successful,
So that each /?/ year light will appear at the shrines,
And fields will be bright without ploughing,
And your sons will grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
Tenth, may all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials.
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans
May the high families before us be endlessly blessed,
So that we small stars facing them will not know how to act, /83/
And bamboos and firecrackers break forth the good tidings to old and young.
/This next line is obscure./
Eleventh, may our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
Twelfth, may you rise to a new office as a distinguished official of the highest degree,
With five boys and five girls lined up before you,
With your pigs producing dragons and your hens producing phoenixes,
With people, tens of thousands of them, under your office.
Three steps forward, three steps backward;
Three steps backward, the wedding will be over.
Two young branches with pure thoughts
Pray that you go up to the ... tables
That all the stars will be seated
And hasten to eat and drink tea.
With hands on our breasts we thank the distinguished ones.
All the stars are now leaving to have a walk outside,
Strolling in a line, two in a row.
We have great feeling for you at the moment you pass by here.

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IV. All the various officials have been wandering about looking for the moon.
We have found the moon.
We have had the luck to receive their honorable favor.
When first we were summoned,
It was somewhat like the eastern capital summoning us to the moon.
This is a wedding matched by the six points.
Coming into this flower place, we look around,
And hope the son of heaven /the hosts/ will guide our steps.
We come into the autumn (...) bamboo tree mountain,
We come into the Tower of the Noble Gate,
/84/ The Tower of the Noble Gate is so well furnished.
Polished chairs line up on the four sides.
Our hosts offers us the best white rice—
Placed on the table, its fragrance spreads over the whole feast.
Even before eating it, one feels good in the heart.
Our honorable host's family has riches and honor.
Gold bowls and silver cups confront us.
This is like the occasion in the palace of the Jade Emperor at Peking.
Dragons and phoenixes in lines and rows shining all over the sky.
Our hosts offer us the best golden chopsticks—
Their ends and tips are coated with gold,
Glittering and brightening all the corners of the hall.
Our hosts' house has riches and honor.
The bright table in front shines up toward the sky.
This is like the city river at I-fu,
With dragons and phoenixes in rows and lines reddening the four sides with brightness.
Our hosts have everything, thousands and tens of thousands.
Gold wine cups are placed in lines on the feast tables,
This is like the dazzling stars appearing in the sky.

/84 cont'd/

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Wine placed in them gives off a bouquet reaching the sky.
Our hosts have the best of wine and rice;
Placed on the feast tables, its fragrance reaches everywhere—
Its fragrance reaches a distance of four li,
It can be compared to the dragon's liver....
For two years they prepared for the southern stars.
Our hosts, honorable and rich, sit by the line of tables,
Offering us rice and drink out of golden bowls.
All the stars feel good after drinking so much. /85/
/Two lines omitted here because of omissions in the text./
Golden vases are placed at the line of tables,
In rows and pairs to match the heavenly stars.
Our host has many riches and much honor
The bouquet of the jade wine and the gold cups spreads over the whole feast
Having drunk it this year is an immense pleasure.
The bouquet will grace our mouths for sixty years.
To travel by horseback to the drake and duck
Is like receiving the courtesy and hospitality of a Literary Chancellor:
We very much hope that the honorable ones will guide us in our manners,
And lead us around the four corners with open hands.
The Southern Dipper and the Six Ranks all appear here.
All have come to pay a visit at the Hall of the Son of Heaven.
Officials have come on foot to visit the learned ones;
We have come from a distance for the wedding.
Letting loose the horses and holding a pearl, we enter the hall.
When the new officials are published before the emperor,
On the list will be clearly listed all of you,
To be entered and commented on forever.
We very much hope all the stars /hosts/ will guide us in our manners,

/85 cont'd/

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585

Like the bright moon guiding the stars in roaming around.
Endless words and phrases cannot be exhausted to express our feelings,
For getting the stars back in the mazy river /of heaven/.
If so many high and wise ones will condescend to hear us:
We draw our hands to give our wishes for the coming winter and the four seasons.
We all give our wishes for the coming winter and the four seasons.
May sickness and evil spirits dare not come to your house,
/86/ And every season of each year may safely befall you,
And may you have lives as long as green silk stretching over ten thousand feet long.
May riches and honor come to our landlords,
And strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed,
Precious things in gold caskets at the head of the bed.
And may silken cloth and satin embroideries fill the whole hall.
Moreover, riches and honor to our landlords,
Riches and honor greater than Shih Tsung's,
And may our landlords have everything that can be had,
And for ten thousand years may they be known as wise.
Moreover, may our masters seek to become immortals.
In the other world the chuang yüan /the highest graduate/ will be at peace in the former heaven /Taoist term for previous existence/.
The T'ien Shih /"heavenly teacher," a term for the head of the Taoist sect/ will mark this on his golden list.
Divine powers will carry the spirit to the Jade Palace.
Riches and honor to our masters' house.
May herds of cows and horses multiply in all the stalls.
When they are released from the stalls to go outdoors,
May no eagles, birds, and great snakes dare to touch them.
Long life to our masters—
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu, who lived so long.

/86 cont'd/

539 585 When our masters plant grain,
May the crops multiply five-fold,
Rich grains growing to the tips,
Yielding crops enough for ten full granaries every year.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
That when you reach the mountain, fish and meat will come.
May the mountain horses and jade deer on which you come
Climb with all four feet without faltering.
/87/ When our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets.
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
May our masters' path go in ten directions:
May incense burn at the shrines every year.
May horses come from four directions for you to sit and ride.
May your sons grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
May all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials.
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans.
This year we judge this couple here to take their seats at the wedding ceremony.
Next year there will be another pair at the wedding feast.
Two judgments and two weddings match two couples.
Two couples will multiply so that two will become two by two.

533 585 The third and fourth songs of the above are sung by hosts and guests, each taking the role of singing and answering. The hosts sing the song first (No. III above), and the guests answered with

/87 cont'd/

533 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part
585 mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The
[571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest
533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible.—Tr./

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers
585 assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

/140 cont'd/

587 In the evening the bride was accompanied to her husband's house by a female go-between. She carried her small not yet weaned baby boy at her breast. The groom welcomed her to the banquet which had been prepared, to which he had invited many friends and relatives. As wine flowed into their mouths, songs flowed out. First the guests took turns singing songs to the bride, and the bride answered them, one by one. The bride then moved to sing songs reciprocally with the parents of the groom. But all the time, the groom stood aside, attending everyone, and did not drink or sing. We turned on the phonograph at the door to add to their good spirits and were dragged in to have a drink with them. I forced a few mouthfuls down, then hurriedly, on the pretext of going to change the record, sneaked out from their company. Since I was not used to liquor, it would have been embarrassing if I had let myself join them in their drinking spree.

/141/ Third month, ninth day. (Tuesday)

585 574 In the afternoon we moved out of Mr. Wang's house to stay in Wen-hua center. On our way through the upper Hsiao village, we saw a family having a big wedding banquet with a lot of guests. The bridegroom, upon seeing us, rushed out to block our way and insisted upon our joining their wedding party. After resisting in vain, we were dragged in to the party. Yüan-chiung, not able to understand their dialect, was lucky to have escaped their dragging. At the house I was rushed to the head seat at the table. I declined stubbornly, excusing myself by saying that I had to attend to my luggage which was following me and could not stay too long. The host placed a large cup of strong wine in front of me and another for himself, insisting that we both should empty the cups before I left them. His manner was so earnest and serious that I felt there was no room to retreat. I was so taken aback with this large cup of wine that I thought of a scheme. I took half a cup, and, while he was not noticing, I spit it out on the floor, with a handkerchief covering my mouth. The host was still insistent that the cup should

/141 cont'd/

585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

/143 cont'd/

872 that a primary-school building had been set up—a concrete manifestation of their pressing desire for education. A teacher, a native of Wan-ning had also been hired and had arrived. However, the question of his salary was still being negotiated.

585 The bride was a niece of Headman Lu, she had been brought up in Lu's family after having lost her parents in childhood. The bridegroom was also of the same village. We knew the families of both from before. We had bought several boxes of firecrackers at Wenhua center, which we had brought along as a wedding present. The wedding took place right after sunset. This time it was the groom who was to be married to the bride and who was taken into the latter's home. The groom covered his face with a red kerchief and was carried over on a man's back, followed by a procession of men serving as "bridemaids." The females on the bride's side began to shower extravagant jokes on him; some teased him with words, and others pushed him when he was not on guard to knock him down.

585 The groom stood there stiffly like a wooden cock, completely ener-
171 vated, afraid even to take the red kerchief from his face. Onlookers sweated for him at the sight, and several companions came to his rescue and tried to get him away from the siege of these mischievous women. The series of jokes played on the groom reminded me of the Chinese custom of carrying on horseplay at weddings except that here the object was the groom instead of the bride. There were a great many more ceremonies and practices after the groom arrived at the bride's home. We watched till one o'clock in the morning before we went home to go to bed.

Third month, thirteenth day. (Saturday)

In the morning the groom presented a cup of wine to the bride's parents, to whom he showed great respect in his conduct, a custom closely resembling that of the Chinese, in which the bride presents wine to her parents-in-law with great ceremony. At noon the bride visited the groom's family for the first time. She had barely come in when a Taoist priest was asked to perform the simple ritual of ch'ü sha /"expelling baleful influences"/.

/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a
[574] double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that
302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's.
[585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by
[71] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
684 they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
[837] as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

●585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
977 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash
584 and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.
[301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's
585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's
[177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's
[756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and
[782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense
[787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kowtows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and
[556] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At
585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense
782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.
[75] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

"The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
[539] Heaven and earth open out.

/96 cont./

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The bride arriving here brings
Great luck and great prosperity.
The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become
a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family,
she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated
hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go
back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to wel-
come her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the
Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
[776] To officiate at this marriage rite.
We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest
has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads
the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits
down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started.
The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire
would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement back-
ward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement
then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside
or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated
she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao
grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After
washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/97 cont./

585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 533 men and women of the host family gather in another group. 585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights, but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain

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/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
585 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

582 585 [591] The young people are married at seventeen or eighteen, and it seems to make no difference whether the young couple live with the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or set up housekeeping in their own home. The wedding is usually held at the groom's home, two or three young girls and a young man or two from his village going for the bride and escorting her back. The bride wears no distinctive dress except a peculiar headdress under her kerchief, and an embroidered girdle of undyed cloth. She also carries two small towels of this same material thrown over her shoulders, and one to cover her face. According to their custom, the bride and groom sit on the same bench and eat and drink together, and then declare their allegiance to the family by serving tea to the parents or in some other simple way.

771 The Miao in their heathen state apparently worshipped any and all gods in an effort to appease them but with little definite idea or set ritual. Idols do not seem to be in evidence in their houses, and being a roving people, they [799] have no temples. They have within the last few years become interested in the Gospel and whole villages have become Christian, much as has been the case in the mass movement, so-called, in India. They are a simple people, highly emotional and temperamentally religious, which is often true of hill peoples. Thus certain emotional phases of religion immediately become paramount in their eyes, and without careful teaching they are liable to be led astray on these points.

797 [2,2] The Miao have no written language of their own, but pick up Chinese character with amazing rapidity. The Christian villages each put up a chapel at their own expense, meet every morning for prayer before they go to their work, and every evening for a short service and an hour or so of study. When a Chinese evangelist or a missionary comes to the village, they study until midnight, when they are sent home in self-defence by the teachers—and at 2 a.m. they are up pounding rice, so that we wonder when they sleep. They are a wonderfully interesting people, these "Children of the Forest," as they style themselves, and it is a rare privilege to be among them and come to know them.

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth. 292 541 301

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide. 291

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants 292 585

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AES Misc AFS

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wore this orange blouse outside; the others black. To the outer blouses they tacked embroidered bands with silver disks on them as follows: at the bottom across the back and each hip one with thirty-nine small disks; around the upper arm two or three with twenty-two small disks on each; around the neck one embroidered in green, red, and blue with twenty-two large disks and a similar narrow band with twenty-nine small disks on it. Instead of the two aprons they wore a finely pleated, knee-length skirt of dark blue, almost black, heavy cloth with a six-inch band of white at the bottom. For the narrowest skirt twenty feet of cloth were required, or more. There were two of the woven belts worn with this costume, over a length of soft purple silk, whose ends showed in the back as if a handkerchief had been tucked in. The overpiece was covered with silver disks as described above and the extra ornaments were added. In addition, each girl had several neck loops and a silver chain about her neck from which were suspended five more neck loops so that they lay on her chest. At least two girls in one case had a row of small silver fish suspended from the chain in the back.

For this costume the women in a related household evolved a special turban for each girl, which consumed considerable time. It was like that worn by unmarried girls in that they shaved all but the crown of the head and put on the narrow, overlapping bands, but there were more of these — in one case seven, in another ten. The order of the strips was as follows: white, bright blue, orange, green, yellow, black, lavender, turquoise, white, lavender, from the inside out. These bands were so put on that they showed only a quarter of an inch of the one below, and the overlapping had to make a straight line up the back of the head. It was like that of the married women in that the stick was put on and the hair, braided in two braids, secured it. Two pieces of blue black cloth were put on over the stick in turn and sewed in place. A third piece, of soft, thin blue silk, was large enough to cover the stick and the top of the head. Another, narrow, but long, strip was put on so as to hold this firmly and tightly. A long strip of white cloth, folded six times lengthwise, was wound around the head

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

292 horizontally, and finally the embroidered scarf
585 was put on so that the whole design showed and the ends were tied, at the back. All wore new straw sandals.

292 The costume in which two old ladies were
764 laid out while the ritual of "opening the way" was performed was still different (fig. 18, *f*). The turban was that of a married woman, with the embroidered scarf. Several blouses were put on, of which the outer was of orange silk, and in one case there were two pairs of trousers. Both the pleated skirt and aprons were worn. On the feet were cloth stockings and Chinese cloth shoes. In one case there was just one overpiece; in the other three were tacked together. This latter old lady had kept the old style turban scarf, overpiece, and front apron. The designs were different from those used at the time I was with them and the colors were faded soft and lovely, showing that silk thread with good dyes had been used. That sold in the markets now soon fades to almost white.

The designs on the front apron were in rows, one of birds with wings outspread, one of birds with wings folded, as if rising, and one of an animal, all in white. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that used in modern times, but that in the back was a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center. On the inner strip the four diagonal lines had become two, forming a cross. There were many strips with a dogtooth design on them. The cross-stitch designs were not of the fine type now used, but coarser, more like those on the overpiece worn by another group of Miao women I saw in the Lung-li market who said that they were Lao Hei Miao (Black Miao who had been long in the vicinity,) fig. 18, *f*. On the scarf the designs were of birds and medallions somewhat spaced. Her belt was of the same design as those I saw, but only half as wide.

292 These Lao Hei Miao women also wore trousers and aprons for everyday, but both aprons were of hemp and had no embroidery. Another group of Miao women, called by the Chinese Pai (White) Miao (fig. 20, *b*), wore the ceremonial skirt constantly over trousers

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

534 pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

533 They also made tunes on leaves and were
534 said to be able to send messages in this way. Among other Miao this was courting music,
584 accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

584 **Betrothal.** Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young peope probably were acquainted.

585 **Wedding** (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

On the day after the groom's arrival the bride and her attendants spent much time getting dressed. The longest part of the time was consumed in the arrangement of the turban, done by women of a closely related household. Meanwhile a feast was being prepared by men and women of the bride's family. It was served as soon as the girls — in one case seven, in the other nine — were ready. Indeed, they were urged to hurry up, as it was getting late. Tables were set in the court before the house. There the bride and her attendants sat at the first two tables and other women guests at the others. The groom and his attendants ate around one of the floor fires in the main room of the house. At one feast I attended, in addition to wine and rice, the dishes served were of various vegetables in season with pork, glutinous rice with sugar syrup, strips of very fat fresh roast pork, chicken, pork alone, fresh and dried bean curd.

While they were eating the loads of food and clothing were being prepared. The bride and her attendants got up from the table to supervise this. In one case the food consisted of a quarter of beef and a bushel of rice, in another of a large piece of pork, a bushel of rice, a jar of wine, and some cured meat. When they started out a woman from the bride's family ran after them and cut off a piece of the meat, which she brought back, laughing. The procession followed a definite order: the groom and his attendants, the men bearing the food, the men bearing the baskets containing the girls' everyday clothing and umbrellas, the bride and her attendants, all in single file. It was a gay and colorful one.

After the girls left the guests remained at the bride's home, feasting and drinking wine until they got quite happy and noisy. The object in drinking wine was partly to induce this happy state. Once when a visitor from Yang-niu-ts'un was in Yang-chia-sai I was invited with her to several houses in turn for a good meal. It was not considered necessary to eat much at every house, but the visitor, a very jolly woman, said I should have drunk more so that I could talk more.

[2] Literally, "drink wine," another pronunciation of *Tso chia.*

[3] This means a setting up the new household.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The bridal party spent that afternoon getting to the groom's village. At the village they played and sang all night. The next day the bride's party was feasted by his relatives. On one occasion I saw, feasting took place about noon. The bride's party sat on two rows of benches facing one another on one of the threshing floors. The food was set in bowls on planks between them by women of a related household. 585

On the third day, after another night of singing and playing the *lu sheng*, the bride and her attendants returned to her village, accompanied by the groom, who brought gifts of meat and rice and spent the night there. When the bride and her attendants left the groom's village to return, the women of the village accompanied them, some stopping at the entrance to the village and some going a little way. At a point where the bride and her attendants were about to disappear from view they stopped and sang a song antiphonally with the other groups. Then they went on and the nearer group rushed after them to watch them out of sight. When they left they were still in ceremonial array, except for plainer blouses. They reached home dead tired and slept from the time of their arrival until the next day.

Tso Chia. After a girl was married she returned at once to her parents' home, where she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home, during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. When the first child was twenty-two days old girls from the mother's village were invited to "drink wine" in honor of the event. They called this "*tso k'ai.*"[2] Some said it was the same as "*tso chia.*"[3] Others said that it was the same as "*ch'ih chiu*" or "*tso chieh*"[4] — a time of rejoicing, calling, of course, for wine in abundance. Among the local Chungchia this was a combination of "*man yüeh*"[5] and the setting up of the permanent household in the groom's home. The bride's village sent with the guests at this feast among the Chungchia a red cupboard and clothing. 591 852 593

[4] This means to drink wine, or to attend a feast.
[5] The first month feast — The feast also given by the Chinese when a baby is a month old.

4:Mickey E-8 (1940-?) 1947 AES Miao AES

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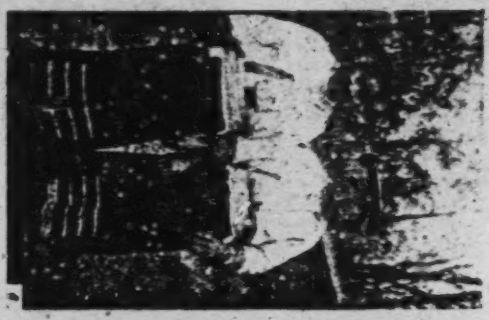

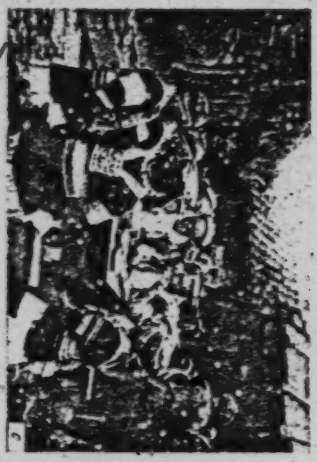

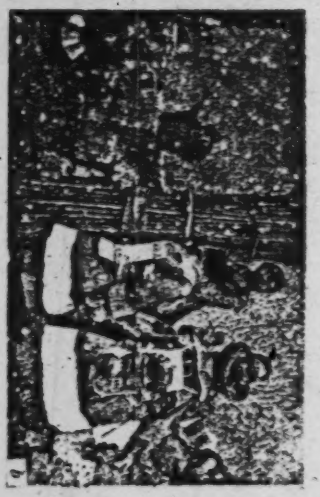

[For captions, see p. 93b. -- Analyst]

A-Mickey E-6 (1940-?) 1947 AES Miao AES

a, d, Two village girls, showing turban and clothes which are used only on occasion. *b*, Two of the "White" Miao. *c, e*, bride and her attendants, and women guests at feast at her home, showing the special turban and ceremonial dress worn only by the bride and her attendants at her wedding.

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911. AE5 Miao AE5

584 had repaid the money the husband's family had expended on the marriage, she married again, and now seems settled and contented with her husband and two or three children. Another woman we know was betrothed when a girl to a man who left home for awhile, and while he was away her parents married her to another. When the man to whom she had been betrothed came back and claimed her, the man who had married her gave her up, and she became the wife of the other. We know another young woman, not yet thirty, who is subject to epileptic fits, who has been married half-a-dozen, perhaps a dozen, times. When her new husband discovers she is subject to these fits, he sends her home again and does not want her.

585 After a marriage has been arranged, a day is fixed for the receiving of the bride. The kinsfolk and friends of both parties are invited, a room is cleared out—sometimes it is the cow-house, which is really a part of the dwelling-house—and seats put all round against the wall for the guests. The guests all make presents to the bridegroom's family—rice, or jars of whisky, and sometimes silver. These contributions to their host considerably diminish the cost of the marriage feast. The bride, who walks from her

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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parents' home, escorted by her girl friends all dressed in their best and wearing their silver ornaments, generally arrives during the afternoon.

Among the Hua Miao, after the evening meal, the bride and one of her companions lay aside their fine clothes, and, taking a tub half full of water, wash the feet of all the guests, beginning with the men. When this is done they all settle themselves for a night of whisky-drinking and song-singing. The guests sing the virtue of their host, praising the kindly way he has received them and the rich food provided for their entertainment. Then the host, or some one on his behalf, replies also in song, belittling the host and grieving over the contemptible style in which the guests have been treated. The legends of the tribe are also chanted one after another; sometimes one voice leading and the others joining in a sort of chorus; sometimes one party singing interrogatively and another party singing responsively. The feasting, singing, and noise go on for three days and nights, at the end of which time the guests depart and the bride, with her companions, returns to her parents' home. Sometimes the bride stays more than three days at the home of her husband.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

• 585 The return of the bride to her parents' home is also somewhat of a festive occasion. I shall here copy some lines from my wife's diary, which describes the return of a bride among the Heh-Miao after staying at the bridegroom's home for twelve days :—

"Took Rosie to see a bride returning to her mother's home. A group of seven or eight young women dressed in their best, and with flags made of red and green paper, were waiting on a little hill for her arrival. After waiting a long time, we saw the bridal party approaching. First came three men, and then six men carrying three slaughtered pigs on poles. One man carried two large baskets of cotton swinging on a pole, and another man carried four jackets and four skirts in the same way. The bride wore a crown, a magnificent piece of workmanship—ribbons, birds, flowers, and filigree work, all made of silver. Around her neck she had seven silver necklets, some large and solid looking and some very prettily worked. She had also seven or eight bracelets on each arm, and silver spangles all over that part of the jacket that was not embroidered. She also wore a richly embroidered skirt. Mrs. P'an told me the dress and silver ornaments were worth at least one hundred and thirty Mexican dollars.

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

When she came in sight the young women and 585
some girls went to meet her, and she asked them to go before her to her home. When she arrived at home two women stood just inside the door, one on each side, with a pot and a small cup. I think all the guests were offered whisky, but I only saw the bride drink it. Inside were many guests assembled who were drinking. Some of the schoolgirls came in to see me during the evening, all of them smelling of whisky. The feasting, singing, and gambling went on all night and for three days. I saw some of the women quite tipsy."

After returning to her home, the girl remains with her parents till she is sent for by her husband's family, which usually happens at sowing or reaping time, when there is much work to be done. When sent for, the bride goes to her husband's home without any fuss, takes her place in her new home, and does her share of the house and farm work. Sometimes, [586]
if the husband or husband's family are not satisfied with the bride, they do not ask her to return, in which case she gets married to another man. Among the Hua Miao it is the rule not to send for the newly married till she has had her first baby.

Not only do the Miao sing and recite the old

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

584 fifth moon, or at some other convenient time, or attends one of the Miao feasts or festivals, or joins those playing on the mountain-sides at New Year time. Either the boy or the girl can make the first advances. The methods are to look lovingly
584 with the eyes, to squeeze hands and to speak loving words.
833 This is inconvenient if there are many people about. A boy may take a girl's handkerchief or a girl take a boy's. Then the person who gets the handkerchief goes away and the other says, "That person has taken my handkerchief. Stay here and I will go after him (or her)." Then in a quiet secluded place they make love. They say loving words, squeeze each other's hands, and embrace. A very great evidence of love is when one spits and the other swallows the spittal. Copulation often follows after which a handkerchief or a ring may be given by the boy to the girl or *vice versa* and they make a vow such as, "If you do not marry me and marry another, you must take this engagement present and eat it and then I will make no trouble." It is believed by the Ch'uan Miao men that copulation is one of the surest ways to a woman's affection.

584 Later the parents must be informed and they must secure go-betweens and arrange engagement presents and so on. If the parents do not agree, then the young people run away together or the man carries away the girl. Then all the neighbors and friends urge the parents to consent and if they still do not agree the neighbors and friends practically compel them to do so. The gifts to the girl's parents are generally less than they would have been if the young people had been engaged and married in the usual way.

Marriage by capture is not unknown among the Ch'uan Miao. Sometimes the girls are quite willing to get married in this way, and it is said that happy marriages often result. Sometimes a man uses this method because he is in love with the girl.

Parents generally desire to marry off their daughters, for it is the custom of marrying daughters into other homes that makes possible the securing of daughters-in-law to labor in the home and to give birth to descendants. Besides, the girl's parents receive engagement gifts and these are sometimes very valuable.

585 The bride generally weeps before leaving her parental home. Sometimes the sorrow is pretended but at other times she is sad and unwilling to go and the parents and friends and relatives have to use persuasion and even cocrcion. There is an old custom by which the parents actually push the girl out of the house. It is customary for the girl and her parents to weep, either as a matter of form or because of sincere sorrow.

& Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

581 181 There is a strong sentiment against marrying daughters into families that live far away or in desolate places on high mountains. The common belief that the Miao love to live on the high and rugged mountains and are unwilling to live on the rich and level plains is as great a mistake as historians ever made. The Miao live on the high and rugged mountains because they are a defeated people and have been forced to do so. The Ch'uan Miao name for heaven is "Ntsə ni lʌu Gʌu bi" or "the ancient level country of God." It is a land where there are no more steep mountains to climb.

585 Before the bride leaves her home, a meal is provided by her parents for her and for those who escort her. In the wedding procession there are generally one or more old women, relatives of the bride, a male relative or friend who manages the procession, the brothers of the bride and other friends who choose to go along. If it is a long distance to the groom's home, a meal is provided to be eaten by the way. In the bridal procession are generally carried such clothing, boxes, chests of drawers or other objects that have been given as bridal presents by her parents to the bride. The manager carries with him a bamboo tree with roots which symbolizes the large number of descendants of the couple. It is also supposed to have magic power to help the family thus to prosper. Sometimes a branch of a tea tree is also carried. Some plant the bamboo tree and others hang it up on the wall of the house. The *liu shêng* is not used at weddings for its notes are thought to be too sad for such occasions.

On arriving at the home of the groom, the brothers of the bride generally escort her into the house as a protection from demons. If she has no brothers, first cousins will do and lacking these, other male relatives may be invited to act as brothers. When entering the house the bride covers her face with a black and a white cloth. Her older brother goes in front and she holds onto his belt. Behind her an older or younger brother holds an umbrella over her as protection from demons.

Sometimes the bride and her companions enter the home and walk around in a circle three times. At other times, the Chinese custom of kowtowing three times to parents, relatives, and friends is followed. Tea is soon offered to the guests. According to an old custom that is no longer observed, the meat of a particular kind of bird and fish were provided at wedding feasts. There is always a wedding feast for the relatives and friends. One of the male relatives later counts before all the clothing, chests of drawers, and other things that have been sent along by the bride's parents. When her relatives and friends finally depart, the groom and his relatives go through a form of detaining her by force. This shows that

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

[847] [848] 791 844 When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

778 Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or moun-
782 tain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, a hunters will be successful in the
[755] killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott n of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and
264 offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with
262 a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

[585] During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to
776 the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as
782 deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means original demon.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings
to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they
769 will come forward again and make offerings to the female
and male descendants for three generations before you can
have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The
girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared
• 585 much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and
the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared
782 and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float
about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xʌu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xʌu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.
Now, ʒ̄ɛ ntɛ̄'ai ʒ̄ɛ ɮau, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *k'ai chang* 開張 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no ʒ̄in (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

585

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xau lo xai. (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ʒ̄ɛ gi (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 When we were escorting the bride here, we rode mules. When we came, our daughter came also to the home of you old people here. Let the bride and the groom eat food from one bowl (to denote harmony) and drink water and wine from one cup. When our daughter comes to you here, we will commemorate the lives (souls) of her parents. xAu lo-xai.

We will make offerings to the life of the house, the life (or soul) in the field, the soul (life) of our lives, the life of the earth, the lives of the bride's ancestors, the life of the ridge, the life of the bend, the life of the seed, the life of the rear of the house, and these lives will come together to eat meat, and together will drink wine.

We will make offerings to the life of the garden, of the front door, of the smaller (side) doors, of the looms, and they will all come together. XAu lo- xai. We came halfway and we made offerings to the life of the half-way road. We came through nine bends and made offerings to the lives of the nine bends. We came past the ten bends and there were ten dragons' lives. We made offerings to the ten dragons' lives so they could eat meat. We made offerings to the life of the fogstreaks along the mountain-side so it would come and drink wine and drink it through its lips onto its tongue. When you have drunk, give some to the crazy people along the road (so they will not come). When you have eaten and drunk, you must go and watch the house for the bride's relatives. Come you all, xAu lo- xai.

We have come to your home and have escorted the bride to see her father and mother-in-law. After three mornings we will take her back to see her father and mother. We have escorted the girl to the home of you old folks. If your meat is good, bring a bowlful. If your wine is good, bring a cupful.

The meat has come but we have not yet eaten it. Wine has come but we have not drunk it. We will turn the spoon over and offer (some wine). We will make offerings to you people here (your lives). We will make offerings to the life of your house, or the rear of the house, the rice-field, the earth, the bed, your ancestors, the front door, the side door, the yard gate, the looms, so they will all come together and eat meat and drink wine. When we have made the offering you come and live with us. Tomorrow, be companions with us, xAu lo- xai.

We have come to escort the girl here. When we return, you husband and wife, drink wine out of one cup and eat rice out of the same bowl. When you two go together to farm, let the son work on the farm outside and the girl at home. When the son has worked on the farm and returns, his body will be dirty from clay and the bride will come out and speak jokingly and laugh. xAu lo- xai.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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May you (bride and groom) in the future have plenty to eat and when you speak have results, and when others see you, may they praise you.

Once a man and his wife made a clearing. When they did it stirred the mind of lo- ʒwAn (a very distant family). They began to cut down the deep forest and it disturbed lo- ʒwAn's liver. They cut down a narrow piece of land and came to climb that mountain.

In the spring the weather was hot and the place was also hot. The sky was very dry. The earth was also very dry. The man took fire and burnt the mountain. The woman also lighted a fire and went with him to burn the mountain. They burnt on both sides as far as the bottom of the mountain. Then the man and the woman came back to sleep. They slept until next morning and the man took the seed and put it into the seam of his garment. The woman also took pumpkin seeds and rice seeds and put them inside a cloth. Then the man scattered three handfuls on the edge of the field and when it grew up it was like brambles. The woman sowed three handfuls in the ground. When it grew up, it was as deep as bitter bamboo. The man also scattered three handfuls on the pass. It grew up like bamboo. The woman sowed three handfuls on the ridge. When it grew up it was like bamboo limbs. The heads of grain were like *kao liang*. Its stalks were like bamboo. A big wind blew which was not good. It blew down the grain as though a person had pushed it over in a pile. The stalks fell down near an artificial terrace. The man could carry only three sheaves. The woman could carry only three stalks. The man carried it to his home. The woman carried it only half-day. Because the woman could not carry, when she had gone half-way she began scolding. The man carried enough to fill up nine rooms. The woman carried enough to fill up nine small lofts. The husband and his wife now had enough to eat. tao ʒAn praised them. The two now had enough to eat and to wear. The Miao ʒAn praised them.

The wife was standing in the door of her bedroom. The man stood in his golden door. (Probably this is poetical). The mother had nine daughters. The husband had ten sons. The older brother was without a name and they named him ʒɛ fu- (old person happiness). The second oldest was named ʒɛ gy. When the oldest brother grew up, he walked through the door of the heavenly well very happily. When the younger brother went through that door he carried a plow beam on his shoulders.

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585 There was a third son who was named ʒ̄ɛ i lʌu (old one left side). The next younger was named ʒ̄ɛ i lʌn.

When the oldest brother went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to sing. When the next older went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to play the *liu shêng*. The oldest brother sang songs like the singing of orioles. The next younger brother played the *liu shêng* like the singing of the red bird.

The mother had nine daughters and could not find enough names for them. She named the second one Ma ntso (sister able at weaving). She named the oldest sister ma mba (sister of silk). The second oldest sister went out of the heavenly well door and remembered to work at the loom. The oldest sister went through the door of the heavenly well and remembered to work the wheel to wind thread. When she trod the wheel it resounded. When the loom (turned) it sounded as though laughing.

The mother had nine daughters. The father had ten sons. Another daughter was named ma·^{5} mao·^{2} (cat). An older sister was named ma·^{5} mbai^{2} (cousin). When the younger sister went out of the door (in the morning when they went out of the sleeping-rooms) of the heavenly well, she remembered and made embroidery. When the older sister went out of the door of the heavenly well, she remembered to dye flowery skirts.

The mother had nine daughters, the father ten sons. An older brother had no name. He was named ʒ̄ɛ gʌu. The younger brother was named ʒ̄ɛ gʌu gʌn. The older brother, when he went out, did not discuss people's daughters. When the younger brother went out, he did not discuss people's wives. When the older brother went out, he wanted to find money to use in engaging a wife. When the younger brother went also, he also wanted to find money with which to engage a wife.

There was another older brother who was named ʒ̄ɛ la· (happy). There was another younger brother whom they named ʒ̄ɛ lo· (big). When the older brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell pigs. When the younger brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell cattle. The older brother drove the younger brother's cows to the city Wu Chiu. The younger brother drove some pigs to Chengtu. The older brother gained enough silver to fill up a big bag. The younger brother sold the pigs and made enough gold to fill a big bag. The older brother could not

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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carry all his silver. The younger had silver and helped his older brother carry some silver. The older brother used his silver to buy an old rice-field. The field that the older brother bought had its boundaries on the pass.. That boundary, if a Chinese came, even he could not take away.

The field that the younger brother (bought) had a boundary on the ridge. If the Lolos came, even they could not take it away. Let the sons of the Lolos come to contest the boundary and we will spank them with a board, (disrespectful joking).

A Chinese came and struggled for the field that the younger brother bought. The younger brother used bamboo slats and spanked the Chinese.

The older brother erected a house with his silver. He would not talk much. He hid his silver under the tiles of his house.

The younger erected a house with his gold. He hid his gold under some tile and covered it up.

The older brother's house (which he built) he ornamented with images on the roof, and they pointed towards Suifu.

The house the younger brother lived in had four wings (like birds) and they pointed towards Shang Ling.

When the older brother went out of his heavenly well, he was like a good official in the city. When the younger brother came out of his house (heavenly well) he was like an older son of an emperor.

The older brother had a big mother cat. Her kittens were all males.

The younger raised pigs as numerous as the sands. All the young pigs were males.

The water buffaloes came up to the pass. Their calves were all bulls. He raised dogs. The pups were all males.

If you raise chickens, you need fine sand. The chicks hatched were all males. The ducks were in the bamboo grove. The rats in the house were a big band in front of the firegrate.

xau lo xai.

If I make offerings to the ancestors, I have no foundation. I have delayed you old people who sat and waited for things to eat to come and they (edibles) did not come. I have no foundation for offering domestic animals. I have delayed you, a band of old people, for you have seen things but you could not get them to eat. You couldn't even taste the wine. xau lo xai.'

[10 cont.]

591 practiced by one tribe and then followed by others for so long a time that at last it was firmly established. There are only a few couples who are separated. In such cases, they would participate 587 in moon dance, chasing the moon, yao-ma-lang or kan-piao, and other such agencies of free love to seek their mate for a second marriage.

When a boy reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen the 584 [582] parents usually negotiate marriage for him. First, a friend or a relative is asked to approach a girl's family to propose marriage. When the latter family approves, the go-between would bring the boy and his parents over for an interview. If both sides are satisfied, they then start negotiations of gifts and dowry and make arrangements for the engagement. If one side is not satisfied the matter is dropped. This refers to total strangers: between those who are acquainted with each other such arrangements are unnecessary. In the old days the gift and dowry were 583 given in terms of the number of cows instead of money. Recently, they have been changed to silver pieces, and the larger the amount, the more magnificent it is for the girl's family. If the amount is small then the girl's status is considered low and it becomes a disgrace to the family. When the question of the bride price is settled (with the Hua Miao the highest gift comes to $100 or more) the go-between appoints a date to convey it to the girl's family. Accepting the gift, the family gives a feast, in which friends and relatives are invited to keep the go-between company and to regale him with meat and wine. This is the engagement. Before the wedding day, the gift donation must be fully paid up through the go-between; but if the girl's family is fond of the future son-in-law, half or all the bride price may be waived. On the wedding day the bridegroom's family sends along 585 a man and a woman to welcome the bride, and sometimes the groom goes there himself. (But the groom must provide meat and wine as a welcome home feast.) The bride's parents would ask a few young girls to keep the bride company the night before, and before daybreak the party would commence the wedding march, the bride shaded under a bridal parasol. On arrival at the groom's house, the members of the party have to leap across

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585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight,
591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first
852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would
431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a
[804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their
[755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[20 cont.] (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a
583 cousin on the mother's side, and if she is to marry somebody
584 else, she has to give money to her maternal uncle. This money
[582] is called "niece's cash.") The girl's family would then give a feast in honor of the go-between and invite other guests to keep him company.

585 [21] Marriages generally take place during the winter harvest in the second lunar month or the autumn harvest in the tenth lunar month. At that time the groom's family will again despatch three or four young men to the bride's family, carrying nine catties of pork, a package of glutinous rice weighing about two or three catties together with the cash gift negotiated at the time of the engagement. Announcement will also be made of the date for receiving the bride (about twenty days away on a horse day or a cow day). The return gift from the girl's family at the time consists only of a package of glutinous rice and a duck. But on the wedding day the bride's family has to despatch two men early in the morning to send over to the groom's family a slaughtered pig of about fifty to sixty catties and two big baskets, approximately four pecks, of glutinous rice to herald the arrival of the bride. At the wedding march the bride is arrayed in a flowered dress, holding in her hand the flowered parasol, sent previously by the groom's family, and accompanied by eleven male and female relatives. But halfway six of them must retract their steps because grown-up girls may not visit the groom. Among the other five, one young woman acts as the bride's maid and always keeps her company. The groom's family also despatches men to carry wine and rice to meet the bridal party halfway. When the two groups meet they picnic in the field. After this the bride and her kinsmen are conducted to the groom's family.

The bridal chamber is not so well decorated as that of the Chinese, and the furniture in the room is simple and plain.
[352] Except for one or two chests of drawers for the bride's clothes which come as a part of the dowry, the rest is provided by the groom and consists of a bed, a few stools, a wooden face-basin and a foot-basin. Quilts, pillows and mat are also provided by the groom's family. That day the celebration consists of singing

[21 cont.]

585 and drinking, which lasts throughout the night, neither hosts nor guests retiring. That night, the bride and groom do not share the room together. When tired the bride may lie down with the groom's younger sister. The next day the bride and her kinsmen return to her home. After three more days the bride is re-escorted to her husband's family by her brothers and male cousins. After a few days' stay she returns once more to her parents. Thus the wedding ceremony officially terminates. Later, every
591 time the husband wants his wife back he has to send over two or three sheng of glutinous rice to her family, and she will then come back with an escort of her kinsmen. Each year from the second to the eighth lunar month when farm work in her husband's family requires the help of the wife, she often goes over [22] but only for a few days as a guest without participating in housecleaning and cooking. Not until she becomes pregnant does the wife begin normal living with her husband to assume the responsibilities of the mistress of the household. This custom probably is a vestige of the transition from a maternal to a paternal society. In a maternal society the married woman does not leave her parents after marriage. The fact that the Miao woman does not stay with her husband before his child is born is probably due to this tradition. The paternal society lays much emphasis upon offsprings: only those women capable of procreation are considered good wives. The marriage before
583 conception, from the point of view of having heirs, is only
591 experimental. Therefore the wife cannot enjoy all her rights and privileges, and at the same time she may not assume the responsibilities associated with them. The result is a sort of quasi-marriage, that is, marriage in fact but not in form.

586 There are a small number of pre-arranged marriages
[584] among the Short-skirt Hê Miao, negotiated by parents when the parties concerned are mere children. In such a marriage the bride often refuses to go back to her husband's family soon after returning to her own. This kind of girl is allowed to marry again on the condition that her second husband pays indemnity to the first one for expenses which the latter may incur in another

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1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

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After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

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585 of the house. Her father, also on horseback and holding the iang hstia in his hands, gesticulates like a madman, pretending to stop his daughter's departure. His horse is led three times around the open space; he calls his daughter with loud cries. She answers each time, shouting, "I am here, yes, here." On the third time around the father on horseback is led into his house but on the side opposite to the one from which his daughter will go.

The side from which the departure is to be made has been carefully indicated by the diviner; it is the way on which the spirit of good fortune awaits. Then the women of the family, those of the neighborhood, and the neighborhood girls run after the bride's horse and keep him from advancing. The singers throw them some cash to make them let go the bridle, but the girls continue to follow the bride the whole day. They hold each other's hands, sing, and caper. This scene does not lack picturesqueness and poetry. They follow their friend to the bridegroom's house, and they go around the farm, /61/ singing and holding each other by the hand. The bridegroom's family then gives each girl three cash, three loaves of bread cooked in oil, and a piece of pork, and they go back without going in. (1)

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1. Schotter, "Notes ethnogr. sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year, Vol. 2, p. 320: If you meet a group of young Miao girls on the highway, it will be a bride going on foot with her companions to her husband's house. The joyful troop will come back the same day of the wedding.

Mo This practice is called āgu dźüradźin (āgu, i.e., "paternal
585 aunt," term of respect for women; dźüradźin, i.e., "to follow," "to run after someone"). It is the pursuit of the lady.

The bride must have a companion; for this, they always look for a beautiful young woman who is alert and resourceful, who will follow her on horseback. She is always a woman who has children; a little page, riding pillion, clings behind her.

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

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1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

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found between Miao and T'ou-jen weddings. The importance attached in ethnology to this people is well known. P.W. Koppers, "Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-right and Totemism in Old China/," p. 996: ...just as the original homogeneity of the Tungus and Tung-hu is so probable...it seems to me that the ancient connection between the Tungus (Proto-Tungus, Pre-Chinese) and Miao-tze has been demonstrated equally as plausibly /cited in German/. Anthropos, 1930.

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First, marriages[1] are almost always celebrated at about the same time, November, December, January. One marries young, between 15 and 20 years. Prognostications are necessary in order to be able to marry. The parents decide on the marriage of their children. The wedding meal is always twofold, i.e., taken in two places, at the home of the bridegroom's parents and at the home of the bride's. If the latter is to leave the paternal home to go to be the daughter-in-law in her bridegroom's home, the first meal is taken at her home. On the other hand, it is taken at the bridegroom's home if he is to go to be the son-in-law at the home of the bride's parents. Then there are also husband-sons-in-law. The dinner menu: corn meal, alcohol, pork if desired. The meal is served on tables improvised for the occasion, planks held up by stakes; the meat put on leaves is

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1 [marriages: Miao marriages --- Analyst]

[Miao]

/86 cont'd/

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

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Mo [585 171]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

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Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

[165 cont.]

585 The ceremonies which accompany the conclusion of a "Méo" marriage are just so many excuses for feasts and drinking bouts.

When a young man has cast his choice upon a young woman, 584 he informs his father of his intentions. The latter selects two old men belonging to the family, whom he charges with going and making the official request in marriage. These two intermediaries, bearing gifts, go to the home of the young woman and are received by her father, who offers them food and drink. If this offer is made within the house, it means that the request is accepted in principle and that the terms may now be discussed. The neighbors are asked in and a small feast is held. (If the offer is made outside the house, it means that the request is not approved, the intermediaries content themselves with eating a morsel and drinking a small cup of alcohol, and withdraw without having entered the home.) The intermediaries then return to the home of the young man to announce the happy result of their mission and to participate in a series of feasts, which last for two days and to which all the relatives and friends of the fiancé are invited. The fiancé receives on this occasion all the gifts [583] which will enable him to make up the amount of the dowry agreed upon.

The engagements usually last only a short time. The "Méo" 585 pay no attention to the agreement of the horoscopes. Upon the day [787] [166] set for the marriage, the fiancé, accompanied by his friends and preceded by flute players, betakes himself to his fiancée's home, where he presents his gifts and where a monstrous feast begins which lasts throughout the day. The fiancée spends the night in her own house, surrounded by her friends, who aid her in making her preparations. The morning of the next day the fiancée dons her garments for grand ceremonies, which she generally wears only on that day. (If the fiancé is of another tribe, she assumes the costume of that tribe.) The cortège, formed of the two spouses accompanied by their friends of both sexes and preceded by "sen" players, goes to the home of the young man where the young wife is presented to her parents-in-law. In the tribes where ancestral worship is practiced, [769] the newlyweds prostrate themselves before the altar. Then begin the feasts, the dances, and the songs, which often last for several days, according to the resources of the fiancé. The young couple

584 to the envoys outside the threshold, it means that the proposal is rejected. If, on the contrary, he invites them to enter, it is a sign that it has been received favorably. In this case the incense sticks are brought into the house and stuck into the ash-bowl of the ancestral altar. The neighbors are invited in and informed of the news, and the happy event is feted by emptying several cups of maize-brandy, while discussing the size of the dowry which should be brought by the young man and the day on which to have the wedding.

The intermediaries return to the fiance's house to inform his father of the result of their negotiations. Shortly after, a celebration is held there to inform relatives and friends of the good news, and the banquet continues for two or three days. Each guest brings the young man a small gift to assist him in paying his dowry, which frequently amountssto 100 piasters, 100 kilos of meat, as much brandy, and about ten chickens.

585 On the day set for the wedding, a procession is formed at the groom's house which /143/ includes at least six men and two women, and they go in procession to the young bride's home, preceded by musicians playing clarinet and flute. The feasting lasts all day long. The following night the dowry is put into the hands of the young woman's father, and on the morning of the next day they start out to return to the home of the young man's father. The bride, dressed in her finest garments, joins the procession, accompanied by relatives and friends, and followed by a servant carrying the small trunk in which her belongings are arranged. She is cheered along the way by the young folks from neighboring hamlets, perched on the rocks which border the paths. Before entering the husband's house, everyone is offered a loving-cup of brandy, which all drink from the neck of the same gourd. The young people prostrate themselves before the ancestral altar. A new feast awaits them, and the roistering continues for another two or three days. When the young man's family cannot meet considerable expense which a wedding imposes under usual conditions, they make a contract with the young woman's family under the terms of which the fiance will go and work in the home of his future father-in-law for two or three years.

When two sweethearts have decided to wed without the consent of their parents, they are compelled to flee the paternal roof, and go and establish a household in a forgotten corner of the mountain. At the end of a certain time they reappear before their parents, and the young man is forgiven by paying an indemnity to his father-in-law.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /55/
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585 In addition, each individual has a family name. This is changed by girls when they marry for that of the husband.
M
553 Differing from my observations, Lajonquière (1) describes

1. II, p. 317.

the name-giving, which, according to him, does not take place until after the end of the confinement: "At the end of this period parents and friends gather in order to bring presents for the child. At the same time, he is given a name, the same one that his grandparents had. Finally, there is the usual eating, drinking, and singing." The statements quoted here have been borrowed verbatim by Abadie (2).

2. Page 165.

A
553 It is much simpler among the Akha. In general, the
844 mother of the woman gives the child its name during the birth
A without further ceremony. There is also sponsorship, however,
608 which is similar to that practiced among the Meau. As among the latter, during the ceremony the child's wrist is likewise joined to the sponsor with a piece of string. Telford (3) gives a

3. Page 103.

somewhat different description and also ascribes a different meaning to the piece of string, as is shown by the following:
A "When children are born among the Kaw (Akha) they slaughter
[553] two chickens, one for the name-giving ceremony and one as
[774] food for the mother and child. Its soul is asked to descend into the body, and strings are tied around its wrists in order to hold the soul fast."

A In giving the name the Akha select the name of a re-
551 cently deceased family member.

/90 cont./

577 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on
836 the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs [143] rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with [614] their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their
833 bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives
513 do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bridegroom [152] into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, [782] [769] informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thǭ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yǭ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[264] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings

585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/101 cont./

184 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ
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2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps out-
[574] side the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food
[201] and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."
[114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great
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2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife.
[583] This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

/102 cont./

184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

114 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,
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1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The
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[584]

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

/103 cont./

184 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when ap-
585 propriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the rela-
tives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding
is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's
[583] parents demand 'ngön sin sot,' the money which is required for
the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with
their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals ....,
[426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the
moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 This extending of credit for the purchase price is con-
426 firmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II, p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by
[114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose
595 a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which
184 we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to
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4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile.

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/106 cont./

A 585 583 [301] The daughter is provided with new clothing, a beautiful cotton blanket, and a chopping knife for the celebration by her parents; the parents, however, withhold the rich silver ornaments that she wore as a girl, for it is up to the husband to provide ornaments for his wife. If the bride's parents are wealthy, however, and want to do something more for their daughter, they slaughter a pig, pack the head and the two hind legs in a carrying basket, and give all this to the daughter to take along on the way while the rest of the meat remains in the house of the girl's parents and is eaten there.

A 585 The bride is called for by the emissaries of the bridegroom and is solemnly led to the dwelling of her father-in-law. The union of the young couple does not take place immediately after the wedding, but only after thirteen days. A religious A [784] [776] taboo is involved here, and the Akha believe that if it is violated the spirits would take revenge. After this period the [343] young couple meet at night in a small house built for this purpose in the vicinity of the large dwelling house. During the day, [591] however, the young people stay in the house of the father of the young husband, in whose community they live.

A [837] After the wedding no other man but the husband has any rights whatever to the wife with regard to sex.

A 595 [554] [583] [837] /107/ Among the Akha, too, poor people are usually monogamous; only chiefs or very wealthy men keep several wives, five or six at the most. Polygamy therefore likewise prevails among the Akha. Other forms of marriage, such as trial or temporary marriage, polyandry or group marriage, as well as promiscuity in marriage, are unknown.

M 593 [585] A [593] M [123] Among the Akha as well as among the Meau the wife is the property of the husband. No marriage contract is concluded, and no other rights are guaranteed to her. The husband can even beat his wife, but my informant cautiously added to this information: "If she will stand for it." I learned among the Meau that this is by no means an empty phrase. One day a young, strong woman about twenty-two years old, with whom we had become friends, came weeping into our camp. She

/126 cont./

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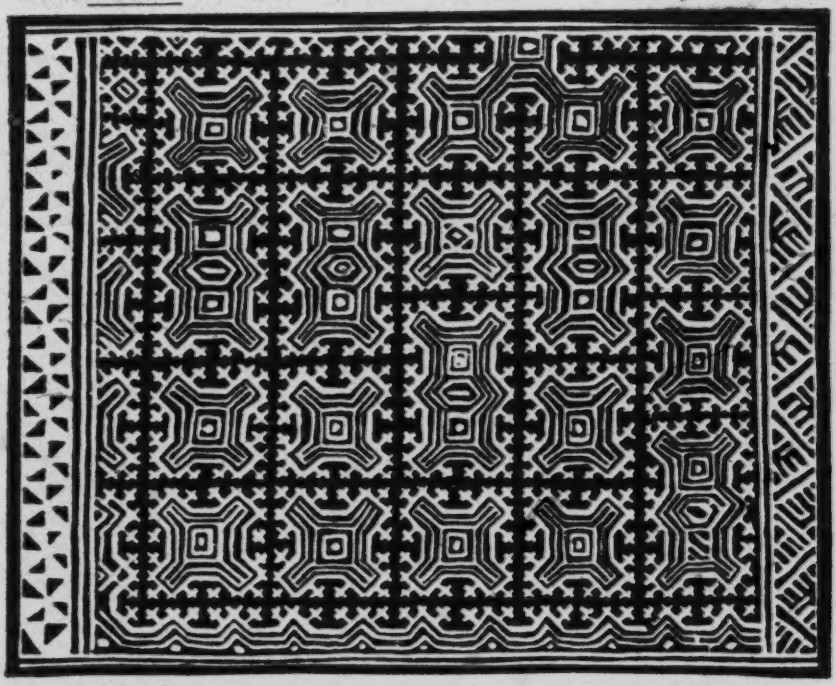

Fig. 9. Batik design of the Meau in the positive, after the dyeing. 1/3 nat. size.

"The art of embroidery is developed to a perfection that one would not expect among these tribes that are otherwise quite primitive. Young girls practice this intricate art from childhood and make all the pieces of their so richly adorned wedding costume themselves."

[585 292]

Lajonquière (2), too, writes about the art of wax painting.

2. II, p. 303.

namely, batik, and about the color combinations: "The colors that /127/ /Figs. 10 and 11 appear hare/ /128/ /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ /129/ are used the most are blue, red, and green,

[text continues on p. 179 - Analyst]

/141 cont'd/

585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
684 they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
[837] as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
585 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

691 sake of the bribes, squeezes, and fees that are
661 to be obtained from the litigants. The average incumbency of a district magistrate in Kweichow is not, we think, over twelve months.

Not only do the Yamen people profit by the cases brought before the magistrate, but very often underlings, and others in league with the Yamen, foment litigation and exhort the simple country-folk to take their grievances, or reopen their cases, before the magistrate. The longer a case lasts, and the more people can be drawn into it, the more profit there is for the Yamen. Very often cases are trumped up and false accusations made, and even if the accused finally obtains a verdict in his favour, it will only be after he has been mercilessly squeezed by these harpies. Probably on account of their ignorance and the lack of men among them with literary degrees, which would give them the privilege of interviewing the magistrate, the Miao are even more squeezed than the Chinese. Yamen secretaries, however, are neither partial nor particular, but always willing and zealous to extort money from everybody they can lay their hands on.

594 Among the Miao nearly all the disputes
586 arise on account of their land or their women. They recognise the marriage relation, but do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

not observe it as strictly as the Chinese. Miao 594
women have more liberty and are more uncon- 586
ventional than Chinese women, and consequently many of their marriages are the result of mutual liking. Not infrequently, however, a girl is practically sold for money to a husband chosen by the parents, and in these cases the result is often disastrous. The young woman will probably run away from her husband's home and continue to meet her lover. If pressure is brought to bear upon her from her parents or parents-in-law, as it generally is, she may return to her husband's home, make herself thoroughly disagreeable, and run away again in a short time. After this has happened 586
repeatedly, the husband in despair tries all he can to find out who is the lover. When he finds this out, he sends an invitation to the lover and to his wife's people to come before the elders of the district and talk over his grievance. Sometimes these discussions last for days. The husband pretends to want his wife back, but as a matter of fact he has had quite enough of her, and really desires to have the money he paid for her returned to him. The wife's father pretends to be very angry, says his daughter was not well treated, that notwithstanding the hard work she had to do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

586 and the little food she got, she is willing to return, but her husband has never come to his home to fetch her. Note, it is the custom for a husband to make a present to his wife's father on such an occasion.

Many angry words are spoken by the three parties concerned, and after everybody has added his or her word to the discussion, the case may be ended by the elders suggesting that the lover should repay the husband the cost of his wife and marry her himself, and that the husband should take the money and go elsewhere for a wife. If, however, the lover's influence is strong, the elders may decide that the girl go back to her husband, knowing that she will do nothing of the sort, or will not stay with him if she does go back. The case is thus only postponed for another time. We have assisted at some of the discussions of these matrimonial cases and know how hard they [691] are to settle. These daughter-in-law cases are not often brought before the Chinese magistrate, except when they have led to fighting, and, as sometimes happens, to serious wounds and homicide.

627 In the west and north-west of the province, when the Miao are the tenants of the I-chia landholders, all disputes about the land are

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

When she came in sight the young women and 585
some girls went to meet her, and she asked them to go before her to her home. When she arrived at home two women stood just inside the door, one on each side, with a pot and a small cup. I think all the guests were offered whisky, but I only saw the bride drink it. Inside were many guests assembled who were drinking. Some of the schoolgirls came in to see me during the evening, all of them smelling of whisky. The feasting, singing, and gambling went on all night and for three days. I saw some of the women quite tipsy."

After returning to her home, the girl remains with her parents till she is sent for by her husband's family, which usually happens at sowing or reaping time, when there is much work to be done. When sent for, the bride goes to her husband's home without any fuss, takes her place in her new home, and does her share of the house and farm work. Sometimes, [586] if the husband or husband's family are not satisfied with the bride, they do not ask her to return, in which case she gets married to another man. Among the Hua Miao it is the rule not to send for the newly married till she has had her first baby.

Not only do the Miao sing and recite the old 000

[21 cont.]

585 and drinking, which lasts throughout the night, neither hosts nor guests retiring. That night, the bride and groom do not share the room together. When tired the bride may lie down with the groom's younger sister. The next day the bride and her kinsmen return to her home. After three more days the bride is re-escorted to her husband's family by her brothers and male cousins. After a few days' stay she returns once more to her parents. Thus the wedding ceremony officially terminates. Later, every 591 time the husband wants his wife back he has to send over two or three sheng of glutinous rice to her family, and she will then come back with an escort of her kinsmen. Each year from the second to the eighth lunar month when farm work in her husband's family requires the help of the wife, she often goes over [22] but only for a few days as a guest without participating in housecleaning and cooking. Not until she becomes pregnant does the wife begin normal living with her husband to assume the responsibilities of the mistress of the household. This custom probably is a vestige of the transition from a maternal to a paternal society. In a maternal society the married woman does not leave her parents after marriage. The fact that the Miao woman does not stay with her husband before his child is born is probably due to this tradition. The paternal society lays much emphasis upon offsprings: only those women capable of procreation are considered good wives. The marriage before 589 conception, from the point of view of having heirs, is only 591 experimental. Therefore the wife cannot enjoy all her rights and privileges, and at the same time she may not assume the responsibilities associated with them. The result is a sort of quasi-marriage, that is, marriage in fact but not in form.

586 There are a small number of pre-arranged marriages [584] among the Short-skirt Hê Miao, negotiated by parents when the parties concerned are mere children. In such a marriage the bride often refuses to go back to her husband's family soon after returning to her own. This kind of girl is allowed to marry again on the condition that her second husband pays indemnity to the first one for expenses which the latter may incur in another

[22 cont.]
586 marriage. The amount of indemnity varies from under one hundred to several hundred dollars, fixed and guaranteed by relatives of both families at the time of negotiation to avoid future complications. Of course, this kind of divorce is not only limited to pre-arranged marriages by parents, the fact is that even in marriages of love, separations often occur due to incompatibility and difference of opinions. But whenever children are born within the wedlock, divorces never occur.

768 There are very few cases of young widowhood among
587 the Miao-I. According to customs a young widow may return
[589] to her own family six months after the death of her husband. Among the neighboring Long-skirt Miao the wife may go out through the back door to "yao-ma lang" with another man hardly before her husband breathes his last on the deathbed. The children of the deceased father generally remain in his family to be looked after by the grandparents, but the widow may bring them along to her own family if her deceased husband's family is poor and unable to support them. [23] At the same time the widow's parents may proceed to find another husband for their daughter. After marriage the second husband has to pay $4.20 to the wife's family, from which $1.20 is given to the deceased husband's family as "incense money" for sacrifices to his spirit. At the wedding the bride is escorted on foot by two old women to her husband's house, where feasts may be given and the occasion celebrated if his family is well-to-do.

582 Of course, the Miao also have certain taboos in their marriage system. Between sisters and brothers, between cousins and, like the Chinese, between parties of the same surname, no marriage takes place. Sometimes certain families are not matched with others although their surnames are different. For instance, the Yang family at P'ing-chai in the Chou-ch'i district in Lu-shan never have marital relations with the Pan family across the river at Hsin-chai. Between the Chinese and the Miao there are also very few instances of intermarriage. In the country the Miao, who consist of the majority of the population, maintain the most friendly relations in utter social equality

[167 cont.]

The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must
684 refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife
586 and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general
548 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather
778 easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon
548 see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously ob-
764 served among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like
[769] the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then
[825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/111 cont./

M 587 "Courtship and Betrothal" in this chapter); if the husband dies, however, among the Meau the oldest of the younger brothers of the deceased usually takes the widow or widows into his house as his wives. It is up to each individual, however, to choose whether or not he wants to take this course. Matters are usually arranged so that the widows who are old and have many children become the wives of the brother of the deceased; the young and pretty widows, however, who do not as yet have many children, marry an outsider. The brother does not have to pay a purchase price for the widows, but the outsider must pay approximately the sum paid for a girl, with the price adjusted according to the number of children and their youth; M [614] the fewer and the younger the children of the widow are, the higher the price, which is shared by the membersof the sib.

A 587 [292] /112/ Among the Akha the widow again goes to the dancing places with the young girls, after she has removed the veiling of the bamboo cover of her head adornment (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); and henceforth her behavior does not differ in any way from that of the girls. In general, however, it is about six to twelve months before she decides to enter another marriage, in which case she must leave her children with the family of the deceased. If she does not want to do this, she has no other course but to renounce any new marriage. As A [589] a consequence, Akha women who are somewhat older and are richer in children usually do not marry again, whereas young women with few or no children usually take the course of re- A marriage. Among neither the Meau nor the Akha, however, M do widows return to their original sib; if the widow was [614] pregnant at the time of the death of the husband, the post- [851] humous child belongs to the sib of the deceased, but later children belong to the new husband.

M Aside from the dissolution of marriage through the death ● 586 of one of the spouses there is such through divorce. It is rare, [769] however, because among the Meau it is regarded as unacceptable to the ancestors. Savina (1), too, writes that divorces are

1. II, p. 226.

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
578 easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common.
595 The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
587 know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among
[583]

/113 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
[583] price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same

[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),

[184]

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

/50 cont'd/

585 stood outside the door waiting for a Taoist priest to perform the ritual before entering the house. After that she entered the house escorted by a woman. In the evening the bridegroom's family also held a dinner to entertain their relatives and friends, and that brought an end to the wedding ceremony. After the wedding was over, the two bridesmaids were each rewarded with 300 cash and three catties of pork. The cash was given by the bride's family and the pork by the bridegroom's.

On the morning of the third day, the new couple went back to the bride's home; but on the fourth, they went over to the bridegroom's home again and returned to the bride's home the day after.

585 Thereafter, the bridegroom remained in his wife's home and became
608 a member of her family, sharing all the privileges and obligations. After the death of his parents-in-law, he may either move away from his wife's family with his wife, or change his surname to that of his father-in-law so that he becomes a member of that family forever.

585 I did not have the opportunity to observe personally the manner in which the wedding of the ch'ü-hsi type is celebrated. However, it was said that it is entirely similar to the wedding of the chao-chui type except that the roles of the families of the man and woman are reversed.

● 587 There is no ceremony when a widow remarries, nor are there any betrothal gifts. When they decide to be married, the man merely furnishes a chicken, which they eat together, and the marriage is concluded.

There are some additional points worth noting about marriage among the Miao.

582 /51/ (1) Those who have the same surnames are not allowed to marry one another. However, if they are sure that they have no particular blood relationship but simply have the same surname, the marriage is sometimes permissable.

(2) The average age to marry for either sex is about twenty.

585 (3) The Miao people avoid getting married in the third month of the lunar year, when the cotton flower and a plant called toon

/139 cont'd/

Third month, seventh day. (Sunday)

There was a dense fog this morning, and as we could not go out, I wrote several letters. As one of Mr. Wang's workmen intended to leave Oao-t'ing today, I gave him the letter to mail. Yüan-chiung's sickness was completely over by this time, and he had recovered his spirits. We roamed all day long in the neighboring Ch'i and Hsiao villages. In a number of places we saw Hsiao girls at work hulling rice, /140/ but, seeing the approach of strangers, they hid away immediately, so that we had no chance to take pictures of them.

In the afternoon a Chinese peddler came from Pao-t'ing with a load of black fish for sale. We bought two and a half catties for two hundred copper coins, and they made a rare dish in this deep mountain valley.

Third month, eighth day. (Monday)

This morning the fog was again dense till eight o'clock when the sun broke through. We walked leisurely to the lower Hsiao village on the other side. The village was occupied entirely by Hsiao, ten families in all, with three names, Li, Liu, and Huang. Headman /pao chang/ Li welcomed us warmly to his house, and we had a long, pleasant conversation together. When we were leaving, he sent his workmen to carry several catties of potatoes to be brought back with us. In return we gave him gifts of salt, kerosene, candles, etc.

In the afternoon we went to the upper Hsiao village to attend a Hsiao wedding. The bride was already thirty years old and had been married before to a Hsiao of Ta-pen village. When her husband died, she had brought her son and daughter back to live with her mother. Now she was to be married for the second time to a Hsiao of the same village. The bridegroom was of about the same age. At the ceremony the couple did not appear in any special apparel; they wore just plain clothes, a little cleaner than usual.

/140 cont'd/

●587 In the evening the bride was accompanied to her husband's house by a female go-between. She carried her small not yet weaned baby boy at her breast. The groom welcomed her to the banquet which had been prepared, to which he had invited many friends and relatives. As wine flowed into their mouths, songs flowed out. First the guests took turns singing songs to the bride, and the bride answered them, one by one. The bride then moved to sing songs reciprocally with the parents of the groom. But all the time, the groom stood aside, attending everyone, and did not drink or sing. We turned on the phonograph at the door to add to their good spirits and were dragged in to have a drink with them. I forced a few mouthfuls down, then hurriedly, on the pretext of going to change the record, sneaked out from their company. Since I was not used to liquor, it would have been embarrassing if I had let myself join them in their drinking spree.

/141/ Third month, ninth day. (Tuesday)

585 In the afternoon we moved out of Mr. Wang's house to stay in
574 Wen-hua center. On our way through the upper Hsiao village, we saw a family having a big wedding banquet with a lot of guests. The bridegroom, upon seeing us, rushed out to block our way and insisted upon our joining their wedding party. After resisting in vain, we were dragged in to the party. Yüan-chiung, not able to understand their dialect, was lucky to have escaped their dragging. At the house I was rushed to the head seat at the table. I declined stubbornly, excusing myself by saying that I had to attend to my luggage which was following me and could not stay too long. The host placed a large cup of strong wine in front of me and another for himself, insisting that we both should empty the cups before I left them. His manner was so earnest and serious that I felt there was no room to retreat. I was so taken aback with this large cup of wine that I thought of a scheme. I took half a cup, and, while he was not noticing, I spit it out on the floor, with a handkerchief covering my mouth. The host was still insistent that the cup should

/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
585 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
●587 either side may remarry at will.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[836] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
843 for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

[10 cont.]

591 practiced by one tribe and then followed by others for so long a time that at last it was firmly established. There are only a few couples who are separated. In such cases, they would participate
587 in moon dance, chasing the moon, yao-ma-lang or kan-piao, and other such agencies of free love to seek their mate for a second marriage.

584 When a boy reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen the
[582] parents usually negotiate marriage for him. First, a friend or a relative is asked to approach a girl's family to propose marriage. When the latter family approves, the go-between would bring the boy and his parents over for an interview. If both sides are satisfied, they then start negotiations of gifts and dowry and make arrangements for the engagement. If one side is not satisfied the matter is dropped. This refers to total strangers: between those who are acquainted with each other such arrange-
583 ments are unnecessary. In the old days the gift and dowry were given in terms of the number of cows instead of money. Recently, they have been changed to silver pieces, and the larger the amount, the more magnificent it is for the girl's family. If the amount is small then the girl's status is considered low and it becomes a disgrace to the family. When the question of the bride price is settled (with the Hua Miao the highest gift comes to $100 or more) the go-between appoints a date to convey it to the girl's family. Accepting the gift, the family gives a feast, in which friends and relatives are invited to keep the go-between company and to regale him with meat and wine. This is the engagement. Before the wedding day, the gift donation must be fully paid up through the go-between; but if the girl's family is fond of the future son-in-law, half or all the bride price may be
585 waived. On the wedding day the bridegroom's family sends along a man and a woman to welcome the bride, and sometimes the groom goes there himself. (But the groom must provide meat and wine as a welcome home feast.) The bride's parents would ask a few young girls to keep the bride company the night before, and before daybreak the party would commence the wedding march, the bride shaded under a bridal parasol. On arrival at the groom's house, the members of the party have to leap across

[22 cont.]

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/110 cont./

A 835 614 178 [574] of the family participate. For this gathering pigs are slaughtered, and rice and alcohol are served. Then the two eldest divide the younger members of the family into two groups, each of which is placed under one of the two heads. Then the two elders decide to form different families from then on. From this moment on the members of the two newly-formed groups may intermarry, no matter what their actual blood relationship may be. /111/

A 582 Otherwise the great importance attached to the obstacles to marriage may be seen from the social customs, which in part are observed in such a way that the young people cannot be tempted to violate the existing obstacles to marriage (see the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

A M 582 [614] [621] Theoretically local exogamy does not prevail among either the Akha or the Meau. In the small Meau villages in northern Thailand, however, which are usually inhabited by only a single sib, it is observed in practice, since bearers of other family names are rarely found in one village. Except for the marriage restrictions described, however, there is a free choice of mates; among [illegible] the Akha nor the Meau can an individual be forced to select his partner from a certain sib or a certain village. Savina (1) speaks in general of exogamy.

A M [114]

1. II, p. 284.

It seems to me, however, that he does not interpret the concept quite correctly, for from his description of the conditions it becomes unmistakably clear that true tribal endogamy is involved.

g) Dissolution of Marriage

M ● 587 Upon the death of one of the spouses, the surviving party may marry again among both the Meau and Akha.

A [587] If the wife dies, the husband as a rule simply takes a new wife as though he had never been married (see the section on

/111 cont./

M 587 "Courtship and Betrothal" in this chapter); if the husband dies, however, among the Meau the oldest of the younger brothers of the deceased usually takes the widow or widows into his house as his wives. It is up to each individual, however, to choose whether or not he wants to take this course. Matters are usually arranged so that the widows who are old and have many children become the wives of the brother of the deceased; the young and pretty widows, however, who do not as yet have many children, marry an outsider. The brother does not have to pay a purchase price for the widows, but the outsider must pay approximately the sum paid for a girl, with the price adjusted according to the number of children and their youth; M [614] the fewer and the younger the children of the widow are, the higher the price, which is shared by the membersof the sib.

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2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of
[184] the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

/265 cont./

592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4. It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

[146 cont.]

773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[786] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[836] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
843 for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

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You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsə's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

[22 cont.]

586 marriage. The amount of indemnity varies from under one hundred to several hundred dollars, fixed and guaranteed by relatives of both families at the time of negotiation to avoid future complications. Of course, this kind of divorce is not only limited to pre-arranged marriages by parents, the fact is that even in marriages of love, separations often occur due to incompatibility and difference of opinions. But whenever children are born within the wedlock, divorces never occur.

768 587 [589] There are very few cases of young widowhood among the Miao-I. According to customs a young widow may return to her own family six months after the death of her husband. Among the neighboring Long-skirt Miao the wife may go out through the back door to "yao-ma lang" with another man hardly before her husband breathes his last on the deathbed. The children of the deceased father generally remain in his family to be looked after by the grandparents, but the widow may bring them along to her own family if her deceased husband's family is poor and unable to support them. [23] At the same time the widow's parents may proceed to find another husband for their daughter. After marriage the second husband has to pay $4.20 to the wife's family, from which $1.20 is given to the deceased husband's family as "incense money" for sacrifices to his spirit. At the wedding the bride is escorted on foot by two old women to her husband's house, where feasts may be given and the occasion celebrated if his family is well-to-do.

582 Of course, the Miao also have certain taboos in their marriage system. Between sisters and brothers, between cousins and, like the Chinese, between parties of the same surname, no marriage takes place. Sometimes certain families are not matched with others although their surnames are different. For instance, the Yang family at P'ing-chai in the Chou-ch'i district in Lu-shan never have marital relations with the Pan family across the river at Hsin-chai. Between the Chinese and the Miao there are also very few instances of intermarriage. In the country the Miao, who consist of the majority of the population, maintain the most friendly relations in utter social equality

/244 cont. //

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Among the Meau in Tonkin, somewhat different legal conceptions seem to prevail, for Lajonquière (1) writes: "Cash,

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

furniture, produce, and animals are distributed only after the death of the last parent (mother or father), for among the Meau the mother remains the head of the family /245/ after the death of her husband, and she is the owner of all his possessions until her death."

Abadie (1), too, describes customs which are likewise different from those which I found: "When the mother dies, the possessions in movable goods (money, implements, animals, and harvested produce) are distributed among the male children. The oldest son or the son who remains in the parental house becomes head of the family and is given the paternal property, on which other children may also live in accordance with special arrangements."

Dhuraratsadorn (2) also reports explicitly: "Even if the

2. Page 169.

deceased has left behind many sons and daughters, only the eldest son, as the successor of the family, inherits."

Among the Meau in Thailand, as has been said, the family unit continues to exist after the death of the great chief under the new head, and, to be sure, as long as wives of the deceased are still living. It is only after the death of the last of these wives that the married sons under the age of thirty make themselves independent and build their own homes for themselves and their wives. Since, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Dissolution of Marriage," [589] younger widows usually remarry, whereas the widows already old and their children remain in the house of the deceased, it may easily happen that, after the death of these widows, minor children, that is, unmarried sons and daughters, survive. The

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

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1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband
[597] live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the
[589] widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /247 cont./
428 case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry
[589] again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin
[596] takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief
[605] takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the
[622] house owners of his village.

Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations,
[764] the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A
428 Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over
[596] only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female mem-
A bers of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are
[562] widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are
[422] among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A /248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits every-
[595] thing, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or
[756] shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions
[622] are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir
A and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however,
[572] bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother
[608] outside the family.

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Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 551 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- 583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [131] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui ● 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in- 608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

2:Ling & Ruey--128 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

583 585 [591] The young people are married at seventeen or eighteen, and it seems to make no difference whether the young couple live with the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or set up housekeeping in their own home. The wedding is usually held at the groom's home, two or three young girls and a young man or two from his village going for the bride and escorting her back. The bride wears no distinctive dress except a peculiar headdress under her kerchief, and an embroidered girdle of undyed cloth. She also carries two small towels of this same material thrown over her shoulders, and one to cover her face. According to their custom, the bride and groom sit on the same bench and eat and drink together, and then declare their allegiance to the family by serving tea to the parents or in some other simple way.

771 [799] The Miao in their heathen state apparently worshipped any and all gods in an effort to appease them but with little definite idea or set ritual. Idols do not seem to be in evidence in their houses, and being a roving people, they have no temples. They have within the last few years become interested in the Gospel and whole villages have become Christian, much as has been the case in the mass movement, so-called, in India. They are a simple people, highly emotional and temperamentally religious, which is often true of hill peoples. Thus certain emotional phases of religion immediately become paramount in their eyes, and without careful teaching they are liable to be led astray on these points.

797 [2,2] The Miao have no written language of their own, but pick up Chinese character with amazing rapidity. The Christian villages each put up a chapel at their own expense, meet every morning for prayer before they go to their work, and every evening for a short service and an hour or so of study. When a Chinese evangelist or a missionary comes to the village, they study until midnight, when they are sent home in self-defence by the teachers—and at 2 a.m. they are up pounding rice, so that we wonder when they sleep. They are a wonderfully interesting people, these "Children of the Forest," as they style themselves, and it is a rare privilege to be among them and come to know them.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Childbirth. After a girl was married she returned to her parents' home. There she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. Sometimes, but not always, when a woman was in labor a priest was asked to chant and cast lots in her behalf. This he did in a room adjacent to the one in which the mother was confined, or out-of-doors nearby. There were no midwives. The mother was assisted by other women who had borne children, either from her husband's or a related household. 844 591

The next morning after a child was born the mother might appear with the baby on her back, even in the kitchen where food was being prepared. There was no idea of impurity and she was not required to keep closely at home for a month or forty days, as in the case of Chinese in the vicinity and among some other groups of Miao. She might rest for three or four days, during which other women came to see the baby, but after that she worked as before at even the hardest of labor, with the baby on her back. I am not sure whether she was expected to refrain from certain foods, or not. I offered one mother an orange which she said she could not eat. She gave it to an older son. 846

Announcement Gifts. After the second grandson was born in the family where I was living, the father prepared gifts to send to the village from which his father had migrated, to the household in which an uncle still lived. First in the procession came two men playing the small trumpet. One of them led a black goat. This was a play on words, as the name of a goat (*yang*) has the same sound as the family name (*Yang*) and a word meaning "increase, growth." Then came two men bearing two poles, to which was fastened a whole dead pig, beautifully cleaned and white. After them came two men bearing a similar frame but empty. Last came a man bearing two baskets on a carrying pole. One of the baskets contained red candles and the other a 852

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The bridal party spent that afternoon getting to the groom's village. At the village they played and sang all night. The next day the bride's party was feasted by his relatives. On one occasion I saw, feasting took place about noon. The bride's party sat on two rows of benches facing one another on one of the threshing floors. The food was set in bowls on planks between them by women of a related household. 585

On the third day, after another night of singing and playing the *lu sheng*, the bride and her attendants returned to her village, accompanied by the groom, who brought gifts of meat and rice and spent the night there. When the bride and her attendants left the groom's village to return, the women of the village accompanied them, some stopping at the entrance to the village and some going a little way. At a point where the bride and her attendants were about to disappear from view they stopped and sang a song antiphonally with the other groups. Then they went on and the nearer group rushed after them to watch them out of sight. When they left they were still in ceremonial array, except for plainer blouses. They reached home dead tired and slept from the time of their arrival until the next day.

Tso Chia. After a girl was married she returned at once to her parents' home, where she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home, during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. When the first child was twenty-two days old girls from the mother's village were invited to "drink wine" in honor of the event. They called this "*tso k'ai.*"[2] Some said it was the same as "*tso chia.*"[3] Others said that it was the same as "*ch'ih chiu*" or "*tso chieh*"[4] — a time of rejoicing, calling, of course, for wine in abundance. Among the local Chungchia this was a combination of "*man yüeh*"[5] and the setting up of the permanent household in the groom's home. The bride's village sent with the guests at this feast among the Chungchia a red cupboard and clothing. 591 852 593

[4] This means to drink wine, or to attend a feast.
[5] The first month feast — The feast also given by the Chinese when a baby is a month old.

[9 cont.]

517 purpose of these festivities is to celebrate in advance a rich harvest, and therefore the participants are numerous, especially the young men and women, who go there in new and pretty clothes with the object of finding a mate. As to moon dance, sitting in the moon, singing or chasing the moon, these are occasions specially designed for love-making by the young. [533] Both men and women are good singers, and they sing to drown out the sorrows in their chest, as well as to effect a lover's union. Anyone who fails to sing at marriage and funeral ceremonies will surely be disgraced. Singing, in short, is a necessary accomplishment. Within a short distance from the village there [443] is a level ground for the market fair held once in every six days; this is the center of trade for the Miao-I. On such occasions people gather together at the fair, bustling, loitering and looking around, their heart full of joy and fun. It gives them a respite from their routine toil. Aside from this they are fond of music. [534] Their musical instruments include the liu-sheng, wu-sheng [five tube bamboo wind instrument, flutes, harmonicas, so-na [a clarinet type wind instrument], brass drums, and p'i-pa [lute]. The liu-sheng is the most common instrument; it is made of bamboo with a gradation of notes resembling that of a military band. Its tune is like the plaintive call of a bird but with a variation of notes. The music accompanies simple dance steps, out of which they derive much pleasure and satisfaction.

4. Ceremonies and Customs

1) Marriage. The various Miao-I ethnic groups in Kweichow 584 are rather complicated, but their marriage customs, though varying to a certain extent, are generally the same among different tribes. Marriages are either arranged by parents or the parties themselves, but mostly follow the will of the former and take the advice of the go-between. To negotiate marriage [10] they first discuss gifts and dowries. After marriage the bride goes back to her parents 591 until she is about to give birth to a son. She is then confined to her husband's house. In ancient times, this custom was first

[10 cont.]

591 practiced by one tribe and then followed by others for so long a time that at last it was firmly established. There are only a few
587 couples who are separated. In such cases, they would participate in moon dance, chasing the moon, yao-ma-lang or kan-piao, and other such agencies of free love to seek their mate for a second marriage.

584 When a boy reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen the
[582] parents usually negotiate marriage for him. First, a friend or a relative is asked to approach a girl's family to propose marriage. When the latter family approves, the go-between would bring the boy and his parents over for an interview. If both sides are satisfied, they then start negotiations of gifts and dowry and make arrangements for the engagement. If one side is not satisfied the matter is dropped. This refers to total strangers: between those who are acquainted with each other such arrange-
583 ments are unnecessary. In the old days the gift and dowry were given in terms of the number of cows instead of money. Recently, they have been changed to silver pieces, and the larger the amount, the more magnificent it is for the girl's family. If the amount is small then the girl's status is considered low and it becomes a disgrace to the family. When the question of the bride price is settled (with the Hua Miao the highest gift comes to $100 or more) the go-between appoints a date to convey it to the girl's family. Accepting the gift, the family gives a feast, in which friends and relatives are invited to keep the go-between company and to regale him with meat and wine. This is the engagement. Before the wedding day, the gift donation must be fully paid up through the go-between; but if the girl's family is fond of the future son-in-law, half or all the bride price may be
585 waived. On the wedding day the bridegroom's family sends along a man and a woman to welcome the bride, and sometimes the groom goes there himself. (But the groom must provide meat and wine as a welcome home feast.) The bride's parents would ask a few young girls to keep the bride company the night before, and before daybreak the party would commence the wedding march, the bride shaded under a bridal parasol. On arrival at the groom's house, the members of the party have to leap across

[10 cont.]

585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight, 591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first 852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would 431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a [804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their [755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[21 cont.]

585 and drinking, which lasts throughout the night, neither hosts nor guests retiring. That night, the bride and groom do not share the room together. When tired the bride may lie down with the groom's younger sister. The next day the bride and her kinsmen return to her home. After three more days the bride is re-escorted to her husband's family by her brothers and male cousins. After a few days' stay she returns once more to her parents. Thus the wedding ceremony officially terminates. Later, every

●591 time the husband wants his wife back he has to send over two or three sheng of glutinous rice to her family, and she will then come back with an escort of her kinsmen. Each year from the second to the eighth lunar month when farm work in her husband's family requires the help of the wife, she often goes over [22] but only for a few days as a guest without participating in housecleaning and cooking. Not until she becomes pregnant does the wife begin normal living with her husband to assume the responsibilities of the mistress of the household. This custom probably is a vestige of the transition from a maternal to a paternal society. In a maternal society the married woman does not leave her parents after marriage. The fact that the Miao woman does not stay with her husband before his child is born is probably due to this tradition. The paternal society lays much emphasis upon offsprings: only those women capable of procreation are considered good wives. The marriage before

583 conception, from the point of view of having heirs, is only

591 experimental. Therefore the wife cannot enjoy all her rights and privileges, and at the same time she may not assume the responsibilities associated with them. The result is a sort of quasi-marriage, that is, marriage in fact but not in form.

There are a small number of pre-arranged marriages

586 among the Short-skirt Hê Miao, negotiated by parents when the

[584] parties concerned are mere children. In such a marriage the bride often refuses to go back to her husband's family soon after returning to her own. This kind of girl is allowed to marry again on the condition that her second husband pays indemnity to the first one for expenses which the latter may incur in another

[166 cont.]

591 either remains in the paternal home or found a new household, in accordance with their choice. The young couple

Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo."
583 When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's
[556] family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious
584 custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great
593 numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

It is during the days which follow this festival that the great
584 majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

595 Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[621 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

39: Bernatzik--43 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/30/

Chapter 5

Social Organization

a) Organization of the Family

A M 596 618 [611] Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, the family is organized strictly by father right. No esteem even similar to the consideration enjoyed by the parents is shown toward any other relative. In accordance with the organization by father right, descent is reckoned in the male line, and married women belong absolutely to the family of their husband, if he is already independent, or otherwise to the family of the father-in-law.

A M [614] M [775] The extent to which wives are absorbed in the new family group is shown by the fact that the married woman among the Meau not only loses every connection with the sib /Sippe/ from which she is descended, which is also the custom among the Akha, but also, after her death, her soul arises anew in the next child of her husband's family (cf. the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 596 618 [591] Adult unmarried sons always remain with their father; even married sons do not at first establish an independent family, but are regarded among the Meau as belonging, along with their wives and children, to the family of the father until they have completed their thirtieth year. Accordingly, they live in the paternal home up to this time, even though in a separate area, with their wives and children, and do not manage an independent household. Not until they have reached the aforementioned age do they have a right to build themselves a house and to establish an independent family.

M 593 618 /31/ According to Dhuraratsadorn (1), the Meau never

1. Page 167.

part from their sons, even if the latter are married. As my remarks show, this statement can be regarded as correct only

/76 cont./

A 857 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 183 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

/102 cont./

184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

114 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,
● 591
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1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The
585
[584]

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

113, 592, 131, 563, 105 Miao AE5

[For information pertaining to the household size, distribution, and tribal subdivisions of the Miao, see 2: Wiens AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 282-284, 286-287. For a cultural summary of the Miao, see ibid., category 116, Pp. 51, 318. --Analyst]

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182 limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it.
Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582 lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/33 cont'd/

through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured. Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed, without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

596 in House 16. The man in House 26 was son
621 of the man in House 27, as was also the man in House 30. The younger man in House 28 was nephew of the man and wife in House 29. With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House 34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife of the man in House 17.

596 If one considers them by households, they
592 included, first, one of the Chinese extended family type living in one connected group of buildings. This family consisted of a man of seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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their son and his two wives and two sons, both of whom died, a second wife of the old man, aged forty-seven, her two unmarried daughters, a nephew with his two wives and five sons, a second nephew with a wife and five children, and the third nephew and his wife, succeeded by the two boys.

I came to know this family fairly well, as it was in their "new house" that I lived all my time in the village. The old man was head of the family. He was not well (heart disease) and seldom left his rooms in bad weather. Even on warm, sunny days he rarely left the court. It was usually a sign of something important going on when he came out. He dictated as to relations with the outside world, such as the sale of timber or grain, and his word was law in disputes. His second wife stayed very close and came into the room whenever he was likely to get excited. The

4.Mickey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Miso AE5

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Types of Families

	No. of persons
1 large family with 1 man who has two wives, a married son by the first and two daughters by the second; three nephews with families	24
15 families with parents or widower or widow	
6 with married son, family, other unmarried children	37
6 with married son and his family	39
1 with married son and family, second wife and children	8
1 of widower and children	4
4 of widows with children	14
1 of widow alone	1
15 simple families (man, wife, children)	58
1 man and wife	2
Total	187

[We]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 men of the family — his son, the nephews,
592 and their sons — and his own daughters had free access to his rooms. The second wife was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at
596 home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen,
512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning
[768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and eat.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

THE daily tasks of living furnished the framework for group activities within the family and between families. Such activities included those connected with the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the cleaning of stables and the transportation of fertilizer, fishing and digging for water chestnuts, going to the mountains for firewood, and to market to sell and buy, and the construction and repair of a house, for these in which members of several households worked together were greatly enjoyed in the doing and always followed by a pecial meal furnished by the owners of the house, stable, or fields worked upon that day. When they went to market they waited until several had their loads ready before starting off. They also returned in groups and stopped to rest and talk at a point about half way, where they could drink from a spring or in a wayside teahouse. 571

When a household was of the extended family type living in a connected group of buildings, they furnished among themselves a good deal of social life, for men and women worked together or the women in their group, children played together, and together they gathered around the firepits to eat, talk, and smoke. On rainy days the women also came together to sew, make thread, and mend. Even when the buildings were more separate, the homes tended to be grouped so that the households mingled freely and helped one another at work or in the entertainment of guests. A group of girls were often seen in the home of one of them embroidering, chatting very gayly over designs and plans, smoking, and laughing. The village was not extensive and there was constant opportunity to meet and talk, with much teasing and laughter. Women carried leaves of tobacco in the folds of their turbans, men in rolls in little metal boxes; pipes and tobacco were shared in a group. 592

Calendric feasts afforded the opportunity for both interfamily and intervillage activities. The festivals of the lunar New Year, Ch'ing Ming, and San Yüeh San, as well as lesser festivals such as Tuan Yang and Hsiao Mang, were accompanied by offerings to the house 796 571

[43a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case 123
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit- 685
nesses had not told the truth at other points.

Another case was that of a Miao who had 661
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
leased so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and
could not be found to ask him to change his
mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next
hsien, and after his condition that some mer-
chant in the city go surety for her was met,
she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed
money from his brother. This brother later
brought suit for the return of some of the
loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the
day set, but the brother did not appear to re-
ceive it. Later the family who had received
the loan sued the brother for the expense to
which they had been put because of his failure
to come and receive the payment on the day
set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most 671
small matters were settled among themselves.
Much of the old man's time was taken up with
such cases. Sometimes others of the village
elders were called in for consultation. This
was according to the Chinese Government
system, though in effect this formed the vil-
lage government, or council. If matters could
not be settled by them, they were taken before
the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the
hsien magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific
economic institutions. Families formed eco-
nomic units, and as such carried on trade with
Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie
Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting
country kinfolk to gather before they re-
turned to their villages from market. The
shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as
well, and much of their trade was really a
form of family visits. In their shops, as well

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
596 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organiza-
M tions are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the
571 Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the
114 existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans.
614 Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also
592 the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves.
[736] In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
[842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/36 cont./

M 592 737 always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled according to the social organization. Such survivors of an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they can to be useful to the community.

A 466 Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however, do not live in the house of the employer and are completely "free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha A 737 solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their position as "free" Akha.

A M 567 M [648] Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A M 571 114 On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right, totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

/265 cont./

621 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one
596 large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

312
415
824

Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.
[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of
621 the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice
[343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per-
[551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize
[343] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the
[551] house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/265 cont./

592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4. It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
[164] laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[732] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

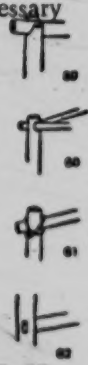
342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on p. 369]

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of
352 his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
353 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

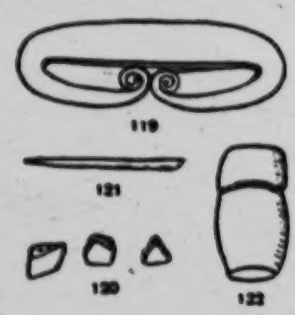
[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

This fireplace is
354 /300 cont./ the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over. he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]



Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

Miao AE5

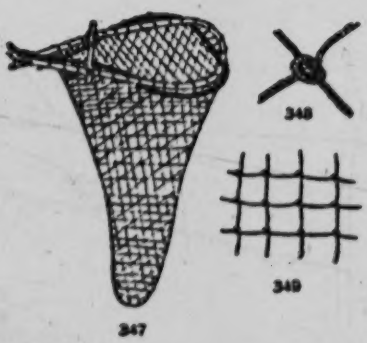
/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during [243] the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or 286 crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kŭń.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

283



Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the

[227] Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau
[286] for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size.
The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

upper or lower leg (Ill. 64).[1] Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

[1] [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

583 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[582] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

593 eat. The older nephew was teacher in the
[875] *lien pao* school when it was in session. The son acted for the old man in business matters, though subject to his father's decisions. The oldest nephew became head of the family after the old man's death and the second nephew took his old sitting room. I got a Chinese newspaper, which I shared with the teacher and his uncle, a keen old man with remarkably able opinions and quite a bit of knowledge of the world, which he liked to discuss at length.

The son's first wife spoke less Chinese than any of the other women of the family except the old man's first wife, who spoke almost none. They were, therefore, harder to get to know well, but the more I saw of them the better I liked them. Others I found a bit trying because they wanted so much for their immediate family or close relatives, and I am almost certain that the married daughter of the old man or the second nephew's wife took for herself two large sheets of mine. I never learned to share everything I owned as they did within the family group.

The wife of the second nephew made up for him in spunk and energy. She did a great deal for me, often prepared dishes to eat with the rice and would then bring over her own large portion of rice and eat at least half of what she had prepared of the dishes, for which I had furnished the ingredients from market. Once I bought a piece of cloth in market, for which she hinted so strongly that I had to give it to her. She insisted upon doing my washing, brought me firewood and water, but in the end expected a handsome reward. Generally speaking, all of them wanted everything for their immediate family and close relatives. They showed no community spirit in the sense of sharing good things with others who were remotely related to them. Her oldest daughter, twelve, was very like her. In fact, she seemed to be a model Miao girl, pleasant, capable, and able to do only a little less than the older women in both field work
855 and embroidery. The second daughter was made responsible for two baby sisters and seemed to have a very jolly time with them, doing everything for them, after they were past the age when they required their mother much of the time, amusing them and teaching

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The bridal party spent that afternoon getting to the groom's village. At the village they played and sang all night. The next day the bride's party was feasted by his relatives. On one occasion I saw, feasting took place about noon. The bride's party sat on two rows of benches facing one another on one of the threshing floors. The food was set in bowls on planks between them by women of a related household. 585

On the third day, after another night of singing and playing the *lu sheng*, the bride and her attendants returned to her village, accompanied by the groom, who brought gifts of meat and rice and spent the night there. When the bride and her attendants left the groom's village to return, the women of the village accompanied them, some stopping at the entrance to the village and some going a little way. At a point where the bride and her attendants were about to disappear from view they stopped and sang a song antiphonally with the other groups. Then they went on and the nearer group rushed after them to watch them out of sight. When they left they were still in ceremonial array, except for plainer blouses. They reached home dead tired and slept from the time of their arrival until the next day.

Tso Chia. After a girl was married she returned at once to her parents' home, where she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home, during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. When the first child was twenty-two days old girls from the mother's village were invited to "drink wine" in honor of the event. They called this "*tso k'ai.*"[2] Some said it was the same as "*tso chia.*"[3] Others said that it was the same as "*ch'ih chiu*" or "*tso chieh*"[4] — a time of rejoicing, calling, of course, for wine in abundance. Among the local Chungchia this was a combination of "*man yüeh*"[5] and the setting up of the permanent household in the groom's home. The bride's village sent with the guests at this feast among the Chungchia a red cupboard and clothing. 591 852 593

[4] This means to drink wine, or to attend a feast.
[5] The first month feast — The feast also given by the Chinese when a baby is a month old.

593 From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

766 **Death and Burial.** When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

757 When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

764 535 The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

*A rectangle of brown "grass paper" with a de-

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

836 On the second or third days of the second moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men
837 and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But sometimes a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men other than her husband objects to her husband's doing likewise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love affairs.

837 At the *tso chai* 做齋 ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 超薦
593 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests, old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that he will beat that person and if the person does not run away or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the house where the guests are being entertained, or in another house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife afterwards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has given them good complexions. Women who are popular with men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers or good at playing the *liu shêng* and dancing, or have money. Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great difference, and generally but not always ability to work is
533 esteemed. It is said that the most potent music of all in making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the musician.

[180 cont.]

796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom [593] in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'ü-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

alternating with the girls, describes in verse, to the accompaniment ST 584
of *Kènes*, their possessions, their accomplishments, or their virtues. Formal offers of marriage then follow, and according to eye-witnesses of the custom, the metrical form in no way inhibits the most banal cataloguing of articles to be included in the marriage contract.

We were still eating when the chief's messenger came back 000
with the only dog on offer. It was a poor forlorn animal, suffering probably from some wasting disease, and an enormous price was demanded.

As there was no dog to be had from these intermediaries, there was nothing for it but to go to the source itself, even if it meant another stiff climb on foot. Instead of turning left, therefore, at the M
junction of the main road to Luang Prabang, we took the right-hand 491
fork towards Xien Khouang, which, although it led us out of our way, went right through the heart of Meo country in Laos. Shortly M
after, we came up with a Meo family, who were struggling up a 593
hill loaded down like beasts of burden with their possessions. The 609
Meos threw down their bundles and looked us over with puzzled amusement. One of them, who wore pigtails to show that he was the head of the family, came over, cut the choice centre out of a sugar cane he was carrying and presented it to us, roaring with laughter. This was typical Meo conduct. The Meo is grateful to strangers for amusing him with their clownish faces and ridiculous clothes, and his first impulse is to look round for something to give them. Shouting with joy, the children leaped into the car and were cuffed out again by their father. The woman who, if a Thai or a Laotian, would have stood apart with downcast eyes, bent down to examine Dupont's sandals. She wore several pounds in weight of M
solid silver jewellery round her neck and had had her head recently 301 [302]
shaved. 292

Meo finery at its best is the most extravagantly colourful in Indo-China. The women are stiff with embroidery and heavy silver necklaces and chains, and are half-extinguished by enormous turbans that look like Chinese lanterns. But this family was in its 000

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a fam-
769 ily tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

291 The second type known in Tonkin is that of the Embroidered Meo, who are sometimes called Hoa Meo. They are subdivided into two groups, Red Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Len), and "Meo of the comb" (in the Meo tongue, Mong Soa). The costume of Embroidered Meo women consists of a short skirt embroidered in five colors, a jacket open on the bosom in the style described above but trimmed with embroidered borders and armbands, and without the sailor collar, a blue apron, and enormous leggings, which make the leg look like an elephant's foot.

The turban is rather characteristic. It is formed of a long string wound around the head, together with the hair hanging down, which is bound together and carefully gathered up on the head. The jewelry is similar to that of the White Meo women.

/136/ The third variety of the Meo ethnic group is the Black Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Du). Among them the women's costume consists of a skirt as pleated and short as that of the White Meo, but of black material, a dark blue jacket with a border of an insipid light blue and provided with double sleeves ending in light blue cuffs edged with white piping. This bodice comes to a point at the throat and reveals the upper part of the breast-covering which has horizontal embroidered stripes. It is held in at the waist by a light colored belt whose fringed ends fall down in back. A deep blue turban is knotted around the head rather irregularly. The leggings are not wrapped around the lower part of the leg. It is a kind of cylindrical gaiter of blue material which is put on like a stocking and is fastened by garters whose fringed ends are left hanging.

301 A wide necklace and the usual jewelry adorn this curious costume.

Section 5

Social Organization--The Family and the Tribe

593 The family is firmly established among the Meo. As among all the neighboring races, the authority of the father of the family is absolute within the home, and the wife is the first servant of her husband. She takes an active part in work in the fields, cares for her children, cooks for her household and for the animals, and still finds time to make all the articles of clothing for the entire household.

855 Children are brought up austerely. From their earliest years
857 they have to look out for the herds, then they are initiated into the

39: Bernatzik--43 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/30/

Chapter 5

Social Organization

a) Organization of the Family

A M 596 618 [611]

Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, the family is organized strictly by father right. No esteem even similar to the consideration enjoyed by the parents is shown toward any other relative. In accordance with the organization by father right, descent is reckoned in the male line, and married women belong absolutely to the family of their husband, if he is already independent, or otherwise to the family of the father-in-law.

A M [614] M [775]

The extent to which wives are absorbed in the new family group is shown by the fact that the married woman among the Meau not only loses every connection with the sib /Sippe/ from which she is descended, which is also the custom among the Akha, but also, after her death, her soul arises anew in the next child of her husband's family (cf. the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 596 618 [591]

Adult unmarried sons always remain with their father; even married sons do not at first establish an independent family, but are regarded among the Meau as belonging, along with their wives and children, to the family of the father until they have completed their thirtieth year. Accordingly, they live in the patemal home up to this time, even though in a separate area, with their wives and children, and do not manage an independent household. Not until they have reached the aforementioned age do they have a right to build themselves a house and to establish an independent family.

M 593 618

/31/ According to Dhuraratsadorn (1), the Meau never

1. Page 167.

part from their sons, even if the latter are married. As my remarks show, this statement can be regarded as correct only

/31 const./

M 593 618 if it is qualified. On the other hand, the observations of the author named (2) agree with my data concerning the position of

2. Page 169.

the woman: "The parents' authority over their sons ends only at death, over the daughters on the day of their marriage. Even if the married daughter were to commit a crime, it would not be permissible for the parents to punish her, nor would they be responsible for the deed of their daughter."

A 884 As among the Meau, the thirtieth year as the attainment of a man's majority also plays an important role among the [574] Akha. It is therefore celebrated. Rich people slaughter several [556] pigs on this occasion, and the guests, usually relatives and [782] friends, are also served rice and liquor; among poor people everything is done on a correspondingly smaller scale. No M [884] sacrifices, however, are offered in connection with the coming-of-age celebration.

A [589] Among the Akha the girls are regarded as being of age at the time of their marriage, and an unmarried girl is treated as a minor as long as she lives.

A 591 For the most part among the Akha, too, the married sons live in the house of their father for several years, although they are allowed to stay in a small sleeping house for the night (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Courtship and Betrothal"). Sometimes they may even build a house of their own immediately, but with the consent of the father. A [589] The unmarried sons remain in the paternal home until they [884] reach their majority, but there are also exceptions, for the father may permit an unmarried son to make himself independent even before he comes of age.

M 597 608 Aside from natural kinship, kinship through adoption or blood brotherhood is recognized among the Meau.

/79 cont./

A M 868 The small child is first taught how to speak, beginning with the words for father and mother. Later comes the simple housework, and only then the aforementioned more difficult spheres of work. For the latter the parents on the one hand select those children who exhibit special talents for the one or the other sphere; on the other hand, the educators and parents naturally seek to train the children in those crafts which they themselves as teachers and models have mastered extraordinarily well. One Meau father, for instance, who was an excellent hunter, said to me: "I would have liked to make a hunter out of my oldest boy, but he is only interested in my smithy.

A M 867 869 Besides these things which are required to master the material aspects of life, the educators and parents also instruct the children in religion and medicine, since this is not the business of the shaman, as well as manners and good behavior, which is very important in view of the traditional politeness of the Meau! In short, education includes everything that will enable the child to master life later on and to become a respected member of the community. For the rest, all the wishes of the children are complied with as far as possible. To be sure, among the Meau they are not trained to dance, but they are not prevented from dancing. M [868]

A M 861 From earliest childhood punishment and reward are used as a means of education. Disobedient children are reprimanded, and if this does not help, they get a beating, along with references to their duties, up to the age of eight, as parents explained to me. Actually I never saw adults actually beat a child. As a reward, on the other hand, a father may carve a small crossbow for his eight-year-old son, or, among the Meau, ask the blacksmith to make a small gun for his well-behaved son.

A M 593 858 The children are brought up remarkably well. They obey promptly, and one rarely sees it happen that a child has to be punished. The children are treated equitably, but there are always special favorites. As a rule, it is the ailing or weak upon whom /80/ the affection of the parents is obviously bestowed, or upon the youngest, who naturally are also the weakest. The older children do not mind this, and siblings are generally not jealous at all as soon as they have

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] 425 758 276 185 614 736 The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See out 116, P450-ANALYST]

/98 cont./

584 she becomes pregnant. In both cases, the parents of the girl
[836] will immediately withdraw their opposition.

583 It also happens in practice that the young people disregard all formalities and begin with cohabitation without consulting their parents. In this case, too, the parents of the girl can do nothing but belatedly approve of the accomplished fact.

584 When one considers all the various ways, it is apparent
593 that the girl's parents cannot assert their will against that of the daughter. The father of the young man, on the other hand, into whose sib and, in most cases, household community the girl is to be received, can exert extensive influence upon the decision of his son. If the father or head of the family does not like the girl, he can ultimately give the refusal of the ancestors as a pretext, and no son will dare to undertake anything against their will.

583 In contrast to my observations, Lajonquière reports of the
584 Meau in Indochina, as does Abadie (1) in almost the same words:

1. Page 168.

"It happens that marriages are concluded against the will of the parents. In this case the young people flee and, if they are found, pay an indemnity to the father of the girl. A small
[574] feast is celebrated, and everything is settled."

584 Marabail (2) makes the following statements on this

2. Page 459.

subject: "If a Meau wants to marry, he tells his father, without asking him for permission, for he is completely free. The father then sends two friends to the house of the girl's father. When they arrive, they plant two incense sticks in the ground in front of the door and light them. The master of the house then comes out and asks what they want. He listens to them,
[574] invites them to his room, and gives them something to drink. This is the sign that he has accepted the offer. As soon as the

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/106 cont./

A 585 583 [301] daughter is provided with new clothing, a beautiful cotton blanket, and a chopping knife for the celebration by her parents; the parents, however, withhold the rich silver ornaments that she wore as a girl, for it is up to the husband to provide ornaments for his wife. If the bride's parents are wealthy, however, and want to do something more for their daughter, they slaughter a pig, pack the head and the two hind legs in a carrying basket, and give all this to the daughter to take along on the way while the rest of the meat remains in the house of the girl's parents and is eaten there.

A 585 The bride is called for by the emissaries of the bridegroom and is solemnly led to the dwelling of her father-in-law. The union of the young couple does not take place immediately after the wedding, but only after thirteen days. A religious A [784] [776] taboo is involved here, and the Akha believe that if it is violated the spirits would take revenge. After this period the [343] young couple meet at night in a small house built for this purpose in the vicinity of the large dwelling house. During the day, [591] however, the young people stay in the house of the father of the young husband, in whose community they live.

A [837] After the wedding no other man but the husband has any rights whatever to the wife with regard to sex.

A 595 [554] [583] [837] /107/ Among the Akha, too, poor people are usually monogamous; only chiefs or very wealthy men keep several wives, five or six at the most. Polygamy therefore likewise prevails among the Akha. Other forms of marriage, such as trial or temporary marriage, polyandry or group marriage, as well as promiscuity in marriage, are unknown.

M 593 [585] Among the Akha as well as among the Meau the wife is the property of the husband. No marriage contract is concluded, and no other rights are guaranteed to her. The husband can even beat his wife, but my informant cautiously added to this A [593] information: "If she will stand for it." I learned among the Meau that this is by no means an empty phrase. One day a M [123] young, strong woman about twenty-two years old, with whom we had become friends, came weeping into our camp. She

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/107 cont./

M 593 123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

M [622] [627] With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M 593 595 [177] [606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare. I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

M [606] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

A 595 [606] [422]

39: Bernatzik--450 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 331./

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Ill. 62. Family idyl of the Meau. Delousing as a pursuit while affectionately being together.

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
● 594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182 limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, [422] tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also
582 with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization
[614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage
[177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of
[551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big
177 dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and
● 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs,
764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him.
[345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered
[584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing
517 Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would
[533]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

691 sake of the bribes, squeezes, and fees that are
661 to be obtained from the litigants. The average incumbency of a district magistrate in Kweichow is not, we think, over twelve months.

Not only do the Yamen people profit by the cases brought before the magistrate, but very often underlings, and others in league with the Yamen, foment litigation and exhort the simple country-folk to take their grievances, or reopen their cases, before the magistrate. The longer a case lasts, and the more people can be drawn into it, the more profit there is for the Yamen. Very often cases are trumped up and false accusations made, and even if the accused finally obtains a verdict in his favour, it will only be after he has been mercilessly squeezed by these harpies. Probably on account of their ignorance and the lack of men among them with literary degrees, which would give them the privilege of interviewing the magistrate, the Miao are even more squeezed than the Chinese. Yamen secretaries, however, are neither partial nor particular, but always willing and zealous to extort money from everybody they can lay their hands on.

594 Among the Miao nearly all the disputes
586 arise on account of their land or their women. They recognise the marriage relation, but do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

not observe it as strictly as the Chinese. Miao 594 women have more liberty and are more uncon- 586 ventional than Chinese women, and consequently many of their marriages are the result of mutual liking. Not infrequently, however, a girl is practically sold for money to a husband chosen by the parents, and in these cases the result is often disastrous. The young woman will probably run away from her husband's home and continue to meet her lover. If pressure is brought to bear upon her from her parents or parents-in-law, as it generally is, she may return to her husband's home, make herself thoroughly disagreeable, and run away again in a short time. After this has happened 586 repeatedly, the husband in despair tries all he can to find out who is the lover. When he finds this out, he sends an invitation to the lover and to his wife's people to come before the elders of the district and talk over his grievance. Sometimes these discussions last for days. The husband pretends to want his wife back, but as a matter of fact he has had quite enough of her, and really desires to have the money he paid for her returned to him. The wife's father pretends to be very angry, says his daughter was not well treated, that notwithstanding the hard work she had to do

592 /30 cont'd/
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596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

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562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
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593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
● 595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582 lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/31 cont'd/

545 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness of single men" would be inevitable.

428 When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons, his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose husband comes to live in her family. A son adopted as an heir also has the right to inherit.

597

531 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539 /32/

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MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS
A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS
MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS — BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture inKwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao 301 women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type 144 from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monoga- [595] mous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or 854 the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much 462 as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the sun and rain from the child.

[166 cont.]

591 either remains in the paternal home or The young couple found a new household, in accordance with their choice.

Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo." 583 When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's [556] family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious 584 custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great 533 numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

It is during the days which follow this festival that the great 584 majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

595 Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

/32 cont./

[illegible].

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children; no limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and [582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child [428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qualified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but [851] are received into the family community with the same ceremony as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights for this child from its former family.

597 184 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this, [595] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named, must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these statements.

/76 cont./

A 857 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 183 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

/77 cont./

M 595 596 with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

M 596

M [614] [736]

A M 596 [858] The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A M [858] The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

/78 cont./

A M 596 A M [595] [608] A M [614]

a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation concerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family").

A M 855 596 M [595] A [603]

Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the children. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is primarily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the boys, that of the men (Ill. 63).[1] I also saw fathers, however, who spent hours with their two- and three-year old daughters, letting them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child, took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting, which meant a separation of several days.

A M 868

The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64).[2] There are only a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes connected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns -- which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils their mistakes.

1 [see ant 116, p469 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p470 - "]

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: [595] [425] [758] [276] [185] [614] [736] "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M 185

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

/90 cont./

577 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on
836 the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs [143] rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with [614] their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

● 595 Married people customarily have sexual [illegible] bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives
833 do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives,
513 bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
[562] whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

/93 cont./

M 114 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said,

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 [163] Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [513] [833] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bride-[152] groom into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of [782] [769] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thǒ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yǒ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[264] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings

585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/103 cont./

184 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when ap-
585 propriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the rela-
tives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding
is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's
[583] parents demand 'ngŏn sin sot,' the money which is required for
the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with
their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals ....
[426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the
moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 This extending of credit for the purchase price is con-
426 firmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II, p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by
[114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which
184 we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to
595

4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile,

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114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
584

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other.
[533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

/107 cont./

M 593 123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

M [622] [627] With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M 593 595 [177] [606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has M [606] built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

A 595 [606] [422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /118/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
[578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common.
[595] The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
587 know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among
[583]

/114 cont./

M 595 114

I did not find confirmation for Seidenfaden's assertion (1)

1. II.

that childless wives seek concubines for their husbands. It would be illogical anyway, because the husband can either acquire children from elsewhere through adoption or put an end to his childlessness through a new marriage, wholly as he wishes.

M [597]

A 586 [264] [252]

Among the Akha the husband may send his wife away at any time, and theoretically he alone is entitled to obtain a divorce. If he has such an intention, he has his wife prepare, not the customary disjointed chicken, but a whole one. Then both eat of it, and the husband bids his wife to be on her way. In practice, however, the Akha wife is also in a position to obtain a divorce. In such a case she simply runs away and asks her brother or some other male relative to go to see her husband and redeem her. To this end the husband is paid ten pieces of silver.

The wife's laziness and the husband's inability to support his wife are grounds for divorce. Property, house furnishings, and the like, as well as the legitimate children, remain with the husband; Telford (2) also reports this concerning the

2. Page 149.

A [422] [851]

children. Personal ornaments and clothing, however, belong to the wife, who, after the divorce, returns to the house of her parents, unless she was seduced and marries the adulterer. If there are children from such an adulterous relationship, they always belong to the lover who has taken the woman.

A 586 837

In case of adultery, the lover must pay a large pig and /115/ 36 pieces of silver to the deceived husband, but the adulteress goes to the seducer. A wife deceived by her husband, however, returns to the house of her parents and takes with her all the house furnishings and the kitchen equipment. Moreover, the adulterer has to pay ten pieces of silver and defray

/265 cont./

592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [599] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [439] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable [439] if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [435] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great im- [595] portance. My informant had this to thank for being able to buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
17/ man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
596 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

596 621 **Types of Family and Interrelationship.** With the exception of a Chinese family by the name of Liu in House 4, who said that they were the original inhabitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

[17a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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might live in one house and a married son and his family remain with them, in addition to any younger brothers and sisters who were not yet married or who had not yet set up their own establishments. Other married sons and their families would be living in adjoining or separate houses. The widow in another house might be the wife of the father's brother. I could not work out this interrelationship completely while I was there, but give the following examples: In House 1 lived a grandmother with her married grandson and an unmarried one. In House 2 lived the widow of her son with her unmarried children. A nephew was with the aviation corps in Kunming and his wife and son lived in House 3. The men in Houses 10, 25, and 35 (brothers) were her nephews. The widowed sister-in-law of the man in House 12 lived in House 14. The man in House 17 was son of the old man

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 in House 16. The man in House 26 was son
621 of the man in House 27, as was also the man in House 30. The younger man in House 28 was nephew of the man and wife in House 29. With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House 34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife of the man in House 17.

596 If one considers them by households, they
592 included, first, one of the Chinese extended family type living in one connected group of buildings. This family consisted of a man of seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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their son and his two wives and two sons, both of whom died, a second wife of the old man, aged forty-seven, her two unmarried daughters, a nephew with his two wives and five sons, a second nephew with a wife and five children, and the third nephew and his wife, succeeded by the two boys.

I came to know this family fairly well, as it was in their "new house" that I lived all my time in the village. The old man was head of the family. He was not well (heart disease) and seldom left his rooms in bad weather. Even on warm, sunny days he rarely left the court. It was usually a sign of something important going on when he came out. He dictated as to relations with the outside world, such as the sale of timber or grain, and his word was law in disputes. His second wife stayed very close and came into the room whenever he was likely to get excited. The

4:Mickey E-5.(1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miso AE5

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Types of Families

	No. of persons
1 large family with 1 man who has two wives, a married son by the first and two daughters by the second; three nephews with families	24
15 families with parents or widower or widow	
6 with married son, family, other unmarried children	37
6 with married son and his family	39
1 with married son and family, second wife and children	8
1 of widower and children	4
4 of widows with children	14
1 of widow alone	1
15 simple families (man, wife, children)	58
1 man and wife	2
Total	187

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 men of the family — his son, the nephews,
and their sons — and his own daughters had
592 free access to his rooms. The second wife
was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at
596 home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen,
512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning
[768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and

 eat.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

them songs. The only boy was badly spoiled, 855
but attractive when he willed to be.

The two wives of the oldest nephew were about equal in ability and attractiveness. One had three sons, the oldest of whom was a fine lad in middle school in Lung-li, the others two little imps. Heaven to one of them would have been all the good things to eat in the world in a pile and himself in the middle of it. The second wife had two sons, one who was usually set to watch ponies, cows, or water buffalo as they grazed and an adorable baby who was his father's delight.

These children all liked to try to teach me words and sentences. The boy and his cousin from Yang-niu-ts'un who were in middle school wanted me to help them with their English, which was a required subject, and would have given up school to study with me entirely.

The old man who lived in House 16 also 596
had two wives, one much older than the other. This older one had married sons and grandchildren, while the children of the second were mere babies. It was the old man and his family who moved back to their old home in Ting-fan Hsien and whose two married sons returned to Yang-chia-sai to live. I could not discover why this old man had taken a wife of the age of his sons, for the first wife had several sons and was still very vigorous and capable. The reasons for taking second wives in the other family were various. The old man needed someone more vigorous to serve him and manage the affairs of the household. The oldest nephew married a girl betrothed to a brother who died. The son married a second time when his two sons, the only children by the first wife, had both died.

One household contained a grandmother and two grandsons, one of whom had a family. Thirteen households consisted of one or more elderly persons and a married son with his family. Six of them had other grown sons or a son and daughter at home. In at least two other cases another married son and his family lived in separate houses. There was one case in which the parents were dead; two brothers lived in different parts of the same house in Hsia-sai and the third with his family in Shang-sai until one of the brothers built a house in Shang-sai, leaving the oldest

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and
563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the
463 whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-
596 workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (王) family. They had
764 intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one
342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one.
342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 During the time of my first visit I was in-
596 vited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight.
[515 In this family I saw the evening foot-washing,
574] at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 When I arrived there were on the steps
353 leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which 796
were the greatest social events of the year, 571
for many villages joined in them and those
from a distance were overnight guests in
nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born.

These work-tasks and festivals involved 571
varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders.

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao fam- 596
ily has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes.

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell 621
Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially en- [563]
titled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village

[436]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

294 saw was only about one fifth as large as that now in the Museum, and some of the finest specimens were not then in the collection.

177 Within twenty years probably there will be no such embroideries among the Ch'uan Miao. The making of such embroideries takes a great deal of time and often the girl or woman who wears them is ridiculed by less intelligent and unfriendly Chinese who live near them. For these reasons the Ch'uan Miao women are very rapidly adopting a simple Chinese style of embroidery or merely purchasing cheap and gaudy cloth and ribbons in the Chinese markets. The change is taking place so fast that the difference between the clothing worn now and even two years ago is quite noticeable.[8]

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

596 The family is the social unit. Descent is reckoned through males and the oldest living male is the head of the family. Before a girl marries she belongs to the family of her parents but after marriage she belongs to the family of her husband. While the parents live all the descendants, except females that are married but including the wives of the male descendants, live in the same house. After the death of the parents the children separate and form new families. There is evidence in the legends that formerly the husbands lived with the relatives of their wives so that the families may have been matrilinial.

Sons are more desired than daughters because they remain in the family. Women are considered to be inferior to men but women and girls are appreciated and desired.[9]

There is a larger sense in which the family includes all blood relatives of the same name—fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, gandsons, great-grandsons, uncles, cousins, and so on and their wives and umarried daughters, but it does not include the women who have married into other families. The importance of this enlarged family can be seen when the memorial and calendar festivals and the intricate list of the ancestors and descendants are noted.

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8. The Ch'uan Miao do not wear their best clothing and ornaments at funerals. They are worn at weddings, at feasts and at the memorial services and calendar festivals.

In Savina's book, *Histoire des Miao*, there are pictures of Miao wearing brass chain ornaments hanging from their necks. I have purchased chains like these from the Ch'uan Miao but they are now very rare.

9. In some localities men and women in the same family eat together but the daughter-in-law, because of a sense of shame, does not eat with the rest of the family. A daughter-in-law must not sit down on the same bench with the husband's father, brothers, or uncles but she may with her husband.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and 000
stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the 354
ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the 412
plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron ko or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig, dog, 231
cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able 262
to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit 146
and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do 286
the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the 462
plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting 334
is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed 241
and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that 531
was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered 292
and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles 576
that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no 000

39: Bernatzik--43 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

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Chapter 5

Social Organization

a) Organization of the Family

A M 596 618 [611] Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, the family is organized strictly by father right. No esteem even similar to the consideration enjoyed by the parents is shown toward any other relative. In accordance with the organization by father right, descent is reckoned in the male line, and married women belong absolutely to the family of their husband, if he is already independent, or otherwise to the family of the father-in-law.

A M [614] M [775] The extent to which wives are absorbed in the new family group is shown by the fact that the married woman among the Meau not only loses every connection with the sib /Sippe/ from which she is descended, which is also the custom among the Akha, but also, after her death, her soul arises anew in the next child of her husband's family (cf. the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 596 618 [591] Adult unmarried sons always remain with their father; even married sons do not at first establish an independent family, but are regarded among the Meau as belonging, along with their wives and children, to the family of the father until they have completed their thirtieth year. Accordingly, they live in the paternal home up to this time, even though in a separate area, with their wives and children, and do not manage an independent household. Not until they have reached the aforementioned age do they have a right to build themselves a house and to establish an independent family.

M 593 618 /31/ According to Dhuraratsadorn (1), the Meau never

1. Page 167.

part from their sons, even if the latter are married. As my remarks show, this statement can be regarded as correct only

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/35/

c) Family Units

A M 614 [764]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha do the sibs /Sippen/ live locally separated or have their own totems. On the other hand, the Akha have their own burial places, but the Meau do not. Likewise among the two peoples there are no religious sib-celebrations or common insignia or individual sib-heads. The unit is not the sib, but the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/, which lives in one house and consists of the head of the family, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, among the Meau, the married sons up to the end of their thirtieth year and their families.

A M 596

The rights of the head of a large family are very extensive. All those living in the house, wives, children, and grandchildren, must obey him; he has unlimited authority, and he may punish, beat, or, among the Meau, in special cases even kill the members of the household under him. This is not the case among the Akha, among whom only twins are killed (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Birth"). Otherwise, however, the head of the large family, who is responsible for the well-being of all the others, irrevocably decides all the disputes within his household community.

In view of the proverbial compatibility of the members of a Meau family, the head of such a large family hardly ever has occasion actually to interfere, but on the other hand, he often does among the Akha. Among the Meau I repeatedly observed that the head did not make a decision without first consulting with the sons who lived under his roof. There was never a decision against the will of the subordinate concerned. The sons, too, however, avoided expressing their opinion until after they had conferred with the head of the large family. In such cases I was always given the answer: "This is not our business; we must first ask the father."

A M [769] [756]

It is the duty of the head to officiate and offer the sacrifices in connection with the religious festivals of the large family, namely, the festivals for the dead or the veneration of the ancestors. If especially important affairs are involved, for instance, if measures have to be taken in connection with the

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
596 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organiza-
M tions are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the
571 Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the
114 existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans.
614 Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also
592 the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves.
[736] In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
[842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

/76 cont./

A 857 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 183 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

/77 cont./

M 595 596 with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old M 596 sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in M another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the [614] sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," [736] section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

A M 596 [858] The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A M [858] The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

/78 cont./

A M 596 A M [595] [608] A M [614] a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation concerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family").

A M 855 596 M [595] A [603] Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the children. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is primarily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the boys, that of the men (Ill. 63).[1] I also saw fathers, however, who spent hours with their two- and three-year-old daughters, letting them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child, took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting, which meant a separation of several days.

A M 868 The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64).[2] There are only a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes connected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns -- which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils their mistakes.

1 [see out 116, P469- ANALYST]
2 [" " " P470 - "]

/104/

114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
584

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other.
[533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 888 [596] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

A M [782] [775]

Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of

M 764 775

1. Page 461.

Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

M [784]

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura-
[787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear
756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the
764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the
[782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large [596] [769] /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70),[1] flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

1 [See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/239/

Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
[634] Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
[622] herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
[596] family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
[184] since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

/240/

241 Through the labor performed on the land, it thereby passes
423 into the possession of the head of the large /extended/ family.
Every large family cultivates its land collectively; there is no
596 distribution of the land among the individual small families of the family union. Just as a large family often cultivates several fields at the same time, it also frequently happens that several large families jointly cultivate only one large field. It depends on the number of individuals in a large family. If several large families, each with few members, jointly cultivate the soil, the land is divided into corresponding sections, each of which is tilled by one large family. Since the fields remain productive for only a short time, a later redistribution is unnecessary.

423 Wild fruits, plants, or trees belong to the person who collects or uses them.

422 Among the Meau only the house itself belongs to the head
[423] of the large family, whereas the furnishings are the joint property
[596] of all the occupants. This is true of the kitchen equipment, the domestic animals, saddles, bridles, and the like. On the other hand, clothing, weapons, and personal ornaments are the prop-
[431] erty of the individuals, who usually obtained these objects as gifts, for example, from the head of the large family or the partner of a love affair, and, in the case of children, from their parents, or they made them themselves, such as weapons, traps, and so forth. Similarly, the equipment that the wife has brought into the marriage, such as clothing and the dowry in general, remains her personal property.

The Meau have no special marks of ownership; hence such distinguishing marks are used neither on personal property nor on the domestic animals of the large family.

426 The legal conditions are definite for every form of loan, whether it is money, that is, silver, or field produce, animals, etc. that is involved. Loans are granted and handed over in the presence of three witnesses. No interest has to be paid for a loan up to one year; for a longer period, regardless of whether it is paid back in two years or in ten, interest has to be paid once, amounting to one-third of the value received. For example, if a person has borrowed 21 baskets of rice, 28 baskets are

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567] In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[731] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head, even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/243 cont./

A 426 [614] Limitation of debts is as unknown to the Akha as it is to the Meau. The Akha, too, are familiar with repaying a loan in installments, as well as with interest charges. Among the Akha, however, interest is collected from sib members as well as from /244/ outsiders. The interest rate is not fixed once and for all, but in each case is left to a voluntary arrangement by the partners.

A [768] [567] [858] After the death of a debtor, the heirs are responsible for debts which he was unable to settle before his demise. In contrast to the situation among the Meau, the creditor has no right with respect to tardy debtors to make slaves or debt prisoners of their children in lieu of payment. Also, there is no such absolute power over the debtor himself or the other members of his family. A [686] The killing of a debtor is out of the question.

[675] [211] Among the Akha I did not find the making of a debt-stick or any custom similar to it.

b) Right of Succession

M 596 428 When the head of a large /extended/ family dies among the Meau, his estate is not divided up for the time being. The members of the large family remain together as before, and the oldest married son still living in the house of the deceased, in other words, a man not yet thirty years old, is the chief heir and assumes the privileges of the deceased. He cannot refuse the obligation and office which fall to him. If he nevertheless M [622] shuns them, the village chief has him summoned and reminds him of his duty.

If this son should be incapable of providing for the family of the deceased because of sickness or as a result of his physical or mental make-up, he is replaced by the second oldest son still living in the paternal home, provided that he has the necessary qualifications. In short, the place of the deceased head is taken by that son remaining in the house who has the required physical M [622] [692] qualifications and is next in age. In case of conflict, it is the business of the village chief to make the decision.

/244 cont. /

428 Among the Meau in Tonkin, somewhat different legal con-
•596 ceptions seem to prevail, for Lajonquière (1) writes: "Cash,
[184]

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

furniture, produce, and animals are distributed only after the death of the last parent (mother or father), for among the Meau the mother remains the head of the family /245/ after the death of her husband, and she is the owner of all his possessions until her death."

Abadie (1), too, describes customs which are likewise different from those which I found: "When the mother dies, the possessions in movable goods (money, implements, animals, and harvested produce) are distributed among the male children. The oldest son or the son who remains in the parental house becomes head of the family and is given the paternal property, on which other children may also live in accordance with special arrangements."

Dhuraratsadorn (2) also reports explicitly: "Even if the

2. Page 169.

deceased has left behind many sons and daughters, only the eldest son, as the successor of the family, inherits."

Among the Meau in Thailand, as has been said, the family unit continues to exist after the death of the great chief under the new head, and, to be sure, as long as wives of the deceased are still living. It is only after the death of the last of these wives that the married sons under the age of thirty make themselves independent and build their own homes for themselves and their wives. Since, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Dissolution of Marriage,"
[589] younger widows usually remarry, whereas the widows already old and their children remain in the house of the deceased, it may easily happen that, after the death of these widows, minor children, that is, unmarried sons and daughters, survive. The

/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house
596 upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. More-
over, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed
among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the
sons who are already independent and own their own houses re-
[608] ceive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot
inherit anything.

428 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For cal-
803 culating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each
piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased
under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn
two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the
former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain
of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his
grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each
son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been
distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the
grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however,
and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions.
Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament;
if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is
the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and
the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is dis-
tributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields
which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs
until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance
with the system just described. The same procedure is followed
with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they
die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from
[562] any inheritance, although they retain what was already their
[422] personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the
ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their
father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of
the deceased who are already independent and therefore no
[597] longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

428
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1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband
[597] live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the
[589] widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /247 cont./
428 case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry
[589] again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin
[596] takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief
[605] takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the
[622] house owners of his village.

Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations,
[764] the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A
428 Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over
[596] only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female mem-
A
[562] bers of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are
[422] widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A /248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits every-
[595] thing, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or
[756] shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions
[622] are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir
A and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however,
[572] bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother
[608] outside the family.

/253 cont./

692 the office of judge for him. In such cases, if an appeal is made [622] against his decision, the village chief is then the next higher [596] court. In disputes within a large family, the head of the family [693] officiates. For serious decisions, assemblies under the chairmanship of the village chief or the great chief are convened, as I have reported in the chapter, "Political Organization."

695 The judge, with the help of witnesses, tries to determine the facts of the case. Special importance is attached to the testimony of the witnesses, and can be, according to my experience, because among the Meau the witnesses always tell the truth, at least subjectively. Dhuraratsadorn (1) seems to have

1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in [681] favor of the accused. If it later turns out that he falsely denied [626] his guilt, he is expelled from the community and must leave the village, for otherwise he would be killed."

In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to [577] tell the truth, regardless of whether or not it is damaging to the witness or whether there are ties of kinship with the parties or [687] witnesses. A refusal to give testimony is not permitted; false statements are punished severely.

/259 cont./

166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. -- The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [492] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those [614] of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

/265 cont./

621 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one
596 large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

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Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.
[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of
621 the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice
[343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per-
[551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize
[343] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the
[551] house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/317 cont./

A 415 For preparing the food, many kinds of carved wooden vessels and troughs of wood (Fig. 205) or bamboo (Fig. 206) are used. /Figs. 201-208 appear here./ /318/ Gourd dippers and bowls, wooden ladles, knives, rice baskets and other baskets, bamboo containers, and so on are not lacking anywhere.

A [312] The bamboo containers for fetching water (Fig. 207) are closed at the top and the bottom; the water is poured by means of a gourd dipper (Fig. 208) into a hole cut into the upper edge. In this way the water remains clean and cannot easily A [171] be spilled when carried. Many typical household and kitchen utensils are almost exactly like those of the Meau.

A 482 I did not see carrying frames among the Akha; they are replaced by carrying baskets with a shoulder board and forehead band (Fig. 374; see the chapter, "Handicrafts").

A 354 For lighting the house, iron lamps with oil as fuel, and also pine chips, are used. The household equipment is espe- [372] cially rich in artistically plaited articles, such as are described 285 in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

As was pointed out, the dwellings and granaries of the A Akha give the impression of being clean and well tended. 356 The floor of the dwelling and the platform are swept twice a [412] day with the grass brooms that are also common among the [171] Meau (Fig. 175), with which one simply sends the sweepings [231] under the house through the seams and cracks. The food remains, too, are thus conveyed directly to the pigs and chickens.

/319/ Chapter 15

Clothing and Ornaments

M 294 The Meau women are very skilled in sewing and embroidery and, with much taste for color combinations, make the attrac- M tive and also practical clothing for men, women, and children. 291 The clothing of the Meau is absolutely uniform in cut and differs [248] only in the diversity of the embroidery and appliquéd designs. [596] Every family plants the required hemp and cotton and weaves [286] its own cloth. The strips of fabric which are made into clothing [294]

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
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2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is [314] left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] [417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [326] knowledge of pottery!

[323] The author continues his observations with a description [184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

/13 cont'd/
244 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the
311 valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li."
This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the
175 Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure
144 blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of
175 other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the
144 family register of the Lin family:
178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had
162 some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname,
144 who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung
178

/31 cont'd/

595 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness of single men" would be inevitable.

When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided 428 among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons, his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose husband comes to live in her family. A son adopted as an heir also has ● 597 the right to inherit.

531 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539 /32/
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MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS — BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture inKwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

/31 const./

M 593 618 if it is qualified. On the other hand, the observations of the author named (2) agree with my data concerning the position of

2. Page 169.

the woman: "The parents' authority over their sons ends only at death, over the daughters on the day of their marriage. Even if the married daughter were to commit a crime, it would not be permissible for the parents to punish her, nor would they be responsible for the deed of their daughter."

A 884 As among the Meau, the thirtieth year as the attainment of a man's majority also plays an important role among the [574] Akha. It is therefore celebrated. Rich people slaughter several [556] pigs on this occasion, and the guests, usually relatives and [782] friends, are also served rice and liquor; among poor people everything is done on a correspondingly smaller scale. No M [884] sacrifices, however, are offered in connection with the coming-of-age celebration.

A [589] Among the Akha the girls are regarded as being of age at the time of their marriage, and an unmarried girl is treated as a minor as long as she lives.

A 591 For the most part among the Akha, too, the married sons live in the house of their father for several years, although they are allowed to stay in a small sleeping house for the night (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Courtship and Betrothal"). Sometimes they may even build a house of their own immediately, but with the consent of the father. A [589] The unmarried sons remain in the paternal home until they [884] reach their majority, but there are also exceptions, for the father may permit an unmarried son to make himself independent even before he comes of age.

M 597 608 Aside from natural kinship, kinship through adoption or blood brotherhood is recognized among the Meau.

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special intermediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, [448] who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

[435] For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy about seventy, are paid. The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but

1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

they are not refuted by any other author.

/32 cont./

[illegible].

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children: no limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and [582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child [428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qualified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but [851] are received into the family community with the same ceremony as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights for this child from its former family.

597 184 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this, [595] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named, must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these statements.

/114 cont./

M 595 114

I did not find confirmation for Seidenfaden's assertion (1)

1. II.

that childless wives seek concubines for their husbands. It would be illogical anyway, because the husband can either acquire children from elsewhere through adoption or put an end to his childlessness through a new marriage, wholly as he wishes.

M [597]

A 586 [264] [252]

Among the Akha the husband may send his wife away at any time, and theoretically he alone is entitled to obtain a divorce. If he has such an intention, he has his wife prepare, not the customary disjointed chicken, but a whole one. Then both eat of it, and the husband bids his wife to be on her way. In practice, however, the Akha wife is also in a position to obtain a divorce. In such a case she simply runs away and asks her brother or some other male relative to go to see her husband and redeem her. To this end the husband is paid ten pieces of silver.

The wife's laziness and the husband's inability to support his wife are grounds for divorce. Property, house furnishings, and the like, as well as the legitimate children, remain with the husband; Telford (2) also reports this concerning the

2. Page 149.

A [422] [851]

children. Personal ornaments and clothing, however, belong to the wife, who, after the divorce, returns to the house of her parents, unless she was seduced and marries the adulterer. If there are children from such an adulterous relationship, they always belong to the lover who has taken the woman.

A 586 837

In case of adultery, the lover must pay a large pig and /115/ 36 pieces of silver to the deceived husband, but the adulteress goes to the seducer. A wife deceived by her husband, however, returns to the house of her parents and takes with her all the house furnishings and the kitchen equipment. Moreover, the adulterer has to pay ten pieces of silver and defray

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567] In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[731] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house
596 upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. Moreover, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the sons who are already independent and own their own houses receive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot
[608] inherit anything.

428 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For cal-
803 culating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however, and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions. Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament; if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is distributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance with the system just described. The same procedure is followed with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from
[562] any inheritance, although they retain what was already their
[422] personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of the deceased who are already independent and therefore no
[597] longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

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562

1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband
[597] live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the
[589] widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

/16 cont'd/

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802

English	Miao
Ordinal Numbers	
first	dē it
second	dē ngǐ
third	dē tum
Time	
today	nǐ noy
yesterday	com bō
day before yesterday	ngûr noy
tomorrow	tung deo
day after tomorrow	ngū deo
day	gong-noy
night	ngim
Parts of the Body	
head	bě
eye	ngwǐe
ear	blom
nose	bǔ-jong
mouth	jet
hair	bā

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English	Miao
tooth	yà
tongue	bǐd
heart	tim
back	cà-tun-cun
belly	you
hand	bǔ
finger	bū-ndō-kin
leg	tou-tswie
foot	tou
Human Relationships	
person	moon
man	moon-fà
woman	moon-ou
child	moon-sa
/17/ boy	moon-ton-kin
girl	moon-sà-kin
father	fà
mother	jǐ
son	sā
daughter	sā-sàr
elder brother	kō
younger brother	zū
elder sister	or

/17 cont'd/

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192

English	Miao	English	Miao
younger sister	mǔ	elder first cousin on father's side	kō
old man	kō-moon	younger first cousin on father's side	zū
old woman	ko-bǔ	father's sister	ma
paternal grandfather	kong	mother's married sister	mǔ
paternal grandmother	kō	wife's father	sin-shà-fà
paternal grandfather's elder brother	bě	wife's mother	sin-shà-jǐ
paternal grandfather's elder brother's wife	chǔ	son-in-law	lung
paternal grandfather's younger brother	jū-sop	husband's father	fà
paternal grandfather's younger brother's wife	tī	husband's mother	jǐ
father's elder brother	bě	daughter-in-law	jim
father's elder brother's wife	chǔ	/18/ husband	moon fà
father's younger brother	jū-sop	wife	moon ou
father's younger brother's wife	tī	maternal grandfather	kong
husband's elder brother's wife	zū	maternal grandmother	kō
husband's younger brother's wife	tī	sister's son	ngoy ting
brother's son	sā ton	**Household Furnishings, etc.**	
192 brother's daughter	sā tī	village	ngung
		market	shaw
		field	ngin
		well	tin
		house	ber
		door	king
		table	tom

/31 cont'd/

595 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness of single men" would be inevitable.

428 When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons, his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose hus-
597 band comes to live in her family. A son adopted as an heir also has the right to inherit.

531 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539 /32/

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MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS
A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS
MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS — BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture inKwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

/32 cont'd/

539 601 auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different. /

Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng; Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

602 With this kind of family register, although a family has increased and scattered to different places, the relationship of the family members is maintained without interruption. Consequently, those of the same surname related by blood are forever connected and the awareness of the kin group is very deeply rooted. There were a number of Miao who were able to tell us in great detail about the localities from which they had migrated and distant localities in which they still had many cousins living. The Miao headman, Mr. Wang Fu-shou of Pao-ch'a village in Ta-ch'i, frequently called me lao-tsung /"venerable kinsman"/. /The author, Wang Hsing-jui, has the same surname./ This was an expression of a feeling of kin group relationship. Since the kin group consciousness still exists, it is very natural that the feelings of the people of the same surname thus extend even to those not closely related.

[221] 61 Since their livelihood is chiefly dependent upon farming on the mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

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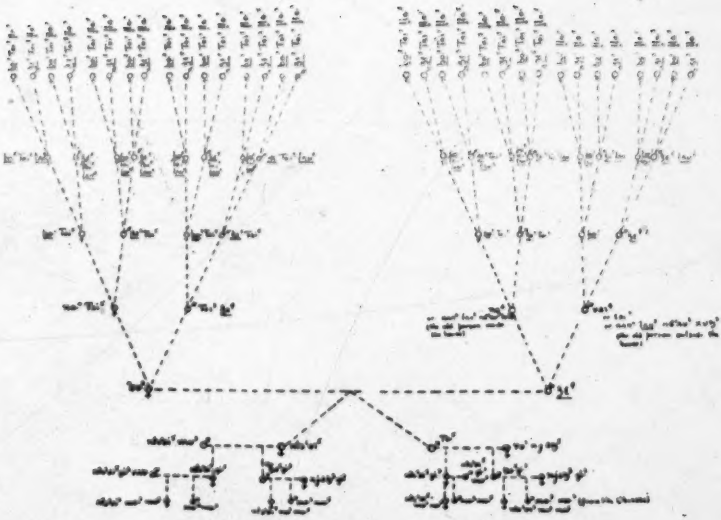

The above diagram gives the names of eight generations of the Ch'uan Miao. The names are those that would be used by the husband, who is called ʒɛ⁹, when speaking directly to them. When speaking about them he precedes the terms by ko·³, meaning "my". He adds the word na⁴, "great", before each term when speaking about the relatives of another person. On the right are the names of the husband for his own ancestors, on the left his names for his wife's ancestors. The wife uses the same terms for the husband's ancestors that the husband does. If the husband wishes he may call the ancestors of his wife by the same names as he would his own. Both the husband and the wife call the descendants by the same terms or names. The wife calls her own ancestors by the same names or terms that the husband does his ancestors.

The word lla· is pronounced ʒa· in some localities.

[facing p. 70]

39: Bernatzik--49(A) E-5 (1936-1937)1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

Kinship Terms of the Peoples of Farther India

/Between pp. 34 and 35/ (own findings)

A
M
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Translation	MẸ́ĂŬ	ĂKHÁ
1. Birth	yŭn yǫ̂ā	
2. Birth of a boy	yŭn yǫ̂ā	
3. Birth of a girl	yŭn yǫ̂ā	
4. Birth of twins	yŭn yǫ̂ā tsây (= twins)	
5. Childhood	nyŭ lǎ	
6. Maturity	nyŭ rŭn kǎ	
7. Maturity of a boy		
8. Maturity of a girl		
9. Man	nyŭ flǫ̂ā	hādsīdā
10. Woman	lŏŭ	ābŭ
11. Father	tsē	ādǎ
12. Mother	nǎ	āmǎ
13. Brother		āyīsá
14. Younger brother	nyŭ kǔ	āní
15. Older brother	tĭ lŏŭ	bŭdǫ̂
16. Sister		
17. Older sister	pŭ nyān	yāmī āyŭ
18. Younger sister	kŭ mǫ̂ā	dŭmǎ
19. Husband	kā yĕŭ	nā mīsǎ
20. Wife	kā pŭ	nā ābŭ
21. Son	nyŭ tŭ	āli
22. Daughter	nin tsây	ābŭ
23. Paternal grandfather	nyǎŭ	ābǫ̂
24. Paternal grandmother	nǎ	āpī
25. Maternal grandfather	nǎ	ābǫ̂
26. Maternal grandmother	pŭ	āpī
27. Father's brother a)*	tĭ lŏŭ	ǎŏ
28. Father's brother b)**	nyŭ kŭ	āyǫ̂

A
M
601

*a) = when older.

**b) = when younger than the person concerned. e.g., father's brother a) is the older brother of the father, and father's brother b) is the younger brother of the father.

39: Bernatzik--51(B) E-5 (1936-1937)1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A
M
601

/Between pp. 34 and 35/

Translation	MÉAŨ	ĂKHĂ
29. Father's sister a)	pū ńyā	ȧsḗ
30. Father's sister b)	pū nyā	
31. Mother's brother a)	tsẹ̄ tlǎn	ȧ̃ (if older than fa.)
32. Mother's brother b)	tsẹ̄ tlǎn	ȧsó (if younger than fa.)
33. Mother's sister a)	nā tāy lōū	ȧmõ
34. Mother's sister b)	nā tāy hlā	yȧõ
35. Husband of father's sister a)	yō yī	ȧsā
36. Husband of father's sister b)	yī pǎn	
37. Wife of father's brother a)	pū lǎn	ȧõ
38. Wife of father's brother b)	nā lǎn	ȧmõ
39. Husband of mother's sister a)	tsū nā yī	ȧõ
40. Husband of mother's sister b)	tsū nā yī	ȧtsā
41. Wife of mother's brother a)	nā tāy	ȧgõ
42. Wife of mother's brother b)	nā tlǎn	ȧtsā
43. Son of father's brother a)	mpẹ̄ū	zyẽ
44. Son of father's brother b)		
45. Daughter of father's bro. a)	mẹ̄ā	ȧnũm
46. Daughter of father's bro. b)		
47. Son of father's sister a)	mpẹ̄ū	yȧõ
48. Son of father's sister b)		
49. Daughter of father's sister a)	mẹ̄ā	yȧmā
50. Daughter of father's sister b)		
51. Son of mother's brother a)	mpẹ̄ū	ȧgõ
52. Son of mother's brother b)		
53. Daughter of mother's bro. a)	mẹ̄ā	yȧmā
54. Daughter of mother's bro. b)		
55. Son of mother's sister a)	mpẹ̄ū	ȧtsā
56. Son of mother's sister b)		
57. Daughter of mother's sis. a)	mẹ̄ā	ȧtsā
58. Daughter of mother's sis. b)		
59. Son of son	nyū kū	ȯpā
60. Daughter of son	ntsāy kū	ȯmā

/For explanation of a) and b), see footnotes on first page of table/

39:Bernatzik--56 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 34 and 35/

Translation	MÉAU	ĀKHĀ
61. Son of daughter	nyū hū	ōpá
62. Daughter of daughter	ntsāy hū	ōmá
63. Father of wife	yō tsè	ámá
64. Mother of wife	tāy tàn	ámá
65. Brother of wife a)	tè tōū	ˋáō
66. Brother of wife b)	yè tàn	ōáá
67. Sister of wife a)	pàn yàn	átsú
68. Sister of wife b)	nè siōa	tāimá
69. Husband of wife's sister a)	tsū hōá yī	áō
70. Husband of wife's sister b)	tsè siōa	átsá
71. Father of husband	tsè	ádá
72. Mother of husband	nè	ámá
73. Brother of husband a)	tsè tōo? | no expression, is usually only called by name	áō
74. Brother of husband b)		ānyí
75. Sister of husband a)	pū nyāń	áō
76. Sister of husband b)		ānyí
77. Husband of the hus. sis. a)	tāy tè	áō
78. Husband of the hus. sis. b)	yàn hū	ānyí
79. Family	tsō vū tsō tàn	myógá
80. Large family /extended fam./		
81. Small fam. /nuclear fam./		
82. Member of the tribe	ī pàn	átshá
83. Outsider	ī yā	bitsóm
84. Old Man	hō tāo	ábò | every old person is called grandfather or grandmother.
85. Old Woman	nè pū tāū	ápí
86. Chief		yōbá
87. Great chief	tāūn hōán	
88. Village chief	tāū pō	
89. Deputy chief	ˋ tsēn tāāy	
90. Friend	hū ū	ōaá
91 Enemy	hū tāī nyā	mānōnō
92. European	tè tāū (tāū = white)	hāá

/For explanation of a) and b), see footnotes on first page of table./

A
M
601

A
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M
[631]

/32 cont'd/
539 auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung,
601 Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different. /

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61 mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

/137 cont./
*782 tray is put beside the entrance. The incantation, uttered by the sorcerer-priest sends off the kuei.

(3) Ta Chia Hsien

755 When a Miao becomes ill and taking medicine does not
*782 make him better, then he must make a vow to "ta chia hsien"/lit. "beat the family ancestors"/, which in the Miao language is called [pa˥ mba˧ ɕioŋ˥], which means "beating Miao pigs." It may be performed during the illness or after the recovery. Before the event takes place, the host must serve notice to members of the
• [602] mother's brother's family, inviting them to send seven members of the maternal uncle's family (six men and a woman) to be guests. If that family does not have so many people, the maternal uncle may ask other people to make up the number. But the persons invited should not have the same surname as the host. No day
[777] needs to be selected as lucky, but the following days must be avoided: if a child is born in the family, it is necessary to wait one month before the ceremony is performed; the birth of kittens also necessitates one month's separation; the birth of pigs, goats, cows, horses, and dogs causes a postponement of 12 days; the hatching of chicks, ducklings, and goslings, three days; a funeral in the family or when the head of the family has witnessed a funeral of another family, 12 days. If the notice should arrive before the time of expiration of any of the above periods, the maternal uncle's family may refuse such an invitation. If the host because he seeks an immediate recovery from a sickness cannot wait any longer, he may invite other guests, but they may not have the same surname as he.

/138/ The Ta Chia Hsien ceremony is divided into four parts, requiring a whole day from morning till night. There
[776] are altogether eight kuei invited: [na˧˥ nɛ˧ tʂoŋ˥ teŋ˥], [na˧˥ mɛ˥ bu˧ ɲieŋ˥], [tʂoŋ˥ teŋ˥ tʂoŋ˥ ɕieŋ˥], [bu˧ ɲieŋ˧ tʂei˥ nɛ˧], (it is said that these four are the ordinary names for the kuei of

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the ●602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [556] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/156 cont./

(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ɕi¹ zoŋ⁴] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother/chiu-mu; [203] [602] is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress [292] [493] [843] (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
[264] forth one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[832] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[521] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
[602] public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[562] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[609] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
[123] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for
women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at
all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before
the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward
us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their
presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant.
Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor
enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many
peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires
about the wife and children of the host. As has already been
pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
"Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
[562] case the women before the men, since that is regarded as im-
proper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left
over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only
then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series
of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female
against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
[832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man,
if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it.
This also applies to married women who therefore may pour
brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo
regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the
chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage
Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/101 cont./

764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony. After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of 764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress' ● 604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a 605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over, he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family and those on the maternal side who came with the maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat, towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative" each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth "for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various 604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of [789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer [754] picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it upside down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/102 cont./

764 *coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the*
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[791] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[787] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[604] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
[768] a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

/101 cont./

764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony. After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of 764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress' 604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a 605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over, he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family and those on the maternal side who came with the maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat, towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative" each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth "for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various 604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of [789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession [754] can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it upside down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[791] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
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756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

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[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /247 cont./
428 case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry
[589] again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin
[596] takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief
[605] takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the
[622] house owners of his village.

Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations,
[764] the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A
428 Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as
[596] money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female mem-
A bers of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are
[562] widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are
[422] among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A /248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits every-
[595] thing, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or
[756] shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions
[622] are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir
A and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however,
[572] bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother
[608] outside the family.

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spell. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles. Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
764 as the Chinese.

[177] In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
606 first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
782 and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
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[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/107 cont./

M 593 123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled M [622] [627] in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M 593 595 [177] [606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has M [606] built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

A 595 [606] [422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 651 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage-583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [431] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in-law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal pres-608 ents are given by the bride's family.

/50 cont'd/

585 stood outside the door waiting for a Taoist priest to perform the ritual before entering the house. After that she entered the house escorted by a woman. In the evening the bridegroom's family also held a dinner to entertain their relatives and friends, and that brought an end to the wedding ceremony. After the wedding was over, the two bridesmaids were each rewarded with 300 cash and three catties of pork. The cash was given by the bride's family and the pork by the bridegroom's.

On the morning of the third day, the new couple went back to the bride's home; but on the fourth, they went over to the bridegroom's home again and returned to the bride's home the day after.

585 Thereafter, the bridegroom remained in his wife's home and became
608 a member of her family, sharing all the privileges and obligations. After the death of his parents-in-law, he may either move away from his wife's family with his wife, or change his surname to that of his father-in-law so that he becomes a member of that family forever.

585 I did not have the opportunity to observe personally the manner in which the wedding of the ch'ü-hsi type is celebrated. However, it was said that it is entirely similar to the wedding of the chao-chui type except that the roles of the families of the man and woman are reversed.

587 There is no ceremony when a widow remarries, nor are there any betrothal gifts. When they decide to be married, the man merely furnishes a chicken, which they eat together, and the marriage is concluded.

There are some additional points worth noting about marriage among the Miao.

582 /51/ (1) Those who have the same surnames are not allowed to marry one another. However, if they are sure that they have no particular blood relationship but simply have the same surname, the marriage is sometimes permissable.

(2) The average age to marry for either sex is about twenty.

585 (3) The Miao people avoid getting married in the third month of the lunar year, when the cotton flower and a plant called toon

/31 const./

M 593 618 if it is qualified. On the other hand, the observations of the author named (2) agree with my data concerning the position of

2. Page 169.

the woman: "The parents' authority over their sons ends only at death, over the daughters on the day of their marriage. Even if the married daughter were to commit a crime, it would not be permissible for the parents to punish her, nor would they be responsible for the deed of their daughter."

A 884 As among the Meau, the thirtieth year as the attainment of a man's majority also plays an important role among the [574] Akha. It is therefore celebrated. Rich people slaughter several [556] pigs on this occasion, and the guests, usually relatives and [782] friends, are also served rice and liquor; among poor people everything is done on a correspondingly smaller scale. No M [884] sacrifices, however, are offered in connection with the coming-of-age celebration.

A [589] Among the Akha the girls are regarded as being of age at the time of their marriage, and an unmarried girl is treated as a minor as long as she lives.

A 591 For the most part among the Akha, too, the married sons live in the house of their father for several years, although they are allowed to stay in a small sleeping house for the night (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Courtship and Betrothal"). Sometimes they may even build a house of their own immediately, but with the consent of the father. A [589] The unmarried sons remain in the paternal home until they [884] reach their majority, but there are also exceptions, for the father may permit an unmarried son to make himself independent even before he comes of age.

M 597 608 Aside from natural kinship, kinship through adoption or blood brotherhood is recognized among the Meau.

/33 cont./

A 597 Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase A [435] price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all.

M ●608 Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is M [273] slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both go to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper M [776] that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is [782] burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded.

The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support M [428] each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled [837] to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other.

A 608 572 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends," without any special rights and duties.

/53 cont./

851 787 Meanwhile the shaman has finished his conjuring, seizes the chickens, and cuts them up in order to examine the omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"). First he takes out the tongues of the chickens and observes the hyoid bones for a long time; then he strips off the skin from the front of the heads and likewise carefully observes it. Finally, he takes the feet of the animals, holds them in the smoke of the incense candles, and also studies these omens. If they are unfavorable, it means that evil spirits are close by, from which the ancestors cannot protect the newborn child. In this case, the shaman must first drive away the evil spirits, and then the whole ceremony must be repeated. If the shaman discovers that only part of the ancestors have appeared, the conjuration must be performed again in the same way at the end of the month. This is repeated until the omens are favorable.

851 608 If the omens are favorable, however, as in this instance, the sponsor steps forward, and the child's mother addresses him as follows: "May my child one day be as great and powerful as you are." If the sponsor has special characteristics, they are also appropriately mentioned. The sponsor now ties a piece of string first around the right wrist and then around the left wrist of the child. This is supposed to protect the newborn [789] child against evil spirits and at the same time signifies that the sponsor assumes the sponsorship. With the same piece of string one of the child's wrists is tied to his own, whereupon he makes a little speech in which he expresses his good wishes for the child and promises to fulfill his duties as a sponsor. Then the sponsor hands the mother the first clothing for the child or silver amounting to the price of the clothing so that it can be bought by the parents. A modest festive meal in which all those present, including the shaman, participate, concludes the ceremony.

The completed ceremony means that the sponsor will always receive the child /54/ in his house whenever he visits him, and that he will help him as much as he can. Conversely, the same obligations are incurred by the child toward the sponsor. The children of distinguished persons sometimes have two sponsors.

/54 cont./

851 608 123 [787]

During my visit to the Meau village of Nam Fa in northern Thailand I was asked by the Meau Tua Sen Kun to assume sponsorship for his newborn son (1). I was told that it

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 188 ff.

was regarded as an auspicious omen that I, a powerful foreigner, was present in the village at the time of the birth.

551 As names for boys those of famous ancestors are preferred on the ground that boys continue the family. The child may also be given the name of the sponsor. For girls one chooses at will a name which, like all names, has a special meaning. A sharp distinction is made between names for boys and those for girls.

	Names	Meaning
Boys:	lū	pure
	pǎu	surety, guarantor (2)

2. Cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law."

	tšü	has everything
	fö	to have many children to care for him
	tšǎn	to grow
	pǎn	to flourish
	tsuń	bud
Girls:	tšǎy	slender
	yí	round
	ltšay	fearful
	tšá	plain
	mǎy	good
	ltšóa	green leaf

/78 cont./

A a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy
M the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained
596 in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family
A Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along
M with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part
[595 in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights
608] with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into
the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must
defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On
A the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her
M marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation con-
[614] cerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization,"
the section on "Organization of the Family").

A Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general
M first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his
855 chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the chil-
596 dren. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is pri-
M marily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely
[595 help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of
the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the
A boys, that of the men (Ill. 63).[1] I also saw fathers, however, who
[603] spent hours with their two- and three-year old daughters, letting
them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one
case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head
of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child,
took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting,
which meant a separation of several days.

A The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and
M Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64).[2] There are only
868 a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as
forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the
making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of
opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes con-
nected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns --
which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require
precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from
the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good
nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils
their mistakes.

1 [see out 116, p469 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p470 - "]

/98 cont./

584 marriage /99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find [648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage 584 promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary 608 assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men 614 participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always 686 decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected 184 bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 584 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house
596 upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. Moreover, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the sons who are already independent and own their own houses receive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot
[608] inherit anything.

428 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For cal-
803 culating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however, and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions. Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament; if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is distributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance with the system just described. The same procedure is followed with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from
[562] any inheritance, although they retain what was already their
[422] personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of the deceased who are already independent and therefore no
[597] longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

/172 cont./
*782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mis-
[578] chief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to
come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one in-
[776] advertently walks into a house where this performance is going
on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a
performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs
[171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore,
[576] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he
[609] does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it
all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all
right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to
get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid
of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to
spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

This article is the result of about fifteen years of study and contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 people. 121

I first learned of the Ch'uan Miao in 1921 through a Hua Miao 花苗 who came to Suifu 叙府 during a famine. Soon after that I visited the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao 洛表 and at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 and a Ch'uan Miao boy, Yang Fêng Chang 楊奉章, came with me to Suifu where, with my help, he studied in and graduated from the Bap ist junior and senior primary schools. After that he was my almost constant companion and went with me on nearly all my expeditions on the China-Tibetan border. From him I learned something of the Ch'uan Miao language and customs.

On returning to Szechwan in 1932 as curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, I made a more determined effort to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. Yang Fêng Chang spent much time with me at Chengtu and after his tragic death, while hunting takin, I made three summer expeditions to the Ch'uan Miao region, and another in the spring of 1936 to Suifu when several Ch'uan Miao came out and assisted me in my study.

Since the summer of 1934 much help has been given me by Mr. Hsiung Ch'ao Sung 熊朝崇, a Ch'uan Miao who formerly lived in northern Yunnan but now lives at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 near Lo Piao. The fact that he has travelled over much of the Ch'uan Miao territory has made him a valuable assistant. The information received has been repeatedly checked, verified and often corrected through other Ch'uan Miao from Wang Wu Chai, Chou Chia Kou, Yung Ning 永寧 and from different parts of northern Yunnan.

The Ch'uan Miao generally say very little about their customs. They have informed me that in the past they have never told many of these things to anybody outside their own group but have made evasive and misinforming statements. To this day some ceremonies are performed behind closed doors, such as the worship of the door and the killing of the sow when worshiping the sky demon. The main ceremonies of commemoration are purposely confined to the Ch'uan Miao dialect so that nobody who is not a Miao can understand them. In the two ceremonies mentioned above, if one word of Chinese is spoken, the whole ceremony must be repeated. 609

I have made a sincere and earnest effort to understand the Ch'uan Miao people among whom I am considered a very good friend and by whom I have been given the complimentary name 123

[5 cont.]

181 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by
609 the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of
262 rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more
[243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice."
[482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat
264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are
262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

alternating with the girls, describes in verse, to the accompaniment of *Kènes*, their possessions, their accomplishments, or their virtues. Formal offers of marriage then follow, and according to eye-witnesses of the custom, the metrical form in no way inhibits the most banal cataloguing of articles to be included in the marriage contract.

We were still eating when the chief's messenger came back with the only dog on offer. It was a poor forlorn animal, suffering probably from some wasting disease, and an enormous price was demanded.

As there was no dog to be had from these intermediaries, there was nothing for it but to go to the source itself, even if it meant another stiff climb on foot. Instead of turning left, therefore, at the junction of the main road to Luang Prabang, we took the right-hand fork towards Xien Khouang, which, although it led us out of our way, went right through the heart of Meo country in Laos. Shortly after, we came up with a Meo family, who were struggling up a hill loaded down like beasts of burden with their possessions. The Meos threw down their bundles and looked us over with puzzled amusement. One of them, who wore pigtails to show that he was the head of the family, came over, cut the choice centre out of a sugar cane he was carrying and presented it to us, roaring with laughter. This was typical Meo conduct. The Meo is grateful to strangers for amusing him with their clownish faces and ridiculous clothes, and his first impulse is to look round for something to give them. Shouting with joy, the children leaped into the car and were cuffed out again by their father. The woman who, if a Thai or a Laotian, would have stood apart with downcast eyes, bent down to examine Dupont's sandals. She wore several pounds in weight of solid silver jewellery round her neck and had had her head recently shaved.

Meo finery at its best is the most extravagantly colourful in Indo-China. The women are stiff with embroidery and heavy silver necklaces and chains, and are half-extinguished by enormous turbans that look like Chinese lanterns. But this family was in its

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not L
at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. M
Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups 563
in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive 669
measures.

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the L
cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special M
administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal 563
autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite inter- 636
mediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the popu- 609
lations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial
antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintain-
ing a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and
devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms 178
which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In 563
the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes
of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their
customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last repre-
sentatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of com-
munication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese
family.

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 000
369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page
376 is blank. --Translator/

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts 273 [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he 147 immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 241 carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 361 live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 157 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later. 175 167 131 175 609 643

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow. 131

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing. 101

/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their 000

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[621 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Man race. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the seo phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
•609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

/191 cont./

787 If a Meau dreams that his house is on fire or that he is fleeing, it bodes ill fortune for the inhabitants of the house in which the sleeper is resting. It is likewise unfavorable to dream of tigers or an inundation. Misfortune is likewise imminent if in a dream a tree, a horse, or a cow falls.

If in a dream one sees people engaged in pounding rice, /192/ then all depends on the color of the rice. If it is white, it is regarded as a good omen, whereas black rice is regarded as a bad omen.

Special good luck is indicated by dreams in which one sees a hen with many chicks or people in new clothes, or shallow water, or if one dreams that a new year has begun.

787 Besides the attention given to the omens described and others, and to dreams and soothsaying, an oracle /Ordal, literally
851 "ordeal," but used here in the sense of "oracle"/ is also consulted among the Meau, as was described above in connection with the conjurations by the shaman in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community."
[123] It will be recalled that in every case my presence in the village, as that of an influential stranger, was regarded as a good omen, and, after the oracle had been consulted, I was asked to be the sponsor of the newborn little boy. At that time, the chicken oracle was used, whose procedure I have already described. If the skin on the head of one or both animals of the sacrificed pair of chickens had been black or spotted black, if the hyoid bones of one of the animals had not been parallel or if the chickens' toes had not run together toward the front, but instead had stood out sideways, especially the first or third toe, everybody would have been convinced that the ancestors would not be able to protect the child against the evil spirits that were present and that these would have to be exorcised before the child could be received into the family community. On the other hand, if two of the omens had been good and one bad, this would have been regarded as a warning sign, indicating that great caution was needed. In
[609] such case any stranger would have been denied entry into the
787 house of the newborn baby. Thus, as this witnessed example indicates, among the Meau there is a direct connection between

/230 cont./

364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

[264]

2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 205.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A
M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
M these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
147 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
482 porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for
[609] strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared them-
selves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the
women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms,
walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could
hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having
Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps
without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and
indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family.
They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao
were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would
complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usu-
ally ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization,"
the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization")
well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have
acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female
M sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
577 are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
[264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[832] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[521] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
[602] public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[562] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[609] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
[123] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant. Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires about the wife and children of the host. As has already been pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section, "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
[562] case the women before the men, since that is regarded as improper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
[832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man, if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it. This also applies to married women who therefore may pour brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

61

61 KIN GROUPS--general statements dealing with several specific types of kin groups. In every society, individuals maintain interpersonal relationships, characterized by particular kinship terms and culturally patterned behavior, with each type of relative recognized by the prevailing kinship system. In addition, an individual is normally affiliated with one or more kin groups, each consisting of some, but not all, of his relatives. By "descent" is meant a cultural rule defining the types of relatives with whom an individual is affiliated in a kin group. It need not, and commonly does not, imply that these relatives are more closely akin to him than are those who do not belong to the same group. The major types of kin groups are defined at the beginning of the appropriate categories below.

/32 cont'd/

539 auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung,
601 Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different. /

Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng; Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

602 With this kind of family register, although a family has increased and scattered to different places, the relationship of the family members is maintained without interruption. Consequently, those of the same surname related by blood are forever connected and the awareness of the kin group is very deeply rooted. There were a number of Miao who were able to tell us in great detail about the localities from which they had migrated and distant localities in which they still had many cousins living. The Miao headman, Mr. Wang Fu-shou of Pao-ch'a village in Ta-ch'i, frequently called me lao-tsung /"venerable kinsman"/. /The author, Wang Hsing-jui, has the same surname. / This was an expression of a feeling of kin group relationship. Since the kin group consciousness still exists, it is very natural that the feelings of the people of the same surname thus extend even to those not closely related.

[221] Since their livelihood is chiefly dependent upon farming on the
●61 mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[71] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

514 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

39: Bernatzik--43 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/30/

Chapter 5

Social Organization

a) Organization of the Family

A M 596 618 [611] Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, the family is organized strictly by father right. No esteem even similar to the consideration enjoyed by the parents is shown toward any other relative. In accordance with the organization by father right, descent is reckoned in the male line, and married women belong absolutely to the family of their husband, if he is already independent, or otherwise to the family of the father-in-law.

A M [614] M [775] The extent to which wives are absorbed in the new family group is shown by the fact that the married woman among the Meau not only loses every connection with the sib /Sippe/ from which she is descended, which is also the custom among the Akha, but also, after her death, her soul arises anew in the next child of her husband's family (cf. the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 596 618 [591] Adult unmarried sons always remain with their father; even married sons do not at first establish an independent family, but are regarded among the Meau as belonging, along with their wives and children, to the family of the father until they have completed their thirtieth year. Accordingly, they live in the patemal home up to this time, even though in a separate area, with their wives and children, and do not manage an independent household. Not until they have reached the aforementioned age do they have a right to build themselves a house and to establish an independent family.

M 593 618 /31/ According to Dhuraratsadorn (1), the Meau never

1. Page 167.

part from their sons, even if the latter are married. As my remarks show, this statement can be regarded as correct only

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but house- [423] hold chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also 582 with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big 177 dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 594 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 764 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a [517] betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [533] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would

39: Bernatzik--43 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

Chapter 5

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1. Page 167.

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AKha A04
Miao AE5

/35/

c) Family Units

A M 614 [764] Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha do the sibs /Sippen/ live locally separated or have their own totems. On the other hand, the Akha have their own burial places, but the Meau do not. Likewise among the two peoples there are no religious sib-celebrations or common insignia or individual sib-heads. The unit is not the sib, but the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/, which lives in one house and consists of the head of the family, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, among the Meau, the married sons up to the end of their thirtieth year and their families.

A M 596

The rights of the head of a large family are very extensive. All those living in the house, wives, children, and grandchildren, must obey him; he has unlimited authority, and he may punish, beat, or, among the Meau, in special cases even kill the members of the household under him. This is not the case among the Akha, among whom only twins are killed (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Birth"). Otherwise, however, the head of the large family, who is responsible for the well-being of all the others, irrevocably decides all the disputes within his household community.

In view of the proverbial compatibility of the members of a Meau family, the head of such a large family hardly ever has occasion actually to interfere, but on the other hand, he often does among the Akha. Among the Meau I repeatedly observed that the head did not make a decision without first consulting with the sons who lived under his roof. There was never a decision against the will of the subordinate concerned. The sons, too, however, avoided expressing their opinion until after they had conferred with the head of the large family. In such cases I was always given the answer: "This is not our business; we must first ask the father."

A M [769] [756] It is the duty of the head to officiate and offer the sacrifices in connection with the religious festivals of the large family, namely, the festivals for the dead or the veneration of the ancestors. If especially important affairs are involved, for instance, if measures have to be taken in connection with the

/35 cont./
A M 596 756 outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A M 571 114 ●614 Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organizations are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans. Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M 592 [736] Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves. In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and M [842] strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as M [737] possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

/77 cont./

M 595 596 with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a M 596 large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the M [614] [736] sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

A M 596 [858] The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A M [858] The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

/78 cont./

A a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy
M the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained
596 in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family
A Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along
M with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part
[595 in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights
608] with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into
the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must
defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On
A the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her
M marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation con-
[614] cerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization,"
the section on "Organization of the Family").

A Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general
M first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his
855 chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the chil-
596 dren. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is pri-
M marily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely
[595 help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of
the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the
A boys, that of the men (Ill. 63).[1] I also saw fathers, however, who
[603] spent hours with their two- and three-year old daughters, letting
them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one
case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head
of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child,
took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting,
which meant a separation of several days.

A The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and
M Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64).[2] There are only
868 a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as
forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the
making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of
opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes con-
nected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns --
which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require
precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from
the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good
nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils
their mistakes.

1 [see out 116, P469 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " P470 - "]

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [425] [758] [276] [185] [614] [736] The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M 185

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450- ANALYST]

/90 cont./

577 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on
836 the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs [143] rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with [614] their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their
833 bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives
513 do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/98 cont./

584 marriage /99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find [648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage 584 promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary 608 assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men 614 participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always 686 decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 184 584 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

/104/

114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
584

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other. [533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [736]

to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648

Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563

Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

M [114]

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/110 cont./

A 835 614 178 [574] of the family participate. For this gathering pigs are slaughtered, and rice and alcohol are served. Then the two eldest divide the younger members of the family into two groups, each of which is placed under one of the two heads. Then the two elders decide to form different families from then on. From this moment on the members of the two newly-formed groups may intermarry, no matter what their actual blood relationship may be. /111/

A 582 Otherwise the great importance attached to the obstacles to marriage may be seen from the social customs, which in part are observed in such a way that the young people cannot be tempted to violate the existing obstacles to marriage (see the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

A M 582 [614] [621] Theoretically local-exogamy does not prevail among either the Akha or the Meau. In the small Meau villages in northern Thailand, however, which are usually inhabited by only a single sib, it is observed in practice, since bearers of other family names are rarely found in one village. Except for the marriage restrictions described, however, there is a free choice of mates; among neither the Akha nor the Meau can an individual be forced to select his partner from a certain sib or a certain village. Savina (1) speaks in general of exogamy.

A M [114]

1. II, p. 284.

It seems to me, however, that he does not interpret the concept quite correctly, for from his description of the conditions it becomes unmistakably clear that true tribal endogamy is involved.

g) Dissolution of Marriage

M 587 Upon the death of one of the spouses, the surviving party may marry again among both the Meau and Akha.

A [587] If the wife dies, the husband as a rule simply takes a new wife as though he had never been married (see the section on

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/111 cont./

M 587 "Courtship and Betrothal" in this chapter); if the husband dies, however, among the Meau the oldest of the younger brothers of the deceased usually takes the widow or widows into his house as his wives. It is up to each individual, however, to choose whether or not he wants to take this course. Matters are usually arranged so that the widows who are old and have many children become the wives of the brother of the deceased; the young and pretty widows, however, who do not as yet have many children, marry an outsider. The brother does not have to pay a purchase price for the widows, but the outsider must pay approximately the sum paid for a girl, with the price adjusted according to the number of children and their youth; M [614] the fewer and the younger the children of the widow are, the higher the price, which is shared by the membersof the sib.

A 587 [292] /112/ Among the Akha the widow again goes to the dancing places with the young girls, after she has removed the veiling of the bamboo cover of her head adornment (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); and henceforth her behavior does not differ in any way from that of the girls. In general, however, it is about six to twelve months before she decides to enter another marriage, in which case she must leave her children with the family of the deceased. If she does not want to do this, she has no other course but to renounce any new marriage. As A [589] a consequence, Akha women who are somewhat older and are richer in children usually do not marry again, whereas young women with few or no children usually take the course of re-A M marriage. Among neither the Meau nor the Akha, however, do widows return to their original sib; if the widow was [614] pregnant at the time of the death of the husband, the post-[851] humous child belongs to the sib of the deceased, but later children belong to the new husband.

M 586 [769] Aside from the dissolution of marriage through the death of one of the spouses there is such through divorce. It is rare, however, because among the Meau it is regarded as unacceptable to the ancestors. Savina (1), too, writes that divorces are

1. II, p. 226.

/112 cont./

586 769 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 837 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has [558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the [684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children [851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon [614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no [578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such [595] sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 648 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and 587 know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among [583]

/116 cont./

764 spirits, a pig and a couple of chickens are slaughtered, and the
[775] soul is invited to feast on them. Then a great dance takes
[789] place."

The deathwatch is maintained by the parents, the surviving spouse, and the children. After a few hours, two or three of these closest relatives relieve one another. During the deathwatch relatives and condoling friends, whose numbers depend on the importance of the deceased, speak of the dead
[766] person and mourn his passing. If the deceased was a distinguished man, his body lies in state for two days; in the case of a humble man and women and children, only one day.

614 During the deathwatch the men of the sib prepare the
764 coffin for the deceased. For this purpose a tree trunk of a proper
[322] length for the deceased is hollowed out. No ceremonies and no special handling of the tools are connected with the carving of the coffin. They go about this work in the same way as they do when they make a pig trough. Then the corpse is put, on its back, into the coffin, and the latter is closed with two boards. Toward twelve o'clock the same men begin to dig a grave at a place in the jungle selected by them. Since there are no cemeteries, and no special burying grounds for the sib, the choice of the site is left to these men, who perform this work as a pious service and have no other function in con-
[767] nection with the burial. -- There are no professional grave-diggers.

764 The grave is always laid out in an east-west direction, and in stony or level ground it is dug out about one meter deep, otherwise another half a meter.

The burial takes place between about two and three
[614] o'clock. The closest male members of the sib who are able-bodied carry the coffin to the burial place, accompanied by all the sib members and guests. Here it is let down into the pit in such a way that the corpse lies horizontally in the grave, with the head toward the east and the feet toward the west. The Meau of today no longer know why this direction is observed; they are following a /117/ custom handed down from

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

1. Page 98.

most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 The Meau believe in an immortal soul, plĪ, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the M [753] [776] [761] [755] experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/159 cont./

774 775 614 sib comes into the world. It makes no difference whether the person to whom the soul belonged was good or evil in his previous lifetime.

In contrast to this, Lajonquière (1) reports: "Human be-

1. II, p. 313.

ings have three souls, 'pli,' which arise again after twelve months when they enter the body of a pregnant woman. The souls of evil men are reborn in a frail child which is doomed to a miserable life and speedy death. Those of young unmarried girls haunt the paternal home, as do the souls of small children, which are reborn in the same family. All these conceptions, which are generally vague and sometimes contradictory, appear to us more like fortuitously discovered stories than native doctrine." Although Abadie (2) has borrowed [114]

2. Page 169.

these statements, too, almost literally, they have not gained in probability, at least for the Thailand area. There is much more of an impression that both authors -- for whatever reasons -- did not probe deeply into the complex religious conceptions of the Meau. I was able to determine the following:

753 774 According to the view of the Meau, a person becomes sick when the soul does not return, but then, too, the soul leaves the body when a person becomes sick. One notices this by the fact that the person loses the zest for living and seems to be absent-minded. When a person dies, /160/ the soul is 775 always absent. It then returns to the dead body and takes up residence in it until it is buried. Then it leaves the dead body, but remains for three days in the vicinity of the grave. During this period it is given food which is placed on the grave by the survivors. Then it returns to the house and takes up permanent residence there until it is reborn. If the direct family dies out, the soul takes up residence in the house of the nearest blood relatives. When I asked what would happen if the

/161 cont./

775 [761] not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 787 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one. Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 775 776 825 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not feared either. There is one exception, however. During the three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected, so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 825 [648] Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the [763] [777] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

/162 cont./

M 774 825 Trees, rocks, and the like do not have a soul, but some animals do, such as some tigers, but also dogs, which will be discussed in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

M 775 614 The souls of the ancestors exert an influence upon the lives of their descendants. They protect them against evil spirits, help wherever they can, as in case of sicknesses, which are usually caused by evil spirits, and promote the growth of field products and the well-being of domestic animals. Their most important function, however, is their concern for the perpetuation of the sib. They do this by inducing the spirit which is next in the succession of deaths to let itself be reborn as a child. There is a striking contradiction in the fact that, on the one hand, the ancestors are regarded as helpful spirits, while, on the other hand, they are reborn. Under normal circumstances the members of a sib multiply, so that more children are born than individuals of the sib die. If the ancestors are reborn in the children, the lack of further ancestors would bring about a cessation of births, or some of the children born would have to come into the world without souls. Moreover, if all the ancestors were reborn as babies, no one would remain to carry out the important functions of ancestors. I explained my doubts to various informants. Each one answered without further deliberation that there were many more ancestors from former times than could ever be reborn, for in ancient times the Meau were much more numerous than they are today. I had no reply to this logic.

A 761 Like the Meau, the Akha regard sickness as a cause of death, but they also view old age and not least the effects of black magic as causes of death. The Akha, too, believe in a soul, ne, which likewise /163/ leaves the body during sleep in order to wander about. Therefore, dreams are the experiences of the soul, to which, consequently, special importance is attached. One therefore does not fail to visit the shaman to have the dream experience interpreted if such an occasion arises. In any case upon awakening one must see to it that the soul is

A 774 [828] [787] [756]

/179 cont./

756 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before
787 he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97).[1] [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for [614] cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the [465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,
755 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

1 [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567] In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[731] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
●614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

/259 cont./

166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. -- The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [492] [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624] The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
[361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Man race. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the sau phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock, which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[171] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor. 618

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔɜʌu Ma- and the guest-husbands are called ndᵊʌu la-. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb, 837

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials. 837 178

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along. 186 476

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

765 him to drink and make horns of rice biscuits which they put on his head. Then two girls herd six cows to the left and six to the right. Then the *liu shêng* is played, and while it is being played the twelve cows fight. Some of the cows as supposed to be killed. The people pretend to offer the cows that are killed to the ancestors and then to eat them. Those who do not die are left to do farm work and to get married. Four dressed as girls pretend to get married to four of the cows. After the marriage the four men play the *liu shêng* and dance, two women play flutes, one woman makes music on a tree leaf and one woman carries an imitation baby, pretending to suckle it and to bestow affection upon it. The women rub soot upon the faces of the men until their faces are black. Then those who are playing the *liu shêng* beat the child. About daybreak, the dummy child is beaten to pieces and the ceremony soon ends. The drum is sometimes carried to a cliff and rolled down the cliff or simply laid down on the side of the mountain after which the people disperse.

[618] It is noteworthy that all Ch'uan Miao who have the same name can participate in this ceremony, not merely those who are known to be related. It indicates that the clan idea still survives and that all having the same surname are regarded as relatives.

796 There is a special ceremony to make offerings to the souls of the domestic animals. It occurs on the third day of the third lunar month or on a cow day (a day controlled by the cow or the water-buffalo) during the first few days of the eleventh moon. It is generally performed on tops of hills or mountains or on mountain passes. A level place is always sought for the ceremony which is continued for from three to eight days.

The ceremony occurs once in three years. One family gives it and provides most of the food and wine although others assist. The purpose is to secure sons and daughters, to cause crops to prosper and to protect the domestic animals from wild beasts and from pestilences and to cause them to multiply.

A tree is cut off about as high as a man's head and the ceremonial drum is hung up on the stump. The tree is called in Chinese a *hua shu* 花樹 or a flower tree. Near the tree a bull is killed while the drum is being beaten and the *liu shêng* is being played and it is offered with wine to the animal spirits. Then several men playing the *liu shêng* and dancing parade three times to the left around the tree, then three times to the right. All this time the ceremonial drum is being beaten.

39: Bernatzik--43 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Chapter 5

Social Organization

a) Organization of the Family

A M 596 618 [611] Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, the family is organized strictly by father right. No esteem even similar to the consideration enjoyed by the parents is shown toward any other relative. In accordance with the organization by father right, descent is reckoned in the male line, and married women belong absolutely to the family of their husband, if he is already independent, or otherwise to the family of the father-in-law.

A M [614] M [775] The extent to which wives are absorbed in the new family group is shown by the fact that the married woman among the Meau not only loses every connection with the sib /Sippe/ from which she is descended, which is also the custom among the Akha, but also, after her death, her soul arises anew in the next child of her husband's family (cf. the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 596 618 [591] Adult unmarried sons always remain with their father; even married sons do not at first establish an independent family, but are regarded among the Meau as belonging, along with their wives and children, to the family of the father until they have completed their thirtieth year. Accordingly, they live in the paternal home up to this time, even though in a separate area, with their wives and children, and do not manage an independent household. Not until they have reached the aforementioned age do they have a right to build themselves a house and to establish an independent family.

M 593 618 /31/ According to Dhuraratsadorn (1), the Meau never

1. Page 167.

part from their sons, even if the latter are married. As my remarks show, this statement can be regarded as correct only

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M 593 618 if it is qualified. On the other hand, the observations of the author named (2) agree with my data concerning the position of

2. Page 169.

the woman: "The parents' authority over their sons ends only at death, over the daughters on the day of their marriage. Even if the married daughter were to commit a crime, it would not be permissible for the parents to punish her, nor would they be responsible for the deed of their daughter."

A 884 As among the Meau, the thirtieth year as the attainment of a man's majority also plays an important rôle among the [574] Akha. It is therefore celebrated. Rich people slaughter several [556] pigs on this occasion, and the guests, usually relatives and [782] friends, are also served rice and liquor; among poor people everything is done on a correspondingly smaller scale. No M [884] sacrifices, however, are offered in connection with the coming-of-age celebration.

A [589] Among the Akha the girls are regarded as being of age at the time of their marriage, and an unmarried girl is treated as a minor as long as she lives.

A 591 For the most part among the Akha, too, the married sons live in the house of their father for several years, although they are allowed to stay in a small sleeping house for the night (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Courtship and Betrothal"). Sometimes they may even build a house of their own immediately, but with the consent of the father. A [589] The unmarried sons remain in the paternal home until they [884] reach their majority, but there are also exceptions, for the father may permit an unmarried son to make himself independent even before he comes of age.

M 597 608 Aside from natural kinship, kinship through adoption or blood brotherhood is recognized among the Meau.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (楊 and 杨). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

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8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

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from T'ai. It then had a thin super-stratum of Pa people, With its Pa culture strongly influenced by Tibetan (Miao?) culture, imposed upon it. Thus, it is obviously at least controversial whether the Ch'u were of T'ai or of Miao stock. This problem would be easier to solve could we accept Lacouperie's adjective "Mon-Taic" for a common stock from which both Miao (mon) and T'ai derived. But, as Cochrane has pointed out,[54] considerable doubt is thrown on this theory by the fact that they originally used quite different sets of words in their language. Seidenfaden characterizes Lacouperie's "Mon-taic" theory "fantastic".[55]

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In the view of the present writer, the explanation of the contradictions and perplexities lies in the multi-ethnic structure of the Ch'u state. The Ch'u rulers may very well have been Sinicized "Man" of the Miao ethnic group, but their subjects most probably included both Miao and T'ai ethnic groups and undoubtedly Yao and other groups as well. The valley-dwelling, rice-cultivating T'ai probably formed the bulk of the population, and it is likely enough that a T'ai variety of speech was the most widely spoken tongue in the Ch'u domain. When we consider the examples of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties in China, we see an alien ethnic ruling group gradually adopting the language and culture of its predominant Chinese subjects. The same type of process may well have occurred with an alien Miao (Man) ruling stratum over a T'ai sub-stratum in which T'ai vocabulary either crept into the language of the ruling stratum or in which the Miao rulers adopted Sino-T'ai speech. This would explain why the few words that have come down from the Ch'u speech appear to be T'ai and why Erkes found evidences connecting the Ch'u speech with Miao speech. It seems to this writer to be a mistake to regard Ch'u as a single ethnic entity. Ch'u should be regarded as a political entity under Man (Miao) rulers who had become highly Sinicized by the last half of the Chou Dynasty.

Originally, the Ch'u derived from western Ssu-ch'uan. As the Ch'u tribe moved eastward, it assumed the leadership of the earlier Miao tribes that had preceded the Ch'u in the migration. Gathering strength, the kingdom incorporated many smaller non-Miao states and tribes, as described in the Ch'u genealogy. During the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, the Ch'u absorbed 49 states, large and small, including parts of Ho-nan, Shan-tung, An-hui, Hu-pei, Hu-nan, and Shen-hsi. Certainly, in language groups

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it included Han-Chinese, Southern Man, Eastern Yi, and the Wu and Yueh speaking peoples. Thus, although originally composed of Miao people, with its encompassment of this large segment of the Yang-tzu and adjacent drainages, the large variety of peoples became intermixed and fused to form a new group both in culture and in blood. The original Miao (as well as T'ai) element became lost in it.

On the other hand, the earlier Miao migrants south of the T'ung-t'ing region had long since consolidated their strength and resisted absorption by Ch'u. They were able to maintain their independence to the south of imperialist Ch'u. These Miao were the Wu Ling Man of the Five Streams region of northwestern Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou. They were powerful enough to give stiff combat to the Ch'u rulers. Thus, in the Records of the Southern Man of the Later Han History it is stated that: at the time of King Wu of Ch'u, the Man, together with the Lo-tzu (a small state centered at present Ich'eng District in Hupei) defeated the Ch'u army and killed its General Ch'ü Hsia. Ch'u, which had come to amalgamate so many cultural elements and which had become highly Sinicized, was unable to absorb this independent group of Miao that had migrated southward and was destined to preserve a Miao entity to modern times.[56]

While it is not to be doubted that the Ch'u drew many Han-Chinese into their court circles and official bureaucracy as their Sinicization progressed, it is not necessary to follow Hirth[1] in considering that the tribes peoples of Ch'u were ruled by an upper crust of Han-Chinese who became gradually "infected with barbarian qualities." This sort of a development is not impossible, of course, for it occurred in the case of the southern kingdom of Nan Yueh. But the preceding exposition of the Sinicization of the proud Miao rulers of Ch'u gives an equally convincing explanation of the "cultural problems encountered by the student of Chinese history a few centuries later in the shape of important changes that must have taken place in the popular views of the masses, in folklore, superstitions and art."[57] Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, no doubt was a Sinicized tribesman of Ch'u, probably of Miao or T'ai stock. His fondness for the mountain wilds of South China and the lonely communion with nature points to such an affinity. However, this writer certainly goes along with Hirth in quoting Chavannes that:

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Ts'in and Ch'u were not, in the proper sense of the word, to be comprised among the kingdoms of the middle [China Proper]. Their populations, though civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the time when Tsin and Ts'i fell victims to internal dissensions, Ts'in and Ch'u became the leading actors in that drama destined to end with the triumph of Ts'in and the establishment of the empire by Ts'in Shi-huang-ti in 221 B.C. We may thus say that the revolution which finally led to the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that this is the reason why Ssu-ma Kuang makes this year the starting point of his great history entitled: Tzi-chi-t'ung-kien.

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By the Ch'in and Han periods the Sinicized Ch'u inhabitants had joined the ranks of the Han-Chinese in exerting pressure against their former relatives, the Man or Miao peoples on their southern fringe as well as against other ethnic groups not conforming to Han culture. The Southern Man Records of the Later Han History says that when Tao Wang, King of Ch'u, appointed Wu Ch'i his prime minister, he sent him south to seize the Man-Yueh state and thereby added T'ung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu to his possessions. Moreover, when Chao Wang of the Ch'in invaded the Ch'u Kingdom, he garnered the Man-Yi tribal territories and first established Ch'ien-chung Department (with the seat of administration at the site of present-day Yuan-ling in Hu-nan). The Han Dynasty changed this to Wu Ling Department. Its territory included the Hu-nan prefectures of Ch'ang-te, Ch'en-chou, Yuan-chou, and Pao-ching, and the Kuei-chou prefectures of Ssu-chou, Shih-chien, T'ung-jen, Li-p'ing and Ssu-nan. Thus, by the Han period, the Wu Ling Man tribes were occupying not only the hilly region between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes, but also the eastern part of Kuei-chou.[58]

The Hua-yang Kuo-chih states that the Ch'ien-chung Man were the Wu-ch'i Man whose people were scattered over the region of the Wu Ch'i or Five Streams. These streams are the Ch'en, Yu, Wu, another Wu, and Yuan. Apparently the Miao who come into the historical picture of the two Han periods had migrated to Hu-pei and then Hu-nan, centering at Yuan-ling District. Following up the Yuan River southwestward they settled in the drain-

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131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

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Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

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Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

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61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the 121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured. [171] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 592] There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several [361 311] families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed, 622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

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423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased in the
675 second year of Hsüan-t'ung /1909/ from P'an Chao and Li Yüng-sheng, who hereby jointly sell the land to Lao Pan at the agreed price of 60 large silver dollars."

"Again: In the second year of the Republic /1913/, Chang Ming-yao has raised /the price?/ 12 dollars."

"Again: Chin chia-ch'ang has purchased the lands of Mt. Mao-jui. Chang Ming-yao sells the aforesaid land to Chin Chia-ch'ang. The agreed price is 200 large silver dollars. This certificate of purchase is signed and executed in the fourteenth year of the Republic /1925/. /40/ The undersigned Chang Ming-yao, Huang Hsing-li, Ch'en Ch'en-chou, and Li Hsi-ch'ing together with the Li people purchase Mt. Mao-jui which is to be transferred to Lao Teng and Lao Chin for cultivation. The agreed price is 350 silver dollars. Sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/."

"Mt. Nan-shih-lung has been purchased at the agreed price of 576 large silver dollars, on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of the Republic /1912/."

"The sellers of Mt. Nan-shih, Wang Kai-lung and Wang Kai-ch'un sell the said land to Teng Chia-ch'ang at the agreed price of 130 large silver dollars. Tenth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of the Republic /1929/."

421 The above are contracts for the purchase of mountains.
423 Since these mountains are based or purchased through funds
621 contributed by each family of the whole village, they are, of course, community property. Each family of the village has an equal right in the use of the land. In other words, people of the

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421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

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755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords. 361 [579]

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MIAO VILLAGE.

The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned. 361 621 622

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (揚 and 楊). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

[9a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

596 621 **Types of Family and Interrelationship.** With the exception of a Chnese family by the name of Liu in House 4 who said that they were the original inhibitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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might live in one house and a married son and his family remain with them, in addition to any younger brothers and sisters who were not yet married or who had not yet set up their own establishments. Other married sons and their families would be living in adjoining or separate houses. The widow in another house might be the wife of the father's brother. I could not work out this interrelationship completely while I was there, but give the following examples: In House 1 lived a grandmother with her married grandson and an unmarried one. In House 2 lived the widow of her son with her unmarried children. A nephew was with the aviation corps in Kunming and his wife and son lived in House 3. The men in Houses 10, 25, and 35 (brothers) were her nephews. The widowed sister-in-law of the man in House 12 lived in House 14. The man in House 17 was son of the old man

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 in House 16. The man in House 26 was son
of the man in House 27, as was also the man
621 in House 30. The younger man in House 28
was nephew of the man and wife in House 29.
With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House 34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife of the man in House 17.

596 If one considers them by households, they
592 included, first, one of the Chinese extended family type living in one connected group of buildings. This family consisted of a man of seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born. 796 571

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders. 571

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes. 596

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village 621 [563]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-tai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordinarily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

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276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to the village for the second period of residence, the first of February, 1942, I found that the old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

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661 This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

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[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did so. I have never found out what the truth of the matter was, but the Miao lost his case because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses had not told the truth at other points. 648 123 685

Another case was that of a Miao who had become so angry at his wife that he had her jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released so that her child need not be born in prison.[9] The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released. 661 684 [844]

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set. 686

These, of course, were only a few of the disputes which arose in the village or among the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate. 621 671

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the *hsien* city. Just inside the walls were a few tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well 592 265

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account! When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[621 361] The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

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A 835 614 178 [574] of the family participate. For this gathering pigs are slaughtered, and rice and alcohol are served. Then the two eldest divide the younger members of the family into two groups, each of which is placed under one of the two heads. Then the two elders decide to form different families from then on. From this moment on the members of the two newly-formed groups may intermarry, no matter what their actual blood relationship may be. /111/

A 582 Otherwise the great importance attached to the obstacles to marriage may be seen from the social customs, which in part are observed in such a way that the young people cannot be tempted to violate the existing obstacles to marriage (see the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

A M 582 [614] [621] Theoretically local exogamy does not prevail among either the Akha or the Meau. In the small Meau villages in northern Thailand, however, which are usually inhabited by only a single sib, it is observed in practice, since bearers of other family names are rarely found in one village. Except for the marriage restrictions described, however, there is a free choice of mates; among neither the Akha nor the Meau can an individual be forced to select his partner from a certain sib or a certain village. Savina (1) speaks in general of exogamy.

A M [14]

1. II, p. 284.

It seems to me, however, that he does not interpret the concept quite correctly, for from his description of the conditions it becomes unmistakably clear that true tribal endogamy is involved.

g) Dissolution of Marriage

M 587 Upon the death of one of the spouses, the surviving party may marry again among both the Meau and Akha.

A [587] If the wife dies, the husband as a rule simply takes a new wife as though he had never been married (see the section on

/139 cont./

A among both peoples good singers always find special approval
M among the girls. It should also be pointed out that /140/ a
533 pronounced love for one's native village runs through many of
832 the love songs, which would not be expected among either the
[621] Meau or Akha, since both, as seminomadic peoples, often
[186] change their habitation sites. One might assume, therefore, that no special attachment to their villages would develop, but since the opposite is the case, it seems to indicate that the nomadic inclination of these peoples is only a secondary development (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "Causes of the Migrations").

M The most impressive are the love songs of the Meau,
539 which sometimes betray a really lyrical feeling:
832 "I came to your village in order to love you, but you would not even speak to me; this has made my heart sick with pain."

"I am a strong young man. Oh, why will you not hold my hand?" (Here the singer complains that the girl came to the rendezvous, but now is unwilling to surrender.)

"I visited you in your house, but you did not love me, so I am leaving."

"Now I have come to you, and if you will only stroke my neck, I shall be happy for several years, even if you do not grant me anything else."

"Speak only two words, and I shall be happy for a long time" (the "two words" mean a confirmation of love in return).

"I came to your house; why did you not offer me a cold drink?" (Girls present a "cold drink," that is, water, to the
M friend toward whom they are favorably inclined. Liquor is
[273] regarded as a very obvious invitation.)

"I came to your house, in front of which there is a tree with three fruits. Eat only one fruit, the others are poisonous!" (The singer has heard that his sweetheart has two other friends and warns her.)

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166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can [492] carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

/265 cont./

621 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one
596 large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

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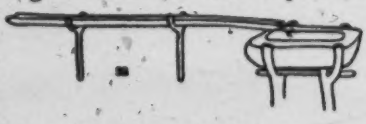

Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.
[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of
621 the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice
[343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per-
[551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize
[343] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the
[551] house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/265 cont./

592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years a[illegible] one after another, [731] [164] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled to relatives in Nam Fa.

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
[164] laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[732] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 369]

113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622 Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[171] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/34 cont'd/

622 whether there was also a property qualification. It is a fact, however, that the present chia-ch'ang, successors of the former shan-chia, all appear to be better off than the ordinary Miao people. Shan-chia is the keeper of knowledge for the Miao people. In his home he keeps the almanac, the Confucian classics, and other kinds of books. The public affairs of the village are under his direction and are all decided upon by him.

[527 787] According to an old Miao custom, on the eve of the New Year, the entire population of the village usually gathered in the shan-chia's home to present him with jars of wines and to offer congratulations. They sang and asked the shan-chia about things of the coming year. From his experience and greater learning, the shan-chia would answer them one by one. The song that they sang was called "The Old Villager," the words of which are as follows:

539 Creating the heaven, creating the earth—Emperor P'an has done;
He made the rites followed by later men.
In accord with the rites, dinner is served for two;
A bare table would trouble the venerable official.
The first cup, we offer to him to drink,
After the second and third cups, the sands turn to gold.*
Thousands of cups are for all the stars to drink,
So that the venerable tree /unc[illegible] sitting at the table may not be bored!
The golden/?/* cup is now respectfully put on the table,
Like a moon among the stars in the sky.
As two rows of stars now line the hall,
Also hope that the sun, standing above all the rest, will protect them.
In P'eng-cheng hall, all the stars are now sitting,
Without rest, without settling down, they await the difficulties of the coming spring.
Virtue spreads out to all the stars,
May the country be prosperous and the people be secure for ever!

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr. /

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[72] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/36 cont'd/

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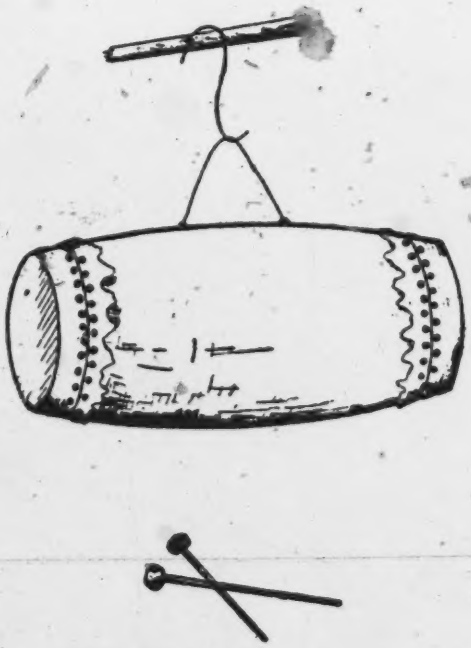

This is the large drum being preserved in the home of the chia-ch'ang. The drum is made of deer skin and each drum has two drum sticks.

/37 cont'd/

427 amount. If the property is rented, the duration as well as the rate of rent /38/ is fixed. It is to be paid either in one payment or by yearly instalment. After the contract has expired, they are either to move away or to renew the contract, which is determined by mutual agreement. If the property is purchased, the price is usually 423 greater than if it were rented. After the contract is signed, the rights of the mountain are transferred to the Miao purchaser, who may make use of it as he will. The original seller no longer has any rights whatever. The reason why some people among the Miao are able to remain for relatively longer periods in one locality is that they have acquired the ownership of the mountains they live on. [675] Whether the mountain is rented or purchased, a contract is signed by both parties. The name of the mountain, the price or rent, and the duration if it is rented, are clearly stated. There are many mountains which have been purchased with joint funds of the villagers, [622] but on the contract only the name of the shan-chia or chia-ch'ang is written, because he is the representative of the whole village during the negotiations and the contract is also kept by him. In the home of a Miao chia-ch'ang, we saw many different contracts of this kind. Some of them are translated as follows:

675 "We, the signers of the contract for Ya-nan Mountain, T'ung
539 Li, Lao Ta-k'ai, Shih Chün and Ying Kuo-ying-chi, having ex-
423 amined the vegetation and marked the soil, hereby agree that the price of the mountain shall be 66 dollars. The expenses of tao-ping /the commission?/ shall be 350 cash and a peck of rice from each family. The mountain products, ching-pi, shan-ma, deer horn, bear gall, red and white rattan, are all the property of the owners of the mountain; they shall not be stolen or sold. The Miao will be allowed to cut wood on this mountain for the next 25 years. This contract shall not be revoked on any pretext. Since oral agreement is subject to dispute, this written contract has been drawn as evidence.

Witnessed by Ch'iu K'ai-i

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 651 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. 584 Betrothals are either made through the decision of the parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many tragedies of lovers have resulted therefrom. 583 Betrothal presents consist of [431] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 583 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in-591 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal pres-608 ents are given by the bride's family.

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-t described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/132 cont'd/
622 217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we 122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

2: Ling & Ruey

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Chart of the position of Table showing the military organization of the Hsien

p. 161	p. 163
p. 162	p. 164

/77 cont./

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miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [77] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

/105 cont./

C 175 631 563 M * 175 631 * 648 ● 622 C [669] After the voluntary change from the native headmen in the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the Miao and bring them under the administration of government officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions. As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances, so that the unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's

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6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

/106 cont./

C were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military
175 authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only
631 village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since
563 Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there
M were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment
*175 caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao
631 who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock
*648 feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be
[622] selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at
C each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-
[703] pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal
[701] /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-
[203] general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and
to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities.
When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official
despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers
to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them
C some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official
[357] business require servants, they may also recruit them from the
Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales.
C It would appear that the 100-families village chief was
175 originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men
631 were unimportant and their powers limited, so that the Miao
563 did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding
M such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues,
*175 whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally
631 be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility.
*648 During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who ac-
622 companied the army and won peacock feather awards are
numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent
and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and accord-
ing to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing
aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one
or two men to be native second captains, under whom there
should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

/106 cont./

the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-general and governor and military officials should examine the merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommendations memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been abolished, official communications should be despatched according to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on official business need servants, then order the said Miao to serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials, although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,

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C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 425 C M [701] C [651] the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

C 651 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 ●622

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

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2:Ling & Ruey--156 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

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Thus a Miao official was a military official having concurrent judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commissioning of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troups /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.
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●622 (2) The Organization of Miao Officials
701 With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung
M /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96
[162] villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-
M tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty
[162] officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle,
[162] left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

/108 cont./

c shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei
175 were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising
631 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei,
563 two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in
701 charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men
M and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-
*175 tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18
631 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women.
*648 The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two
622 pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages,
701 consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The
162 above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and
25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130
villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. More-
over, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various
families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih,
Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 446 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

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C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 ● 622 701 162

three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

/110 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers. (2)

M *175 631 *648 622 701 [162]

2. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

C 631 563 701 [669] Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien-Lung reign period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were

M 701 631 *648 622 charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders. For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[text continues on p165]

2:Ling & Ruey--161 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14
CM 631 .622 P01

The following table shows the results of our investigations: /111/

Hsien	Ying	Name of Native Head	Guard Station
Feng-huang	Upper Middle Ying	Lung Fu-shou	Mao-tu-t'ang
	Lower Middle Ying	Wu Tsung-ch'ing	Hsin-tung-p'ing
	Upper Left Ying	Wu Fang-ming	Pao-mu-ying
	Lower Left Ying	Wu Hsiu-ch'ing	San-kung-ch'iao
	Right Ying	Lung En-te	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Right Ying	Lung Feng-wu	Lung-chüeh-tung
	Right Ying	Wu Shao-hai	Chuang-chi-chai
	Lower Right Ying	Lung Tsung-chieh	Ta-t'ien
	Upper Front Ying	Shih Chao-pin	Hsin-chai
	Middle Front Ying	Wu Ch'ing-te	T'ien-p'ing
	Lower Front Ying	Wu Cheng-ying	Ku-sang-ying
Total		11	
Kan-ch'eng	Middle Ying	Wu Chia-chu	San-ch'a-p'ing
	Left Ying	Yang Sheng-pao	Ch'ü-chia-chai
	Right Ying	Shih Yung-chi	Hsi-ch'üeh-chai
	Front Ying	Yang Tsai-chen	Meng /?/ Ch'e
Total		4	

/Upper left quarter/

Central China AF14

/111 cont./

CM 631 ●622 701

/Lower left quarter/

Ku-chang	Lung-pi-tsui Ying /Dragon Snout Ying/	Lung Ch'ing-nung	Nung-pi-tsui
Total		1	
Pao-ching	Fourth Ch'ü	Wu Chung-ch'ing	Pe-ho-t'ien
	Sixth Ch'ü	Hung Yung-liang	Hu-lu-chai
	Seventh Ch'ü	Shih Ch'ing-sung	Pi-tzu-chai
	Eighth Ch'ü	Liang Kuang-yung	Shui-t'ien
Total		4	
/112/ Yung-sui	Upper Fifth Li	Lung Sheng-hsin	Tung-k'a-chai
	Lower Fifth Li	Shih Wei-hsin	Ch'ien-ch'ang-chai
	Upper Sixth Li	Shih Ming-yüan	Pan-li-chai
	Lower Sixth Li	Shih Tsung-huang	Chia-ming-chai
	Upper Seventh Li	Lung Ch'ang-yao	Chien-yen-chai
	Lower Seventh Li	Wu Ting-k'uei	La-wu-chai
	Upper Eighth Li	Wu Ch'eng-chang	Ta-pai-wu
	Lower Eighth Li	Lung Kuo-han	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Ninth Li	Ma Ch'ang-shun	Pai-ta-k'ou
	Lower Ninth Li	Shih Tuan-ch'u	Wei-ch'eng-chai
	Upper Tenth Li	Shih Chin-yüan	Pai-pu-mei
	Lower Tenth	Wang Kuo-ch'ang	Pai-liao-chai
Total		12	
Grand Total		32	

Central China AF14

/112 cont./

Number of Petty Officers and Soldiers					Total Numbers		
Ch'en-tsung	Pa-tsung	Wai-wei	Fighting Soldiers	Guard Soldiers	Petty Officers	Soldiers	Total Ying Complement
2	4	8	30	150	14	180	194
2	3	9	30	140	14	170	184
2	4	6	30	190	12	220	232
1	3	8	80	200	12	280	292
2	5	9	55	152	16	207	223
2	2	6	54	114	10	168	178
2	4	6	43	136	12	179	191
1	2	4	58	91	7	149	156
2	5	10	17	182	17	199	216
1	3	5	2	65	9	67	76
3	5	9	1	180	17	181	198
20	40	80	400	1,600	140	2,000	2,140
2	2	6	48	157	10	205	215
2	7	10	40	191	19	231	250
2	4	3	40	154	9	194	203
		6	32	138	6	170	176
6	13	25	160	640	44	800	844

/Upper right quarter/

/112 cont./

Central China AF 14

CM 631 622 701

/Lower right quarter/

2	4	12		100	18	100	118
2	4	12		100	18	100	118
1	1	2	8	42	4	50	54
3	5	9	19	61	17	80	97
3	4	15	21	79	22	100	122
2	2	5	12	58	9	70	79
9	12	31	60	240	52	300	352
1	3	3	14	81	7	95	102
1	3	6	14	81	9	95	104
3	4	9	28	162	16	190	206
2	7	9	54	121	18	175	193
3	4	8	56	168	15	224	239
3	6	12	66	176	21	242	263
1		4	9	68	5	77	82
2	4	7	38	91	13	129	142
3	8	12	36	142	23	178	201
3	6	14	30	142	23	172	195
3	8	21	17	139	32	156	188
3	5	10	18	49	18	67	85
28	57	115	380	1,420	200	1,800	2,000
65	126	263	1,000	4,000	454	5,000	5,454

/112 cont./

C 631 563 701 M 631 622 *648 701 [177] The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

/113/

CHAPTER SEVEN

C 175 563 669 M *175 *648 C [712]

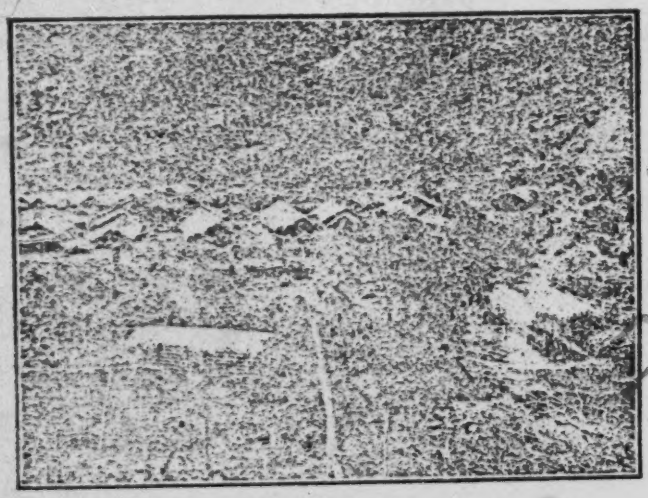
T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords.



MIAO VILLAGE.

The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned.

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been winned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
622 gent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

174 where we find them now. Tongking, which the Ya-ch'io Miao pronounce as the Chinese do *Tung-chin*, may be one of the old capitals of China called "The Eastern Metropolis."[1]

622 Till recent times the Miao, while actually subject to China, were ruled by their own hereditary chiefs. This system is now passing away, if it has not already ceased to exist. We have heard of Miao chiefs still exercising hereditary authority at the present time, but we have not met them or been, so far as we know, in their districts. The men now responsible for their districts and fellow-tribesmen to the Imperial magistrates are appointed by those magistrates. These men are called *Tuan* or headmen, just as the same sort of men are called by the same name among the Chinese. These are something like Justices of the Peace in England, having authority in their own jurisdiction to settle minor disputes, while all serious cases are tried by the Chinese magistrate. These headmen are also responsible for the collection of the land tax. Among the Miao they are generally very ignorant men, not able to read and write. Thus it appears that the

[1] Peking = Northern Capital. Nanking = Southern Capital. Tungking = Eastern Capital. Compare the Japanese Tokio (Tungking) = Eastern Capital.

7:, Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Miao are ruled much in the same way as the 622
Chinese who live in villages and hamlets.

The Miao are, we have many reasons to 691
think, more litigious than the Chinese, constantly going "to have the law" on some one, or some one going "to have the law" on them. In many cases the affair is brought before the local headman, but on these occasions it is difficult to satisfy both parties, and the loser is almost certain to carry the case before the district magistrate. It is amazing to note how much of their time and money these people spend in legal proceedings, and very often fail to get justice after all. But it is a point of honour with them, and they think it due to themselves and their reputations to fight a case to the bitter end.

This love of litigation is encouraged by 691
the secretaries and underlings in the various 661
Yamen, who depend for their living principally on the law cases, civil and criminal, brought before the magistrate. If there were no litigation these men would starve. Thus cases that have been settled, and possibly justly settled, by the headman, can always be reopened before the district magistrate, and cases settled by one magistrate can be retried by his successor. This is not from any love of justice, but for the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors

837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

/41 cont./

634 About twenty villages were under the jurisdiction of each great chief. He himself was elected for life by the plenary assembly of all the arms-bearing men of those villages over [666] which he was to rule. All the men over 16-17 years of age had the right to vote; women were excluded from voting.

It was left to each village to decide which great chief it wished to be under. If, therefore, after the death of a great chief who had ruled over twenty villages, twelve villages voted for one great chief and the remaining eight villages for another, two great chiefs were elected, and each one ruled over those villages that had elected him. As a consequence, after the death of each great chief the administrative unit changed, though this did not necessarily bring about a reduction in the size of the administrative units in the course of time, for every village wanted to be under the most powerful neighboring great chief.

634 687 There was an exception to the lifetime tenure of the great chief in case he was guilty of grave negligence. The village chiefs then convoked a new plenary assembly, which elected a new great chief. In any event, the election of the great chief took place in the largest village of the administrative district of the deceased or deposed great chief.

634 ●622 681 The great chief had to appoint the village chiefs. Moreover, he was the judge in all important affairs. If he meted out fines, the money involved was distributed according to the following system: the first part was distributed in equal shares to the arms-bearing men within his district. The second part was double the amount of the first and was distributed in equal shares to the village chiefs. The third part, three times the 634 amount of the first part, went to the great chief and constituted [681] an important source of income for him. He derived additional [651] income from the tax which had to be paid once a year and amounted to four piasters (equivalent to about one mark) per person and one piaster for each rice field. The great chief could use the money as he saw fit.

/42/

634 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had
701 at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from earning their livelihood.

622 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the
634 village chiefs (šǎu pā) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the
[692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to
[687] the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor
[692] matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great
[651] chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village
[701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal;
624 the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all
634 conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the
634 aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the
681 fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

623 The popular assembly has special importance among the
634 Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/107 cont./

M 593 123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

M [622] [627] With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M 593 595 [177] [606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has

M [606] built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

A 595 [606] [422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/239/

Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
[634] Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
[622] herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
[596] family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
[184] since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /242/
426 In case of malicious nonpayment, which in practice al-
[622] most never occurs, the creditor turns to the village chief, who
[686] will make use of his powers. If even his efforts are unsuccessful, the creditor has the right to kill the debtor.

Limitation of debts is unknown, but repayment in installments is customary. If a Meau debtor lives in a village other
M than the one where the creditor lives or moves to a different
426 village, a sort of promissory note is made out. It consists of a
675 piece of wood into which a notch is cut for the value of each
[211] ten pieces of silver. Thereupon the stick is split lengthwise in such a way that the halved notches remain on each of the sides of the stick. The creditor keeps one half of the stick; the debtor
M takes the other half with him. This practical custom seems to
[184] be very widespread among the Meau and not limited to Thailand. In any case Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in similar fashion on the

1. Page 172.

Meau in Tonkin.

If a creditor wants repayment from the debtor, he need not seek him out himself, but can ask someone else to demand the amount for him. He then gives the half of the stick to the messenger as identification. Upon presentation, the debtor is obliged to pay the messenger, identified by the half of the stick, the amount shown on the stick, beginning at the date agreed upon, provided that this half agrees with the one that remained with the debtor. On the other hand, if only partial payment is made, the old debt-stick is destroyed and a new one prepared showing the residual amount, and this is handled in the same way as the first. The messenger is then given a half of the stick to take back.

A The situation regarding property among the Akha differs
423 considerably from that among the Meau. Uncultivated land belongs to no one; it is considered as unrestricted, as are hunting and fishing. Accordingly, the land may be taken into possession
A by any tribesman without further inquiry by merely beginning to
[596] clear and cultivate it. It is left entirely up to him to choose the
[614] land and the extent of the land. Since, however, land is usually

/243 cont./

A 426 [614] Limitation of debts is as unknown to the Akha as it is to the Meau. The Akha, too, are familiar with repaying a loan in installments, as well as with interest charges. Among the Akha, however, interest is collected from sib members as well as from /244/ outsiders. The interest rate is not fixed once and for all, but in each case is left to a voluntary arrangement by the partners.

A [768] [567] [858] After the death of a debtor, the heirs are responsible for debts which he was unable to settle before his demise. In contrast to the situation among the Meau, the creditor has no right with respect to tardy debtors to make slaves or debt prisoners of their children in lieu of payment. Also, there is no such absolute A [686] power over the debtor himself or the other members of his family. The killing of a debtor is out of the question.

[675] [211] Among the Akha I did not find the making of a debt-stick or any custom similar to it.

b) Right of Succession

M 596 428 When the head of a large /extended/ family dies among the Meau, his estate is not divided up for the time being. The members of the large family remain together as before, and the oldest married son still living in the house of the deceased, in other words, a man not yet thirty years old, is the chief heir and assumes the privileges of the deceased. He cannot refuse the obligation and office which fall to him. If he nevertheless M [622] shuns them, the village chief has him summoned and reminds him of his duty.

If this son should be incapable of providing for the family of the deceased because of sickness or as a result of his physical or mental make-up, he is replaced by the second oldest son still living in the paternal home, provided that he has the necessary qualifications. In short, the place of the deceased head is taken by that son remaining in the house who has the required physical M [622] [692] qualifications and is next in age. In case of conflict, it is the business of the village chief to make the decision.

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

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1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband
[597] live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the
[589] widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

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M /247 cont./
428 case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry
[589] again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin
[596] takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief
[605] takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the
[622] house owners of his village.
[764] Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations, the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A 428 Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over
[596] only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female mem-
A bers of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are
[562] widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are
[422] among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A /248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits every-
[595] thing, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or
[756] shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions
[622] are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir
A and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however,
[572] bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother
[608] outside the family.

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

The most common punishment is whipping, which the
681 village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection
[622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad-
[683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made
[689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver,
685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100
693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright
567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

/250 cont./

683 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is prac-
754 ticed among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Out-
lawing is likewise unknown.

692 Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief
622 or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the
634 Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village
[689] elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.
674 Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and
114

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them,
[454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only
[634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same
439 punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

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/252 cont./

A M 648 692 In general, however, this gives a rather theoretical picture of legal conditions. Only in very serious cases, and even then only as an exception, are legal cases brought to the law courts of the colonial powers by the mountain people. This usually happens only if a member of a mountain tribe has been in the service of members of other tribes for a long time or lives in a settlement of another tribe, which is rare. In such isolated instances, however, it may happen that such a tribesman will appear as defendant or plaintiff before the court of the colonial administration concerned.

The Akha in Kengtung as well as the Meau in Tonkin who are to a large extent controlled by the government of the colonial powers, settle almost all their cases in their own domain and in accordance with their customary law, so that not more than one per cent of their cases come before the official jurisdiction.

A 628 648 692 [631] /253/ It is different among the Akha when there are disputes to be settled between their various villages. Since the Akha today have no political organization beyond the village unit, they frequently turn to the chief of the nearest valley tribe and ask him to decide the issue (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The latter, usually a Schan /Shan/ or Lao, then acts as a sort of arbitrator.

e) Legal Procedure in Characteristic Cases

M 692 In accordance with the very precisely organized political structure, the individual Meau is obliged to observe the established legal procedure in all cases. Self-help is therefore forbidden. Accordingly, blood vengeance is unknown, as are secret courts.

M 692 622 [685] [693] Among the Meau, thefts, insofar as trifles are involved, are at first simply put up with; in repeated cases, however, one turns to the village chief, who acts as judge in petty cases. He is the court of the first instance in all lawsuits. If the village is so large, however, that the village chief is too greatly occupied with other matters, then an older man of the village takes over

/253 cont./

692 the office of judge for him. In such cases, if an appeal is made [622] against his decision, the village chief is then the next higher [596] court. In disputes within a large family, the head of the family [693] officiates. For serious decisions, assemblies under the chairmanship of the village chief or the great chief are convened, as I have reported in the chapter, "Political Organization."

695 The judge, with the help of witnesses, tries to determine the facts of the case. Special importance is attached to the testimony of the witnesses, and can be, according to my experience, because among the Meau the witnesses always tell the truth, at least subjectively. Dhuraratsadorn (1) seems to have

1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in [681] favor of the accused. If it later turns out that he falsely denied [626] his guilt, he is expelled from the community and must leave the village, for otherwise he would be killed."

In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to [577] tell the truth, regardless of whether or not it is damaging to the witness or whether there are ties of kinship with the parties or [687] witnesses. A refusal to give testimony is not permitted; false statements are punished severely.

/254 cont./

692 Capital crimes, as well as civil cases in which the defeated
695 has lodged an appeal, are decided incontestably by the great chief.
[634] The appeals are therefore as follows: an appeal against the
[622] verdict of the village elder goes to the village chief and one against the latter goes to the great chief. In special cases the verdict of the great chief can be appealed to the popular assembly, as has already been set forth in the chapter on "Political Organization," the section, "The Popular Assembly."

695 There is no appeal against the verdict of the popular
756 assembly. In ambiguous cases the judge turns to the shaman
[634] and instructs him to arrange for ordeals /Ordale/. Such ordeals take place before the popular assembly; they also play a role in criminal law. For example, the following ordeal is customary for the conviction of a criminal. The shaman makes a large carrying basket of split bamboo, which he covers with the clothing of a man. Next he looks among the girls of the village for two virgins, and, to make certain that all necessary conditions for the aims of the ordeal are actually fulfilled, he prefers to select two girls who are still immature and who must hold the basket on two sides. Then /255/ the accused burns several pieces of spirit-money and begs the high Father-Mother spirit to appear and make known the truth. As soon as the basket begins to sway, it is assumed that the high spirit has arrived. With a loud voice the accused now asks whether the high spirit has arrived, and it is assumed that the spirit is in the basket and is influencing the actions of the girls as soon as the covered basket again begins to sway. Next the shaman calls the names of all the suspects, one after the other. If the basket sways when one of the names is mentioned, the question is repeated two more times. If the basket is seen to move again, the culprit is regarded as convicted. If he nevertheless continues to deny his guilt, the shaman asks the girls to point out the culprit. If they now tap him on the shoulder, his guilt is regarded as proved.

/256 cont./

M 693 634 Besides the direct costs of the lawsuit, which at the least consist of the costs for food for all the persons involved in the case, there are for minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol, and for major cases one or more pigs, which must be added for the great chief and the elders. Moreover, as soon as M 681 [634] the person is convicted or proved guilty, he has to pay the established fine, which is apportioned in accordance with a definite code, as soon as the decision is given by the great chief. Two-twelfths go to the arms-bearing men of the territory under the M [622] great chief; four-twelfths are distributed among the village chiefs of this territory, who use it chiefly to cover the expenses connected with their activities. They also use for this the smaller amounts which they impose independently in petty cases. M [634] The remaining six-twelfths, that is, half of the entire sum which the culprit has to pay, goes to the great chief alone and represents an important part of his income (see also the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship").

M 695 The verdict is given in accordance with definite judicial principles with which all the older men among the Meau are familiar, since this is a matter of customary law handed down for centuries.

M 673 When the verdict is given, a fundamental distinction is made between premeditation and negligence. Hence a deed is punished only if it was intentionally committed. Even for M [682] the negligent killing of a person, among the Meau the culprit is merely required to sacrifice a head of cattle for the soul of the dead.

A 692 622 693 /257/ As in almost all matters, the judicial procedure of the Akha also is considerably simpler and more primitive than that of the Meau. As has already been pointed out, the power of the village chief among the Akha is slight and cannot by any means be compared to that among the Meau. This is also apparent in the judicial procedure. Despite the fact that the Akha have no higher court, say, one comparable A [623] to the great chief of the Meau, beyond the office of the village chief, the village chief is not the supreme and therefore

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

A M [241] [262]

A M [648]

M 166 361 The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

[731] [756] [623] [622]

/265 cont./

592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

39: Bernatzik--371 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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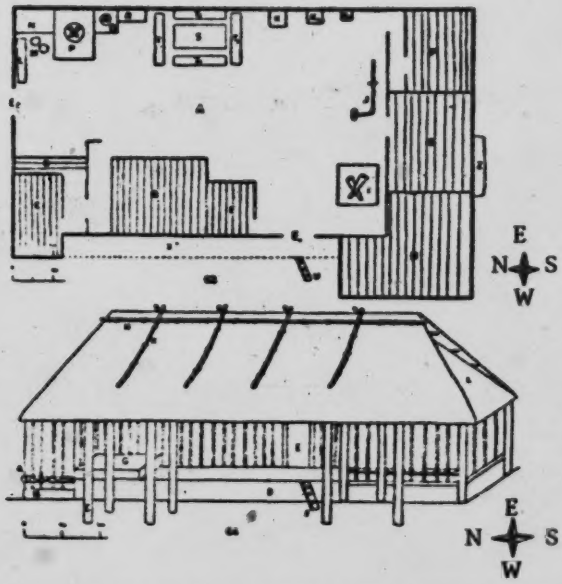

Fig. 63 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

= heavy board walls

= light board walls

..... = ground elevated about 50 centimeters

A = cooking and living room

B = bedroom of the chief and his two wives

C = bedroom of the eldest son and his wife

D = bedroom of the half-grown daughter, who sleeps alone on account of a skin disease

E = bedroom of the unmarried son

F = bedroom of the younger son and his wife

G = common bedroom for all the other children

H = sleeping and resting place for guests and strangers

I = large fireplace

J = built-in large rice-mortar for foot operation

K = altar for the house spirit

K 1 = altar for the wise, soothsaying spirit

K2 = altar for the protective spirit of the smiths

L = trough for collecting food remains for the pigs

(cont.)

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342 Caption for Fig. 63 cont.

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[231]

M = heavy clay pots with cooked pig-fodder, which is scooped out for use

N = hanging shelf for kitchen utensils

P = larger hearth for cooking

Q = smaller hearth for cooking

R = parking bench

S = family dining table

T 1 to T 4 = sitting benches

U = stairs, tree trunk with notches

X = raised entrance foundation

Z = built-on dye-trough

E 1 = main entrance door

E 2 = secondary entrance door.

Fig. 64 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, sketch.

Key to symbols:

A = board wall

B = board fastened in front of the wall

C = supporting posts which support the projecting roof

D = elevated forepart

E = main entrance

F = tree trunk with notches as stairs to the entrance E

G = chicken coop

H = longitudinal bamboo poles tied to the roof truss, which hold down the leaf covering on the ridge

K = roof riders of wood rest on the leaf covering and are fastened to the roof truss

L = hip roof on both sides of the house.

39: Bernatzik--373 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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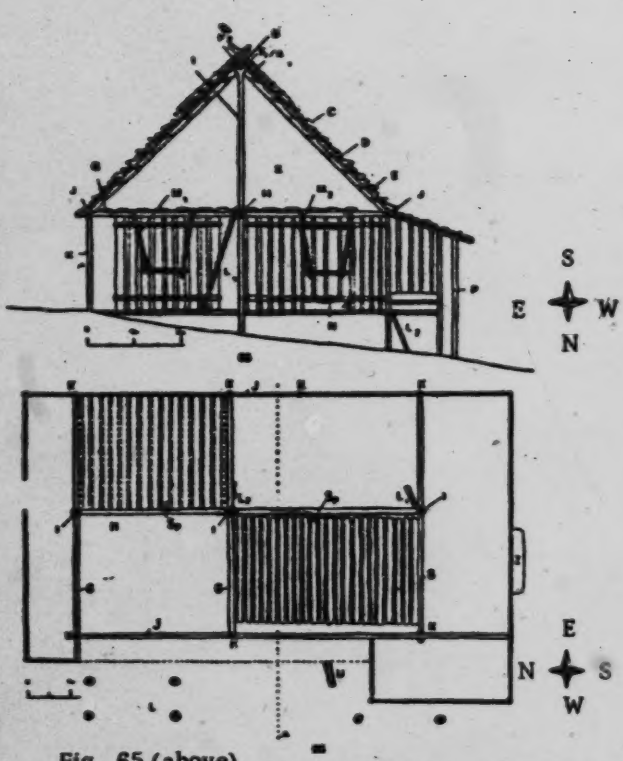

Fig. 65 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, cross-section.

Key to symbols:

A = roof rider
B = ridge stringer
C = rafter
D = laths
E = roof covering of palm leaves
F 1 and F 2 = poles which are tied on both sides of the ridge for fastening the palm leaves on the roof truss. The roof riders lie on these poles.
G = crossbeam of roof
H = roof beam
I = ridge posts
J = longitudinal roof beam
K = supporting post
L 1 = ladder to the storage loft
L 2 = ladder to the main entrance
M 1 and M 2 = hanging shelves
N = open fireplace
P = supporting posts of the projecting roof.

(cont.)

39: Bernatzik--374 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Fig. 66 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa. framework.

Key to symbols:

G = crossbeam of roof
H = roof beam
I = ridge posts
J = longitudinal roof beam
K = roof supports of the projecting roof
L = supporting posts of the projecting roof
L 1 and L 2 = ladder to the storage loft
Sp. = storage lofts
U = stairs, tree trunk with notches
Z = dye trough.

/467 cont./

426 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in
576 collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 As "please," the Meau use the word tǎu or tǎu mǎn yē,
576 which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tǒ tsē, but one usually says tǒ tsē hǒ lǒ, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kǔ tsǐ ǒā. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lǎu ǐ yǔn; veneration = lǎu ǐ lǔ lē; contempt = hǔ yǔ; fear, horror = hǔí; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ǒǔ.

156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the
115 Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some
156 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is
● 622 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced
123 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

Miao AE5

/468 cont./

115 156 622 123

"Chief Tsin Tsai is a wonderful fellow. When he sits cross-legged on the ground, his long back hair knotted, the long tobacco pipe in his hand, his high forehead furrowed in thought, tensing the muscles of his lean jaws, /469/ stroking his sparse beard which hangs down from his strongly projecting zygomatic arches, he is so remarkably the typical representative of his industrious people, and yet he towers above their average. Not for a moment is he idle or unoccupied. Now he plaits a basket; scarcely finished, he cuts up a piece of game and distributes the meat, and now he sharpens his knife on a stone and goes into the bush for a few minutes. There he digs up some edible roots and brings them to us as a welcome supplement to our monotonous diet in the camp and visits my husband at his work in order to propose a hunting trip together. As soon as my husband has consented, he goes into his house to lay out a stick oracle and ask the spirits in which direction he must turn in order to have success, what kind of booty he can expect, and more of the same. During this time his people have come back from the fields. They quietly wait for the oracle and then turn to the chief with a series of questions. Quietly and decisively the latter now gives his orders and then is off on the hunt."

[224] [787]

A few pages further in her journal my wife returns to the chief: "It is a pleasure to watch Tsin Tsai at work. He is friendly and helpful, offers us every service, carries the hand luggage, and regards no work as 'beneath his dignity.' Moreover, he is clever, circumspect, and prudent; he sizes up the situation immediately and is able to differentiate between the essential and the nonessential. He answers questions with brief, logical, and sensible replies. If one asks him for advice, he always supplements his information with detailed reasoning. To be sure, in matters dealing with hunting, he always judges for us on the basis of his own experiences, so that sometimes differences result. He maintains, for instance, that, after a shot, tigers come along to search for wounded game, whereas our experience was that they immediately disappeared, never to be seen again. Moreover, wild animals were generally much more timid than he expected, probably because there were more of us than he was accustomed to.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

39: Bernatzik--706 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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Ill. 106. Flashlight photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau.

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Ill. 107. Meau chief and family at a meal in his dwelling.

/IX cont./

231 776 789 [775] Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 789 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 782 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 243 482 /X/ Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.

342 [415] Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.

353 [264] [354] Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 [264] [352] Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/42/

634 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had
701 at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from earning their livelihood.

622 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the
634 village chiefs (šǎu pǎ) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the
[692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to
[687] the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor
[692] matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great
[651] chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village
[701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal;
624 the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all
634 conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the
634 aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the
681 fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

●623 The popular assembly has special importance among the
634 Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

/42 cont./

623 The assembly of all the arms-bearing men of a village /43/ is usually convoked by the village chief in all cases pertaining to the welfare of the village. Such cases are: the laying out of rice fields, the selection of a settlement site in the relocation of villages, communal hunts, and the like. The [666] majority vote decides the issue. The popular assembly, how- [634] ever, may be convoked even against the will of the village chief if the villagers want to file a complaint against their village chief with the great chief. In this case the assembly convenes upon the initiative of the village elders.

634 The popular assembly of all arms-bearing men within the administrative district of a great chief had far greater power. It met only when needed; its decisions had to be unamimous. It was convoked by the great chief in order to pass resolutions about important matters. Such important [721] matters were decisions about war and peace and measures to [796] be taken to celebrate the festival of the New Year or the harvest festival. The resolutions passed by the popular assembly of the great chief were of an advisory nature, for the great chief was under no obligation to comply with them. Actually, of course, he avoided acting against the voice of his people. In one case, however, the great chief was absolutely bound to accept the decision of the popular assembly: when the latter [692] had decided on his removal. The great popular assembly was, at the same time, a court of appeal for verdicts of the great chief, and its decisions were regarded as irrevocable.

634 693 The expenses of a popular assembly had to be paid by the person who summoned it, hence either by the great chief himself or the party who had moved that it be convened. Among the expenses there were the provisions for all the assembly-participants at the place of the meeting, but no compensation was given for the journey to and fro. Moreover, in connection with minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol were collected for the great chief and the elders; in connection with major affairs, one or more pigs.

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is A M the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the [241] soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in [262] northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal A insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that M are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural [648] Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

M 166 361 The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing [731] arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, [756] "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, [623] as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish [622] of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of large numbers of the people. They can usually afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers, the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government, and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour- [624]
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task. The women have very much more work to do than men. They weave the clothes, carry the water, collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress. A man wears sandals, which he himself has made, short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a loose-fitting upper garment which is between a jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth. The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and, scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

/42/

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C /106 cont./
175 the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of
631 villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the
563 governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the
M control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies
* 175 and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked
631 to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-
* 648 general and governor and military officials should examine the
[622] merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them
[625] accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommenda-
C tions memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the
[203] t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been abolished, official communications should be despatched according to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on
C official business need servants, then order the said Miao to
[357] serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

M According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials,
[622] although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un
M Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were
[425] pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

M 832 883 123

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
[626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's
[684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going, "as my informants said. On the other hand, if the seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter
[851] is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

/166 cont./

776 825 [372] [626] [171] The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 [844] I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

[778] [756] The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." [177] [829] In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pę̆ dǒ. Savina (1) [114 775]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals [931] [825] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high [224] Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[773] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception [626] as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

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/169 cont: /

M 776 spirits and regard lightning as the avenging power, so to speak, with which these spirits punish rebellious mortals.

821 [626] The Meau do not know how an eclipse of the sun or the moon is produced. As soon as such natural events occur, one must shut himself up at home and may not in any case look at the stars because the latter are being eaten by evil spirits. If one should look nevertheless, the spirits concerned would likewise eat him in an instant. How it happens that the "devoured" stars appear again cannot be explained, nor is it attempted.

M 177 821 [776] The Meau also do not associate the aforementioned natural phenomena with the supreme "Father-Mother" spirit. How little the religious views of the peoples with whom the Meau come in contact have been adopted is shown by the fact that they pay no attention to comets, whose appearance is of great significance for their Laotian and Chinese neighbors. This is all the more striking since among the Chinese the appearance of a comet signifies the outbreak of a war or revolution, among the Lao the death of a person of royal blood, both being conceptions which, in view of the history and mentality of the Meau, could certainly psychologically /170/ make an impression on them. As has been said, however, although the Meau know the deities of the neighboring peoples, they are little influenced by their views.

A 776 Among the Akha, too, I discovered the conception of a supreme being, which is found in such a marked fashion in the religion of the Meau, and, to be sure, among the Akha it is the god of heaven, ăddŏdŭchŏ. He likewise resides in and above the clouds, and all the other spirits are subject to him. Accordingly, A [782] he automatically partakes of all the sacrifices offered by the human beings to the other spirits, and therefore special offerings to him are regarded as unnecessary. Telford's (1) opinion that

1. Page 98.

such a conception is only "vague" among the Akha contrasts with A [773] these findings. Perhaps, however, Telford's words refer to the spirit "yăbĭdĕlăhăt," who created the universe. In any case,

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
[776] this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raire any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
128 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their chil-
dren, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[846] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[164] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
[621] punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

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123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.
[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

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Miao AE5

/214 cont./

M 784 [756] [626] [821] corresponding period has elapsed. Otherwise, however, not even the shaman has the power nowadays to lift or to modify a taboo. The people are convinced that non-observance, which would bring the punishment called for in connection with the particular prohibition, would be generally punished by the spirits and ancestors so that lightning would strike the malefactor and kill him.

A 776 782 [171] The cultic practices of the Akha are generally similar to those of the Meau, but quite different in particulars. The Akha devote a regular cult to all the spirits and ancestors, with the exception of the god of heaven, "ɤdŏdŭchŏ," and the spirit of the world. The god of heaven, it will be recalled, remains excluded from the regular cult, because in the view of the Akha he dwells above and below the clouds, all the other spirits are his subjects, and therefore he, of course, partakes of all the sacrifices offered to them. As has also been stated, the creator of the world, "yɤbĭdĕlăhăt," about whom I could learn only vague ideas, is likewise offered no sacrifices, but I was unable to obtain more detailed information on this.

A 782 The Akha, too, view the sacrifice as a means of making the spirits and ancestors favorably disposed toward them and likewise use invocations to establish contact with the spirit concerned or the ancestors during the sacrifice. In contrast to the A [516] Meau, however, the Akha do not assume a definite position while uttering their prayers. /215/ Some may be seen bending one A [788] knee, others squat, and still others stand. Set prayer formulas, here again in parallel with the Meau, are also unknown among the Akha. One turns to the spirit with ordinary words and explains the matter to him in detail. Such prayers or invocations are always associated with the offering of sacrifices, which, however, in comparison with the Meau, are relatively rare. /Fig. 56 appears here./

A 782 778 [241] The sacrifices are usually offered at the presumable abode of the spirit concerned, if special sacrificial places or little temples have not been erected for this by the Akha (Fig. 56). For example, before clearing is begun, a small temple abode is erected for the field spirit, yɤmyăts̄ɤ, and sacrifices are made

/248 cont./

c) Criminal Law

673 Regarded as crimes among the Meau are: theft, robbery, manslaughter, lying, bodily injury, and offense by assault, whereas verbal offenses are not ordinarily punished. Furthermore, kidnapping, especially of children, is regarded as a crime. In former times, treason was added to the list of possible crimes which were punished.

684 Incest, on the other hand, is punished exclusively by the [769] ancestors; the people do not interfere. If it becomes known, [622] however, it is regarded as the utmost disgrace.

At first it seems surprising that rape generally remains unpunished. Since, however, in the life of the Meau a girl can hardly be taken unawares without some co-operation on her part -- there are always female companions or family members nearby when a girl leaves a village -- it is assumed that a girl who goes off alone with a boy is prepared for every eventuality. If a case of rape should occur, however, the girl's father demands two or three pieces of silver from the culprit, who will pay without opposition. The case is different if the girl becomes pregnant. Then no distinction is made between rape and voluntary surrender. Even then, however, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," no pressure is exerted for marriage. /Ills. 46-51 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /249/ although the girl's parents in particular will make every attempt to bring about the marriage.

[848] If a girl who is pregnant as a consequence of the wrong done to her should give birth to a stillborn child, the culprit must pay the same price for the stillborn child as is charged for children who must be turned over to a creditor in lieu of payment, namely, 70 pieces of silver for a boy, and 50 pieces for a girl.

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Miao AE5

M 687 /250 cont./

In former times treason may also have been punished by death, but none of my informants could remember a case.

M 696 /251/ Capital punishment is executed in three ways. Beating the criminal to death is regarded as the mildest form, and decapitation is regarded as more severe punishment. As the most severe form, the condemned person is first shot and then beheaded. Capital punishment is not only meted out to men, M [562] but also to women.

Dhuraratsadorn (1), as he writes, could not learn anything

1. Page 170.

about capital punishment. It was only reported to him that condemned persons "quietly disappeared." The author continues: M [626] "Nobody wants to have anything to do with the family of the executed person, and even children refuse to play with his children, because the Meau believe that they are persons of a bad breed."

A 673 Among the Akha, too, there are fixed punishments for various offenses. Theft, robbery, arson, bodily injury, and [681] adultery, as well as the violation of the incest prohibitions and false testimony by a witness, are regarded as crimes.

In contrast to the Meau, the Akha make no distinction M [673] between a deed that was premeditated and one caused by negligence. Even the latter is punished as though it had been done intentionally. Like the procedure among the Meau, the A 692 sentence is made in accordance with established customary law with which the older men are thoroughly familiar through experience. The verdict itself is decided by a majority vote of the assembly of house-owners and the decision is regarded as incontestable; it is announced by the village chief.

A 674 In the villages visited by me, I was told that murder and homicide, as well as kidnapping, had not occurred within human memory; I could therefore not ascertain the penalties for these crimes. It was always said that such serious crimes do not occur among the Akha.

/253 cont./

692 the office of judge for him. In such cases, if an appeal is made
[622] against his decision, the village chief is then the next higher
[596] court. In disputes within a large family, the head of the family
[693] officiates. For serious decisions, assemblies under the chairmanship of the village chief or the great chief are convened, as I have reported in the chapter, "Political Organization."

695 The judge, with the help of witnesses, tries to determine the facts of the case. Special importance is attached to the testimony of the witnesses, and can be, according to my experience, because among the Meau the witnesses always tell the truth, at least subjectively. Dhuraratsadorn (1) seems to have

1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in
[681] favor of the accused. If it later turns out that he falsely denied
[626] his guilt, he is expelled from the community and must leave the village, for otherwise he would be killed."

In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to
[577] tell the truth, regardless of whether or not it is damaging to the witness or whether there are ties of kinship with the parties or
[687] witnesses. A refusal to give testimony is not permitted; false statements are punished severely.

/152 cont./

*782 783 825 [776] [t[illegible] [illegible]-mang]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kuei mang jeng tiang] and [kuei mang jeng piang]. The time is in broad daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 627 [578] When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]]. [778] For minor matters it is done at the village shrine for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is [776] necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1) to drink blood.

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

/152 cont./

*782 •627 [825] to drink blood. They may be treated separately as follows:

A. Drinking at the shrine of the local divinity of the soil.

Drinking blood at the local shrine is also called "drinking chicken blood." During the day or at night they prepare a cock and some paper money. First they kill the cock, and its blood is allowed to drip into wine. This is then carried to the local shrine and offered to the kuei. The names of the kuei are [nang nɛ ʑiɤ bu] and [nang mɔ ʑi teŋ]. A Miao sorcerer is asked to utter an incantation to the following effect:

[776]

> "This sorcerer-priest has arrived at a forked road and cannot think how to decide. Formerly, without any business I dared not recklessly mention the local kuei's names, but today these two parties are involved in a dispute over land boundaries, each insisting on his version of the case, and not able to reach a settlement. Therefore, we have made /153/ this bowl of chicken blood, and the two sides have come before the kuei to drink blood and take a vow. After the drinking, then a settlement will result."

[825]

At this point the parties of the dispute each has a swallow of blood. The sorcer-priest burns paper and continues the incantation:

> "The wrong party after drinking this blood will then die, dying nine times and becoming nine times extinct."

After the incantation, they disperse. The cock is taken by the sorcerer-priest, to whom each side also has to give one or two, three or four, strings of cash. There being no set number.

B. Drinking blood in the T'ien Wang Temple.

[825] Drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple is also called "drinking cat's blood," because it is necessary to stab a cat, and its blood is dripped into wine to drink to make a vow. When drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, one must have a witness, who is called the "blood supervisor." There are many designations for blood drinking, and there are three kinds, drinking one tube of blood, two tubes of blood, and three tubes of blood. Because there are many cases, the number of occasions for drinking blood also are numerous. There is also substitute blood drinking, when the witness or a relative of one of the parties may be allowed

*782 /153 cont./
627 by the other party to drink blood in place of the principal in order to settle a dispute. There is also all-round blood drinking in which the witness and the disputing parties all drink blood. This generally occurs when the two parties mutually avail themselves of pretexts, and there is no alternative but for the two parties and the witness all to drink blood. Moreover, there are times when the whole family drinks blood. The whole family, father, mother, wife, and children, male and female, big and small, altogether enter the temple to drink blood. In drinking blood, this is the most important. After drinking blood each must take an oath, saying: "If you wrongly accuse me, I shall become very prosperous; if I wrongly accuse you, then I shall nine times die and nine times be cut off." After the blood drinking, there can be no regrets, regardless of whether the issue is important or trivial.

On drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, it is necessary to write out the oath /to be burned?/. A blood list is also burned. The blood supervisor is compensated with a sum of 880 cash or at most 8,800 cash, which is called "money for binding words." Three days after the blood drinking one has to kill an animal to make good the vow, which is called "repenting."

[691] [695] The Miao are addicted to kuei and to litigation. Sometimes litigation may last a year, and the court, unable to decide the case, may ask both parties to eat blood. This serves as a deterrent. Yen Ju-yü in his Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "Those who enter the temple to drink blood move on their knees and bellies, not daring to look up; those who are in the wrong dare not drink it, but repent and yield." In the course of our investigations in the Miao frontier area, the private secretary of the hsien government at Feng-huang, Mr. Wang Yüeh-yen told us: "The T'ien Wang temple is the Supreme Court of the Miao area. [695] When a Miao is not satisfied with the decision of the hsien government, then he is ordered to go to the T'ien Wang temple to drink blood. Whatever the litigation, big or small, it receives immediate settlement." It can be seen that the Miao's awe of [692] kuei is greater than their awe of the law.

/160 cont./

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[784] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[776] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[627] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao
area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69),
[778] which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village
without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
[627] Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be
asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the
T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go
to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints, secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned. The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled, but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

2: Ling & Ruey--242 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Illus. 70. T'ien Wang going out on a tour.

782*
627

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

586 and the little food she got, she is willing to return, but her husband has never come to his home to fetch her. Note, it is the custom for a husband to make a present to his wife's father on such an occasion.

Many angry words are spoken by the three parties concerned, and after everybody has added his or her word to the discussion, the case may be ended by the elders suggesting that the lover should repay the husband the cost of his wife and marry her himself, and that the husband should take the money and go elsewhere for a wife. If, however, the lover's influence is strong, the elders may decide that the girl go back to her husband, knowing that she will do nothing of the sort, or will not stay with him if she does go back. The case is thus only postponed for another time. We have assisted at some of the discussions of these matrimonial cases and know how hard they [691] are to settle. These daughter-in-law cases are not often brought before the Chinese magistrate, except when they have led to fighting, and, as sometimes happens, to serious wounds and homicide.

627 In the west and north-west of the province, when the Miao are the tenants of the I-chia landholders, all disputes about the land are

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

settled by the landlord, and their matrimonial 627
disputes are settled among themselves, so there is very little litigation among them in the Chinese courts.

To help the reader to understand the con- 579
ditions under which the people of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, live outside the cities and towns, it should be mentioned that in most parts of the province there are local bands of robbers, dacoits they would be called in Burma, who prey upon travellers and upon the people who live in little villages and hamlets. As the population varies all over the province, some of these bands are composed of Chinese, some of Miao, and some of Chinese and Miao.

Two or three years ago when we were at 579
Panghai, two days south-west of Chenyüan, 628
the Panghai robbers, while prowling not far from Pingtsai, fifteen miles lower down the river, kidnapped a Miao girl who was sister, or something else, to one of the Pingtsai band of robbers. The Pingtsai robbers resented this and threatened to come to Panghai and attack the Panghai band. Thereupon there was a great sharpening of swords and spears in Panghai market-place and much tall talk. The Pingtsai men, however, did not come, and we never heard how the affair was settled. Both

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

NT P6. 29

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
● 627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

8) To protect children. Many families whose children
756 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their
751

[134 cont.]

773 the Miao, and this mythology is therefore the oldest and the most important.

As far as the present writer is aware, the ancestral myths of the different Miao tribes vary slightly, but that of the Sheng Miao is especially interesting. Disregarding the irrationality of these strange events, we have to recognize the fact that with the simple, ignorant people mythology is their living history. This kind of myth came from an unknown period in ancient times, that is, the mythical period. If we ask the Sheng Miao about their myth, they would say that they "do not understand" or that "it was handed down from generation to generation by their ancestors since the remotest times." They have long since forgotten [135] its origin. Some of the Sheng Miao are specially 773 entrusted with the duty of preserving and passing on such tales, 888 and they are generally well-known leaders or aged people with good memories. Young men and women know a little about these stories, but cannot tell them entirely. These mythical tales are not told for recreation, as ordinary stories and as a rule they are not commonly heard. We know that with the primitive people experience is very important. The young people usually listen to the words and warnings of the aged, who become automatically their guardians and leaders. With the Sheng Miao it is the same. The old people are the custodians of all their knowledge and wisdom. The fact that they can recount their ancestral myths entitles them to special respect. The telling of myths is a special occasion, from which outsiders are not often excluded. If we compel them to tell the stories, they would find excuses or else would not do a thorough job for fear that they may be ridiculed.

In every Sheng Miao village there is a set of rules and 627 regulations which are voluntarily observed. In case of violation 773 the offense is quickly adjudged by the public and an elder is invited to execute the punishment. Before it is carried out, however, he would tell the accused in a solemn manner the myths of their ancestors. Also in the case of a serious dispute the elder would summon both parties together, and first tell them the story of their ancestors before settling the dispute.

[135 cont.]

627 After a decision is rendered in this fashion both parties would
773 show compliance and would not carry the case to the law courts. Although the mythology handed down from mouth to mouth does not have religious contents, it becomes a kind of prophecy to those people who hold everything pertaining to their ancestors in the highest respect. It is entirely due to this inherent respect for their ancestors that the ancestral myth is recounted before carrying out the punishment or at the time of settling a dispute. The idea is to employ the will of the ancestors to restrain the actions of their descendants. It is interesting to note that the mythology of the Sheng Miao, meant originally to inform posterity of the stories of their ancestors' life, has also assumed the corrective and preventive functions of law.

773 [136] The ancestral myth recorded by this writer consists
538 of three versions, which are scattered over every corner of the Sheng Miao area. Although these versions show some variance, they have the same origin. The original mythology of all ethnic groups is told in verses or songs so that they can be remembered easily by posterity. The first two versions of the ancestral myth are told by the Sheng Miao as prose stories due to the disappearance of the poetical versions in the course of time. The third version is a song sung by the Sheng Miao, and few indeed are those elders in the whole area who can sing the song in its entirety. It therefore still retains all its simple primitive character. The whole song has 488 lines and represents the pure myth of the Sheng Miao regarding the origin of man. The three versions are given as follows.

The First Version

539 There was an old woman who descended from heaven to the earth with a melon seed. She planted this seed on the top of a mountain range. After three days the seed sprouted and the vine extended to more than two feet. After seven days the melon plant covered the whole mountain, yielding many large melons. Among the melons there was the melon king so large that it could accommodate several dozen persons inside. It

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a fam-
769 ily tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
[626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's
[684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter
[851] is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/107 cont./

M had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days
593 to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go
123 again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled
M in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman re-
[622] turned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help
[627] her parents with the work as often as they wished.

The position of young Meau wives has been strongly in-
M fluenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very
593 enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all
595 to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly
[177] to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married sev-
[606] eral wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has
M built his own house, the position of the young wife improves,
[606] for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

A Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play
595 such an important role in the life of the young woman, the
[606] first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the
[422] more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [431 276] neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[628] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

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M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

settled by the landlord, and their matrimonial 627
disputes are settled among themselves, so there is very little litigation among them in the Chinese courts.

To help the reader to understand the con- 579
ditions under which the people of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, live outside the cities and towns, it should be mentioned that in most parts of the province there are local bands of robbers, dacoits they would be called in Burma, who prey upon travellers and upon the people who live in little villages and hamlets. As the population varies all over the province, some of these bands are composed of Chinese, some of Miao, and some of Chinese and Miao.

Two or three years ago when we were at 579
Panghai, two days south-west of Chenyüan, 628
the Panghai robbers, while prowling not far from Pingtsai, fifteen miles lower down the river, kidnapped a Miao girl who was sister, or something else, to one of the Pingtsai band of robbers. The Pingtsai robbers resented this and threatened to come to Panghai and attack the Panghai band. Thereupon there was a great sharpening of swords and spears in Panghai market-place and much tall talk. The Pingtsai men, however, did not come, and we never heard how the affair was settled. Both

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

579 these bands were made up of Chinese and Miao.
• 628 Not infrequently Yamen runners and soldiers are connected with these bands and go out with them on their marauding expeditions. Some of the local gentry and Justices of the Peace, too, are often in league with them and share the plunder.

579 As far as we are able to judge, the Miao are
651 not difficult to govern. They are not turbulent people, and if let alone or justly treated would never cause any trouble. But they do assert themselves sometimes even now, when the extortion of Yamen tax-gatherers drives them to desperation. Four years ago when Mr. and Mrs. B. Curtis Waters were travelling from Tushan to Kweiyang, they put up at an inn in the prefectural city of Tuyün. Suddenly about two thousand Heh Miao marched into the city armed with swords, spears, and guns. They called out to the shopkeepers and people in the street not to be afraid, they would not rob or injure them, all they wanted was the Prefect, and him they were going to kill. They rushed into the Prefect's Yamen, and wounded one of the secretaries whom they mistook for the Prefect, and the Prefect had time to escape. That revolt was provoked by the Yamen tax-collectors, who, under the pretext of founding

/61 cont./

A M 857 532 In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67).[1] I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

A M 526 [533] There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

M 526 628 584 the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such , I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [See cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

/62 cont./

M 526 628 584 with the New Year's Festival (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"). The young people, however, find this all the more reason to train diligently throughout the year.

M 526 584 The special popularity of the ball game is connected with the fact that it affords an opportunity for sexual approach in accordance with the rules of the game as set up by the adults. The young men form a line opposite the girls, and each fellow plays with the girl opposite him. A cloth ball about the size of a fist (Fig. 1) is thrown by a player to his female partner, and she has to catch it and throw it back (Ill. 69, 70).[4] If one does not /63/ succeed in catching the ball, a piece of clothing that is being worn must be given to the thrower. One can imagine that under these circumstances certain amusing complications are unavoidable if the game continues for some time. /Figs. 1-5 appear here./ One can often see a player fleeing almost naked into a house amidst the laughter of the spectators and then, clothed anew, continue the game.

M 526 ndi is the name for the Meau game with the shuttlecock, an original form of tennis (Ill. 72).[2] The ball (Fig. 2) consists of a small bamboo body (A) with feathers (B) fastened to it. The paddles are carved out of wood and are similar to our table-tennis paddles (Fig. 3 to Fig. 5). As in tennis, two or four players face each other; the two sides take their positions in the same way and try to bat the ball over a line drawn on the ground, which replaces the tennis net, to the opposing player. The following game also belongs to this group of games. The children toss pieces of wood into the air. As the pieces fall, they are immediately batted up into the air again with bats. The one who most frequently makes a success hit is the winner.

M 524 A [524] Among the Meau tǒlǔ is the name of the game with the wooden top (Fig. 6), which the Akha call tsǎ. The top /Fig. 6 appears here/ is no different from the one used by our European children (Ill. 19[3] and Fig. 6). Unlike the shuttlecock

[4] [See cat 116, p 512 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 514 - "]
[3] [" " " p 109 - "]

Miao AE5

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Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
[634] Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
[622] herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
[596] family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
[184] since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa [103] (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore rep- [574] resents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and [351] vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 We did not come across any fortified villages among the 712 Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

[1] [see cat 116, p707- ANALYST]

/12 cont'd/
161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)
[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [43] 276 neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[28] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

2: Ling & Ruey

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Chart of the position of Table showing the military organization of the Hsien

p. 161	p. 163
p. 162	p. 164

2:Ling & Ruey--148 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China
AF14

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CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION — MIAO OFFICIALS

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(1) The Establishment of Miao Official Posts

The development of the Miao area began during the time of the juncture of the Yuan dynasty and the Ming. The geographical section of the Ming Shih /History of the Ming Dynasty/ states: "A ch'ang kuan szu /a native leader set up by the Chinese government to head the district/ was established at Wu-chai during the Yuan dynasty, and in the sixth month of the seventh year of Hung Wu /1374, during the first reign period of the Ming dynasty/ the office was continued. A ch'ang kuan szu was set up at Kan-tzu-p'ing in the sixth month of the year chia ch'en of the first Ming emperor /1359/, at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief at Kan-tzu-p'ing. Later it was abolished. In the seventh month of the third year of the Yung Lo /1405/, it was reestablished." Furthermore, the entry for Headman Hu Kuang in the "T'u szu Lieh Chuan" /Biographies of Headmen/ states: "In the third year of Yung Lo, Kung Neng and others at the Ch'en-chou military station summoned Liao Piao and others of the uncivilized Miao /i.e. those not under Chinese control/ from 35 villages of Kan-tzu-p'ing to send sons to pay tribute, and for this reason a ch'ang kuan szu was set up for Kan-tzu-p'ing, with Piao to be the official, under the jurisdiction of Pao-ching." The city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Wu-chai was the present chief city of Feng-huang hsien, but that of Kan-tzu-p'ing was also within Feng-huang, situated 70 li northeast of the chief town of the hsien. In Vol. 3 of the revised edition of Feng-huang T'ing Chih, published in the fourth year of Tao Kuang /1824/, it says: "The old city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Kan-tzu-p'ing was situated 70 li northeast of the T'ing. In the first year of the first Ming emperor /1368/, a yüan-shuai-fu /commander-in-chief's post/ was set up. In the third year of Yung Lo /i.e.

/104 cont./

c 1405/ it was changed to ch'ang kuan szu, with two city seats,
175 one on the mountain top and another at the foot of the moun-
631 tain. Today they have been abolished. The old city of the
563 Wu-chai ch'ang kuan szu is the present seat of the T'ing /i.e.
M Feng-huang sub-prefecture/ administration, but it has been
*175 greatly expanded. During the Ming period all was under the
●631 jurisdiction of the Pacification Commissioner at Pao-ching."
*648 Kan Ch'eng was opened somewhat later, when at the end
c of the Hung Wu reign period /1368-98/ a ch'ien hu suo /a
[701] ch'ien hu was an official at a military station, in charge of
1,000 soldiers; suo - office or bureau/ was established. The
"Shu Wang P'ien" /historical section/ of the Miao Fang Pei
Lan states: "In the second month of the thirtieth year of
Hung Wu /1397/ there was set up at Chen-ch'i a military and
civilian ch'ien hu bureau. Sun Ying-lung, who was then
keeper of the records at Lu-ch'i, proclaimed that the tribal
people of the upper five tu /hsien subdivisions/ should be
divided into ten li /neighborhoods/, to be under the jurisdiction
of Ch'en-chou. Ying-lung was promoted by imperial mandate
to be in charge of the pacification. He selected the head
ch'ien hu in charge of the ch'ien hu bureau at Chien-ch'ang,
Kiangsi, to go to the capital to be given a bronze seal and
given the hereditary office of ch'ien hu of Chen-ch'i. When
the emperor went to the pavilion to send him on his way, he
proclaimed: 'I have a single pellet of Miao territory, and I
ask you to go ahead to open up headquarters for bringing the
barbarians under our administration. Do what is good for them,
and your descendants will enjoy the use /of the office/ without
limit.' Moreover, he ordered the Board of War to select Ch'en
Ya of Wu-sa military station in Kweichow and Sung Kuei of
Lu-chou military station in Szechwan to be assistant ch'ien hu
to go with him to assist him. He ordered the Board of Civil
Office to select a head constable, and the provincial treasurer
to allot for district police officers, who were granted, wrapped
up an ivory tablet, paper money, and a silver belt, and enter-
tained ceremoniously, and sent on their way. In the fifth

2:Ling & Ruey--150 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

C /104 cont./
175 month Tuan Wen reached Chen-ch'i, established the Military
631 Station Office, and inaugurated the system, dividing 124 native
563 villages into ten li, making Yang Erh, the main leader, a
M pe fu ch'ang /head of hundred men/. The other 132 villages
*175 /105/ became a local army 'to protect the city moats.' When
●631 there were uprisings then they would be called to service; when
*648 conditions were peaceful then they would disperse as civilians.
C Hence the name, Military and Civilian Office" Chen-ch'i then
[701] is modern Suo-li, which is 20 li northeast of Kan-ch'eng hsien's main city.

Yung-sui was formerly under the jurisdiction of the native headman of Pao-ching, and Liu-li in it was also under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou. In the seventh year of Yung Cheng /1729/, the provincial governor Chao Hung-en and Wang Jou of Ch'en-yüan-ching tao pacified the uncivilized Miao at Liu-li and established a city at Chi-to-p'ing, called Yung-sui. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 1.

C Ku-chang /hsien/ in the Ming period was the territory
[701] under the control of the three senior officials at Shin-tung-ch'i, Pe-ya-tung, and T'ien-chia-tung, under the jurisdiction of the military and civilian pacification commissioner's office at Yung-sui.

Pao-ching was formerly the territory under the control of the Pao-ching pacification commissioner.

M After the five hsien in the Miao frontier region were
[634] opened, from the Yuan and Ming dynasties to the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, they were under the control of native headmen. During the K'ang Hsi reign period of the early Ch'ing /1662-1722/, a gradual change was begun from native headmen to regular government officials. In the forty-sixth year of K'ang Hsi /1707/, the senior official /ch'ang kuan szu/ at Wu-chai, T'ien Hung-t'ien, being harsh and cruel, the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, sent up a memorial

2:Ling & Ruey--151 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

c 175 631 563 M *175 ● 631 *648

/105 cont./

to the Emperor requesting that he be dismissed from office and that no hereditary substitute be allowed. (2) In the forty-eighth

2. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 11.

year /1709/, because the Miao at Liu-li of the Chen-ch'i Office did not wish to be under the control of the native headman at Pao-ching, they repeatedly requested the change from native headman to government official, and the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, again sent up a memorial requesting transference of control to the government. (3) In the fourth

3. Miao Fang Pei Lan,
Vol. 15.

year of Yung Cheng /1726/, the headman at Pao-ching, P'eng, Yü-pin, was removed from office for being avaricious and cruel, and in the fifth year the change was made from native headman to government official. Yü-pin was peacefully settled at Liao-yang. (4) In the fifth year of Yung Cheng, the headman

4. Pao-ching Hsien Chih,
Vol. 5.

at Yung-shun, P'eng Chao-huai, personally applied for the change from native headman to government official. He returned to his native place in Chi-shui, Kiangsi. (5) San-t'u-

5. Yung-shun Hsien Chih,
Vol. 15.

chou /"three local chou"/ and Wu-ch'ang-kuan-szu /"five senior officials"/ under the jurisdiction of the headman of Yung-shun were also changed from native to government officials.

/105 cont./

C 175 631 563 M * 175 631 * 648 622 C [669]

After the voluntary change from the native headmen in the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the Miao and bring them under the administration of government officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions. As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances, so that the unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's

M [113]

6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

/106 cont./

C were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military
175 authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only
631 village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since
563 Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there
M were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment
*175 caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao
● 631 who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock
* 648 feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be
[622] selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at
C each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-
[703] pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal
[701] /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-
[203] general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and
to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities.
When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official
despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers
to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them
C some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official
[357] business require servants, they may also recruit them from the
Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales.
C It would appear that the 100-families village chief was
175 originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men
631 were unimportant and their powers limited, as that the Miao
563 did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding
M such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues,
*175 whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally
631 be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility.
*648 During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who ac-
622 companied the army and won peacock feather awards are
numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent
and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and accord-
ing to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing
aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one
or two men to be native second captains, under whom there
should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

C /106 cont./
175 the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of
631 villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the
563 governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the
M control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies
*175 and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked
●631 to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-
*648 general and governor and military officials should examine the
[622] merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them
[625] accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommenda-
C tions memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the
[203] t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been abolished, official communications should be despatched according to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on
C official business need servants, then order the said Miao to
[357] serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

M According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials,
[622] although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were
M pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,
[425]

/107 cont./

the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

2:Ling & Ruey--156 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

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Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

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Thus a Miao official was a military official having concurrent judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commissioning of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troups /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.
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622 (2) The Organization of Miao Officials
701 With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96 villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

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1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M [162] Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle, left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

/108 cont./

c 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 701 162

shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women. The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages, consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and 25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130 villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. Moreover, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih, Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 448 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

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C 175 631 563 701 M *175 ● 631 *648 622 701 162

three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

2:Ling & Ruey--160 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/110 cont./

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The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers. (2)

M *175 631 *648 622 701 [162]

2. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

C 631 563 701 [669] M 701 631 *648 622

Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung reign period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders. For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[text continues on p165]

2:Ling & Ruey--161 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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The following table shows the results of our investigations: /111/

Hsien	Ying	Name of Native Head	Guard Station
Feng-huang	Upper Middle Ying	Lung Fu-shou	Mao-tu-t'ang
	Lower Middle Ying	Wu Tsung-ch'ing	Hsin-tung-p'ing
	Upper Left Ying	Wu Fang-ming	Pao-mu-ying
	Lower Left Ying	Wu Hsiu-ch'ing	San-kung-ch'iao
	Right Ying	Lung En-te	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Right Ying	Lung Feng-wu	Lung-chüeh-tung
	Right Ying	Wu Shao-hai	Chuang-chi-chai
	Lower Right Ying	Lung Tsung-chieh	Ta-t'ien
	Upper Front Ying	Shih Chao-pin	Hsin-chai
	Middle Front Ying	Wu Ch'ing-te	T'ien-p'ing
	Lower Front Ying	Wu Cheng-ying	Ku-sang-ying
Total		11	
Kan-ch'eng	Middle Ying	Wu Chia-chu	San-ch'a-p'ing
	Left Ying	Yang Sheng-pao	Ch'ü-chia-chai
	Right Ying	Shih Yung-chi	Hsi-ch'üeh-chai
	Front Ying	Yang Tsai-chen	Meng /?/ Ch'e
Total		4	

/Upper left quarter/

/111 cont./

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/Lower left quarter/

Ku-chang	Lung-pi-tsui Ying /Dragon Snout Ying/	Lung Ch'ing-nung	Nung-pi-tsui
Total		1	
Pao-ching	Fourth Ch'ü	Wu Chung-ch'ing	Pe-ho-t'ien
	Sixth Ch'ü	Hung Yung-liang	Hu-lu-chai
	Seventh Ch'ü	Shih Ch'ing-sung	Pi-tzu-chai
	Eighth Ch'ü	Liang Kuang-yung	Shui-t'ien
Total		4	
/112/ Yung-sui	Upper Fifth Li	Lung Sheng-hsin	Tung-k'a-chai
	Lower Fifth Li	Shih Wei-hsin	Ch'ien-ch'ang-chai
	Upper Sixth Li	Shih Ming-yüan	Pan-li-chai
	Lower Sixth Li	Shih Tsung-huang	Chia-ming-chai
	Upper Seventh Li	Lung Ch'ang-yao	Chien-yen-chai
	Lower Seventh Li	Wu Ting-k'uei	La-wu-chai
	Upper Eighth Li	Wu Ch'eng-chang	Ta-pai-wu
	Lower Eighth Li	Lung Kuo-han	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Ninth Li	Ma Ch'ang-shan	Pai-ta-k'ou
	Lower Ninth Li	Shih Tuan-ch'u	Wei-ch'eng-chai
	Upper Tenth Li	Shih Chin-yüan	Pai-pu-mei
	Lower Tenth	Wang Kuo-ch'ang	Pai-liao-chai
Total		12	
Grand Total		32	

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/Upper right quarter/

Number of Petty Officers and Soldiers					Total Numbers		
Ch'en-tsung	Pa-tsung	Wai-wei	Fighting Soldiers	Guard Soldiers	Petty Officers	Soldiers	Total Ying Complement
2	4	8	30	150	14	180	194
2	3	9	30	140	14	170	184
2	4	6	30	190	12	220	232
1	3	8	80	200	12	280	292
2	5	9	55	152	16	207	223
2	2	6	54	114	10	168	178
2	4	6	43	136	12	179	191
1	2	4	58	91	7	149	156
2	5	10	17	182	17	199	216
1	3	5	2	65	9	67	76
3	5	9	1	180	17	181	198
20	40	80	400	1,600	140	2,000	2,140
2	2	6	48	157	10	205	215
2	7	10	40	191	19	231	250
2	4	3	40	154	9	194	203
		6	32	138	6	170	176
6	13	25	160	640	44	800	844

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/Lower right quarter/

2	4	12		100	18	100	118
2	4	12		100	18	100	118
1	1	2	8	42	4	50	54
3	5	9	19	61	17	80	97
3	4	15	21	79	22	100	122
2	2	5	12	58	9	70	79
9	12	31	60	240	52	300	352
1	3	3	14	81	7	95	102
1	3	6	14	81	9	95	104
3	4	9	28	162	16	190	206
2	7	9	54	121	18	175	193
3	4	8	56	168	15	224	239
3	6	12	66	176	21	242	263
1		4	9	68	5	77	82
2	4	7	38	91	13	129	142
3	8	12	36	142	23	178	201
3	6	14	30	142	23	172	195
3	8	21	17	139	32	156	188
3	5	10	18	49	18	67	85
28	57	115	380	1,420	200	1,800	2,000
65	126	263	1,000	4,000	454	5,000	5,454

2:Ling & Ruey--165 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/112 cont./

C 631 563 701 M 631 622 *648 701 [177]

The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

C 175 563 669 M *175 *648 C [712]

T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

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C 175 563 669 [901] [712] M * 175 * 648 M C [631] M [177]

During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peaceful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving 1,100 men. Military strengh was slight and the defense system was relaxed. Further, following the change from native headmen to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/ and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the blockade policy was once more used. The various hsiens along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

C 175 563 701 M 701

Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Fenghuang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, controlling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left, with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries /e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837

to the south, evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AE5

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age of the Five Streams. Later they gradually filtered into Kuei-chou territory.

In A.D. 47 when the Wu Ling Man ravaged the southern administrative regions of the Han Empire, the Emperor sent General Liu Shang, who drafted soldiers at Wu Ling and Ch'ang-sha, embarked them in boats and sailed up the Yuan River to the Five Streams to suppress the Miao. This followed the migration route of the Miao. We have noted in Chapter I that several of the Yuan River tributaries are navigable to small boats into Kuei-chou territory. The resulting Han-Chinese pressure in this direction forced the further steady southwestward migration of the Miao that resulted in their post-Han Dynasty distribution.

After the A.D. 47 suppression, the Miao fleeing southward were further subjected to the suppression campaigns of Ma Yuan. Far from eradicating all traces of the Miao in the T'ung-t'ing region, however, the Han-Chinese in the post-Han Dynasty period saw the continued eastward migration of the Miao from Ssu-ch'uan. These tribes occupied the hill fastnesses along the north bank of the Yang-tzu from Ch'ung-ch'ing to the north shore of T'ung-t'ing Lake. This steady eastward infiltration swelled the Miao strength to the extent that enabled the Ching-hsiang Man (Hsu referred to a Ching-Man whom he erroneously claimed were T'ai people)[59] to surge northward in an invasion wave during the Six Dynasties period (5th and 6th Centuries). This eastward movement itself was the result of other pressures exerted upon the Miao peoples. In fact, the large number of Miao who today continue to be found in the Five Streams region have caused the Communist regime to constitute part of the area the West Hu-nan Miao Autonomous Region (See Map 31).

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As the Later Han Dynasty drew to a close, invading nomads from the north were steadily encroaching deeper southward into China Proper. The Three Kingdoms Period following the Han marked an era of great population intermixtures in North China which we shall discuss in the next chapter. During the same period that the northern Tatars were descending south upon China in great masses, the southern Miao were also opportunely blossoming into a period of greatness and prosperity. They seized the opportunity presented by the turmoil in the North China area to advance northward and harass the Han-Chinese from the south.

During the four centuries between the fall of the Han

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF 17
Miao AE5

Ling-nan in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. By T'ang times, the Miao had reached as far south as Ts'un-yi in Kuei-chou, but it is not clear whether they were spread all over Kuei-chou during T'ang and Sung times. It seems unlikely that they had, because the Lolo tribesmen were in occupation of large parts of southern and western Kuei-chou.

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The history of the Lolo in the Ch'ien Shu or History of Kuei-chou states that the An Clan of Lolo in the Ta-ting area was in occupation there as early as the Three Kingdoms period (3rd and 4th centuries). The chief of the clan was "enfeoffed" as King of Lo-tien State. (Actually, enfeoffment merely meant the confirmation of the de facto position the tribal chieftain already held). This was conferred by Chu-ko Liang of the Ssu-ch'uan Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-265). The An Clan chief's hereditary succession was confirmed by the T'ang and Sung Dynasties as a matter of expediency. This was not changed by succeeding Han-Chinese dynasties. Kublai Khan gave the An Clan chief the title An-fu-ssu, later changed to the higher Hsuan-wei-ssu plus the added designation Marquis of Lo-tien. The Ming Emperor made him Hsuan-wei-ssu of Kuei-chou. From all this, it would appear that the incoming Miao migrants did not reach this far west. The Miao probably traveled up the three rivers Yuan, Ch'en and Yu from Hu-nan, making the upper reaches their base area. In northern Kuei-chou the Miao eventually reached the Districts of Ts'un-yi and Tzu-t'ung. In southern Kuei-chou they reached An-shun and Tz'u-yün Districts.[63]

There are not many Miao people in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, and their history here is comparatively short. They probably came first to northern Kuang-hsi during the Yuan Dynasty, said Hsu Sung-shih.[64] Because of the frequent military operations of the Yuan and Ming against them, the Miao of Kuei-chou began to migrate out of the Kuei-chou province.[65] When Kublai Khan conquered the Kuei-chou territory, it was organized as Shun-yuan Lu (Shun-yuan Province). The Yuan Shu (History of the Yuan) tells of the suppression of the T'ung-Miao-Man. There is a so-called "Long-Bridge tomb plaque of the 300 Chung (Red Yao tribe) nobles" in Lung-sheng District of northern Kuang-hsi. This states that the ancestors of these nobles were Ching-chou (southwest Hu-nan) Miao, and that they had come into Kuang-hsi only since the Yuan Dynasty. However, the Miao have come across the southern ranges into Ling-nan in large numbers only since the Ming Dynasty.

[631]

In 1381 the first Ming Emperor appointed Marquis Yi

[162 cont.]

534 They construct a musical instrument of an entirely special model called "sen," a sort of "pipe of Pan," formed of a tube which swells out very much in its lower portion. Into this swollen section are fitted six or eight reed pipes of varying lengths, pierced with holes and set at right angles to the large tube. The player obtains continuous sounds by successive aspirations and expirations. The scale is rather extended, as it provides from twelve to sixteen notes and numerous cords. The player of the "sen" dances while playing. (See photo 155, Plate 10.) The "sen" of the "Méo" very much re-
[171] sembles the Laotian "ken."

The "Méo" also make tambourines, copper cymbals, a sort of
[237] bagpipe with a nasal sound, produced by a goatskin sack of voluminous dimensions, and a small guitar with a long neck, made from a turtle's shell covered with a tightly stretched snake's skin.

In the area which gave them birth, the "Méo" were, without
631 doubt, formed into groupings placed under the orders of chiefs of
648 their race and preserving a certain independence in relation to the neighboring Chinese authorities. In the matter of the tribes who have immigrated into Tonkin, they have had to place themselves little by little under the authority of local native functionaries and of the commandants of sectors, spheres, and provinces.

In accordance with the importance of their groupings, these tribes are organized into communes (region of Dong-Van) placed under the authority of a "toung-tcha" (corresponding to "ly-truong Thai") in direct contact with the chiefs of canton ("quan-châu") or with the commandants of sectors. These communes are subdivided into quarters commanded by a "ping-t'éou" who has under his orders a certain number of "siao-phay," the latter having, in general, authority over the groups of hamlets or villages built in the same valley or on the same slope of a mountain chain. [163] In the regions where the "Méo" population is too scattered to form a distinct commune, the "Méo" have only some "siao-phay" and sometimes a "ping-t'éou" placed administratively under the authority of the "pho-ly" or of the "ly-truong" of the "Thai" race.

[163 cont.]

186 631 648 It is fitting, however, to point out the repugnance with which the "Méo" accept being subordinated to "Thai" chiefs, even though this subordination is of the lightest kind and applies only to rare acts of ordinary living: the payment of taxes, the furnishing of labor details, and so on. In this repugnance must be seen only a manifestation of the spirit of independence with which the "Méo" are so deeply imbued.

631 648 In other communes, by contrast (Pha-Long, and so on), the "ly-truong" are of the "Méo" race and they hold the administrative authority over "Thai" and "Man" groupings settled upon the territory of these communes.

175 There is not now in Tonkin a "Méo" chief above the rank of "ly-truong." However, legend preserves the memory of a personage by the name of Sioung, calling himself the "King of the Méo," who established himself in the region of Yen Minh about the year 1860, an epoch corresponding to the second violent invasion of the "Méo," spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

This King Sioung showed himself to be most bloodthirsty in the war he carried on for some ten years against the "Thai" of the regions of Quan-Ba, Yen-Minh, and Dongvan, and was killed by myrmidons in the pay of his father-in-law (1).

1. Also it is fitting to indicate a movement of insurrection fomented in 1911 among the "Méo" of Dong Quong by a chief who took the name of Sioung. This revolt was quickly suppressed. During the war of 1914-1918, an uprising of the "Méo" of Upper Laos caused the dispatch of an expeditionary column, which re-established order.

631 649 There still exists in our time, in the Chinese region contiguous to the Thanthuy sector, a personage improperly called "King of the Méo," who is none other than a "Méo" chief invested by the Chinese

[163 cont.]

631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[621 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
● 631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Manrace. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the seo phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock, which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

39:Bernatzik--56 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 34 and 35/

Translation	MEO	AKHA
61. Son of daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]
62. Daughter of daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]
63. Father of wife	[illegible]	[illegible]
64. Mother of wife	[illegible]	[illegible]
65. Brother of wife a)	[illegible]	[illegible]
66. Brother of wife b)	[illegible]	[illegible]
67. Sister of wife a)	[illegible]	[illegible]
68. Sister of wife b)	[illegible]	[illegible]
69. Husband of wife's sister a)	[illegible]	[illegible]
70. Husband of wife's sister b)	[illegible]	[illegible]
71. Father of husband	[illegible]	[illegible]
72. Mother of husband	[illegible]	[illegible]
73. Brother of husband a)	[illegible]	[illegible]
74. Brother of husband b)		[illegible]
75. Sister of husband a)	[illegible]	[illegible]
76. Sister of husband b)		[illegible]
77. Husband of the hus. sis. a)	[illegible]	[illegible]
78. Husband of the hus. sis. b)	[illegible]	[illegible]
79. Family	[illegible]	[illegible]
80. Large family /extended fam./		
81. Small fam. /nuclear fam./		
82. Member of the tribe	[illegible]	[illegible]
83. Outsider	[illegible]	[illegible]
84. Old Man	[illegible]	[illegible] every old person is called grand-father or grand-mother.
85. Old Woman	[illegible]	[illegible]
86. Chief		[illegible]
87. Great chief	[illegible]	
88. Village chief	[illegible]	
89. Deputy chief	[illegible]	
90. Friend	[illegible]	[illegible]
91 Enemy	[illegible]	[illegible]
92. European	[illegible] ([illegible] - white)	[illegible]

/For explanation of a) and b). see footnotes on first page of table./

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M
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192

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[631]

/37 cont./

A M 571 114

Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

M [171]

2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/

Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

M 631

From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

M [148]

regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

/38 cont./

631 consist only of people of their race or sometimes embrace small groups of ethnically similar elements, who are under the rule of a chief chosen by them."

"In the region of Hang-Giang the various hamlets of a valley are under the jurisdiction of a ma-phai or ho-thau. Several villages are under the jurisdiction of a ping-tao... His title is translated as 'chief of the canton.' These cantons, finally, are united under a toung-tscha... This is the organization existing in the lands where the tribes were able to expand and to form compact settlement groups. If settlements are of lesser importance, only a ping-tao stands over them. If, [648] finally, the settlement /39/ is even weaker, it is under an ordinary ma-phai who receives his orders from the lytru'o'ng of the 'Tho.'"

Abadie (1) deals more briefly with this organization, and

1. Page 162.

Savina (2) reports: "The Meau like to group themselves in

2. II, p. 187.

tribes, and the inhabitants of one village usually belong to a single tribe. It even happens frequently that persons of the same tribe occupy whole mountains. In this case they all obey the chief of the tribe to which they belong."

In China, too, larger communities are supposed to exist, as Abadie (3) reports: "Even today in the Chinese region

3. Page 163.

[648] bordering on the Than-Thuy sector there exists a person who is incorrectly called 'King of the Meau' and who is nothing but a chief of the Meau who was appointed by the Chinese administration with the title of a 'Tou-sseu,' that is, 'administrator in the country of the barbarians.' This person has

Miao AE5
AKhaA04

/39 cont./

M 631 [648] retained a certain moral influence upon the neighboring Tonkinese regions, but, of course, exercises no executive authority at all over these peoples."

The situation is different in Thailand where the Meau immigrated in small groups and were often able to remain completely independent, like most of the other mountain tribes. Seidenfaden (4) also mentions this more or less in-

4. II, p. 102.

dependent community of such peoples. Under these circumstances in Thailand today there are no political units larger than the village, over which there is the village chief. In M [648] the administered parts of the country, he has to be approved by the district officer. Moreover, the villages of the Meau consist of only a few houses, whereas in former times their village unit, too, was powerful.

A 621 Among the Akha in Thailand the custom of having great village settlements with one hundred to two hundred houses has been maintained (cf. the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"). A larger political unit does not A [631] exist.

/40/ b) Kingship and Chieftainship

M 643 [631] The memory of times when there was a much larger political unit has been kept alive to this day among the Meau. Thus, tradition tells of a powerful kingdom of the Meau, an hereditary kingship, in which the king was at the same time the supreme war-lord.

After the death of a king, the entire people, that is, all the mature men able to bear arms, selected the successor from among the sons of the deceased. It did not make any difference to which of the generally numerous wives of the king this son was born.

/10 cont'd/

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Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

621 /11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

•634 The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

161 What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means.

[127] First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that, "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

175
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C /104 cont./
175 month Tuan Wen reached Chen-ch'i, established the Military
631 Station Office, and inaugurated the system, dividing 124 native
563 villages into ten li, making Yang Erh, the main leader, a
M pe fu ch'ang /head of hundred men/. The other 132 villages
*175 /105/ became a local army 'to protect the city moats.' When
631 there were uprisings then they would be called to service; when
*648 conditions were peaceful then they would disperse as civilians.
C Hence the name, Military and Civilian Office" Chen-ch'i then
[701] is modern Suo-li, which is 20 li northeast of Kan-ch'eng hsien's main city.

Yung-sui was formerly under the jurisdiction of the native headman of Pao-ching, and Liu-li in it was also under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou. In the seventh year of Yung Cheng /1729/, the provincial governor Chao Hung-en and Wang Jou of Ch'en-yüan-ching tao pacified the uncivilized Miao at Liu-li and established a city at Chi-to-p'ing, called Yung-sui. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 1.

C Ku-chang /hsien/ in the Ming period was the territory
[701] under the control of the three senior officials at Shin-tung-ch'i, Pe-ya-tung, and T'ien-chia-tung, under the jurisdiction of the military and civilian pacification commissioner's office at Yung-sui.

Pao-ching was formerly the territory under the control of the Pao-ching pacification commissioner.

M After the five hsien in the Miao frontier region were
[634] opened, from the Yuan and Ming dynasties to the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, they were under the control of native headmen. During the K'ang Hsi reign period of the early Ch'ing /1662-1722/, a gradual change was begun from native headmen to regular government officials. In the forty-sixth year of K'ang Hsi /1707/, the senior official /ch'ang kuan szu/ at Wu-chai, T'ien Hung-t'ien, being harsh and cruel, the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, sent up a memorial

/41 cont./

634 About twenty villages were under the jurisdiction of each great chief. He himself was elected for life by the plenary assembly of all the arms-bearing men of those villages over [666] which he was to rule. All the men over 16-17 years of age had the right to vote; women were excluded from voting.

It was left to each village to decide which great chief it wished to be under. If, therefore, after the death of a great chief who had ruled over twenty villages, twelve villages voted for one great chief and the remaining eight villages for another, two great chiefs were elected, and each one ruled over those villages that had elected him. As a consequence, after the death of each great chief the administrative unit changed, though this did not necessarily bring about a reduction in the size of the administrative units in the course of time, for every village wanted to be under the most powerful neighboring great chief.

634 687 There was an exception to the lifetime tenure of the great chief in case he was guilty of grave negligence. The village chiefs then convoked a new plenary assembly, which elected a new great chief. In any event, the election of the great chief took place in the largest village of the administrative district of the deceased or deposed great chief.

634 622 681 The great chief had to appoint the village chiefs. Moreover, he was the judge in all important affairs. If he meted out fines, the money involved was distributed according to the following system: the first part was distributed in equal shares to the arms-bearing men within his district. The second part was double the amount of the first and was distributed in equal shares to the village chiefs. The third part, three times the 634 amount of the first part, went to the great chief and constituted [681] an important source of income for him. He derived additional [651] income from the tax which had to be paid once a year and amounted to four piasters (equivalent to about one mark) per person and one piaster for each rice field. The great chief could use the money as he saw fit.

/42/

634 701 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from earning their livelihood.

622 634 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the village chiefs (šǎu pǎ) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the [692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to [687] the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

[692] The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great [651] chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village [701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 624 634 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal; the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 634 681 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

623 634 The popular assembly has special importance among the Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

/42 cont./

623 The assembly of all the arms-bearing men of a village /43/ is usually convoked by the village chief in all cases pertaining to the welfare of the village. Such cases are: the laying out of rice fields, the selection of a settlement site in the relocation of villages, communal hunts, and the like. The [666] majority vote decides the issue. The popular assembly, how- [634] ever, may be convoked even against the will of the village chief if the villagers want to file a complaint against their village chief with the great chief. In this case the assembly convenes upon the initiative of the village elders.

634 The popular assembly of all arms-bearing men within the administrative district of a great chief had far greater power. It met only when needed; its decisions had to be unamimous. It was convoked by the great chief in order to pass resolutions about important matters. Such important [721] matters were decisions about war and peace and measures to [796] be taken to celebrate the festival of the New Year or the harvest festival. The resolutions passed by the popular assembly of the great chief were of an advisory nature, for the great chief was under no obligation to comply with them. Actually, of course, he avoided acting against the voice of his people. In one case, however, the great chief was absolutely bound to accept the decision of the popular assembly: when the latter [692] had decided on his removal. The great popular assembly was, at the same time, a court of appeal for verdicts of the great chief, and its decisions were regarded as irrevocable.

634 693 The expenses of a popular assembly had to be paid by the person who summoned it, hence either by the great chief himself or the party who had moved that it be convened. Among the expenses there were the provisions for all the assembly-participants at the place of the meeting, but no compensation was given for the journey to and fro. Moreover, in connection with minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol were collected for the great chief and the elders; in connection with major affairs, one or more pigs.

/43 cont./

634 695 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly, as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished, [342] not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of [516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the [276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and [292] sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri- [782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

39: Bernatzik--321 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
634 Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
622 herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
596 family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
184 since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

428
562

1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband
[597] live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the
[589] widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

/250 cont./

683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 622 634 [689] Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

674 114 Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, [454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only [634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

615 439 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

/254 cont./

692 695 [634] [623] Capital crimes, as well as civil cases in which the defeated has lodged an appeal, are decided incontestably by the great chief. The appeals are therefore as follows: an appeal against the verdict of the village elder goes to the village chief and one against the latter goes to the great chief. In special cases the verdict of the great chief can be appealed to the popular assembly, as has already been set forth in the chapter on "Political Organization," the section, "The Popular Assembly."

695 756 [634] There is no appeal against the verdict of the popular assembly. In ambiguous cases the judge turns to the shaman and instructs him to arrange for ordeals /Ordale/. Such ordeals take place before the popular assembly; they also play a role in criminal law. For example, the following ordeal is customary for the conviction of a criminal. The shaman makes a large carrying basket of split bamboo, which he covers with the clothing of a man. Next he looks among the girls of the village for two virgins, and, to make certain that all necessary conditions for the aims of the ordeal are actually fulfilled, he prefers to select two girls who are still immature and who must hold the basket on two sides. Then /255/ the accused burns several pieces of spirit-money and begs the high Father-Mother spirit to appear and make known the truth. As soon as the basket begins to sway, it is assumed that the high spirit has arrived. With a loud voice the accused now asks whether the high spirit has arrived, and it is assumed that the spirit is in the basket and is influencing the actions of the girls as soon as the covered basket again begins to sway. Next the shaman calls the names of all the suspects, one after the other. If the basket sways when one of the names is mentioned, the question is repeated two more times. If the basket is seen to move again, the culprit is regarded as convicted. If he nevertheless continues to deny his guilt, the shaman asks the girls to point out the culprit. If they now tap him on the shoulder, his guilt is regarded as proved.

/255 cont./

695 [634] An ordeal that a great chief had arranged was described to me as follows. The great chief puts some weapons into water to which has been added the blood of a sacrificed chicken and some alcohol. He now conjures up the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to destroy the liar within a month. All the suspects must then drink some of the liquid. Whoever dies during this period or is otherwise afflicted by severe misfortune is regarded as guilty.

Poison or fire ordeals, on the other hand, are not used and are unknown, as are duels.

A criminal who in the opinion of the judge has been found guilty but nevertheless denies his guilt is tortured in harsher and harsher fashion. To begin with, his fingers are squeezed into an iron fork and the fork is then heated over an open fire. If the accused continues to deny his guilt, the palms of his hands are burned with red-hot iron. At the conclusion of the torture a piece of each ear and the little finger of the hand with which the crime was committed are cut off.

696 [634] [693] The sentences are executed by the men who stand at the disposal of the village chief or the great chief, four or five of whom are assigned to the great chief and one to the village chief (see also the chapter, "Political Organization," section, "Kingship and Chieftainship").

693 695 The costs of a lawsuit are borne by the guilty. They can be considerable if a popular assembly was convened, since the expenses for it must be defrayed /256/ (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The plaintiff has to bear all the costs until the culprit is discovered. If he cannot pay them at once, they are treated like a debt assumed by him. If, in spite of all efforts, the person guilty of a crime cannot be discovered, the plaintiff, who in all sincerity cast suspicion upon the wrong person, does not pay the costs. They remain unpaid until the guilty person is discovered, for, as was pointed out, there is no time limitation on lawsuits, even though official investigations are discontinued after three years and discovery is left to chance.

/256 cont./

M 693 634 Besides the direct costs of the lawsuit, which at the least consist of the costs for food for all the persons involved in the case, there are for minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol, and for major cases one or more pigs, which must be added for the great chief and the elders. Moreover, as soon as M 681 [634] the person is convicted or proved guilty, he has to pay the established fine, which is apportioned in accordance with a definite code, as soon as the decision is given by the great chief. Two-twelfths go to the arms-bearing men of the territory under the M [622] great chief; four-twelfths are distributed among the village chiefs of this territory, who use it chiefly to cover the expenses connected with their activities. They also use for this the smaller amounts which they impose independently in petty cases. M [634] The remaining six-twelfths, that is, half of the entire sum which the culprit has to pay, goes to the great chief alone and represents an important part of his income (see also the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship").

M 695 The verdict is given in accordance with definite judicial principles with which all the older men among the Meau are familiar, since this is a matter of customary law handed down for centuries.

M 673 When the verdict is given, a fundamental distinction is made between premeditation and negligence. Hence a deed is punished only if it was intentionally committed. Even for M [682] the negligent killing of a person, among the Meau the culprit is merely required to sacrifice a head of cattle for the soul of the dead.

A 692 622 693 /257/ As in almost all matters, the judicial procedure of the Akha also is considerably simpler and more primitive than that of the Meau. As has already been pointed out, the power of the village chief among the Akha is slight and cannot by any means be compared to that among the Meau. This is also apparent in the judicial procedure. Despite the fact that the Akha have no higher court, say, one comparable A [623] to the great chief of the Meau, beyond the office of the village chief, the village chief is not the supreme and therefore

/394 cont./

702 868 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of 701 war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn koăn) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

726 Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the [202] tă lĕn tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the [714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war. [251 484] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

/395 cont./

726 most suitable in the difficult forested mountainous terrain inhabited by the Meau. In addition, an attempt is made to reach and occupy all the passes ahead of the opponent.

The war tactics of the Meau consist of surprise attacks from ambush, preferably during the night. At first only small sections of troops are sent out, while the numerically stronger reserves are held back. Single combats are unknown. If the
727 Meau are victorious, they chop off the head of every slain or
[634] captured opponent and send these trophies to their tsŭn kŏăn, the great chief, who pays money for them. Thus, there are no war trophies in the true sense. No harm is done to the women and children of the enemies; they are respectively married or adopted by the warriors. Enemy property, too, is not
[643] destroyed as a rule. The war booty is brought to the king, or
[634] lacking such a one, to the great chief for distribution among the warriors of his district.

726 Usually the battles are not as bloody as one might assume from the description. The fleeing enemy can soon escape his pursuers in the primeval forest, and the women and children immediately left their villages with /396/ all their movable property as soon as the spies reported the approach of enemy troops.

721 The purpose of war today among the Meau is exclusively to protect their own living space. Since as far back as the memory of man they have been in a defensive position in relation to their
[166] powerful neighbors, and since their constant migration southward is closely related to their search for such a safe living space, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether before that time other grounds for war were decisive. In any case the principle of only fighting tribal enemies prevails, whereas nothing is reported about wars between Meau tribes.

728 In the same way that an official declaration of war precedes the battles, war is also ended only by an appropriate ceremony. The opponents meet without weapons, eat a meal together, and declare that they want to be friends from now on. The Meau are also familiar with the truce, however, which

121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
161 Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[P. 66a]

/125 cont'd/

H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 178 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not L
at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. M
Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups 563
in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive 669
measures.

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the L
cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special M
administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal 563
autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite inter- 636
mediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the popu- 609
lations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial
antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintain-
ing a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and
devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms 178
which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In 563
the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes
of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their
customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last repre-
sentatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of com-
munication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese
family.

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 000
369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page
376 is blank. --Translator/

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later.

175 167 131 175 609 643

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow.

131

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing.

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/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their

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Miao AE5
AKhaA04

/39 cont./

M 631 [648] retained a certain moral influence upon the neighboring Tonkinese regions, but, of course, exercises no executive authority at all over these peoples."

The situation is different in Thailand where the Meau immigrated in small groups and were often able to remain completely independent, like most of the other mountain tribes. Seidenfaden (4) also mentions this more or less in-

4. II, p. 102.

dependent community of such peoples. Under these circumstances in Thailand today there are no political units larger than the village, over which there is the village chief. In M [648] the administered parts of the country, he has to be approved by the district officer. Moreover, the villages of the Meau consist of only a few houses, whereas in former times their village unit, too, was powerful.

A 621 Among the Akha in Thailand the custom of having great village settlements with one hundred to two hundred houses has been maintained (cf. the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various A Meau and Akha Tribes"). A larger political unit does not [631] exist.

/40/ b) Kingship and Chieftainship

M 643 [631] The memory of times when there was a much larger political unit has been kept alive to this day among the Meau. Thus, tradition tells of a powerful kingdom of the Meau, an hereditary kingship, in which the king was at the same time the supreme war-lord.

After the death of a king, the entire people, that is, all the mature men able to bear arms, selected the successor from among the sons of the deceased. It did not make any difference to which of the generally numerous wives of the king this son was born.

/40 cont./

173 According to the tradition of the Thailand Meau, as my informants told me, their last king waged war against the
● 643 Chinese because the latter menaced the Meau settlements.
648 After the initial successes of the royal commander-in-chief, tă lĕn tĕŭ, the Meau were nevertheless beaten. The king and his military leaders died in the bloody battle. Then the younger brother of the slain king assumed leadership. He led all the people southward on the flight before the pursuing enemy. -- The present-day Meau in Thailand no longer re-
643 member the kingship in detail. It could not be learned, for instance, whether the crown was customarily passed on to the son or to the brother of the deceased. Only the designation
668 for king - văn tsŏ has survived. Even today they believe that
643 sometime and somewhere a Meau king will rise again, who will unite his people, gather them together, and lead them victoriously against the hated oppressors. Savina (1) describes

1. II, p. 258.

similar ideas from among the Meau in Indochina: "The Meau are waiting for a liberator, a king, a phoa thay. As soon as the report of a phoa thay comes from somewhere, they immediately take up their weapons and set out to put themselves at his disposal. What we call a 'rebellion' they call oa phoa thay, 'to make a king.'"

173 Far more vivid, however, is the memory of the Meau
634 concerning the power and activity of the great chiefs (tsŭń kŏăń). One of my informants in particular knew all kinds of details; he was a direct descendant of the last great chief. The memory of the great chief, however, /41/ was also alive among the other Meau and in any case was more vivid than that of the king, since the common man probably scarcely had an opportunity to know the king himself except by hearsay.

/239/

Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
[634] Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
[622] herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
[596] family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
[184] since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

/395 cont./

726 most suitable in the difficult forested mountainous terrain inhabited by the Meau. In addition, an attempt is made to reach and occupy all the passes ahead of the opponent.

The war tactics of the Meau consist of surprise attacks from ambush, preferably during the night. At first only small sections of troops are sent out, while the numerically stronger reserves are held back. Single combats are unknown. If the
727 Meau are victorious, they chop off the head of every slain or captured opponent and send these trophies to their tsŭn kŏăn,
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721 The purpose of war today among the Meau is exclusively to protect their own living space. Since as far back as the memory of man they have been in a defensive position in relation to their
[166] powerful neighbors, and since their constant migration southward is closely related to their search for such a safe living space, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether before that time other grounds for war were decisive. In any case the principle of only fighting tribal enemies prevails, whereas nothing is reported about wars between Meau tribes.

728 In the same way that an official declaration of war precedes the battles, war is also ended only by an appropriate ceremony. The opponents meet without weapons, eat a meal together, and declare that they want to be friends from now on. The Meau are also familiar with the truce, however, which

/110 cont'd/

M 531 539

Then they bought a long plank of wood,
For Meng-wo to be put upon.
/111/ When the Taoist priests had finished the funeral ceremony,
Husband and wife were sent up the hillside.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
On the left there was the Green Dragon, on the right the White Tiger.
From behind the Jade Goddess protects their grave site.
In front the scarlet bird* comes to pay its respects.

/* A position in geomancy./

At the back were fierce tigers facing spotted leopards.
Sing to the end the ancient tale of Meng-wo.
So that it will be spread over the five lakes and the four seas.

M 538

In addition to the above, there are the Song of San Pe Ying T'ai /"the three heroic elders"/, the Song of Chiu Niang /"the three girls"/, the Song of T'ang Hsien Chang Shih Niang /"the ten women of T'ang Hsien Chang"/, the Song of Mai Ch'en, etc. All of them are well engraved in the heart of every Miao. Because they are all lengthy pieces, space does not permit us to include them in the present report.

/112/ Chapter IX. Intergroup Relations between the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao.

(1)

M H 648 121

The Chinese constitute the majority of the inhabitants of Hainan Island. Next are the Li and the Miao. The intergroup relationship of the three ethnic groups—the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao, particularly the first two—has constituted an /important/ part of the history of Hainan, and naturally it still will be at the core of problems

H /112 cont'd/
M of Hainan Island in the future. Therefore, in order to understand the
648 history of Hainan or to solve problems of that region in the future, it
121 is very important to understand the intergroup relations among these three peoples. Let us now begin our discussion on relations between the Chinese and the Li.

H In the second chapter of my book Report on an Investigation of
175 the Li of Hainan Island, where the "racial and geographic origins of
101 the native Li people," is discussed, I have assumed that the Li migrated from Nanhai /of present Kwangtung province/ to Hainan during the Stone Age. I do not yet have concrete proof whether this assumption is close to the fact or not. However, it is beyond doubt that the Li have lived here since the prehistoric period. According to the most reliable historical research, the Chinese moved to Hainan during the Ch'in dynasty /221-207 B.C./. In 110 B.C., Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty established two provinces there, Chu-yai and Tan-erh. This is recognized as the official date when Hainan Island was brought under China's sovereignty as a part of her territory. It also dates the beginning of intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li. It has been more than two thousand years since then! During these two thousand years, Chinese immigrants to Hainan increased from year to year. The Chinese immigration was carried out more intensively after the Sung period /960-1278 A.D./. (For further /113/ reference see the author's History of the Development of Hainan Island.) The expansion of the areas occupied by the two groups
H naturally caused complicated conflicts. Moreover, Hainan Island
648 traditionally has been considered an "area beyond /Chinese/ civili-
175 zation" by the governments of various dynasties. They established no suitable policy for governing the Li. Outside the negative actions of "suppression" and "appeasement," they did very little actual constructive work. (For further reference see in the author's book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, the chapter concerning policies adopted by governments to govern the Li.) Hence they could not win the good will of the Li and only increased the troubles between the two groups. This traditional deficiency has come down to modern times, and still causes trouble between the

/116 cont'd/

H 648 response to it was cool, and no enthusiasm was shown. However, the especially negative attitude of the few Li leaders of the landlord group was for different reasons. Previously, these Li leaders were landlords who held enormous mountain landholdings with rich animal yields. They were the privileged class in the society, who could act like kings. For the preservation their special privileges and standing, they were opposed to any outside influence. This situation was clearly reflected in the antagonism between the district government and the Li leaders. The movement against the purchase of land by returned overseas Chinese which was said to have been initiated by the populace in reaction to the threat to their existence, might also have been due to the selfish motives of a few Li leaders who wanted to preserve their personal interests. Therefore, we must make a thorough investigation of such complex internal conditions, in order to get a real explanation of anything that concerns the Li.

M 648 101 /117/ Now let us turn to the relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book we learned that the Miao migrated into Hainan during the Ming period. At that time the coastal area was already occupied by the Chinese, while the interior plains were occupied by the Li. Hence the Miao were compelled to live in the deep mountainous area and to make a living from planting on mountain slopes. They usually had very little connection with the Chinese. Therefore, the corrupt officials of successive dynasties had very little to do with them. As a result of this isolation, they have had no bad feelings against the government and the Chinese. What bothered them the most were the Li in the adjacent areas and the few influential Chinese merchants who took advantage of them. Hoping to be freed from this kind of oppression, they enthusiastically looked forward to the government governing them directly and developing the area. The establishment of the three districts in the Li area brought them a certain amount of comfort. At this time, however, I personally saw a certain incident in Pao-t'ing district: A certain Chinese merchant, who had been doing business in the Li area for many years, possessed a great deal of farm property—level fields and mountain slopes. He was an

M 648 736

/117 cont'd/

648 influential person in the locality and often took advantage of the
736 Miao of the area. Once a Miao man who had picked a few catties of edible tree fungus on another mountain passed through his mountain. He then arrested him on the ground that the Miao had stolen the fungus from his land. In addition to the confiscation of the fungus, the Miao was fined several tens of dollars. The Miao then began to appeal for justice to everyone he met. His Miao neighbors were sympathetic and wished to help him. They advised him to petition the district government. Anxious to have the affair settled, they sent agents to the government everyday to find out the result and waited for the trial. Days passed, and there was no response from the government at all. We could imagine how disappointed they were. Later when I came back from the Miao villages and went to inquire about it at the district office, I was told that no such case had been received, and the district government had /118/ heard nothing about it. What happened? I really felt bad about it.

(2)

648 Now let us turn to the relationship between the Li and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book, we mentioned that originally the Miao were sent to Hainan to help the Chinese government suppress the Li uprisings. Therefore, the two groups had no reason to like
175 each other. However, neither the Li nor the Miao possesses a written history. These ancient conflicts could not have remained in their minds. Their antagonism, therefore was due not to historical factors but to economic reasons, or, more correctly, to their connections with the land.

As mentioned before, the Miao were the last group of immigrants to Hainan Island. The fertile land was already occupied by the Chinese and the Li by that time. Consequently, they were compelled to live in the deep mountains, enduring terrible hardships. Yet these mountain lands by no means belonged to them but were rented from the Li under contracts of different terms, because long before the Miao moved into Hainan these mountains had already been occupied

/118 cont'd/

648 by influential Li leaders. Hence, even at the present time, almost without exception all Miao land is rented from the Li (a small part also belongs to Chinese merchants who have made their for-
648 tunes in the Li area). From the economic point of view, there-
466 fore, the relationship between the Li and the Miao has been the relationship between landlords and tenants. The Miao have to pay a certain amount of annual rent to the Li leaders (landlords); sometimes they even have to contribute personal service without compensation. They have to make a contribution toward running the Li schools and t'uans equal to that of the Li participants, but they are not allowed to participate in their administration. Moreover, the ownership of the land belongs to the Li, who can take the land back from their Miao tenants at any time should the latter
648 be disobedient. /119/ During last year's call to "develop Hainan," many shrewd Li leaders declared that they would take the mountain lands back from the Miao to cultivate themselves. Some also took forest preservation as a pretext and forbade the Miao to burn the mountains. When this news reached the Miao community, they were scared to death and did not know what to do about it. Among these unreasonable arrangements, the most cruel one is that the mountains are rented to the Miao tenants, but they are forbidden to enjoy any of the mountain products other than the crops that they
[a22] cultivate. Some Miao pick some of the mountain products, such as edible fungus from trees and rattan, which they may bring out to barter with the Chinese. If they are caught on the way to market by the Li, all the commodities they carry with them are usually confiscated, and in addition they are heavily fined. Commodities subject to confiscation even include the animal skins which the Miao might have hunted in the mountains. Under such circumstances, the Li leaders and the Chinese landlord-merchants usually cooperate because their interests are identical. When I was in the Li area, I personally saw how these /Chinese/ merchants expressed their anti-Miao feeling. One can imagine how hard Miao life is. When I had just arrived in the Miao area, they all approached me with countless complaints about how they were badly treated by other peoples and how hard their livelihood was. They begged me

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
648 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

/120 cont'd/

181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

/122 cont'd/

H 181 273 276 [148] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

H M 171 157 181

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H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

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M /123 cont'd/
648 economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and
439 the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

H
M In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought
177 about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading
191 position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

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M We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems
648 exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

H M 648 /124 cont'd/

This, of course, is the responsibility of the government. However, they by no means can be solved through verbal service. It is necessary to understand the core of the problem first, so that the disease may be cured by the use of the proper medicine. As has been mentioned before, troubles between the Chinese and the Li are caused by corrupt officials, land rowdies, dishonest merchants, etc. To adjust intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li, the prerequisite is to get rid of these bad elements. This is a purely political measure. In the future, if the government selects better administrators for the Li area, intensifies discipline, and checks corruption, the Li will naturally come to the support of the government and the obstacles between the two peoples will gradually disappear. In the near future, as to the land problem, which is a natural result of the movement for the development of Hainan, the government should set up an over-all program and measures for a satisfactory solution so that disaster may be avoided before it breaks out. The relation between the Chinese and the Miao is comparatively simple. It is easy to improve. But the frictions between the Li and the Miao should be given more attention. The antagonism between them springs entirely from the land problem. /125/ Within limits so that the Li interests are not jeopardized, we should give some satisfaction to the Miao with regard to their demand for land. In this way the Miao would be satisfied while the Li would not be scared of their "bed" being occupied by other people. If the source of trouble is removed, the antagonism between them would disappear, and intergroup friendship would naturally improve.

However, these passive measures are by no means enough for further improvement of intergroup relations. We have to do something actually constructive that would link the two groups spiritually. The removal of the source of trouble relies upon political power, while the improvement of spiritual relations relies primarily upon cultural forces. As regards the latter, Chinese culture should be utilized to the utmost. That is to say, we have to develop to the fullest extent the good elements of Chinese culture and make use of them to improve the lives of the Li and the Miao so that they will

/125 cont'd/

H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 178 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
● 648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the hardships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

2: Ling & Ruey

AE 5 Miao AE5

175, 648

/For information on the relations between the Miao and Chinese in Western Hunan, beginning in the 14th Century, and including the establishment of Miao official posts by the Chinese, see category 116, pp. 148-175/

/17 cont./

M *101 C 563

from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

M *101 131 C 563

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M 167 ● 648 C 563 167

Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

SW China AF16
Central China AF14

/18 cont./

M 167 [648] C 563 167 directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M *101 C 563

Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao, having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

M *101 [131] [167] CC 563

M [162]

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
563 open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
M [782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

[273] (10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[167] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[291] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[714] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[411] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[648] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805 sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
782 ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
755 with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
787 and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
527 and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

534 (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
167 Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. They then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563

(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346 ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
167 mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
782 reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
648 p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai [433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

M /30 cont./
133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used
M for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft,
[487] thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese have migrated here.

M The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by
131 the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty.
648 Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from
C the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li
712 reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administra-
648 tive Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers,
563 Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some 40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi (1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the northwest regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided
M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8)[1] some 300 years ago. The
131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line
648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

[1] [see cat. 116, pp48c and 56a - ANALYST]

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall, 648 limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not [161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated, [167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore, whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7 on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely without reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land, and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. — Due to the lack of meteorological records the climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The [114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels, but they are the data of only a short period and do not represent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two points within a short distance could be quite different. For instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade, but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13 at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850 [361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270 kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly, [164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region. On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparently on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals cannot see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

2:Ling & Ruey--56a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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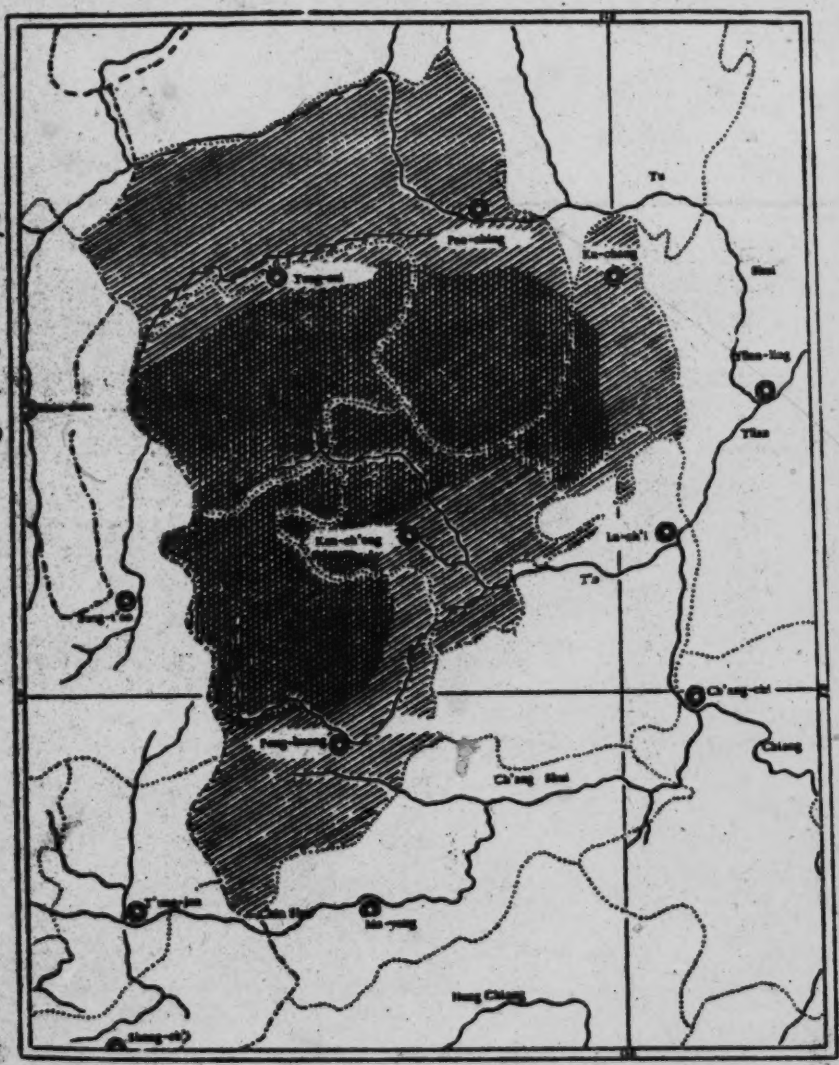

Illustration 5. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, Tung-ch'i, Pao-ching, and Ku-chang.

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day
784 of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from
the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day
of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
• 648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear
[161] on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

/61 cont./

731 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/123 cont./

c 701 425 651 The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men. The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are 7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i, tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given 4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8 liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent. Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/ /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system, totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier region is about 1,000 strong. The maintainance of the Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

c 701 425 651 563 M 701 648 [425] [177]

2:Ling & Ruey--185 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/126 cont./

000 obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system
C of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao
563 area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un
669 fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders
[425] often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt
[651] in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances.
M In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao re-
648 bellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system.
[425] It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un
[701] officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

/127/ CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

M The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There
121 are no people however primitive without religion and magic.
771 Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic
000 and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in Science, Religon and Reality by

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen. Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region. (1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648]

1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛy ɕioŋy] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛy tʂay] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
756 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
622 gent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

ing school, and the engineers' corps of the railway being built through the town from Kwangsi to Kweiyang. To it the people of the surrounding contryside, including at least three groups of Miao and the Chung-chia, went to market. It was also the seat of the *hsien* government and contained a middle school, postal and telegraph offices, and a co-operative bank, with all of which the non-Chinese, as well as the Chinese, had some dealings. A few of the more well-to-do families sent one of their boys to the middle school. Cases which could not be settled in the village or by the *lien pao* official, who was also a Chinese, were of necessity brought to the *hsien* court, as well as cases which involved both Miao and Chinese.

The market was held in an open space reserved for it just inside the east gate of the city. There were permanent sheds under which merchants who made the rounds of such markets displayed their stocks of cloth, notions, and articles manufactured elsewhere. Other sections of the grounds were reserved for eggs and poultry, sandal straw, farm implements, brown sugar cakes, fruits and vegetables, dishes and cooking utensils, pigs, tobacco, chillies, food stalls, articles of wood and bamboo, meat, firewood, grain, and the thin strips of sulfur-tipped wood used for carrying fire. The main market for wood was just outside the city gate.

People within a radius of perhaps ten miles and including Chinese, Chung-chia, and three, sometimes four, groups of Miao, attended this market to buy and sell. One group of Miao came from the mountains twenty-four miles to the south with charcoal. Each group had a distinctive costume worn by the women. That of Chung-chia women consisted of long, narrow trousers with a woven band of color at the ankles, a knee-length blouse in old Chinese style, a straight apron attached to the collar of the blouse with a silver chain and tied with embroidered strings in the back, and a tight skull cap. The women of one group of Miao wore dark blue trousers to below the knee, a skirt of many pleats of dark blue, bordered with a wide band of white, a blue blouse worn surplice and having a large sailor collar. Their legs were wound in many long strips of blue cloth. About the waist

443 648 692 443 443 291 [41a]

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordi-
621 narily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the
648 litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to the village for the second period of residence,
689 the first of February, 1942, I found that the old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in
648 prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone
123 to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

661 This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some
648 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed
123 by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

661 they did. But before anything could be done
•648 he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his
123 captors took him to Hunan. He was well
treated and not forced to become a soldier, but served the commanding officer as a secretary. He was later released. I like to think that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the provincial government had something to do with his release before the soldiers were due to return to Kweichow. It was not until after the rice harvest that his family sent him traveling expenses so that he might come home. He arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

648 On the eighteenth of November I was asked
123 to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again.
685 This time a relative by the name of T'ang
661 was being detained on complaint of some Chinese. This man owned a wooded slope. The Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this man to make his wood into charcoal for them. No agreement was made, but they had him arrested to be held until he could produce fifty thousand *chin*,[2] more than sixty-six thousand pounds. What they wanted me to do was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate the matter quickly so that the man could be released. This I did. But when the *hsien* magistrate said he could be released if two would go surety for him, and they asked me to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had never seen the man and could not find out what it meant to be a guarantor under such circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live they continued to ask me to help them. Upon one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien* magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of stealing logs from his house while only his wife and children were at home. The Chinese said that he had sold them the logs before felling the trees on a hillside he owned and that they were only taking what already belonged to them. I was asked to urge the magistrate to investigate the matter before the Chinese should have time to convert the

[2] One and one-third pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case 123
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit-
nesses had not told the truth at other points. 685

Another case was that of a Miao who had 661
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
leased so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and
could not be found to ask him to change his
mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next
hsien, and after his condition that some mer-
chant in the city go surety for her was met,
she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed
money from his brother. This brother later
brought suit for the return of some of the
loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the
day set, but the brother did not appear to re-
ceive it. Later the family who had received
the loan sued the brother for the expense to
which they had been put because of his failure
to come and receive the payment on the day
set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most 671
small matters were settled among themselves.
Much of the old man's time was taken up with
such cases. Sometimes others of the village
elders were called in for consultation. This
was according to the Chinese Government
system, though in effect this formed the vil-
lage government, or council. If matters could
not be settled by them, they were taken before
the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the
hsien magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific
economic institutions. Families formed eco-
nomic units, and as such carried on trade with
Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie
Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting
country kinfolk to gather before they re-
turned to their villages from market. The
shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as
well, and much of their trade was really a
form of family visits. In their shops, as well

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AE5

Dynasty and the beginning of the Sui (A.D. 220-581), not only did North China experience the aggression of the Wu-Hu (Five Tatar tribes), but it also faced the northward menace of the Miao-Man. The division of China between northern and southern dynasties created a kind of a no-man's-land between the two areas where political control was loose and chaotic. Moreover, during the relatively peaceful four centuries that the Han Dynasty held sway, the mixed peoples of the former Ch'u Kingdom had become completely assimilated to Han-Chinese civilization and now presented a bloc that prevented the further western (Ssu-ch'uan) Miao movement into the territories of Hu-nan and Kuei-chou via the accustomed route. The Tibetan Ch'iang and the Tatar pressures from the west at the same time kept the Miao on the move in Ssu-ch'uan. The result was that the former eastward movement was diverted into the eastern reaches of the Ta-pa and Ch'in-ling mountains and thus brought the Miao into the political vacuum of the no-man's-land. These northward invading Miao, then, did not come from the Hu-nan region, but from the upper tributaries of the Yang-tzu, i.e., from western Ssu-ch'uan.[60]

S 174 175 M 174 175

These Miao migrants spread into northeastern Hu-pei, where they were called the Yü-chou Man. From there they overflowed into the valleys of the Yang-tzu, Huai, Ju and Han Rivers. The areas occupied by them include northern An-hui, the Shen-hsi borders, and the heart of Ho-nan. Some tribes even penetrated as far north as Sui-yuan Province. Between A.D. 403 and 561 there were more than 40 instances of Miao uprisings between the Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers. In one outstanding respect, Chiang Ying-liang said, these Miao-Man uprisings differed from those of other frontier tribesmen seeking plunder in a robber-fashion. These were really struggles arising from attempts to seize political control from the existing body of land-holding people. Moreover, both northern and southern dynasties competed to gain the adherence of the Miao gentry, and there were many Miao leaders in high positions in the various courts of the competing dynasties. These appointments were given them because they voluntarily submitted their allegiance, or as a reward for military aid against the opposing dynasty, or because the court on one side or the other wished to gain the support of strong Miao leaders who had succeeded in seizing territory and establishing their domination.[61]

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During this period of confusion in the melting pot of

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China Proper, the fusing process of some 300 years welded the different peoples into a single body in which Han-culture submerged not only the northern Tatar nomads, but also the numerically smaller Miao tribes. Therefore, we find that what was called the Southern Man during the T'ang, Sung, and Yuan Dynasties was limited to those in China south of the Yang-tzu. The restoration of Han-Chinese rule over the Chinese empire in A.D. 618 prevented the further eastward migration of Miao remnants from the old Miao homeland in the east Hsi-k'ang and west Ssu-ch'uan mountain lands. The remnant tribes either were assimilated into Han culture or became exterminated by Ch'iang or Han-Chinese rulers. A few may have migrated southwestwards and southeastwards from Hsi-k'ang.

After the Han period the area of western Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou became the stronghold of the Miao. This area accordingly became the scene for conquest and development by the first T'ang rulers. The meaning of the phrase "chih-chou" (organizing administrative districts) as applied to the Miao may be looked at from two viewpoints, said Chiang. If characterized sympathetically, it was the development of the Man territory and the cultural assimilation into a higher civilization of the Man peoples. If characterized unsympathetically, the process meant the ruthless subjugation and the oppression of the Man-Miao and the aggressive occupation of their lands.[62]

In the turmoil following the T'ang and known as the Five Dynasties period (A.D. 907-960), Ma Yin, an adventurer, occupied Ch'ang-sha and proclaimed himself king of a new state of Ch'u (one of ten states of this period). Of course, the Miao had taken the opportunity of reasserting their own independence, and Ma found it necessary to subjugate the Man-Yi and with this was able to incorporate Chiang Chou as well as Ch'i and Chin Departments into his domain. Chiang Chou was in present Kuei-chou territory. By this period, therefore, Han-Chinese political organization had penetrated deep into the upper drainage of the Five Streams.

The Sung Dynasty took the most vigorous and positive steps in opening up the Southern Man territory (in more than one way the advance of the Han-Chinese into tribal territories reminds one of the American "opening up" of the Indian Territory). These steps had two results. They caused the assimilation of those that were willing to submit or the flight and migration into the adjoining territories of central and eastern Kuei-chou and the areas of

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AE5

Ling-nan in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. By T'ang times, the Miao had reached as far south as Ts'un-yi in Kuei-chou, but it is not clear whether they were spread all over Kuei-chou during T'ang and Sung times. It seems unlikely that they had, because the Lolo tribesmen were in occupation of large parts of southern and western Kuei-chou.

S 175 563 642 M 175 563 648

The history of the Lolo in the Ch'ien Shu or History of Kuei-chou states that the An Clan of Lolo in the Ta-ting area was in occupation there as early as the Three Kingdoms period (3rd and 4th centuries). The chief of the clan was "enfeoffed" as King of Lo-tien State. (Actually, enfeoffment merely meant the confirmation of the de facto position the tribal chieftain already held). This was conferred by Chu-ko Liang of the Ssu-ch'uan Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-265). The An Clan chief's hereditary succession was confirmed by the T'ang and Sung Dynasties as a matter of expediency. This was not changed by succeeding Han-Chinese dynasties. Kublai Khan gave the An Clan chief the title An-fu-ssu, later changed to the higher Hsuan-wei-ssu plus the added designation Marquis of Lo-tien. The Ming Emperor made him Hsuan-wei-ssu of Kuei-chou. From all this, it would appear that the incoming Miao migrants did not reach this far west. The Miao probably traveled up the three rivers Yuan, Ch'en and Yu from Hu-nan, making the upper reaches their base area. In northern Kuei-chou the Miao eventually reached the Districts of Ts'un-yi and Tzu-t'ung. In southern Kuei-chou they reached An-shun and Tz'u-yün Districts.[63]

There are not many Miao people in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, and their history here is comparatively short. They probably came first to northern Kuang-hsi during the Yuan Dynasty, said Hsu Sung-shih.[64] Because of the frequent military operations of the Yuan and Ming against them, the Miao of Kuei-chou began to migrate out of the Kuei-chou province.[65] When Kublai Khan conquered the Kuei-chou territory, it was organized as Shun-yuan Lu (Shun-yuan Province). The Yuan Shu (History of the Yuan) tells of the suppression of the T'ung-Miao-Man. There is a so-called "Long-Bridge tomb plaque of the 300 Chung (Red Yao tribe) nobles" in Lung-sheng District of northern Kuang-hsi. This states that the ancestors of these nobles were Ching-chou (southwest Hu-nan) Miao, and that they had come into Kuang-hsi only since the Yuan Dynasty. However, the Miao have come across the southern ranges into Ling-nan in large numbers only since the Ming Dynasty.

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In 1381 the first Ming Emperor appointed Marquis Yi

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Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily understandable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate southward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-1567), there was a major suppression campaign against the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears relatively even except where mountain systems such as the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface. The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the one in the foreground have been eroded far below the surface of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers cultivate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon. Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes quickly with crop cultivation.

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troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their descendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-nan.[66]

During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their territories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand, and suppression and extermination on the other. There was hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when suppression or pacification campaigns were not being undertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major suppression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating the migratory movements of the modern period. (The Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover, these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and massacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields. The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the pushing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land considered of little value by Han-Chinese.[68] (The parallel situation with respect to the American treatment of the Indians is noteworthy.)

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The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not coordinated events and were put down by Governor-General Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

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101 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began
175 migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time.
[648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest.
000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed
131 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of
161 several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of
161 whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the
000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

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871 corrupt and did untold harm. Since the coming of the mission-
797 aries to the Miao area, churches and schools were established,
871 and those who were converted to the Christian religion were given an education. Today there are quite a few Miao who have received a higher education with the help of the church. However, it is regrettable that under the influence of the church, the religious element is too strong. In the 14th year
871 of the Republic [sic. It should probably be the 24th year of
648 the Republic, or 1935.] when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as head of the government came to Kweichow, he saw with his own eyes the low cultural level of the Miao-I and planned to assimilate them through education. The next year the government issued an order to encourage Miao-I education and appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose. In the same year the Provincial Rural Normal School was established at Ch'ing-yen, but its students were not all children of the Miao-I, sixty or seventy percent being Chinese who pretended to be Miao-I. Again, in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] when General Yang Sen was stationed at An-shun he promoted Miao education through his army by establishing three elementary schools with some good results. But not long afterwards his troops were transferred to the front and his education program was abandoned. Aside from these attempts, the provincial
872 government established an elementary school in each of the
648 twelve hsien at Kweiyang, Huang-p'ing, Li-po, T'ai-kung, Wei-ning, An-nan, Kuan-ling, Tan-chiang, Shui-ch'eng, Ting-fan, Lo-tien and Pa-chai, where the Miao-I congregate. In other hsien areas there are short-term elementary schools that also admit Miao-I children. The educational system for the Miao-I in Kweichow is rudimentary at best and with the extensive distribution of the Miao-I over a wide area the work is like extinguishing a wagonful of burning fuel with a cup of water -- not at all effective or enough.

3) Occupations. The Miao-I people, being retarded in
241 cultural development, have just entered the stage of agricultural community, and so their chief occupation is farming. [14] Those Miao-I living in the northwest of the province have high

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6. General Living Conditions

511 Due to limited space we cannot discuss all the phases of their living conditions. In sum, the Short-skirt Hê Miao are still passing through a phase of village economy. The necessities of life, except salt which is obtained from the Chinese, are all produced in the village. The area they occupy is quite fertile. Not long ago they produced a great deal of opium though they themselves are rarely addicted to it. They are, however, surrounded on four sides by the Chinese, and an extension of their cultivated acreage is therefore practically impossible. But their population has greatly increased in the course of centuries and in proportion the per family acreage under cultivation has greatly decreased. Although some few of them may be large landowners, the majority of the Hê Miao can maintain only the barest economic subsistence. Their continuous toil all year round yields merely a pittance, barely enough to ward off starvation. This kind of rigid economy [31] [161] together with the prevalence of smallpox increases the rate of mortality in recent years to such an extent that it follows closely the maximum birthrate, and thus manages to bring their population rate to a standstill: more people are being born, but more also are dying.

[212] They have no written language, their knowledge is limited, and their living standard is far below the standard of modern life. ● 648 Because of the backwardness of their civilization they are held in contempt by the Chinese. Due to repeated conflicts in the past between the Chinese and the Miao-I, a great deal of misunderstanding, suspicion and prejudice still exists between the two groups. Fortunately, there are no unified spoken language customs and habits among the various Miao-I groups, and so among their many millions of people there is yet no apparent consolidation of a minority group movement to oppose the 000 Chinese. If our government authorities can undertake the development of their educational standards on the one hand and the elimination of misunderstanding and racial prejudices on the

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
● [648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

[162 cont.]

534 They construct a musical instrument of an entirely special model called "sen," a sort of "pipe of Pan," formed of a tube which swells out very much in its lower portion. Into this swollen section are fitted six or eight reed pipes of varying lengths, pierced with holes and set at right angles to the large tube. The player obtains continuous sounds by successive aspirations and expirations. The scale is rather extended, as it provides from twelve to sixteen notes and numerous cords. The player of the "sen" dances while playing. (See photo 155, Plate 40.) The "sen" of the "Méo" very much re-
[171] sembles the Laotian "ken."

The "Méo" also make tambourines, copper cymbals, a sort of
[237] bagpipe with a nasal sound, produced by a goatskin sack of voluminous dimensions, and a small guitar with a long neck, made from a turtle's shell covered with a tightly stretched snake's skin.

In the area which gave them birth, the "Méo" were, without
631 doubt, formed into groupings placed under the orders of chiefs of
648 their race and preserving a certain independence in relation to the neighboring Chinese authorities. In the matter of the tribes who have immigrated into Tonkin, they have had to place themselves little by little under the authority of local native functionaries and of the commandants of sectors, spheres, and provinces.

In accordance with the importance of their groupings, these tribes are organized into communes (region of Dong-Van) placed under the authority of a "toung-tcha" (corresponding to "ly-truong Thai") in direct contact with the chiefs of canton ("quan-châu") or with the commandants of sectors. These communes are subdivided into quarters commanded by a "ping-t'éou" who has under his orders a certain number of "siao-phay," the latter having, in general, authority over the groups of hamlets or villages built in the same valley or on the same slope of a mountain chain. [163] In the regions where the "Méo" population is too scattered to form a distinct commune, the "Méo" have only some "siao-phay" and sometimes a "ping-t'éou" placed administratively under the authority of the "pho-ly" or of the "ly-truong" of the "Thai" race.

[163 cont.]

186 It is fitting, however, to point out the repugnance with which
631 the "Méo" accept being subordinated to "Thai" chiefs, even though
648 this subordination is of the lightest kind and applies only to rare acts of ordinary living: the payment of taxes, the furnishing of labor details, and so on. In this repugnance must be seen only a manifestation of the spirit of independence with which the "Méo" are so deeply imbued.

631 In other communes, by contrast (Pha-Long, and so on), the
648 "ly-truong" are of the "Méo" race and they hold the administrative authority over "Thai" and "Man" groupings settled upon the territory of these communes.

There is not now in Tonkin a "Méo" chief above the rank of
175 "ly-truong." However, legend preserves the memory of a personage by the name of Sioung, calling himself the "King of the Méo," who established himself in the region of Yen Minh about the year 1860, an epoch corresponding to the second violent invasion of the "Méo," spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

This King Sioung showed himself to be most bloodthirsty in the war he carried on for some ten years against the "Thai" of the regions of Quan-Ba, Yen-Minh, and Dongvan, and was killed by myrmidons in the pay of his father-in-law (1).

1. Also it is fitting to indicate a movement of insurrection fomented in 1911 among the "Méo" of Dong Quong by a chief who took the name of Sioung. This revolt was quickly suppressed. During the war of 1914-1918, an uprising of the "Méo" of Upper Laos caused the dispatch of an expeditionary column, which re-established order.

631 There still exists in our time, in the Chinese region contiguous
648 to the Thanthuy sector, a personage improperly called "King of the Méo," who is none other than a "Méo" chief invested by the Chinese

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a fam-
769 ily tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

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174 [173] The description by the Meau concerning their later history from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they [823] would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agree with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

[648] We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B.C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

175 648 each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports, around the twenty-seventh century B.C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history

/11 cont./

175 in the basins of both the Yellow River and the Hoai. These
648 wars always ended with the destruction or subjugation of the Meau, the latter inevitably being followed by destruction (see chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples").

In the Chinese reports the Meau are always described as the attackers and as inferior barbarians, which was why the Chinese "had to punish them." The first European reports come
[197] from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We owe them to missionaries of the Society of Jesus. Thus, Mailla, du Halde, and Amiot repeatedly speak in their works of the battles of the Meau with the Chinese. Naturally, later works are also based upon the ancient Chinese literature. For example, Savina (3)

3. II, p. 129.

reports: "The 'Sin kouo wen' speaks of the Meau in the eighth volume, which is entitled 'Allgemeine Geschichte von China /General History of China/' (4): 'There follows the period of

4. Translation of Père Lamasse, p. 485.

Hoang-ti. Thanks to the symbols of the calendar it was possible from then on to verify time, an improvement which has lasted to the present day, that is, for more than 4600 years. Hoang-ti invented the weapons of war in order to subjugate the Meau tribes.'"

/12/ At this point we shall borrow from Wieger's study (1)

1. Pages 9 ff.

the following quotations which are illuminating for the history of the Meau: "The Hia, namely, the Chinese, came from the northwest, followed the course of the Wei River...to the Hoai River. Here the migration was stopped by a then numerous people whose remnants are the Meau of today... These resident

/12 cont./

175 648 Meau looked askance at the intrusion of the Chinese. They rose up in a general revolt, made war on the Chinese, and beat them back from the plains south of the Yellow River to the north of the plain of the present-day Tcheu-li. The instinct of self-preservation unified the Chinese, who, led by Huan-Yuan, defeated the Meau under Tcheu-yeou. It was a bitter battle, with life or death at stake... Defeated, Tcheu-yeou's subjects were made slaves.... history makes no secret of the fact that Hoang-ti imposed Chinese culture upon the Meau by force... In order to soften up the Meau, a cruel people, Hoang-ti used their own criminal laws against them."

It seems that once the harmony between the Chinese and the Meau was disturbed there was no way of restoring it later on. Savina (2), for instance, reports: "At the time of Confucius,

2. II, p. 131.

twenty centuries after the events just described, there were still twelve noble and powerful families." The author believes that these were Meau, and he adds (3) that, according to all the

3. II, p. 132.

Chinese reports of later times, the Meau are regularly mentioned whenever there is an account of sedition and revolt. We find this largely confirmed. In the oldest part of the Schu-djing, which supplements and elaborates the Bamboo Annals, it is said that even the mythical Emperor Chun forced the San-Meau to hide away in San-Wei: "Under Chun's fourth successor it was again only the Meau who refused to obey the Emperor" (4). Father

4. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 2.

Amiot (5) writes: "In the following year 2282, Chun threw the

5. Vol. XIII, pp. 286 ff.

/12 cont./

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San-Meau back to San-Wei...It is asserted that the San-Meau are the descendants of the peoples who, after the defeat of Tscheu-yeou, refused to submit to Hoang-ti. They have always lived independently within the empire, and those who ruled them belonged to the people of Tscheu-yeou." Amiot (6) continues:

6. Page 299.

"In the year 2247, /13/ Chun divided the San-Meau into various tribes in order to distinguish them in this way from the other people." Amiot also describes an attempt at direct colonization by the Chinese and relates how the Meau, who were protected by the inaccessibility of their mountainous country, were subjugated by trickery.

When Chun divided the Meau into various tribes over which he appointed Chinese officials, he also allotted ground to the Meau, which they were supposed to cultivate, and houses and villages as well; he differentiated the families and "in short, neglected nothing in order to bend them gently under the yoke." Evidently, however, these attempts were not very successful, for later on it is said that the Meau spread into almost all the mountains of China and, as before, maintained their unyielding character which no one again tried to humble. Amiot confirms that "the mandarins who are appointed over them to give an appearance of ruling them do not exert any power over them except that which the Meau concede to them voluntarily."

The Chinese seem to have already become aware of the fact that the prerequisite for successful colonization is accurate knowledge of those to be colonized. Thus, it is reported that the Chinese emperors sent mandarins as well as scholars to the Meau, with the task of "ascertaining everything that seems worth knowing about this type of savage." Even at that time, however, complaints were voiced -- as is often the case among us today -- that the scholars entered only the nearest and most accessible regions, because they feared every possible kind of difficulty and merely brought back any kind of information they chose, which did not say anything except what was already known.

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/13 cont./

As Amiot (1) further reports, Chun now decided to use

1. Pages 286 ff.

the "fivefold tortures." We learn what this refers to from his report: "They were condemned to have their noses or one or both ears cut off, to be castrated, or to be 'branded shamefully in the face.'" It is then said further: "Since the Meau prince did not have any principle of virtue, his people always remained in barbarism and, far from permitting themselves to become civilized, did nothing rational. They thought only of sedition and knew nothing about faithfulness, truth, and openness, either in words or in deeds, and /14/ sought to be skillful only in deceit. The prisons were not adequate to accommodate the prisoners. The streets were red with the blood of those executed; the majority professed their innocence before the Throne of Heaven and complained bitterly about injustice. But Chang-ti (God), before whom nothing remains hidden, saw no trace of virtue among them. He saw only crime and rapine. Outraged by the bad example set by these peoples, the emperor decided to exterminate them and obliterate their princes, for Chang-ti, angry because justice could not be attained among the San-Meau, used Chun in order to annihilate the Meau prince and his people."

Corresponding to this report, we learn similar things from other authors. For example, from Mailla (1), that the Yau-Meau

1. Vol. I, pp. 47 ff.

rose in revolt about 2225 B.C., whereupon the emperor ordered Yu to subjugate the Meau prince, which he succeeded in doing. Von Eickstedt (2) comments on this subject: "Both the Tung-

2. III, p. 2.

djiän-gang-mu and Dschou-schu, the latter having been translated in the eighteenth century by the famous Père Amiot, report

/14 cont./

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to the same effect for the Hsia Period (that is, 2205-1766 B.C.) that it was the Meau who prevented the Chinese under 'Emperor' Huang-di from advancing farther" (3). And the Bamboo Annals

3. Young, pp. 133 ff.

matter-of-factly report of Emperor Chun (allegedly about 2254 B.C.): "In the thirty-fifth year of his reign the Emperor commanded the Prince of Hsia to fight the Meau, whereupon the Meau people came to the throne (in order to offer their submission)" (4). Wieger (5) states that the Meau were subjugated

4. Also confirmed by Legge, p. 116.

5. Page 46.

in 2220, in spite of the fact that they had successfully resisted the Chinese army. Pauthier (6) reports that about 1110 B.C. part

6. Vol. I, p. 87.

of the Meau were shifted to East China by Emperor Chun, while other groups of the people inhabited the mountains in the south, where they and their descendants maintained their independence. As Wieger (7) also points out, about 826 B.C. the emperor himself

7. Page 127.

had waged war against the barbarians who had invaded the territory north of the Hoai and the Han, while Fang-chou marched against the Man to the south of the Han, and Hou moved from Chao against the Meau to the south of the Hoai. The Chinese odes dealing with these expeditions speak of 3,000 battle carts and of 300,000 foot soldiers who were at the /15/ disposal of Fang-chou. Nevertheless, the Chinese did not succeed in

/15 cont./

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achieving a lasting peace. Even though the term "barbarians" may include other mountain tribes, it is safe to assume from all this that the Meau took a leading part in the wars.

Even in later times the struggles continued. We learn from Mailla (1) that in the fourth month of the year 1456 A.D.

1. Vol. I, p. 316.

Fang-yün destroyed the Meau after he had surrounded them from four sides. A legend reported by Von Eickstedt (see the chapter "Myths and Fairy Tales") indicates that these battles did not always turn out well for the Chinese or at least were not always waged against the mountain tribes. According to his interpretation, a Man or a Meau chief is said to have become a Chinese prince and son-in-law of the emperor of China in acknowledgment of his successful armed assistance.

Savina (2), however, on the basis of the Textes historiques (3),

2. II, p. 145.

3. Page 2073.

further relates that as early as 1733 and 1735 the Meau rose up from the mountains of Kweichow. And thirty years later, in 1763, the Meau of Szechwan and Kweichow under their leader took up arms again and were defeated by the Chinese under General Akoui. Not until 1775 did the Chinese succeed in taking the fortified places of the Meau in the mountains one by one. Finally, Sonom, the king of the Meau, surrendered after being assured that his life and that of his subjects would be spared. The Chinese, however, broke their word and executed him.

We are indebted to Amiot (4) for a description of the sur-

4. Vol. III, pp. 387 ff.

render of the Meau king and of the way he was lured to Peking: "There (in Peking, note by Dr. Bernatzik), after his arrival, he was entertained. Once or twice he became suspicious and became sick with grief. The attention, the flattery, and the outward demonstrations of friendliness were redoubled. He

/15 cont./

175 recovered and hoped for the best." -- According to the description, however, the Chinese were only "saving" the subjugated Meau for their festivals. Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ is therefore justified in maintaining that the Chinese used many strategems and were no less cruel than the Meau, assuming that the latter were actually cruel. He calls attention to a truly heart-rending letter written by the missionary Amiot in the year 1775, in which the latter describes how the /16/ Meau, outwitted by the aforementioned General Akoui, were led to Peking under the leadership of King Sonom and his entire court, in order to be executed there. Amiot (1) then describes an abortive

1. Vol. III, p. 387.

attempt to rescue the Meau king and reports on the execution of the verdict: "Before the tortures began, the great military leader of the Meau said to the emperor of China: 'Before he [797] died Father Sourvin (a Catholic missionary, note by Dr. Bernatzik) entrusted the king to my care. He was a young prince and not yet capable of making an independent decision. I am the one who was in favor of war. If this be a sin, then I alone have sinned, I alone deserve to be punished. I beg you to spare the life of the young king who could not be guilty. We could have sold our lives at a high price, and yet we surrendered after we had been assured of Your Majesty's mercy.' But he spoke in vain, and at a signal from the emperor, the tortures were begun. With a gag in their mouths, they were tied to stakes and cut to pieces at eleven o'clock in the morning."

We find similar descriptions of the executions in Amiot's letter which was reproduced by Savina (2): "Sonom, his younger

2. II, pp. 145 ff.

brother Chalopen, his advisers, Kantak, Sonompontchouk, Karoua, Goisar, his aunt Atchin, and her husband Langtsia were cut into small pieces alive, and the two shamans of the king,

/16 cont./

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named Tonkio and Kanpou, along with ten other advisers, met the same fate. Nineteen others from the court of the king, who were treated with leniency, were 'only' decapitated; sixteen other relatives or followers of Sonom were incarcerated for life. Fifty-two others were sent into exile to Ily and were given as slaves to the Eleuths; forty-five staff officers of Sonom's army had to serve as simple soldiers in the Chinese army, thirty-five others served as slaves of the Tatar San-sing, and fifty-eight as slaves of important Manchu officers. The remaining shamans (Amiot speaks of 'lamas') were condemned to become the servants of the lamas in the temples of Kiang-ning. In his work, Amiot gives the following verbatim report, continuing from the day of execution of the leading Meau: "Their heads were then taken and exhibited in cages with designations of their names, surnames, and titles. On the following days, /17/ the bloody execution of the Meau of lower rank began. Of this unfortunate nation only a few members of the lower rank survived, and they were given to the victorious officers as slaves."

Von Eickstedt also gives a description (1): "Again around

1. III, p. 1b.

1650, then between 1755 and 1779, and finally from 1855 to 1881, they tried to regain their complete political freedom by bloody aggressive wars. By that time, however, the Chinese hold and penetration were much too strong and the uprisings were suppressed with a truly boundless cruelty, although also with considerable trouble and sacrifice." The author continues: "When the Chinese did not succeed in subduing the Meau with armed might, they tried to do it with 'wisdom and virtue' (probably economic and cultural penetration is meant), and the fact that they were successful in this is shown in the Tung-djiän by the statements that the Meau treated in this manner gave themselves up after seven decades."

/17 cont./

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Nevertheless the power of resistance of the Meau was not broken, and, tyrannized by the avaricious Chinese officials, the Meau of Kweichow rose in revolt again and again, and the Meau of Szechwan, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and Tonkin were also heard from on various occasions, as Savina (2) reports on the

2. II, p. 145.

basis of the Textes historiques (3). We further learn from

3. Page 2081.

Abadie (4) that the Meau residing in Tonkin gradually spread

4. Pages 149 ff.

along the northern and northeastern border to the Annamese Cordillera. To be sure, most of this movement proceeded peacefully, but Abadie also points out several instances of penetration by force into the Dongvan region at the beginning of the nineteenth century and about 1860. According to him, on the occasion of their first penetration, several thousand Meau marched in warlike formation from southern Yunnan, devastated everything along the way, and reached Annamese territory in the region of Dongvan. There they used force to drive out the "Thai" and the "Man" who had settled there. The invasion of 1860 was of even greater scope, and many "Thai" today still vividly remember it. At this time, the Meau pushed from Dongvan and Quan-Ba almost as far as Phu-Yen-Binh deep into Annam, after they had beaten the Annamese troops and /18/ had spread horror with their indescribable cruelty. This invasion was nevertheless repulsed by troops brought up from the delta and reinforced by many war elephants. The use of these animals spread panic in the ranks of the Meau, and they fled into the high mountains, in which they still live today.

/18 cont./

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Finally Abadie (1) comes to the description of the history

1. Page 163.

of the Meau in the twentieth century. Here he mentions an uprising of the Meau of Dongvan in 1911 under a Chief Sioung. This movement was quickly suppressed. Then an uprising by the Meau in upper Laos during the World War 1914 to 1918 made it necessary to send an expeditionary force there. I was told that this revolt was fomented by agents of one of the powers in the war. Concerning this uprising, Savina (2) reports briefly

2. II, p. 235.

that in July, 1918, the Meau in the province of Laokay had revolted, and in the Luang Prabang district the uprising had lasted until March, 1921. Lajonquière (3) gives a similar account:

3. II, pp. 297 ff.

"The last minor revolt took place in 1928 in French Laos. Of greater importance were the uprisings that broke out in July, 1918, in the province of Laokay, which caused the French administration considerable difficulty and could not be suppressed until March, 1921, in the region of Luang Prabang."

Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ then discusses the causes of the uprisings of the Meau and comes to the conclusion that the Meau had always revolted "because they are a people without property. They have no homeland and no king." It seems to me, all things considered, that this is a somewhat rash statement. I shall come back to the probable actual causes, and not only for the revolt of 1918, which I have already briefly mentioned, at length and upon a sound basis in the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," in the section on "Causes of the Migrations."

[114]

/19 cont./

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Savina (2) writes that in the first centuries of Chinese his-

2. II, p. vii.

tory they had waged war in the basin of the Yellow River as well as in the basin of the Hoai. He says that since it is a fact that they had settlements along the lower course of the /20/ Yellow River in Honan at the time of Hoang-ti, the Meau there can be traced back about twenty-five centuries before our era. Marabail (1), too, relies on ancient sources and reports: "In

1. Page 133.

his book, Ouen Hieng-Tong-Kao, Ouang-Ki, who lived in the sixteenth century, says: 'These people are descended from [101] ancient tribes who are called San-Meau and who are already mentioned in the Chou-King. They are very numerous in Tschang-Cha, in the provinces of Youen and Chin, and to the south in the Ye-Lang country, where the Chinese call them Nam-Man, i.e., southern barbarians.'"

Savina (2) reports further that five centuries after the time

2. II, p. vii.

of Hoang-ti Chinese historical writing is silent about the Meau in the basin of the Yellow River. Other Chinese sources, however, report that these Meau were pushed toward the bend of the Yellow River in the direction of present-day Chensi and Kansu. The Meau from the basin of the Hoai, however, crossed the Blue River /Yangtze/ migrated toward the Tungting and Poyang Lakes, wandered as nomads in Hou-Pé, Kiangsi, and Honan, reached the mountains that separate the basin of the Blue River from that of the West River, and finally came to Kweichow from where the Chinese have not been able to expel them up to the present time. Von Eickstedt (3) also opposes

3. III, p. 4.

Miao AE5

/20 cont./

175 648 the view often held by the Chinese that the Meau were located only in present-day Kweichow and therefore remote from the ancient China of Hsia and Shang. He points out that the assertion of the Schui-djing-dschu (sixth century B.C.) that San-Wei was located on the upper course of the Wei-Ho is very plausible. The Meau of the Hsia are submerged under the term "western barbarians" or under the names of widely dispersed groups of Tibetan affinity, such as the Tjang. After this it is not until the Tang and Sung Periods (816 to 907 and 960 to 1279, respectively) that the foreign peoples who live in western Szechwan and eastern Tibet, but also far into Kweichow, again emerge. Thus they already appear in the nuclear area of the present-day Meau, but still retain those regions through which the ancient San-Meau must have passed during their southward infiltration. The author continues: "Actually, with San-Miau, Tjiang, Fan, and Miao, this brings about, step by step and with extensive overlapping, a southward shift of tribal /21/ names whose ethnic substratum is most closely related. Since the Sung [101] Period, however, the name Miau has been applied to a definite tribal group which is now found chiefly in Kweichow."

131 175 648 Today, these Meau in Kweichow are split into two large surviving blocks. The Chinese administration there can best be described as a kind of protectorate. Even today, however, the Meau exist as an independent nationality, and this after four thousand years of historically confirmed struggles and continual repulsion (1). Retaining Kweichow as their settlement area,

1. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 16.

they gradually spread into the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the south and into the provinces of Szechwan in the north and Yunnan in the west, as well as into Indochina (Tonkin), Thailand, and Burma. Savina comes to the conclusion that the present-day Meau in Tonkin came from Yunnan, but those in Laos from Tonkin. He says that the latter steadily pursued their way to the south and today have reached the twentieth degree of northern latitude in the Annamese Corderilla.

/21 cont./

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We learn from Maspero (2) concerning both groups, the

2. Page 244.

Meau in Tonkin and those in French Laos: "The Meau form very scattered groups in Tonkin and Laos. The most important group, that of Mung-trang, north of Lao-cay, belongs to the territory of a chief (tou-sseu) on Chinese territory. The other groups live completely separated from their relatives in smaller villages."

[148]

In Tonkin the limits of expansion which they have reached thus far by following the various mountain ridges are given by Von Eickstedt as the northern and northwestern boundary up to the Annamese Cordillera. At any rate -- as has already been mentioned -- all the Meau are rapidly advancing toward the south.

J. McCarthy (3) reported in 1902 that in 1886 the Meau

3. Pages 83 ff.

had not yet crossed the left bank of the Mekong, but in 1894 they had already settled on the heights of the right bank. Credner (4)

4. IV, p. 167.

writes: "Only in very recent times, during the last half-century, have they also moved into the high regions of northern Siam." In 1929 the explorer (5) found them south of the Mulmein-

5. IV, p. 139.

Raheng /Tak/ route at 16° 35' north latitude and stated that within about forty years, they had thus shifted their area of distribution almost 380 kilometers to the south, and /22/ continues: "In the mountain ranges between Menam Tschao Praya /Chao Phraya River/ and Menam Pasak /Pa Sak River/, A. Kerr in 1927 found a large Meau village at 17° north latitude on the heights of the Pu Lomlo on the Uttaradit-Lamsak route, so that

/22 cont./

173 [115] This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tsu tên, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/ [648] In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands in China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nyă lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

174 [131] The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been reported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan actually are Meau and not perhaps Yau. It is significant, at [197] any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special intermediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, [648] who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy [435] about seventy, are paid. The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but

1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

they are not refuted by any other author.

/36 cont./

M 592 737 always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled according to the social organization. Such survivors of an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they can to be useful to the community.

A 466 Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however, do not live in the house of the employer and are completely "free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha A 737 solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their position as "free" Akha.

A M 567 M [648] Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A M 571 114 On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right, totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

/37 cont./

A M 571 114 Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

M [171]

2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/ Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

M 631 From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

M [648] regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

/38 cont./

631 consist only of people of their race or sometimes embrace small groups of ethnically similar elements, who are under the rule of a chief chosen by them."

"In the region of Hang-Giang the various hamlets of a valley are under the jurisdiction of a ma-phai or ho-thau. Several villages are under the jurisdiction of a ping-tao... His title is translated as 'chief of the canton.' These cantons, finally, are united under a toung-tscha... This is the organization existing in the lands where the tribes were able to expand and to form compact settlement groups. If settlements are of lesser importance, only a ping-tao stands over them. If, finally, the settlement /39/ is even weaker, it is under an [648] ordinary ma-phai who receives his orders from the lytru'o'ng of the 'Tho.'"

Abadie (1) deals more briefly with this organization, and

1. Page 162.

Savina (2) reports: "The Meau like to group themselves in

2. II, p. 187.

tribes, and the inhabitants of one village usually belong to a single tribe. It even happens frequently that persons of the same tribe occupy whole mountains. In this case they all obey the chief of the tribe to which they belong."

In China, too, larger communities are supposed to exist, as Abadie (3) reports: "Even today in the Chinese region

3. Page 163.

[648] bordering on the Than-Thuy sector there exists a person who is incorrectly called 'King of the Meau' and who is nothing but a chief of the Meau who was appointed by the Chinese administration with the title of a 'Tou-sseu,' that is, 'administrator in the country of the barbarians.' This person has

Miao AE5
AkhaAO4

M /39 cont./
631 retained a certain moral influence upon the neighboring
[648] Tonkinese regions, but, of course, exercises no executive authority at all over these peoples."

The situation is different in Thailand where the Meau immigrated in small groups and were often able to remain completely independent, like most of the other mountain tribes. Seidenfaden (4) also mentions this more or less in-

4. II, p. 102.

dependent community of such peoples. Under these circumstances in Thailand today there are no political units larger than the village, over which there is the village chief. In
M [648] the administered parts of the country, he has to be approved by the district officer. Moreover, the villages of the Meau consist of only a few houses, whereas in former times their village unit, too, was powerful.

A Among the Akha in Thailand the custom of having
621 great village settlements with one hundred to two hundred houses has been maintained (cf. the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various
A Meau and Akha Tribes"). A larger political unit does not
[631] exist.

/40/ b) Kingship and Chieftainship

M The memory of times when there was a much larger
643 political unit has been kept alive to this day among the Meau.
[631] Thus, tradition tells of a powerful kingdom of the Meau, an hereditary kingship, in which the king was at the same time the supreme war-lord.

After the death of a king, the entire people, that is, all the mature men able to bear arms, selected the successor from among the sons of the deceased. It did not make any difference to which of the generally numerous wives of the king this son was born.

/40 cont./

173 According to the tradition of the Thailand Meau, as my informants told me, their last king waged war against the
643 Chinese because the latter menaced the Meau settlements.
● 648 After the initial successes of the royal commander-in-chief, tă lĕn tĕŭ, the Meau were nevertheless beaten. The king and his military leaders died in the bloody battle. Then the younger brother of the slain king assumed leadership. He led all the people southward on the flight before the pursuing enemy. -- The present-day Meau in Thailand no longer re-
643 member the kingship in detail. It could not be learned, for instance, whether the crown was customarily passed on to the son or to the brother of the deceased. Only the designation
668 for king - văn tšŏ has survived. Even today they believe that
643 sometime and somewhere a Meau king will rise again, who will unite his people, gather them together, and lead them victoriously against the hated oppressors. Savina (1) describes

1. II, p. 258.

similar ideas from among the Meau in Indochina: "The Meau are waiting for a liberator, a king, a phoa thay. As soon as the report of a phoa thay comes from somewhere, they immediately take up their weapons and set out to put themselves at his disposal. What we call a 'rebellion' they call oa phoa thay, 'to make a king.'"

173 Far more vivid, however, is the memory of the Meau
634 concerning the power and activity of the great chiefs (tšŭń kŏăń). One of my informants in particular knew all kinds of details; he was a direct descendant of the last great chief. The memory of the great chief, however, /41/ was also alive among the other Meau and in any case was more vivid than that of the king, since the common man probably scarcely had an opportunity to know the king himself except by hearsay.

/98 cont./

584 marriage /99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find [648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage 584 promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary 608 assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men 614 participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always 686 decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 184 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from 584

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

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/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [736]

to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648

Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563

Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

M [114]

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /119/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
[578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such
[595] sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
• 648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
587 know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among
[583]

/113 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
[583] price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same
[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of
[184] the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

/161 cont./

775 [761] not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 787 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one. Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 775 776 825 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not feared either. There is one exception, however. During the three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected, so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 825 [648] Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the [763] [177] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

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/251 cont./

A 689 Lying is forbidden, to be sure, as it is among the Meau, but it is not punished, as it is among them. Similarly the Akha
A 684 do not have any penalties for rape. The reason for this is the same as among the Meau.

A 685 A person convicted of theft simply has to return the stolen goods. If he has denied the theft, however, he must restore twice as much. In the case of arson, too, the perpetrator must simply make good the full damage.

A 683 /252/ The same holds true for bodily injury; in addition the perpetrator must fully provide for the injured for the duration of any ensuing reduction of his ability to work.

A 684 For violation of the rather broadly conceived incest prohibitions, the male partner must pay to the female partner ten to fifteen pieces of silver "for compensation," as it is expressed. I have already discussed in detail the punishment for adultery in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Dissolution of Marriage."

A 681 Habitual criminals of any kind are banished, but not killed.

d) Jurisdiction

A M 671 648 692 The mountain peoples are subject to the laws of the colonial powers in whose territory they happen to be. Thus, the Meau of China are subject to Chinese jurisdiction and those of Tonkin to French-Indochinese jurisdiction, as is also shown in the works of Abadie (1) and Lajonquière (2). Accordingly, the

1. Page 163.

2. II, p. 321.

Meau and Akha of Thailand are subject to the laws of Thailand, and those of Kengtung to the laws of the Schan /Shan/.

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/252 cont./

A M 648 692 In general, however, this gives a rather theoretical picture of legal conditions. Only in very serious cases, and even then only as an exception, are legal cases brought to the law courts of the colonial powers by the mountain people. This usually happens only if a member of a mountain tribe has been in the service of members of other tribes for a long time or lives in a settlement of another tribe, which is rare. In such isolated instances, however, it may happen that such a tribesman will appear as defendant or plaintiff before the court of the colonial administration concerned.

The Akha in Kengtung as well as the Meau in Tonkin who are to a large extent controlled by the government of the colonial powers, settle almost all their cases in their own domain and in accordance with their customary law, so that not more than one per cent of their cases come before the official jurisdiction.

A 628 648 692 [631] /253/ It is different among the Akha when there are disputes to be settled between their various villages. Since the Akha today have no political organization beyond the village unit, th frequently turn to the chief of the nearest valley tribe and ask him to decide the issue (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The latter, usually a Schan /Shan/ or Lao, then acts as a sort of arbitrator.

e) Legal Procedure in Characteristic Cases

M 692 In accordance with the very precisely organized political structure, the individual Meau is obliged to observe the established legal procedure in all cases. Self-help is therefore forbidden. Accordingly, blood vengeance is unknown, as are secret courts.

M 692 622 [685] [693] Among the Meau, thefts, insofar as trifles are involved, are at first simply put up with; in repeated cases, however, one turns to the village chief, who acts as judge in petty cases. He is the court of the first instance in all lawsuits. If the village is so large, however, that the village chief is too greatly occupied with other matters, then an older man of the village takes over

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361

The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

A M [241] [262]

A M [648]

M 166 361

The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

[731] [756] [623] [622]

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Miao AE5

/393 cont./

A 411 [283] [824] [415] cord is usually wound with a strip of bast in the center, because the most wear and tear is there. The arrows (Fig. 325), often poisoned at the tip, are made of bamboo throughout (Ill. 35)[2] and feathered with the same material. They are kept and carried around in quivers (Ill. 30[2] and Fig. 326) of wood or likewise bamboo.

The accuracy of the crossbow marksmen is considerable. I saw a little squirrel fall at the first shot at a distance of 20 meters. The penetrating power of the crossbow of the Akha is A [224] also very great. Stags and does are regularly killed even without poisoned arrows, and the Akha are able to slay even tigers with their crossbow, but they prefer to avoid these large cats. /Figs. 321-326 appear here. /

/394/

Chapter 20

Military Affairs and War

M 181 721 The Meau are a warlike people who, at the risk of their lives and property, resist any subjugation and courageously face the enemy in defiance of death. Savina (1) describes them:

1. II, p. 232.

"Mild and timid in peace, they are wild and cruel in war."

M ●648 M 701 [702] [562] In fact, it was only their infinitely superior greater strength of numbers that enabled the Chinese to subjugate the Meau. Every Meau who is able to carry a weapon is subject to military service, as well as boys as soon as they are able to handle the men's crossbow. Children and women, on the other hand, are excluded from active military service, though history has recorded instances of outstanding personal contributions in war by Meau women. Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ also mentions them: "Many a woman has become famous in war..."

1 [see cat 116, p270 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p249 - "]

/449 cont./

114 212 [175] mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

/450/

Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 175 648 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven out of their original homeland and in places were completely destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an [163] [842] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and

/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.
[163]
[842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today
131 still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the
[167] province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and
[648] Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

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/459 cont./

181 In the literature the character of the Meau is judged
648 very differently. They come out the worst in the Chinese sources, which is understandable if one considers the fact that in four thousand years of struggles the Meau have not yet been completely subjugated and assimilated. Thus, the oldest part of the Schu-djin, which supplements the Bamboo Annals, characterizes them as follows: "These Meau are really stupid, silly, conceited, and without respect! Insolent and stubborn, they do not walk the path of righteousness and they destroy virtue!..."

181 The authors of other nationalities, however, especially
674 Europeans, come to totally different conclusions, and many authors stress above all, besides many other good-qualities, the honesty of the Meau. Thus, Savina (1) emphasizes: "Theft is

1. II, p. 232.

extremely rare." Since not all of the peoples neighboring the Meau can boast of such honesty, the members of these peoples positively search for an explanation of this, to them, very inexplicable phenomenon, and /460/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) writes

1. Page 170.

that the Meau have, "as a result of a strange character trait, an aversion to petty thefts." If they "wished to steal, this had to be done on a large scale. Forming bands /Platten/ and companies, they pillaged and, if necessary, did not shrink from murder." Actually, however, the "pillaging expeditions"
[921] assumed by the author were a matter of war actions in the eyes of the Meau and had nothing at all to do with crime!

181 Marabail (2) gives the following characterization: "The

2. Page 463.

Meau is likable, honest, industrious, warlike, and intelligent.
[191] He learns foreign languages quickly." I, too, was often able

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AKha A04

M /460 cont./
181 to observe this talent for languages. The Meau usually speaks
[191] at least one and usually two or more foreign languages in addition to his mother tongue. To possess knowledge is regarded among the Meau as wise; a person without knowledge is stupid,
M as they say. It was often expressed: one who masters life,
[461] knows how to do the work in the house and in the fields properly,
[555] is wise. The desire for the best performance is already shown by this attitude, and likewise by the competitive games of the children (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section,
M "Children at Play and Work").
181 Almost all the authors mention the indomitable desire
● 648 for freedom of the Meau, which is already apparent from their historical traditions and the organization of their army, as well as their aversion to being ruled by members of other peoples. Abadie (3) asserts: "It is necessary to mention the repugnance

3. Page 163.

with which the Meau suffer their subordination under a Thai chief. Even if this is limited merely to trifling matters which only rarely affect the life of the Meau..." Savina (4) also

4. II, p. 232.

emphasizes this desire for independence, and Lajonquière (5)

5. II, p. 302.

gives a brief outline characterization: "The 'Meau' is regarded as an intelligent and skillful worker. The characteristic trait of his moral attitude is his deep love of freedom. At the slightest punishment or limitation, he sets out with all his belongings to seek a corner where he will find freedom. He is courageous and daring, keeps his word, and is open in his speech."
A Moreover, I found the Meau physically strong, hardened,
M and capable of great resistance against hunger, thirst, and all
147 physical exertion. The women, however, sometimes appear

Akha A04
Miao AE5

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M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

/461 cont./

577 aforementioned honesty which condemns lying to such an extent that it is not resorted to even if, in giving testimony, a father could thereby save his son, as I have already discussed in detail in the chapter, "Law and /462/ the Administration of Justice." Considering their urge for freedom, the Meau can otherwise be designated as thoroughly disciplined.

181 153 648 Moreover, they have both presence of mind and the ability to make decisions, and are also very enterprising. While I was staying in northern Thailand in 1937, a group of about 100 Meau including men, women, and children quite unexpectedly [166] appeared in the Thailand city of Lampang. They indicated that they wanted to seek out new residence sites farther to the south. They were allowed to camp at the railway station, and after a week railway coaches were put at their disposal, and they were actually transported to the southwest where they were allotted new dwelling space in the mountains there. If one considers what it means for the Meau to descend into the hated valleys and, in addition, to venture into the city of a Thai people, one will be convinced that such enterprise and determination are not readily found among any of the other mountain peoples of Farther India.

181 153 The Meau face the tasks of life quite methodically, and accordingly Savina (1) characterizes them: "Accustomed to

1. II, p. 185.

disentangling everything alone, a Meau never falls into difficulties." Marabail (2) comes to the following conclusion: "Whereas

2. Page 463.

the Man (Yau) is full of imagination and religion, the Meau is a materialist..."

/462 cont./

181 Their reaction to new impressions is remarkably quick,
[153] according to my observations, and stands in marked contrast to that of primitive peoples, as well as to that of the neighboring high-culture peoples, such as the Schan /Shan/ or Lao. In any case, it is established that in the case of the Meau there is no question at all of "primitives." Von Eickstedt (3), too, confirms

3. II, p. 57.

this: "These are no 'primitives.' On the contrary, they are a
[177] dislodged tribe with a unique culture definitely from China, but not typically Chinese, driven out by the true Chinese and most strongly influenced by them. These people have their own language and their own tradition."

152 It was interesting to observe the behavior of the Meau who
148 accompanied us into the cities of northern Thailand. Toward the Lao and Thai, they were by no means servile, but only modest, and yet proud /463/ and reserved. Impressed, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 184.

describes this pride of the Meau, which, interwoven with an episode, he depicts: "Once when we were traveling with some Meau and rested for a moment in a village of the Thai, whose inhabitants had a dispute with the Meau, great thirst tormented us. The Meau, however, preferred to walk another four kilometers rather than ask the Thai for a glass of water." How very
152 much the Meau, as true mountain people, suffer from homesickness when circumstances force them to leave their mountains was obvious even during the few days that they spent with me in the valleys. It is again Savina (2) who has also recorded this trait.

2. II, p. 177.

He tells of several Meau in a prison who would not eat and grew visibly emaciated. When asked the reason, they all answered: "We are thinking too much of our homes." A few days later, they were released and regained new strength immediately.

/465 cont./

123 574 We experienced this hospitality of the Meau on several occasions. For example, when I visited one Meau village, the chief was absent. Nevertheless, his son provided me generously with all kinds of foodstuffs, though the harvest had not yet begun and the Meau themselves were therefore very short of food supplies, and my wife and I, as well as my porters and accompanying persons, represented a crowd of people who needed a great deal. When the chief returned from hunting after about eight days, I wanted to pay for everything, but he declined: "You are the first Whites to visit my village. I am glad that my people were in a position to give you hospitality, and I would never accept any compensation for something that is taken for granted." He was not to be dissuaded from this viewpoint.

574 648 The attitude of the Meau toward the Yumbri (Phi Tong Luang) is likewise typical. These shy nomads of the primeval forest, who lead their primitive existence in the forests colonized by the Meau, who are regarded by the Lao, Tin, Kamuk, and the other neighboring peoples as evil spirits, are murdered or are cheated and exploited in the most brutal ways, and whose fear of other people therefore knows no bounds, have confidence only in the Meau. The latter do not take advantage of their superiority over the primitives and grant them protection, help, and even shelter at the warming fireplace, when they knock at their doors, hungry and drenched by the rain, and offer their scanty forest products in exchange for rice or meat. The special hospitality of the Meau is mentioned by many authors, /466/ for example, [152] by Savina (1) and Abadie (2). At any rate, it shows how little greedy the Meau are.

1. II, pp. 189 and 232.

2. Page 151.

T /501 cont./
147 the humid tropics and in which thousands of Whites had settled.
563 The bearers of such European names, however, are today no longer distinguishable in any way from their black neighbors.

Even today, the mountain peoples of Farther India in Thailand live exclusively at altitudes between 1,000 and 2,000 meters, where the climate is essentially different from that in
T the tropical valleys. Just as in the case of the Whites who were
147 still unfamiliar with controlling tropical diseases, the tropics
166 are the ruin of the mountain peoples when they try to settle
563 in the valleys. I myself was able to confirm this repeatedly. For example, the Lahu allowed themselves /502/ to be pushed into lower regions in places in northwest Thailand and in a period of a few years suffered crushing losses from tropical epidemics. Again, among the Meau, I observed that even a temporary sojourn in the valley lowlands of the Lao produced severe malaria epidemics among them. In Kengtung, where the mountain peoples, especially the Akha and Lisu, who visit the markets of the Schan /Shan/ need only a stay of one single night in the region of the market to be infected.

This inability of the mountain tribes to become acclimated has also drawn the attention of other authors. In the literature there are noteworthy comments on this subject, which stand in marked contrast to the opinion of Heine-Geldern (1),

1. II, Vol. II, p. 746.

who, to be sure, did not have the opportunity to study conditions on the spot. He writes: "However much individual tribes cling to the mountains, the important step down into the plains is taken at a favorable opportunity." Now as far as the Meau
M and Lahu are concerned, there can be no doubt that this step
[147] was repeatedly attempted, but it is likewise certain that it was
[166] always unsuccessful and the mountain people each time had to
[648] pay for the attempt with heavy biological losses. Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 311.

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T 147 166 563 M 147 166 648

gives a typical example in describing the struggles of the Meau with a Thai people, the Tho, who had been defeated by the Meau: "Be that as it may, the surviving 'Tho' would have had to emigrate if the Meau had been able to become acclimatized in the low-lying valleys where the greatest number of wet-rice fields are. Happily for the Tho, the conquerors were unable to hold out in the heavy and humid atmosphere of the lowlands and had to return as quickly as possible to higher altitudes, leaving behind for the former owners all the rice fields lying below an altitude of 800 meters."

Maspero, too, made interesting observations. He speaks of the dispersed Meau groups in Tonkin who live as enclaves between foreign peoples and are completely separated from the main tribe. He proceeds literally: "They would have completely lost their individuality if they had not been incapable of acclimatizing themselves below an altitude of 800 to 1,000 meters; that has saved them."

It is interesting that Von Eickstedt (3) touches upon the same

3. III, p. 5.

subject, but from the /503/ economic aspect. He writes, for instance: "Miao in the plains are actually no longer Miao; it simply cannot be -- they would then have to become Chinese or Thai if only for economic reasons."

T 563 177

How strongly the manner of settlement of the mountain peoples is tied to climatic prerequisites is also shown by the fact that while among the tribes settled in southwest China plow-cultivation and livestock-raising form the economic bases, in Thailand only hoe-cultivation is practiced. The breeding of cattle and horses was likewise abandoned in places in Thailand if the new living area demanded it. Here we clearly see that the cultural change, in these cases an impoverishment, is conditioned by the racially determined inability of the peoples in question to adapt to the tropics, in other words, by their genetic make-up.

39: Bernatzik--689 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Burma AP1
Miao AE5

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The attitude of the various peoples toward the missions is largely dependent on the economic conditions of the natives in each case. If it is a matter of uprooted segments of a people, such as the Wa who were driven out of their homeland, the mission finds conversion easy. On the other hand, in the case of a rich and healthy people for whom adequate possibilities for a livelihood are provided, as, for example, the Lisu, they succeed in penetrating only with the use of all kinds of expedients. These, too, however, are often in vain.

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d) Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples

The migratory movement of the mountain peoples is of the greatest significance from a colonial-political standpoint for those peoples that rule the valleys and has induced them to take a stand toward the masses of people who have immigrated and continue to immigrate.

1) Conditions in China

In China since ancient times the mountain peoples have been fought (see the chapter, "History"). Raids, killings, and well-organized military expeditions were the order of the day. These battles usually ended with the subjugation of the vanquished, who subsequently were quickly assimilated, or with the forcible removal of the mountain peoples from the living space concerned. Often there were also vast resettlements of the vanquished. A large part, perhaps the main part of the mountain peoples, was as a consequence of these conditions absorbed into the great mass of Chinese people. Only a part succeeded in maintaining their independence by emigrating to territories difficult of access and also suitable for them climatically. More and more settled beyond the borders of the Chinese Empire.

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648 It is not much better for the Meau, Yau /Yao/, Lisu, and Lahu still living in China today, although methods of economic penetration have frequently taken the place of attack by military measures. High tax rates are not possible for the mountain peoples and, on the other side, in the case of non-payment, always provide occasions for punitive expeditions. As a result of the economic penetration of ever larger areas by Chinese traders, whose business sense does not shrink from any kind of exploitation, the mountain peoples fall into economic dependency. The means used for this vary. For example, the trader fleeces those who are little skilled in business out of the products of their work, without paying them anywhere near the actual value. On the other hand, however, he offers loans at high rates of interest. Since the amounts of money received are usually squandered in unproductive ways the debtors are unable to produce the interest and finally lose their land through confiscation. Another form is systematic habituation to opium and other narcotic poisons and the ruthless and unlimited exploitation of the addicts. At least as important as these methods, however, is the "peaceful penetration" in intellectual respects, which introduces cultural change in the direction of the Chinese. This involves the ability of the Chinese to convert the mountain peoples to the view that the Chinese are a people higher than they themselves are and that to be absorbed by them should be regarded as a special honor. By means of such a mental attitude, of course, culture change in the direction of the Chinese is introduced. In this connection we are indebted to Lajonquière (1) for some interesting observations: "If a

1. II, p. 309.

Meau obtains an office, achieves a social position which lifts him above the multitude of his fellow tribesmen, he tries to pass by his clothing and way of life as a Chinese." In another

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648 place the same author (2) mentions: "If a few Meau in Pakha

2. II, p. 318.

tend to the graves and decorate them on festive days, this is an imitation of Chinese customs." Von Eickstedt (3), too, reports

3. Manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift, p. 3.

on the methods of peaceful penetration used by the Chinese when they could not reach their goal by force.

In the Yü Chu-luan there is a report of a Meau tribe whose members "consider themselves Chinese." A /513/ Chinese source (Ch Hch-'kfsch (1)) writes of the Han Meau that

1. II, Ch. 8, p. 16.

they marry Chinese and are strongly Sinicized, and the same source designates the Sung-Chia Meau as "descendants of Chinese who intermarried with natives" (2).

2. II, Ch. 10, pp. 42 ff.

Especially interesting and a perfect example of the fact that the Chinese carry out a successful Sinicization policy even in foreign countries is the observation that Lajonquière (3) made

3. II, p. 314.

on this in Indochina, in regions that are under the administration of the French colonial office: "A short time ago, some Meau chiefs of the Dongvan region are said to have founded schools. [212] As far as we are concerned, we have never met a Meau who was able to write, and we have always heard concerning them that they do not study since not even one letter of the alphabet can ever enter their heads. They therefore have the custom, in

39: Bernatzik--692 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5
Burma AP1

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groups of some significance, of keeping a Chinese skilled at writing, who, as secretary, maintains contact with the administration." Abadie (4) confirms this observation.

4. Page 152.

Thus, the Chinese demonstrate the effort either to destroy the foreign peoples of lower culture under their domination, in order to gain possession of the living spaces settled by the mountain peoples, or to make them economically dependent, in order to obtain cheap labor, or to assimilate them. In no case are methods to preserve foreign nationalities put into effect. That the Chinese have had success with their procedures is shown by the disappearance of the mountain peoples in large areas of North and Southwest China which were formerly their preferred habitation areas (see the chapter, "History").

2. The Conditions in Burma

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One part of the mountain peoples pushed out of China immigrated to Burma via Yunnan. Here the uninhabited heights could be settled with relatively little disturbance, since the ruling people, the Schan /Shan/, lived in the valleys. Thus the mountain peoples who immigrated were nominally under the princes of the Schan, but otherwise were completely independent. Even when Burma came under British domination, no difficulties arose. Since the rule of the Schan princes /514/ from then on was in name only, the will of the British colonial officials prevailed. These were all experienced men, usually army officers who had transferred to the colonial service. It was very disadvantageous for the peoples under them, however, that these officials were changed too often and because of that were almost never in a position to learn the language, let alone to study the practices and customs of the mountain peoples. In spite of these decidedly unfavorable factors, however, the administrative results in Burma were not unfavorable from the standpoint of the mountain peoples.

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000 medicine that have to be overcome, it should be relatively easy to fight epidemics successfully, especially since almost all the diseases concerned offer no difficult problems for modern European medicine. The readiness to submit to European doctors is also stressed in the literature. Abadie, for instance, states(1):

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1. Page 159.

"The Meau prize the free, expert medical treatment which the French doctors give them, with the assistance of native medical helpers, on their circuits among them."

M 756 776 With the help of well-chosen doctors, it will be possible to influence the beliefs and also to exert a decisive influence upon the shamans, for, in the eyes of the mountain peoples, the ability to cure diseases is equivalent to visible mastery over the evil spirits that call forth these diseases. Most of the shamans by far want only the best for the people for whom they feel responsible. It will therefore not be difficult to persuade them to intercede against moving the villages, if they are convinced that this would be to the advantage of their community.

M [123] The following event proved to me that in this respect natives whose trust has been won are easily influenced: One day, a Meau chief, in whose village I had stayed for some time, came to me in order to tell me that he and his fellows had become convinced by my many successful cures that my spirits were more powerful than their own. He therefore requested me to ask my spirits whether and when he should move the village. If my spirits approved, he would prefer not to change his residence during his lifetime.

000 The Thailand doctors and their medical helpers would have to gain the confidence of the mountain peoples. Since the Thailand national character is distinguished by tact and sympathy, the right path will soon be taken automatically. Nevertheless it is important to point out that in the medical treatment of the natives, the /529/ shamans and chiefs of the mountain peoples must always be enlisted. Usually these village authorities will let themselves be properly taught and

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000 empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a
C rebellion. At this time Fu Nai of Yüan-ch'en tao met with
175 Brigade General Fu Chih-na of Chen-kan Chen and summoned
563 together people of the sub-prefecture to discuss a long-range
701 plan. And so they began the t'un system of defense. Fields
651 were allotted to feed the fighters and to defend the guard houses
425 against the Miao. As for the people's /i.e. Chinese/ land,
except for fields for sustenance, a male could retain three tou
of grain, a woman one tou. As for the rest of the land seven
were allotted while three were retained, for one shih of grain
three tou was personally retained, and seven tou given up for
C allotment, to feed the fighters and guard the frontier. In the
[712] Feng-huang area there were more than 830 stone guard houses,
requiring 4,000 men to man them in rotation. Further, 1,000
men were trained to be combat ready. The more than 22,000
mu of land allotted were not enough to meet the expense, and
so another allotment of more than 12,300 mu at Lu-ch'i and
C Mo-yang was made. There were also 127 stone petty military
[712] stations /tiao pao/ at Kan-chou, manned by 800 soldiers,
supported by more than 2,170 mu of allotted land. The
original sect of government of Yung-sui, before the Miao
rebellion during the reign period of Ch'ien Lung and Chia Ch'ing,
was at Wei-ch'eng, which was entirely surrounded by the Miao.
In the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/, the seat of govern-
C ment was moved to Hua-yüan with a newly built yamen.
[712] There were 126 stone guard houses with 2,000 soldiers. The
people's land, i.e. Chinese land, usurped by rebels and re-
covered for public use, totaled more than 17,110 mu. There
were over 70 stone military stations /tiao pao/, at Pao-ching,
with 300 soldiers and over 2,170 mu of allotted land. There
were only 18 stone guard houses at Ku-chang-p'ing with a
hundred soldiers and over 120 mu of allotted land.

M The above refers to Chinese t'un /min t'un/. In addition,
* [175] there were also Miao t'un. After the suppression of the Miao
* [648] rebellion, the Miao tribes, awed by military might, surrendered
[651] all the Chinese land formerly forcefully usurped by them, and
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also searched into the properties of the rebel Miao and decided to return them for public use. The forcefully usurped land totaling over 30,100 mu and the rebels' properties totaling over 5,400 mu were redistributed among the law-abiding Miao to farm. Granaries were built to collect rent /tsu/ for the maintenance of Miao soldiers. The pressing for rent, the inspecting of fields, the distribution and transportation of grain, and other duties were all the responsibility of Miao officials.

/116/ The total amount of Chinese land and Miao land given up for allotment in the seven sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao area was as follows: (1)

1. Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng K'ao, Chapter 7, "Chün T'un San," "Chün T'un T'ien Tu Ts'ung Shu" /"The Total Amount of Allotted T'un Land," in "Allotted T'un, 3/," numbers set after the subduing of the Miao in 1797.

1. Feng-huang Sub-prefecture
   (1) Allotted fields 22,080.6 mu (allotted in the fifth year of Chia Ch'ing /1800/).
   (2) Fields returned to public use 3,539 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao but surrendered when called on and returned for public use).
   (3) Fields redeemed by the government 5,587.3 mu. (Chinese fields granted to the Miao at a low pledge but redeemed by the government for public use).
   (4) Fields usurped by the rebels surrendered by the Miao 7,650.8 mu (Miao rebels' property, wrongfully farmed by them, surrendered to the government for public use).
   (5) Usurped rebel land returned by the Miao 5,983.7 mu (same as above).

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(6) Private fields presented by Miao 1,595.7 mu (private property contributed by Miao after receiving an official post).

(7) Reclaimed fields 145.8 mu (barren land without crops reclaimed by soldiers).

2. Kan-chou Sub-prefecture

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(1) Allotted fields 3,628.8 mu.

(2) Land redeemed by the government 776.5 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 3,487 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 196.1 mu.

(5) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 578.5 mu (now become public fields).

(6) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 48.8 mu (same as above).

(7) Private fields surrendered by Miao on request 604.6 mu.

3. Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 529.7 mu.

/117/ (2) Fields redeemed by the government 93.4 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 127.8 mu.

(4) Private fields given up by other Miao 227 mu.

4. Pao-ching Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 2,178.6 mu.

(2) Fields redeemed by the government 628.6 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 1,476 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 303.6 mu.

(5) Private fields presented by Miao petty officers 300.2 mu.

(6) Disputed usurped fields given over by the Miao 296.9 mu.

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5. Yung-sui Sub-prefecture
   (1) Fields returned to public use 16,114.3 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao taken back by the government for public use).
   (2) Redeemed fields 8,468.7 mu.
   (3) Rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 5,940.7 mu.
   (4) Rebel land surrendered by the Miao 9,895.7 mu.
   (5) Private fields contributed by Miao petty officers 500.4 mu.
   (6) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 287 mu.
   (7) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 345.6 mu.
   (8) Reclaimed fields 2,545.5 mu.
   (9) Reclaimed land 10,130 mu.
6. Lu-ch'i Hsien
   (1) Allotted fields 5,382.5 mu.
7. Mo-yang Hsien
   (1) Allotted fields 6,983.1 mu.

/118/ The total of the above fields and land is 131,640.6 mu. In the thirteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1808/ a total of 15,219.3 mu of fields and land was surveyed in the three hsien, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, and Yung-sui. In the sixteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1811/ another total of 5,873.2 mu of fields and land was surveyed, totaling 152,157.1 mu of fields and land. Of this besides the land allocated to the army for horses and farming, land lost through floods and erosion, and also the land used for stone guard houses and surroundings, totaling 11,084.3 mu, and another 37,849 mu distributed among the t'un able-bodied males, leaders, the aged, and the young, there remained 103,223.8 mu. Farmers were recruited to farm this land and rent /in kind/ collected. The annual receipt in grain totaled 105,488 shih, three tou, and nine sheng.

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The Miao frontier region is mountainous and lacking in fields. For the most part they develop mountain slopes, building up terraced fields for the cultivation of rice grown in

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flooded fields. Whenever the terraced fields are damaged by flood and erosion when mountain streams flood, the damage is often beyond repair, resulting in a decrease of rent year by year. Furthermore, the government has several times decreed a reduction of rent, so that the current rent rate is only one-half of the original. Successive rent reductions undergone were as follows: in the nineteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1814/ a reduction of 5,500 shih was made; in the first year of Tao Kuang /1821/ a reduction of 20,770 shih was made; in the eighteenth year of Tao Kuang /1838/ after an investigation of fields destroyed by flood, a reduction of 282 shih, 7 tou, 7 sheng, 6 shuo was effected; in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/ a reduction of 649 shih, 1 tou, 8 sheng, 1 ho. After the above reductions there remained a rent of 78,286 shih, 4 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 6 shuo. In the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ there was a further reduction amounting to 7,828 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 4 shuo, resulting in the collection of 70,457 shih, 8 tou, 1 shuo of rent. It was ruled that no further reductions would be made. It was also ordered that for every 6 ho /of grain/ there would be collected 1 sheng, but below six ho nothing would be collected, thereby causing a loss of 352 shih, 3 tou, 1 sheng, 1 shuo. Since that year the annual rent has totaled 70,105 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng. From the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ to the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, after deducting 179 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng of rent uncollectible due to flood and erosion, the net receipt of rent totaled 69,926 shih. From the first year of the Republic /1912/ to the sixteenth or seventeenth year, the reductions due to floods totaled 2,917 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng, 2 ho. In the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/, according to investigations made by the authors in western Hunan, the net rent was 67,008 shih, 5 tou, 8 ho. According to a statement in the Hsiang Hsi Miao Ch'ü T'un Fang Chün T'un T'ien T'u Yen Ke /Successive Changes in Land Allotted to Defensive T'un in the Miao Area West of the Hsiang River/, recently published by Yü Fan-ch'uan;

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by Yü Fan-ch'uan: "The decision of the first conference on t'un matters held in the twenty-fifth year of the Republic /1936/ was to reduce the rental on devastated land 1,592 shih, 3 tou, 8 sheng, 8 ho. Currently, the actual receipt of rent is 65,416 shih, 1 tou, 2 sheng." (1)

1. Pien Chiang /Frontier/, Vol. 2, no. 2.

(2) The Organization of T'un Defense

C 175 [701] M [701]

1. The organization of the t'un defense /system/ during the early Ch'ing dynasty.

(1) Feng-huang Sub-prefecture. T'un second captains 3, t'un lieutenants 4, t'un sergeants 4, t'un corporals 10, supernumeraries 9, Miao second captains 11, Miao lieutenants 20, Miao sergeants 40, Miao corporals 80, general t'un leaders /tsung t'un chang/ 15, special t'un leaders /san t'un chang/ 60, home guard /lien yung/ 1,000, old and young males 1,000, able-bodied t'un males /t'un ting/ 4,000, Miao soldiers 1,000, t'un camps 27, Miao camps 25, stone houses 544, t'un guard houses 105, guard stations 51, patrol stations 98, canon emplacements 7, gates 24, gate houses 5. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, patrol stations, gun emplacements, gates, and gate houses totaled 834 units. There were 63 t'un and Miao granaries, and the fixed rent was 25,461 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng, 6 ho, 8 shuo. Shotguns numbered 7,022, swords 300, spears 100, and hand guns /shou p'ao/ 40. The above guns, swords, and spears amounted to 16,229 weapons.

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(2) Kan-chou Sub-prefecture. T'un second captain 1, t'un sergeant 1, t'un corporals 2, t'un supernumeraries 2, Miao second captains 4. Miao lieutenants 6, Miao sergeants 13, Miao corporals 13, Miao corporals 25, general t'un leaders 4, special t'un leaders 21, able-bodied t'un males 600, Miao soldiers 800, t'un camps 8, Miao camps 10, stone houses 75,

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

579 628 these bands were made up of Chinese and Miao. Not infrequently Yamen runners and soldiers are connected with these bands and go out with them on their marauding expeditions. Some of the local gentry and Justices of the Peace, too, are often in league with them and share the plunder.

579 651 As far as we are able to judge, the Miao are not difficult to govern. They are not turbulent people, and if let alone or justly treated would never cause any trouble. But they do assert themselves sometimes even now, when the extortion of Yamen tax-gatherers drives them to desperation. Four years ago when Mr. and Mrs. B. Curtis Waters were travelling from Tushan to Kweiyang, they put up at an inn in the prefectural city of Tuyün. Suddenly about two thousand Heh Miao marched into the city armed with swords, spears, and guns. They called out to the shopkeepers and people in the street not to be afraid, they would not rob or injure them, all they wanted was the Prefect, and him they were going to kill. They rushed into the Prefect's Yamen, and wounded one of the secretaries whom they mistook for the Prefect, and the Prefect had time to escape. That revolt was provoked by the Yamen tax-collectors, who, under the pretext of founding

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

schools, squeezed the Miao unmercifully. The District or County magistrate, whose Yamen was within the city, reasoned with them and persuaded them to go away. They returned to their homes, and later on the affair was settled by the nominal punishment of some of the Miao and a more just collection of the education rate.

Of all the Miao in Kweichow, the Heh or Black Miao are the most intelligent and the most self-reliant. Most of them own the land they cultivate, many of them are well-to-do, and in many respects they seem nearly equal, if not quite equal, to the Chinese peasantry around them. We have observed, however, that the artisans among them are neither so skilful nor so trustworthy as those among the Chinese. The Heh Miao not only bring their cattle and produce to market, but many of them engage in trade and open stalls on the market-place. Some of them buy pigs, rice, and other local products, and carry them for sale in their own boats to Hungkiang in Hunan. On the river that flows from Kai-li to Kienyang Hun, fifteen miles above Hungkiang, all the boatmen appear to be Miao. Elsewhere, however, the Miao seem to be poorer and inferior to the Chinese and Chung-chia. In Weining

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634 About twenty villages were under the jurisdiction of each great chief. He himself was elected for life by the plenary assembly of all the arms-bearing men of those villages over [666] which he was to rule. All the men over 16-17 years of age had the right to vote; women were excluded from voting.

It was left to each village to decide which great chief it wished to be under. If, therefore, after the death of a great chief who had ruled over twenty villages, twelve villages voted for one great chief and the remaining eight villages for another, two great chiefs were elected, and each one ruled over those villages that had elected him. As a consequence, after the death of each great chief the administrative unit changed, though this did not necessarily bring about a reduction in the size of the administrative units in the course of time, for every village wanted to be under the most powerful neighboring great chief.

634 687 There was an exception to the lifetime tenure of the great chief in case he was guilty of grave negligence. The village chiefs then convoked a new plenary assembly, which elected a new great chief. In any event, the election of the great chief took place in the largest village of the administrative district of the deceased or deposed great chief.

634 622 681 The great chief had to appoint the village chiefs. Moreover, he was the judge in all important affairs. If he meted out fines, the money involved was distributed according to the following system: the first part was distributed in equal shares to the arms-bearing men within his district. The second part was double the amount of the first and was distributed in equal shares to the village chiefs. The third part, three times the 634 amount of the first part, went to the great chief and constituted [681] an important source of income for him. He derived additional [651] income from the tax which had to be paid once a year and amounted to four piasters (equivalent to about one mark) per person and one piaster for each rice field. The great chief could use the money as he saw fit.

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634 701 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from earning their livelihood.

622 634 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the village chiefs (šǎu pǎ) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the [692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to [687] the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

[692] The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great [651] chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village [701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 624 634 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal; the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 634 681 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

623 634 The popular assembly has special importance among the Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

/202/

CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is [181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example, [526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu [534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in [292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a [782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments [656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened [186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey [184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordi-
621 narily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the
648 litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to the village for the second period of residence,
689 the first of February, 1942, I found that the
648 old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone
123 to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

661 This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some
648 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed
123 by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

661 they did. But before anything could be done
648 he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his
123 captors took him to Hunan. He was well treated and not forced to become a soldier, but served the commanding officer as a secretary. He was later released. I like to think that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the provincial government had something to do with his release before the soldiers were due to return to Kweichow. It was not until after the rice harvest that his family sent him traveling expenses so that he might come home. He arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

648 On the eighteenth of November I was asked
123 to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again.
685 This time a relative by the name of T'ang was being detained on complaint of some Chi-
661 nese. This man owned a wooded slope. The Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this man to make his wood into charcoal for them. No agreement was made, but they had him arrested to be held until he could produce fifty thousand *chin*,[2] more than sixty-six thousand pounds. What they wanted me to do was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate the matter quickly so that the man could be released. This I did. But when the *hsien* magistrate said he could be released if two would go surety for him, and they asked me to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had never seen the man and could not find out what it meant to be a guarantor under such circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live they continued to ask me to help them. Upon one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien* magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of stealing logs from his house while only his wife and children were at home. The Chinese said that he had sold them the logs before felling the trees on a hillside he owned and that they were only taking what already belonged to them. I was asked to urge the magistrate to investigate the matter before the Chinese should have time to convert the

[2] One and one-third pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
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the matter was, but the Miao lost his case 123
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit- 685
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Another case was that of a Miao who had 661
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
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A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
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form of family visits. In their shops, as well

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Miao are ruled much in the same way as the 622
Chinese who live in villages and hamlets.

The Miao are, we have many reasons to 691
think, more litigious than the Chinese, constantly going "to have the law" on some one, or some one going "to have the law" on them. In many cases the affair is brought before the local headman, but on these occasions it is difficult to satisfy both parties, and the loser is almost certain to carry the case before the district magistrate. It is amazing to note how much of their time and money these people spend in legal proceedings, and very often fail to get justice after all. But it is a point of honour with them, and they think it due to themselves and their reputations to fight a case to the bitter end.

This love of litigation is encouraged by 691
the secretaries and underlings in the various 661
Yamen, who depend for their living principally on the law cases, civil and criminal, brought before the magistrate. If there were no litigation these men would starve. Thus cases that have been settled, and possibly justly settled, by the headman, can always be reopened before the district magistrate, and cases settled by one magistrate can be retried by his successor. This is not from any love of justice, but for the

7; Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

691 sake of the bribes, squeezes, and fees that are
661 to be obtained from the litigants. The average incumbency of a district magistrate in Kweichow is not, we think, over twelve months.

Not only do the Yamen people profit by the cases brought before the magistrate, but very often underlings, and others in league with the Yamen, foment litigation and exhort the simple country-folk to take their grievances, or reopen their cases, before the magistrate. The longer a case lasts, and the more people can be drawn into it, the more profit there is for the Yamen. Very often cases are trumped up and false accusations made, and even if the accused finally obtains a verdict in his favour, it will only be after he has been mercilessly squeezed by these harpies. Probably on account of their ignorance and the lack of men among them with literary degrees, which would give them the privilege of interviewing the magistrate, the Miao are even more squeezed than the Chinese. Yamen secretaries, however, are neither partial nor particular, but always willing and zealous to extort money from everybody they can lay their hands on.

594 Among the Miao nearly all the disputes
586 arise on account of their land or their women. They recognise the marriage relation, but do

/41 cont./

634 About twenty villages were under the jurisdiction of each great chief. He himself was elected for life by the plenary assembly of all the arms-bearing men of those villages over [666] which he was to rule. All the men over 16-17 years of age had the right to vote; women were excluded from voting.

It was left to each village to decide which great chief it wished to be under. If, therefore, after the death of a great chief who had ruled over twenty villages, twelve villages voted for one great chief and the remaining eight villages for another, two great chiefs were elected, and each one ruled over those villages that had elected him. As a consequence, after the death of each great chief the administrative unit changed, though this did not necessarily bring about a reduction in the size of the administrative units in the course of time, for every village wanted to be under the most powerful neighboring great chief.

634 687 There was an exception to the lifetime tenure of the great chief in case he was guilty of grave negligence. The village chiefs then convoked a new plenary assembly, which elected a new great chief. In any event, the election of the great chief took place in the largest village of the administrative district of the deceased or deposed great chief.

634 622 681 The great chief had to appoint the village chiefs. Moreover, he was the judge in all important affairs. If he meted out fines, the money involved was distributed according to the following system: the first part was distributed in equal shares to the arms-bearing men within his district. The second part was double the amount of the first and was distributed in equal shares to the village chiefs. The third part, three times the 634 amount of the first part, went to the great chief and constituted [681] an important source of income for him. He derived additional [651] income from the tax which had to be paid once a year and amounted to four piasters (equivalent to about one mark) per person and one piaster for each rice field. The great chief could use the money as he saw fit.

/42 cont./

623 The assembly of all the arms-bearing men of a village /43/ is usually convoked by the village chief in all cases pertaining to the welfare of the village. Such cases are: the laying out of rice fields, the selection of a settlement site in the relocation of villages, communal hunts, and the like. The [666] [634] majority vote decides the issue. The popular assembly, however, may be convoked even against the will of the village chief if the villagers want to file a complaint against their village chief with the great chief. In this case the assembly convenes upon the initiative of the village elders.

634 The popular assembly of all arms-bearing men within the administrative district of a great chief had far greater power. It met only when needed; its decisions had to be unanimous. It was convoked by the great chief in order to pass resolutions about important matters. Such important [721] [796] matters were decisions about war and peace and measures to be taken to celebrate the festival of the New Year or the harvest festival. The resolutions passed by the popular assembly of the great chief were of an advisory nature, for the great chief was under no obligation to comply with them. Actually, of course, he avoided acting against the voice of his people. In one case, however, the great chief was absolutely bound to accept the decision of the popular assembly: when the latter [692] had decided on his removal. The great popular assembly was, at the same time, a court of appeal for verdicts of the great chief, and its decisions were regarded as irrevocable.

634 693 The expenses of a popular assembly had to be paid by the person who summoned it, hence either by the great chief himself or the party who had moved that it be convened. Among the expenses there were the provisions for all the assembly-participants at the place of the meeting, but no compensation was given for the journey to and fro. Moreover, in connection with minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol were collected for the great chief and the elders; in connection with major affairs, one or more pigs.

/40 cont./

173 According to the tradition of the Thailand Meau, as my
643 informants told me, their last king waged war against the
648 Chinese because the latter menaced the Meau settlements. After the initial successes of the royal commander-in-chief, tă lĕn tĕŭ, the Meau were nevertheless beaten. The king and his military leaders died in the bloody battle. Then the younger brother of the slain king assumed leadership. He led all the people southward on the flight before the pursuing enemy. -- The present-day Meau in Thailand no longer re-
643 member the kingship in detail. It could not be learned, for instance, whether the crown was customarily passed on to the son or to the brother of the deceased. Only the designation
● 668 for king - văn tšŏ has survived. Even today they believe that
643 sometime and somewhere a Meau king will rise again, who will unite his people, gather them together, and lead them victoriously against the hated oppressors. Savina (1) describes

1. II, p. 258.

similar ideas from among the Meau in Indochina: "The Meau are waiting for a liberator, a king, a phoa thay. As soon as the report of a phoa thay comes from somewhere, they immediately take up their weapons and set out to put themselves at his disposal. What we call a 'rebellion' they call oa phoa thay, 'to make a king.'"

173 Far more vivid, however, is the memory of the Meau
634 concerning the power and activity of the great chiefs (tšŭń kŏăń). One of my informants in particular knew all kinds of details; he was a direct descendant of the last great chief. The memory of the great chief, however, /41/ was also alive among the other Meau and in any case was more vivid than that of the king, since the common man probably scarcely had an opportunity to know the king himself except by hearsay.

urgings, no less than three successive expeditions (the Sourisseau, 624
Friquegnon and Dussault columns) and two years of difficult and 669
costly operations were necessary to restore order and suppress the Yunnanese bands. The deposition of the Chao-Fa -- applicable both to himself and his heirs -- was decreed in April 1916, and the former principality was converted into a simple "muong." Phra-Ong-Kham died in China in 1923, and when his family offered to make its submission it was given permission to return to Muong-Sing.

2. The Meo rebellion (1919-1921). While these events were M
transpiring the Meos, who lived mainly high up on the peaks of 563
Luang-Prabang and Tran-Ninh (1), had maintained a proper atti- 669
L

1. See above, p. 212. 787

tude even though approached by the Chao-Fa and the /358/ Chinese brigands. Nor had they seemed at first to pay any more attention to the movement which their fellows in Tonkin had just initiated in the basin of the upper Black River.

Continuing to live apart from other races in jealous isolation, they had nevertheless seemed for some time past to be moving towards closer terms with the provincial administration, which had succeeded in interesting them in road projects. But in July 1919 one of the leaders of the Tonkin rebellion who was being pursued by our troops and was called Batchay came to seek refuge among them. From this lair he sent out emissaries whose mission it was to devote themselves to secret propaganda efforts among the Meo groupings of Upper Laos in favor of a king who, "accomplishing the will of Heaven, was to bring them happiness, peace and prosperity." The rumor rapidly circulated among these credulous tribes that a prophecy which had fallen from the sky was summoning all Meos to revolt and form a great independent kingdom with its capital at Dien-Bien-Phu or Muong-Heup. To the accompaniment of incantations and magic formulas, the able-bodied population was called to march against the Laotians, Khas and Annamites and to build the palace of the awaited sovereign.

/359/ In vain did the king of Luang-Prabang send messages to L
the Meo leaders in protest against these absurd rumors. Within a M
few weeks armed bands were formed which began to ransom and 563
pillage the villages of Tran-Ninh, Luang-Prabang and the Houa- 669
Phan. Our militia had to occupy the outpost of Muong-Heup, which

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was attacked on August 15. It repulsed the assailants, two of which were killed and some ten wounded. The Muong-Ngoi outpost was then reinforced by riflemen under the command of Lieutenant Distanti, and detachments led by Laotian leaders scoured the country. On September 23, however, Lieutenant Distanti fell into an ambush and suffered a mortal wound, and in October we committed the error of evacuating Muong-Heup, an action which heightened Batchay's prestige still further and provoked a veritable panic among the terrorized populace.

The matter was becoming serious, and reinforcements had to be sent from Hanoi and Saigon. A military column was organized and placed under the direction of Colonel Angeli, who was able to free the plateau of Xieng-Khouang and part of the Houa-Phan only after fierce battles at Ban-Ban, Bergerie, Ban-Phadeng and Pakkha /360/ (January-May 1920). At the same time attempts had been made to enter into negotiations with the principal rebel leaders so as to open their eyes to the dangers and ordeals into which they were drawing their families. A few submissions were obtained in this manner, but when the rainy season halted all operations Batchay profited from the respite in order to regroup his partisans east of Nam-Ou.

In December Commander Dorey resumed the offensive, and despite the many obstacles in a "land bristling with mountains, sown with ambushes and devoid of all resources" succeeded in driving the Meos "from one entrenched position to the next," harrying them without respite, encircling them and decimating them with such rapidity that a month later all their bands were either destroyed or had surrendered, that Batchay was in flight and abandoned by the last survivors, and that the column could be disbanded in March 1921 (1).

1. Batchay's refuge was not discovered until October 1922. Surprised by Khas in the vicinity of Muong-Heup, he was killed by the latter on November 17.

Thus ended, almost as suddenly as it had broken out, this surprising insurrection which was uniquely due to the fanatacism of skittish and excessively superstitious tribes which were /361/ blindly obedient (like the southern Khas towards the Phou-Mi-Boun) to leaders who imposed on them by practices drawn from the lowest kind of sorcery. It is indeed a proven fact that the Meos had not been exposed to the

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not L
at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. M
Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups 563
in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive 669
measures.

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the L
cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special M
administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal 563
autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite inter- 636
mediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the popu- 609
lations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintaining a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms 178
which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In 563
the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last representatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of communication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese family.

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 000
369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page 376 is blank. --Translator/

/198 cont./

2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article relating to "the manufacture of poison." But it is still secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five constituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

[671] [683] [776] [792] [753] [787]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did so. I have never found out what the truth of the matter was, but the Miao lost his case because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses had not told the truth at other points. 648 123 685

Another case was that of a Miao who had become so angry at his wife that he had her jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released so that her child need not be born in prison. The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released. 661 684 [844]

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set. 686

These, of course, were only a few of the disputes which arose in the village or among the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate. 621 671

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the *hsien* city. Just inside the walls were a few tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well 592 265

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of large numbers of the people. They can usually afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers, the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government, and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour- [624]
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task. The women have very much more work to do than men. They weave the clothes, carry the water, collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress. A man wears sandals, which he himself has made, short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a loose-fitting upper garment which is between a jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth. The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and, scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

occasionally one meets a *t'u-muh* who is humane, 566
the records of the others would not bear investigation. Oppressing the Miao, these *t'u-muh* exacted from them such heavy rents that it was impossible for them to make any progress. In one case it was calculated that each Miao tenant gave one hundred days' labour per year. A Miao could [671] never get any redress, since in Manchu days, even if a Miao had dared to sue for justice, the law was always on the side of the rich, as is suggested by the Chinese proverb: "The doors of the law courts are always open; but if you only have right on your side, and not money, don't enter them."

If a Miao were lucky enough to breed a good foal, the *t'u-muh* would demand it; were he sufficiently thrifty to save a little *sycee*, the *t'u-muh* would find ways and means of getting hold of it; were his cattle to increase, the *t'u-muh* would trump up an excuse for inordinate extortion. The stories told of these overlords bear witness to the degrading effects that absolute authority and tyranny may have on a man. There were two brothers, both *t'u-muh*, and the younger, who was unmarried, was suspected by his elder brother of becoming too fond of his wife. On account of this, the elder brother arranged with a Szechuan boxer to murder his brother, for which the award was to be two hundred dollars. In course of time the brother was murdered and the boxer came for his promised recompense, but instead of being paid, he was trussed up like a pig and offered as a human sacrifice at the grave of the murdered younger brother to appease,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy l'au or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/251 cont./

A 689 Lying is forbidden, to be sure, as it is among the Meau, but it is not punished, as it is among them. Similarly the Akha
A 684 do not have any penalties for rape. The reason for this is the same as among the Meau.

A 685 A person convicted of theft simply has to return the stolen goods. If he has denied the theft, however, he must restore twice as much. In the case of arson, too, the perpetrator must simply make good the full damage.

A 683 /252/ The same holds true for bodily injury; in addition the perpetrator must fully provide for the injured for the duration of any ensuing reduction of his ability to work.

A 684 For violation of the rather broadly conceived incest prohibitions, the male partner must pay to the female partner ten to fifteen pieces of silver "for compensation," as it is expressed. I have already discussed in detail the punishment for adultery in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Dissolution of Marriage."

A 681 Habitual criminals of any kind are banished, but not killed.

d) Jurisdiction

A M 671 648 692 The mountain peoples are subject to the laws of the colonial powers in whose territory they happen to be. Thus, the Meau of China are subject to Chinese jurisdiction and those of Tonkin to French-Indochinese jurisdiction, as is also shown in the works of Abadie (1) and Lajonquière (2). Accordingly, the

1. Page 163.

2. II, p. 321.

Meau and Akha of Thailand are subject to the laws of Thailand, and those of Kengtung to the laws of the Schan /Shan/.

/248 cont./

c) Criminal Law

673 Regarded as crimes among the Meau are: theft, robbery, manslaughter, lying, bodily injury, and offense by assault, whereas verbal offenses are not ordinarily punished. Furthermore, kidnapping, especially of children, is regarded as a crime. In former times, treason was added to the list of possible crimes which were punished.

684 Incest, on the other hand, is punished exclusively by the [769] ancestors; the people do not interfere. If it becomes known, [622] however, it is regarded as the utmost disgrace.

At first it seems surprising that rape generally remains unpunished. Since, however, in the life of the Meau a girl can hardly be taken unawares without some co-operation on her part -- there are always female companions or family members nearby when a girl leaves a village -- it is assumed that a girl who goes off alone with a boy is prepared for every eventuality. If a case of rape should occur, however, the girl's father demands two or three pieces of silver from the culprit, who will pay without opposition. The case is different if the girl becomes pregnant. Then no distinction is made between rape and voluntary surrender. Even then, however, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," no pressure is exerted for marriage, /Ills. 46-51 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /249/ although the girl's parents in particular will make every attempt to bring about the marriage.

[848] If a girl who is pregnant as a consequence of the wrong done to her should give birth to a stillborn child, the culprit must pay the same price for the stillborn child as is charged for children who must be turned over to a creditor in lieu of payment, namely, 70 pieces of silver for a boy, and 50 pieces for a girl.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M 687 /250 cont./

In former times treason may also have been punished by death, but none of my informants could remember a case.

M 696 /251/ Capital punishment is executed in three ways. Beating the criminal to death is regarded as the mildest form, and decapitation is regarded as more severe punishment. As the most severe form, the condemned person is first shot and then beheaded. Capital punishment is not only meted out to men, M [562] but also to women.

Dhuraratsadorn (1), as he writes, could not learn anything

1. Page 170.

about capital punishment. It was only reported to him that condemned persons "quietly disappeared." The author continues: M [626] "Nobody wants to have anything to do with the family of the executed person, and even children refuse to play with his children, because the Meau believe that they are persons of a bad breed."

A 673 Among the Akha, too, there are fixed punishments for various offenses. Theft, robbery, arson, bodily injury, and [681] adultery, as well as the violation of the incest prohibitions and false testimony by a witness, are regarded as crimes.

In contrast to the Meau, the Akha make no distinction M [673] between a deed that was premeditated and one caused by negligence. Even the latter is punished as though it had been done intentionally. Like the procedure among the Meau, the A 692 sentence is made in accordance with established customary law which the older men are thoroughly familiar through experience. The verdict itself is decided by a majority vote of the assembly of house-owners and the decision is regarded as incontestable; it is announced by the village chief.

A 674 In the villages visited by me, I was told that murder and homicide, as well as kidnapping, had not occurred within human memory; I could therefore not ascertain the penalties for these crimes. It was always said that such serious crimes do not occur among the Akha.

/256 cont./

M 693 634 Besides the direct costs of the lawsuit, which at the least consist of the costs for food for all the persons involved in the case, there are for minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol, and for major cases one or more pigs, which must be added for the great chief and the elders. Moreover, as soon as M 681 [634] the person is convicted or proved guilty, he has to pay the established fine, which is apportioned in accordance with a definite code, as soon as the decision is given by the great chief. Two-twelfths go to the arms-bearing men of the territory under the M [622] great chief; four-twelfths are distributed among the village chiefs of this territory, who use it chiefly to cover the expenses connected with their activities. They also use for this the smaller amounts which they impose independently in petty cases. M [634] The remaining six-twelfths, that is, half of the entire sum which the culprit has to pay, goes to the great chief alone and represents an important part of his income (see also the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship").

M 695 The verdict is given in accordance with definite judicial principles with which all the older men among the Meau are familiar, since this is a matter of customary law handed down for centuries.

M 673 When the verdict is given, a fundamental distinction is made between premeditation and negligence. Hence a deed is punished only if it was intentionally committed. Even for M [682] the negligent killing of a person, among the Meau the culprit is merely required to sacrifice a head of cattle for the soul of the dead.

A 692 622 693 /257/ As in almost all matters, the judicial procedure of the Akha also is considerably simpler and more primitive than that of the Meau. As has already been pointed out, the power of the village chief among the Akha is slight and cannot by any means be compared to that among the Meau. This is also apparent in the judicial procedure. Despite the fact that the Akha have no higher court, say, one comparable A [623] to the great chief of the Meau, beyond the office of the village chief, the village chief is not the supreme and therefore

/250 cont./

683 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is prac-
754 ticed among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Out-
lawing is likewise unknown.

692 Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief
622 or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the
634 Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village
[689] elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

674
114

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them,
[454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only
[634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same
439 punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

/459 cont./

181 In the literature the character of the Meau is judged
648 very differently. They come out the worst in the Chinese sources, which is understandable if one considers the fact that in four thousand years of struggles the Meau have not yet been completely subjugated and assimilated. Thus, the oldest part of the Schu-djin, which supplements the Bamboo Annals, characterizes them as follows: "These Meau are really stupid, silly, conceited, and without respect! Insolent and stubborn, they do not walk the path of righteousness and they destroy virtue!..."

181 The authors of other nationalities, however, especially
674 Europeans, come to totally different conclusions, and many authors stress above all, besides many other good qualities, the honesty of the Meau. Thus, Savina (1) emphasizes: "Theft is

1. II, p. 232.

extremely rare." Since not all of the peoples neighboring the Meau can boast of such honesty, the members of these peoples positively search for an explanation of this, to them, very inexplicable phenomenon, and /460/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) writes

1. Page 170.

that the Meau have, "as a result of a strange character trait, an aversion to petty thefts." If they "wished to steal, this had to be done on a large scale. Forming bands /Platten/ and companies, they pillaged and, if necessary, did not shrink from murder." Actually, however, the "pillaging expeditions"
[921] assumed by the author were a matter of war actions in the eyes of the Meau and had nothing at all to do with crime!

181 Marabail (2) gives the following characterization: "The

2. Page 463.

Meau is likable, honest, industrious, warlike, and intelligent.
[191] He learns foreign languages quickly." I, too, was often able

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675 CONTRACTS--conception of contractual relations; agreements, bargains, promises, and their enforceability; consideration; rights, privileges, and powers of contracting parties; procedure in the conclusion of contracts (e.g., presence of witnesses); terms and stipulations; types of contracts (e.g., legal forms, oral agreements, covenants); etc. See also:

Builders and contractors	331	Social relationships	571
Loans	426	Marriage contracts	584
Leases	427	Treaties and alliances	648
Sales	432	Penalties for breaches of contract	686
Insurance contracts	436	Religious vows	782
Labor relations	466		

/37 cont'd/

427 amount. If the property is rented, the duration as well as the rate of rent /38/ is fixed. It is to be paid either in one payment or by yearly instalment. After the contract has expired, they are either to move away or to renew the contract, which is determined by mutual agreement. If the property is purchased, the price is usually 423 greater than if it were rented. After the contract is signed, the rights of the mountain are transferred to the Miao purchaser, who may make use of it as he will. The original seller no longer has any rights whatever. The reason why some people among the Miao are able to remain for relatively longer periods in one locality is that they have acquired the ownership of the mountains they live on. [675] Whether the mountain is rented or purchased, a contract is signed by both parties. The name of the mountain, the price or rent, and the duration if it is rented, are clearly stated. There are many mountains which have been purchased with joint funds of the villagers, [422] but on the contract only the name of the shan-chia or chia-ch'ang is written, because he is the representative of the whole village during the negotiations and the contract is also kept by him. In the home of a Miao chia-ch'ang, we saw many different contracts of this kind. Some of them are translated as follows:

675 "We, the signers of the contract for Ya-nan Mountain, T'ung
539 Li, Lao Ta-k'ai, Shih Chün and Ying Kuo-ying-chi, having ex-
423 amined the vegetation and marked the soil, hereby agree that the price of the mountain shall be 66 dollars. The expenses of tao-ping /the commission?/ shall be 350 cash and a peck of rice from each family. The mountain products, ching-pi, shan-ma, deer horn, bear gall, red and white rattan, are all the property of the owners of the mountain; they shall not be stolen or sold. The Miao will be allowed to cut wood on this mountain for the next 25 years. This contract shall not be revoked on any pretext. Since oral agreement is subject to dispute, this written contract has been drawn as evidence.

Witnessed by Ch'iu K'ai-i

675 539 423 /38 cont'd/

This contract is signed in public on the fifteenth day of the second month of the twenty-sixth year of Kuang-hsü, the year of Keng-tze /1900/."

"Again: On the preceding day, the Miao people signed an agreement to pay 270 silver dollars for the mountain land of Mao-kai Mountain. This contract is signed on the seventh day of the first month of the sixteenth year of the Republic /1927/."

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675 423 427 436 /39/ "The rent of Mt. Mao-jui shall be roughly one peck of rice, 350 cash, one jar of wine, and one chicken, to be collected every year."

"Wang Kung-ch'ing

427 675 A new contract has been signed in the year ting-mao of the Republic /1927/; every family is to pay four dollars in the spring of every year. The expenses for tao-ping /commission?/ shall be 305 cash from each family; the expenses for shih-sheng /?/, 100 cash; one chicken, one peck of rice, and one jar of wine from each family.

Black beans, edible fungi, and other mountain products are all included."

The above are contracts for renting mountains.

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423 675 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased from the sellers Li Yüng-sheng, Li Yüng-sheng /sic/, and Mei Ch'ang-sheng. Mt. Mao-jui has been purchased in the twenty-second year of Kuang-hsü /1896/. The price agreed upon is 100 large silver dollars."

/39 cont'd/

423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased in the
675 second year of Hsüan-t'ung /1909/ from P'an Chao and Li Yüng-sheng, who hereby jointly sell the land to Lao Pan at the agreed price of 60 large silver dollars."

"Again: In the second year of the Republic /1913/, Chang Ming-yao has raised /the price?/ 12 dollars."

"Again: Chin chia-ch'ang has purchased the lands of Mt. Mao-jui. Chang Ming-yao sells the aforesaid land to Chin Chia-ch'ang. The agreed price is 200 large silver dollars. This certificate of purchase is signed and executed in the fourteenth year of the Republic /1925/. /40/ The undersigned Chang Ming-yao, Huang Hsing-li, Ch'en Ch'en-chou, and Li Hsi-ch'ing together with the Li people purchase Mt. Mao-jui which is to be transferred to Lao Teng and Lao Chin for cultivation. The agreed price is 350 silver dollars. Sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/."

"Mt. Nan-shih-lung has been purchased at the agreed price of 576 large silver dollars, on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of the Republic /1912/."

"The sellers of Mt. Nan-shih, Wang Kai-lung and Wang Kai-ch'un sell the said land to Teng Chia-ch'ang at the agreed price of 130 large silver dollars. Tenth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of the Republic /1929/."

421 The above are contracts for the purchase of mountains.
423 Since these mountains are based or purchased through funds
621 contributed by each family of the whole village, they are, of course, community property. Each family of the village has an equal right in the use of the land. In other words, people of the

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 426 [622] [686] /242/

In case of malicious nonpayment, which in practice almost never occurs, the creditor turns to the village chief, who will make use of his powers. If even his efforts are unsuccessful, the creditor has the right to kill the debtor.

M 426 675 [211] Limitation of debts is unknown, but repayment in installments is customary. If a Meau debtor lives in a village other than the one where the creditor lives or moves to a different village, a sort of promissory note is made out. It consists of a piece of wood into which a notch is cut for the value of each ten pieces of silver. Thereupon the stick is split lengthwise in such a way that the halved notches remain on each of the sides of the stick. The creditor keeps one half of the stick; the debtor takes the other half with him. This practical custom seems to be very widespread among the Meau and not limited to Thailand. In any case Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in similar fashion on the

M [184]

1. Page-172.

Meau in Tonkin.

If a creditor wants repayment from the debtor, he need not seek him out himself, but can ask someone else to demand the amount for him. He then gives the half of the stick to the messenger as identification. Upon presentation, the debtor is obliged to pay the messenger, identified by the half of the stick, the amount shown on the stick, beginning at the date agreed upon, provided that this half agrees with the one that remained with the debtor. On the other hand, if only partial payment is made, the old debt-stick is destroyed and a new one prepared showing the residual amount, and this is handled in the same way as the first. The messenger is then given a half of the stick to take back.

A 423 The situation regarding property among the Akha differs considerably from that among the Meau. Uncultivated land belongs to no one; it is considered as unrestricted, as are hunting and fishing. Accordingly, the land may be taken into possession by any tribesman without further inquiry by merely beginning to clear and cultivate it. It is left entirely up to him to choose the land and the extent of the land. Since, however, land is usually

A [596] [614]

/470 cont./

177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies [824] (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify [726] danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re- [675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.

soul together. The worst famine we ever had to face was in 1918 and it was weathered by the brave and unselfish devotion of the Rev. H. and Mrs. Parsons, to whose work amongst the Miao, were this book larger, we could easily devote a chapter. Suffice it to say that in the annals of our Church their names should be recorded in letters of gold. It was during this famine[1] that there was committed the only murder of which we ever knew a Miao to be guilty, and in this the pangs of hunger were the cause. 000 762 681

A young man out seeking food met an elderly man carrying a small bag of grain. They were near one of the many bottomless pits which are found upon these hills. No one was near and it was the work of a moment to snatch the bag, but in the scuffle the old man, slipping into the pit, was killed. When it became known, the village elders offered the youth a knife or a length of rope and told him they didn't wish to see him again. He chose the rope and, like Judas, "went away and hanged himself". There is a peculiarity amongst the Miao which has always been distressing to their friends. It is their tendency readily to commit suicide, it is said, a not uncommon feature amongst aboriginals. Such instances as the following are by no means exceptional: A boy and a girl who were very much attached to each other and forbidden by their parents to marry, hanged themselves with a single piece of rope. A little schoolgirl at Stone-Gateway who had been reproved by her teacher slipped 762

1 [OF 1918--ANALYST]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

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M P6. 29

/41 cont./

634 About twenty villages were under the jurisdiction of each great chief. He himself was elected for life by the plenary assembly of all the arms-bearing men of those villages over [666] which he was to rule. All the men over 16-17 years of age had the right to vote; women were excluded from voting.

It was left to each village to decide which great chief it wished to be under. If, therefore, after the death of a great chief who had ruled over twenty villages, twelve villages voted for one great chief and the remaining eight villages for another, two great chiefs were elected, and each one ruled over those villages that had elected him. As a consequence, after the death of each great chief the administrative unit changed, though this did not necessarily bring about a reduction in the size of the administrative units in the course of time, for every village wanted to be under the most powerful neighboring great chief.

634 687 There was an exception to the lifetime tenure of the great chief in case he was guilty of grave negligence. The village chiefs then convoked a new plenary assembly, which elected a new great chief. In any event, the election of the great chief took place in the largest village of the administrative district of the deceased or deposed great chief.

634 622 681 The great chief had to appoint the village chiefs. Moreover, he was the judge in all important affairs. If he meted out fines, the money involved was distributed according to the following system: the first part was distributed in equal shares to the arms-bearing men within his district. The second part was double the amount of the first and was distributed in equal shares to the village chiefs. The third part, three times the amount of the first part, went to the great chief and constituted an important source of income for him. He derived additional income from the tax which had to be paid once a year and amounted to four piasters (equivalent to about one mark) per person and one piaster for each rice field. The great chief could use the money as he saw fit.

634 [681] [651]

/42/

634 701 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from earning their livelihood.

622 634 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the village chiefs (šǎu pǎ) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the [692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to [687] the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

[692] The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great [651] chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village [701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 624 634 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal; the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 634 681 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

623 634 The popular assembly has special importance among the Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

The most common punishment is whipping, which the
681 village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection
[622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad-
[683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made
[689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver,
685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100
693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright
567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

/253 cont./

692 the office of judge for him. In such cases, if an appeal is made
[622] against his decision, the village chief is then the next higher
[596] court. In disputes within a large family, the head of the family
[693] officiates. For serious decisions, assemblies under the chairmanship of the village chief or the great chief are convened, as I have reported in the chapter, "Political Organization."

695 The judge, with the help of witnesses, tries to determine the facts of the case. Special importance is attached to the testimony of the witnesses, and can be, according to my experience, because among the Meau the witnesses always tell the truth, at least subjectively. Dhuraratsadorn (1) seems to have

1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in
[681] favor of the accused. If it later turns out that he falsely denied
[626] his guilt, he is expelled from the community and must leave the village, for otherwise he would be killed."

In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to
[577] tell the truth, regardless of whether or not it is damaging to the witness or whether there are ties of kinship with the parties or
[687] witnesses. A refusal to give testimony is not permitted; false statements are punished severely.

/256 cont./

M 693 634 Besides the direct costs of the lawsuit, which at the least consist of the costs for food for all the persons involved in the case, there are for minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol, and for major cases one or more pigs, which must be added for the great chief and the elders. Moreover, as soon as M 681 [634] the person is convicted or proved guilty, he has to pay the established fine, which is apportioned in accordance with a definite code, as soon as the decision is given by the great chief. Two-twelfths go to the arms-bearing men of the territory under the M [622] great chief; four-twelfths are distributed among the village chiefs of this territory, who use it chiefly to cover the expenses connected with their activities. They also use for this the smaller amounts which they impose independently in petty cases. M [634] The remaining six-twelfths, that is, half of the entire sum which the culprit has to pay, goes to the great chief alone and represents an important part of his income (see also the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship").

M 695 The verdict is given in accordance with definite judicial principles with which all the older men among the Meau are familiar, since this is a matter of customary law handed down for centuries.

M 673 When the verdict is given, a fundamental distinction is made between premeditation and negligence. Hence a deed is punished only if it was intentionally committed. Even for M [682] the negligent killing of a person, among the Meau the culprit is merely required to sacrifice a head of cattle for the soul of the dead.

A 692 622 693 /257/ As in almost all matters, the judicial procedure of the Akha also is considerably simpler and more primitive than that of the Meau. As has already been pointed out, the power of the village chief among the Akha is slight and cannot by any means be compared to that among the Meau. This is also apparent in the judicial procedure. Despite the fact that the Akha have no higher court, say, one comparable A [623] to the great chief of the Meau, beyond the office of the village chief, the village chief is not the supreme and therefore

39: Bernatzik--458 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/Caption for Figs. 239-253 cont./

A
301 Fig. 251. Small ornamental pendant of bone, 1/5 nat. size.
531 Figs. 252-253. Rounded, hollow arm-hoop of silver, about
[321] 1/2 nat. size.

/338/ Chapter 16

Mutilations of the Body

A
M
304 Neither the Meau nor the Akha are familiar with deformations of the skull or the teeth, or any kind of circumcision at all. Just as little is any amputation of body parts undertaken.
[685] The only exception to this is the amputation of the third,
[681] fourth, and fifth fingers of one hand as punishment for recidivous thieves, as well as half of the left ear, to which the Meau condemn certain wrongdoers (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Criminal Law"). This, therefore, has nothing to do with a general or sacral custom of the people.

On the other hand, it is customary among the Meau, as the single custom of this kind, to pierce the ear lobes of the girls, but not of the boys, at the age of nine to eleven. One of the parents tends to this early in the morning with the help of an iron needle. A thread is then strung through the hole so that it will not grow shut again. As soon as the small wound has healed, one first sticks a small piece of wood, later silver rings, into it and widens it to a diameter of one-half to one whole centimeter (Ill. 57).[1] The natives give as the sole reason for this custom that by means of it the hole is to be produced for the wearing of earrings.

Among the Akha, too, a similar custom prevails.

[1] [See cat 116, p368- ANALYST]

/250 cont./

683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 622 634 [689] Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

674 114 Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, [454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

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2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

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Akha A04
Miao AE5

/256 cont./

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/198 cont./

2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against [67] the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still [683] secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku [776] witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five con- [824] stituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers [753] either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul [787] of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[434] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ʔ̚ɛ̃˥] in the Miao language, and a ku woman
is called [mpʰɑ̃˧ ʂʰi˥]. Most of the ku women are loved by
their husbands, /200/ which is called /tʰio˩ ʂʰi˥/, meaning
seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[828] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

The most common punishment is whipping, which the
681 village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection
[622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad-
[683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made
[689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver,
685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100
693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright
567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

/250 cont./

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685 439 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
684 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
[837] they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again; and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case 123
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit- 685
nesses had not told the truth at other points.
Another case was that of a Miao who had 661
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
leased so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and
could not be found to ask him to change his
mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next
hsien, and after his condition that some mer-
chant in the city go surety for her was met,
she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed
money from his brother. This brother later
brought suit for the return of some of the
loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the
day set, but the brother did not appear to re-
ceive it. Later the family who had received
the loan sued the brother for the expense to
which they had been put because of his failure
to come and receive the payment on the day
set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most 671
small matters were settled among themselves.
Much of the old man's time was taken up with
such cases. Sometimes others of the village
elders were called in for consultation. This
was according to the Chinese Government
system, though in effect this formed the vil-
lage government, or council. If matters could
not be settled by them, they were taken before
the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the
hsien magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific
economic institutions. Families formed eco-
nomic units, and as such carried on trade with
Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie
Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting
country kinfolk to gather before they re-
turned to their villages from market. The
shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as
well, and much of their trade was really a
form of family visits. In their shops, as well

[167 cont.]

684 586 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general 548 778 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon 548 see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously ob- 764 served among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like [769] the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then [825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ ~~and the parents~~ of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
[626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's
[684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter
[851] is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II. p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

/108 cont./

A 595 [422] [606] [179] even the clothes of the secondary wives, belong to her. Among the Akha, the position of the daughter-in-law, who is the first to be called upon for assistance in all the difficult or unpleasant work of the women, is similar to her position among the Meau, and presumably has likewise been influenced by the Chinese. Among the Akha, as among the Meau, after the wedding both sexes are required to observe marital fidelity, which among the Meau at least is not always followed. If a man commits adultery with a girl, it is considered unimportant, provided that there are no consequences. If there are, the man must marry the girl or pay an indemnity agreed upon. It is different if a man commits adultery with a married woman and the affair is discovered. In this case, the seducer has to pay the deceived husband the entire bride price or he will be punished by the village chief. Moreover, the disclosure of such a case is a terrible disgrace for the seducer, whose prestige in the community suffers greatly (see the section, "Dissolution of Marriage," in this chapter).

A M 837 684

A M [558]

The obligation for marital fidelity for both sexes is stricter among the Akha than among the Meau.

A 184 837 Telford (1) reports that among the Akha of Kengtung

1. Page 108.

a married, but childless woman may have sexual intercourse now and then with an unmarried man. If she becomes pregnant, her husband has to /109/ slaughter a pig and give it to her lover. I assume that the reference to a slaughtered pig means that a sacrificial feast must be arranged.

A M 837 432 583 M 174 583 432 Wife exchange, the lending of wives, and outright wife-purchase, under which I do not include the indirect purchase for marriage described above, are equally unknown among the Meau and Akha. It can be assumed, I think, that in former times among the Meau a purchase of wives in some form as yet unknown might have been practiced. In any case this is indicated by the fact that the Meau believe it is not proper to sell the household broom, because this would be tantamount

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
578 easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common.
595 The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among
[583]

/248 cont./

c) Criminal Law

673 Regarded as crimes among the Meau are: theft, robbery, manslaughter, lying, bodily injury, and offense by assault, whereas verbal offenses are not ordinarily punished. Furthermore, kidnapping, especially of children, is regarded as a crime. In former times, treason was added to the list of possible crimes which were punished.

684 [769] [622] Incest, on the other hand, is punished exclusively by the ancestors; the people do not interfere. If it becomes known, however, it is regarded as the utmost disgrace.

At first it seems surprising that rape generally remains unpunished. Since, however, in the life of the Meau a girl can hardly be taken unawares without some co-operation on her part -- there are always female companions or family members nearby when a girl leaves a village -- it is assumed that a girl who goes off alone with a boy is prepared for every eventuality. If a case of rape should occur, however, the girl's father demands two or three pieces of silver from the culprit, who will pay without opposition. The case is different if the girl becomes pregnant. Then no distinction is made between rape and voluntary surrender. Even then, however, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," no pressure is exerted for marriage. /Ills. 46-51 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /249/ although the girl's parents in particular will make every attempt to bring about the marriage.

[848] If a girl who is pregnant as a consequence of the wrong done to her should give birth to a stillborn child, the culprit must pay the same price for the stillborn child as is charged for children who must be turned over to a creditor in lieu of payment, namely, 70 pieces of silver for a boy, and 50 pieces for a girl.

4-Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

661 they did. But before anything could be done
648 he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his
123 captors took him to Hunan. He was well treated and not forced to become a soldier, but served the commanding officer as a secretary. He was later released. I like to think that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the provincial government had something to do with his release before the soldiers were due to return to Kweichow. It was not until after the rice harvest that his family sent him traveling expenses so that he might come home. He arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

648 On the eighteenth of November I was asked
123 to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again.
685 This time a relative by the name of T'ang was being detained on complaint of some Chi-
661 nese. This man owned a wooded slope. The Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this man to make his wood into charcoal for them. No agreement was made, but they had him arrested to be held until he could produce fifty thousand *chin*,[2] more than sixty-six thousand pounds. What they wanted me to do was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate the matter quickly so that the man could be released. This I did. But when the *hsien* magistrate said he could be released if two would go surety for him, and they asked me to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had never seen the man and could not find out what it meant to be a guarantor under such circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live they continued to ask me to help them. Upon one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien* magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of stealing logs from his house while only his wife and children were at home. The Chinese said that he had sold them the logs before felling the trees on a hillside he owned and that they were only taking what already belonged to them. I was asked to urge the magistrate to investigate the matter before the Chinese should have time to convert the

[2] One and one-third pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did so. I have never found out what the truth of the matter was, but the Miao lost his case because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses had not told the truth at other points. 648 123 685 661

Another case was that of a Miao who had become so angry at his wife that he had her jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released so that her child need not be born in prison. The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released. 684 [844]

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set. 686

These, of course, were only a few of the disputes which arose in the village or among the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate. 621 671

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the *hsien* city. Just inside the walls were a few tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well 592 265

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before 769 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that [231] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their [773] tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.—Analyst]

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

The most common punishment is whipping, which the
681 village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection
[622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad-
[683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made
[689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver,
685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100
693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright
567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

/250 cont./

683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 622 634 [689] 674 114 Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, [454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only [634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 439 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

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/252 cont./

A M 648 692 In general, however, this gives a rather theoretical picture of legal conditions. Only in very serious cases, and even then only as an exception, are legal cases brought to the law courts of the colonial powers by the mountain people. This usually happens only if a member of a mountain tribe has been in the service of members of other tribes for a long time or lives in a settlement of another tribe, which is rare. In such isolated instances, however, it may happen that such a tribesman will appear as defendant or plaintiff before the court of the colonial administration concerned.

The Akha in Kengtung as well as the Meau in Tonkin who are to a large extent controlled by the government of the colonial powers, settle almost all their cases in their own domain and in accordance with their customary law, so that not more than one per cent of their cases come before the official jurisdiction.

A 628 648 692 [631] /253/ It is different among the Akha when there are disputes to be settled between their various villages. Since the Akha today have no political organization beyond the village unit, they frequently turn to the chief of the nearest valley tribe and ask him to decide the issue (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The latter, usually a Schan /Shan/ or Lao, then acts as a sort of arbitrator.

e) Legal Procedure in Characteristic Cases

M 692 In accordance with the very precisely organized political structure, the individual Meau is obliged to observe the established legal procedure in all cases. Self-help is therefore forbidden. Accordingly, blood vengeance is unknown, as are secret courts.

M 692 622 [685] [693] Among the Meau, thefts, insofar as trifles are involved, are at first simply put up with; in repeated cases, however, one turns to the village chief, who acts as judge in petty cases. He is the court of the first instance in all lawsuits. If the village is so large, however, that the village chief is too greatly occupied with other matters, then an older man of the village takes over

39: Bernatzik--45g E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/Caption for Figs. 239-253 cont./

A
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531
[321]

Fig. 251. Small ornamental pendant of bone, 1/5 nat. size.
Figs. 252-253. Rounded, hollow arm-hoop of silver, about 1/2 nat. size.

/338/ Chapter 16

Mutilations of the Body

A
M
304
[685]
[681]

Neither the Meau nor the Akha are familiar with deformations of the skull or the teeth, or any kind of circumcision at all. Just as little is any amputation of body parts undertaken. The only exception to this is the amputation of the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of one hand as punishment for recidivous thieves, as well as half of the left ear, to which the Meau condemn certain wrongdoers (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Criminal Law"). This, therefore, has nothing to do with a general or sacral custom of the people.

On the other hand, it is customary among the Meau, as the single custom of this kind, to pierce the ear lobes of the girls, but not of the boys, at the age of nine to eleven. One of the parents tends to this early in the morning with the help of an iron needle. A thread is then strung through the hole so that it will not grow shut again. As soon as the small wound has healed, one first sticks a small piece of wood, later silver rings, into it and widens it to a diameter of one-half to one whole centimeter (Ill. 57).[1] The natives give as the sole reason for this custom that by means of it the hole is to be produced for the wearing of earrings.

Among the Akha, too, a similar custom prevails.

[1] [See cat 116, p368- ANALYST]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case 123
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit- 685
nesses had not told the truth at other points.
Another case was that of a Miao who had 661
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
leased so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and
could not be found to ask him to change his
mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next
hsien, and after his condition that some mer-
chant in the city go surety for her was met,
she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed
money from his brother. This brother later
brought suit for the return of some of the
loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the
day set, but the brother did not appear to re-
ceive it. Later the family who had received
the loan sued the brother for the expense to
which they had been put because of his failure
to come and receive the payment on the day
set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most 671
small matters were settled among themselves.
Much of the old man's time was taken up with
such cases. Sometimes others of the village
elders were called in for consultation. This
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system, though in effect this formed the vil-
lage government, or council. If matters could
not be settled by them, they were taken before
the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the
hsien magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific
economic institutions. Families formed eco-
nomic units, and as such carried on trade with
Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie
Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting
country kinfolk to gather before they re-
turned to their villages from market. The
shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as
well, and much of their trade was really a
form of family visits. In their shops, as well

/98 cont./

584 marriage /99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find [648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage 584 promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary 608 assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men 614 participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always 686 decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 184 584 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /242/ ... /
426 In case of malicious nonpayment, which in practice al-
[622] most never occurs, the creditor turns to the village chief, who
[686] will make use of his powers. If even his efforts are unsuccessful, the creditor has the right to kill the debtor.

Limitation of debts is unknown, but repayment in install-
M ments is customary. If a Meau debtor lives in a village other
426 than the one where the creditor lives or moves to a different
675 village, a sort of promissory note is made out. It consists of a
[211] piece of wood into which a notch is cut for the value of each ten pieces of silver. Thereupon the stick is split lengthwise in such a way that the halved notches remain on each of the sides of the stick. The creditor keeps one half of the stick; the debtor
M takes the other half with him. This practical custom seems to
[184] be very widespread among the Meau and not limited to Thailand. In any case Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in similar fashion on the

1. Page 172.

Meau in Tonkin.

If a creditor wants repayment from the debtor, he need not seek him out himself, but can ask someone else to demand the amount for him. He then gives the half of the stick to the messenger as identification. Upon presentation, the debtor is obliged to pay the messenger, identified by the half of the stick, the amount shown on the stick, beginning at the date agreed upon, provided that this half agrees with the one that remained with the debtor. On the other hand, if only partial payment is made, the old debt-stick is destroyed and a new one prepared showing the residual amount, and this is handled in the same way as the first. The messenger is then given a half of the stick to take back.

A The situation regarding property among the Akha differs
423 considerably from that among the Meau. Uncultivated land belongs to no one; it is considered as unrestricted, as are hunting and fishing. Accordingly, the land may be taken into possession
A by any tribesman without further inquiry by merely beginning to
[596] clear and cultivate it. It is left entirely up to him to choose the
[614] land and the extent of the land. Since, however, land is usually

/41 cont./

634 About twenty villages were under the jurisdiction of each great chief. He himself was elected for life by the plenary assembly of all the arms-bearing men of those villages over [666] which he was to rule. All the men over 16-17 years of age had the right to vote; women were excluded from voting.

It was left to each village to decide which great chief it wished to be under. If, therefore, after the death of a great chief who had ruled over twenty villages, twelve villages voted for one great chief and the remaining eight villages for another, two great chiefs were elected, and each one ruled over those villages that had elected him. As a consequence, after the death of each great chief the administrative unit changed, though this did not necessarily bring about a reduction in the size of the administrative units in the course of time, for every village wanted to be under the most powerful neighboring great chief.

634 ●687 There was an exception to the lifetime tenure of the great chief in case he was guilty of grave negligence. The village chiefs then convoked a new plenary assembly, which elected a new great chief. In any event, the election of the great chief took place in the largest village of the administrative district of the deceased or deposed great chief.

634 622 681 The great chief had to appoint the village chiefs. Moreover, he was the judge in all important affairs. If he meted out fines, the money involved was distributed according to the following system: the first part was distributed in equal shares to the arms-bearing men within his district. The second part was double the amount of the first and was distributed in equal shares to the village chiefs. The third part, three times the amount of the first part, went to the great chief and constituted an important source of income for him. He derived additional income from the tax which had to be paid once a year and amounted to four piasters (equivalent to about one mark) per person and one piaster for each rice field. The great chief could use the money as he saw fit.

634 [681] [651]

/42/

634 701 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from earning their livelihood.

622 634 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the village chiefs (šǎu pǎ) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the [692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed [687] another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

[692] [651] The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village [701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 624 634 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal; the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 634 681 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

623 634 The popular assembly has special importance among the Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

M 687 /250 cont./

In former times treason may also have been punished by death, but none of my informants could remember a case.

M 696 /251/ Capital punishment is executed in three ways. Beating the criminal to death is regarded as the mildest form, and decapitation is regarded as more severe punishment. As the most severe form, the condemned person is first shot and then beheaded. Capital punishment is not only meted out to men, M [562] but also to women.

Dhuraratsadorn (1), as he writes, could not learn anything

1. Page 170.

about capital punishment. It was only reported to him that condemned persons "quietly disappeared." The author continues: M [626] "Nobody wants to have anything to do with the family of the executed person, and even children refuse to play with his children, because the Meau believe that they are persons of a bad breed."

A 673 Among the Akha, too, there are fixed punishments for various offenses. Theft, robbery, arson, bodily injury, and [681] adultery, as well as the violation of the incest prohibitions and false testimony by a witness, are regarded as crimes.

M [673] In contrast to the Meau, the Akha make no distinction between a deed that was premeditated and one caused by negligence. Even the latter is punished as though it had been done intentionally. Like the procedure among the Meau, the A 692 sentence is made in accordance with established customary law with which the older men are thoroughly familiar through experience. The verdict itself is decided by a majority vote of the assembly of house-owners and the decision is regarded as incontestable; it is announced by the village chief.

A 674 In the villages visited by me, I was told that murder and homicide, as well as kidnapping, had not occurred within human memory; I could therefore not ascertain the penalties for these crimes. It was always said that such serious crimes do not occur among the Akha.

/253 cont./

692 the office of judge for him. In such cases, if an appeal is made
[622] against his decision, the village chief is then the next higher
[596] court. In disputes within a large family, the head of the family
[693] officiates. For serious decisions, assemblies under the chairmanship of the village chief or the great chief are convened, as I have reported in the chapter, "Political Organization."

695 The judge, with the help of witnesses, tries to determine the facts of the case. Special importance is attached to the testimony of the witnesses, and can be, according to my experience, because among the Meau the witnesses always tell the truth, at least subjectively. Dhuraratsadorn (1) seems to have

1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in
[681] favor of the accused. If it later turns out that he falsely denied
[626] his guilt, he is expelled from the community and must leave the village, for otherwise he would be killed."

In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to
[577] tell the truth, regardless of whether or not it is damaging to the witness or whether there are ties of kinship with the parties or
[687] witnesses. A refusal to give testimony is not permitted; false statements are punished severely.

/55 cont./

243 and a drought ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[776] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
[688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordinarily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

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276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to the village for the second period of residence, the first of February, 1942, I found that the old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

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661 This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

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[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

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847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

681 The most common punishment is whipping, which the village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection [622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad- [683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made [689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver, 685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100 693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright 567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

/250 cont./

683 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is prac-
754 ticed among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Out-
lawing is likewise unknown.

692 Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief
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1. Page 171.

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[454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only
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685 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same
439 punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

*782 /153 cont./
627 by the other party to drink blood in place of the principal in order to settle a dispute. There is also all-round blood drinking in which the witness and the disputing parties all drink blood. This generally occurs when the two parties mutually avail themselves of pretexts, and there is no alternative but for the two parties and the witness all to drink blood. Moreover, there are times when the whole family drinks blood. The whole family, father, mother, wife, and children, male and female, big and small, altogether enter the temple to drink blood. In drinking blood, this is the most important. After drinking blood each must take an oath, saying: "If you wrongly accuse me, I shall become very prosperous; if I wrongly accuse you, then I shall nine times die and nine times be cut off." After the blood drinking, there can be no regrets, regardless of whether the issue is important or trivial.

On drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, it is necessary to write out the oath /to be burned?/. A blood list is also burned. The blood supervisor is compensated with a sum of 880 cash or at most 8,800 cash, which is called "money for binding words." Three days after the blood drinking one has to kill an animal to make good the vow, which is called "repenting."

[691] The Miao are addicted to kuei and to litigation. Sometimes litigation may last a year, and the court, unable to decide the case, may ask both parties to eat blood. This serves as a deterrent. Yen Ju-yü in his Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "Those who enter the temple to drink blood move on their knees and bellies, not daring to look up; those who are in the wrong dare not drink it, but repent and yield." In the course of our investigations in the Miao frontier area, the private secretary of the hsien government at Feng-huang, Mr. Wang Yüeh-yen told us: "The T'ien Wang temple is the Supreme Court of the Miao area. When a Miao is not satisfied with the decision of the hsien government, then he is ordered to go to the T'ien Wang temple to drink blood. Whatever the litigation, big or small, it receives immediate settlement." It can be seen that the Miao's awe of kuei is greater than their awe of the law.

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*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[784] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
[776] are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[627] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[778] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao
area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69),
which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village
without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
[627] Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be
asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the
T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go
to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before
the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints,
secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece
of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned.
The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the pro-
tection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or
both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, de-
pending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial
condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house
to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things
promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the re-
sults shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled,
but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there
are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-
chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the
Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

/169 cont./

(9) The Kuei of the High Slope

782 [731] [776] [691] This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife, seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the in-[787] cantation, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-tzu, the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with *[787] the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551] [776] [755] The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

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*[182] of meat, and a bowl of salted pepper soup. The sorcerer-priest once more squats at his original place, utters an incantation, *[187] divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send the shen away.

(11) The Kuei of Deceit

●[191] [176] When a Miao is involved in a litigation, he will wish to cause the kuei of deceit to go to confuse the opposite party, and so he sacrifices to this kuei. A winnowing basket is laid down to the right of the main door inside the main house. In it are put five piles of mi-pa, each made up of three pieces, and into the middle pile are stuck three sticks of incense. There are also five bowls of wine and five stacks of paper money in the tray. Outside the tray a bowl of chaff burns. The sorcerer wears ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand, and sits down facing the

[353] [352]

Illus. 73. Sacrifice to the Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries.

*[187] winnowing basket. He utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the performance. He

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Miao are ruled much in the same way as the 622
Chinese who live in villages and hamlets.

The Miao are, we have many reasons to 691
think, more litigious than the Chinese, constantly going "to have the law" on some one, or some one going "to have the law" on them. In many cases the affair is brought before the local headman, but on these occasions it is difficult to satisfy both parties, and the loser is almost certain to carry the case before the district magistrate. It is amazing to note how much of their time and money these people spend in legal proceedings, and very often fail to get justice after all. But it is a point of honour with them, and they think it due to themselves and their reputations to fight a case to the bitter end.

This love of litigation is encouraged by 691
the secretaries and underlings in the various 661
Yamen, who depend for their living principally on the law cases, civil and criminal, brought before the magistrate. If there were no litigation these men would starve. Thus cases that have been settled, and possibly justly settled, by the headman, can always be reopened before the district magistrate, and cases settled by one magistrate can be retried by his successor. This is not from any love of justice, but for the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

691 sake of the bribes, squeezes, and fees that are
661 to be obtained from the litigants. The average incumbency of a district magistrate in Kweichow is not, we think, over twelve months.

Not only do the Yamen people profit by the cases brought before the magistrate, but very often underlings, and others in league with the Yamen, foment litigation and exhort the simple country-folk to take their grievances, or reopen their cases, before the magistrate. The longer a case lasts, and the more people can be drawn into it, the more profit there is for the Yamen. Very often cases are trumped up and false accusations made, and even if the accused finally obtains a verdict in his favour, it will only be after he has been mercilessly squeezed by these harpies. Probably on account of their ignorance and the lack of men among them with literary degrees, which would give them the privilege of interviewing the magistrate, the Miao are even more squeezed than the Chinese. Yamen secretaries, however, are neither partial nor particular, but always willing and zealous to extort money from everybody they can lay their hands on.

594 Among the Miao nearly all the disputes
586 arise on account of their land or their women. They recognise the marriage relation, but do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

586 and the little food she got, she is willing to return, but her husband has never come to his home to fetch her. Note, it is the custom for a husband to make a present to his wife's father on such an occasion.

Many angry words are spoken by the three parties concerned, and after everybody has added his or her word to the discussion, the case may be ended by the elders suggesting that the lover should repay the husband the cost of his wife and marry her himself, and that the husband should take the money and go elsewhere for a wife. If, however, the lover's influence is strong, the elders may decide that the girl go back to her husband, knowing that she will do nothing of the sort, or will not stay with him if she does go back. The case is thus only postponed for another time. We have assisted at some of the discussions of these matrimonial cases and know how hard they [691] are to settle. These daughter-in-law cases are not often brought before the Chinese magistrate, except when they have led to fighting, and, as sometimes happens, to serious wounds and homicide.

627 In the west and north-west of the province, when the Miao are the tenants of the I-chia landholders, all disputes about the land are

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers
585 assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

*782 /153 cont./
627 by the other party to drink blood in place of the principal in order to settle a dispute. There is also all-round blood drinking in which the witness and the disputing parties all drink blood. This generally occurs when the two parties mutually avail themselves of pretexts, and there is no alternative but for the two parties and the witness all to drink blood. Moreover, there are times when the whole family drinks blood. The whole family, father, mother, wife, and children, male and female, big and small, altogether enter the temple to drink blood. In drinking blood, this is the most important. After drinking blood each must take an oath, saying: "If you wrongly accuse me, I shall become very prosperous; if I wrongly accuse you, then I shall nine times die and nine times be cut off." After the blood drinking, there can be no regrets, regardless of whether the issue is important or trivial.

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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

ing school, and the engineers' corps of the railway being built through the town from Kwangsi to Kweiyang. To it the people of the surrounding contryside, including at least three groups of Miao and the Chung-chia, went to market. It was also the seat of the *hsien* government and contained a middle school, postal and telegraph offices, and a co-operative bank, with all of which the non-Chinese, as well as the Chinese, had some dealings. A few of the more well-to-do families sent one of their boys to the middle school. Cases which could not be settled in the village or by the *lien pao* official, who was also a Chinese, were of necessity brought to the *hsien* court, as well as cases which involved both Miao and Chinese.

The market was held in an open space reserved for it just inside the east gate of the city. There were permanent sheds under which merchants who made the rounds of such markets displayed their stocks of cloth, notions, and articles manufactured elsewhere. Other sections of the grounds were reserved for eggs and poultry, sandal straw, farm implements, brown sugar cakes, fruits and vegetables, dishes and cooking utensils, pigs, tobacco, chillies, food stalls, articles of wood and bamboo, meat, firewood, grain, and the thin strips of sulfur-tipped wood used for carrying fire. The main market for wood was just outside the city gate.

People within a radius of perhaps ten miles and including Chinese, Chung-chia, and three, sometimes four, groups of Miao, attended this market to buy and sell. One group of Miao came from the mountains twenty-four miles to the south with charcoal. Each group had a distinctive costume worn by the women. That of Chung-chia women consisted of long, narrow trousers with a woven band of color at the ankles, a knee-length blouse in old Chinese style, a straight apron attached to the collar of the blouse with a silver chain and tied with embroidered strings in the back, and a tight skull cap. The women of one group of Miao wore dark blue trousers to below the knee, a skirt of many pleats of dark blue, bordered with a wide band of white, a blue blouse worn surplice and having a large sailor collar. Their legs were wound in many long strips of blue cloth. About the waist

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634 701 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from earning their livelihood.

622 634 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the village chiefs (šǎu pǎ) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the [692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to [687] the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

[692] The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great [651] chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village [701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 624 634 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal; the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 634 681 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

623 634 The popular assembly has special importance among the Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

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623 The assembly of all the arms-bearing men of a village /43/ is usually convoked by the village chief in all cases pertaining to the welfare of the village. Such cases are: the laying out of rice fields, the selection of a settlement site in the relocation of villages, communal hunts, and the like. The [666] majority vote decides the issue. The popular assembly, how- [634] ever, may be convoked even against the will of the village chief if the villagers want to file a complaint against their village chief with the great chief. In this case the assembly convenes upon the initiative of the village elders.

634 The popular assembly of all arms-bearing men within the administrative district of a great chief had far greater power. It met only when needed; its decisions had to be unamimous. It was convoked by the great chief in order to pass resolutions about important matters. Such important [721] matters were decisions about war and peace and measures to [796] be taken to celebrate the festival of the New Year or the harvest festival. The resolutions passed by the popular assembly of the great chief were of an advisory nature, for the great chief was under no obligation to comply with them. Actually, of course, he avoided acting against the voice of his people. In one case, however, the great chief was absolutely bound to accept the decision of the popular assembly: when the latter [692] had decided on his removal. The great popular assembly was, at the same time, a court of appeal for verdicts of the great chief, and its decisions were regarded as irrevocable.

634 693 The expenses of a popular assembly had to be paid by the person who summoned it, hence either by the great chief himself or the party who had moved that it be convened. Among the expenses there were the provisions for all the assembly-participants at the place of the meeting, but no compensation was given for the journey to and fro. Moreover, in connection with minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol were collected for the great chief and the elders; in connection with major affairs, one or more pigs.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

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A 426 [614] Limitation of debts is as unknown to the Akha as it is to the Meau. The Akha, too, are familiar with repaying a loan in installments, as well as with interest charges. Among the Akha, however, interest is collected from sib members as well as from /244/ outsiders. The interest rate is not fixed once and for all, but in each case is left to a voluntary arrangement by the partners.

A [768] [567] [858] After the death of a debtor, the heirs are responsible for debts which he was unable to settle before his demise. In contrast to the situation among the Meau, the creditor has no right with respect to tardy debtors to make slaves or debt prisoners of their children in lieu of payment. Also, there is no such absolute power over the debtor himself or the other members of his family. A [686] The killing of a debtor is out of the question.

[675] [211] Among the Akha I did not find the making of a debt-stick or any custom similar to it.

b) Right of Succession

M 596 428 When the head of a large /extended/ family dies among the Meau, his estate is not divided up for the time being. The members of the large family remain together as before, and the oldest married son still living in the house of the deceased, in other words, a man not yet thirty years old, is the chief heir and assumes the privileges of the deceased. He cannot refuse the obligation and office which fall to him. If he nevertheless M [622] shuns them, the village chief has him summoned and reminds him of his duty.

If this son should be incapable of providing for the family of the deceased because of sickness or as a result of his physical or mental make-up, he is replaced by the second oldest son still living in the paternal home, provided that he has the necessary qualifications. In short, the place of the deceased head is taken by that son remaining in the house who has the required physical M [622] [692] qualifications and is next in age. In case of conflict, it is the business of the village chief to make the decision.

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683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

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Akha A04
Miao AE5

/251 cont./

A 689 Lying is forbidden, to be sure, as it is among the Meau, but it is not punished, as it is among them. Similarly the Akha A 684 do not have any penalties for rape. The reason for this is the same as among the Meau.

A 685 A person convicted of theft simply has to return the stolen goods. If he has denied the theft, however, he must restore twice as much. In the case of arson, too, the perpetrator must simply make good the full damage.

A 683 /252/ The same holds true for bodily injury; in addition the perpetrator must fully provide for the injured for the duration of any ensuing reduction of his ability to work.

A 684 For violation of the rather broadly conceived incest prohibitions, the male partner must pay to the female partner ten to fifteen pieces of silver "for compensation," as it is expressed. I have already discussed in detail the punishment for adultery in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Dissolution of Marriage."

A 681 Habitual criminals of any kind are banished, but not killed.

d) Jurisdiction

A M 671 648 692 The mountain peoples are subject to the laws of the colonial powers in whose territory they happen to be. Thus, the Meau of China are subject to Chinese jurisdiction and those of Tonkin to French-Indochinese jurisdiction, as is also shown in the works of Abadie (1) and Lajonquière (2). Accordingly, the

1. Page 163.

2. II, p. 321.

Meau and Akha of Thailand are subject to the laws of Thailand, and those of Kengtung to the laws of the Schan /Shan/.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/252 cont./

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The Akha in Kengtung as well as the Meau in Tonkin who are to a large extent controlled by the government of the colonial powers, settle almost all their cases in their own domain and in accordance with their customary law, so that not more than one per cent of their cases come before the official jurisdiction.

A 628 648 692 [631] /253/ It is different among the Akha when there are disputes to be settled between their various villages. Since the Akha today have no political organization beyond the village unit, they frequently turn to the chief of the nearest valley tribe and ask him to decide the issue (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The latter, usually a Schan /Shan/ or Lao, then acts as a sort of arbitrator.

e) Legal Procedure in Characteristic Cases

M 692 In accordance with the very precisely organized political structure, the individual Meau is obliged to observe the established legal procedure in all cases. Self-help is therefore forbidden. Accordingly, blood vengeance is unknown, as are secret courts.

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1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in
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In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to
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623 The assembly of all the arms-bearing men of a village /43/ is usually convoked by the village chief in all cases pertaining to the welfare of the village. Such cases are: the laying out of rice fields, the selection of a settlement site in the relocation of villages, communal hunts, and the like. The [666] majority vote decides the issue. The popular assembly, how- [634] ever, may be convoked even against the will of the village chief if the villagers want to file a complaint against their village chief with the great chief. In this case the assembly convenes upon the initiative of the village elders.

634 The popular assembly of all arms-bearing men within the administrative district of a great chief had far greater power. It met only when needed; its decisions had to be unamimous. It was convoked by the great chief in order to pass resolutions about important matters. Such important [721] matters were decisions about war and peace and measures to [796] be taken to celebrate the festival of the New Year or the harvest festival. The resolutions passed by the popular assembly of the great chief were of an advisory nature, for the great chief was under no obligation to comply with them. Actually, of course, he avoided acting against the voice of his people. In one case, however, the great chief was absolutely bound to accept the decision of the popular assembly: when the latter [692] had decided on his removal. The great popular assembly was, at the same time, a court of appeal for verdicts of the great chief, and its decisions were regarded as irrevocable.

634 The expenses of a popular assembly had to be paid by the ●693 person who summoned it, hence either by the great chief himself or the party who had moved that it be convened. Among the expenses there were the provisions for all the assembly-participants at the place of the meeting, but no compensation was given for the journey to and fro. Moreover, in connection with minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol were collected for the great chief and the elders; in connection with major affairs, one or more pigs.

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

681 The most common punishment is whipping, which the village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection [622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad- [683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made [689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver, 685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100 693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright 567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/252 cont./

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A criminal who in the opinion of the judge has been found guilty but nevertheless denies his guilt is tortured in harsher and harsher fashion. To begin with, his fingers are squeezed into an iron fork and the fork is then heated over an open fire. If the accused continues to deny his guilt, the palms of his hands are burned with red-hot iron. At the conclusion of the torture a piece of each ear and the little finger of the hand with which the crime was committed are cut off.

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693 695 The costs of a lawsuit are borne by the guilty. They can be considerable if a popular assembly was convened, since the expenses for it must be defrayed /256/ (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The plaintiff has to bear all the costs until the culprit is discovered. If he cannot pay them at once, they are treated like a debt assumed by him. If, in spite of all efforts, the person guilty of a crime cannot be discovered, the plaintiff, who in all sincerity cast suspicion upon the wrong person, does not pay the costs. They remain unpaid until the guilty person is discovered, for, as was pointed out, there is no time limitation on lawsuits, even though official investigations are discontinued after three years and discovery is left to chance.

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M 693 634 Besides the direct costs of the lawsuit, which at the least consist of the costs for food for all the persons involved in the case, there are for minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol, and for major cases one or more pigs, which must be added for the great chief and the elders. Moreover, as soon as M 681 [634] the person is convicted or proved guilty, he has to pay the established fine, which is apportioned in accordance with a definite code, as soon as the decision is given by the great chief. Two-twelfths go to the arms-bearing men of the territory under the M [622] great chief; four-twelfths are distributed among the village chiefs of this territory, who use it chiefly to cover the expenses connected with their activities. They also use for this the smaller amounts which they impose independently in petty cases. M [634] The remaining six-twelfths, that is, half of the entire sum which the culprit has to pay, goes to the great chief alone and represents an important part of his income (see also the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship").

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M 673 When the verdict is given, a fundamental distinction is made between premeditation and negligence. Hence a deed is punished only if it was intentionally committed. Even for M [682] the negligent killing of a person, among the Meau the culprit is merely required to sacrifice a head of cattle for the soul of the dead.

A 692 622 693 /257/ As in almost all matters, the judicial procedure of the Akha also is considerably simpler and more primitive than that of the Meau. As has already been pointed out, the power of the village chief among the Akha is slight and cannot by any means be compared to that among the Meau. This is also apparent in the judicial procedure. Despite the fact that the Akha have no higher court, say, one comparable A [622] to the great chief of the Meau, beyond the office of the village chief, the village chief is not the supreme and therefore

*782 /153 cont. /
627 by the other party to drink blood in place of the principal in order to settle a dispute. There is also all-round blood drinking in which the witness and the disputing parties all drink blood. This generally occurs when the two parties mutually avail themselves of pretexts, and there is no alternative but for the two parties and the witness all to drink blood. Moreover, there are times when the whole family drinks blood. The whole family, father, mother, wife, and children, male and female, big and small, altogether enter the temple to drink blood. In drinking blood, this is the most important. After drinking blood each must take an oath, saying: "If you wrongly accuse me, I shall become very prosperous; if I wrongly accuse you, then I shall nine times die and nine times be cut off." After the blood drinking, there can be no regrets, regardless of whether the issue is important or trivial.

On drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, it is necessary to write out the oath /to be burned?/. A blood list is also burned. The blood supervisor is compensated with a sum of 880 cash or at most 8,800 cash, which is called "money for binding words." Three days after the blood drinking one has to kill an animal to make good the vow, which is called "repenting."

[691] The Miao are addicted to kuei and to litigation. Some-
[695] times litigation may last a year, and the court, unable to decide the case, may ask both parties to eat blood. This serves as a deterrent. Yen Ju-yü in his Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "Those who enter the temple to drink blood move on their knees and bellies, not daring to look up; those who are in the wrong dare not drink it, but repent and yield." In the course of our investigations in the Miao frontier area, the private secretary of the hsien government at Feng-huang, Mr. Wang Yüeh-yen told us: "The T'ien Wang temple is the Supreme Court of the Miao area.
[695] When a Miao is not satisfied with the decision of the hsien government, then he is ordered to go to the T'ien Wang temple to drink blood. Whatever the litigation, big or small, it receives immediate settlement." It can be seen that the Miao's awe of
[692] kuei is greater than their awe of the law.

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634 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly,
●695 as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished,
[342] not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of
[516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the
[276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and
[292] sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri-
[782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

/253 cont./

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Akha A04
Miao AE5

M 687 /250 cont./

In former times treason may also have been punished by death, but none of my informants could remember a case.

M 696 /251/ Capital punishment is executed in three ways. Beating the criminal to death is regarded as the mildest form, and decapitation is regarded as more severe punishment. As the most severe form, the condemned person is first shot and then beheaded. Capital punishment is not only meted out to men, M [562] but also to women.

Dhuraratsadorn (1), as he writes, could not learn anything

1. Page 170.

about capital punishment. It was only reported to him that condemned persons "quietly disappeared." The author continues: M [626] "Nobody wants to have anything to do with the family of the executed person, and even children refuse to play with his children, because the Meau believe that they are persons of a bad breed."

A 673 Among the Akha, too, there are fixed punishments for various offenses. Theft, robbery, arson, bodily injury, and [681] adultery, as well as the violation of the incest prohibitions and false testimony by a witness, are regarded as crimes.

In contrast to the Meau, the Akha make no distinction M [673] between a deed that was premeditated and one caused by negligence. Even the latter is punished as though it had been done intentionally. Like the procedure among the Meau, the A 692 sentence is made in accordance with established customary law with which the older men are thoroughly familiar through experience. The verdict itself is decided by a majority vote of the assembly of house-owners and the decision is regarded as incontestable; it is announced by the village chief.

A 674 In the villages visited by me, I was told that murder and homicide, as well as kidnapping, had not occurred within human memory; I could therefore not ascertain the penalties for these crimes. It was always said that such serious crimes do not occur among the Akha.

/255 cont./

695 [634] An ordeal that a great chief had arranged was described to me as follows. The great chief puts some weapons into water to which has been added the blood of a sacrificed chicken and some alcohol. He now conjures up the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to destroy the liar within a month. All the suspects must then drink some of the liquid. Whoever dies during this period or is otherwise afflicted by severe misfortune is regarded as guilty.

Poison or fire ordeals, on the other hand, are not used and are unknown, as are duels.

A criminal who in the opinion of the judge has been found guilty but nevertheless denies his guilt is tortured in harsher and harsher fashion. To begin with, his fingers are squeezed into an iron fork and the fork is then heated over an open fire. If the accused continues to deny his guilt, the palms of his hands are burned with red-hot iron. At the conclusion of the torture a piece of each ear and the little finger of the hand with which the crime was committed are cut off.

696 [634] [693] The sentences are executed by the men who stand at the disposal of the village chief or the great chief, four or five of whom are assigned to the great chief and one to the village chief (see also the chapter, "Political Organization," section, "Kingship and Chieftainship").

693 695 The costs of a lawsuit are borne by the guilty. They can be considerable if a popular assembly was convened, since the expenses for it must be defrayed /256/ (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The plaintiff has to bear all the costs until the culprit is discovered. If he cannot pay them at once, they are treated like a debt assumed by him. If, in spite of all efforts, the person guilty of a crime cannot be discovered, the plaintiff, who in all sincerity cast suspicion upon the wrong person, does not pay the costs. They remain unpaid until the guilty person is discovered, for, as was pointed out, there is no time limitation on lawsuits, even though official investigations are discontinued after three years and discovery is left to chance.

2: Ling & Ruey

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Chart of the position of Table showing the military organization of the Hsien

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/107 cont./

C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 425 C M [701] C [651] the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

C 65 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622

M [113]

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

2:Ling & Ruey--156 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

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Thus a Miao official was a military official having concurrent judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commissioning of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troups /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.

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(2) The Organization of Miao Officials

With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96 villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

M [162]

M [162]

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M [162] Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle, left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

/108 cont./

c shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei
175 were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising
631 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei,
563 two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in
701 charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men
M and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-
*175 tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18
631 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women.
*648 The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two
622 pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages,
701 consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The
162 above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and
25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130
villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. More-
over, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various
families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih,
Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 446 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

/109 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 ● 701 162

three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

/110 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 701 [162]

The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers. (2)

2. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

C 631 563 701 [669] M 701 631 *648 622

Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung reign period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders. For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[text continues on p165]

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The following table shows the results of our investigations: /111/

Hsien	Ying	Name of Native Head	Guard Station
Feng-huang	Upper Middle Ying	Lung Fu-shou	Mao-tu-t'ang
	Lower Middle Ying	Wu Tsung-ch'ing	Hsin-tung-p'ing
	Upper Left Ying	Wu Fang-ming	Pao-mu-ying
	Lower Left Ying	Wu Hsiu-ch'ing	San-kung-ch'iao
	Right Ying	Lung En-te	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Right Ying	Lung Feng-wu	Lung-chüeh-tung
	Right Ying	Wu Shao-hai	Chuang-chi-chai
	Lower Right Ying	Lung Tsung-chieh	Ta-t'ien
	Upper Front Ying	Shih Chao-pin	Hsin-chai
	Middle Front Ying	Wu Ch'ing-te	T'ien-p'ing
	Lower Front Ying	Wu Cheng-ying	Ku-sang-ying
Total		11	
Kan-ch'eng	Middle Ying	Wu Chia-chu	San-ch'a-p'ing
	Left Ying	Yang Sheng-pao	Ch'ü-chia-chai
	Right Ying	Shih Yung-chi	Hsi-ch'üeh-chai
	Front Ying	Yang Tsai-chen	Meng /?/ Ch'e
Total		4	

/Upper left quarter/

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/111 cont./

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/Lower left quarter/

/112/

Ku-chang	Lung-pi-tsui Ying /Dragon Snout Ying/	Lung Ch'ing-nung	Nung-pi-tsui
Total		1	
Pao-ching	Fourth Ch'ü	Wu Chung-ch'ing	Pe-ho-t'ien
	Sixth Ch'ü	Hung Yung-liang	Hu-lu-chai
	Seventh Ch'ü	Shih Ch'ing-sung	Pi-tzu-chai
	Eighth Ch'ü	Liang Kuang-yung	Shui-t'ien
Total		4	
Yung-sui	Upper Fifth Li	Lung Sheng-hsin	Tung-k'a-chai
	Lower Fifth Li	Shih Wei-hsin	Ch'ien-ch'ang-chai
	Upper Sixth Li	Shih Ming-yüan	Pan-li-chai
	Lower Sixth Li	Shih Tsung-huang	Chia-ming-chai
	Upper Seventh Li	Lung Ch'ang-yao	Chien-yen-chai
	Lower Seventh Li	Wu Ting-k'uei	La-wu-chai
	Upper Eighth Li	Wu Ch'eng-chang	Ta-pai-wu
	Lower Eighth Li	Lung Kuo-han	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Ninth Li	Ma Ch'ang-shun	Pai-ta-k'ou
	Lower Ninth Li	Shih Tuan-ch'u	Wei-ch'eng-chai
	Upper Tenth Li	Shih Chin-yüan	Pai-pu-mei
	Lower Tenth	Wang Kuo-ch'ang	Pai-liao-chai
Total		12	
Grand Total		32	

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Number of Petty Officers and Soldiers					Total Numbers		
Ch'en-tsung	Pa-tsung	Wai-wei	Fighting Soldiers	Guard Soldiers	Petty Officers	Soldiers	Total Ying Complement
2	4	8	30	150	14	180	194
2	3	9	30	140	14	170	184
2	4	6	30	190	12	220	232
1	3	8	80	200	12	280	292
2	5	9	55	152	16	207	223
2	2	6	54	114	10	168	178
2	4	6	43	136	12	179	191
1	2	4	58	91	7	149	156
2	5	10	17	182	17	199	216
1	3	5	2	65	9	67	76
3	5	9	1	180	17	181	198
20	40	80	400	1,600	140	2,000	2,140
2	2	6	48	157	10	205	215
2	7	10	40	191	19	231	250
2	4	3	40	154	9	194	203
		6	32	138	6	170	176
6	13	25	160	640	44	800	844

/Upper right quarter/

/112 cont./

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/Lower right quarter/

2	4	12		100	18	100	118
2	4	12		100	18	100	118
1	1	2	8	42	4	50	54
3	5	9	19	61	17	80	97
3	4	15	21	79	22	100	122
2	2	5	12	58	9	70	79
9	12	31	60	240	52	300	352
1	3	3	14	81	7	95	102
1	3	6	14	81	9	95	104
3	4	9	28	162	16	190	206
2	7	9	54	121	18	175	193
3	4	8	56	168	15	224	239
3	6	12	66	176	21	242	263
1		4	9	68	5	77	82
2	4	7	38	91	13	129	142
3	8	12	36	142	23	178	201
3	6	14	30	142	23	172	195
3	8	21	17	139	32	156	188
3	5	10	18	49	18	67	85
28	57	115	380	1,420	200	1,800	2,000
65	126	263	1,000	4,000	454	5,000	5,454

/112 cont./

C 631 563 701 M 631 622 *648 ●701 [177]

The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

/113/

CHAPTER SEVEN

C 175 563 669 M *175 *648 C [712]

T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

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C 175 /113 cont./
563 did not witness serious trouble. The method of this blockade
669 consisted of setting up stone guard posts /tiao-pao/, establishing
712 guard stations /ying shao/, and building border walls, strictly
M demarcating the boundary between the Chinese and Miao areas,
without allowing any infringement by one on the other. The
*175 section on government in the historical section of Miao Fang
*648 Pei Lan, recording the system of defense against the Miao
during the Ming dynasty, has this to say: "During the fifth year
of Hsüan Te /i.e. 1430/, the senior official /chang kuan/ at
Kan-tzu-p'ing, Wu Pi-lang, and the Miao of Tung-jen,
Kweichow, started a rebellion. The brigadier general /tsung
ping kuan/, Hsiao Shou, built 24 guard posts /pao/ around the
area to protect it. In the thirty-first year of Chia Ching /i.e.
1552/, the Miao in Hupeh-Hunan and Kweichow were pacified.
C The Court sent Governor General Chang Yo to hold down Yüan-
175 chou. Yo in consultation with Assistant Commissioner /fu shih/
563 Kao Hsien, and Lieutenant Colonel /ts'an chiang/ Sun Hsien
712 drew up a plan to abolish the guard posts at Wan-chi. Then
he built 12 outposts /shao/ called: Wu-chai, Yung-an, Ch'ing-
ch'i, Ho-k'ou, Kan-tzu, Kan-chou, Ch'iang-hu, Shih-yang,
Shao-p'o, Tung-hsin, Shui-t'ang-yao, Shui-t'ien-ying, which
with that at Chen-ch'i-so came to 13 in all. Every guard station
had a wall, a tower, a drill yard, a narrow gate, an office,
and a community storehouse /she ts'ang/. The officer corps
C included a tu-pei /"head of senior soldiers"/, ling-pan /"sec-
175 tion leader"/, ling-tui /"company leader"/, ling-cheng
563 /"recruitment and arms officer?"/, kuan-piao /"keeper of
701 banners"/, kuan-ts'ang /"keeper of the storehouse"/, and li-mu
/"head constable and keeper of the jail"/. The local official
had under him t'ou-mu /"headmen"/, she-jen /"official
secretaries"/, shih-tzu /"readers"/, chien-pu /"strong walkers"/,
M ta-shou /?lit., "move the hands"/ hsiang-t'u /?lit., geogra-
• [701] phers"/, po-k'ai /heralds/, and the Ch'i Miao soldiers. In all
the officers and men totaled 6,000 or more, commanded by a
lieutenant colonel /ts'an-chiang piao ying/, with a second

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/113 cont./

C 175 563 701 M [701] captain /shou-pei/ assisting him. Moreover, at the two military stations /wei/ of Ch'en and Yüan, the frontier guard officers and men, amounted to 6,600 or more, and the annual disbursement to the Yüan-chou treasury for paying the troops was more than 30,089 /sic/ liang of silver, that to the Ma-yang, Ch'ien-yang, and Kan-chou military rations granaries and the autumn government rations at Chen-ch'i-so were 31,890 or more. At this time, the lieutenant colonel /tsan-chiang Tu-ling/ directed matters at the top, the majors /yu-chi/ and second captains /shou-pei/ attended to things at the middle level, and the guard stations /ying-shao/ carried out defense duties at the lower level. Furthermore, fearing the difficulty of communications in times of trouble, it was arranged for the sake of convenience as follows: 'For operations involving under 3,000 men, decisions may be made on the spot, but for operations involving more than 3,000 men, the decision must be made after consultation with the military defense officials. As the number of soldiers increased and generals became more strong, the border regions became more quiet and peaceful. In the

C 175 563 712 M * 648 * 175 C [631] forty-third year Wan Li /i.e. 1615/, the Military Defense Ts'an Cheng, Ts'ai Fu-i, because the guard stations being spread out and the Miao roads rugged, it was difficult to prevent spying, applied for an appropriation of 40,000 or more gold for the construction of a frontier earth wall, starting from T'ung-jen and going down to Pao-ching guard station, along mountains and extending in all more than 300 li, so that frontier defense could be made somewhat more /114/ secure. In the second year of T'ien Ch'i /i.e. 1622/, a provincial governor was set up at P'ien-yüan.... The then pei tao fu shih /assistant commissioner of defense?/ Hu I-hung at Ch'en Yüan despatched Major Teng Tsu-yü from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying to build an additional 60 more li of frontier wall." (1)

1. Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 15.

/114 cont./

C 175 563 669 [901] [712] M * 175 * 648 M C [631] M [177]

During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peaceful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving 1,100 men. Military strengh was slight and the defense system was relaxed. Further, following the change from native headmen to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/ and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the blockade policy was once more used. The various hsiens along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

C 175 563 701 M ●701

Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Feng-huang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, controlling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left, with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries /e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

/114 cont./

C 175 563 701 M 701 Sui-ching-chen /Sui-ching Brigade/ was established at Hua-yüan, Yung-sui (today under Yung-sui hsien), where were stationed one brigade general, one major, one captain, two second captains, three lieutenants, six sergeants, nine corporals, five supernumeraries, and a total of 1,440 soldiers, taking part in the defense of nine guard stations. At Yung-sui there was also set up the Yung-sui Hsieh with one assistant brigade general /fu-chiang/, one captain, two second captains, three lieutenants, seven sergeants, eight corporals, eight supernumeraries, and 1,240 soldiers. They controlled seven outposts, under the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

Kan-chow Hsieh was established in Kan-ch'eng with an assistant brigade general, one major, one captain, three second captains, two lieutenants, ten sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 1,400 soldiers, who defended 15 outposts under the direction of the provincial commander in chief /ti-tu/.

/115/ In Pao-ching there was set up one ying with one lieutenant colonel /tsan-chiang/, two second captains, two lieutenants, five sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 952 soldiers, defending 19 guard stations, subject to the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

The Ku-chang-p'ing ying was established at Ku-chang, with a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, three supernumeraries, and in all 740 soldiers, stationed at the ying headquarters but defending the various military posts.

C 175 563 701 712 M *175 *648 At that time in addition to stationing heavy complements of soldiers in the Miao area, there were also put up a total of 1,121 stone guard houses /tiao ch'ia/ along the ruins of the wall left from the Ming dynasty. In addition to the stationing of government troops at important positions, there were more than 800 of these guard houses where 9,000 soldiers were left to protect the border. Later when the nation became short of money, it was not possible to maintain large forces in this deep interior area for defense. Thus, suddenly, the frontier guards were withdrawn, then the stone guard houses became empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a rebellion.

C 175 651 563 M *175 *648 651

/118 cont./

by Yü Fan-ch'uan: "The decision of the first conference on t'un matters held in the twenty-fifth year of the Republic /1936/ was to reduce the rental on devastated land 1,592 shih, 3 tou, 8 sheng, 8 ho. Currently, the actual receipt of rent is 65,416 shih, 1 tou, 2 sheng." (1)

1. Pien Chiang /Frontier/, Vol. 2, no. 2.

(2) The Organization of T'un Defense

C 175 [701] M [701] C [712] C [651] C [713] C [701] M [701] C [712]

1. The organization of the t'un defense /system/ during the early Ch'ing dynasty.

(1) Feng-huang Sub-prefecture. T'un second captains 3, t'un lieutenants 4, t'un sergeants 4, t'un corporals 10, supernumeraries 9, Miao second captains 11, Miao lieutenants 20, Miao sergeants 40, Miao corporals 80, general t'un leaders /tsung t'un chang/ 15, special t'un leaders /san t'un chang/ 60, home guard /lien yung/ 1,000, old and young males 1,000, able-bodied t'un males /t'un ting/ 4,000, Miao soldiers 1,000, t'un camps 27, Miao camps 25, stone houses 544, t'un guard houses 105, guard stations 51, patrol stations 98, canon emplacements 7, gates 24, gate houses 5. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, patrol stations, gun emplacements, gates, and gate houses totaled 834 units. There were 63 t'un and Miao granaries, and the fixed rent was 25,461 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng, 6 ho, 8 shuo. Shotguns numbered 7,022, swords 300, spears 100, and hand guns /shou p'ao/ 40. The above guns, swords, and spears amounted to 16,229 weapons.

(2) Kan-chou Sub-prefecture. T'un second captain 1, t'un sergeant 1, t'un corporals 2, t'un supernumeraries 2, Miao second captains 4, Miao lieutenants 6, Miao sergeants 13, Miao corporals 13, Miao corporals 25, general t'un leaders 4, special t'un leaders 21, able-bodied t'un males 600, Miao soldiers 800, t'un camps 8, Miao camps 10, stone houses 75,

Central China AF14

C 175 [712] /119 cont./ t'un guard houses 13, guard stations 28, gun emplacements 4, gates 5, gate houses 2. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and gate houses totaled 128 units. There were 11 t'un and Miao granaries, and the set rent was 7,725 shih, 1 tou, 3 sheng, 2 ho, 9 shuo. Shotguns were 3,244, hand guns 10, swords 100, spears 395. The above weapons totaled 5,841 weapons.

C [651] [713]

(3) Yung-sui Sub-prefecture. T'un second captains 2, t'un lieutenants 2, t'un sergeants 3, t'un corporals /120/ 3, t'un supernumeraries 3, Miao second captains 12, Miao lieutenants 28, Miao sergeants 57, Miao corporals 115, general t'un leaders 12, special t'un leaders 33, t'un males 2,000, old and young males 800, Miao soldiers 1,800, t'un camps 13, Miao camps 19, stone houses 67, t'un guard houses 20, guard stations 29, gates 8, gate houses 3. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, gates, and gate houses totaled 127. There were 21 t'un and Miao granaries, and the set rent was 29,756 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 8 ho, 8 shuo, 3 ch'ao. There were 4,915 shotguns, 190 swords, 3,295 spears, totaling 14,300 weapons.

C [701] M [701] C [712] C [651] [713]

(4) Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture. T'un sergeant 1, t'un supernumerary 1, Miao second captain 1, Miao lieutenant 2, Miao sergeant 4, Miao corporal 12, general t'un leader 1, special t'un leaders 4, t'un males 100, Miao soldiers 100, Miao camps 4, stone houses 15, guard stations 4. The above stone houses, guard houses, and guard stations totaled 19. There were 3 t'un and Miao granaries, with a set rent of 523 shih, 7 tou, 1 sheng, 3 ho, 5 shuo, 3 ch'ao. There were 655 shotguns, 369 swords, and 368 spears, totaling 1,828 weapons.

C [701] M [701] C [712] [651] [713]

(5) Pao-ching Hsien. T'un corporals 2, t'un supernumeraries 2, Miao second captains 4, Miao lieutenants 9, Miao sergeants 12, Miao corporals 31, general t'un leaders 3, special t'un leaders 12, t'un males 300, Miao soldiers 300, t'un camps 2, Miao camps 12, stone houses 30, t'un guard houses 30, guard stations 25, gate 1, gate house 1. The stone houses,

C [701] M [701] C [712]

Central China AF14

C /120 cont./
175 guard houses, guard stations, gate, and gate houses totaled 70.
712 There were 9 t'un and Miao granaries, the set rent was 4,023
651 shih, 1 tou, 1 sheng, 4 ho, 2 shuo. There were 552 shotguns,
[713] 684 swords, and 844 spears, totaling 2,938 weapons.

(6) Mo-yang Hsien. General t'un leaders 2, special t'un
C leaders 10; t'un granaries 11, set rent 7,323 shih, 7 tou, 5
[701] sheng, 5 ho, 8 shuo, 5 ch'ao.

(7) Lu-ch'i Hsien. General t'un leaders 3, special t'un leaders 20, t'un granaries 13, set rent 4,414 shih, 6 ton, 1 sheng, 8 ho, 9 ch'ao.

C /121/ The above seven sub-prefectures and hsiens had a
175 total of 56 t'un officers, 486 Miao officers, 200 t'un leaders,
[701] 1,000 home guards, 7,000 t'un males, 1,800 old and young
M males, and 5,000 Miao soldiers. There were 120 t'un and
[701] Miao camps, 731 stone houses, 151 t'un guard houses, 137
C guard stations, 99 patrol posts, 11 gun emplacements, 38 gates,
[712] and 11 gate houses. The above stone houses, guard houses,
C guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and gate
[651] houses totaled 1,178. There were altogether 131 t'un and
[713] Miao granaries; the set rent was 79,218 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng.
There were in all 16,388 shotguns, 50 hand guns, 1,643 swords, and 5,002 spears, totaling 41,136 weapons.

C 2. Regulations for the organization and administration
701 of the T'un Bureau from the headquarters of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division of the Army.

Article 1. The said Bureau is to be organized on the order of Divisional Commander Ch'en of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division.

Article 2. The said Bureau shall set up, according to the temporary organization regulations of the Division, a chief and a deputy chief, three department heads, a number of departmental staff, clerks, and copyists.

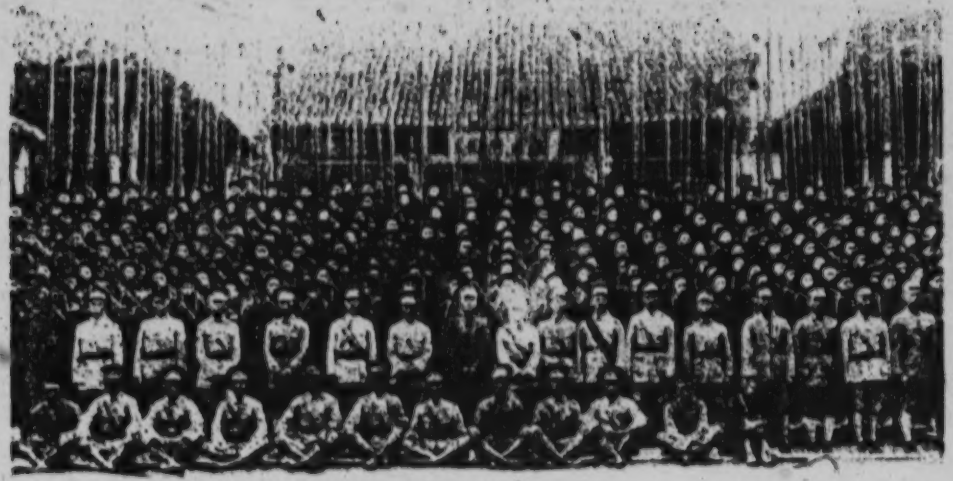
Article 3. The chief of the Bureau will receive orders from the Commander of the Division, and will have general superintendence over the t'un army west of the Hsiang River,
C and Miao defense officials and soldiers, t'un grain supplies,
[563]

/123 cont./

c 701 425 651 The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men. The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are 7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i, tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given 4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8 liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent. Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/ /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system, totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier region is about 1,000 strong. The maintainance of the Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

c 701 425 651 563 M 701 648 [425] [177]

2:Ling & Ruey--184 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AES
/125/
Central China AF14
C
M
761
714



Illus. 58. The Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops drilled by the Newly Organized 34th Division of the Army.

/126 cont./

000 obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system
C of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao
563 area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un
669 fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders
[425] often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt
[651] in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances.
M In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao re-
648 bellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system.
[429] It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un
[701] officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

/127/ CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

M The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There
121 are no people however primitive without religion and magic.
771 Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic
000 and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in Science, Religon and Reality by

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

/42/

634 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had
701 at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from earning their livelihood.

622 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the
634 village chiefs (šǎu pǎ) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the
[692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to
[687] the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor
[692] matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great
[651] chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village
[701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal;
624 the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all
634 conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the
634 aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the
681 fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

623 The popular assembly has special importance among the
634 Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/393 cont./

A 411 [283] [824] [415] cord is usually wound with a strip of bast in the center, because the most wear and tear is there. The arrows (Fig. 325), often poisoned at the tip, are made of bamboo throughout (Ill. 35)[1] and feathered with the same material. They are kept and carried around in quivers (Ill. 30[2] and Fig. 326) of wood or likewise bamboo.

The accuracy of the crossbow marksmen is considerable. I saw a little squirrel fall at the first shot at a distance of 20 meters. The penetrating power of the crossbow of the Akha is A [224] also very great. Stags and does are regularly killed even without poisoned arrows, and the Akha are able to slay even tigers with their crossbow, but they prefer to avoid these large cats. /Figs. 321-326 appear here. /

/394/

Chapter 20

Military Affairs and War

M 181 721 The Meau are a warlike people who, at the risk of their lives and property, resist any subjugation and courageously face the enemy in defiance of death. Savina (1) describes them:

1. II, p. 232.

"Mild and timid in peace, they are wild and cruel in war."

M 648 In fact, it was only their infinitely superior greater strength of numbers that enabled the Chinese to subjugate the M 701 Meau. Every Meau who is able to carry a weapon is subject to military service, as well as boys as soon as they are able [702] to handle the men's crossbow. Children and women, on the other hand, are excluded from active military service, though [562] history has recorded instances of outstanding personal contributions in war by Meau women. Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ also mentions them: "Many a woman has become famous in war..."

1 [see cat 116, p270 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p249 - "]

/394 cont./

702 868 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of ● 701 war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn koăn) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

726 [202] Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the tă lĕn tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the [714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war. [251 484] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/393 cont./

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C 712 /35/ were built for defense. At such places as Huang-lo-chai and Shui-ta-t'ien in the sub-prefecture large paos were erected. In thinly populated and topographically restricted areas, t'uns were built, which communicated with each other for mutual defense. A t'un is built according to the requirements of the place, varying from several chang to more than ten chang in width, and from ten to 30 chang in length. The foundation of a t'un is laid with two or three ch'ih of rough stones, on which are added two layers of bricks about four or five ch'ih in height; and then the crenulated wall with apertures for observation and firing guns is put. Each t'un accommodates a few dozen men. Animals and grains are also sheltered in it." There C 361 712 are two kinds of paos, the stone and the earth paos. A small pao is oval in shape, a street runs through the center, bordered by residential dwellings, with two pao gates at the two ends of the street. A big pao is round in shape with three or four pao gates (Illus. 9), and the streets within are often in the shape of a cross.

C [342] Besides the paos and the t'uns in the Miao area there are many stone houses /tiao/. Formerly in the areas around these stone houses t'un soldiers were posted to keep watch. Today, such areas have become little settlements, as in Illus. 10. These are villages near the stone houses. The Chinese also settled at important communication points leading to bridges. C [491] [443] They even built houses on bridges, forming bridge streets, such as shown in Illus. 11. Some markets also have appeared at ferry points along the rivers. Chinese settlements are distributed mostly along communication lines and garrison points so that in case of alarm they can come to each other's aid.

M 361 [712] [363] The Miao settlement is called "chai" (Illus. 12, 13), built generally against a mountainside or along a river, without any uniform appearance. The chai wall is made of earth or stone slabs, and there is no definite number of gates. The streets of a chai zigzag up and down, with tiny alleys on both sides. In each alley there are a few families. The alleys are

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

241 412 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it [311] cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

• 712 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tsŭ* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer homes the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7] 712

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home. 788 765

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time. 224

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese. 463

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house. 462

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 敘州府志

/263 cont./

361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing [103] (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore rep- [574] resents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and [351] vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 We did not come across any fortified villages among the Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor 712 definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

[1] [See cat 116, P707- ANALYST]

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[648] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

2:Ling & Ruey--184 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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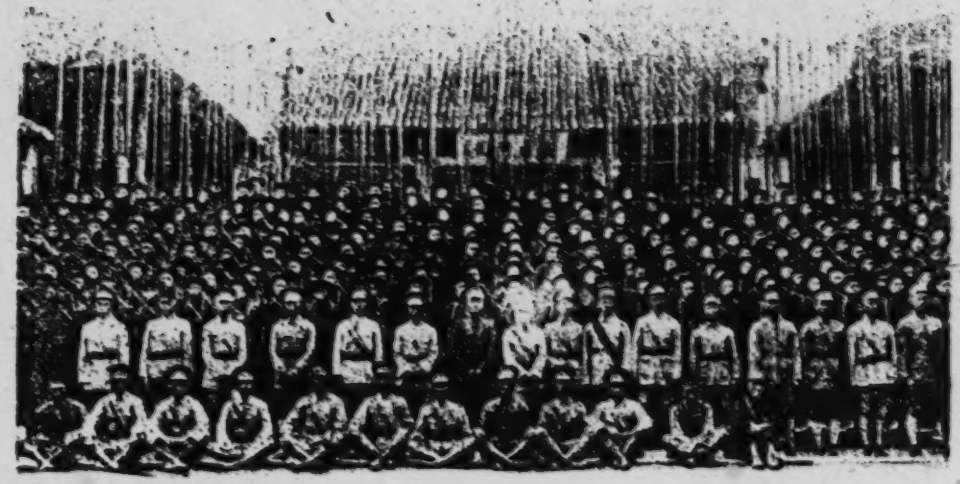

Illus. 58. The Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops drilled by the Newly Organized 34th Division of the Army.

/188 cont./

789 Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to
[753] the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," for protection against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak, are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most effective substances known against certain individual spirits and therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root
[824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits, the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the Meau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this
[301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There
[776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets
[714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/385 cont./

A 276 [249] [439] I came across Akha villages whose inhabitants neglected agriculture completely in favor of the cultivation of poppies. They were devoting themselves entirely to the smuggling of opium, exchanged the drug for food with the neighboring Lahu, and thus lived incomparably better than their fellow tribesmen who had remained faithful to agriculture.

A [177] The Akha, to be sure, claim to have first learned the cultivation of poppies and the enjoyment of opium from the Chinese, but this does not sound very probable.

/386/ Chapter 19

Weapons

M ● 714 [175] In the old Chinese literature the defensive weapons of the Meau are mentioned several times. For example, helmets and armor with greaves made of iron and wooden shields are mentioned (1). Such weapons are no longer used by the Meau

1. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

settled in Thailand today, though the memory of similar weapons has remained alive. Thus, the great-grandfather of one of my informants told him that iron shields had been used. He was unable to tell me anything about their shape, but described very well armor which consisted of iron plates about three fingers wide. These iron plates were sewed on muntjac leather, like roof tiles. The coat of armor consisted of three pieces. The principal part protected the genitals, chest, shoulders, and the back. It was put on by sticking the head through a central aperture left open; it was reduced to neck size by drawing together appropriate cotton strings. The second piece of armor protected the thighs, the third the upper arms. There supposedly, however had never been any head protection.

/394 cont./

702 868 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of 701 war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn̤ kŏăn) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn̤ tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn̤ tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn̤ tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

726 Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the [202] tă lĕn̤ tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the [714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war. [251] [484] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn̤ tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn̤ tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn̤ tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

2: Wiem G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AE5

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troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their descendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-nan.[66]

During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their territories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand, and suppression and extermination on the other. There was hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when suppression or pacification campaigns were not being undertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major suppression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating the migratory movements of the modern period. (The Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover, these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and massacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields. The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the pushing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land considered of little value by Han-Chinese.[68] (The parallel situation with respect to the American treatment of the Indians is noteworthy.)

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The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not coordinated events and were put down by Governor-General Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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circled and besieged Ts'un-yi. In spite of the efforts of 175
20,000 Imperial troops under the command of the Kuei- 721
chou Commandant, little progress against the Miao was
made until Lo Jao-tien took personal command, driving S
them back to their strongholds in the Lei-t'ai Mountains.[69] 175
The British officer Wingate, traveling from Hu-nan to
Burma in the 1890's, describes the devastation suffered 669
by the Han-Chinese towns from which they had not yet
recovered even at that late period. He said: "At a place
called Ching-chi on the Wu Ho [in Kuei-chou] is a town
wall of some miles in circumference which once enclosed
a prosperous town of several thousand families, but which
now only contains a few officials' houses and a temple or
two. It is one among many others which have suffered
during the wars which the Chinese have had with the Miao
or aborigines living in the hills south of the river."[70]

As pointed out in a preceding page, the suppressions M
of the last two centuries started a new period of migra- 175
tion for the modern Miao. The various tribes or clan S
groups feeling the pressure of encroaching Chinese agri- 175
culturalists in Kuei-chou, sought the higher secluded
mountain fastnesses of surrounding provinces. The Black
Miao gradually drifted to Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi. The Red
Miao in the vicinity of T'ung-jen Hsien in eastern Kuei-
chou migrated eastward to the three western Districts of
Hu-nan. Some of the White Miao entered Ssu-ch'uan to
their northwest. Tribes of the Hua Miao or Flowery Miao
traveled westward through An-shun to the eastern part of
Yun-nan, northward to Wu-ting District, and farther on
to the north and south banks of the Chin-sha Chiang. Some
of them also traveled southeastward through Yun-nan to
the northern parts of Annam and Tongking. The Blue Miao
scattered in many directions and are found now mostly
in Hu-nan, Kuang-hsi, and Yun-nan. Many of these south-
west provinces have representatives of different tribes of
Miao. As far southwest as Ssu-mao in Yun-nan small
groups of White, Blue, and Flowery Miao have penetrated.
When the different groups of Miao live together in one lo-
cality, they soon tend to become much alike in cultural
practices and dress, so that it is hard to distinguish mem-
bers of one group from those of another.[71] M, S

The above delineation of Miao history and migration 174
brings us back to the consideration of the groups related 563
to the Miao discussed in Chapter II, in particular the Fan,
who developed in the southwestern periphery of China Prop-

Miao AES

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623 The assembly of all the arms-bearing men of a village /43/ is usually convoked by the village chief in all cases pertaining to the welfare of the village. Such cases are: the laying out of rice fields, the selection of a settlement site in the relocation of villages, communal hunts, and the like. The [666] majority vote decides the issue. The popular assembly, how- [634] ever, may be convoked even against the will of the village chief if the villagers want to file a complaint against their village chief with the great chief. In this case the assembly convenes upon the initiative of the village elders.

634 The popular assembly of all arms-bearing men within the administrative district of a great chief had far greater power. It met only when needed; its decisions had to be unanimous. It was convoked by the great chief in order to pass resolutions about important matters. Such important [721] matters were decisions about war and peace and measures to [796] be taken to celebrate the festival of the New Year or the harvest festival. The resolutions passed by the popular assembly of the great chief were of an advisory nature, for the great chief was under no obligation to comply with them. Actually, of course, he avoided acting against the voice of his people. In one case, however, the great chief was absolutely bound to accept the decision of the popular assembly: when the latter [692] had decided on his removal. The great popular assembly was, at the same time, a court of appeal for verdicts of the great chief, and its decisions were regarded as irrevocable.

634 693 The expenses of a popular assembly had to be paid by the person who summoned it, hence either by the great chief himself or the party who had moved that it be convened. Among the expenses there were the provisions for all the assembly-participants at the place of the meeting, but no compensation was given for the journey to and fro. Moreover, in connection with minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol were collected for the great chief and the elders; in connection with major affairs, one or more pigs.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/393 cont./

A 411 [283] [824] [415] cord is usually wound with a strip of bast in the center, because the most wear and tear is there. The arrows (Fig. 325), often poisoned at the tip, are made of bamboo throughout (Ill. 35)[2] and feathered with the same material. They are kept and carried around in quivers (Ill. 30[2] and Fig. 326) of wood or likewise bamboo.

The accuracy of the crossbow marksmen is considerable. I saw a little squirrel fall at the first shot at a distance of 20 A [224] meters. The penetrating power of the crossbow of the Akha is also very great. Stags and does are regularly killed even without poisoned arrows, and the Akha are able to slay even tigers with their crossbow, but they prefer to avoid these large cats. /Figs. 321-326 appear here. /

/394/

Chapter 20

Military Affairs and War

M 181 ●721 The Meau are a warlike people who, at the risk of their lives and property, resist any subjugation and courageously face the enemy in defiance of death. Savina (1) describes them:

1. II, p. 232.

"Mild and timid in peace, they are wild and cruel in war."

M 648 M 701 [702] [562] In fact, it was only their infinitely superior greater strength of numbers that enabled the Chinese to subjugate the Meau. Every Meau who is able to carry a weapon is subject to military service, as well as boys as soon as they are able to handle the men's crossbow. Children and women, on the other hand, are excluded from active military service, though history has recorded instances of outstanding personal contributions in war by Meau women. Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ also mentions them: "Many a woman has become famous in war..."

1 [see cat 116, p270 - ANALYST]
2 [" " - p249 - "]

/394 cont./

702 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns
868 as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the
701 region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tšŭn koăn) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tšŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

726 Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the
[202] tă lĕn tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

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[714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war.
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[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

/395 cont./

726 most suitable in the difficult forested mountainous terrain inhabited by the Meau. In addition, an attempt is made to reach and occupy all the passes ahead of the opponent.

The war tactics of the Meau consist of surprise attacks from ambush, preferably during the night. At first only small sections of troops are sent out, while the numerically stronger reserves are held back. Single combats are unknown. If the
727 Meau are victorious, they chop off the head of every slain or
[634] captured opponent and send these trophies to their tsŭn kŏăn, the great chief, who pays money for them. Thus, there are no war trophies in the true sense. No harm is done to the women and children of the enemies; they are respectively married or adopted by the warriors. Enemy property, too, is not
[643] destroyed as a rule. The war booty is brought to the king, or
[634] lacking such a one, to the great chief for distribution among the warriors of his district.

726 Usually the battles are not as bloody as one might assume from the description. The fleeing enemy can soon escape his pursuers in the primeval forest, and the women and children immediately left their villages with /396/ all their movable property as soon as the spies reported the approach of enemy troops.

● 721 The purpose of war today among the Meau is exclusively to protect their own living space. Since as far back as the memory of man they have been in a defensive position in relation to their
[166] powerful neighbors, and since their constant migration southward is closely related to their search for such a safe living space, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether before that time other grounds for war were decisive. In any case the principle of only fighting tribal enemies prevails, whereas nothing is reported about wars between Meau tribes.

728 In the same way that an official declaration of war precedes the battles, war is also ended only by an appropriate ceremony. The opponents meet without weapons, eat a meal together, and declare that they want to be friends from now on. The Meau are also familiar with the truce, however, which

/459 cont./

181 In the literature the character of the Meau is judged
648 very differently. They come out the worst in the Chinese sources, which is understandable if one considers the fact that in four thousand years of struggles the Meau have not yet been completely subjugated and assimilated. Thus, the oldest part of the Schu-djin, which supplements the Bamboo Annals, characterizes them as follows: "These Meau are really stupid, silly, conceited, and without respect! Insolent and stubborn, they do not walk the path of righteousness and they destroy virtue!..."

181 The authors of other nationalities, however, especially
674 Europeans, come to totally different conclusions, and many authors stress above all, besides many other good qualities, the honesty of the Meau. Thus, Savina (1) emphasizes: "Theft is

1. II, p. 232.

extremely rare." Since not all of the peoples neighboring the Meau can boast of such honesty, the members of these peoples positively search for an explanation of this, to them, very inexplicable phenomenon, and /460/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) writes

1. Page 170.

that the Meau have, "as a result of a strange character trait, an aversion to petty thefts." If they "wished to steal, this had to be done on a large scale. Forming bands /Platten/ and companies, they pillaged and, if necessary, did not shrink from murder." Actually, however, the "pillaging expeditions" [921] assumed by the author were a matter of war actions in the eyes of the Meau and had nothing at all to do with crime!

181 Marabail (2) gives the following characterization: "The

2. Page 463.

Meau is likable, honest, industrious, warlike, and intelligent. [191] He learns foreign languages quickly." I, too, was often able

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏňň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese [177] and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [726] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/394 cont./

702 868 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of 701 war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn̓ kŏan̓) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn̓ tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn̓ tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn̓ tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

● 726 Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the [202] tă lĕn̓ tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the [714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war. [251] [484] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn̓ tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn̓ tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn̓ tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

/395 cont./

726 most suitable in the difficult forested mountainous terrain inhabited by the Meau. In addition, an attempt is made to reach and occupy all the passes ahead of the opponent.

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[166] powerful neighbors, and since their constant migration southward is closely related to their search for such a safe living space, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether before that time other grounds for war were decisive. In any case the principle of only fighting tribal enemies prevails, whereas nothing is reported about wars between Meau tribes.

728 In the same way that an official declaration of war precedes the battles, war is also ended only by an appropriate ceremony. The opponents meet without weapons, eat a meal together, and declare that they want to be friends from now on. The Meau are also familiar with the truce, however, which

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/396 cont./

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/470 cont./

177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the [824] Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of [924] war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re- [675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.

/115 cont./

000 empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a
C rebellion. At this time Fu Nai of Yüan-ch'en tao met with
175 Brigade General Fu Chih-na of Chen-kan Chen and summoned
563 together people of the sub-prefecture to discuss a long-range
701 plan. And so they began the t'un system of defense. Fields
651 were allotted to feed the fighters and to defend the guard houses
425 against the Miao. As for the people's /i.e. Chinese/ land,
except for fields for sustenance, a male could retain three tou
of grain, a woman one tou. As for the rest of the land seven
were allotted while three were retained, for one shih of grain
three tou was personally retained, and seven tou given up for
C allotment, to feed the fighters and guard the frontier. In the
[712] Feng-huang area there were more than 830 stone guard houses,
requiring 4,000 men to man them in rotation. Further, 1,000
men were trained to be combat ready. The more than 22,000
mu of land allotted were not enough to meet the expense, and
so another allotment of more than 12,300 mu at Lu-ch'i and
C Mo-yang was made. There were also 127 stone petty military
[712] stations /tiao pao/ at Kan-chou, manned by 800 soldiers,
supported by more than 2,170 mu of allotted land. The
original sect of government of Yung-sui, before the Miao
rebellion during the reign period of Ch'ien Lung and Chia Ch'ing,
was at Wei-ch'eng, which was entirely surrounded by the Miao.
In the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/, the seat of govern-
C ment was moved to Hua-yüan with a newly built yamen.
[712] There were 126 stone guard houses with 2,000 soldiers. The
people's land, i.e. Chinese land, usurped by rebels and re-
covered for public use, totaled more than 17,110 mu. There
were over 70 stone military stations /tiao pao/, at Pao-ching,
with 300 soldiers and over 2,170 mu of allotted land. There
were only 18 stone guard houses at Ku-chang-p'ing with a
hundred soldiers and over 120 mu of allotted land.

M The above refers to Chinese t'un /min t'un/. In addition,
* [175] there were also Miao t'un. After the suppression of the Miao
* [648] rebellion, the Miao tribes, awed by military might, surrendered
[651] all the Chinese land formerly forcefully usurped by them, and
[727]
[425]

C /115 cont./
175 also searched into the properties of the rebel Miao and decided
563 to return them for public use. The forcefully usurped land
651 totaling over 30,100 mu and the rebels' properties totaling
425 over 5,400 mu were redistributed among the law-abiding Miao
[70] to farm. Granaries were built to collect rent /tsu/ for the
M maintenance of Miao soldiers. The pressing for rent, the in-
*175 specting of fields, the distribution and transportation of grain,
*648 and other duties were all the responsibility of Miao officials.
/116/ The total amount of Chinese land and Miao land
651 given up for allotment in the seven sub-prefectures and hsiens
425 of the Miao area was as follows: (1)
[727]

1. Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng K'ao, Chapter 7, "Chün T'un San," "Chün T'un T'ien Tu Ts'ung Shu" /"The Total Amount of Allotted T'un Land," in "Allotted T'un," 3/. Numbers set after the subduing of the Miao in 1797.

1. Feng-huang Sub-prefecture
   (1) Allotted fields 22,080.6 mu (allotted in the fifth year of Chia Ch'ing /1800/).
   (2) Fields returned to public use 3,539 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao but surrendered when called on and returned for public use).
   (3) Fields redeemed by the government 5,587.3 mu. (Chinese fields granted to the Miao at a low pledge but redeemed by the government for public use).
   (4) Fields usurped by the rebels surrendered by the Miao 7,650.8 mu (Miao rebels' property, wrongfully farmed by them, surrendered to the government for public use).
   (5) Usurped rebel land returned by the Miao 5,983.7 mu (same as above).

/395 cont./

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Akha A04
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/396 cont./

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312

1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I, 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

[171]

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao area involve considerable labor. On a slope where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up in tiers, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

[332]
[333]

[731]
[784]

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

/61 cont./

731 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a ~~long time~~. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/157 cont./

*782 his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accom-
[292] panying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is
[843] allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests
[788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the
777 Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʑiɤ˧ ɕio˧˥ ba˨˩
● 731 loŋ˧ ɲie˨˩]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss,
[774] they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'ɑ˧˥ tɕʰu˧˥ lio˧˥ tɤɤ˧˥] and [ɲi˧˥ tsu˧˥ lio˧˥ ntɕ'iɤ˧˥]. The time of this ceremony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar. On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

/157 cont./

*782 777 ●731 of beeswax. The sorcerer-priest burns the wax, rings the hand bell, and utters an incantation, in general saying:

> "Recently the host has run into bad luck, frequently suffering losses. According to calculations, the Black Emperor Earth Lord or /158/ his descendants are seeking food. Therefore, today, I have been asked to offer sacrifice. Please eat the meat and drink the wine. You /plural/ are also promised a large bull. Please give your protection and bring about peace and safety."

[787] After the incantation, divination is performed with the chiao. The yang chiao indicates financial loss but immunity from disaster; the yin chiao means impending disaster without the loss of wealth; and the sheng chiao shows immunity from both. After the divination, paper is burned to send the kuei away.

(16) Handing Over the Ox

If after the sacrifice to the Black Emperor Earth Lord, one's luck is still bad, the only thing to do is to buy an ox and fulfill the vow, which in the Miao language is called [ʂio⁴ bu³ ɲie⁴]. Once this ox is offered to the kuei, it cannot be killed, nor can it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death. The performance of this ritual is the same as that for Warming of the Ox Muzzle, except that the text of the incantation uttered by the sorcerer-priest is different, its general purport being:

> "The former vow being ineffective, luck still is bad. The host has saved money to go to market. At the market he looked around and saw a large bull, with big horns and a big body and handsome appearance. The host wanted it, and for a great deal of money he bought it and brought it home. Today has been selected as an auspicious day, and I have been asked to hand over the ox. I beseech the kuei to take it!"

After the incantation paper is burned to send off the Kuei,

/160 cont./

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[784] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
[776] are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drank blood and
[627] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[778] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69), which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
[627] Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints, secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned. The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled, but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

/163 cont./

773 776 Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third

1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Yang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 776 [753] [731] 372 [82] When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

/163 cont./
*782 the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.
[776] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts
[787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

[776] The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five
[757] wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules
[231] and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not in-
[249] creasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth
[731] grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

/169 cont./

(9) The Kuei of the High Slope

*782
[731]
[776]
[691]

This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife, seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the in-
*[787] cantation, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-tzu, the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551]
[776]
[755]

The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pĕ dŏ. Savina (1) [114 773]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in- [931] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore espe- [825] cially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals [224] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[973] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They pre- [626] sume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/230 cont./

A 515 Conditions among the Akha are somewhat more favorable, but likewise leave much to be desired. The personal cleanliness of the Akha, however, is unconditionally greater than that of the Meau. The people wash themselves regularly as soon as they A [356] are grown up; children are washed daily. The houses are always [296] swept clean, and the Akha seem to wash their clothing /231/ [364] more often than the Meau do. Otherwise what was found among the Meau applies. To be sure, hygienic conditions are somewhat 165 better, but they are still so deficient that a high mortality among the children as a result of epidemics and sicknesses is unavoidable. [163] Among the Akha, too, however, this mortality rate is offset by great fertility, so that the Akha, too, will certainly not be subject to a population decline.

A M Prophylactic measures against illness are completely unknown 164 to both the Meau and Akha, as is the nature of infectious diseases. 165 Although I did not succeed in determining precisely the losses caused by epidemics, the consequences of such pestilences were [751] easily ascertained. Merely the presence of sibless Meau, who [753] had placed themselves as unfree under the protection of powerful large /extended/ families, showed this, as did the many widows, widowers, childless parents, and orphans. Whenever I inquired M about the causes of death, it was said: "Died because of the 761 vengeance of evil spirits." It often turned out, however, that 164 these evil spirits had killed dozens of people at the same time. 731 I learned that once the Meau built a village in a country at an altitude lower than is customary and infested with malaria. When subsequently a malaria epidemic broke out they believed that they had chosen as a dwelling site a place haunted by evil spirits and they moved their village.

A I could not find any moving of a village because of the 164 outbreak of an epidemic among the Akha. Southwest of the 731 Doy Tung there was an Akha village whose inhabitants had almost all fallen victim to an epidemic; from the description it was probably cholera. The survivors, however, had not moved the village.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/232 cont./

A M 164 pock-marked Meau. Abadie (1), too, noted the frequent occurrence

1. Page 159.

of smallpox:

M 164 731 744 "The Meau are frequently afflicted with smallpox, but they react wonderfully to the simplest medicines. In 1911, a severe epidemic raged in a very large village in the Tha-Long region and caused five to six deaths a day. All the inhabitants were inoculated on one day, the aged and the children, the healthy and the sick. From this moment on there was not another death." Such results are of course, highly gratifying, but it is /233/ somewhat disconcerting to see inoculation counted among the "simplest medicines"!

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1. Page 463.

confirms for the Meau, and likewise cretinism. These ailments are more frequent among the Meau than among the Akha. Moreover, in both tribes the women are more frequently and more severely ill than the men. Some of the cretins found in every M 164 732 [753] Meau village do not seem to have been afflicted by true cretinism, but by epidemic meningitis and similar diseases. At any rate, the Meau told me on several occasions that these persons had been quite normal as children, but had suddenly been stricken with fever and were then tortured terribly by evil spirits. Since that time their minds were affected.

A M 164 [158] Mental diseases and paralysis caused by nervous or rheumatic disorders are relatively frequent. I was unable to find syphilis; to be sure, it may have been spread among the Meau in some places by Chinese traders, but it has caused no obvious devastation. Gonorrhea occurs more frequently, but still rarely among the Meau, and it seems to be completely absent among the Akha, which can probably be traced back to the strict tribal endogamy among this people. I could find no

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 7.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

A M [241] [262]

A M [648]

M 166 361 The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

[731] [756] [623] [622]

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[207] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's [731] march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra- [171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European [481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest [312] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look- [283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/265 cont./

592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [750] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

39: Bernatzik--460 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

[p 459 is blank]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/339/

Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

39: Bernatzik--671 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand A01
Miao AE5

T 563 166 /495 cont./

Even though mountain peoples without exception are excellent warriors, they were still unable, with their primitive weaponry, to offer any lasting resistance to the numerically much stronger peoples of the valleys, for example, the Chinese or the Thai (see the chapter, "Military Affairs and War").

The extensively practiced cultivation in clearings without any fertilization is another reason for the migrations (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Agriculture"). Since, because of this, the arable land in the vicinity of the villages becomes exhausted after a few years, the people must take to traveling in order to settle on new, fertile land required for laying out fields.

T 563 167 [651]

That the fiscal policy of the colonial powers represents another reason for the migrations is shown by the intrusion of the mountain peoples from Indochina into Thailand. Persons belonging to the mountain peoples repeatedly gave me as the reason for it the fact that in Indochina they had to pay 12 ticals as head tax, but in Thailand only three ticals besides a small fee for each rice field laid out.

T 563 167 M 167 ●731

In addition, poor harvests caused by plant diseases or insufficient cultivation in times of war play an important role. For example, in northern Thailand, 60 kilometers from Tschiengmai, in the habitation area of the Lao, I met large Meau groups who were desperately trying to sell their beautiful mountain cattle at give-away prices to the Lao. These Meau had come from Burma, looked miserable, and reported that they had suffered a total crop failure as the result of a rice disease, and that they were now close to starvation and had to try by any means to find a more favorable region for habitation in the south.

T 563 166

/496/ Of special importance also is the religious attitude of the mountain peoples, who are strongly influenced by the idea of good and evil spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). The signs that are regarded as bad omens are innumerable, and often the shaman, after he has questioned the spirits, demands that the residence site be moved. Such a

/49 cont./

846 After the delivery the mother remains on her bed, and the husband cares for her in the same manner as at the end of her pregnancy. The husband tries to relieve her of all work. The length of the confinement depends on economic circum-
[556] stances. Among poor people it often lasts only a few days, among prosperous women it sometimes extends up to thirty days. In any case, among the Meau, it is prolonged as much as possible, since it is believed that the longer the confinement the healthier and stronger the woman will become and the more children she will therefore be able to bear.

I was unable to find any traces of the couvade among the Meau. On the other hand, Abadie (1) reported that the custom

1. Page 165.

occurs among some Meau tribes in China. He adds that in Tonkin this custom is not practiced, but that one could observe practices that seem to be derived from it. The author then mentions as such practices: "Vegetarian diet for the husband; a prohibition against his being absent or crossing the heights that form the boundary toward the neighboring valleys." Much more convincing is an illustration of the couvade given by Chang-Kong Chiu in his Kultur der Miao-tse (2) and the illustration in

2. Page 59.

the Album Gotha (3). In these cases, however, it is not en-

3. Reproduced in the Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift, 1916, p. 281.

tirely certain whether these illustrations actually refer to the Meau or perhaps to another Chinese mountain tribe.

845 The Meau are especially happy about the birth of twins
[777] and regard it as an omen of good luck. They even try to raise
[732] weaklings, deformed children, and cripples. The hard struggle for survival, however, almost always prevents their growing up.

/90 cont./

577 836 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] [143] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] [614] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear fron this society.

595 833 513 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/232 cont./

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1. Page 159.

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/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
[164] laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[732] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 369]

/265 cont./

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[548] [illegible] The surviving members of the family [illegible] the
[illegible] [illegible] marriage.

/463 cont./

152 Emotions are readily apparent among the Meau. When a woman told us that three years ago her three sons had died of cholera within a few days, tears came into her eyes and she sobbed violently, though she was trying to master her emotions.

152 734 We were often able to observe how tenderly the Meau care for their sick. For example, a shaman had a completely paralyzed son about 22 years of age, who, however, was very active mentally. During the very first days of our stay, the old man carried his son on his back into our camp to ask me for help and healing. When I explained to him the hopelessness of the situation — it was a case of progressive paralysis — tears ran down his cheeks. Indeed, he had already so often beseeched his ancestors for help and offered them many sacrifices in vain. Nevertheless from then on the Meau always carried his son into our camp whenever I had some business with him, and tenderly laid him down near us so that he could participate in our conversations and thus be diverted.

156 123 The Meau are good-natured and companionable. In this connection I recall with what matter-of-fact hunting comradeship one Meau relieved me of my gun and rucksack and loaded them on his own back when he saw that, under the burden, I could scarcely keep up with his rapid pace in the steep thicket.

123 577 /464/ The Meau are almost excessively polite, without any influence on this behavior by materialistic mental reservations. Their innate politeness sometimes leads the Meau to little "white lies," which, however, according to their conception, are not regarded as lies. I had with me a white goat which was supposed to serve as tiger bait and had given it to the Meau to pasture in the maize fields. One day a Meau came to me and said: "Your goat seems to be sick. It has a wound in the stomach and has no appetite. I think that it will soon die." [illegible] [illegible]

/118 cont'd/

H response to it was cool, and no enthusiasm was shown. However, the especially negative attitude of the few Li leaders of the landlord group was for different reasons. Previously, these Li leaders were landlords who held enormous mountain landholdings with rich animal yields. They were the privileged class in the society, who could act like kings. For the preservation their special privileges and standing, they were opposed to any outside influence. This situation was clearly reflected in the antagonism between the district government and the Li leaders. The movement against the purchase of land by returned overseas Chinese which was and is have been initiated by the populace in reaction to the threat to their existence, might also have been due to the selfish motives of a few Li leaders who wanted to preserve their personal interests. Therefore, we must make a thorough investigation of such complex internal conditions, in order to get a real explanation of anything that concerns the Li.

M /117/ Now let us turn to the relationship between the Chinese
648 and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book we learned that the
101 Miao migrated into Hainan during the Ming period. At that time the coastal area was already occupied by the Chinese, while the interior plains were occupied by the Li. Hence the Miao were compelled to live in the deep mountainous area and to make a living from planting on mountain slopes. They usually had very little con-
M nection with the Chinese. Therefore, the corrupt officials of suc-
648 cessive dynasties had very little to do with them. As a result of this
0736 isolation, they have had no bad feelings against the government and the Chinese. What bothered them the most were the Li in the adjacent areas and the few influential Chinese merchants who took advantage of them. Hoping to be freed from this kind of oppression, they enthusiastically looked forward to the government governing them directly and developing the area. The establishment of the three districts in the Li area brought them a certain amount of comfort. At this time, however, I personally saw a certain incident in Tao-ling district: A certain Chinese merchant, who had been doing business in the Li area for many years, [illegible]

/117 cont'd/

643 influential person in the locality and often took advantage of the
736 Miao of the area. Once a Miao man who had picked a few catties of edible tree fungus on another mountain passed through his mountain. He then arrested him on the ground that the Miao had stolen the fungus from his land. In addition to the confiscation of the fungus, the Miao was fined several ten of dollars. The Miao then began to appeal for justice to everyone he met. His Miao neighbors were sympathetic and willed to help him. They advised him to petition the district government. Anxious to have the affair settled, they sent agents to the government every day to find out the result and waited for the mail. Days passed and there was no response from the government at all. We could imagine how disappointed they were. Later when I came back from the Miao villages and went to inquire about it at the district office, I was told that no such case had been received, and the district government had /118/ heard nothing about it. What happened? I really felt bad about it.

(2)

643 Now let us turn to the relationship between the Li and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book, we mentioned that originally the Miao were sent to Hainan to help the Chinese government suppress the Li uprisings. Therefore, the two groups had no reason to like
175 each other. However, neither the Li nor the Miao possesses a written history. These ancient conflicts could not have remained in their minds. Their antagonism, therefore was due not to historical factors but to economic reasons, or, more correctly, to their connections with the land.

As mentioned before, the Miao were the last group of immigrants to Hainan Island. The fertile land was already occupied by the Chinese and the Li by that time. Consequently, they were compelled to live in the deep mountains, enduring terrible hardships. Yet these mountain lands by no means belonged to them but were rented from the landowner contracts of different terms, because long before the Miao arrived on Hainan these mountains had already been occupied

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
596 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organiza-
M tions are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the
571 Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the
114 existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans.
614 Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also
592 the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves.
[736] In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
[842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

/77 cont./

M 595 596 with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of one of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a M 596 large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the M [614] [736] sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

A M 596 [858] The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A M [858] The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [425] [758] [276] [185] [614] [736] The love of the ~~chief of the~~ Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

M 185 eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [736]

to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648

Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563

Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

M [114]

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 432 858 [567] [736] [597] [435] If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity. In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate number of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 614 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 596 768 The members of a large /extended/ family are not responsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
596 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

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M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
[842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

/36 cont./

M 592 737 always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled according to the social organization. Such survivors of an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they can to be useful to the community.

A 466 Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however, do not live in the house of the employer and are completely "free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha A 937 solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their position as "free" Akha.

A M 567 M [648] Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A M 571 114 On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right, totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
273 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco ~~smoked is~~ of
276 two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
302 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled
291 around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/232 cont./

A M 164 pock-marked Meau. Abadie (1), too, noted the frequent occurrence

1. Page 159.

of smallpox:

M 164 731 744 "The Meau are frequently afflicted with smallpox, but they react wonderfully to the simplest medicines. In 1911, a severe epidemic raged in a very large village in the Tha-Long region and caused five to six deaths a day. All the inhabitants were inoculated on one day, the aged and the children, the healthy and the sick. From this moment on there was not another death." Such results are of course, highly gratifying, but it is /233/ somewhat disconcerting to see inoculation counted among the "simplest medicines"!

A M 164 732 As among most of the mountain peoples of Farther India, struma is common among the Meau and Akha, which Marabail (1)

1. Page 463.

confirms for the Meau, and likewise cretinism. These ailments are more frequent among the Meau than among the Akha. Moreover, in both tribes the women are more frequently and more severely ill than the men. Some of the cretins found in every M 164 732 [753] Meau village do not seem to have been afflicted by true cretinism, but by epidemic meningitis and similar diseases. At any rate, the Meau told me on several occasions that these persons had been quite normal as children, but had suddenly been stricken with fever and were then tortured terribly by evil spirits. Since that time their minds were affected.

A M 164 [158] Mental diseases and paralysis caused by nervous or rheumatic disorders are relatively frequent. I was unable to find syphilis; to be sure, it may have been spread among the Meau in some places by Chinese traders, but it has caused no obvious devastation. Gonorrhea occurs more frequently, but still rarely among the Meau, and it seems to be completely absent among the Akha, which can probably be traced back to the strict tribal endogamy among this people. I could find no

*782 /163 cont./
the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.
[174] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts [787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

[774] The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules [757] and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not in- [231] creasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these [243] they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth [731] grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

/198 cont./

752 or the healing will be ineffective." The magic formula for
755 water is as follows: "On the other side of the mountain press
down the mountain; on the other side of the water press down
789 the water; draw /i.e. delineate/the burden of the kuei, chop
off the kuei mountain. The old dragon has personally come to
the dragon-deep rapids. Li Lao-ko of Mu-shan has been in-
vited, and without fear of miscellaneous kuei or distant ones,
the left hand draws the thunder of heaven, the right hand draws
the thunder of the earth, drawing altogether 500 savage thunders."

(5) Tan-hsüeh shui /"carrying-blood water"/: This is used to heal an injured person whose blood keeps flowing. First ordering the man to take hold of the injured place, he utters an incantation and sprays a mouthful of water, and thus the bleeding will stop. The magic formula for the water is as follows: "Moving a foot, calling out once, I got Master Wu Hwa-hsing. Across the mountain I call out for the three stars; across the water I call out for shui-i /literally, "water meaning"/. The large army knife is carried to Ta-hung-sha /lit. "large great sands"/; the small army knife is carried to Hsiao /"small"/-hung-sha. The water of the Yangtze River and the current from the sea are carried. The foot stamps on the dragon's head, and the blood carried does not flow; the foot is set on the dragon's waist, and the blood carried does not seep out. Boys, boys, changed in the muddy fields. The boys are related. The master asks me to mark off the four places. The disciple asks me to point in the four directions."

(6) Feng-tao-k'ou shui /"closing-a-knife-wound water"/: Heals knife wounds. After this incantation is uttered three times, not only does the wound close, but the fingers become
[751] immune to knife cuts. The magic formula is: "When the sun comes up it is a drop of red; the hand wields a golden whip to ride the dragon; a swallow of water stops the flow of the Yangtze River; the disciple presses the pulse, and the blood stops flowing."

either by letting his eye rest upon them or by merely 754
wishing them evil. Their only proof of this was that their children or wives had been taken ill after this supposed wizard had passed by their doors, or had been seen by them in the fields or on the hills. No words of the missionary could persuade those men that possibly they were mistaken.

This power of spitefully "overlooking" people 751
belongs to women as well as to men. In one village 758
typhoid broke out and took off a large number of victims. This is the blackest of all demons; it works havoc amongst the Miao, who fear it intensely. Hamlets and villages are frequently decimated by it. In one epidemic, out of a family of nine, seven had died of it. The ninth, a young wife, was so afraid that she ran away, no one knowing whither she had gone. An eighth member of the family had got over the typhoid and was being tended by this wife, but after she had absconded no one would enter the house. Thus, being bereft of all nursing and food, the patient eventually died from sheer starvation. In another instance the father, mother and two children all died; no one would enter the house to bury the bodies, so by degrees the village dogs devoured them. Perhaps the saddest case was that of a mother dying and leaving a young babe. As every one was afraid of infection the living babe was buried with the deceased mother. In this village, after several people had died of this dread disease, it began to be whispered that the sickness had been caused by an old widow woman, who

751 thereupon became suspect of being a witch.
758 Finally feelings ran so high that some of the men, armed with staves, entered the woman's house and literally beat her to death.

754 Men who practise the "black art" sometimes come to a bad end. One wizard, who had been accused several times of "overlooking" people, was rather proud that it should be thought he possessed this power. One day the brother of a man of some influence was taken ill, and within a short while he died, killed, it was believed, by a secret arrow released by this wizard. The elder brother was so infuriated that on the day of the burial he had the wizard brought to the village, beaten with bludgeons until he lost consciousness, carried to a newly dug grave and unceremoniously flung into it. On top of the unconscious but living wizard was lowered the coffin containing his supposed unfortunate victim, and the grave was filled up.

566 Another aspect of Miao life which needs our understanding and sympathy, is the dominance of the landlords, called for the most part "*t'u-muh*". The words "*t'u-muh*" are the Chinese for "earth's eyes" and are probably used to designate the enfeoffed eldest sons of aforetime Nosu chiefs. While some Miao are the tenants of small landowners, either Chinese or Nosu, a majority till the land of *t'u-muh*, who, as a class, are crafty, corrupt, capricious and at times inhumanly cruel. Before the Chinese Republic was founded in 1911, these *t'u-muh* had immense power; and though

769 the family must buy a buffalo way ahead of the date so that it can grow fat for the occasion. On the vacant ground outside the village a small straw pavilion is erected as the altar of sacrifice. The offspring of the deceased would lead the buffalo to the altar, and waving a large butcher's knife, shout several times: "Let no one rob our buffalo!" Inside the pavilion, incense and candles are lit and placed alongside such sacrificial items as chicken and duck. Standing beside the straw pavilion, the Kwei-shih would pray to the dead: "Your descendants so-and-so send you a buffalo and wish you would watch over them always." The man then brings the butcher's knife upon the buffalo's head. If the animal is killed with one stroke, then the greatest luck would attend the household. The head of the buffalo is placed in the pavilion as a sacrifice and the beef is cooked in a huge cauldron. Those friends and relations, who have come with five measures of rice and one jar of wine as gifts, now partake of the feast. After it is over, each one carries home three pieces of beef on a pointed bamboo stick.

751 847 (9) Hong Ma and Hong Pa. In the Miao-I village one often sees abandoned butchered children lying around. The heads and legs of these dead children are severed with a kitchen knife by their own parents, the same knife thrown beside the body with blood strewn all over, - the whole presenting a gruesome spectacle. This happened because the dead child's parents had brought to this world several sons who had died of the same illness, and so they believed that an evil spirit must have possessed them and been reborn several times to "hong ma and hong pa" (to deceive the parents). Therefore, this child is now decapitated and slaughtered so that the headless and limbless spirit of vengeance would not be able to come to

the womb again. After this any child born is 751
sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and 847
butchering have to be done before the child breathes his last. When the parents perceive that the illness of the child is identical to that of the other deceased children, /92/ they expect him to die, and taking advantage of his still being alive they cut off his head and legs. 'Otherwise, they believe, the prevention would not be effective. It is said that some ignorant Chinese in the same locality also follow this custom.

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of 787
the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a 852
fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If 856
his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed to grow until he is six or twelve years old when he has his first haircut. The long unshaved hair is said to help preserve the life of the child. The first haircut is an occasion for great celebration: every household in the village would hang out red and green festoons and send greetings to the parents, who in turn would give a party, killing chicken and pig for a great feast.

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child 755
among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without 753
stop, the parents would attribute the cause of the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse", a colloquial name for the locust. They would hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled with rice and water, and little images of horses cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop the cry of the child.

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-I first becomes ill, the general assumption is that he has run into some starving ghost. The family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs. 787

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm. 751

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *fêng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the mana and the wakanda conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Ntsə, ʒei SʌU, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntsoŋ, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc. 776 778

To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu shêng* 六星, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves. 774

[26 cont.]

000 time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

766 Hê Miao who die of leprosy are cremated. The dead body
164 is carried to a vacant lot to be placed on a pile of firewood and
757 burned before the public. It is probably for the same purpose of avoiding contagion that the Hê Miao at Yung-chiang who die of small pox are cremated -- a sanitary idea derived from experiences.

5. Religious Beliefs

The Short-skirt Hê Miao apparently believe in animism.
774 In their view every object in nature is invested with a spirit.
776 The sky, earth, sun and moon are all nature spirits, but even rocks, rivers, bridges, trees and wells are also endowed with spiritual powers. The duties and responsibilities of these spirits, however, are not quite divided, and therefore in case of sickness, engagement and the acquisition of sons they would go to one of these objects to offer prayers, and if their prayers are fulfilled they would have to offer sacrifices. There are two kinds of spirits: the good spirits, efficacious and powerful, who guard over the welfare of the mortals, but in case of offences against them, can also inflict severe punishments; the bad spirits or ghosts, who are bent on doing harm and whom one has to suppress if one cannot put up with them. The first category of spirits includes the Jade Emperor, the Guarding Buddha, one's ancestors, the King of Hades, the Earth God, the God of Wealth, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Yo Fei [warrior hero of the 12th century], Shen-nung [Divine Husbandman, a mythical emperor of pre-historical times], Kwan-ti [warrior hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the God of War], tree spirits, cliff spirits, bridge spirits, the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the winnowing-fan spirits, and the Lady Buddhas. The second category includes the spirits of thunder and lightning, the tiger ghost, the well ghost, the drowning ghost, the mouth odor ghost, the sly ghost who hurts people surreptitiously, the pu-nung (Miao dialect) ghost, the nai-huang (Miao dialect) ghost, the leg-pulling ghost, the breath-obstructing ghost, the soul-bewitching

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

8) To protect children. Many families whose children
756
751 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their

[29 cont.]
751 "guardian" for the purpose of getting protection. This is be-
756 cause the body of the priest is supposed to be endowed with a spiritual quality that can put the ghosts in their places. Therefore, children receiving his guardianship can avoid illness. Often a priest may have several hundred people under his protection. To apply for it the protégé has to present a pair of shoes, a handkerchief, a cock and some glutinous rice to the
[553] guiding spirit of the priest, after which offering the protégé is given a new name.

Priesthood among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not a profes-
756 sion, the shaman being a full-time farmer, carpenter or blacksmith. It is only a side-line. Each time the priest performs some service, his remuneration consists of a few insignificant "lucky" items. It is said that priesthood is not a willing choice. Every priest has at least twenty to thirty different spirits seeking his mediumship, and if he refuses the spirits would derange his mind. So once seized by the spirits a man cannot help being a priest. He then cuts a piece of red paper into a row of human forms [30] and pastes them before his ancestral altar. A board is nailed horizontally against the wall, on which two or three tea cups are placed. After each magic performance, the head of
[742] the cow, pig, or dog used in the ritual must be brought home to be sacrificed before the altar. But chickens and ducks used for the same purpose need not be brought home.

The capability of the shamans varies. Some can only catch small or wild ghosts but are unable to subdue big and fierce ghosts, who only surrender to priests with greater supernatural powers. Therefore, priests are divided into several classes. While performing magic, the priest may be assisted by a t'ung-shih [instructor] who is a less spiritually gifted person. The latter can only assist the priest but cannot engage the ghosts alone, and so his remuneration is still less. He may be fed for the services rendered without extra rewards.

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
262 or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form
[252] of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes,
[252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

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/230 cont./

A 515 Conditions among the Akha are somewhat more favorable, but likewise leave much to be desired. The personal cleanliness of the Akha, however, is unconditionally greater than that of the Meau. The people wash themselves regularly as soon as they A [356] are grown up; children are washed daily. The houses are always [296] swept clean, and the Akha seem to wash their clothing /231/ [364] more often than the Meau do. Otherwise what was found among the Meau applies. To be sure, hygienic conditions are somewhat 165 better, but they are still so deficient that a high mortality among [163] the children as a result of epidemics and sicknesses is unavoidable. Among the Akha, too, however, this mortality rate is offset by great fertility, so that the Akha, too, will certainly not be subject to a population decline.

A M 164 Prophylactic measures against illness are completely unknown to both the Meau and Akha, as is the nature of infectious diseases. 165 Although I did not succeed in determining precisely the losses caused by epidemics, the consequences of such pestilences were [751] easily ascertained. Merely the presence of sibless Meau, who [753] had placed themselves as unfree under the protection of powerful large /extended/ families, showed this, as did the many widows, widowers, childless parents, and orphans. Whenever I inquired M about the causes of death, it was said: "Died because of the 761 vengeance of evil spirits." It often turned out, however, that 164 these evil spirits had killed dozens of people at the same time. 731 I learned that once the Meau built a village in a country at an altitude lower than is customary and infested with malaria. When subsequently a malaria epidemic broke out they believed that they had chosen as a dwelling site a place haunted by evil spirits and they moved their village.

A 164 I could not find any moving of a village because of the outbreak of an epidemic among the Akha. Southwest of the 731 Doy Tung there was an Akha village whose inhabitants had almost all fallen victim to an epidemic; from the description it was probably cholera. The survivors, however, had not moved the village.

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [415 281] powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 171 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/197 cont./

755 nose and a river from his mouth, and swells in Tu-wei palace
789 in heaven. He pushes 800 carriages with his feet, like Lao-chün in his inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As in the previous instance the magician sprays a mouthful of water and stamps his foot on the ground.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The belly of the kuei will be ripped open, his intestines taken out and his heart eaten. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The third general, whose surname is Chu, can reverse the current of the Yellow River and can also push 800 carriages with his feet, like a room in Lao-chün's inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As before the magician sprays water and stamps his foot.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The big ones will be half-eaten, and the little ones will be scraped and hung to dry. Everyone has a net, and so come quickly. If you do not come your nets will be messed up. (The last two sentences are uttered in a low and muffled tone.)

(2) Lu-szu shui /"egret silk"/: A remedy when a bone
752 gets stuck in the throat through eating or drinking carelessly.
755 On drinking this cup of water, the sick person can vomit out
789 or swallow down the bone. The magic formula for invoking the teacher is the same as above. The magic formula for

752 /197 cont./
755 water is as follows: "When the moon rises above the four
789 pillars, chop up all the dirty kuei. /198/ May I become a monkey to properly change to drink water. If I call to change, then I will change. If I do not change, the disciple will draw a June sun in which to change. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not, the disciple will draw a June sun, in which to melt. If I call to change, I will change; and if I do not, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to strike me into changing. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not melt, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to force me to melt. Raising my head to look at the four directions, I see nine dragons coming down from heaven. When the dragons come they drop off their claws; when the tigers come they drop off their skins, and the hundreds of birds in the mountains drop off their feathers. Step by step they become steel. When I touch them they become small open boats." (Chanted three times.)

(3) Hsüeh-shan shui /"snow-mountain water"/: Heals skin burns. If the injury is slight, saliva can be used to smear on the burn, but for a serious injury it is necessary to use a bowl of water. He sprays three mouthfuls of water, and also flicks water on the burned place with his fingers. The magic formula for water follows: "The first request is for a distance of one li, the second for the distance of two li. The large army knife please go to the big snow mountain; and the small army knife please go to the small snow mountain. I respectfully invite my teacher, Lung Sheng-fa and profound disciple, Ma Lao-ch'iao. When an army is burned it is broken off; when the skin is burned it is broken off. Do not flow blood! do not flow water! Take the saliva as medicine."

(4) Ke-shan shui /"separated-by-a-mountain water"/: For healing someone injured by a fall or by a cut on the other side of a mountain. If the magician hears the cry for help, he then can utter an incantation to heal the injured person, except that he must inform the injured person beforehand: "If I ask you whether you are well or not, you should reply 'yes,'

/198 cont./

752 or the healing will be ineffective." The magic formula for
755 water is as follows: "On the other side of the mountain press
789 down the mountain; on the other side of the water press down the water; draw /i.e. delineate/ the burden of the kuei, chop off the kuei mountain. The old dragon has personally come to the dragon-deep rapids. Li Lao-ko of Mu-shan has been invited, and without fear of miscellaneous kuei or distant ones, the left hand draws the thunder of heaven, the right hand draws the thunder of the earth, drawing altogether 500 savage thunders."

(5) Tan-hsüeh shui /"carrying-blood water"/: This is used to heal an injured person whose blood keeps flowing. First ordering the man to take hold of the injured place, he utters an incantation and sprays a mouthful of water, and thus the bleeding will stop. The magic formula for the water is as follows: "Moving a foot, calling out once, I got Master Wu Hwa-hsing. Across the mountain I call out for the three stars; across the water I call out for shui-i /literally, "water meaning"/. The large army knife is carried to Ta-hung-sha /lit. "large great sands"/; the small army knife is carried to Hsiao /"small"/-hung-sha. The water of the Yangtze River and the current from the sea are carried. The foot stamps on the dragon's head, and the blood carried does not flow; the foot is set on the dragon's waist, and the blood carried does not seep out. Boys, boys, changed in the muddy fields. The boys are related. The master asks me to mark off the four places. The disciple asks me to point in the four directions."

(6) Feng-tao-k'ou shui /"closing-a-knife-wound water"/: Heals knife wounds. After this incantation is uttered three times, not only does the wound close, but the fingers become
[751] immune to knife cuts. The magic formula is: "When the sun comes up it is a drop of red; the hand wields a golden whip to ride the dragon; a swallow of water stops the flow of the Yangtze River; the disciple presses the pulse, and the blood stops flowing."

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yā. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, [824] as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the [276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.

[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult 845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines. [847] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kā, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The 752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd [827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax. [276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role; 177 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous, 278 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For 832 example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/237 cont./

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.
832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious
ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
757 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
278 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
114 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine! It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.

● 752 They are most skillful, however, in the treatment of bone fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing
[845] trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.

278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manufacture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of certain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/238 cont.

M 278 to the description, which are tapped by means of four diagonal cuts placed opposite to one another, similar to the procedure for obtaining India rubber. The sap flowing out hardens in the air into a viscous rubber-like mass, which is collected. Now the same weight of water is added, and the sap is cooked with constant stirring, over an open fire. The substance thus obtained M [415] is poured into bamboo flasks which are sealed airtight. After cooling off, the mass becomes solid again. Before use it is warmed slightly and thereby again becomes liquid. Then one adds tobacco juice and ground pepper and dips in the arrows, dries the adhered portion over the fire, and repeats this procedure until the arrow points are thickly covered with the now black poisonous mass.

If well sealed in tubes, the poison keeps for years; applied to the arrow and kept over the hearth, as is customary, so that the smoke prevents the growth of putrefying bacteria, it remains effective for about a year.

A M 278 752 As an antidote the Meau and, probably in imitation of them, the Akha use cooking salt, which is rubbed into the wound with good results. Moreover, the wounded person is given large quantities of tea to drink and is made to sweat.

A 752 [177] [757] The Akha who, as was already mentioned, depend almost entirely on the neighboring peoples in their medications, are also far behind the Meau in the treatment of wounds or bone fractures. To be sure, they know how to set fractured bones in an emergency, but they cannot perform any kind of operation.

A 278 439 M 439 The Akha in Thailand do not even make their arrow poison; instead, they buy it from their neighbors, chiefly from the Meau.

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien] and a body [koy-ʔ'ieŋ/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[961] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[772] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pey ts'əɹ]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ
[824] ʂo] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ ndu]. When there is a
*[782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

/143 cont./

*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the guests are leaving. Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each [574] receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

755 Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other *782 place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao consider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer-774 priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called [lio˨ kuei˨˩˧], originally meaning "kuei of springs." The two kuei in- [753] [776] voked are called [naŋ˨ nɯ˨ lio˨ u˨] and [naŋ˨ mɛ˨ lio˨ tɛ˨˩˧]. The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kuei.

/143 cont./

755
*782

(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple
[753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con-
[776] sidered that the [nɑŋ˧ ŋuei˧ pi˧nu˧] and [nɑŋ˧ nu˧ pi˧ ʂɛ˧] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /pɑʊ˧ pi˧ nu˧/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called [ta˧ ʂ'io˧ t'ɑ˧ liey˧] in the Miao
787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate
[825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then
[791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/.
*782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

/160 cont./

*782 soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection
[776] for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant
[753] and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices
[755] it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation
[787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and
[787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

*782 In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar
784 period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are
[776] days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

1 [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain Shrine - ANALYST]

/163 cont./

773 776 Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third

> 1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Y ang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 776 [753] [931] [372] [82] When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

/198 cont./

2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against [671] the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article [683] relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku [776] witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five con- [824] stituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers [753] either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him [787] to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[828] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

the womb again. After this any child born is 751
sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and 847
butchering have to be done before the child
breathes his last. When the parents perceive
that the illness of the child is identical to
that of the other deceased children, /92/ they
expect him to die, and taking advantage of his
still being alive they cut off his head and
legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention
would not be effective. It is said that some
ignorant Chinese in the same locality also fol-
low this custom.

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of 787
the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a 852
fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If 856
his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed
to grow until he is six or twelve years old when
he has his first haircut. The long unshaved
hair is said to help preserve the life of the
child. The first haircut is an occasion for
great celebration: every household in the vil-
lage would hang out red and green festoons and
send greetings to the parents, who in turn would
give a party, killing chicken and pig for a
great feast.

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child 755
among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without 753
stop, the parents would attribute the cause of
the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse",
a colloquial name for the locust. They would
hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled
with rice and water, and little images of horses
cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop
the cry of the child.

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-
I first becomes ill, the general assumption is
that he has run into some starving ghost. The
family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked
rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of
rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body. So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

753 All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and
755 some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among
165 the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

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13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 A tiger often changes into a good person. A woman who has changed into a tiger is called in Chinese a *lao pien p'o* 老變婆 or an old woman who changes. She looks like a dead person or is formless and invisible. Or she may look like a visible woman but when she thinks of being transformed into a demon she smiles and when she thinks of being transformed into a human being she weeps. She goes in front of a tiger to make a way for him and if a trap or a trap-gun is set to injure the tiger she removes it so the tiger will not be hurt. The first son of a family named T'ao, Wang or Chang can change easily into a tiger and the first daughter can
776 change easily into a *lao pien p'o*. A fox can assume the form of a man and entice a woman to sexual intercourse. After-
753 wards the woman has pains and develops spots where the skin dries up. If she is not cured, she gradually dies and changes
755 into a fox. A very large snake called in Chinese a *mang she* 蟒蛇 may transform itself into a man or a woman and entice a person to have sexual relations with him or her. The result is that the person pines away and dies unless a *tuan kung* 端公 can overcome the snake and save the person. The supposed snake may be killed and its liver given the patient to eat; this cures him. Imagination and suggestion probably have a great deal to do with such sicknesses and cures. Banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, and eels may also change into human form and entice a human being to sexual intercourse with the result that the person becomes ill and dies unless saved by the help of the *tuan kung*.

776 There are god-like beings that are believed in by the Ch'uan Miao but who are not formally worshipped. The greatest god is Ntsə. He controls the heaven and the earth but lives in the sky. The paradise to which the souls of the dead go, as we have seen, is the level land of Ntsə. A Miao told me that Ntsə is the very highest, the ultimate, and that he is everywhere, can be in the lowest place and is compassionate and most powerful.

Ntsə sometimes sends his daughter to succor poor and unfortunate men. This has been noted by Savina in his book on the Miao of Tongkin. Sometimes she becomes, at least temporarily, the man's wife.

Another name, Ntsə Njonŋ LʌU, means god, foundation, old. One can imagine easily that it means Ntsə the foundation of the universe. Some Ch'uan Miao identify Ntsə Njong LʌU with Ntsə but in the minds of others it is not very clear.

Another deity-like being is Yei SʌU or ʒ̊ei SʌU. He is very intelligent, never dies, is very kindly and merciful, is just, induces people to do good deeds and helps people who are in trouble, especially the poor. He is sometimes seen among the clouds and can easily make himself invisible.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made
as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather
like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it
often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger
blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
253 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

/157 cont./

771 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially im-
114 portant to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau. The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incantations and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning religion, before persons who do not belong to the community. Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

123 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, became sick.
[753] His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of
[774] his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wandering and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to
[164] determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sickness for the Meau. I told the chief that many little evil spirits had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood. Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the ceremony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction. Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

1. Page 98.

most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 The Meau believe in an immortal soul, plī, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the M experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper [753 776 761 755] in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/159 cont./

774 sib comes into the world. It makes no difference whether the
775 person to whom the soul belonged was good or evil in his
614 previous lifetime.

In contrast to this, Lajonquière (1) reports: "Human beings have three souls,

1. II, p. 313.

ings have three souls, 'pli,' which arise again after twelve months when they enter the body of a pregnant woman. The souls of evil men are reborn in a frail child which is doomed to a miserable life and speedy death. Those of young unmarried girls haunt the paternal home, as do the souls of small children, which are reborn in the same family. All these conceptions, which are generally vague and sometimes contradictory, appear to us more like fortuitously discovered
[114] stories than native doctrine." Although Abadie (2) has borrowed

2. Page 169.

these statements, too, almost literally, they have not gained in probability, at least for the Thailand area. There is much more of an impression that both authors -- for whatever reasons -- did not probe deeply into the complex religious conceptions of the Meau. I was able to determine the following:

●753 According to the view of the Meau, a person becomes
774 sick when the soul does not return, but then, too, the soul leaves the body when a person becomes sick. One notices this by the fact that the person loses the zest for living and seems to be absent-minded. When a person dies, /160/ the soul is
775 always absent. It then returns to the dead body and takes up residence in it until it is buried. Then it leaves the dead body, but remains for three days in the vicinity of the grave. During this period it is given food which is placed on the grave by the survivors. Then it returns to the house and takes up permanent residence there until it is reborn. If the direct family dies out, the soul takes up residence in the house of the nearest blood relatives. When I asked what would happen if the

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was [828] no explanation for fainting.

769 When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they 114 have been informed of the change of location through a special [775] ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in

II, p. 319.

case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is 774 commonly assumed, as was said, that evil spirits prevent it from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes [761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead 761 body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

/166 cont./

776 825 [372] [626] [171] The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 [844] I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

[778] [756] The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of [177] [829] this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/188 cont./

789 Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them [753] are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," for protection against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak, are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most effective substances known against certain individual spirits and therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root [824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits, the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the Meau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this [301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There [776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets [714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/230 cont./

A 515 Conditions among the Akha are somewhat more favorable, but likewise leave much to be desired. The personal cleanliness of the Akha, however, is unconditionally greater than that of the Meau. The people wash themselves regularly as soon as they A [356] are grown up; children are washed daily. The houses are always [296] swept clean, and the Akha seem to wash their clothing /231/ [364] more often than the Meau do. Otherwise what was found among the Meau applies. To be sure, hygienic conditions are somewhat 165 better, but they are still so deficient that a high mortality among [163] the children as a result of epidemics and sicknesses is unavoidable. Among the Akha, too, however, this mortality rate is offset by great fertility, so that the Akha, too, will certainly not be subject to a population decline.

A M 164 Prophylactic measures against illness are completely unknown to both the Meau and Akha, as is the nature of infectious diseases. 165 Although I did not succeed in determining precisely the losses [751] caused by epidemics, the consequences of such pestilences were [753] easily ascertained. Merely the presence of sibless Meau, who had placed themselves as unfree under the protection of powerful large /extended/ families, showed this, as did the many widows, widowers, childless parents, and orphans. Whenever I inquired M about the causes of death, it was said: "Died because of the 761 vengeance of evil spirits." It often turned out, however, that 164 these evil spirits had killed dozens of people at the same time. 731 I learned that once the Meau built a village in a country at an altitude lower than is customary and infested with malaria. When subsequently a malaria epidemic broke out they believed that they had chosen as a dwelling site a place haunted by evil spirits and they moved their village.

A 164 I could not find any moving of a village because of the outbreak of an epidemic among the Akha. Southwest of the 731 Doy Tung there was an Akha village whose inhabitants had almost all fallen victim to an epidemic; from the description it was probably cholera. The survivors, however, had not moved the village.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/231 cont./

A M 164 114 According to the symptoms that became known to me, other epidemics can seemingly be traced back to diarrhea, typhoid fever, and dysentery.

Unfortunately, nothing has as yet been published on the susceptibility or resistance of the mountain peoples to the various diseases. To be sure, the Census of Burma (1), for example, gave

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 112.

some statistics on the various diseases, but most of the mountain peoples were undoubtedly able to avoid inclusion in the statistics /232/ -- at least a substantial part of them is in practice not included at all (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"). Furthermore, the Census of Burma confounds the natives of various races and cultures. I need only point out the example of the relatively strong resistance of the Schan /Shan/ peoples to malaria, or the catastrophic susceptibility of the mountain peoples, especially the Meau and Akha, to this disease, in order to show how useless the statistics of the Census are for this purpose.

A M 164 753 A 443 753 Both peoples are well aware of the fact that they contract malaria in the lowlands, even though the belief in spirits is drawn upon for an explanation, as is shown by the example of the Meau village that was moved because of malaria. Even the Akha who travel to Kengtung on market days in order to sell their wares never spend the night in the city, but on the heights of the surrounding mountains. Even if they have sold only part of their wares and a longer stay in the city would facilitate their business, they prefer to return to the city on the following day and to take the wearisome trip back and forth in the bargain. They explain this custom by saying that in Kengtung there are evil spirits who would send them fatal sicknesses during the night.

A M 164 Among the endemic illnesses occurring in the two mountain peoples there are plague, bubonic plague, typhoid fever, amoebic dysentery, bacillary dysentery, and various forms of worms, especially hookworm and trichinosis. One often sees

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/232 cont./

A M 164 pock-marked Meau. Abadie (1), too, noted the frequent occurrence

1. Page 159.

of smallpox:

M 164 731 744 "The Meau are frequently afflicted with smallpox, but they react wonderfully to the simplest medicines. In 1911, a severe epidemic raged in a very large village in the Tha-Long region and caused five to six deaths a day. All the inhabitants were inoculated on one day, the aged and the children, the healthy and the sick. From this moment on there was not another death." Such results are of course, highly gratifying, but it is /233/ somewhat disconcerting to see inoculation counted among the "simplest medicines"!

A M 164 732 As among most of the mountain peoples of Farther India, struma is common among the Meau and Akha, which Marabail (1)

1. Page 463.

confirms for the Meau, and likewise cretinism. These ailments are more frequent among the Meau than among the Akha. Moreover, in both tribes the women are more frequently and more severely ill than the men. Some of the cretins found in every

M 164 732 [753] Meau village do not seem to have been afflicted by true cretinism, but by epidemic meningitis and similar diseases. At any rate, the Meau told me on several occasions that these persons had been quite normal as children, but had suddenly been stricken with fever and were then tortured terribly by evil spirits. Since that time their minds were affected.

A M 164 [158] Mental diseases and paralysis caused by nervous or rheumatic disorders are relatively frequent. I was unable to find syphilis; to be sure, it may have been spread among the Meau in some places by Chinese traders, but it has caused no obvious devastation. Gonorrhea occurs more frequently, but still rarely among the Meau, and it seems to be completely absent among the Akha, which can probably be traced back to the strict tribal endogamy among this people. I could find no

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II, p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools A off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, M in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep [513] in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," M the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," ● 753 some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the 776 Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such M cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they 755 cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the [756] shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in [769] our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

/1 cont'd/

101 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao
175 troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains
[411 and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the
279] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people
[291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like
[418] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where
[521] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned
[524] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are
[754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

[104] */Former title of a lieutenant colonel.--Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/68 cont'd/

4. Magic

754 The Miao have a kind of "black magic," which is intended to injure other people. If a man has a bad enemy, he requests a Taoist priest to avenge him through sorcery. The method is to write the enemy's name on a piece of paper, which is nailed up in a grove of trees. The enemy's soul is thus confined, and he will fall ill with a strange disease and slowly sink into a half-alive state. The only way the victim can be saved is to get hold of the sorceror and compel him to release the soul from imprisonment.

755 This was what I heard from the Miao. Whether this magic was really workable I still do not know. However, I once encountered a disabled man in the home of a Li headman. I was told that this disablement was due to the fact that when this man was a follower of a Li headman who had attacked the Miao, he had killed a great many people. For revenge, the Miao had confined his soul. Might this story be true!

5. Superstition

823 The Miao believe in feng-shui /Chinese system of geomancy/. When I was in Ang-chi village, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang, told me that the reason the Miao people there were so poor was because the feng-shui was not good there. He also pointed out how the feng-shui was poor. The mountain peaks were too sharp, there was a lack of springs, and the aspect was too narrow, so that there was nothing from which wealth could issue. His cousin, a pao-ch'ang, 756 also asked me whether I knew how to practice feng-shui. I gave him a negative answer. He said that he would save more money to enable him to engage a good master of feng-shui, who would find for him a place of prosperity.

787 They also believe in fortunetelling through horoscopes and the practice of physiognomy. While I was there a number of them asked me whether I knew how to read horoscopes and practice physiognomy. /69/ There are some aspects of their social life that have led the Miao to believe in such superstitions. We will discuss it in detail in the next chapter.

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755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

●754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably
163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate
171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his
165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time
622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with
217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

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2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five constituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

[671] [683] [776] [824] [753] [787]

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
[683] its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
[434] practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[177] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ɲ̊ʿiɣ] in the Miao language, and a ku woman
is called [mpʿɑɪ ɲ̊ʿiɣ]. Most of the ku women are loved by
their husbands, /200/ which is called /tʿioʌ ɲ̊ʿiɣ/, meaning
seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became con--scious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[825] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

/200 cont./

754 On the basis of the above data we can say in general that the art of ku is a form of black magic. Today, there are still a number of primitive societies where people take a pointed bone, stick, or arrowhead, or the wing bone of a certain kind of animal to pierce, thrust at, or point at the victim they wish to harm, in an imitative ritual, and then they reckon they will die. (1) This is very much like letting out ku by thrusting

1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li An-che's Chinese translation, page 77.

one or two fingers to cause a person to get sick and die. Per-
[832] haps, the art of ku is also a kind of love magic. It is said among the Miao that ku women are good at making their husbands happy. The Kwei-shun Chi-li Chou-chi of Kwangsi states: "When a woman cannot win her husband's love, she asks for a magical formula from the magician in order to gain love. In time she practices ku. During the time of the full moon she sends it out to poison someone else, otherwise it would hurt her. /201/ Along Cheng-pien area this practice is most prevalent." That ku witchcraft is a form of black magic
[832] or love magic is only our speculation, because we do not know the incantations and rituals nor the gestures and acts of the performer while carrying out the rituals. Therefore it is not easy to know what it actually is.

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the 755
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

754 aboriginal *materia medica*, an individual becomes incapacitated. The sickness weighs upon his mind, until after a time he becomes convinced that some one "overlooking" him has released invisible arrows which have entered into his system and caused the illness.

Once twenty rough, wild-looking Miao came to a missionary's home, begging him to help them adjudge a man accused of having the "evil eye". The offender, who was closely guarded, had a rather pleasant face, and certainly there did not appear to be anything abnormal about him. The missionary felt sorry, and could not understand why his accusers should be so bitter. He vehemently protested his innocence, and after the most minute enquiries, the missionary was unable to discover any one who could produce the slightest evidence of the man having performed any acts of conjuration, or of having had any dealings whatsoever with the "black art". Yet every man from his village was seething with rage; some of their children and women had been taken violently sick, and in each instance the sick ones had declared that at the outset of the trouble they had seen the face of the accused. Such was the panic of these men that had they not feared the local head man (who was a friend of the supposed wizard) they would have taken the law into their own hands and beaten the offender to death. It was said that he induced sickness by ejaculating evil upon any object he wished to injure; he could cast a spell or produce a malignant effect upon victims of his displeasure

either by letting his eye rest upon them or by merely 754
wishing them evil. Their only proof of this was that their children or wives had been taken ill after this supposed wizard had passed by their doors, or had been seen by them in the fields or on the hills. No words of the missionary could persuade those men that possibly they were mistaken.

This power of spitefully "overlooking" people 751
belongs to women as well as to men. In one village 758
typhoid broke out and took off a large number of victims. This is the blackest of all demons; it works havoc amongst the Miao, who fear it intensely. Hamlets and villages are frequently decimated by it. In one epidemic, out of a family of nine, seven had died of it. The ninth, a young wife, was so afraid that she ran away, no one knowing whither she had gone. An eighth member of the family had got over the typhoid and was being tended by this wife, but after she had absconded no one would enter the house. Thus, being bereft of all nursing and food, the patient eventually died from sheer starvation. In another instance the father, mother and two children all died; no one would enter the house to bury the bodies, so by degrees the village dogs devoured them. Perhaps the saddest case was that of a mother dying and leaving a young babe. As every one was afraid of infection the living babe was buried with the deceased mother. In this village, after several people had died of this dread disease, it began to be whispered that the sickness had been caused by an old widow woman, who

751 thereupon became suspect of being a witch.
758 Finally feelings ran so high that some of the men, armed with staves, entered the woman's house and literally beat her to death.

754 Men who practise the "black art" sometimes come to a bad end. One wizard, who had been accused several times of "overlooking" people, was rather proud that it should be thought he possessed this power. One day the brother of a man of some influence was taken ill, and within a short while he died, killed, it was believed, by a secret arrow released by this wizard. The elder brother was so infuriated that on the day of the burial he had the wizard brought to the village, beaten with bludgeons until he lost consciousness, carried to a newly dug grave and unceremoniously flung into it. On top of the unconscious but living wizard was lowered the coffin containing his supposed unfortunate victim, and the grave was filled up.

566 Another aspect of Miao life which needs our understanding and sympathy, is the dominance of the landlords, called for the most part "*t'u-muh*". The words "*t'u-muh*" are the Chinese for "earth's eyes" and are probably used to designate the enfeoffed eldest sons of aforetime Nosu chiefs. While some Miao are the tenants of small landowners, either Chinese or Nosu, a majority till the land of *t'u-muh*, who, as a class, are crafty, corrupt, capricious and at times inhumanly cruel. Before the Chinese Republic was founded in 1911, these *t'u-muh* had immense power; and though

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body. So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

amined. If the white of the egg shows a concave dent, then it is a proof of the existence of the poison. Thereupon the members of the sick person's family would shout curses outside the gate, so that the dispenser of the venom would come by himself or herself to get rid of it. Also there are cases where sick persons escape to other villages to avoid attack by these poisonous agents. We have closely investigated many areas but have not yet discovered a single instance of some one who actually possesses poisonous insects or medicines. This is after all pure superstition. But the Miao people believe in it strongly and take every precaution against it. A woman who is suspected of possessing poisonous insects may never expect to be married, and a man who is found to own such medicines is subject to lynching and expulsion. The belief of the I tribe in this connection is less deeply rooted than that of the Miao. 754 787

(16) Feng-shui. The Chung-chia in An-shun believe in Feng-shui /wind and water/ much more than the local Chinese. In the Chung-chia village there are one or two persons noted for their ability to divine Feng-shui such as in building a house and erecting grave mounds, the fortune of the offspring being dependent upon how these are located in relation to nature, mountain and river, and their shapes and conditions. It is further believed that the unusual rocks and overhanging cliffs as well as the green trees and gigantic vines in the mountains are endowed with the spiritual essence of the universe which serves to suppress the baleful vapors of the valleys and rivers. So even though it is known that a certain mountain yields valuable minerals, people will not mine them for fear of upsetting the stabilizing influence of these precious substances. 787 823

Of all the foregoing superstitions the 000

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

in the use of herbs as medicine, but when to take medicine and when to send for the exorcist is not very clear. We imagine when a man is sick he first takes medicine, and if this fails to act as it ought, he concludes there is a demon troubling him and sends for an exorcist to deal with it. In the case of ague, the Heh Miao always think it is a demon, and the sufferer goes away into the woods to hide himself and thus escape from it. 755

Any man who has learned the incantations and knows how things ought to be done, may be a wizard or exorcist. Their fees are not exorbitant. A quart or two of rice, and a little of anything else that may be going, pork or whisky, is all they get for their services. There are usually two or three of them in every village. The Miao say that their exorcists are the same as the Chinese *tuan-kung* or Taoists, and so it appears to us they are. 791

Sometimes a man is accused of having a demon, and this is a bad thing for the man, if it is generally believed. This does not mean that he is possessed by a devil, but that he has at his command a demon who does his will to the injury of others. We know a man who lately accused a neighbour before the Chinese magistrate for saying that he had a demon. 754

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

754 They believe also in such demon possession as is recorded in the New Testament; so do also the Chinese.

791 They also believe in soothsayers, and often when anything is lost or stolen, or if an unknown person has injured their property, they consult them. After the soothsayer has received his fee, he performs certain ceremonies, and after a longer or shorter time a demon takes possession of him. He at once begins to mutter and answer questions, without moving his lips, something after the manner of a ventriloquist. Very often the answers are correct, but not always. The Miao say it is the demon who speaks, not the man. Sometimes the soothsayer will tell a man to offer oxen in sacrifice to his deceased parents when his luck is bad. These soothsayers do not eat flesh meat. A missionary once asked one of them if he were still practising his art, whereat all the other Miao laughed, and the man replied, "Since I have begun to eat meat the demon will not come to me."

754 The Miao are great believers in witches and witchcraft, but they say that only one here and there can really bewitch people. Even the Chinese are afraid of Miao witches, and fear to eat food offered them by the Miao lest they

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

should be bewitched or poisoned. Missionaries, 754
who are not infrequently appealed to by Chinese when they fancy themselves bewitched by the Miao, mostly find them to be suffering from malarial. The Miao say that the witch throws things down on the road, sometimes only a straw, and the first person who comes along is bewitched. They may also bewitch a person's food and in this way injure him. Some time ago the whole countryside not far from Anshunfu was troubled by a witch. The Miao from that region came in a body to the district magistrate in Anshunfu city, and petitioned that the witch might be removed from that neighbourhood. The witch was arrested and banished.

All the Miao believe in the soul and a future 775
state. The Ya-ch'io Miao say that a man has three souls—one is his shadow, one is his reflection as seen in the water, and the third is his real self. Probably they learned this from the Chinese. As a rule, we think they only know and speak of one soul. They also believe in heaven, but most of them know nothing about a hell. The Hua Miao say there is a place in the earth where demons are, but do not mention it as a place to which the souls of the wicked go. They think that ordinary people, that is most

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 764 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包 are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat; drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ta'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chia ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[525] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

776 551 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo [754] ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less fromless.

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

8) To protect children. Many families whose children
756 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their
751

Miao AE5

/177 cont./

428 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to
756 go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 It is the task of the shaman to learn the
787 wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make them known to human beings. The shaman,
[775] however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also im-
756 possible for the shaman to bewitch human
[754] beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural
[789] powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40
Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the
755 spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors,
789 the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects.
[822] Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures
[787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant
[778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
[821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

[763] In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[171] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

/250 cont./

683 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is prac-
754 ticed among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief
622 or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the
634 Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village
[689] elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.
674 Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and
114

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them,
[454] much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only
[634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same
439 punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
● 755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

/129 cont'd/

755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stom-
ach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably
163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate
171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his
165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time
622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with
217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/141 cont'd/

585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

/142 cont'd/

755 disappointed. We were later told by the villagers that ever since this old woman had become sick the year before, several cows and numerous pigs had been slaughtered for the performance of the t'iao niang ritual.

Third month, eleventh day. (Thursday)

008 After breakfast at ten o'clock, a resident of the center, a certain Ch'en, took us to Fu-an village to look around. After walking about two hours we reached the village. This village had been a piece of wasteland before, but after Mr. Wang Chao-i had invited some Li and Hsiao to move here several years ago, it has become a beautiful place, excelling any of the Li villages we have so far visited. In the village there is a school, the Fu-an Primary School. The building and equipment seemed pretty good. The residents of the village looked cleaner than those of other places, and they had very good manners. This was certainly a model Li village. The consequences of education and acculturation clearly could be seen. At this time most of the men and women had gone out to catch fish in a stream near by. We thought we would observe how they fished, and so we went upstream, and in about half an hour, we caught sight of several hundred people crowding on the banks of the narrow stream. A strikingly large variety of fishing gear were displayed during the fishing, and we watched for a long time, fascinated by the scene, before we went back.

At night Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing served a big banquet for us. The food was delicious, more so than any we have had since we came into the Li area.

/143/ Third month, twelfth day. (Friday)

A wedding took place today in Ang-chi village. In the morning Headman Lu sent a man to take us down there, and we stayed in the same little reed hut we occupied last time. It was only a few days 872 since we had been there last, but, when we came this time, we saw

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. They then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563

(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648]

1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛy ɕioŋy] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛy ʈʂay] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
756 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
● [755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [842] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [177] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" [755] to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "wash- [783] ing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seek- [777] ing resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies [842] performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/137 cont./

*782 tray is put beside the entrance. The incantation, uttered by the sorcerer-priest sends off the kuei.

(3) Ta Chia Hsien

755 When a Miao becomes ill and taking medicine does not
*782 make him better, then he must make a vow to "ta chia hsien"/lit. "beat the family ancestors"/, which in the Miao language is called [pa˨˩ mba˧˥ ɕioŋ˧˥], which means "beating Miao pigs." It may be performed during the illness or after the recovery. Before the event takes place, the host must serve notice to members of the
[602] mother's brother's family, inviting them to send seven members of the maternal uncle's family (six men and a woman) to be guests. If that family does not have so many people, the maternal uncle may ask other people to make up the number. But the persons invited should not have the same surname as the host. No day
[777] needs to be selected as lucky, but the following days must be avoided: if a child is born in the family, it is necessary to wait one month before the ceremony is performed; the birth of kittens also necessitates one month's separation; the birth of pigs, goats, cows, horses, and dogs causes a postponement of 12 days; the hatching of chicks, ducklings, and goslings, three days; a funeral in the family or when the head of the family has witnessed a funeral of another family, 12 days. If the notice should arrive before the time of expiration of any of the above periods, the maternal uncle's family may refuse such an invitation. If the host because he seeks an immediate recovery from a sickness cannot wait any longer, he may invite other guests, but they may not have the same surname as he.

/138/ The Ta Chia Hsien ceremony is divided into four parts, requiring a whole day from morning till night. There
[776] are altogether eight kuei invited: [naŋ˧˥ nɛ˧ tʂoŋ˧˥ teŋ˧˥], naŋ˧˥ ma˧˥ bu˧˥ ɲieŋ˧˥], tʂoŋ˧˥ teŋ˧˥ tʂoŋ˧˥ ɕieŋ˧˥], [bu˧˥ ɲieŋ˧˥ tʂei˧˥ nɛ˧˥], (it is said that these four are the ordinary names for the kuei of

/138 cont./

755 *782 [774] the ancestors). [bu˧ nɑŋ˧ tsoŋ˥˧ lie˧˥], [a˧ nɑŋ˧ tsoŋ˥˧ kɑɯ˥˧], (this is the oldest ancestral kuei); [tsoŋ˥˧ meŋ˧ tʰɛ˥˧ ɕio˧˥], [tsoŋ˥˧ toŋ˥˧ tʰɛ˥˧ lie˧˥], (these are the kuei names of the seven invited guests). The place is beside the fire pit inside the house. The Miao sorcerer-priest sits on a low stool behind the fire pit, facing the entrance. In front of him is a bamboo tube and a bowl of wax. In front of the fire pit is set up a square table, on which are placed ten square pieces of fancy /flower/ paper divided in two rows. On each square of paper in the back row is placed a bowl of wine, and behind the back row are stuck up four paper kuei. In the two far corners of the table are stuck up two paper flags. Two chickens are tied to the legs of the table with fine cord through their beaks. Two pigs with their feet tied up with rope are placed in front of the chickens, heads facing the stove. To the right of the Miao sorcerer-priest, on the floor, there is a bamboo mat, on which is a /cooked/ rice bucket /Illus. 62 appears here/ /139/ with the lid off, and a bit in front is a jar, in which is put a piece of fancy paper with a bowl of wine on it. In front of the mat to the right of the fire pit is a winnowing basket. Above it three pieces of bamboo form a semicircular top, on the outside of which paper is pasted, and then cloth. Inside are stuck three paper kuei, in the middle four pieces of fancy paper, and on each of the two pieces of paper in the rear is placed a bowl of wine, see Illus. 62.

For the first part, which concerns inviting the shen, the Miao sorcerer sits on the stool, without using any of his magic implements, and only uttering an incantation, whose general purport is as follows:

"All you older and younger relatives of the host!

The host has recently run into bad luck. When he walked on the road, he saw strange happenings among the grass and trees. When he ate, there were inexplicable fragments and pieces of a broken saucepan in his rice. When the host looked quickly, then he saw these strange phenomena. The (here the name of the ancestral kuei of the family is mentioned) kuei, wanting food to eat, first came and did these things, then made the host fall sick. The host, not getting well, made a vow, and after this, his sickness left him.

/139 cont./

755 *1782 The vow has extricated him from the clutches of the kuei, and the sickness has not come back, but is forever uprooted. The host has saved money and bought a fat pig from the market as well as paper money. Having waited for the passing of the days to be avoided, then he comes to the sacrifice to the kuei. Sorcerer-priests are very few in this world, and he came to my home to invoke my help. So, here I am. I ask all the kuei to come here. I burn a bowl of beeswax. The bamboo tube and the bell are beside the fire pit. The two winnowing baskets filled with meat, the gold and silver cans, the gold and silver chair cushions, all are set at the sides of the pit. The table for the sacrifice to the kuei, the paper money for the redemption of the soul, the fancy /flower/ bowl to hold the wine, the fat pigs, big and small, two large chickens--these

[352] [353] [516] [415]

圖62 打醮角

Illus. 62. Ta Chia Hsien

/139 cont./

•755 are all placed beside the table. We request the kuei to come
*782 to take them. And after taking them, please eat quickly."(He
[774] utters the name of the ancestral kuei of the family.)

The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube. While beating the bamboo tube, the Miao sorcerer utters an incantation, generally describing many supernatural phenomena, such as the mischievous behavior of the 12 large trees; strange happenings after eating fish, meat, bamboo shoots, and smoking tobacco; strange happenings with the water at the time of using water, in a bath or sitting in a boat; strange happenings with clothes; strange happenings with ants and snails; with wooden rods and bamboo poles, etc.

The third part is the handing over of the animals. After the incantation for the second part is finished, there is a short respite. The Miao sorcerer then picks up the bamboo tube and the bowl of beeswax is moved onto the table. Afterward he asks a man and a woman from among the seven guests from the maternal uncle's family to sit opposite each other, the man inside next to the bamboo mat facing outward, the woman outside next to the winnowing basket facing inward. The rest of the five men sit at the table on a bench next to the fire pit, without making a movement. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bamboo chiao in his right hand and ringing the hand bell with his left, begins once more to utter an incantation:

> /140/ "The wine for ta chia hsien is now ready. There are altogether seven empty wine bowls, two beside the fire pit and five beside the entrance. Please come and take them! After taking them, please do not drink right away. As for the pigs and chickens, if not sent they will not arrive. Once we send them they will arrive. I invoke my patron saint's soldiers and horses; I order my own 1,000 men and 10,000 horses to help deliver the large pig, to help send the small pig and the two chickens. The chickens are sent to the coop, the small pig is sent to the pig sty, and the large pig is sent to the tower."

/140 cont./

755 *782 789 At this point the sorcerer-priest makes the gesture of forcibly sending off the pig. While sending off the pig he says three phrases of a magic formula in a low tone. The bystanders can only see his lips moving but cannot hear anything. According to the Miao sorcerer, at the time his teacher taught him this formula, he repeatedly warned him that after that day he must not teach it to any insincere disciple and must not teach them indiscriminatingly to anyone, or else, the person who teaches it may lose his life or his methods would not be effective. After having finished the three phrases of the magic formula to send off the pig, once more in a loud voice he intones:

755 *782

> "Helpers take the wooden rod and hit the pig in the chest and kill it. Roast it with fire and wash it with water! Do it quickly! The kuei have been waiting here for fully half a day already."

After the incantation is over, the host and the helpers kill the animal with the rod and carry it inside the house. They roast it over the fire, then wash it with water, lay bare the stomach, and cut the pig into two halves: one half is taken by the host, with one leg cut off for the sorcerer-priest, and the other half is received by the seven guests. The other pig is similarly distributed, but after the host's share is put aside, the guests' share is cut into small chunks, and seven bowls are filled with meat. Two bowls are placed on fancy paper in the winnowing basket, and five bowls, on fancy paper at the table. Then, a few other chunks of meat are put into a tin can on the mat. After the meat has been set up, each person returns to his original seat.

The fourth part is to send the kuei away. The sorcerer-priest, ringing the hand bell with his left hand and holding the chiao with his right hand, utters an incantation to the following effect:

> "The pork has been cooked in the saucepan. Seven fine bowls of meat and seven fine bowls of wine have been placed beside the stove. Another ten bowls of meat have been put beside the entrance. This sorcerer-priest takes this wine and meat and offers them to the ancestral kuei. So, please receive them."

/140 cont./

755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
[787] to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox.

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kuen ɲiei/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is
842 the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously
[787] ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[776] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
[231] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

/143 cont./

*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the guests are leaving. Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each [574] receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

•755 Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other *782 place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao con-774 sider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer-priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called [lio˥ [753] kuen˩˧], originally meaning "kuei of springs." The two kuei in-[776] voked are called [naŋ˥ nɯ˩ lio˥ ɯ˩] and [naŋ˥ mɯ˩ lio˥ tɕɛ˥˧]. The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kuei.

/143 cont./

●755 *782 (6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple [753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con- [776] sidered that the [ŋaŋ˧ ŋuei˧ pi˧nu˧] and [ŋaŋ˧ nu˧ pi˧ ʂɛ˧] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /paɤ˧ pi˧ nu˧/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called [ta˧ kʰio˧ tʰa˧ lieŋ˧] in the Miao 787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate [825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then [791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-lo/. *782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

/156 cont./

243 *782

have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the chiao, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the chiao in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

"Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[787] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the chiao, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The yang chiao and the sheng chiao are auspicious. The yin chiao is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 [846] [755] Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

/160 cont./

*782 soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection
[776] for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant
[753] and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices
[755] it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation
[787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and
[787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

*782 In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar
784 period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are
[776] days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

[1] [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain shrine - ANALYST]

/160 cont./

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[784] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[776] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[627] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao
area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69),
[778] which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village
without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be
[627] asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the
T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go
to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints, secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned. The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled, but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

/169 cont./

(9) The Kuei of the High Slope

*782
[731]
[776]
[691]

This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife, seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the in-
*[787] cantation, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-tzu, the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551]
[776]
[755]

The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

/171 cont./
*782 once more divines with the chiao-tzu, and if the shen has con-
*[787] sented to offer protection, the paper is burned to send him away.

(12) Expelling the Five Kuei

[755 776] When the Miao seek for speedy recovery from an illness, or when they run up against trouble from kuei and seek to make them go away quickly, then they sacrifice to the "Five Kuei." The Five Kuei are evil kuei, consequently the ritual is called Expelling the Five Kuei. It is performed in the daytime by means of a winnowing basket placed to the right of the main door inside the main house. In the basket are put five piles of mi-pa, five bowls of wine, a piece of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/, a bowl of water, several coins, and five stacks of paper money. There is also a sheng container of uncooked rice, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. Five eggs, each with eyes, nose, and mouth painted on, are also placed in the sheng. A cock is also placed in the basket. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and shaking the ritual knife with his left, sits opposite the winnowing basket. He utters
*782 the incantation to invoke the shen, and at the same time divines
*787 with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen have descended. If so, he pours the wine and states the reason for the occasion. /172/ After further divination he threads a string through the nose of the cock and asks a helper to walk around the house once with the cock. At the same time he recites an incantation to expel the kuei. Then he divines again, and if he finds that the kuei are gone, he asks the helper to come with him, leading the cock and carrying the winnowing basket, to an intersection where three roads meet in the open. There he burns the paper
*782 to send the kuei away. After the performance is over the sorcerer-priest puts the cock, eggs, and mi-pa into a cloth bag that he has brought along. He either returns home or goes to the host's house to eat a meal. But his bag has to be hung outside the house and not taken inside the host's house. The

/172 cont./

*782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] [578] [776] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mischief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one inadvertently walks into a house where this performance is going on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs [171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore, [572] [609] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*[787] voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and distributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over, the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
[578] the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe from this kuei.

[821] (16) The Wind Kuei

[776] If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better,
[755] it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

/173 cont./

*782 place on a mountain slope at an intersection of paths where
755 there is wind. For this ritual the articles required are a cock, a sheng of uncooked rice on which some coins are placed and three sticks of incense, stuck in, a bowl of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/ on which there is a little salt and a pair of chopsticks, five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money. Except for the cock, all articles are in a winnowing basket. A knife and a pot also have to be brought up there beforehand. The sorcerer-priest waving the ritual knife in his left hand and holding the chiao-tzu in his right, utters an incantation, divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. The helper kills the chicken, cooks it, fills the bowl with the meat, and puts it in the winnowing basket. At the same time he puts out a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck five pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer utters an incantation and burns paper to send off the shen. He and the helper eat the items offered in sacrifice right there.

(17) The Tea Shen

[776] For eye trouble the Miao seek a cure by sacrificing to the tea shen. There are three kinds of sacrifice according to the time at which it takes place. If it takes place in the early morning, it is called the Early Tea Shen. At noon it is called the Day Tea Shen. At night it is called the Night Tea Shen. At the time of sacrifice one must not laugh, because it is said that this
[776] shen is shy. It is also said that he wears tattered old clothes. If
[827] anyone laughs /174/ he will not come. Therefore, if it takes place in the daytime outside the house, the winnowing basket must be enclosed by a bamboo screen. Except for the helper, no outsider is allowed to watch. When the performance takes place at night inside the house, all lights must be extinguished.

For the ritual for the Early Tea Shen a thin stick of wood, burnt at one end to be a stick of incense, is stuck in the ground. A winnowing basket is also used, and in it are placed five bowls of

/174 cont./

*782 tea, five piles of mi-pa, five stacks of paper money. The
●755 sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding a ritual
knife and a chiao-tzu, squats in front of the winnowing basket.
*[787] He utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu, sips
the tea, and states the reason. When the divination indicates
that the shen can cure the ailment, then he again takes a cup
of tea and utters an incantation into the cup, and rubs the tea on
the eyes of the patient. After this the host and his friends and
relatives in the village come to the house, and after they are
assembled, the sorcerer-priest burns the paper to send off the shen.

The ritual for the Day Tea Shen is the same as that for the Early Tea Shen. That for the Night Tea Shen is also the same, except that it is held inside the house and that when all arrangements are in order and the sorcerer-priest is ready to perform the lights are extinguished.

(18) Offering Thanks to the Earth

*782 A Miao family which has held a Welcoming the Dragon
556 ceremony has dug a "dragon chamber" in the center of the main
[776] house (see "Welcoming the Dragon"), which is the place where
the dragon shen is. Offering Thanks to the Earth is also called
"Comforting the Dragon," to make the dragon shen happy in his
chamber, thus bringing prosperity to the household. Therefore
in Offering Thanks to the Earth the dragon chamber becomes the
center of activities. They draw the eight diagrams outside it
*782 with powdered lime. In the middle of the diagrams are
written the two characters chung-ying /"the center"/. Outside the diagrams is drawn a circle. Outside the circle are drawn five bows with arrow and the four characters chiu kung pa kua /"nine palaces, and eight diagrams"/. Twenty-three bowls are used: eleven bowls of wine; five bowls of uncooked rice, with a stick of incense and a candle inserted in each: five bowls of mi-pa; one bowl of tofu; and one bowl of tao-t'ou with a pair of chopsticks placed on it. There are also ten stacks of paper money, laid on each diagram within the circle and one

/175 cont./

*782 which are six bowls of wine less than for the ceremony of offering thanks to the earth. There is one more petition box, making seven boxes in all. The rest of the articles on the table are similar, except that the cinnabar is placed on top of the uncooked rice in the sheng. The ritual also is the same as for offering thanks to the earth, but no tea is poured and no bow and arrow are used. At the time of sending off the shen, the petition boxes are burned where they are. No shen numbers are used. When the cinnabar wine is ground it is buried on the top of the grave by /176/ piercing a small hole with a stick, after which the wine is poured down, and then it is covered with earth, and paper burned on it.

(20) Lu Pan

[776] [755] Lu Pan is the coffin shen, to whom sacrifices are offered in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. It is performed during the daytime at the right side of the main entrance. A winnowing basket is used, containing five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of meat with a sprinkling of salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. There is also a sheng of uncooked rice, on which there are a few coins and three sticks of incense stuck in. There are also five stacks of paper money and a bowl of water. They also use a cock with its wings and legs bound and a string through its nose, tethered to an axe. The axe and a saw are put against the doorsill. A piece of wood about 30 cm. long and 10 cm. wide is used as a small coffin, on which is placed a thin round stick as the carrying pole for the coffin. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the ritual sword and the chiao-tzu, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. He then divines with the chiao-tzu to see *[787] whether the shen has descended. He pours the wine and states the reason for the invocation, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings. He divines again, entreating the shen to protect

*782 /176 cont./
*[787] the whole family. The helper then unties the cock's feet and leading it, /Illus. 74 appears here/ /177/ sorcerer-priest following, walks around the whole house, as in Illus. 74.[1] Then neighbors and relatives are invited to the house. After burning paper, the relatives and friends depart, and the helper carries all items to the crossroads, where the little coffin is burned with the paper money. The offerings are taken home by the sorcerer-priest. The utensils must be thoroughly washed before being taken into the house of the host.

(21) Lo Kung

[755] [776] The Miao sacrifice to Lo Kung because of sickness or because of having seen strange things. The ceremony is performed inside the main door during the daytime, when a square table is used, on which are laid five cups of wine; five piles of mi-pa, in the middle pile of which are inserted three sticks of incense; five stacks of paper money, and a bowl of burning chaff. The sorcerer-priest, wearing everyday clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters and incantation. After he has divined *[787] with the chiao-tzu to invoke the shen, stated the reason, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings, he takes a rest. The host then cooks the beef, cuts it up to make five piles, and puts it on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup. After the sorcerer-priest has again finished an incantation, he sits down with the host to eat the food on the table, and again takes a rest. The host adds five more bowls of beef together with five bowls of cooked rice, each having a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. The sorcerer again utters an incantation, divines with *[787] the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send off the shen.

[1] [See category 116, p265- ANALYST]

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771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is re-
ligion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work
of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to direct-
ly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether
it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician.
Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether
there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and
beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various
kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing
sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has
largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself
having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with
it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao
in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from
magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of
pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique,
and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan
has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists to-
day, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be
found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people
sick.

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1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted
Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

• 755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
789 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

/195 cont./

755 789 a cup of wine, and meat, and lays them down one by one. The magician then kowtows three times facing the altar for incense. Then he burns the paper money and takes down the cup of water with his left hand, using the thumb, forefinger, and little finger to hold it secure /Illus. 77 appears here/ /196/ (the middle and the fourth fingers bend into the palm). The forefinger and middle finger of his right hand close together to draw three magic signs facing the cup of water (Illus. 76, 77). While the magic signs are being drawn he

[352]

Illus. 76. The ritual of drawing water.

/196 cont./

755 789 recites to himself the magic formula for invoking his teacher, while imagining the situation under which his teacher taught him. After the magic formula invoking the teacher has been

Illus. 77. The gesture for drawing water.

said, he utters the magic formula for drawing water, and at a certain passage he takes a mouthful of water and sprays it upon the sick person, or he asks the sick person to drink the cup of water. In case of sudden illness or an injury sustained in open country or in the mountains, when it is not possible to set up an incense altar, it is only necessary to burn incense and paper, recite the incantation and draw the spell, and smear the injured part of the sick person with saliva.

The incantations for drawing water may be divided into two parts: one part is the magic formula for the invocation of

/196 cont./

955 789 the teacher, and the second part is the magic formula for the water. In the various kinds of incantations for drawing water, the formula for invoking the teacher is largely similar, but the formula for water differs. The following are some examples:

(1) Chiang-chün shui /general's water/: Cures sudden illness accompanied by fainting. The magic formula for invoking the teacher runs as follows: "Invoking /197/ Master so and so, who taught me orally, I raise my head to look up to the skies in the center of which the master is, and call him to come. As soon as I call, he comes. He is before me, behind me, to my left, and to my right, going from front to back, from left to right, hiding me, transforming me, so that where my body is cannot be seen. He helps me talk of proper water, and speaking of proper water, I draw a brass knife and an iron knife. The brass knife kills the kuei. The iron knife kills the kuei." Having said this magic formula to invite the teacher, he then utters the magic formula for the water: "Moving one foot, calling out once, I call upon the great Shang-yüan Great General. The first general, who bears the surname T'ang, was once the king of the Li kingdom; his feet pushes 800 carriages, like a room in Lao-chün's /i.e., Lao-tzu's/ inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (At this point the magician takes a mouthful of water and, making a fierce sound like a tiger, he sprays the water on the body of the sick person, and then, stamping his foot on the ground, he continues.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going away now, wait awhile. A hundred birds are repairing to the mountain, and so is the pretty woman. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The second general, whose surname is Ko, emits smoke from his

/197 cont./

755 nose and a river from his mouth, and swells in Tu-wei palace
789 in heaven. He pushes 800 carriages with his feet, like Lao-chün in his inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As in the previous instance the magician sprays a mouthful of water and stamps his foot on the ground.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The belly of the kuei will be ripped open, his intestines taken out and his heart eaten. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The third general, whose surname is Chu, can reverse the current of the Yellow River and can also push 800 carriages with his feet, like a room in Lao-chün's inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As before the magician sprays water and stamps his foot.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The big ones will be half-eaten, and the little ones will be scraped and hung to dry. Everyone has a net, and so come quickly. If you do not come your nets will be messed up. (The last two sentences are uttered in a low and muffled tone.)

752 (2) Lu-szu shui /"egret silk"/: A remedy when a bone
755 gets stuck in the throat through eating or drinking carelessly.
789 On drinking this cup of water, the sick person can vomit out or swallow down the bone. The magic formula for invoking the teacher is the same as above. The magic formula for

752 /197 cont./
755 water is as follows: "When the moon rises above the four
789 pillars, chop up all the dirty kuei. /198/ May I become a monkey to properly change to drink water. If I call to change, then I will change. If I do not change, the disciple will draw a June sun in which to change. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not, the disciple will draw a June sun, in which to melt. If I call to change, I will change; and if I do not, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to strike me into changing. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not melt, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to force me to melt. Raising my head to look at the four directions, I see nine dragons coming down from heaven. When the dragons come they drop off their claws; when the tigers come they drop off their skins, and the hundreds of birds in the mountains drop off their feathers. Step by step they become steel. When I touch them they become small open boats." (Chanted three times.)

(3) Hsüeh-shan shui /"snow-mountain water"/: Heals skin burns. If the injury is slight, saliva can be used to smear on the burn, but for a serious injury it is necessary to use a bowl of water. He sprays three mouthfuls of water, and also flicks water on the burned place with his fingers. The magic formula for water follows: "The first request is for a distance of one li, the second for the distance of two li. The large army knife please go to the big snow mountain; and the small army knife please go to the small snow mountain. I respectfully invite my teacher, Lung Sheng-fa and profound disciple, Ma Lao-ch'iao. When an army is burned it is broken off; when the skin is burned it is broken off. Do not flow blood! do not flow water! Take the saliva as medicine."

(4) Ke-shan shui /"separated-by-a-mountain water"/: For healing someone injured by a fall or by a cut on the other side of a mountain. If the magician hears the cry for help, he then can utter an incantation to heal the injured person, except that he must inform the injured person beforehand: "If I ask you whether you are well or not, you should reply 'yes,'

/198 cont./

752 or the healing will be ineffective." The magic formula for
755 water is as follows: "On the other side of the mountain press
789 down the mountain; on the other side of the water press down the water; draw /i.e. delineate/the burden of the kuei, chop off the kuei mountain. The old dragon has personally come to the dragon-deep rapids. Li Lao-ko of Mu-shan has been invited, and without fear of miscellaneous kuei or distant ones, the left hand draws the thunder of heaven, the right hand draws the thunder of the earth, drawing altogether 500 savage thunders."

(5) Tan-hsüeh shui /"carrying-blood water"/: This is used to heal an injured person whose blood keeps flowing. First ordering the man to take hold of the injured place, he utters an incantation and sprays a mouthful of water, and thus the bleeding will stop. The magic formula for the water is as follows: "Moving a foot, calling out once, I got Master Wu Hwa-hsing. Across the mountain I call out for the three stars; across the water I call out for shui-i /literally, "water meaning"/. The large army knife is carried to Ta-hung-sha /lit. "large great sands"/; the small army knife is carried to Hsiao /"small"/-hung-sha. The water of the Yangtze River and the current from the sea are carried. The foot stamps on the dragon's head, and the blood carried does not flow; the foot is set on the dragon's waist, and the blood carried does not seep out. Boys, boys, changed in the muddy fields. The boys are related. The master asks me to mark off the four places. The disciple asks me to point in the four directions."

(6) Feng-tao-k'ou shui /"closing-a-knife-wound water"/: Heals knife wounds. After this incantation is uttered three times, not only does the wound close, but the fingers become
[751] immune to knife cuts. The magic formula is: "When the sun comes up it is a drop of red; the hand wields a golden whip to ride the dragon; a swallow of water stops the flow of the Yangtze River; the disciple presses the pulse, and the blood stops flowing."

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755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 123 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excelient way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

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the older man carried a live duck and a bowl of wine, one of the younger men a bag for rice, and the other a staff with leaves and white paper streamers, and a handful of spirit money. The older man chanted as before and kept muttering to himself as he went from one house to another. They told me this was called *sao ho hui.* 788 793

The activities of the priest in connection with death and burial have already been described. The priest also has a part to play in connection with bullfights (see pp. 76–80).

The ritual which Miss Li saw took place just outside of the village in the presence of the baby's father. This priest had before him a bowl of rice and one of wine. In his arm he held a live duck. After he had chanted he set an egg into the bowl of rice, spilled some of the wine, felt in the earth for "the child's spirit, or soul," wrapped up a bit of the earth in a cloth and gave it to the father, who took it and the duck and went home. The child died. 788 755 793

Before the taoist priest chanted, a table was set up before the shrine to the house god in the main hall of the house, partly in and partly out of the pile of unhulled rice lying there. Along the front of the table was the festoon of wooden daggers which usually hung above the door of this house. On the table were one of the priest's sacred books, a banner of white paper in a bamboo stick, a measure of rice with incense sticks in it, several bowls, and some bamboo lots. I had been invited to have supper with them because I had been helping them cut rice that day. While we were waiting for supper to be prepared in the home of the son, next door, we sat in the front side room in which the wife of the head of the house lay on a pallet of straw by the fire. The priest showed me three books from a bagful which he had brought with him. One contained his chants, one charts of the face with points marked on it, and the third explanations of the meaning of the dragon and other sacred things. Before he chanted again he took down a book which he had laid on the woven bamboo shelf above the fire, and placed it on the table. The three books I had been examining he put where the first book had been.

This man was dressed in a pair of loose khaki trousers and an old jersey. As he sang

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788 or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes
facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his
793 right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of
iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked
pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime, on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house
788 where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one
• 755 of these priests was called in on behalf of
793 the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

791 **The Priestess, or Shamaness.** (In Miao,
"*mu la*" or "*mo wa.*") There were three
788 women in the village who were able to go into
755 a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl — chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

* Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

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guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that in his own village he received nothing for his services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*[9] to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them, but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

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her feet never leaving the floor. She began her song, which was interrupted by speaking and action. As she sang, her hands assumed various positions: clasped in her lap close to her body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door — a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks — knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

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I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg

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was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable.

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Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave santonine and calomel. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round, white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side,

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788 and the frame was taken away. She struck the hatchet down into the firepit between the
755 piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice to the right ear, once to the left, again to the
791 right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room.* This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

* See p. 52.

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788 blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She
took the bowl in her left hand and poured
755 out some of the water. A bowl of rice was
set before her. She poured out a little more
791 of the water, then the remainder, and turned
the bowl upside down beside the bowl of
rice. The piece of pork was laid between the
rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was
taken away and the scythe put into her right
hand. A small wooden tub with water in it
was set near her left hand. She whetted the
scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in
the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as
before, and washed her hands in the tub. A
duck's egg was given her, which she set up
on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe
five times toward the door. (We had been
warned to move just in time.) She put a piece
of blazing charcoal into the tub of water,
which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from
the fire to the door of the house. Again the
tub and scythe were brought and used as be-
fore. Another egg was given her and set up
on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe
twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire
was taken to the door — a bundle of blazing
spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into
her right hand, and, as she swung it back and
forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in
white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly
upside down on the floor at her right the
ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,[10] a baby of a year
and a half, who had dysentry. Two days
before the mother had told me he had a fever.
I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin.
Then I learned that he had dysentery, and
gave her bismuth for him. They told me later
that he had not taken it. I do not know
whether that meant that he would not take
it — it is hard for a child to take, being a
powder that does not dissolve easily in water
— or whether they did not give it. He de-
veloped meningitis and died during the night
after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court be-
fore the old house water buffalo horns set up-
right on the stones, with rushes under them.
I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

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During the morning I saw a spray of thorn tied with rushes lying at the corner of the stable before the new house. Later, and this must have been part of the ceremony, though I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an open space before the house foundation in front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in the ground and went back to the old house.

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This was like carrying a bundle of burning straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the door and calling the soul to return. When I heard the singing I went into the court and the child's grandmother told me to go in. I thought the old man's second wife protested later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the ceremony.

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[63b]

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788 I had arrived after the ceremony began. On
755 the hearth before her was a partly burned
799 bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

[69b]

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788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
755 nan, until money should be sent to him for traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of
791 the three.

[342]

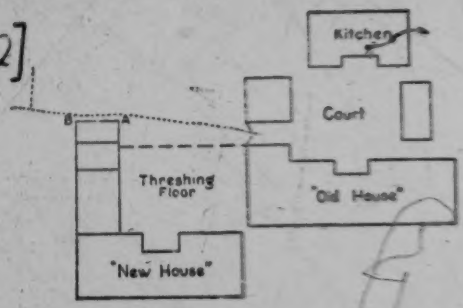

FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

[69c]

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788 She had already begun to sing when I was called in from helping with the sunning of
•755 grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of
791 the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

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quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She had a graceful motion of lifting the hand before the face and turning the palm upward, or with the thumb slightly raised.

A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the sheng measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

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788 and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on her back. She threw the axe as the others had thrown the scythe. A basin of water was brought so that she might wash her hands.

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A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up—except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

[11] Graham, 1937, p. 90.

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from the wrist, clapping them before her, then raising the left hand before her face. Once she bent over double as she held her hands behind her and fluttered them. When she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

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Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamanesses in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after a funeral was guest at a meal in another home, to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

> When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.[12]

[71b]

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the 755
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

paper money placed on a sieve, and to carry them outside the village gate to be discarded on the ground. Then the sick person will recover immediately. 776 755

2. The Shrinking Head Spirit. When one meets this spirit on a mountain slope, one acquires a terrible headache; the antidote is to throw a bowl of rice with water at the village gate.

3. The Wealth Wasting Hundred Blessing Spirit. This spirit when encountered causes a person to vomit; the antidote is the same as for the Shrinking Head Spirit.

4. The Nine Worms Spirit. When a man gets this spirit he would feel cold all over his body and would vomit. To cure this sickness one has to make an effigy of a worm with paper and rice straw and leave it at the intersection of three roads outside the village.

5. The Drowning Spirit. When one meets this spirit one gets a terrible stomach-ache. In order to get cured one takes a bowl of rice with water, plants a burning incense in it and leaves it on the road outside the village.

6. The Suspended Spirit. This spirit gives one pain in the heart and stomach; the cure for this sickness is the same as that for the shrinking head spirit.

7. The Wolf Dog Spirit. If one has a severe stomach-ache while working in the field, he must have encountered this spirit. The method of cure is to knead a ball of clay into the shape of a dog to be discarded by the sick man at a distant place.

8. The Headless Spirit. If a child cries without stop at the intersection of three roads, he must have seen a Headless ghost. To stop the child crying, take a bowl of water, place a bamboo leaf in it, and leave it at the junction.

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755 9. The Eagle Spirit. If someone feels weak and painful all over the body while walking outside the village or in the field, you can take a small chicken, circle it around the sick person's head a few times, and then send it to a distant place. He will soon get well.

10. The Dragon Tail Spirit. If walking in the field one finds great pain in one's legs, it is because this spirit is giving trouble. Make a flag out of a piece of flower paper and walk with it around the field, and the pain in the leg will cease.

11. The Tree Spirit. Meeting this spirit gives one pain all over the body. To cure this illness take a piece of good meat, a cup of tea and a bowl of rice to the tree spirit in the village. After the sacrifice the sickness will be cured.

12. The Buffalo Spirit. When one meets this spirit one has a swollen stomach. Take a bowl of ashes from wheat husk and scatter it outside the village.

13. The Earth Spirit. One vomits after meeting this spirit, and the method of cure is the same as that for the sickness caused by the buffalo spirit.

14. The Wine Spirit. This spirit gives a person giddiness, and to get rid of him one burns three pieces of paper money outside the house.

15. The Mother Pig Spirit. Meeting this spirit one feels feverish all over the body. Take a pair of candles and several sticks of incense, stick them up beside the door, and this spirit will go away.

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796 (3) The Village God. After the spring sacrifice to the tree god the Miao and I people within the hsien district would chop off a piece of wood to make a pair of idols to be placed in front of the village gate, or sometimes in a low

the womb again. After this any child born is 751
sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and 847
butchering have to be done before the child
breathes his last. When the parents perceive
that the illness of the child is identical to
that of the other deceased children, /92/ they
expect him to die, and taking advantage of his
still being alive they cut off his head and
legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention
would not be effective. It is said that some
ignorant Chinese in the same locality also fol-
low this custom.

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of 787
the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a 852
fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If 856
his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed
to grow until he is six or twelve years old when
he has his first haircut. The long unshaved
hair is said to help preserve the life of the
child. The first haircut is an occasion for
great celebration: every household in the vil-
lage would hang out red and green festoons and
send greetings to the parents, who in turn would
give a party, killing chicken and pig for a
great feast.

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child 755
among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without 753
stop, the parents would attribute the cause of
the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse",
a colloquial name for the locust. They would
hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled
with rice and water, and little images of horses
cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop
the cry of the child.

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-
I first becomes ill, the general assumption is
that he has run into some starving ghost. The
family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked
rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of
rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body, So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness ~~is~~ prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

771 THE MIAO AND, WE THINK, ALL THE OTHER RACES of Eastern Asia ought to be reckoned as Animists. The Chinese may call themselves Confucianists and Buddhists, but they are also Animists. It is conceivable that in a short time many of them will profess to be Agnostics and Materialists, but they will also be Animists. For all the peoples of Eastern Asia the world is full of immaterial powers and intelligences, even certain rocks and trees are possessed of some sort of spiritual efficacy. Among the Miao these spiritual beings are demons and always inimical to human kind.

771 755 At first we were inclined to think that the Miao worshipped demons, but when again and again they denied this, and seemed unfeignedly amused at the idea of worshipping demons, we concluded that we were mistaken. The performances they go through, which seem to us like religious rites, are done to drive away or keep away the demons, and to counteract their evil influences. If a man is ill, or his cattle sick, if he has had bad luck, or any misfortune befalls him, he attributes this to demons; and a wizard or exorcist is summoned. Their modes of procedure are various, but might generally be summed up as offerings, unintelligible mutterings, and the throwing about of rice water and 755 knives in every direction. They also believe

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

in the use of herbs as medicine, but when to take medicine and when to send for the exorcist is not very clear. We imagine when a man is sick he first takes medicine, and if this fails to act as it ought, he concludes there is a demon troubling him and sends for an exorcist to deal with it. In the case of ague, the Heh Miao always think it is a demon, and the sufferer goes away into the woods to hide himself and thus escape from it. 755

Any man who has learned the incantations and knows how things ought to be done, may be a wizard or exorcist. Their fees are not exorbitant. A quart or two of rice, and a little of anything else that may be going, pork or whisky, is all they get for their services. There are usually two or three of them in every village. The Miao say that their exorcists are the same as the Chinese *tuan-kung* or Taoists, and so it appears to us they are. 791

Sometimes a man is accused of having a demon, and this is a bad thing for the man, if it is generally believed. This does not mean that he is possessed by a devil, but that he has at his command a demon who does his will to the injury of others. We know a man who lately accused a neighbour before the Chinese magistrate for saying that he had a demon. 754

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

753 All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and
755 some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among
165 the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

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13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 A tiger often changes into a good person. A woman who has changed into a tiger is called in Chinese a *lao pien p'o* 老變婆 or an old woman who changes. She looks like a dead person or is formless and invisible. Or she may look like a visible woman but when she thinks of being transformed into a demon she smiles and when she thinks of being transformed into a human being she weeps. She goes in front of a tiger to make a way for him and if a trap or a trap-gun is set to injure the tiger she removes it so the tiger will not be hurt. The first son of a family named T'ao, Wang or Chang can change easily into a tiger and the first daughter can
776 change easily into a *lao pien p'o*. A fox can assume the form of a man and entice a woman to sexual intercourse. After-
753 wards the woman has pains and develops spots where the skin dries up. If she is not cured, she gradually dies and changes
755 into a fox. A very large snake called in Chinese a *mang she* 蟒蛇 may transform itself into a man or a woman and entice a person to have sexual relations with him or her. The result is that the person pines away and dies unless a *tuan kung* 端公 can overcome the snake and save the person. The supposed snake may be killed and its liver given the patient to eat; this cures him. Imagination and suggestion probably have a great deal to do with such sicknesses and cures. Banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, and eels may also change into human form and entice a human being to sexual intercourse with the result that the person becomes ill and dies unless saved by the help of the *tuan kung*.

776 There are god-like beings that are believed in by the Ch'uan Miao but who are not formally worshipped. The greatest god is Ntsə. He controls the heaven and the earth but lives in the sky. The paradise to which the souls of the dead go, as we have seen, is the level land of Ntsə. A Miao told me that Ntsə is the very highest, the ultimate, and that he is everywhere, can be in the lowest place and is compassionate and most powerful.

Ntsə sometimes sends his daughter to succor poor and unfortunate men. This has been noted by Savina in his book on the Miao of Tongkin. Sometimes she becomes, at least temporarily, the man's wife.

Another name, Ntsə Njonŋ L∧u, means god, foundation, old. One can imagine easily that it means Ntsə the foundation of the universe. Some Ch'uan Miao identify Ntsə Njong L∧u with Ntsə but in the minds of others it is not very clear.

Another deity-like being is Yei S∧u or ʒ̊ei S∧u. He is very intelligent, never dies, is very kindly and merciful, is just, induces people to do good deeds and helps people who are in trouble, especially the poor. He is sometimes seen among the clouds and can easily make himself invisible.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the .oor itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. glaŋ dʐy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʐy means original and that glaŋ dʐy means original demon.

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THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

000 Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

114 The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To^{3} nʌn^{6} or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo^{5} or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝雲, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO *TUAN KUNG* 端公 TO^{3} NʌN^{6}. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

755 789 First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used. The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

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A. The *tuan kung* stands up and sings, "The yellow wax burns, and the smoke arises. When the wax burns I will call. I will call Ntscɔ jin* (his helper) here to lead. I will call Ntsoɔ jin to come and go ahead. I will call jin tɡa to come and go ahead. I will call jin tɡa to come and lead. ɔa· jin held an iron fan. jin tɡa held a brass fan in his hand. He fanned himself with the brass fan and thus scattered the demons by the sea. He fanned with an iron fan and thus drove the demon illnesses and groans away."

When he has repeated thus far, he beats the gong loudly.

B. "When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, the *tuan kung* goes and calls. He calls na· bo· sʌn jin to come to the front. He calls sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə to come to the front. na· bo· sʌn jin carries an iron club in his hand. sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə carries a brass club in his hand. The iron club will beat the demons of illness as the water of the sea scatters. The brass club beats the demons of illness and the demons of groans so that they go to the place where people sleep and scatter."

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong awhile.)

C. "When the beeswax burns, the incense smokes. When it smokes, I again call. I call nine thousand soldiers to come to the front. He calls upon the soldiers of 900 fortified places to come forward and bring the big guns and shoot them everywhere, and bring the spears and stand them up black (and sharp) and to shoot the big guns with their black smoke. When it looks black, I will call for the soldiers to charge. They will charge against the demons in the forest and the grass of these old people's family, to charge them down to the river on the lower bend, casting them onto the roads, the cliffs and the crossroads."

The *tuan kung* now beats the gongs awhile.

D. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, we will again come and call. We will call the scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven comes and looks. He looks to see if the souls (living) of this family are few or not; to see if the boys of this family are crooked or not; to see if these old people's pool is full or not; to see if the lake of these old people is clean or not. Ntsə's group of controllers of heaven came and looked at the earth; to see if the souls of the living of this family are here or not; to see if the souls of the

*Note.—Unfortunately the deaths of Hsiung Cheng Ts'ai and Hsiung Ts'ao Sung have made it impossible to check up the tones of the Miao names in this translation, so some of them have been omitted.

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bodies of this family have returned to their right bodies or not; to see if the souls of these bodies are with their bodies or not. (The *tuan kung* at this time beats the gong awhile.)

E. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will also come (the *tuan kung* will=we). He will call na$^{\cdot 8}$ bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ to come to the front. He will call the thunder god to come to the front. He will call tɣa$^{\cdot 5}$ Tai^{5} to come to the front (the lightning). We will call ʒ̇e^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ and tɣa^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front. Bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ came with a stir. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ came with a roar. bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ made a stir and came and beat the demons that cause sickness and those that cause groans. ʒ̇ ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ came roaring and shouting and chased away the demons of the forest and the grassy places. Bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ then used tɣa^{5} Tai^{5} and cut the demons of sickness and those of groans into halves. She cut the demon of quarrels until it perished. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ also brought tɣa^{5} Tai^{5} and cut. She cut the demons of sickness, of the forest and of the grassy places. Bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ separted men and the demons. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ separated the demons so that they could not see people.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

The demons must not come near people. Bo$^{\cdot 9}$ so$^{\cdot 5}$ took an iron hatchet. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ took a big stone axe in his hand. Na^{8} bo^{9} so^{5} then struck the stone cliff with her axe. ʒ̇ε^{5} so$^{\cdot 5}$ will cut the stone terrace and the colored cliff. They will come and cut (with their stone axes) the dragon pool of these old people so that it will not spoil. They will cut the big rock and the stone cliff and will cut the old people's lake so that it is safe.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

F. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, I will call (the *tuan kung* calls and the smoke helps him). We will call the ʒ̇wang tsai (the colored dragon) to bring tsaŋ xʌu (a leader in the dragon land). We called ninety-nine colored dragons. When the ninety-nine colored dragons came, they went into the dragon pool of this family. There are also eighty-eight colored dragons who came to control the lake of these old people so that it will not dry up.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

G. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call again. We call tɣo· tsai (the striped tiger) to come to the front. We also call tsai^{5} ɣi$^{\cdot 7}$ tɣo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}ʌu^{5} (a big lion) to come to the front. T o n u bit with his teeth. Tsai í t o n u bit and gnashed with his teeth. tɣo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}ʌu then stood up firmly and ate the demons of sickness and those of groans. tsai^{5} ɣi$^{\cdot 7}$ tɣo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}ʌu came moving

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and ate the demons of sickness and the gasping demons. Then tʂo·⁷ ndᶻʌu⁵ ate the demon of chills (cold diseases) and demons of blood diseases. Tsai shi tso ntsau also bit his teeth together firmly and ate the demon of coughs. When he has eaten it, he wants you old folks of this family clear about it (and without ills, etc.). They ate the demon of sickness and the demon of groans so that they could not harm people. They cannot harm the family of you old people. When the demon of the forest and those of the grasslands come they cannot injure your young people and cannot injure your garden.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

H. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When the smoke arises, we again call. We call the lady sun to come forward. We call to the moon young man to come to the front. When the lady sun has come out, it has shone; it has shone on the souls of you old people's farming and on the five grains. She will also shine on the souls of the domestic animals including cattle and horses. She also shone on the souls of your descendants. She has shone on enough to fill the house. She shone on enough to fill the central floor of the house. The souls in the center pushed out. Those on the two sides went out on each side, and some surged out through the middle door. The front and the rear were full and they went out slowly.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong a while).

I. When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises. When the smoke rises, then we again call. We call the Nts'ai hwa (girl cloud) to come from the sky above. We call ndᶻʌu⁵ dʐa·⁷ (male wind) to come from the land above the sky. Nts'ai hwa came and smoked the eyes of the demons of sickness and the demons of death so they could not see. She also smoked the demons of the forest and those of the grasslands. ndᶻʌu⁵ dʐa·⁷ came and blew. When he blew, the roads of sickness of this family were cut off. When he blew the sounds of the groaning and the sounds of sickness were ended. He blew the sound of the sickness into the water. They blew the demons until they were unable to grow (or live). He blew the demons of the grasslands and those of the forests and vanquished them below the white cliffs. The demons of the forests and those of the grasslands cannot come back.

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong a while).

J. When the beeswax is burning, the smoke arises. When the smoke rises, we will call again. We will call a pair of Chinese from Wu Lang Yo. (Here he beats the gong).

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When the white wax is burning, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will again come and call. We will call a Chinese *Ho Lan Tsi* to come to the front. The Chinese from Wu Lang Yo lighted the lantern and lighted things. They will lighten the soul of this family as it comes and enters the room. The two Chinese from Honan brought the lantern and lighted (the room) together. They will lighten that family's living soul as it returns to the guest room. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) half way along the road and lighten its souls as they return home. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) to half way along the road. They will lighten the souls of the family as they come back and return to their garden squares, (where the gardens are divided into squares for planting different things).

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong as usual).

II. USING THE CHINESE LANGUAGE TO SUMMON CHINESE GODS

At this time, the paper horns must be taken off the *tuan kung's* 壇公 head and he does not beat the gong but merely stands up and calls or sings.

"I call the six stars of the southern dipper (cross), the seven stars of the northern dipper. In the name of *Li Lao Güin* I speak to the Great Pearly (jade) Emperor above and below to *Kuan Shih Yin* (*Kuan-Yin*) of Nan Hai."

Now he must speak the Miao language to exorcise demons.

When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call ntsoŋ jin (a person who was once a prophet of Ntsə̀, a revered patron of the *tuan kung*) who lives at the foot of Ntsə̀'s great stone called the stone bamboo sprout. Call also na· bo· sʌn jin to come from Ntsə̀'s old colored cliff. Call the ninety-nine layered cliff to come to the front. Call the mountain with eighty-eight layers to come to the front. Also call the cliff with ninety-nine layers to come and separate. Separate people into their homes and demons to the land of demons. Separate people so that they will not go near demons and demons so that they will not go near men.

III. MAKING A CONTAINER

A large bamboo container shallow and with a flat bottom is used. In it are placed bean-curd, biscuits, wine, meat, paper (spirit) money, incense and candles. (Some put water and a little rice in a rice bowl also).

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when the head aches remove the heat (of the body) and when the body aches, it becomes cool. Drink tea, peace-giving tea. Drink the peace-giving water. Do not wait until daylight. When I say it, immediately depart. If we say it at midnight, depart at midnight. If any do not depart, I will call Rong sji'n's fire from heaven to burn you away. 789

(When the *tuan kung* has spoken this far, he takes the paper chain and the paper net and the paper lock and puts them all into the winnowing basket, carries them outside the door, and burns them at the crossroads).

XX. REVIVING ONE WHO HAS FAINTED

(Reviving sha—The Miao believe, like the Chinese, that there is a poisonous air called *sha ch'i* 殺氣 that kills people. When a person swoons, he has been injured by *sha ch'i* and a *tuan kung* 端公 can revive him by chasing away the demons.) 789 755

The *tuan kung* opens and holds above him an umbrella of oiled paper. He throws a handful of mustard seed. If he has no mustard seed, he throws a handful of corn. When he throws he shouts, "t'ai, t'ai," and stamps his feet. He says, "Beat the sky demon, beat the earth demon, beat the human demon. Beat the sky demon and send back (what the sky demon has brought) the sky *sha ch'i*. Beat the earth demon and send back the earth *sha* (ch'i). Beat the dead person's demons and send away the *sha* (*ch'i*) of the dead people. Beat the demon of the living people and send back living people's *sha ch'i*. Beat the year demon and send away the year *sha ch'i*. Beat the month demon and send away the month *sha*. Beat the day demon and send away the day *sha*. Beat the time demon sī hou and send away the time *sha*; beat the fierce god who wickedly kills people and turn back the great *sha ch'i* of everything. t'ai t'si, (and he stamps with his foot), "quickly strike, quickly recede. Recede, recede. recede."

XXI. HOLDING DOWN THE FIRE STAR (MARS)

I have held (pressed) down the fire of Heaven. I have held down the fire of earth. I have pressed down the fire of the year. I have pressed down the fire of the month. I have pressed down the fire of the day. I have pressed down the fire of the moment (time). I have pressed down the fire of the central room. I have pressed down the center of the fire. I have pressed down the fire of the *yin* 陰 (the female principle). I have pressed down the fire of the *yang* 陽 (male principle). I have pressed down the fire of the sun. I have pressed down the fire that likes to kill people (without affection). I have pressed down the demon fire. I have pressed down the fire of living people. I have pressed down the drive-away-*yin* fire. I have pressed down the detain-*yang* 789

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

789 fire (demon's fire). Leave the *yang* fire to control the home. Drive the *yin* fire to hades (where demons live). Secure *yang* fire to control the family and make it peaceful (without demons). Drive the *yin* fire to the *yin* spirit (or soul). Leave the *yang* fire to control the family so it will be peaceful. If the fire is a foot high, let water be ten feet high. If fire is ten feet high, water will flood up to heaven and hold down the fire.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 uses a bowl of water and as walks along in the house, repeating his words, he sprinkles water with his hands. When he has finished speaking, he pours out the water from the bowl and the bowl on the table upside down).

XXII. INCANTATION TO DIVINE BY MEANS OF UNCOOKED RICE

787 There is a sky pestilence and an earth pestilence so I come to report to the god. (The uncooked rice is treated and addressed as a god). If there is any unsatisfactory matter I shall come and report to the god. If the head aches and the whole body is hot, we shall come and report to the god. If there is any unworshipped demon of the *t'an shen* or ruined temples, I shall come and report to the gods. If there is any fierce god that kills people, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any grass demon, wood demon, or demon of the forest, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any fierce (murderer) I shall report the fierce matter. If there is anything hard, we shall report it. Without something important, we shall not wantonly report. Without something fierce, we shall not wantonly report.

(When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family).

XXIII. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMON THAT PUNISHES SIN BY PAIN IN THE EYES

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758 If you bump (sin) against wood, the wood demon will enter you and harm your eyes. If you bump (sin) against wood, wood will harm you. If you bump (sin) against stone, stone will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a grave, the grave will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the stone of the cow pen, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a stone of a stove, it will harm you. If you bump

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(sin) against the fire of the stove, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against grass, wood or stone, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against all the things in a home, they will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the eastern direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the western direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the north direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the west direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against water it will harm you and it will immediately fade away. If you bump (sin) against wood, it will fade away. From the time we have repeated this to-day, you will be well.

(While the above is being repeated, the *tuan kung* uses grass paper to sweep. When he has finished sweeping, he takes a bowl of water and cooked rice and pours it out on the ground).

XXIV. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMONS THAT CAUSE WOMEN TO LOSE THEIR CHILDREN OR TO HAVE MISCARRIAGES

After the *tuan kung* 端公 has called the gods, then he must repeat the following and it will enable her to normally give birth to babies and to bring them up. He must actually hold or press down the demons. After he has done this, he worships the gods and the men and women of the family must worship. He says:

"The sky sinned against the sky monkey and neither the moon nor the sun shone any more. The earth sinned against the earth monkey and the grass and trees would not grow. If a person sins against the monkey that climbs the cliffs, he will dry up. To-day I will free you from this and you will immediately get well."

XXV. PREPARING SIX HORSES AND BRIDGE BEAMS FOR THE SICK

As the method of arranging the bridges, you must use 12 feet of cloth and arrange it well, and four stools, one above the other. The *tuan kung* uses a brass gong and alternately beats it and speaks. He says:

"The difficult bridge and the six horses are spoilt. I will protect the sick person. When the three *kan* 坎 and the seven *p'o* 坡 come upon the bridge, I will wear an iron hat on my head."

(He will put the brass gong on his head and pretend that he is wearing a hat. On his feet he is supposed to wear iron-topped boots. He brings the brass gong and pretends to put on shoes. He should wear brass armor also, and he uses the brass gong to imitate this).

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789 "Come and lead a thousand soldiers and horses and 19,000 fortresses."

755 "Soldiers and horses come upon the bridge. The rest may be repeated like the first one in this book."

XXVI. CALLING WATER TO BECOME DIVINE FOR THE GODS TO DRINK

789 Use a bowl or a pot and put water inside. Cover it with three sheets of paper and a piece of cloth. The *tuan kung* 端公 repeats:

"Ntsə's water in heaven is called the water from the river in heaven brought by the prince of heaven. The old man of the earth brought water of the earth below and from the creek he brings water of the rivers and seas. From the home he takes incense fire and beeswax fragrant water. From the rice field he brings water of the rice-plants. Ntsə G jin brought water to destroy demons."

XXVII. CALLING WATER TO EXORCISE DEMONS

(Spoken in Chinese).

"Water is the source of the heaven and the earth, the foundation of all living things, widely cultivating people's happiness, used by people in heaven and on earth, inside and outside. For tao 道 learning,* you are reverenced and your body has marvellous light to protect our bodies so that seeing we do not see, hearing we do not hear, and you can protect us in heaven and on earth and nourish all our lives, and propagate it a thousand times. You are bright. Heaven and earth will come and wait upon and protect you. In ancient times *Wu Ti* 武帝 would welcome you. All gods of virtue will come and worship you. It uses the thunder and lightning. Demons and spooks will lose their courage. Your learning *tao* will last forever. I have also called you. Without affairs you stabilize space and control people."

(When this is finished the *tuan kung* 端公 takes water and sprinkles it in all directions and says the following in Chinese."

"When I sprinkle this once, above it pacifies fire calamities. (Lest fire break out). When I sprinkle this a second time, below it will pacify cave demons. When I sprinkle the third time, in the center it will avoid calamities. When I sprinkle the fourth time, there will be peace among men."

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*This is the Chinese word *tao* 道 and of course the meaning is far more inclusive than the English term "learning". To the Ch'uan Miao interpreter it seemed that the word "learning" came very near to what *tao* means to the Ch'uan Miao.

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789 head of a rapid. Stop the Yellow River. Above, stop the Yellow River's *shuang ho ching* 雙河井 (double river well). Below, stop the two gates (mouths) of the Yellow River. He blows his breath three times and pinches the (open sore) together. The *tuan kung* opens his eyes and lifts up his head to see the clear sky. The one who has taught me (this) by word of mouth, come before my eyes. Mr. Huang, who have taught me, if I call you a thousand times, let it be efficacious (bring an answer) a thousand times and if I call you ten thousand times, answer ten thousand times.

XXIX. TO REMOVE BONES OR METAL OBJECTS THAT HAVE BEEN SWALLOWED

789 I lift up my eyes and lift up my eyes to see the clear
755 sky. The instructor who taught me with his own mouth is before my eyes. I ask my teacher for a bowl of water. The teacher has nine dragons in the bowl. The water of the throat of the nine dragons (is in the bowl). When gold, silver, copper, iron, or pewter touches this water, it is turned into dirt. I obey the command of tsai ʿin ʿai lau, order you to swallow a bone and transform the bone, and to swallow brass and transform the brass, and to swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills like (as easy as) the nine dragons entering the deep rapid. My breath of virtue endures long. If there is copper, transform copper. If there is no copper, do not transform the flesh. If there is bone, iron, pewter, or nails, you must transform them. If there are none of these, do not transform the (person's) flesh. I obey this command; immediately transform.

(When the incantation has been completed, the patient must drink the water the *tuan kung* has secured.)

XXX. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES PAIN IN THE NIPPLES

He repeats the incantation saying, "The baby drinks the milk laughing. Why have you come to me? I reply, The nipple is helpless. It is pitiful. I request you not to let people rub your nipples to cure you. If the pain is in the left, heal the left nipple. If the pain is in the right, cure the right. Rub the left and the pain of the left will depart. If we rub the right, (the pain in) the right will depart. If it still does not depart, I will take (the pain) away.

(The *tuan kung* uses the second and third fingers and he traces on the nipple, then she is well.* When he has taken away (the demon), he again asks the milk to come out).

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*This tracing resembles the one below:

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The milk must not accumulate (at one spot). The milk must not delay. When he calls you, you must come out at once.

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XXXI. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES BOILS

I invite the thunder god, I invite the thunder goddess, I invite the Chinese medicine god, and also invite the Patriarch of the Lamas, and the teacher who removes water (out of ones body) and grows broken bones together, the upright teacher, the teacher who removes fever, the teacher who removes swellings, the teacher who stops the flow of blood and stops pains: the Patriarch among the snow mountains, the young lady among the snow mountains, the Crown Prince among the snow mountains.* At the first watch much snow falls. At the second watch a heavy frost falls. At the third watch it becomes very cold. At the fourth watch, frost is again added on top of the snow. At the fifth watch the bantam (golden) rooster will report (that) daylight (has come). This place has been transformed into a snow mountain plot. The dragons come. The dragons display their claws. The tigers come. The tigers display their bodies. When the tiger comes, the skin of the tiger will recede. When the dragon comes, the bones of the dragon will recede. The water of snow stops blood and stops pains and causes fevers to disappear and removes swellings and grows broken bones together. It sets dislocated bones (joints) so they can grow flesh, and grows together holes in the flesh. I, ʒ̇in Ntgoŋ ʒ̇ɛdgi, come and bear witness. If you call me a hundred times, then it is efficient a hundred times. When you have taken (the demon) away, then (the boil) will be well.

XXXII. INCANTATION TO HEAL BOILS

Black, black and bright, bright. (On one hand black, on the other bright). The sun is coming out in the east. Ntso² ŋgAu² go⁵ with Ntso² nts'ai⁵ ʒwɛi⁶† came to cure boils (by taking away the demons). First, healing them so they will not swell. Secondly, healing them so they will not be painful. Thirdly, healing them so they will not discharge pus. Fourthly, healing them so they will not bleed. If there is something fierce, remove the fierce (thing). If there is swelling, remove the swelling. Do not let this time pass. (When he has spoken thus, he uses his second and fourth

*The meaning here is evidently that one snow mountain is the patriarch, another is a young lady, and a third is a Crown Prince among the other snow mountains, all of which are living beings.

†Ntso² ŋgAu² go⁵ is a golden boy or girl.

Ntso² nts'ai⁵ ʒwei⁶ is a stone girl.

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789 fingers and traces a circle (spiral) on the boil.† When he has drawn this he repeats the incantation again.)

755 First, we have turned around the sky and the earth. Secondly, we have turned around the sun and the moon. The third turn and pus will not come out. The fourth turn and blood will not come out. If there is something fierce, then we will remove the fierce. If there is swelling we will remove it. I will add the bugle of the gods and the bronze bells, an iron axe, a brass finger ring, and an iron finger ring to remove (the boil). (When he has finished saying this, he again traces the spiral.)

XXXIII. INCANTATION TO PURIFY THE HOUSE AFTER A DEATH DURING THE MONTH

789 The heaven and the earth are as a matter of course and the poisonous air. The cave is empty. Huang Lang T'ai Hsüan* the majestic god of the eight directions cause me to be (as a matter of course) unmolested, spiritual precious and charm commands to broadly report to the nine heavens. Let Kan Lo Tang Lo and Tong Kang T'ai Hsüan behead spooks and tie up the demoniacal and kill 10,000 demons. The incantations of the gods in the mountains of the Primary Literary God. I repeat one section and I will capture demons and protect one's years, and arrange the five hells and know the eight seas. The demon king's hands are tied and 1000 soldiers come and help me. The fierce and unclean will disappear and the breath of *tao* 道氣 will last long.

(While he is repeating the above the *tuan kung* 端公 holds a broom in his hand and he holds a piece of cloth in his hand which must be white and twelve feet long, and he sweeps it around. He lights a torch and goes around the house to lighten and smoke it up to make it impossible (by the light) to see the demon and chase out the demon forms.)

XXXIV. THE WATER OF THE NINE DRAGONS (THIS WATER CAN HEAL COLDS IN THE HEAD)

789 755 Use a bowl of water and draw charms above it. Put it on a table. Use a live rooster. You must have a piece of white cloth or black or dark blue; do not use red cloth. And a knife is needed and clean wine. Get them ready, then repeat this incantation. With the finger a dragon should be traced above the water while the person is repeating the incantation. With the two hands three knots must be twisted. The incantation follows:

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†The spiral is like this ●

*These are Chinese names, so they are romanized according to Chinese sounds. The Chinese characters could not be secured.

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I lift up my eyes and lift up my head to see the clear sky. The teacher who taught me with his mouth is before my eyes. I want a bowl of water from Ntsə's sky. In the water are nine dragons. This water is from the throat of the nine dragons which can transform gold, silver, brass and iron. When they touch the water they will be changed to dirt. Obey the command of Nts'ə in heaven, swallow and transform brass, swallow iron and transform it. (If there is a cold, I will transform the cold.) I also swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills, as the nine dragons going down steep rapids. I have *tao* 道 and my life will endure long.

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When he has repeated thus far with his left hand he lifts up the bowl of water and with his right hand he draws a large dragon on the water. Then he gives the water to the sick person to drink.

XXXV. THE NINE DRAGONS TRANSFORM BONES AND WATER THAT DRIVE AWAY COLDS OR HELP IN CHILD-BIRTH

"I lift up my eyes and look at the clear, blue sky. Before my eyes is my instructor. I call the instructor Tsang the *tuan kung* and I also invite Ntsə^{2}'s Taη^{x} ʒ^{5} glo^{6} in heaven. He has a bone which is a pill to cure colds. To-day will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. There is another bone that is a pill to transform colds. I myself will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. Brass, iron, colds and fevers will be transformed into water. Pewter things and bamboo things will be changed into dust. All illnesses will be transformed into water. Indigestion and malaria will be transformed into dust. In front it is empty. Behind it is empty. It will be transformed until it is without appearance. You ferry me teacher so that I can creep into Ntsə's heaven."

The *tuan kung* 端公 twists his hands into a nine-dragon turn over their bodies' knot. He also says,

"This water is not common water. This water is water to make peaceful births and transform demons. This water is not ordinary water. This water is water to exorcise spooks and transform strange demons. When I have finished I draw pictures (with the hands) over the water and everything will be prosperous and well.

C. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG TZŬ NIANG 熊子良 A CH'UAN MIAO FARMER FAMOUS AS A PRIEST OF MO WHO LIVES AT CHAO CHIA LING 趙家林 NEAR WANG WU CHAI 王武寨 AND IS OVER FIFTY YEARS OLD.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzi, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[10 cont.]
585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight,
591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first
852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would
431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a
[804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their
[755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[26 cont.]

774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost, the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost, the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primitive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
777 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

756 In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium, who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and socially it does not command any special respect and authority. Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated as follows:

755 756 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,

[27 cont.]

756 all diseases are caused by evil spirits, and to expel them is to
755 rid oneself of the diseases. In case of slight indisposition one's family members would burn incense and paper to drive away the wild ghost. But in case of serious sickness [28] the evil workings of an important ghost are presumed and it is necessary to get hold of a priest to slaughter an animal and to employ magic in order to achieve the desired end.

2) To pray for a son. If man is without a child at the age
756 of forty-three or forty-four he can ask a priest to appeal to the
842 Jade Emperor for a son (the Miao do not believe in the Son-awarding Bodhisattva), or to enter the mountain to pray to a huge rock, the spirit of which is said to be able to award a child. So, in the second and the tenth month, incense is burned continuously to the rock spirit. At the time of worship two bowls of glutinous rice, five or six sticks of red incense, eight to sixteen fish as well as candles and paper money are used.

3) To arrest the soul. If a person is pale, thin and
756 dispirited or overtaken by serious sickness without being able to
774 get up, the conclusion is that it is an omen of the impending
[787] departure of the soul. A priest is engaged to appear before Yen-wang (the king of Hades) to arrest the soul and bring it back. In so doing, it is necessary to slaughter a pig for sacrifice before Yen-wang. After the soul is arrested all the relatives contribute from ten or twenty cents to a dollar or two toward a fund for the making of a necklace or a bracelet, called respectively the life-preserving chain or the hundred-family lock, for wear by the stricken person. At the same time a string of bamboo rings is hung crosswise at the gate together with a piece of charm to indicate that the soul is locked in and prevented from escaping again. Sometimes, a bad harvest is also attributed to the disappearance of the soul, and the priest is asked to slaughter a duck to summon it back.

4) To arrest the ghost. In cooking rice, when the pan
756 shrieks, or when the bucket in which the rice is steamed issues
[787] a shrilling sound, it indicates the presence of a ghost. The priest is asked to slaughter a cow for sacrifice, because this ghost is the thunder demon, the greatest of all ghosts, and to

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

[774] This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [756] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

882 836 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home,

[Text continues on p. 112].

AKha A07
Miao AE5

M /73 cont./

883 consider which partner they could marry, and, in short, no longer live only in the present. They are entirely satisfied
M with the way of life prescribed by the sib laws. There are
[578] never any disputes between the generations. On the contrary, the young people treat the older ones with veneration and respect, and it never occurs to them to criticize existing institutions.

M 869 Similarly, their attitude toward religious matters does not change. Since early childhood these matters have played
755 a major role in their lives (see the chapter, "Religion and
771 Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). They have re-
[883] peatedly seen the shaman drive away evil spirits and believe that in doing so he has freed other children, and perhaps themselves, of these spirits and therefore of sicknesses (see the chapter, "Medicine"). Moreover, they have heard that in case of the death of a child, the shaman was weaker than the evil spirits. They do not doubt for a moment the existence of such spirits, whose activity and effect have been so strikingly and obviously demonstrated, for the death of a child always makes a lasting impression upon his playmates.

A /74/ Things are somewhat different among the Akha.
881 Probably as a result of premature sexual intercourse (see the
[896] section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter), the actual beginning of puberty brings with it only slight psychological changes.

A The pubescent Akha give no thought to the past or the
881 future. They do not criticize, but rather are completely satis-
883 fied with the way the adults regulate life. Similarly there is no criticism among them concerning the traditions and even less about religious matters, which in general do not play
A nearly as decisive a role as among the Meau. An exaggerated
[776] fear of the spirits is as unknown to the adolescents as to the
[781] adults. There is no period of passivity or of intense activity, no withdrawal or shame on the part of girls menstruating for the first time. The pubescent Akha for the most part have long been informed, and they therefore expect the advent of puberty with all the accompanying circumstances. There is no daydreaming or introspection among them. With the increase

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

1. Page 98.

most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 M [753] [776] [761] [755] The Meau believe in an immortal soul, plī, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/177 cont./

428 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to
756 go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 It is the task of the shaman to learn the
787 wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make
[775] them known to human beings. The shaman, however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also im-
756 possible for the shaman to bewitch human
[754] beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural
[789] powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40
Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the
755 spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors,
789 the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which
[822] color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures
[787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant
[778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/178 cont./

756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
789 should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
[778] of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
[782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [see cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

/179 cont./

756 787 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97).[1] [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for [614] cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the [465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 755 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

[1] [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50). Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
755 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which
787 all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/181 cont./

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787

The shaman stands with the gong between the altar and the bench for about five minutes and beats it, and then turns to the door of the house and repeats the procedure in order to'ward off the evil spirits. From a small wooden box brought with him, he takes a black cloth, ceremoniously unties his turban, winds it again, and fastens this cloth to it, but for the time being he throws it back over the turban so that his face remains free. Later on, it is to cover the shaman's face, for only in this way can he see the spirits.

Meanwhile, however, he takes two oracle /Ordal, literally "ordeal," but used in the sense of "oracle" /horns from the same wooden box that held the cloth. They are usually the [237] tips of gaur horns or the ends of deer antlers cut in half lengthwise. The shaman sits down on the bench, bends forward toward the altar and throws the oracle horns to the ground, studies their position (Ill. 99),[1] picks them up again, and throws them again until the backs of both are uppermost. This indicates that the invoked spirit is willing to appear. Every other variation in the position of the oracle horns also has its meaning:

If the inner sides of both oracle horns are uppermost: the spirit is already present.

If the inner side of the left horn and the outer side of the right one are uppermost: an evil spirit has come along and must first be driven away before the conjuration of the good spirit may begin.

/182/ If the inner side of the right horn and the outerside of the left one are uppermost, it means: an evil spirit is more powerful than the good one who would be willing to help the shaman, and therefore he cannot help the patient.

In this most unfavorable situation, the shaman throws the oracle horns once again in order to ask whether the catastrophe cannot be averted. If now the inner sides of both oracle horns are uppermost, it might still be possible for him to cure the patient. If the unfavorable omen is repeated, however, all efforts are in vain, and the sick person will die.

1 [see cat 116, p664 - ANALYST]

/182 cont./

755 All those present tensely watch the horn oracle, which
787 finally indicates a favorable outcome. Then Chief Tsin Tsai
[782] steps forward with the sick son and the eldest son, all three kneel down on the ground before the shaman, facing the altar, fold their hands in prayer in the manner of devout Catholics, and beseech the spirits to come and to help. Now the two sons step back, and the chief picks up the gong and begins to beat it. In the meantime, the shaman covers his face with the black cloth so as to be able to see the spirits as soon as they appear. With his left hand he reaches for the magic rattle (see the chapter, "Art," Fig. 31), sits down on the bench in front of the altar, stamps with both feet, simultaneously to the rhythm of the gong beats, and, in the same rhythm, strikes the back of his right hand on his right knee and the magic rattle on his left knee, all the while moving the upper part of his body backward and forward rattling sounds, like "brrr" and "krrr," are heard uninterruptedly along with his, and in the midst of it his conjurations in a half-sung, half-spoken cadence. Then his motions slow down, and his words are more clearly pronounced, while the eyes of everyone present hang on the shaman's lips, for through him the spirits announce their orders and revelations.

After about ten minutes the chief stops beating the gong, but the shaman continues his actions. His words shape themselves into an order: "The soul of Lū has traveled beyond the clouds; evil spirits are holding it, preventing its return. Sacrifice a pig."

755 The eldest son immediately fetches a small pig and puts
782 the sacrificial /183/ animal upon a second bench behind the
[231] shaman. Other members of the family hold the animal firmly by the snout. The eldest son cuts its throat, and someone catches the blood spurting from the veins in a bowl. The chief dips spirit-money (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50) into the blood and burns it with the pious words: "Spirits, I offer you my pig. Enjoy eating it and help my son get well!" He then takes the spirit-
755 sword (Fig. 55) and with it draws a line on the ground, which clearly includes the place of sacrifice in the altar area and

/183 cont./

•755 separates it from the rest of the room. Then he holds the spirit-sword above the head of the patient. The whole procedure indicates that he is separating the good spirits from the evil ones, so that the good ones may remain within the boundary line, the evil ones outside it. The ailing Lü is also standing within the space of the good spirits.

[252] Meanwhile the eldest son carries the sacrificial animal to the hearth, puts it into readied hot water, he scrapes off the bristles, divides it, puts one half aside as a honorarium for the shaman, and cooks the other half in an iron pot on the hearth. In the meantime, the chief sprinkles ashes over the blood of the sacrificial animal that has been spilled on the ground. Another command from the spirits is given through the shaman. In accordance with it, the eldest son digs a round hole about 20 centimeters deep in the floor of the room with his knife, puts a stone about 12 centimeters in diameter beside it, and lines the hole with four leaves of spirit-money. Before this little pit thus prepared, the patient stations himself behind the shaman with his face turned toward the altar; a leaf of spirit-money has been carefully placed under each of his feet. Chief Tsin Tsai picks up four additional leaves of spirit-money with his right hand, describes a circle in the air around the patient with them, and murmurs his wishes for recovery: "Lü, my son, you are standing here, you shall now feel better again, you shall recover. Your soul is going to have a fine abode in your body and will remain with you. Do not let it go away again." He carefully puts these papers in a pile behind the patient, then adds the two papers on which Lü was standing, arranges everything in layers in the small round hole in the ground, and burns it (Ill. 100). Scarcely have the leaves and the spirit-money crumbled to ashes when he quickly takes the prepared /184/ stone, puts it in the hole, and fills the remaining space with earth which he carefully stamps down, murmuring: "Soul of Lü, go there where the spirit-money lies!" At the same time the patient stands on this spot. Now the chief commands the soul to enter the patient's body and continues: "As the stone is held fast in the hole so shall you, soul, now be held fast in his body. Look, Lü is a good son, stay in his body. You will do well with him, much better than

/184 cont./

755 if you were floating above the clouds pursued by evil spirits. Never leave his body again!"

The patient then sits down in his place. Meanwhile the shaman has imperturbably continued his conjurations. After a quarter of an hour the chief repeats the ceremony with the [782] spirit-paper; then he lights four new incense candles and puts them next to the almost consumed original candles in the vessel on the altar, where the fat-lamp continues to burn. After each action the chief and his eldest son immediately return to their places behind the shaman, who always remains facing the altar. The patient returns to the bench next to the hearth fire. In this way the first hour passes.

At the beginning of the ceremony the occupants of the house conversed with one another freely; now some of them leave the house, the rest remain silent and intently watch the proceedings. Suddenly in the midst of things a Meau woman who does not belong to the community comes and appeals simultaneously to the shaman and the chief: "I am suffering. I have had stomach pains for days. I beg you to help me." Jerkily, the shaman interrupts his conjurations and suddenly answers in a natural voice. He promises to assist the woman the next day and she is to prepare a dog sacrifice. The woman thanks him and leaves the house, and the shaman again begins his rhythmical motions, conjurations, and commands. Suddenly he stops and in his ordinary voice says that evil spirits are approaching. Tsin Tsai and his eldest son quickly step over to the shaman's bench together and hold it firmly, while the chief wife of the chief picks up the gong and beats it uninterruptedly as her husband had done formerly. Jerkily, and for us quite unexpectedly, the shaman jumps on the bench once with both feet simultaneously and then once again, for an /Ill. 30-34 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /185/ evil spirit has crept in among the good ones. [801] Since uneven numbers are regarded as unfavorable and pernicious among the Meau, they are preferred for driving away evil spirits. Accordingly, the chief now takes three handfuls of the prepared maize and rice kernels and scatters them in all directions. His chief wife takes water into her mouth and spits it out in all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON, P. 253]

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura-
[787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

(1) II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear
756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the
764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the
[782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/186 cont./

755 789 On the day immediately following the conjuration described, I experienced another instance of the assistance of the shaman in cases of illness. This concerned the sick woman who /187/ had asked the shaman for his help during the conjuration of the soul of Lü, and therefore it was not a matter of a sacrifice satisfactory to the spirits, but rather the exorcisism of the evil spirit from the house afflicted by sickness, and the creation of a guardian [776] spirit such as has already been discussed (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter).

[787] At this spirit-exorcism the beginning of the ceremony was identical with the one of the previous day. While the shaman was in an hour-long trance, the sick woman stood behind him on two spirit-papers, and the chief again burned spirit-money, drew the dividing lines on the ground with the sword, spat water in all directions, and scattered the maize kernels. Suddenly the shaman stopped his twitching and rhythmical movements; his rattling sounds ceased. We learned that the spirit had become too tired [787] to answer and that he would have to be re-awakened. For this purpose the head of the house stepped up to the shaman and struck him on the shoulder. Once more the monotonous conjuration formulas and the twitching of the shaman began. In the meantime, the head of the house tied a string to the young dog to be sacrificed. Then the shaman lighted a straw torch, threw gunpowder into the flames so that they flared up hissingly, spoke accompanying words of conjuration, and walked around the sick woman a few times with the burning torch. He was preceded by the man with the young dog, and at his side walked a young man carrying the gunpowder in an inverted bronze gong. This small procession stepped out of the door and walked around the house several times, while from time to time the shaman threw the proffered gunpowder into the torch (Ill. 102),[1] spat in all directions, murmured prayers, and, whenever the flame hissed up, shouted: "Off with you, evil spirit!" Smoke and stench enveloped the house, which, evidently, was supposed to drive away the evil spirit. The sacrificial animal, however, was led around the house so that the guardian spirit would recognize the area it was to watch. The procession came to a halt. In front of the

[1] [See cat 116, p704 - ANALYST]

/187 cont./

755 789 entrance to the house the shaman cut the throat of the young dog (Ill. 101)[1] and caught the blood in leaves. With the blood he then drew a cross on the backs of the head of the household and each of the other members and smeared some blood on the door posts. /188/ Finally, he once more threw the oracle horns and burned a quantity of spirit-money as a sacrifice. [787]

756 787 [776] On another occasion we were able to observe the activity of a female shaman. This involved the invocation of the Father-Mother spirit, who, as soon as the rice is ripe, according to the Meau, moves away in order to be ready for the New Year's festival. Now this spirit had supposedly returned and would be asked by the female shaman to bring blessings to the occupants of the house. Outwardly there is little difference from the activity of a male shaman. It was striking to us that the female shaman used not two, but four oracle horns. At this ceremony, too, there was a struggle with evil spirits. Whenever the female shaman in her exertions jumped upon the bench to indicate that an evil spirit was present, the head of the household scattered maize and his wife spat water in the four directions. Despite the fact that everything was carefully observed and care was taken to scatter the kernels and spit out the water in the prescribed way, the evil spirit would not yield. Finally, the head of the household seized the spirit-sword hanging on the wall by the altar and stuck it into the ground in front of the altar. The female shaman had actually fallen into a deep trance and had to be awakened very laboriously by being pounded on the back by the head of the household after the conjuration was over.

756 789 Besides this kind of activity, obviously recognizable as a priestly performance, there falls to the shaman, but not exclusively to him alone, the making of spirit-paper (Ill. 84, 85)[2] and thus spirit-money. Moreover, the shaman is obliged to make certain amulets and talismans, although many other Meau know how to make various such means of protection against the evil spirits. The ingredients are obtained from flowers and plants. Small triangular cloth bags are filled with the mixture. Such amulets are worn on a string around the neck or attached to the silver neck-ring itself.

[1] [See cat 116, p666 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", p598 - "]

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/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig."

A 313 824 789 The same author (4) also made the following observation:

4. Page 114.

"When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. M [755] Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 789 [778] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] M [782] [756] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II. p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools A off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, M in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep [513] in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," M the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," 753 some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the 776 Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such M cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they 755 cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the [756] shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in [769] our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

39: Bernatzik--664 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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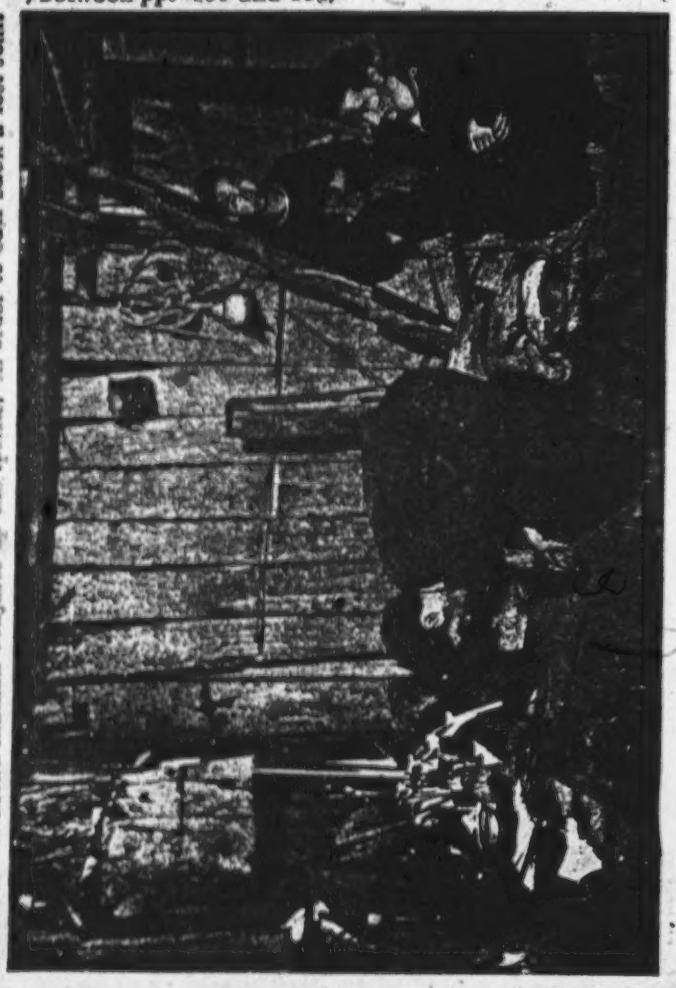
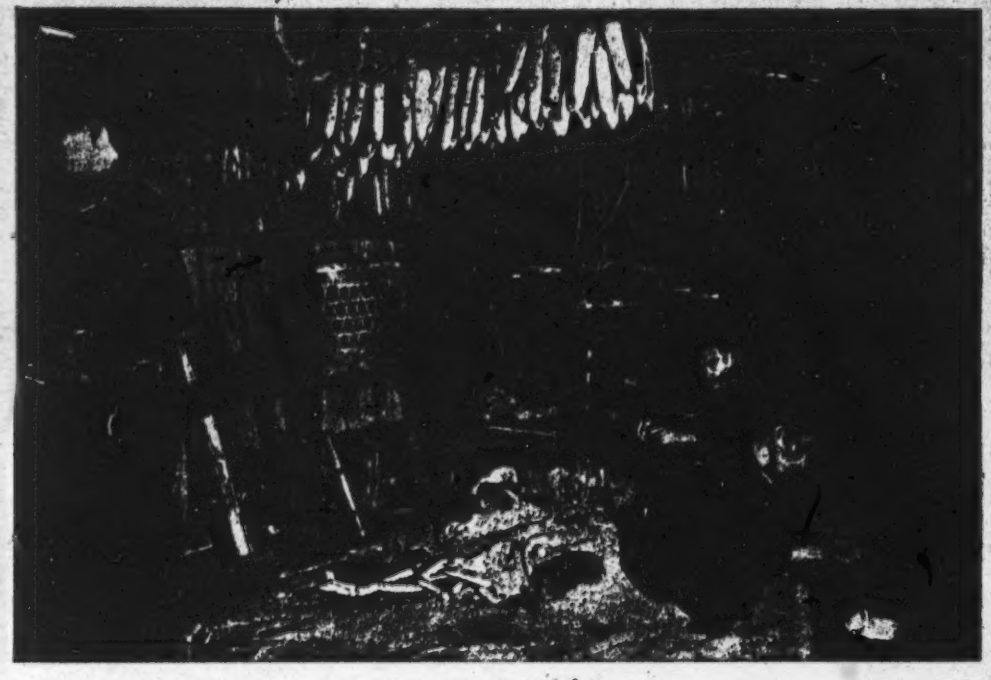


Ill. 99. A Meau shaman conjures up the spirits, in order to call back a lost soul.

39: Bernatzik--665 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/



Ill. 100. At the command of the invoked spirits, spirit money is burned in a pit in the floor of the house.

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/IX cont./

252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

● 755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

/68 cont'd/

4. Magic

754 The Miao have a kind of "black magic," which is intended to injure other people. If a man has a bad enemy, he requests a Taoist priest to avenge him through sorcery. The method is to write the enemy's name on a piece of paper, which is nailed up in a grove of trees. The enemy's soul is thus confined, and he will fall ill with a strange disease and slowly sink into a half-alive state. The only way the victim can be saved is to get hold of the sorceror and compel him to release the soul from imprisonment.

755 This was what I heard from the Miao. Whether this magic was really workable I still do not know. However, I once encountered a disabled man in the home of a Li headman. I was told that this disablement was due to the fact that when this man was a follower of a Li headman who had attacked the Miao, he had killed a great many people. For revenge, the Miao had confined his soul. Might this story be true!

5. Superstition

823 The Miao believe in feng-shui /Chinese system of geomancy/. When I was in Ang-chi village, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang, told me that the reason the Miao people there were so poor was because the feng-shui was not good there. He also pointed out how the feng-shui was poor. The mountain peaks were too sharp, there was a lack of springs, and the aspect was too narrow, so that there was nothing from which wealth could issue. His cousin, a pao-ch'ang, 756 also asked me whether I knew how to practice feng-shui. I gave him a negative answer. He said that he would save more money to enable him to engage a good master of feng-shui, who would find for him a place of prosperity.

787 They also believe in fortunetelling through horoscopes and the practice of physiognomy. While I was there a number of them asked me whether I knew how to read horoscopes and practice physiognomy. /69/ There are some aspects of their social life that have led the Miao to believe in such superstitions. We will discuss it in detail in the next chapter.

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

756, 796

/For information on the part played by the sorcerer-priest (shaman) in Miao propitiation ceremonies, and a description of these ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 191-297./

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom. [301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's 585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's [177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and [756] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the [782] ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kow- [787] tows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and [554] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At 585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense 782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine. [752] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest
[756] has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads
the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits
down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started.
The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire
would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement back-
ward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement
then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside
or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated
she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao
grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After
washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[765] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich
[556] sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spells. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles. Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
764 as the Chinese.
[177]

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[606] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/101 cont./

764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony. After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of
764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress'
604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a
605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over, he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family and those on the maternal side who came with the maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat, towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative" each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth "for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various
604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of
[789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer
[754] picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it upside down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[791] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
●756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[787] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
[604] ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[768] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

/103 cont./

766 756 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight, or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore, the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the [775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard, hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force. Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a [292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead, then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he [302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not washed for four months, during which period the mourner does [302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or 60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also. For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her headband for three days.

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648] 1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

●756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pa˩ tɛ˩ ɕioŋ˩˧] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pa˩ tɛ˩ ʂa˩˧] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
752 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
*[782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

[26 cont.]

774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost, the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost, the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primitive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
777 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

756 In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium, who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and socially it does not command any special respect and authority. Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated as follows:

755
756 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,

[27 cont.]

756 755 all diseases are caused by evil spirits, and to expel them is to rid oneself of the diseases. In case of slight indisposition one's family members would burn incense and paper to drive away the wild ghost. But in case of serious sickness [28] the evil workings of an important ghost are presumed and it is necessary to get hold of a priest to slaughter an animal and to employ magic in order to achieve the desired end.

756 842 2) To pray for a son. If man is without a child at the age of forty-three or forty-four he can ask a priest to appeal to the Jade Emperor for a son (the Miao do not believe in the Son-awarding Bodhisattva), or to enter the mountain to pray to a huge rock, the spirit of which is said to be able to award a child. So, in the second and the tenth month, incense is burned continuously to the rock spirit. At the time of worship two bowls of glutinous rice, five or six sticks of red incense, eight to sixteen fish as well as candles and paper money are used.

756 774 [787] 3) To arrest the soul. If a person is pale, thin and dispirited or overtaken by serious sickness without being able to get up, the conclusion is that it is an omen of the impending departure of the soul. A priest is engaged to appear before Yen-wang (the king of Hades) to arrest the soul and bring it back. In so doing, it is necessary to slaughter a pig for sacrifice before Yen-wang. After the soul is arrested all the relatives contribute from ten or twenty cents to a dollar or two toward a fund for the making of a necklace or a bracelet, called respectively the life-preserving chain or the hundred-family lock, for wear by the stricken person. At the same time a string of bamboo rings is hung crosswise at the gate together with a piece of charm to indicate that the soul is locked in and prevented from escaping again. Sometimes, a bad harvest is also attributed to the disappearance of the soul, and the priest is asked to slaughter a duck to summon it back.

756 [787] 4) To arrest the ghost. In cooking rice, when the pan shrieks, or when the bucket in which the rice is steamed issues a shrilling sound, it indicates the presence of a ghost. The priest is asked to slaughter a cow for sacrifice, because this ghost is the thunder demon, the greatest of all ghosts, and to

[28 cont.]

756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

8) To protect children. Many families whose children
756 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their
751

[29 cont.]
751 "guardian" for the purpose of getting protection. This is be-
756 cause the body of the priest is supposed to be endowed with a spiritual quality that can put the ghosts in their places. Therefore, children receiving his guardianship can avoid illness. Often a priest may have several hundred people under his protection. To apply for it the protégé has to present a pair of shoes, a handkerchief, a cock and some glutinous rice to the
[553] guiding spirit of the priest, after which offering the protégé is given a new name.

Priesthood among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not a profes-
756 sion, the shaman being a full-time farmer, carpenter or blacksmith. It is only a side-line. Each time the priest performs some service, his remuneration consists of a few insignificant "lucky" items. It is said that priesthood is not a willing choice. Every priest has at least twenty to thirty different spirits seeking his mediumship, and if he refuses the spirits would derange his mind. So once seized by the spirits a man cannot help being a priest. He then cuts a piece of red paper into a row of human forms [30] and pastes them before his ancestral altar. A board is nailed horizontally against the wall, on which two or three tea cups are placed. After each magic performance, the head of
[742] the cow, pig, or dog used in the ritual must be brought home to be sacrificed before the altar. But chickens and ducks used for the same purpose need not be brought home.

The capability of the shamans varies. Some can only catch small or wild ghosts but are unable to subdue big and fierce ghosts, who only surrender to priests with greater supernatural powers. Therefore, priests are divided into several classes. While performing magic, the priest may be assisted by a t'ung-shih [instructor] who is a less spiritually gifted person. The latter can only assist the priest but cannot engage the ghosts alone, and so his remuneration is still less. He may be fed for the services rendered without extra rewards.

c) Family Units

A M 614 [764] Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha do the sibs /Sippen/ live locally separated or have their own totems. On the other hand, the Akha have their own burial places, but the Meau do not. Likewise among the two peoples there are no religious sib-celebrations or common insignia or individual sib-heads. The unit is not the sib, but the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/, which lives in one house and consists of the head of the family, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, among the Meau, the married sons up to the end of their thirtieth year and their families.

A M 596

The rights of the head of a large family are very extensive. All those living in the house, wives, children, and grandchildren, must obey him; he has unlimited authority, and he may punish, beat, or, among the Meau, in special cases even kill the members of the household under him. This is not the case among the Akha, among whom only twins are killed (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Birth"). Otherwise, however, the head of the large family, who is responsible for the well-being of all the others, irrevocably decides all the disputes within his household community.

In view of the proverbial compatibility of the members of a Meau family, the head of such a large family hardly ever has occasion actually to interfere, but on the other hand, he often does among the Akha. Among the Meau I repeatedly observed that the head did not make a decision without first consulting with the sons who lived under his roof. There was never a decision against the will of the subordinate concerned. The sons, too, however, avoided expressing their opinion until after they had conferred with the head of the large family. In such cases I was always given the answer: "This is not our business; we must first ask the father."

A M [769] [756] It is the duty of the head to officiate and offer the sacrifices in connection with the religious festivals of the large family, namely, the festivals for the dead or the veneration of the ancestors. If especially important affairs are involved, for instance, if measures have to be taken in connection with the

/35 cont./
A M 596 756 outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A M 571 114 614 Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organizations are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans. Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M 592 [736] Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves. In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and M [842] strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as M [737] possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [774] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [756] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes 836 out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home,

[Text Continues on P. 112]

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [75] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [79] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's [202] celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

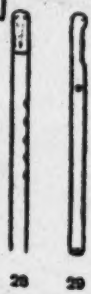

Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute
of the Meau. 1/9
nat. size. Fig. 28,
from above. Fig. 29,
side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏňň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese [177] and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [726] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/165 cont./

326 spirits of the smithy, the chief spirit, dă lŭ pán, which literally
776 means "to know great fire," and his two assistant spirits, lŭ lŭ pan and san lu pan, and asks these three spirits to help him and to see to it that the iron neither cracks nor becomes overheated. Da lu pan, the chief spirit of the smithy spirits, also taught the Meau /166/ other useful things, especially technical skills. These spirits of the smithy are of the male sex. The smiths
[782] make sacrifices to them on the altar in their houses and believe that they actually live there. Before the Meau begins his work at the forge, he lights an incense candle for each of the three spirits, that is, three candles altogether, and asks dă lŭ pán and his two assistant spirits to follow him to the smithy. After that it is believed that the three spirits actually accompany the smith to the workshop and return to the dwelling after the work is done. No explanation could be given when I objected that there must be vast numbers of such spirits, since there are many Meau smiths and dă lŭ pán with his two assistant spirits lives in the house of every one of them.

756 The teacher-spirit of the medicine man is called yŭ wăn
776 sŭ fŭ. The curer makes offerings to him, with whom no assistant
[782] spirits are associated, on the altar which he has erected in his house, before he begins to treat a sick person. Two incense candles are lighted for this sacrificial act.

The shamans, too, follow a teacher-spirit, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsŭ. They are also helped by three pairs of assistant spirits: tă fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé.

776 Other good spirits live in the clouds. Human beings do not know how many of them, who are called sẹn šẹn, there are. In one Meau village I met a woman who was convinced that she had the special good-will of these cloud spirits, for which reason
[782] she had erected in her house a special altar for them, on which she regularly offered sacrifices to the sẹn šẹn. This woman
[212] believed that the cloud spirits had taught her to write! How easy it was to determine that she had seen Chinese characters among itinerant Haw traders. Upon my request she scribbled on paper fanciful characters, whose meaning, of course, she was unable to explain to me.

/166 cont./

776 The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function
825 to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to
step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by
[372] sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)
[626]
[171]

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth
[844] of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property.
[778] Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their
[756] houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of
[177] this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese
[829] influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/175 cont./

A 776 532 842 All these spirits are invisible, and there are no images of them. The situation is different with regard to the wooden figures standing next to each entrance gate to an Akha village and typically recognizable as male and female (Ill. 45),[1] which, according to Telford (3), are called "Hkow De," the female, and

3. Page 101.

"Bvuh Je," the male figure. They are regarded as fertility deities of a sort, who see to a blessing of many children for the women and are often represented in the act of copulation. /176/ One also turns to them when a woman has a difficult confinement. A [845] Water is then poured over the two figures, caught in vessels, and given to the woman in labor to drink, a custom which is also confirmed by Telford (1).

1. Page 102.

A 177 [776] As among the Meau, among the Akha, too, no attention is paid to the deities of other peoples or tribes. However, whereas among the Meau relatively little has been borrowed from other religions, there are elements among the Akha, such as the previously mentioned swing, which point to foreign influences. Among these, presumably, are the wooden swords and arrows of the Akha children, which may go back to Chinese influence.

c) Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens

M •756 787 The Meau believe that there are human beings whose supernatural faculties permit them to have more intimate relations with the spirits than is possible for ordinary human beings. The shamans, called ǒǎ nǐn, are such human beings, who sometimes are even more powerful than certain spirits. The supernatural powers come about from a spirit's having entered the body of a person without his co-operation. Through this the human being acquires the ability to see spirits even in the waking state and to associate with them. Furthermore he now has knowledge that ordinary human beings do not have. Accordingly, these abilities

[1] [See cat 116, p297- ANALYST]

/176 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The
[302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing
[292] mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of
756 his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
787 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
[782] spirit of all the shamans, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsū, and the three pairs of
[776] assistant spirits, tǎ fū yé, lū fū yé, and sǎn fū yé. The teacher-
[801] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau. Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/177 cont./

428 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to
756 go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 It is the task of the shaman to learn the
787 wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make them known to human beings. The shaman,
[775] however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also im-
756 possible for the shaman to bewitch human
[754] beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural
[789] powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40
Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the
755 spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors,
789 the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects.
[822] Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures
[787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant
[778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/178 cont./

756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
789 should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
[778] of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
[782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [SEE cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

/179 cont./

756 787 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97). 1/n [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for [614] cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the [465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 755 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

1/n [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura-
[787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear
756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the
764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the
[782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/186 cont./

756 the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks
[764] concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves
[787] supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my
[114] own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is
789 the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both
224 among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or
223 the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the
756 weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/187 cont./

755 entrance to the house the shaman cut the throat of the young dog
789 (Ill. 101)[1] and caught the blood in leaves. With the blood he then drew a cross on the backs of the head of the household and each of the other members and smeared some blood on the door
[787] posts. /188/ Finally, he once more threw the oracle horns and burned a quantity of spirit-money as a sacrifice.

● 756 On another occasion we were able to observe the activity
787 of a female shaman. This involved the invocation of the Father-
[776] Mother spirit, who, as soon as the rice is ripe, according to the Meau, moves away in order to be ready for the New Year's festival. Now this spirit had supposedly returned and would be asked by the female shaman to bring blessings to the occupants of the house. Outwardly there is little difference from the activity of a male shaman. It was striking to us that the female shaman used not two, but four oracle horns. At this ceremony, too, there was a struggle with evil spirits. Whenever the female shaman in her exertions jumped upon the bench to indicate that an evil spirit was present, the head of the household scattered maize and his wife spat water in the four directions. Despite the fact that everything was carefully observed and care was taken to scatter the kernels and spit out the water in the prescribed way, the evil spirit would not yield. Finally, the head of the household seized the spirit-sword hanging on the wall by the altar and stuck it into the ground in front of the altar. The female shaman had actually fallen into a deep trance and had to be awakened very laboriously by being pounded on the back by the head of the household after the conjuration was over.

756 Besides this kind of activity, obviously recognizable as a
789 priestly performance, there falls to the shaman, but not exclusively to him alone, the making of spirit-paper (Ill. 84, 85)[2] and thus spirit-money. Moreover, the shaman is obliged to make certain amulets and talismans, although many other Meau know how to make various such means of protection against the evil spirits. The ingredients are obtained from flowers and plants. Small triangular cloth bags are filled with the mixture. Such amulets are worn on a string around the neck or attached to the silver neck-ring itself.

1 [See Cat 116, p666 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p598 - "]

/188 cont./

789 Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to
[753] the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," for protection against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak, are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most effective substances known against certain individual spirits and therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root
[824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits, the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the Meau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this
[301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There
[776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets
[714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens
that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great number is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself
and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails,
since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
787 careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the
sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above,
since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield
from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the
midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior
[825] and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may
be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may
still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake
[776] appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the
825 "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird
dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occupants will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are
825 familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless
wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a
wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes that he cannot expect to bag any game.

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
[821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

[763] In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[171] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

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/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig."

A 313 824 789 The same author (4) also made the following observation:

4. Page 114.

"When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. M [755] Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 [778] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] M [782] [756] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer.
which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats
[516] or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the
palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one
looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction;
when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one
looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position
[788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his
[756] wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses
[787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special
spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the
person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person
lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman
his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro-
[516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described;
stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and
then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-
Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the
protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the
undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship
776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are
782 dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the
[778] spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected
for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against
the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain
to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit
in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in
order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would
not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to
help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of
the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship
776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom
[782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices reg-
ularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
765 as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
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1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well
[756] as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

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Miao AE5

/214 cont./

M 784 [756] [626] [821] corresponding period has elapsed. Otherwise, however, not even the shaman has the power nowadays to lift or to modify a taboo. The people are convinced that non-observance, which would bring the punishment called for in connection with the particular prohibition, would be generally punished by the spirits and ancestors so that lightning would strike the malefactor and kill him.

A 776 782 [171] The cultic practices of the Akha are generally similar to those of the Meau, but quite different in particulars. The Akha devote a regular cult to all the spirits and ancestors, with the exception of the god of heaven, "ǎdŏdŭchŏ," and the spirit of the world. The god of heaven, it will be recalled, remains excluded from the regular cult, because in the view of the Akha he dwells above and below the clouds, all the other spirits are his subjects, and therefore he, of course, partakes of all the sacrifices offered to them. As has also been stated, the creator of the world, "yǎbĭdẹ̆lăhǎt," about whom I could learn only vague ideas, is likewise offered no sacrifices, but I was unable to obtain more detailed information on this.

A 782 The Akha, too, view the sacrifice as a means of making the spirits and ancestors favorably disposed toward them and likewise use invocations to establish contact with the spirit concerned or the ancestors during the sacrifice. In contrast to the

A [516] Meau, however, the Akha do not assume a definite position while uttering their prayers. /215/ Some may be seen bending one

A [788] knee, others squat, and still others stand. Set prayer formulas, here again in parallel with the Meau, are also unknown among the Akha. One turns to the spirit with ordinary words and explains the matter to him in detail. Such prayers or invocations are always associated with the offering of sacrifices, which, however, in comparison with the Meau, are relatively rare. /Fig. 56 appears here./

A 782 778 [241] The sacrifices are usually offered at the presumable abode of the spirit concerned, if special sacrificial places or little temples have not been erected for this by the Akha (Fig. 56). For example, before clearing is begun, a small temple abode is erected for the field spirit, yǎmyǎtsǎ, and sacrifices are made

/226 cont./

272 One of my informants told me a legend that explains the
539 origin of the prohibition against drinking milk. At the same
time it shows how highly important hospitality is regarded
574 among the Meau, since its neglect is punished so severely:

"In olden times there lived a Meau who had seven wives. The chief wife was a Meau, the first secondary wife, a Haw, that is to say, a Chinese, and the other secondary wives were all Meau. Each of these wives gave birth to a son. One day, an old man came and asked for milk. He first asked the chief wife, and then the other Meau wives, but they all refused him. Finally, he turned to the Haw wife, and she took pity on him and gave him milk. When he left, the /227/ old man said: 'Oh, you Haw woman, you have a good heart. Therefore you Haw people may eat and drink whatever you like. In the future, however, the Meau shall be forbidden to drink milk.'"

539 Concerning the origin of the shamans, I was able to learn
●756 various details, which Savina (1), however, has taken down in

1. II, p. 209.

greater detail and more fully among the Meau in Tonkin:

"There once lived two men, Ngionggi and Xigi. One day when they were on the seashore they saw an island in the middle of the waves. On this island a crane was sitting on a nest with eggs. The two men took these eggs, pierced and emptied them, and put them back in the nest. When the crane saw that they had been pierced, it filled them with a special substance and hatched them out after forty days. When Ngionggi and Xigi saw this, they took some of the substance, because they thought that they could arouse the dead with it. They tried it first on the corpses of an earthworm and an ant, which immediately came back to life. They then went into a village whose chief had just died, and they brought him back to life. Loaded with presents, they traveled on and everywhere they raised up the dead. One day they decided to return to their families. Their wives and children, however, had died a long time ago, and they were unable

/227 cont./

539 to revive their dry bones. Mad with grief, they threw their
756 medicine into a cave and decided to die. Their countrymen tried in vain to prevent them from doing so. They did not succeed, but Ngionggi and Xigi consoled them by saying: 'After our death shall appear to some of you in your dreams in the shape of a virgin and teach you how to cure the sick. Consult these men when you are ill, and you will recover!' Since that time the Meau consult their shamans whenever they are sick."

539 I could not find any legends that tell of the historical
114 development of the Meau, nor have other authors, so far as I know, published such legendary material. Only Von Eickstedt (2)

2. II, p. 52.

recorded a legend of the Meau, and a similar version is also reported by Leuschner (3). Von Eickstedt asserts that it is a Man

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3. Page 44.

legend, which, however, is also claimed by the Meau:

/228/ "The Chinese emperor Ti Ku (about 500 B.C.) is said to have promised the hand of his third daughter and the advantages accruing from this to the one who would rid him of his most dangerous enemy, who would kill the latter and bring his head. A yellow dog by the name of Pan Hu heard this, accomplished the deed, and married the princess, who bore him six sons and six daughters. From these stem the various Man tribes. A division of the realm took place, according to which the Chinese were given the valleys and the Man the mountains."

Von Eickstedt correctly concludes that when the Chinese, during an attack by presumably northern warlike nomads, turned to the neighboring mountain peoples for help and the latter actually defeated the enemy, the chief of the mountain peoples was given a daughter of the imperial house along with the political advantages connected with it.

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II, p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools A off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, M in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep [513] in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," M the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," 753 some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the 776 Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such M cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they 755 cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the [756] shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in [769] our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

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1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest
[597] male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house
[589] of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

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692 Capital crimes, as well as civil cases in which the defeated
695 has lodged an appeal, are decided incontestably by the great chief.
The appeals are therefore as follows: an appeal against the
[634] verdict of the village elder goes to the village chief and one
[622] against the latter goes to the great chief. In special cases the verdict of the great chief can be appealed to the popular assembly, as has already been set forth in the chapter on "Political Organization," the section, "The Popular Assembly."

695 There is no appeal against the verdict of the popular
756 assembly. In ambiguous cases the judge turns to the shaman
[634] and instructs him to arrange for ordeals /Ordale/. Such ordeals take place before the popular assembly; they also play a role in criminal law. For example, the following ordeal is customary for the conviction of a criminal. The shaman makes a large carrying basket of split bamboo, which he covers with the clothing of a man. Next he looks among the girls of the village for two virgins, and, to make certain that all necessary conditions for the aims of the ordeal are actually fulfilled, he prefers to select two girls who are still immature and who must hold the basket on two sides. Then /255/ the accused burns several pieces of spirit-money and begs the high Father-Mother spirit to appear and make known the truth. As soon as the basket begins to sway, it is assumed that the high spirit has arrived. With a loud voice the accused now asks whether the high spirit has arrived, and it is assumed that the spirit is in the basket and is influencing the actions of the girls as soon as the covered basket again begins to sway. Next the shaman calls the names of all the suspects, one after the other. If the basket sways when one of the names is mentioned, the question is repeated two more times. If the basket is seen to move again, the culprit is regarded as convicted. If he nevertheless continues to deny his guilt, the shaman asks the girls to point out the culprit. If they now tap him on the shoulder, his guilt is regarded as proved.

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

Volume Two

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Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

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The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

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The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

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592 621 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife [551] died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house- [756] wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

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291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[1] [see cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]
[3] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

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Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

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115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
● [756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

38: Bernatzik--664 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
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Ill. 99. A Meau shaman conjures up the spirits, in order to call back a lost soul.

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

39: Bernatzik--704 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
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/Opposite p. 522/

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Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits with a burning torch by the shaman of the Meau (right) and his assistant.

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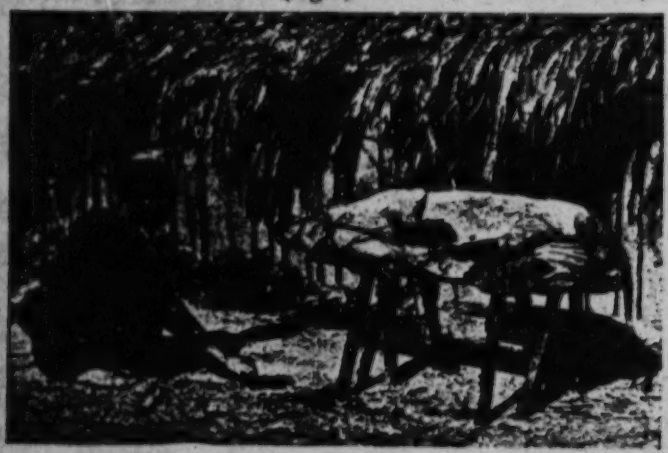

Ill. 103. Before the slaughtering, the pig is purchased from the spirits by the Meau by burning spirit-money under the snout of the animal.

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000 medicine that have to be overcome, it should be relatively easy to fight epidemics successfully, especially since almost all the diseases concerned offer no difficult problems for modern European medicine. The readiness to submit to European doctors
M is also stressed in the literature. Abadie, for instance, states(1):
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1. Page 159.

"The Meau prize the free, expert medical treatment which the French doctors give them, with the assistance of native medical helpers, on their circuits among them."

M With the help of well-chosen doctors, it will be possible
756 to influence the beliefs and also to exert a decisive influence
776 upon the shamans, for, in the eyes of the mountain peoples, the ability to cure diseases is equivalent to visible mastery over the evil spirits that call forth these diseases. Most of the shamans by far want only the best for the people for whom they feel responsible. It will therefore not be difficult to persuade them to intercede against moving the villages, if they are convinced that this would be to the advantage of their community.

M The following event proved to me that in this respect
[123] natives whose trust has been won are easily influenced: One day, a Meau chief, in whose village I had stayed for some time, came to me in order to tell me that he and his fellows had become convinced by my many successful cures that my spirits were more powerful than their own. He therefore requested me to ask my spirits whether and when he should move the village. If my spirits approved, he would prefer not to change his residence during his lifetime.

000 The Thailand doctors and their medical helpers would have to gain the confidence of the mountain peoples. Since the Thailand national character is distinguished by tact and sympathy, the right path will soon be taken automatically. Nevertheless it is important to point out that in the medical treatment of the natives, the /529/ shamans and chiefs of the mountain peoples must always be enlisted. Usually these village authorities will let themselves be properly taught and

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252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.
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● 756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.
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231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.
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Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.
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Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.
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353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.
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622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.
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4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

593 From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

766 **Death and Burial.** When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

757 When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

764 535 The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

*A rectangle of brown "grass paper" with a de-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 **Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.** The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily. 757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757 I took with me the specifics for the troubles 123 mentioned and these, which a doctor at the Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

4.Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 123 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

N.S Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

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364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

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2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 205.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

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/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

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A 757 276 /235 cont./

The Akha know only a few medicaments. They consist of herbs and the bark and leaves of certain trees; opium also plays an important part. Telford's statements (2) agree with my ob-

2. Page 201.

servations: "The Kaw have no medicines of their own. They cure almost every illness with opium. Cauterization and blood-letting are also known. The insane are locked up in a cage in the forest. Souls that have run away are called back into the bodies."

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It is understandable that the Akha eagerly adopt curative methods from neighboring tribes. Several Akha villages that I visited had borrowed the blowing of the injured spot, along with the associated magical rites, from the Lahu and other magical healing procedures from the Lao and the Schan /Shan/.

M 757 M [237]

It was interesting to note that the Meau, among others, also use medicines which formerly played a major role in our European folk medicine. One of them, for example, is bear fat, which, mixed with rice, the Meau give internally as a remedy for worms or externally as an ointment for rheumatism.

For stomach pains they give a laxative that is obtained from the extract of the diced roots of a plant, ŭŏ kĕn.

The roots of a grapevine-like plant, tsŏ kŏ tŏ nŭm, either dried or fresh, are ground on stones with water and used as a diaphoretic for fever and headaches. The roots of a leafy plant /236/ called tsĭ mŏ nŭn are used in the same way. As another medication the dry wood of a certain tree is used; it is suitable only after the bark has fallen off and the wood appears almost black. This remedy, too, is ground with water. Water thus prepared from the three plants just mentioned is mixed in equal parts and produces the medicine mĕn tou yŭ, which is drunk.

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called táun yā. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[847] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kā, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

177 In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role; among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
278 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For
832 example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/237 cont./

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.
832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious
ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
757 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
278 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
114 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine! It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.

752 They are most skillful, however, in the treatment of bone fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing
[845] trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.

278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manufacture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of certain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that M [562] the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and [114] children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

M [763] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death [757] easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

either by letting his eye rest upon them or by merely 754
wishing them evil. Their only proof of this was that their children or wives had been taken ill after this supposed wizard had passed by their doors, or had been seen by them in the fields or on the hills. No words of the missionary could persuade those men that possibly they were mistaken.

This power of spitefully "overlooking" people 751
belongs to women as well as to men. In one village 758
typhoid broke out and took off a large number of victims. This is the blackest of all demons; it works havoc amongst the Miao, who fear it intensely. Hamlets and villages are frequently decimated by it. In one epidemic, out of a family of nine, seven had died of it. The ninth, a young wife, was so afraid that she ran away, no one knowing whither she had gone. An eighth member of the family had got over the typhoid and was being tended by this wife, but after she had absconded no one would enter the house. Thus, being bereft of all nursing and food, the patient eventually died from sheer starvation. In another instance the father, mother and two children all died; no one would enter the house to bury the bodies, so by degrees the village dogs devoured them. Perhaps the saddest case was that of a mother dying and leaving a young babe. As every one was afraid of infection the living babe was buried with the deceased mother. In this village, after several people had died of this dread disease, it began to be whispered that the sickness had been caused by an old widow woman, who

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

751 thereupon became suspect of being a witch.
758 Finally feelings ran so high that some of the men, armed with staves, entered the woman's house and literally beat her to death.

754 Men who practise the "black art" sometimes come to a bad end. One wizard, who had been accused several times of "overlooking" people, was rather proud that it should be thought he possessed this power. One day the brother of a man of some influence was taken ill, and within a short while he died, killed, it was believed, by a secret arrow released by this wizard. The elder brother was so infuriated that on the day of the burial he had the wizard brought to the village, beaten with bludgeons until he lost consciousness, carried to a newly dug grave and unceremoniously flung into it. On top of the unconscious but living wizard was lowered the coffin containing his supposed unfortunate victim, and the grave was filled up.

566 Another aspect of Miao life which needs our understanding and sympathy, is the dominance of the landlords, called for the most part "*t'u-muh*". The words "*t'u-muh*" are the Chinese for "earth's eyes" and are probably used to designate the enfeoffed eldest sons of aforetime Nosu chiefs. While some Miao are the tenants of small landowners, either Chinese or Nosu, a majority till the land of *t'u-muh*, who, as a class, are crafty, corrupt, capricious and at times inhumanly cruel. Before the Chinese Republic was founded in 1911, these *t'u-muh* had immense power; and though

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Laotians AM8

boy's pockets lay strewn about; the lengths of string, the broken penknives, the buttons, the mirror glass, the tins, the bottles and the burned out lamp bulbs. Here was accumulated the jackdaw harvesting, the valuable glittering rubbish which was all a Meo wanted of civilization, and which he was free to take, while leaving the civilization itself severely alone. What foolish, generous people, these town-dwellers were!

Our host's wife, a child of fifteen, was lying with her baby on a heap of rags in the corner. The baby was sick, he said, but the only thing necessary was to keep it away from the light — and air — as much as possible. Most Meo babies die in their first two years, and one wonders what would have happened by now to the fertile land of Indo-China, if they didn't.

There was a gun in the corner — a muzzle-loader of the kind it takes a Meo two years to make. They are copied from the guns first supplied by the Jesuits to the Chinese, but are turned out by an endlessly laborious process involving boring out a solid bar by twirling a white hot iron in it. It was enormously long, like an old-fashioned Arab stove-pipe gun, and when Dupont took notice of it the Meo offered to show it to him in use. We went outside and he loaded it with powder and shot he made himself. This process took about five minutes. Before pressing the trigger he warned us to stand well away because of the muzzle blast. The target was a small banana-leaf, skewered against a bank at twenty paces. There was a tremendous bang when he fired, but the leaf remained intact. He blamed this on the maize-spirit which we had just drunk, and was quite delighted when Dupont, giving a demonstration with his American light carbine, also missed.

There were no dogs at all at this village. They were all down at the poppy fields with their owners, the Meo said.

Luang Prabang lies at the end of a long, curling descent from the mountains and through smoking bamboo groves, on the banks of the Mékong. It is built into a tongue of land formed by the con-

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [425] [758] [276] [185] [614] [736] The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M 185

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See out 116, P450-ANALYST]

/528 cont./

000 medicine that have to be overcome, it should be relatively easy to fight epidemics successfully, especially since almost all the diseases concerned offer no difficult problems for modern European medicine. The readiness to submit to European doctors is also stressed in the literature. Abadie, for instance, states(1):

M 758 648

1. Page 159.

"The Meau prize the free, expert medical treatment which the French doctors give them, with the assistance of native medical helpers, on their circuits among them."

M 756 776 With the help of well-chosen doctors, it will be possible to influence the beliefs and also to exert a decisive influence upon the shamans, for, in the eyes of the mountain peoples, the ability to cure diseases is equivalent to visible mastery over the evil spirits that call forth these diseases. Most of the shamans by far want only the best for the people for whom they feel responsible. It will therefore not be difficult to persuade them to intercede against moving the villages, if they are convinced that this would be to the advantage of their community.

M [123] The following event proved to me that in this respect natives whose trust has been won are easily influenced: One day, a Meau chief, in whose village I had stayed for some time, came to me in order to tell me that he and his fellows had become convinced by my many successful cures that my spirits were more powerful than their own. He therefore requested me to ask my spirits whether and when he should move the village. If my spirits approved, he would prefer not to change his residence during his lifetime.

000 The Thailand doctors and their medical helpers would have to gain the confidence of the mountain peoples. Since the Thailand national character is distinguished by tact and sympathy, the right path will soon be taken automatically. Nevertheless it is important to point out that in the medical treatment of the natives, the /529/ shamans and chiefs of the mountain peoples must always be enlisted. Usually these village authorities will let themselves be properly taught and

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1. Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
* [782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia˧˥. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien˧˥] and a body [ko˧˥-ʂʿieŋ˧/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pe˧˥ ts'ɔ˧˥]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ˧˥
[824] ɕo˧˥] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ˧˥ ndu˧˥]. When there is a
* [782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
●[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

761 6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
782 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
756 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

756 8) To protect children. Many families whose children
751 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

1. Page 98.

most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 M [753 776 761 755] The Meau believe in an immortal soul, pli, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was [828] no explanation for fainting.

769 When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they 114 have been informed of the change of location through a special [775] ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in

II, p. 319.

case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is 774 commonly assumed, as was said, that evil spirits prevent it from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes [761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead 761 body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

/161 cont./

775 not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of
[761] apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one.
787 Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not
775 feared either. There is one exception, however. During the
776 three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected,
825 so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling
825 neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the
[648] Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the
[763] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person
[177] is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

/230 cont./

A 515 Conditions among the Akha are somewhat more favorable, but likewise leave much to be desired. The personal cleanliness of the Akha, however, is unconditionally greater than that of the Meau. The people wash themselves regularly as soon as they A [356] are grown up; children are washed daily. The houses are always [296] swept clean, and the Akha seem to wash their clothing /231/ [364] more often than the Meau do. Otherwise what was found among the Meau applies. To be sure, hygienic conditions are somewhat 165 better, but they are still so deficient that a high mortality among [163] the children as a result of epidemics and sicknesses is unavoidable. Among the Akha, too, however, this mortality rate is offset by great fertility, so that the Akha, too, will certainly not be subject to a population decline.

A M 164 165 Prophylactic measures against illness are completely unknown to both the Meau and Akha, as is the nature of infectious diseases. Although I did not succeed in determining precisely the losses caused by epidemics, the consequences of such pestilences were [751] easily ascertained. Merely the presence of sibless Meau, who [753] had placed themselves as unfree under the protection of powerful large /extended/ families, showed this, as did the many widows, widowers, childless parents, and orphans. Whenever I inquired M about the causes of death, it was said: "Died because of the 761 vengeance of evil spirits." It often turned out, however, that 164 these evil spirits had killed dozens of people at the same time. 731 I learned that once the Meau built a village in a country at an altitude lower than is customary and infested with malaria. When subsequently a malaria epidemic broke out they believed that they had chosen as a dwelling site a place haunted by evil spirits and they moved their village.

A 164 731 I could not find any moving of a village because of the outbreak of an epidemic among the Akha. Southwest of the Doy Tung there was an Akha village whose inhabitants had almost all fallen victim to an epidemic; from the description it was probably cholera. The survivors, however, had not moved the village.

soul together. The worst famine we ever had to face was in 1918 and it was weathered by the brave and unselfish devotion of the Rev. H. and Mrs. Parsons, to whose work amongst the Miao, were this book larger, we could easily devote a chapter. Suffice it to say that in the annals of our Church their names should be recorded in letters of gold. It was during this famine[1] that there was committed the only murder of which we ever knew a Miao to be guilty, and in this the pangs of hunger were the cause. 00C 762 681

A young man out seeking food met an elderly man carrying a small bag of grain. They were near one of the many bottomless pits which are found upon these hills. No one was near and it was the work of a moment to snatch the bag, but in the scuffle the old man, slipping into the pit, was killed. When it became known, the village elders offered the youth a knife or a length of rope and told him they didn't wish to see him again. He chose the rope and, like Judas, "went away and hanged himself". There is a peculiarity amongst the Miao which has always been distressing to their friends. It is their tendency readily to commit suicide, it is said, a not uncommon feature amongst aboriginals. Such instances as the following are by no means exceptional: A boy and a girl who were very much attached to each other and forbidden by their parents to marry, hanged themselves with a single piece of rope. A little schoolgirl at Stone-Gateway who had been reproved by her teacher slipped 762

1 [OF 1918--ANALYST]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

762 quietly out of the room and, going down the hill, took her own life. A woman, who lived not far from us, one evening committed suicide because she had burnt the food she was cooking for her children.

000 After Pollard's death there was a recrudescence of drunkenness, immorality and superstition; but we must not be surprised at this. In England, after centuries of Christianity we are still faced with an appalling drink problem, an urgent sex question, and a spiritualist society. This is closely allied to necromancy. "Wine is a mocker" and "strong drink a brawler", whether in England or in China, and all over the world the teaching of Proverbs is terrifyingly true: "On account of a whorish woman a man is brought to a piece of bread." The dense darkness was not, and could not be dispersed in eleven years, but there is no need to paint the shadows too black; the high lights are too fascinating. Throughout the province there was civil war and brigandage and political unrest, whilst amongst our Miao were bad cases of backsliding. Throughout scores of villages, however, the habit of prayer and pure living and the study of God's loved word was being acquired. The year 1917 was a memorable date, as it was during this year that the British and Foreign Bible Society printed and published in the Flowery Miao language, the whole of the New Testament. The work of translation had been done by Sam Pollard and the Rev. A. G. Nicholls of the China Inland Mission, but with James Yang, Pollard's gifted amanuensis,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

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755 some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among
165 the Ch'uan Miao is very high. *A Ch'uan Miao friend told me* that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

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13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[987] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spell. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
•763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles.
764 Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
[177] as the Chinese.

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[606] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

764 wash his face. They also offer some cooked fowl, whisky, and rice to the deceased. After these ceremonies some rice is given to all the guests, who may eat it at once or take it home with them.

763 The Hua Miao, when a man or woman is about to die, send for the exorcist, who first assures himself that the patient is actually dying and not merely fainting. When it appears that the sick person is really dying, the exorcist relates the story of Gloe-an and Ngo-a, the first man and woman, and the making of heaven and earth, so that the moribund may know his way about after death. The exorcist then says: "I shall now show you the way to heaven. On the road there are many creeping things, so you must wear a pair of hemp sandals lest they bite your feet. When you get half-way up, you will see tigers with their mouths wide open waiting to devour you. Carry some hemp on your back, and when a tiger attempts to bite you, let him bite the hemp, and make your escape. When you are half-way up, the sun shines with a burning heat; take this piece of calico and cover your eyes—you will find it in your breast pocket.

"When you arrive at the gate of heaven, the door-keeper may refuse to let you in, and you

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

must beseech him to let you pass. If he says, 763
'If I open the gate will you transform yourself and be my ox?' you must answer, 'No! I will not.' If he says, 'Will you be my horse?' you must say, 'No! I will not.' Then say to him, 'I will transform myself and be your servant.' When you say this, he will open the door, and you must quickly pass in and go on. After walking for some time you will come to a place where there are three roads; the one to the right is for Chinese, the one to the left for I-chia, and the one in the middle is the Hua Miao road, which all your forefathers have taken. If some one finely dressed comes to show you the way, it is some one come to deceive you, and not one of your ancestors. If a person wearing coarse clothes comes to lead you, follow him, he is one of your forefathers. If some one with a bad heart asks, 'Who brought you here?' you must say, 'One tall and stout.' If they ask you, 'Can you find him?' you must say, 'You cannot overtake him, his eyes are as big as a cup and his ears as big as a fan.' And now," the exorcist concludes, "I have shown you the way to your ancestors and the demons (or spirits), and you must remain there for ever."

Subsequently, at different periods, the Miao 764
offer sacrifices to their ancestors. Probably all 782

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Akha A04
Miao AE5

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 588 [596] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

A M [782] [775]

Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of

M 764 775

1. Page 461.

Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

M [789]

/161 cont./

775 not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of
[761] apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one.
787 Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not
775 feared either. There is one exception, however. During the
776 three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected, so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen
825 that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling
825 neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the
[648] Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the
[763] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person
[177] is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
[821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[763] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is
[171] interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, M [562] is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and [114] children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

M [763] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death [757] easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

1: Wang
764

AE5 Miao

[For the materials on tso-chai service, see 765. Since tso-chai service is held within one or two years after the death of a Miao and not the funeral service it is classified under 765.]

/51 cont'd/

585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[763] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[764] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/129 cont'd/

755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
●764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/133 cont'd/

our dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were
262 difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

765 /134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and we joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

828 In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

765 To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and
[262] bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

764 A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

/134 cont'd/

764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second month, twenty-seventh day. (Saturday)

The program for the tso-chai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call back the soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests, 554 793 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each [179] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

/77 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
292 at weddings (Illus. 48-5[illegible]) are embroidered on the large lapel
[531] and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[164] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

/88 cont./

292 [764] festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).

291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan, regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua [184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts. When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western [126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of [292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

/93 cont./

551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, ● 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a [517] betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [533] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
[113] funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
765 slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
769 offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
764 of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
[113] planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[556] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spells. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles. Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
764 as the Chinese.
[177]

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
606 first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/101 cont./

764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony. After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of 764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress' 604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a 605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over, he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family and those on the maternal side who came with the maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat, towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative" each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth "for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various 604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of [789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession [illegible] can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer [illegible] picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it upside down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice, in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

4:Mickey E-6 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and
563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one
463 small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-
596 workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-tai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (王) family. They had
764 intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one
342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one.
342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

292 horizontally, and finally the embroidered scarf
585 was put on so that the whole design showed and the ends were tied, at the back. All wore new straw sandals.

292 The costume in which two old ladies were
764 laid out while the ritual of "opening the way" was performed was still different (fig. 18, *f*). The turban was that of a married woman, with the embroidered scarf. Several blouses were put on, of which the outer was of orange silk, and in one case there were two pairs of trousers. Both the pleated skirt and aprons were worn. On the feet were cloth stockings and Chinese cloth shoes. In one case there was just one overpiece; in the other three were tacked together. This latter old lady had kept the old style turban scarf, overpiece, and front apron. The designs were different from those used at the time I was with them and the colors were faded soft and lovely, showing that silk thread with good dyes had been used. That sold in the markets now soon fades to almost white.

The designs on the front apron were in rows, one of birds with wings outspread, one of birds with wings folded, as if rising, and one of an animal, all in white. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that used in modern times, but that in the back was a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center. On the inner strip the four diagonal lines had become two, forming a cross. There were many strips with a dogtooth design on them. The cross-stitch designs were not of the fine type now used, but coarser, more like those on the overpiece worn by another group of Miao women I saw in the Lung-li market who said that they were Lao Hei Miao (Black Miao who had been long in the vicinity.) fig. 18, *f*. On the scarf the designs were of birds and medallions somewhat spaced. Her belt was of the same design as those I saw, but only half as wide.

292 These Lao Hei Miao women also wore trousers and aprons for everyday, but both aprons were of hemp and had no embroidery. Another group of Miao women, called by the Chinese Pai (White) Miao (fig. 20, *b*), wore the ceremonial skirt constantly over trousers

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805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
527 thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
541 embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or
[764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[2] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains
243 to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

593 From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

766 **Death and Burial.** When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

757 When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

764 535 The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

*A rectangle of brown "press paper" with a de-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 when the man of fifty-odd died, but was told they danced for him. A man of about the
535 same age died in Lo-ying, another Cowrie Shell Miao village near Yang-niu-ts'un. For him they danced two nights. A tripod was set up before a house in Yang-niu-ts'un in which lived a woman whose maiden name was Lo and who had come from that village.

764 The first funeral I saw was that of the oldest inhabitant of the village of Yang-chia-sai, a woman of eighty-four. She was related to practically everyone in the whole village and had relatives in other villages, as well. Moreover, she was the only one of her generation left in the village. Two nephews were with the aviation corps of the army, stationed in Kunming. She died on the twenty-third of the first month. I knew nothing about it until I heard the sound of drumming the next day and saw before the house of nearly every family in the village a tripod formed of carrying poles or other poles of the same length, tied together near the top. A wicker scoop rested on top of them, in which was a spray of thorn tied with rushes, a pair of chopsticks, and two bowls, one containing a cooked green vegetable and one cooked rice.

I followed the sound of the drum and found in the house in which the old lady's widowed daughter-in-law lived the following things: In the central room, near the right side as one faced the door and with its foot toward the door, was a coffin, raised a little from the floor. This was of the Chinese type and of wood of the proper thickness. The lid of the coffin was reversed. On it at the upper end was the body of the little, old lady, dressed in her best — new, high Chinese shoes, two pair of new trousers, the short pleated skirt worn by a bride and her attendants, the two aprons, three blouses, the outer one of orange silk, the overpiece, and her best turban with embroidered scarf. On the right side of her body at the waist was a large bunch of tobacco leaves. One of the local priests, who in this case, however, was acting in his capacity as a nephew, was kneeling at the foot of the coffin burning spirit money.[6] This he lighted in the flame of one of two red candles,

sign cut in it, used only for ritual purposes.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764

stuck with lighted incense sticks in a measure of rice on the foot of the coffin. Beside the head of the coffin, on its left, was a small table, on which were a jar of wine, a big bowl, and two bamboo tubes. The most skillful and oldest priest of the village, wearing the yellow robe and a large bamboo rainhat, holding in his left arm a chicken and in his right hand a tube of bamboo, was standing by the table chanting. At his waist hung a sword in a wooden sheath. Before him around a fire sat several other men.

In the front room to the right was a cylindrical drum, nearly five feet long and two in diameter, made of wood, with oxhide ends. It had an iron ring fastened to each side. It was so suspended by a withe of bamboo tied to a beam across the room below the rafters that one end rested on the floor at the window and the other was at the height of a man's waist. Above the drum on the beam was suspended an ox's shin bone. Over the beam on one side were three sheaves of rice and on the other side two. A second priest in yellow robe (not from this village) stood before the drum with two sticks in his hand. Other men and boys sat on a bench in the corner of this room. In the front room on the other side sat several women and their children about a floor fire.

As the priest chanted a male relative from another village who sat in the side room with the drum plaited a bamboo basket. At times the priest beat the drum. After a while three of the older women, two daughters and the daughter-in-law, went out and knelt beside the coffin, singing the lament, every line of which ends in sobs. As they sang the priest killed the chicken with the sword at his side and the drum was rolled. This was the ritual of "opening the way." While the priest was chanting, a male relative brought in a rice steamer and put lengths of straw, pieces of bean curd, and a measure of rice into it. He set it on the foot of the coffin. Another man put a large bowl of water on the tripod over the fire and set the steamer in it. After the priest had killed the chicken he stripped off its feathers and the head together, and gave the body to a man, who took it into the yard and cleaned it, then put it into the bowl under the steamer. The priest cut the two lengths

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of bamboo lengthwise with the sword and cast lots with one pair. The other pair he laid across the top of the steamer.

A second, younger man put on the robe and chanted, being prompted, I thought, by the old priest, who now sat in the circle about the fire. As he chanted he poured wine from the bowl into the jar. Then a third man put on the robe and chanted as he dripped wine from the bowl onto the floor at the head of the coffin. By this time the bamboo basket was plaited. A man put cooked rice and bean curd into it. He shredded the meat of the chicken. Still a fourth man put on the robe and chanted. As he did so he dropped bits of the chicken into the basket. The women had gone back to their fire after the chicken was killed. I was invited to eat a meal of rice and bean curd broth with them. Not knowing what was going to happen, I went home. Later I found that the body had been put into the coffin and the coffin sealed, while the women sang the lament again. The next day I saw that the basket with rice, bean curd, and chicken in it, a small, square basket such as they carry lunch in, and the head and feathers of the chicken had been suspended from bamboo poles, stuck in the wall above the head of the coffin at the side of the room.

That first night from dusk until dawn a priest beat the drum and two young men of the village played the *lu sheng*. They stood beside the coffin first facing it, then one in front of the other, and finally facing one another. A few of the young girls of the village stood in the porch and danced.

The morning of the next day I found that two frames had been put up, of which one formed one large and two small arches at the edge of the porch. It was of bamboo covered with branches of cedar and a few paper roses stuck on here and there. In the room another frame formed a small arch to the right of the coffin and a large arch on the left. A solid piece of lattice came down to a table over the foot of the coffin. On the table was placed a red tablet behind a measure of rice covered with white paper. Over the arches inscriptions were written in Chinese and over the coffin on the lattice a single large character. On either side were scrolls with inscriptions on them. In front of the lattice was a

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764 square measure of rice with incense sticks in it.

764 That night the young girls, even the tiny
535 ones, of the village and those from other villages who had come to the funeral danced around the room in which the coffin stood. Gradually young men playing the *lu sheng* joined them until there were nine. The little girls soon dropped out and went home to bed. The drum and *lu sheng* were played together, occasionally the drum alone. Some of the beats were on the bone. The rhythm was sometimes steady as if for marching; sometimes with several quick beats (usually six), a rest, and then one; sometimes syncopated, with many beats first on the drum and then on the bone. The dancing was a bouncing with bending of the knees, first on one foot and then on the other. The *lu sheng* players also danced and set the rhythm for the girls, who stood very close side by side in groups moving exactly together. The women of our household dressed me in their tribal costume and told me to go, too. I found the steady beat easy to follow, but not the syncopation, and the girls constantly urged me to be more vigorous. My efforts were almost too much for the solemnity of the old man's son, who was one of the *lu sheng* players. This drum and *lu sheng* playing were repeated for the succeeding three nights from dusk until dawn. During the day some of the small boys played on these instruments. All the Cowrie Shell Miao seemed to be musical and able to play, sing, and dance.

764 During the day men wrote appropriate sentiments in black on white paper and pasted them over the red ones on door and window frames. Banners of checked cloth with similar sentiments on white paper pasted to them were presented by guests as they arrived and someone in the family set them up against the front of the house. As groups of relatives from other villages arrived gunpowder charges or firecrackers were set off. Women in the groups knelt beside the coffin and sang the wailing song. On the third day after her death the most important men and women of the village were invited to a feast. I was included. A pig which one group brought had been killed and the dishes were of fat pork cooked in various ways, dry and fresh bean curd,

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celery, carrots, and lean pork. With the rice was mixed red beans. The women and a group of young men ate outside, the other men in the house. As they ate some of the women put choice pieces in front of them and at the end of the feast the women of the household gave them leaves in which to wrap them and carry them home. After this feast I saw bowls of feast food placed on the table over the foot of the coffin and the red tablet, bearing the same inscription as that later to be put on the gravestone, and which had been set behind the measure of rice covered with white paper, set on top of it. On the fourth day a similar feast was held, to which I was also invited. Between times I was asked to hold a clinic for villagers and guests. For this feast nearly everyone sat around tables in the court and most of the guests were men. Many firecrackers were set off.

Burial took place on the twenty-eighth. After breakfast, which was about nine-thirty, I got there to find that the coffin had been taken out into the yard and set on two benches. The various frames and the drum had been taken down. Before the procession started two priests in yellow robes sat at a table at the foot of the coffin. On the table were four bowls of wine and four of pork in broth and four sets of chopsticks. One of the priests chanted as he dripped wine from one of the bowls onto the ground. A group of women sang the wailing song, kneeling beside the coffin. The chief mourners wore a strip of white cloth around the head, with long ends hanging down the back. The son's widow had her hair hanging down her back for all the time until the day of the funeral, when she wore the cloth as a turban.

As the procession started gunpowder charges were set off, the two trumpets of different lengths known as the *sola* and *lapa* were played, and the grandson knelt down facing the coffin with bamboo sticks wound in strips of frilled white paper in his hands. Young men from other villages were carrying the coffin at first, but those from this village took it from them with a bit of scuffling and laughter. The procession was made up of musicians; several small boys holding bamboo poles with the gift banners suspended from them; the two priests holding umbrellas; the

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two chief men mourners, walking bent over and kneeling at every point where a path entered the one they were traversing, while the women sang the lament and gunpowder charges were set off; the bearers with the coffin; men carrying bundles of faggots, a roll made up of the frame which had been in the room wrapped around a piece of matting such as is used on a bed; men carrying the red tablet, and one carrying a chicken. Two of the women carried a roll of rags and one of the cotton from a comforter, wrapped with an old umbrella.

The procession went out of the village by the path to the south, then around it on the east and to a mound with other graves on it, just a little way northeast of the village. The graves already there were those of her husband's mother and his brother and sister-in-law. These graves had been faced with stones and a large stone tablet had been set up before each one. These bore the name of the deceased — married name in the case of the women, surname and given name in the case of the man — the names of the sons and grandsons who had erected them, and the date of erection.

When they reached the mound the boys set up the bamboo poles with banners on them on the mound. The men in the procession built one fire in the grave and burned much spirit money in it. They built a second fire to the right and a third to the left of the grave. These men kept the righthand fire burning briskly, while the women burned in the lefthand one the rags, the frame, and the mat. The nephew cut down a small tree so that the coffin could be moved from the mound into the grave. One of the priests took the chicken and, standing at the head of the grave, slowly waved it over the grave several times. He drew a little blood from the neck of the chicken with the sword hanging at his side and let it drip at the head of the grave. Then he threw the chicken so that it fell just beyond the foot of the grave. It was not dead and was carried home afterward. The bearers moved the coffin into the grave and laid the beam from which it had been sus-

*See p. 13.

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pended for carrying across the grave, resting on two benches. On the beam they laid a bag with rice in it, two books, and a compass. The local necromancer, a Chinese, took careful reading of the compass and directed that the coffin be moved slightly so as to rest exactly north and south, the foot to the north. The various things were removed. The necromancer took a sickle, said some words, and made menacing gestures with the sickle at the coffin. He also threw clods on it. The chief mourner knelt on the coffin facing its foot. The men pelted him with clods, laughing loudly as they did so. Altogether the funeral seemed to be a mixture of wailing, mostly prescribed, solemn chanting, and festivity. The priest again stood at the head of the grave and chanted, holding the umbrella over himself as he did so. At times he struck the coffin with his free hand.

Men of the family set the jar of wine with a rice bowl over the opening at the head of the coffin and the basket of rice, bean curd and chicken, the square basket, and the head and feathers of the chicken at the foot. Other men were directed to fill in the grave and make a mound over it, sodded at once. In the mound they stuck the old umbrella, handle down, at about where the head of the coffin would be, and a bamboo pole with leaves and white paper streamers they stuck in the center of the mound. At the foot they set the bamboo sticks which the chief mourner had carried and some lighted incense sticks. All the party then went home. There the family served another feast and various priests chanted as they prepared offerings to the spirits of earth, in the same way as at the ritual of opening the way. Those from a distance then returned to their villages. The tripods were taken down on the day of the burial and in front of several houses they set up a pair of water buffalo horns on a millstone, with a spray of thorn and one of rushes between. After the man had died from the kick of a cow, a similar arrangement was set up before his house and remained there several months. The grave of the old lady's father-in-law is the main one beyond the

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764 buffalo bullfighting meadow. Some of these graves are set exactly north and south, with the foot to the north — or east and west, with the foot to the east.

Another old lady, aged seventy-six, died just after the rice harvest began and in a comparatively poor household. One morning I went to see what the excitement was there and found her body in ordinary clothing lying on a straw bed by the firepit. (When anyone was seriously ill it was their custom to put him or her on a straw pallet on the floor by the fire, or on a bedstead in that room.) I watched them wash the body and dress it. The son washed the head and hands, the son's wife and another daughter-in-law the rest of the body. Then these two women put on the body her new trousers, the pleated skirt, five blouses, of which the outer one was of orange silk with yellow silk sleeves and band about the neck and down the front, a front apron, three overpieces tacked together, and a belt (see fig. 18, *f*). The blouses were folded surplice toward the left, instead of toward the right, as usual. The turban included the embroidered scarf and was put on very carefully. One daughter-in-law made stockings of white cloth for her. Later men's shoes were added. She wore earrings, two bracelets, and three neck loops of silver.

The designs on overpiece, apron, and turban were all different from those used by the Cowrie Shell Miao women when I was in the village. In design and fineness of work the overpiece resembled that worn by the women of another group of Miao in the *hsien* who called themselves Lao Hei Miao. On the apron the design was rows of birds with wings outspread, birds with wings folded, but as if rising, and a sort of animal, all in white. On the scarf appeared the same birds with medallions, not in close rows as now, but spaced. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that I saw being made, but of the back one a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center; the parts of the figure on the inner strip made a complete cross, instead of being four little converging lines. There were several strips with dog tooth design on them instead of a

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•764 zigzag. The cross stitch designs were very coarse. Those I saw being made were exceedingly fine. The belt was of the same design, but only half as wide. The colors in the overpiece were soft and beautiful, showing that good dyes had been used in the fine thread. That I saw used faded in a very short time.

After she was dressed the son and daughter-in-law laid her on a mat on the other side of the fire, with a pillow of bundles of straw under her head. The coffin, meanwhile, was set in the main room of the house opposite. The body was carried over by four men, while two others held the mat over it. The men washed their hands after carrying the body over and laying it on the reversed coffin lid. The oldest women of the village, together with several other women — the two daughters-in-law, a granddaughter, and a daughter — ten in all, knelt on either side of the coffin and sang the lament. A piece of white paper was put over the face of the corpse. A bundle of tobacco and two cloths were tucked in, as if suspended from the belt. That evening and the next day women came from other villages. One of the principal ones was her daughter. As they entered the village from the wood they began the lament and continued to sing as they knelt by the coffin.

This time the ceremonies of "opening the way," providing food for the soul's journey and encoffining were held the first part of the night, instead of in the afternoon as in the other case, and the drum and *lu sheng* were played for the remainder of the night. There was no bone above the drum in the side room; instead the drum was sometimes struck on the edge. The chief priest this time was the younger man who had burned spirit money at the foot of the coffin for his aunt. The woman's son and nephew knelt and burned the spirit money this time. First a priest beat the drum as the other priest who was to chant took one of the cloths from the woman's belt, wrung it out of the water in a small tub which the daughter-in-law held, and lightly "washed" all her body and clothing. He then tucked the wet cloth back into her belt. Firecrackers were set off outside.

During the chanting a man fashioned straw into a large square and put it down into a

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water bucket, which he then set in the loft. The priest stunned the chicken by beating its beak with the piece of bamboo he held in his right hand before he killed it. The other priest rolled the drum at this time, and all the women present, more than twenty of them, sang the lament. The daughter-in-law with whom she had lived continued after the others and until she was forced to stop by the other daughter-in-law and led from the room. As a man measured rice from a tray into the cooking vessel, he counted about thirty scoops and then dumped in the rest. The first of the two priests who dripped wine divided the pieces of bamboo to put across the steamer and both threw them on the table as if casting lots. The chief priest told me afterward that the refrain of the chant for "opening the way" — *Tou tseng ou* — meant the destination of the spirit, the "level land of Heaven," in which other Miao groups also believe. The body was also put into the coffin that night and the drum and *lu sheng* were played until dawn. I must confess that, believing the encoffining would not take place until the next day, I went home too soon.

When I got there the next day I saw white paper with inscriptions on it pasted up over the doorways and a white cross of paper on either side of the door frame of each house. A millstone was set on a wooden frame near the house in which the body lay, but without either water buffalo horns or rushes on it. The table was set over the foot of the coffin and on it were placed the red tablet with its inscription, various dishes of food, and the measure of rice with lighted incense sticks in it Her maiden name was Wu. In front of most of the houses of the village was set the tripod with a bamboo scoop on top. Each contained a bowl of rice, chopsticks, bowls of vegetable, mostly soy beans, and various twigs tied with long grass. In one case there was a dry twig, in one a vine, not the thorn alone, as before. That night young men played the drum and *lu sheng* and the girls danced, but not as sedately as before. One man from another village was especially lively and kept teasing the girls.

[57a]

*Prayer paper.

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At daylight the next morning I heard the priest chanting. A little later the chanting was accompanied by the drum. When I got up I noticed that the table and the articles on it, the rice sheaves, and the coffin had been taken outside. The son's wife was lamenting beside it. Later that morning the burial took place. The son, wearing a peaked white paper cap and holding the prayer sticks, went first through the wood with the gravediggers. Then the procession, led by four women relatives, was formed. Two of them carried the same objects as in the other case. They were followed by the bearers with the coffin, and several villagers with many children. The procession went out of the village by the path to the south and to the grave site in fields belonging to the family, at the foot of the hills to the west. One of the men carried a bundle of faggots, one woman a mat and some comfortable padding, one clothing and an old umbrella. The women wailed as they walked. The men set off firecrackers and shouted. Two sticks with prayer streamers on them, exactly like the *gohei*[8] I saw in Japan, had been set in the fields on either side of the path into the graves.

At the grave, which was in a row with several others, the men built three fires. The one at the right of the grave, facing out from the hill, they kept burning fiercely. In the one in the grave they burned spirit money before the coffin was set in. The third was to the left of the grave. In it the women burned the padding and rags. After the bearers put the coffin into the grave the priest, wearing the yellow robe and holding an umbrella over himself, squatted at the head of the grave. The refrain of his chant was "*Ha ma lou*," meaning "Don't come back!" He also slapped the coffin several times. The daughter and some children threw clods on the coffin and into the hole, which the men then filled in. They sodded the mound and stuck the umbrella into it. The mat was carried home.

A good meal was served at breakfast time, before the burial. At noon there was an ordinary one for the women and a better one, including chicken, for the men. Supper was

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 **Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.** The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily. 757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757 I took with me the specifics for the troubles mentioned and these, which a doctor at the 123 Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

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775 people, when they die go to heaven, but that very wicked people are born again on earth in a very wretched condition. We doubt if they attach the same idea of superlative bliss to the place where the dead go as is generally associated with heaven, but we must think of it as heaven because they call it so, and speak of it as being above the sky. The ancient Chinese seem to have had no knowledge of a purgatory or hell. In the Classical Books the good kings who died are mentioned as being in heaven with their loyal ministers, but nothing is said of bad kings and bad ministers who died, or of the common people. What the Chinese now say of hell or purgatory they learned from the Buddhists, and if any Miao now talk of hell, they have probably learnt it from the Chinese.

764 Of course, beliefs and practices vary among the different tribes, and their funeral ceremonies and rites concerning the dead are not all just the same. Among the Heh Miao when a man dies they plait a mat of bamboo, six feet by two feet, upon which they lay the corpse. In dressing the dead they do not fasten the clothes in the usual way on the right side, but lay them loose on the left side. Next they invite an exorcist to drive away any evil influences that might injure the living or the dead, and to choose

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a day for the interment. To drive away all evil influences, he kills an ox, pig, sheep, fowl, or duck. If the deceased is a man, he kills a male animal; if a woman, a female one. The animal and any other victim used is subsequently eaten. All the relations of the family are notified, who come to console and make presents, mostly of calico, though some may give satin to cover the corpse. Sometimes the relations give the animals used in sacrifice, and sometimes money to assist in the expenses.

A suitable day having been chosen for the burial, before beginning to dig the grave, they make a hole in the middle of the plot, and having burned a small piece of flesh, they put it in the hole. This sod with the burnt meat is then cut out and placed on one side, to be finally put on the top of the grave. When the grave, which is not very deep, is dug, the empty coffin is placed in it. On the bottom of the coffin they spread five, seven, or nine layers of paper. Why this is done no one seems to know.

Before the body is carried out, the exorcist "calls the road" or "opens the road." The idea is that the soul of the deceased is going on a long journey, and the exorcist tells him, or her, the route. He says: "You will see the Centipede Hill; don't be afraid (there are lots of

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centipedes on it). When you come to the Snow Mountain, don't fear the cold. When you come to the door of heaven, an old man guards it who will not let you in. Tell him who you are and all about yourself, and he will allow you to enter." On entering heaven the deceased may meet father or mother, or some other relation, and live with them. If he does get into heaven he will be happy, but if he fails to enter he will have to be reborn and suffer on earth. When the exorcist has finished his directions, he wrings the neck of a fowl, and this fowl in the other world will lead the soul to the door of heaven.

The body is carried out on the bamboo mat or frame and laid in the coffin. A son of the deceased, or a younger member of the family, bewails the dead, and calls out the name or relationship three times. When the corpse is encoffined, the exorcist takes a short bamboo tube in which is some water, and splits it on the coffin, saying, "On which side this water flows, drink water on that side." This means that, on the journey to heaven, when the deceased is thirsty he is to drink water on that side of the road. Next the exorcist takes some blades of "cutting grass" and chops them in pieces, saying, "If your brother, or sister, or other

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relative follows you, you must send them back." 764
He then throws the chopper and the cut grass from the head of the grave past the foot of it. This is done to prevent any other of the family dying and following the deceased. Then the son with a mattock begins to fill in the grave; the others assist till the grave is filled in, and the earth piled over it.

When returning home, a tub or basin of water is placed on the road at the entrance of the village, in which all who have assisted at the burial wash their hands. The last person to wash smashes the tub or basin. On returning to the house they all eat a meal. On the third day after the funeral some of the family rise at cock-crow, and proceeding to the grave call upon the deceased to return. They pick up small stones and, throwing them at the grave, say, "Who is keeping our father? let him come back." In crossing a stream they lay a bamboo pole across it, and say that the spirit may pass over that. When daylight comes they burn incense at the grave and offer a fowl or duck and some whisky. The fowl or duck is killed at the grave, and the whisky poured out on the grave. On their return home they place the shoes of the departed near some water in a basin, with a towel, and call upon him to come and

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

764 wash his face. They also offer some cooked fowl, whisky, and rice to the deceased. After these ceremonies some rice is given to all the guests, who may eat it at once or take it home with them.

763 The Hua Miao, when a man or woman is about to die, send for the exorcist, who first assures himself that the patient is actually dying and not merely fainting. When it appears that the sick person is really dying, the exorcist relates the story of Gloe-an and Ngo-a, the first man and woman, and the making of heaven and earth, so that the moribund may know his way about after death. The exorcist then says: "I shall now show you the way to heaven. On the road there are many creeping things, so you must wear a pair of hemp sandals lest they bite your feet. When you get half-way up, you will see tigers with their mouths wide open waiting to devour you. Carry some hemp on your back, and when a tiger attempts to bite you, let him bite the hemp, and make your escape. When you are half-way up, the sun shines with a burning heat; take this piece of calico and cover your eyes—you will find it in your breast pocket.

"When you arrive at the gate of heaven, the door-keeper may refuse to let you in, and you

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must beseech him to let you pass. If he says, 763
'If I open the gate will you transform yourself and be my ox?' you must answer, 'No! I will not.' If he says, 'Will you be my horse?' you must say, 'No! I will not.' Then say to him, 'I will transform myself and be your servant.' When you say this, he will open the door, and you must quickly pass in and go on. After walking for some time you will come to a place where there are three roads; the one to the right is for Chinese, the one to the left for I-chia, and the one in the middle is the Hua Miao road, which all your forefathers have taken. If some one finely dressed comes to show you the way, it is some one come to deceive you, and not one of your ancestors. If a person wearing coarse clothes comes to lead you, follow him, he is one of your forefathers. If some one with a bad heart asks, 'Who brought you here?' you must say, 'One tall and stout.' If they ask you, 'Can you find him?' you must say, 'You cannot overtake him, his eyes are as big as a cup and his ears as big as a fan.' And now," the exorcist concludes, "I have shown you the way to your ancestors and the demons (or spirits), and you must remain there for ever."

Subsequently, at different periods, the Miao 764
offer sacrifices to their ancestors. Probably all 782

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764 782 the oxen killed among them are killed as offerings to their ancestors or to demons. We were never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 796 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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After a parent dies, if he urinates it is unlucky and the children will suffer. If he has a bowel movement, the descendants will prosper and the feces must be carefully wrapped up and put away. Another custom is that the finger and toe nails must be carefully cut off and put away. Later, when the parent cannot be seen, the finger and toe nails can be looked at and this helps the descendants to remember the deceased. Still another custom is that the children must take a piece of white cloth and wash his face, then dry the cloth and burn it. When it is burning, if the shadows or shapes in the flames resemble a Chinese character, then the soul will be reborn as a male. If it is like a flower, the soul will be reborn as a female. The water that has been used to wash the face of the dead is divided among the children and drunk by them. Or the hands and the feet of the corpse may be washed and the water drunk by the children. Drinking this water is considered a very filial act and probably spreads many diseases.

Funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days in the summer time and sometimes for six or seven days if they occur in winter. The ceremonial drum, called in Chinese *kuei ku* 鬼鼓 or demon drum, is used much of the time, accompanied by the *liu shêng*. This is varied by the singing of appropriate songs by individuals and the playing of the jointed bugles, called *sa la tzŭ* accompanied by the beating of brass gongs.

When a person has just died, somebody plays the *liu shêng* and dances for a time. Then the officiating priest (generally there are in each family one or two who are efficient in conducting funeral or memorial ceremonies), who is called by the Ch'uan Miao *chi shih* 祭司 or priest in Chinese and mo in their own language, begins. The dead person has been carried in the coffin into the main room. The priest brings with him, or it is provided by others, a bow but no arrows. He cuts down a bamboo and makes of it another bow. Then he cuts down a peach branch and makes of it three or six arrows. He carries the bow he brought with him on his shoulder and a sword hangs from his belt. He takes the new bow and the arrows in his hands and a cock under his armpit. In his hands he also holds two pieces of bamboo which he uses in divination or conversation with the dead.

Three times the priest takes the dead person by the hand, saying each time, "I am helping you arise." Then, since the deceased does not arise, he takes the two pieces of bamboo and places them on the body of the corpse. Then he says, "I called you three times and I took hold of your hand three times and you would not get up. Now I will take the cock to lead you and will send a bow and an arrow to accompany you. If you hear another cock crow and yours replies, then that

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764 person is your ancestor. If your cock does not reply, that is not your ancestor and you must not go. When you meet your ancestors, report that you were born a certain place at a certain time, lived in such and such places and died at a certain place. Then the ancestors will take you to Ntsø's level country and you will meet your male and female ancestors for three generations." Then the priest,[14] chokes the cock to death and the soul of the cock leads the soul of the dead to heaven. The g'a gei then takes a sharp bamboo stick about two and a half feet long, thrusts it through the cock just below the wings and leans the stick and the cock against the coffin.

Some time after this there is a ceremonial procession. In front is a man whirling a stick or baton. Then follow two men blowing water-buffalo horns, then two carrying green bamboo twigs and finally two men carrying guns. During the entire ceremony the ceremonial drum is beaten inside the house, the two men play the *liu shêng* and dance, the two buffalo horns are blown and the man in front whirls his baton.

The procession comes out of a side door, then through the front door enters the living-room, where the participants march around in a circle for some time. Sometimes the procession marches around the house, then around a square table in the front yard to one corner of which has been tied a green bamboo twig about eight feet high. At other times, they merely march around in the yard, then march around the table. Then they sit down at the table and drink the sweet wine that has been poured out for them in small bowls. The bamboo twigs are symbolic of the fact that in ancient times the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao lived in forests. The horns were formerly used to frighten away the tigers and wolves which abounded and are now continued by way of commemoration. The *liu shêng* is used for the good music and good appearance and the guns are added to symbolize the frightening away of wild animals. The Ch'uan Miao say that in ancient times such horns were actually blown during funeral ceremonies to frighten away the wild beasts that lurked about and that out of this custom the ceremony has developed and become more and more symbolic.

764 782 After this an animal is sacrificed. It is generally a bull but is sometimes a male water-buffalo. It may be a pig, a

14. The priest is now called a g'a gei or one who opens the way. g'a means "open" and gei means "road" or "way". The priest is called a g'a gei only when he is performing this part of the funeral ceremony, opening the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades. It is feared that the saying of this word may cause people to die so that the priest will have to open the way of their souls to the level land of Ntsø.

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sheep or a chicken, but it may not be a duck. The animal is led outside the front door. The rope which is tied to the nose of the bull is passed through the door, over the drum which is hung up inside near the coffin, up to the coffin, and put into the hand of the deceased. Then the priest says, "Your descendants are giving you this cow. Take it to Ntsə's level place. There visit your ancestors for three generations." Or he may say, "This is what your children have given to you. Take it to Ntsə's level country where you will meet your ancestors, and use it." This is followed by weeping on the part of the mourners. Then the priest pours out a bowl of wine for the *liu shêng* player and requests him to play and he pours out another bowl for the one who is to kill the bull and requests him to kill the animal. After drinking the wine the person takes a large knife or a hatchet or an axe and strikes the bull with the b[illegible] of it until the bull falls down stunned. Then the throa[illegible] of the animal is cut and the blood caught in a large dipp[illegible] from which it is dipped out into a large bucket. The skin of the animal is taken off and the animal is cut up according to a regular custom. The oldest custom was apparently to cut it up into thirty-six pieces but now it is sometimes cut up into nine pieces. A pig, a goat or a chicken is cut up into nine pieces. The head, the feet, the tail, the intestines, the stomach, the skin, the lungs and the heart are not counted. The four legs count as four parts, the liver as one part, and the remainder of the body is divided up into four parts, making a total of nine parts.

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The meat is boiled, but not cooked through, and is offered up to the ancestors. Sometimes only a small piece is cut off each of the nine parts, boiled for a short while and then offered to the ancestors in nine small bowls, while wine and rice are also offered and incense and candles burnt. Then all the meat is well boiled and the friends and relatives who are present enjoy a feast. But the sons and daughters of the deceased do not eat any of this meat at this time.

Generally the next night after the bull is killed, there is a ceremony of dancing and pushing. It is performed by the strongest young men. It takes place around the ceremonial drum and in front of the coffin, to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu shêng*. So much strength is used that sometimes furniture is smashed, one or more of the performers pushed down and the walls of the living-room broken. Legend says that this ceremony began in a family where the parent died during the summer time. He was not buried promptly and in a few days numerous maggots crawled out of the coffin and onto the floor. The mourners performed this pushing dance and while doing so trampled the maggots to death.

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764 At midnight, on the last night before the burial, or after midnight, the man in charge of the ceremonies and the feast makes a report. He states the cause of the death, tells how much clothing (giving the number of each kind of garment) the descendants have prepared for the dead and how much meat, wine, rice, etc. has been consumed at the feast. He also reports, if the deceased is a male and the head of the family, how many fields, houses, beds, chairs, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, chicken, etc. and how much money the deceased has left for the children and what things are to be inherited by each child. Generally, but not always, the family divides at this time and each son becomes the head of a family.

[782] Some of the meat of the sacrificed animal is placed on the table at this time and the near blood relatives of the deceased who are not descendants eat it. The descendants have been kneeling while the things mentioned above have been anounced. They are now invited to rise. Wine is poured out for the relatives to drink. The descendants do not drink but continue weeping.

764 787 Next morning, very early, the priest throws the two pieces of bamboo used for divining unto the floor. If unfavorable, the dead is regarded as unsatisfied and then they enquire what the trouble is. The possessions may be divided wrongly, the place of burial may not be good, etc. Readjustments are made and the old relatives exhort the deceased to be contented. This is done until the cast is favorable. Then the coffin is carried out and the burial takes place.

764 Before the coffin is carried out, the priest puts a stool over the doorstill. Then three broken bowls are placed on the stool and burning wood or coal or charcoal is placed in the bowls. Sometimes a dry stick of wood is set on fire and used to light the way for the soul. Then the priest shoots three arrows into the house and three outside the house, standing across the doorsill as he shoots. While he is shooting the coffin is lifted up and carried out. The priest says, "I am shooting illness, pain, pestilence, quarrels, and evil things but I am not shooting living beings, domestic animals, or corn or beans. I am shooting quarrels and the places where the sun and the moon set." When he has finished speaking, he kicks over the stool. Some throw the arrows away outside the house and others carry them to the grave and stick them up on the grave to protect it.

While the corpse is being carried out the sons and daughters take the straw off the bed where the dead person slept and burn it behind the coffin to indicated that the illness has gone along to the grave with the dead. If the wind blows the smoke back into the house, people say that the illness has not yet departed and that others in the family may die.

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754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 764 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包 are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

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Part of a Ch'uan Miao funeral ceremony. The bamboo twig is symbolic of ancient times when their ancestors lived in dense forests in which there were many wild animals.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

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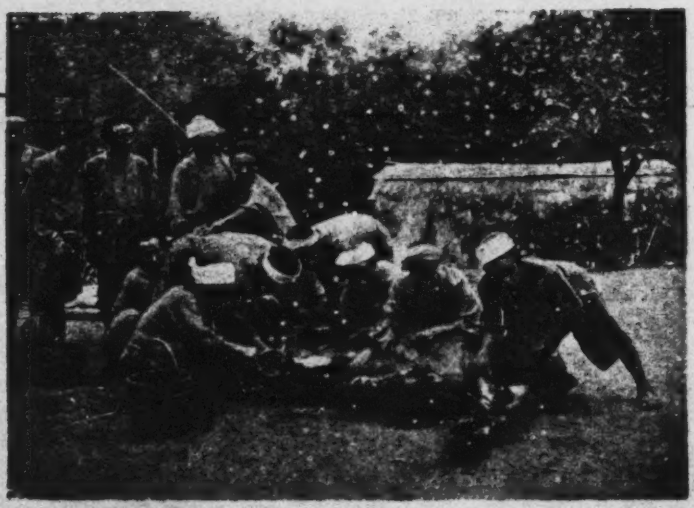

Ch'uan Miao men skinning the sacrificial animal to be offered to the deceased and then eaten as a part of a funeral ceremony.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p.62]

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ERRATA

Page 109 last line should read:—ancestors for three generations. $x\Lambda u^{5}$ lo^{-2} $x\Lambda u^{-5}$ (Drink some).

[facing p. 109]

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The manager chosen by the guests says, "When we come we will tread on the green grass. When we go back we will tread on tall reeds. We have come to be good friends. We are not saying that our gifts are sufficient to secure good will. It is finished. Please sit down. A, please the able ones of the family who can play the *liu shêng* and beat the drum for the dead ancestor to use when he goes and stays near his female and male ancestors for three generations and in Ntsə's flat ground." 765

D. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHÊNG TS'AI 熊正才, NOW DECEASED, OF WANG WU CHAI, WHO WAS OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD. HE WAS A SIMPLE FARMER WHO WAS SATURATED WITH THE CUSTOMS AND IDEALS OF HIS PEOPLE AND WAS SAID TO KNOW OVER A THOUSAND FOLK-SONGS.

I. THE G'A GEI OPENS THE WAY FOR THE DEPARTED SOUL TO ITS FUTURE ABODE 764

In the g'a gei's hands he carries a rooster. On his back he carries a bow. At his side he wears a beheading knife.

He stands beside the dead person's coffin on the west. In his hand he holds a pair of divining sticks (made of two halves of a bamboo sprout). He then repeats the following formulae.

Three times he calls out the name of the dead person saying, "Arise, arise, arise." As he calls he takes hold of the dead person's hand and pulls as though to lift the dead person up. Then he says:—

A. "I have called you three times and you are unable to reply. I pulled three times but you are unable to rise. You cannot live as a man and so you must live as a demon. Your head is bent down toward ʒaŋ nTo-^{2} na-^{6} Ti-^{5} (soul demon sky big hand earth). You wear the sky like a hat above your head and your head leads towards glaŋ To- na-ntgaŋ (the land of dead souls or demons). I will give you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. If you cannot drink it all do not give it to demons that cause sickness for them to drink. If you cannot drink it give it to the dead demons (demons of dead persons to drink. You give it to your ancestors for three generations. xAu^{8} lo-^{2} xA ·$_{3}$n (Drink some)."

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B. "When the demons have drunk, I will lead on the road to heaven. I will offer some meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all you must not give it to the demons of sickness or to demons that cause death. You must give it to your ancestors for three generations.

xʌu^5 lo^2 xʌu^5. When you have finished eating you must go and stick to the corner of your grandmother's clothes. When you have finished eating, you go and stick to the bottom of grandfather's felt rug."

Then he repeats the following words:—

So-, so-. If I roam over all the world it stirs my mind. I will go unto the road of ŋgʌu^2 go^6. Speaking of the earth, I have gone all over the sky. I went to ga· ʒ̄ɛ^2 k'o^{6}s residence. When ŋgʌu ga· came at first, she got a flat ground. When ga· ʒ̇ɛ k'o· first came she got a flat in the sky.

I will lead you to ŋgʌu ga's dwelling. I will also lead you to ga· ʒ̇ɛ k'o's dwelling (medicine old man heal). At that time your grandmother and grandfather will also go to ŋgʌu ga·'s dwelling. Then they will also go before you to ga· ʒ̇ɛ k'o's dwelling. When you go, the rooster will go before you. The bamboo divining roots will interpret your words. When your rooster crows and the roosters of your grandmother and your grandfather reply, those are your grandmother and grandfather. If your rooster crows and no rooster answers, those are not your grandparents.

C. I will lead you to your grandparents' dwelling. Your grandparents have a well. When you arrive there, the water is fragrant, you must drink three handfuls, for at that time (when they died) your grandmother and your grandfather also drank this water.

D. Now I will lead you to Ntsə's land in heaven to the dancing altar. You must go past in front of ʒwaŋ ʒwei'ɛ face. By the side of the road he opens his mouth wide. There is also tso· ʒwei (tiger stone) who is lying beside the road. These two want to block the road. At that time you can take a handful of firehemp (not nettles) and tear it to pieces and cover the dragon's lips. You also take some large hemp and cover up the tiger's mouth and after that you can go by (unharmed).

E. Now I will escort you up to the sky (heaven). When you have gone up the ladder to the sky, ascend to the first palace, the second palace, the third palace, the fourth palace, the fifth palace, the sixth palace, the seventh palace, the eighth palace, the ninth palace, the tenth palace, the eleventh palace and the twelfth palace. When you have reached the twelfth pavilion, you will have reached the house in the sky (heaven).

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F. Now I will lead you to see the flower-altar. This flower-altar has many people (worshippers). There is a drum altar which is also wonderful. Ah, look. On this road there are very many straw sandal insects, ji-. These straw sandal insects are very numerous on this road. Therefore you quickly make bamboo into sandals and wear them.

You also take shoes made of big hemp and put them on, then you go along stepping on the insects, and step on them as you go until you have trod them to death.

G. I will lead you up onto Ntso's heaven. You can look at the flowery altar and you can turn around and listen to the cuckoo calling. You also turn around and listen to the cicada singing. When you hear the cuckoo, that is the sound of your descendants below playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 and beating the drums. There is also the cicada singing and that is the weeping of your descendants.

H. Now I am going to lead you to finish dancing at the flowery altar and I will also lead you so you can be born again (as a man) on earth. We will go down the sky ladder. We will descend one pavilion, two pavilions, three pavilions, four pavilions, five pavilions, six pavilions, seven pavilions, eight pavilions, nine pavilions, ten pavilions, eleven pavilions, twelve pavilions. When we have gone past the twelfth pavilion. then we will have arrived on earth. Then you will escape from the womb and turn around on the wheel of life. (This disposes with one soul).

I. Now I will lead you to the grave (one soul). You will have a place with your father and father-in-law. That is the grave hill. You can live with them. (This disposes of a soul in the grave.)

J. Your parents-in-law will ask, "Who brought you here." You must not say that I brought you here. You may say that you came alone.

K. I will take you to the grave to be buried peacefully. You wear bamboo or hemp shoes. I will wear shoes made of vines. I will escort you to your grave and you must stay there forever, (all your life). You must send me back to life (as though his soul escorted the dead and should be sent back and not detained by the dead person's soul.) You wear shoes made of great hemp. I will wear shoes made of the bark of the dogwood tree. I will escort you into the tomb. You must escort me back to my home.

(At this time the rooster is choked to death and then a sharpened bamboo is stuck through the rooster, then it is stuck up in the ground with rooster on it or leaned against the coffin. Divining is done by means of two halves of a joint of bamboo on which there have been leaves.)

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764 After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the g'a gei) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the g'a gei says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntsə's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the g'a gei pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntsə's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

776 782 First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says,

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engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made
as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather
like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it
often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger
blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

[10 cont.]

585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight,
591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first
852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would
431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a
[804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their
[755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[11 cont.]

764 home, his body lying across the hall. When a Ch'ing Miao dies his body is wrapped up in a straw mat and hung up with a rope on a beam in the hall. For funerals performed outside the house, they build a straw hut and place the body inside. The kinsmen [292] wear hemp cloth or white cloth on the head in mourning and cry aloud around the body. This is known as "hao-sang" [wailing funeral]. Meanwhile the bereaved family would send messengers to announce the sad news to friends and relatives in distant parts. 764 At night they put up a spirit tablet and invite a wizard priest [kuei-
787 shih] to "open the way" by means of a cock and a bamboo stick slit into a magic diagram. The priest settles down in front of the spirit tablet and calls the deceased by the name, informing him of the story of genesis and urging him to start on his journey. He too advises the dead how to overcome dangers and obstacles, how to deal with difficulties, how to recognize cross roads and to ferry across rivers and oceans, and so on until the spirit world is reached. After the ritual of opening the road is 764 over, they slaughter a chicken and a piglet to spur the spirit on 782 his way. On the following day at the time of "k'ai-ch'ang" [commencing the ceremony] (the Chinese call it "k'ai-tiao"), a bull is bludgeoned as a gift to the dead. (Among the Hei Miao, a bull is bludgeoned as a sacrifice to a man, and a horse as a sacrifice to a woman.) At the time of bludgeoning the crowd wails and cries to the tune of the liu-sheng. The bull is first led around the straw pavilion three times and then handed over to the priest, who calls out the name of the deceased and makes the presentation before the spirit tablet. The animal is then led out to be slaughtered. Relatives and friends who have come to make sacrifices all have with them a sheng of rice, a pot of wine and a basketful of cooked rice, pork and eggs. These are given to the priest one by one, who in turn calls out to the deceased for a formal offering. The bereaved family then cooks the beef and after first offering it to the deceased, passes it around to the guests. That night all keep the funeral vigil, and sing to each other songs of piety in sad words and melancholic tunes to arouse in those who hear them a feeling of sadness.

[11 cont.]

764 [177] On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 777 [801] The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 [771] 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[23 cont.]

582 with the Chinese who live among them. Many of the Chinese speak the Miao language and are even influenced by the Miao in certain habits and customs, but intermarriages are extremely rare. Actually this is not only true of the Miao and the Chinese, but also of the different Miao groups. For instance at Chou-ch'i in the Lu-shan area there are 4,000 Short-skirt Hê Miao, about 200 to 300 Chinese, and less than 100 Mu-lao Miao. For marriage, these few Mu-lao Miao have to seek contacts in other Mu-lao villages very far away and never for a moment would they think of intermarrying the Short-skirt Hê Miao on the spot.

4. Funeral

764 [777] When a Short-skirt Hê Miao dies his family decides on a lucky day to invite three or four relatives to specially wail aloud for him. The corpse is placed on a temporary scaffold about five feet from the ground on the left side of the hall and covered with sheets of coarse native cloth of about six feet long and two feet wide. The married daughters as a rule each present a sheet. [24] The unmarried daughters at home also collectively present one, though in some rich families everyone gives a sheet. These different colored sheets are used to line the coffin at the time of interment. When the corpse is being moved out of the house, the family members all wear hemp cloth on their heads and weep aloud around the body. At the same time they despatch messengers to announce the bereave-
[202] ment to relatives living far away. In case the deceased is a man, they fire hunting rifles at the gate, or in the case of a woman, firecrackers so that those relatives within earshot may be apprised. The little table in front of the corpse is complete with spirit tablet, incense and candles, four bowls of glutinous rice, twelve cups of wine, a pig's heart and stomach, and other offerings. A priest is engaged to "open the way." He wields a dagger and a bunch of straw, uttering magic words and brandishing, at the same time, the dagger and straw, in an effort to drive away evil spirits that may obstruct the way.

[24 cont.]

764 All night they beat drums and play liu-sheng (6-reed wind instrument). The following day is the day of mourning when friends and relatives bring along different kinds of gifts as expressions of condolence. Some would bring a basketful of glutinous rice; some, a jug of wine; others, firecrackers, candles, incense and paper money. The host would slaughter a buffalo or a horse to feed the mourners. At the same time he has to kill a male dog so that in the nether world the dog can watch the buffalo or the [775] horse. The four legs of the animal are divided among the married children of the family and close relatives, distant relations being given only other parts of the meat. When there are not many relatives, each can bring home a piece of meat weighing about three or four catties. On the third day the corpse is lowered into the coffin after being clothed in four, six or eight black garments as well as shoes and socks. The number of sheets on which the corpse lies depends upon the number of children of the deceased. In case the deceased is childless, he is wrapped only in one sheet. There are three kinds of coffins: the rich use two coffins, the inner and the outer. Ordinary families use the outer coffin; the poor use the inner coffin, also known as the "fire box." The inner and the outer coffins are finished with black paint, but the "fire box" is made of plain wood. All coffins have their fixed dimensions. The inner coffin is one inch thick, five feet two inches long [sic], one foot and two inches wide at the feet and one foot three inches wide at the head. The outer coffin is one foot eight inches thick at the head, nine inches thick at the feet for the upper board, and eight inches thick for the bottom board, the total length being five feet eight inches, the width at the feet being one foot five inches, and the width at the head, two feet. The Miao have the strongest ob- [823] jection to the presence of iron or [25] copper in the coffin. At the time of burial the family members have to make a last minute inspection for fear some one might slip into the coffin some metal pieces. They believe that "to bury the dead with iron and copper will cause annihilation to the whole family."

As soon as a corpse is laid in a coffin, the burial takes place. This is called "fu-shan" [supporting the mountain]. The larger

[201 cont.]

534 sizes. All the young men are fond of playing these instruments. It is a first step toward playing the so-na. On the other hand, a trumpeter must first learn how to play the flute or fife. The latter can also produce music with a seducive lilt, not any less licentious than the five-tube bamboo wind instrument.

[202] (e) The so-na. The Miao-I are very fond of playing the so-na, a clarinet type of instrument. One sees young men and cowboys practicing it. This popular instrument resembles the trumpet [la-pa] used in funeral ceremonies. Originally the use of the so-na was limited to funeral and sacrificial functions in the same way that the local Chinese use cymbals, gongs and drums. When the Miao-I have a funeral, people do [764] not sleep at night and the so-na is used to revive the spirit. Furthermore, as the lamentations at a Miao-I funeral are most sad and heart-rending, the so-na is used to drown out the pitiful wails so that they will not be heard outside. But, today, on all festive occasions such as weddings, both the Chinese and the Miao-I play this clarinet type of instrument to lend gaiety to the affairs.

Besides the above instruments there are also brass drums, lutes [p'i-pa], moon harps, two-string violins, wooden leaves and horns, but they are not as popular.

(VI) Singing. Singing is very popular among the various 533 Miao-I tribes in An-shun. It is regarded as a necessary requirement in social gatherings, and good singers are admired and applauded by the public. Singing provides a good medium for young men and women to get together. Those who cannot sing will have trouble in solving their marital problems. Therefore, the Miao-I men and women all know the words of the songs by heart since childhood. The structure of the songs is quite different from those sung by the local Chinese, and they sound exotic and peculiar to us. The following are some specimens of the songs sung by the Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Chung-chia; the words are freely translated, but the tunes cannot be reproduced here.

[167 cont.]

684 586 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general 548 778 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon 548 see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

764 [769] The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously observed among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then [825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The an-
769 cestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
778 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Lông-wâng"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al-
776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

[168]

764

199. "Méo" funeral. Digging the Grave.

198. "Méo" Funeral. The Interment.

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342
231

168. "Méo" Revolving Seesaw.

385. Performing Monkey Trained by a "Méo."

158: Diguet--142 G-3 (ca 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE 5

764

Certain peculiarities relative to funeral ceremonies should be pointed out. The body of the deceased is either stretched out on a cot or fixed to a plank, which in certain tribes is laid out along a partition for three or four days preceding burial. The body is dressed in its finest garments, from which buttons and fastenings have been removed, so that the soul may leave the corpse more easily. A square of red linen is placed over the lower part of the face and on the mouth. The children offer a feast to relatives and friends. The guests present pigs, goats, and dogs, to the deceased, whose flesh will be served to them at the funeral meals. A dog, also prepared for cooking, is attached to the right hand of the deceased by a paw and is supposed /144/ to guide his wandering foot-steps in the other world. The dead person is borne into his grave on the plank to which he is fixed, and the coffin is constructed in the trench even as among the Man Tien. The family's meal is brought to the grave for two or three days, then it is abandoned completely.

771

The Meo are the most eclectic of the mountaineers in matters of religion and superstition. They have in their homes an altar to the Ancestors. But this piece of furniture is no more than a small plank suspended by two cords along a partition, and on it is a small ash-bowl in which the sticks of incense are placed. They also have an altar just as crude for the worship of the Hearth. They worship Heaven and Earth as dieties, venerate the Buddhist goddess Quan Am as a good Madonna, the Spirit of Thunder and the Dragon, and believe in three human souls like all the peoples of the Far East. Finally, they are much less afraid then the other mountaineers of Evil Spirits and Demons, to whom they are satisfied to attribute the cause of certain diseases. Their sorcerers are not to be distinguished from the rest of the population. They limit themselves to placing a white veil over their face while officiating at ceremonies. All of the festivals, whatever they may be, are accompanied by music, songs, and feasts irrigated with alcohol.

791

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Miao AE5

/35/

c) Family Units

A M 614 [764]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha do the sibs /Sippen/ live locally separated or have their own totems. On the other hand, the Akha have their own burial places, but the Meau do not. Likewise among the two peoples there are no religious sib-celebrations or common insignia or individual sib-heads. The unit is not the sib, but the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/, which lives in one house and consists of the head of the family, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, among the Meau, the married sons up to the end of their thirtieth year and their families.

A M 596

The rights of the head of a large family are very extensive. All those living in the house, wives, children, and grandchildren, must obey him; he has unlimited authority, and he may punish, beat, or, among the Meau, in special cases even kill the members of the household under him. This is not the case among the Akha, among whom only twins are killed (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Birth"). Otherwise, however, the head of the large family, who is responsible for the well-being of all the others, irrevocably decides all the disputes within his household community.

In view of the proverbial compatibility of the members of a Meau family, the head of such a large family hardly ever has occasion actually to interfere, but on the other hand, he often does among the Akha. Among the Meau I repeatedly observed that the head did not make a decision without first consulting with the sons who lived under his roof. There was never a decision against the will of the subordinate concerned. The sons, too, however, avoided expressing their opinion until after they had conferred with the head of the large family. In such cases I was always given the answer: "This is not our business; we must first ask the father."

A M [769] [756]

It is the duty of the head to officiate and offer the sacrifices in connection with the religious festivals of the large family, namely, the festivals for the dead or the veneration of the ancestors. If especially important affairs are involved, for instance, if measures have to be taken in connection with the

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 888 [596] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

A M [782] [775]

M 764 775 Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

M [789]

1. Page 461.

/116 cont./

764 spirits, a pig and a couple of chickens are slaughtered, and the soul is invited to feast on them. Then a great dance takes [775] place."

[789] The deathwatch is maintained by the parents, the surviving spouse, and the children. After a few hours, two or three of these closest relatives relieve one another. During the deathwatch relatives and condoling friends, whose numbers depend on the importance of the deceased, speak of the dead [766] person and mourn his passing. If the deceased was a distinguished man, his body lies in state for two days; in the case of a humble man and women and children, only one day.

614 During the deathwatch the men of the sib prepare the 764 coffin for the deceased. For this purpose a tree trunk of a proper length for the deceased is hollowed out. No ceremonies and [322] no special handling of the tools are connected with the carving of the coffin. They go about this work in the same way as they do when they make a pig trough. Then the corpse is put, on its back, into the coffin, and the latter is closed with two boards. Toward twelve o'clock the same men begin to dig a grave at a place in the jungle selected by them. Since there are no cemeteries, and no special burying grounds for the sib, the choice of the site is left to these men, who perform this work as a pious service and have no other function in con- [767] nection with the burial. -- There are no professional grave-diggers.

764 The grave is always laid out in an east-west direction, and in stony or level ground it is dug out about one meter deep, otherwise another half a meter.

The burial takes place between about two and three [614] o'clock. The closest male members of the sib who are able-bodied carry the coffin to the burial place, accompanied by all the sib members and guests. Here it is let down into the pit in such a way that the corpse lies horizontally in the grave, with the head toward the east and the feet toward the west. The Meau of today no longer know why this direction is observed; they are following a /117/ custom handed down from

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 782 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days addi- [775] tional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, women, and children, with no differences other than that the [554] sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II, p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II, p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

/118 cont./
765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages, appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.
764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

"One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
764 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
775 string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse, is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; more-
[789] over, a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In
[767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member
775 of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),
[114]
[562]

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.
765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/120/

M 764 [114] [789] Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

1. II, p. 229.

M [787] [775] [825]

A 764 628 [203] [765] The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in the mourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764 Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/149 cont./

c) Dancing

A M 535 [171]

In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

M 114 535 796 [764]

The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

M [273]

they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

/168 cont./

If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is followed before laying out a new rice field.

In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pĕ dŏ. Savina (1)

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura-
[787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear
756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the
● 764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the
[782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/186 cont./

756 the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks
[764] concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves
[787] supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my
[114] own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is
789 the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both
224 among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or
223 the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the
756 weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/208 cont./

769 As has already been described in detail in the pertinent
782 sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices
are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a
[852] child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and
[764] at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the
death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the
oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If
[437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but
782 also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I
was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law
[461] of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the
[787] spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

1 [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/215 cont./

A 782 [778] [241] to him there (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter). On certain occasions each year sacrifices are regularly offered to a number of spirits, as has already been reported in the section referred to.

A 782 796 [769] Among the Akha, too, the New Year's festival has great importance with regard to sacrifices, since at this festival, which, as among the Meau, lasts four days, sacrifices are likewise made to the ancestors and all of the spirits in accordance with their significance. Telford (1) has found similar conditions among the Akha in Kengtung: "The New Year's festival lasts four days. The people eat rice cakes and chickens and drink tea and liquor. Part of this is offered to the spirits, for the core of this festival is the feeding of the ancestral souls."

A [778] 1. Page 109.

A [769]

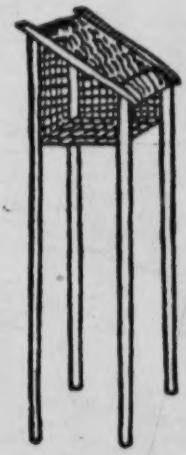

Fig. 56
Little sacrificial house of the Akha. 1/40 nat. size.

Aside from the fixed times, among the Akha -- as among the Meau -- sacrifices are offered whenever special occasions require it, such as sickness, misfortune, death, and birth, but also in case of a violation of a taboo and similar occurrences. Sacrifices are primarily offered by the shamans, but also by the village elders, the family fathers, and, substituting for them, their wives.

A [688]

A M 782 [231] /216/ Both tribes use food, meat or whole animals, field products, and alcohol, as sacrifices. The pig is the most important sacrificial animal, followed by chickens and dogs. Pieces of the meat of all the other animals eaten are to be sure, similarly sacrificed, as are those of every other food, which is shared with the ancestors and spirits, but these animals are not associated with the cult. Savina (1) reports that the Meau in

A M [764] [114]

1. II, p. 200.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/216 cont./

A M 782 764 114 Indochina slaughter six buffalo when a chief dies and two upon the death of a common man. Scott (2) reports that upon the death of

2. Page 275.

an Akha five buffalo are killed. Unfortunately, however, in all the cases it is not apparent whether these are sacrifices or merely roasted meat for the survivors and guests, or both.

M 114 266 782 A [782] Like the Meau, the Akha, too, do not know human sacrifice or the offering of human flesh. The statement in the old Chinese literature (3) that the Meau eat their slain enemies raw,

3. Album Gotha, No. 38.

as well as the general remark (4) that cannibalism occurs, prob-

4. Eberhard, II, p. 266.

ably has nothing to do with sacrifice or religion. In my opinion the Chinese authors simply wanted to impute to their mortal enemies a crime which is particularly wicked in the eyes of the Chinese.

A 825 178 [782] Among the Akha there is a noteworthy custom of taking the skull and lower jaw of certain animals taken while hunting, such as bear, muntjac, and wild pig, and fastening them for the house spirit in front of his little niche between the two rooms of the dwelling (see section, "Deities and Spirits," of the present chapter). In some places among the Akha one finds rows of monkeys' skulls nailed to the roofs. Today the Akha explain this custom as an attempt to beautify the dwelling of the house spirit and sometimes the house itself. The question was sometimes answered: "We do this because our ancestors did it." In other words, tradition was given as the reason for the custom. A [727] [174] Might this perhaps be a relic of a lost head-hunting cult? The taboo on killing the hornbill, which will be mentioned later, likewise points in this direction.

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

428
562

1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband
[597] live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house
[589] of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /247 cont./
428 case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry
[589] again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin
[596] takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief
[605] takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the
[622] house owners of his village.

Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations,
[764] the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A 428 Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over
[596] only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female mem-
A bers of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are
[562] widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are
[422] among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A /248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits every-
[595] thing, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or
[756] shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions
[622] are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir
A and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however,
[572] bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother
[608] outside the family.

/51 cont'd/

585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[763] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[769] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/52 cont'd/

765 for one day, two, three, or five days. What I observed was a two-day service which actually lasted two days and two nights.

[713] The tso-chai service was conducted by Taoist priests. On the occasion which I observed, they invited more than ten Taoist priests of two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests. The two groups paid honor to different gods, chanted different liturgies, and performed different rituals. (See the following chapter.) The tso-chai service was so complicated that it can hardly be described in detail. Therefore, I shall only describe it in a general way. The tso-chai ceremony formally began on the night of the first day of the service. The Taoist priests of the two groups hung up portraits of their respective gods. At the same time they chanted liturgies and leaped before the gods until midnight. Next morning they performed the chao-hun /"spirit calling"/ service. It was in general as follows: A wooden platform was erected in an open space outside the house. The two groups of chanting Taoist priests holding pennants in their hands ascended the platform in turn. Facing the sky, they called the spirit of the dead man to come back.

765 796 That afternoon a Taoist initiation ceremony was held. Since it was not directly included in the tso-chai service, we will discuss it in the following chapter. On the morning and afternoon of the third day the chanting of liturgies and the dancing continued, but the details were entirely different from that of the day before. The tso-chai ended near evening in a humorous act, "Devil Dance." The dance was performed as follows: A priest was dressed up as a devil wearing a dreadful-looking mask and hid behind the curtain. Two boys dressed as girls drew the devil out from behind the curtain. After seeing the "girls" the devil then became sexually excited, and holding a male sexual organ two to three feet /ch'ih/ long (made of straw), he began dancing while chasing the two "girls." The show was so indecent that it made a person feel ashamed to watch it. In the morning of the fourth day, the hosts entertained the priests with wine. Guests and hosts sang alternately while drinking, and that brought the tso-chai to an end.

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 171 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr. /

796 527 [782] 4. Festivals and Sports

On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/87 cont'd/
533 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part
585 mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The
[571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest
533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible.—Tr./

/133 cont'd/
our dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were
262 difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

765 /134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and we joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

828 In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had a good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

765 To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and
[262] bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

764 A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

/134 cont'd/

764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second month, twenty-seventh day. (Saturday)

The program for the tso-chai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call back the soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests, 554 793 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each [179] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

/135 cont'd/

554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
836 may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
843 for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
[113] 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
765 slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
769 offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
[113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[556] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[791] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

•765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /7/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[782] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[604] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
[768] a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[569] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

/103 cont./

766 756 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight, or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore, the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the [775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard, hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force. Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

●765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a [292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead, then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he [302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not washed for four months, during which period the mourner does [302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or 60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also. For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her headband for three days.

/149 cont. /

*782 out to trade, when he goes east may there be profit and when he goes west may there be profits, with profits from every direction. Thus may the host be completely protected. Again, I invoke protection for these helpers here. Without them these sacrifices to the kuei could not be made. The helpers must be here to enact them. When you have canes do not strike people, when you have ropes do not tie up people. Protect the sorcerer-priest! If I did not perform the ritual here, you would not be able to come here to enjoy /these things/. If my words are not correct, I ask your forgiveness. Pray rid me of disasters and calamities so that when I meet water I may not get wet, when I meet fire I may not get burned. Now, everything has been said."

[292] /150/ At this point the Miao sorcerer wraps a long strip of white cloth around his head with one end trailing on the ground, and continues his incantation:

• [765] "The mourning kerchief that I wear is not mourning for my father and mother, not for my maternal uncle /niang chiu/ nor his daughters /tzu-mei, "sisters"/, not for my relatives through marriage, and not for the elders of the village, but for the host. My wearing this mourning does away with all his calamities. The sorcer-priest having worn this mourning, the host's family, men and women, big and small, will not die; moreover there will be no more calamities."

After reciting the above passage he again rings the bell and at the same time continues his incantation:

"Helpers, please raise your knives and chop off the kan lo poles and throw them out into the outer area. I shall collect the paper money, and I want you to burn it. Before burning, it is paper; after burning, it is money. He who gets much shares much; he who gets little shares little.

/154/

775 (12) Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering

*782

[765] When there is a death in the family, for the deceased they perform Releasing the Soul from Suffering and Begging Pardon, which in Miao is called [tsʿ˧˥ mi˨˩], with the meaning "to cause a person to be released." There are two kuei sacrificed to: [lio˧ to˧˥ kuei˨˩ dza˧˥] and [lio˧ ɕʿi˧ kuei˨˩ da˧˥]. The time for the performance is in the evening after supper, and the place in the right corner inside the door in the main house. A bamboo stick about 90 cm. long is used. Every 30 cm. one side of the bamboo is cut off to allow it to be bent into a frame, the two ends of which are stuck into the earth. In front of the bamboo frame is put a rectangular wooden board, on which is spread a piece of white cloth. Five empty bowls are put on the cloth, but before the board are set up five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice arranged in three rows. A bowl of wax is placed behind the board, near which is a handleless spade (Illus. 66). The Miao sorcerer sits behind the bamboo frame, holding a piece of bamboo in his right hand and beating the frame as he utters an incantation in time with the beating to the following effect:

[776]

> "After the kuei have led away the dead man, the host will return to having peace. The kuei have come with a steelyard to weigh a human being and take him away. Why /Illus. 66 appears here/ /155/ do you not weigh a pig or a dog, a large cow, a chicken or a duck, instead of weighing a human being? The dead person was in the --- generation (either senior or junior generation) with reference to the host. When a man is dead, he cannot be called back. After death he becomes a kuei. Among men he still has good sons and good grandsons. Today, we have selected a lucky day to make inquiries. At the inquiry tonight you must come to the fire pit. Sorcerers are very few in the world, and so I have been called. I have brought with me the soldiers and horses of my patron saint to this house. The bowl of beeswax, the bamboo frame, five bowls

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(7) The Great Yen-lao Shen

*782 This shen is sacrificed to after the death of a person in [776] a family. It is said this shen may be frightened by the sound of [765] wailing and crying, and they ask him to excuse them, and also [556] protect the family wealth. A square table is set up to the right of the main entrance inside the main house, and on it are placed seven stacks of paper money, in which three sticks of incense are stuck in. On the side is a bowl of chaff, already burnt. There are also seven bowls of wine and seven piles of mi-pa. Behind the table is a bamboo frame, on which seven strings of silver paper ingots are hung. The sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands before the table, uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After this he divines with the *[787] chiao-tzu. When it is found that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the sacrifice. After inviting the spirit to accept the sacrificial objects, the sorcerer-priest takes a little recess. The host then takes out a certain number of pieces of cooked beef and divides them into seven piles on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup and a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck seven pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer-priest then resumes his original position and invites the shen once more to take the offerings. After *[787] divining with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper and utters the incantation to send off the shen.

(8) The Great Yen-t'ang Shen

[765] They sacrifice to this shen for the same reason as that for [776] the Great Yen-lao shen. The ritual is also the same. But the arrangements are marked by the absence of the bamboo frame and the silver paper ingots. The other things such as the paper money, wine, mi-pa, and chopsticks are the same, except that each item numbers five instead of seven and pork is used instead of beef, also in five piles.

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are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7] 712

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home. 788 765

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time. 224

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese. 463

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house. 462

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, [illegible]

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754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after
766 death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now
764 they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包, are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

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765 descendants in every way. Animals are killed with the idea that a life must be given but the life of the animal becomes a living creature that can be used in the other world by the ancestor. Such sacrifices are not atonements for sin.

These memorial festivals are taken very seriously by the Ch'uan Miao. They believe that people must not imitate these festivals in play, and certainly not ridicule them. The ancestors will surely take the life of a cow or water-buffalo that is offered in pretence.

Twelve days after the funeral there is a memorial festival called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao a'gi or *a'si*. The ceremonial drum is not used and the bull is not sacrificed. There is no music of the *liu shêng* or beating of drums or singing of songs.

At this time, the spirit is supposed to come back and visit his former home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. By the footprints it can be learned whether the person is now a grown human being, or a child, or has been transformed into a fowl, a horse, a dog, or some other creature. A cock is killed and offered in a raw state to the spirit. Then it is cooked, other food is added, and the relatives and friends have a feast. This festival is observed for parents, or for brothers or sisters over three years of age.

769 At a later date there is a memorial service called in Chinese *tso chai* 做斋 and in Ch'uan Miao a vang. It must take place not less than one year after the *sao ch'ieh*, and generally takes place two or three years later, but may be delayed ten or more years if this is made necessary by poverty. Friends and relatives march in procession to the grave (some families do not go to the grave but observe the entire ceremony in the home), beating gongs and drums and playing the *liu shêng*. In this way the soul of the dead is enticed back home. Generally a cow or a water-buffalo or rarely a pig is killed and offered to the ancestor, then it is cooked and eaten by relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers or sisters and for ancestors for three generations. The ceremonial drum and the *liu shêng* are used in this ceremony.

775 After death a woman carries on her back a grass mat and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 made of bamboo and about two and half feet in diameter. These are burdensome to the souls of the dead, since they make it impossible for them to enter the palace in the level country of Ntɔ. The ancestors are released from these burdens during the *tso chai* ceremony and then go happily away to God's flat land where they can enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

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There is a legend that in former times a Miao group or tribe cal' d Hmoŋ Kw'a were accustomed to kill their parents when they had become old and eat them and that their parents were glad to have them do so. It is said that the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 still call themselves Hmoŋ Kw'a and are probably the descendants of that ancient group. It is asserted that during the *tso chai* ceremony the descendants take bread or rice cakes and with their hands mould the cakes into human form, then place them in a bamboo bowl. The *liu shêng* is played, a cow, pig, sheep or chicken is killed as an offering, and after the offering is made the image is cut up and eaten. This is thought to be a continuance of the old custom of eating the parent. It is done very secretly for a Chinese or some other person might ask for an explanation and it would be difficult to give an acceptable reply. 769

Later, after an indefinite period there is a ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* 超荐, and in Chuan Miao tsa moŋ. The custom is to dig up the corpse, throw away or burn up the old coffin, carefully wash the bones, place a new coffin in the old or in a new grave and new garments in the coffin, arrange the bones in their natural order on top of the clothing, carefully fold the edges of the clothing over the bones, put the lid on the coffin, and cover the coffin with dirt. This is still performed by many Ch'uan Miao. It is noteworthy that the same custom, which is rapidly disappearing, is found among the Chinese in Fukien Province. 765

It is thought that because the dead person cannot turn over, he or she becomes very tired and uncomfortable. After from three to ten years the corpse is dug up. The bones are washed with "fire wine" 火酒, then they are rubbed with mustard oil. If the bones are black, the burial place is not good and the corpse must be reburied in a new place else the descendants will not prosper. If the bones are yellow or white, the place is lucky and the reburial should be in the same spot, and the descendants will prosper. During this ceremony the demon drum is used, the *liu shêng* is played to the accompaniment of dancing and appropriate songs are sung. A cow or a pig is sacrificed and there are offerings to the ancestors and a feast. Sometimes the person presiding, called mo, places in a bamboo basket a chopstick for each deceased ancestor and during the ceremony hangs the basket on a beam of the house. The results of this ceremony are that the deceased ancestor who is reburied is comfortable and the descendants have less illness and prosper. [775]

I have been told by a Miao living at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 that in that locality they no longer dig up the coffin, wash the bones and provide a new coffin and clothing but that instead they make a tiny wooden coffin and garments only a few inches long and burn these with paper or spirit money in the

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765 belief that they are transformed by burning into a real coffin, clothes and money that can be used by the dead person. This local variation is evidently due to the influence of Chinese burial customs.

Another memorial ceremony is called *hua t'an* in Chinese and a gi bang or a gei bang in Ch'uan Miao. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by friends and relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years and lasts from one day and one night to three days and three nights.

A bull is killed and its hide may be used to cover the ceremonial drum. If the old drum has been broken, a new one is made and the skin of the bull used to cover it.[15] Friends with the same family name come, each man bringing with him a load of wood. The water is carried by the women. Each family contributes some rice, corn, wine, money, or some other thing that is needed. The meat of the bull and the rice, corn, wine, and other edibles are offered to the ancestors after which there is a feast.

The drum is hung up on a wooden beam on which a wooden gourd is also hung. People of the same surname beat the drum, play the *liu shêng* and sing songs. Several men put on women's clothes and impersonate women. Twelve men impersonate cows, six arranged on each side. One who acts as a cow goes into the cowpen and an old person drives him out into the main room. Girls bring bowls of sweet wine for

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15. The following is a brief account of the ceremony with a few notes. The drum must be made according to a certain pattern. The relatives come together and the ancestors are fiirst commemorated. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 are washed as a means of washing the faces of the ancestors. While washing the ancestors' faces, the names of the deceased ancestors for three generations are called and they are invited to be present. The wine is offered. Then the cow is washed and offered to the ancestors. Then one person leads the cow and one carries a hatchet or axe. After this the cow is struck dead with the axe. The the cow's head is cut off, the animal is skinned and the drum is covered with the skin. The hair of the skin is outside and the hairless part of the skin is inside, next to the wood. The drum is hung up and wine is sprinkled on it from someone's mouth. Then the skin is allowed to dry, after which the hair is scraped off with knives. Then more wine is sprinkled out of the mouth onto the drum and the drum is left hanging on a beam to dry. Later one person beats the drum to the accompaniment of the *liu shêng* and the man playing the *liu shêng* dances. There is rejoicing in people's hearts because of the ancestors and because there is a new ceremonial drum. They beat the drum and play the *liu shêng* with dancing all night and in the morning, after having breakfast together, they disperse. Between the times when the drum is used it is left in the home of the local headman. After the drum is used it is returned to the local headman who is given some meat. This is the outstanding ceremonial instrument of the Ch'uan Miao and is believed to be very potent.

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765 him to drink and make horns of rice biscuits which they put on his head. Then two girls herd six cows to the left and six to the right. Then the *liu shêng* is played, and while it is being played the twelve cows fight. Some of the cows as supposed to be killed. The people pretend to offer the cows that are killed to the ancestors and then to eat them. Those who do not die are left to do farm work and to get married. Four dressed as girls pretend to get married to four of the cows. After the marriage the four men play the *liu shêng* and dance, two women play flutes, one woman makes music on a tree leaf and one woman carries an imitation baby, pretending to suckle it and to bestow affection upon it. The women rub soot upon the faces of the men until their faces are black. Then those who are playing the *liu shêng* beat the child. About daybreak, the dummy child is beaten to pieces and the ceremony soon ends. The drum is sometimes carried to a cliff and rolled down the cliff or simply laid down on the side of the mountain after which the people disperse.

[618] It is noteworthy that all Ch'uan Miao who have the same name can participate in this ceremony, not merely those who are known to be related. It indicates that the clan idea still survives and that all having the same surname are regarded as relatives.

796 There is a special ceremony to make offerings to the souls of the domestic animals. It occurs on the third day of the third lunar month or on a cow day (a day controlled by the cow or the water-buffalo) during the first few days of the eleventh moon. It is generally performed on tops of hills or mountains or on mountain passes. A level place is always sought for the ceremony which is continued for from three to eight days.

The ceremony occurs once in three years. One family gives it and provides most of the food and wine although others assist. The purpose is to secure sons and daughters, to cause crops to prosper and to protect the domestic animals from wild beasts and from pestilences and to cause them to multiply.

A tree is cut off about as high as a man's head and the ceremonial drum is hung up on the stump. The tree is called in Chinese a *hua shu* 花 樹 or a flower tree. Near the tree a bull is killed while the drum is being beaten and the *liu shêng* is being played and it is offered with wine to the animal spirits. Then several men playing the *liu shêng* and dancing parade three times to the left around the tree, then three times to the right. All this time the ceremonial drum is being beaten.

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

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You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsɔ's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

765 nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I found a bed and covers for you to sleep on. We will cook meat and wine and rice for you to eat and drink. If you can't eat it all you must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. xau lo xai.

When he has repeated the above, he must make offerings to all relatives who have previously died, within three generations, including his own children, and call them all by name in succession, as described elsewhere.

XII. THE OFFERING IN THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY. (THE ROOSTER IS OFFERED ALIVE, THEN KILLED, FEATHERS REMOVED, THE MEAT COOKED, THEN CUT UP AND BROUGHT BACK AND OFFERED AGAIN)

You have deceived the demons, coming the 13th. day (counting the day of burial as one day) instead of the 12th. (so the demons could not come along). You have come back to find a bed to sleep in. I have prepared nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I will also give you meat (of a rooster) to eat, and rice. If you can not eat it all up, do not give it to a demon of sickness to eat, or to a demon that causes death. You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and get near to their clothing (the demons of the grandparents of the groom). If the Lolo are numerous there, the grandfather (of the groom) will look after them for you. If the Chinese are numerous, he will also look after them for you.

When this point is reached, the ancestors for three generations are called by name and invited to eat as previously.

XIII. OFFERING RICE AND WINE AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY

You have deceived the demons by saying this festival is on the 12th. day when it is on the 13th. You came back to find a bed. I am going to prepare nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. Now your meat is cooked. You are going to eat meat and rice. If you cannot eat it all do not give it to the demons that cause sickness or to the demons that cause death. You should give it to your female and male ancestors of three generations and offer it to all, old and young. When you have finished eating, you must go and stay near to your (husband's, if the deceased is the wife, his own if it is the husband) grandmother's clothing and near your (same as above) grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo get, your grandmother and your grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get, your grandparents will look after you.

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After this, the offerings are made. All the dead ancestors for three generations will be called by name and invited to eat as described before.

XIV. AFTER THE OFFERINGS HAVE BEEN MADE, THE SOUL OF THE DEAD IS SENT BACK TO HIS ABODE

You deceived the demons by pretending that the day for returning was the 12th. when it was the 13th. We gave you nine cups of wine to drink nine times and you have drunk it all up. Now you are dead. Human beings think of their homes and dead people think of their graves. We are sending (releasing) you back to the place you have gotten, to the grave which you have gotten, to go back to the place where your grave is.

When the leader of the ceremony has reached this place, he throws the bamboo divining sticks down on the ground. If right, the ceremony is finished. If wrong, the ceremony is repeated until things are right.

XV. THE OFFERINGS AT THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY

At the side of the house we welcome the soul of the dead. We make a bed and prepare nine cups of wine nine times for the dead person to drink, before we entice him to enter. When we repeat this once, it may count as three times. If it is repeated three times, it reckons as nine times. The uncle comes and carries the soul in a flat round bamboo basket. When he carries it to the parlor, those who play the *liu shêng* go in front and the filial children come in the rear with the soul. He carries it here and goes to the flowery shrine. He also will give you nine cups of wine for you to drink. When you have drunk, we will give you a bed. We will also boil meat and rice for you to eat and drink. When you have eaten and drunk, your children and grandchildren will change to birds and return to the forest. They will change to fish near water. We will change your *bo gi* (a sifter or container). Your body will be light. You ʒɛ mʌn, I poured out nine times, nine cups of wine for you to drink. If you cannot drink it all, then you must not give it to demons of illness, or the demons of death. You must give it to the three generations of grandmothers and grandfathers. If the Lolo get near you the grandmother and grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get you, they will look after you.

When this point has been reached, then the offerings are made and the three generations of ancestors are called as described elsewhere.

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XVI. A PART OF THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY FOLLOWING SECTION XV

Oh deceased person, the loft falls down and crushes the (lower part of the) house. The house falls down and crushes the loft. This year your soul comes back and unravels the mat. The three souls and seven *p'o* unravel the sewing basket (round and shallow, made of bamboo). Your soul has been dead one year. Your aged soul has fallen for a year. This year your aged soul has come back to loosen (take apart) the sewing basket. The souls have come back to remove money (because of sins). We are performing your memorial *tso chai* ceremony, to cause your body to be light. When you go back, then you will be near the female and male ancestors for three generations.

XVII. SENDING THE SOUL OF THE DEAD ANCESTOR AWAY AT THE END OF THE TSO CHAI MEMORIAL CEREMONY

Vaŋ killed his sheep. Vaŋ (the master of the ceremonies) is worshipping his demon (the souls of his dead ancestors). Vaŋ killed his pig. Vaŋ is worshipping his ancestors. Vaŋ killed his cow. Vaŋ entertains his guests. (The same word is used for entertain and worship). We can worship our ancestors but we cannot perform the ceremony of sending them away (at this time because a priest or mo must do it). To-day Vaŋ is to perform the ceremonies. He will escort the dead soul to the bank of the river. Vaŋ picked up a big stone. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the bend before Vaŋ picked up a big *su ma* biscuit. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the lower pass. Vaŋ picked up a big bamboo key. Vaŋ escorted him to another lower pass. Vaŋ picked up a brass key. Vaŋ escorted him as far as the big flat below. Vaŋ picked up a big silver bracelet. Vaŋ escorted the soul below. Vaŋ picked up a big golden bracelet. Vaŋ escorted the soul to the place where the sun rises. Vaŋ escorted the soul of the dead person to the place where he could live together with the soul of his grandparents. Vaŋ escorted him up to the sister sun. Vaŋ then saw the soul of the dead with his ancestors sitting in one place. Then Vaŋ returned home. He came to the home of those where the ceremony is being performed. He saw that their front door was closed. Vaŋ has escorted the dead ancestor's soul away and when he came back he brought the silver bracelet. The silver bracelet is as thick as your finger. He brought a golden bracelet as big around as your hand. He came to the door of the family and saw that the front door is closed. Vaŋ took the bamboo key and opened it. Will you open it? If you will open your front door the gold and

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765 silver will come. It will come inside the house and fill it up. It has filled the big parlor. It has filled the middle hall and also the two sides.

(He opens the front door and enters and the ceremony is ended).

XVIII. CHANGING THE GRAVE. (REPEATED BY THE MO-, WHO ALONE MAY DO IT)

(In your grave) you find it hard to live and cannot sleep so you have come and want your descendants to rescue you and furnish another dwelling (grave). They have prepared clothing and a coffin and they will again pray you peacefully (so you will enjoy peace). Your descendants will also prepare for you a new house with a loft and a tile roof. You will sleep at the end of heaven. The descendants will prepare a grave for you to rescue you from the unpleasant grave into a pleasant one (by cleaning the bones, giving a new coffin, etc.). To-day you have received a very good house (coffin). You are the right size and height (for clothes and coffin). You must live nicely in there and not again want the descendants to have sickness or pain.

(The mo-[5] repeats the above and actually cleans the bones, redresses the corpse, puts it in the coffin, etc. Wine is used to wash the bones. The bones are properly placed in the clothing in the same order as when living.)

XIX. THE CEREMONY OF MAKING THE TSO CHAI OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD

The head of the family has a manager and prepares a pipeful of tabacco for the manager who has come from the outside. The manager from the outside invited by the guests says,

"Yi" he says (the dead person), "I have released field insects (men) to control the long roads. I have released house insects (men from homes) to control the straight roads. I have released a year demon to roll into your house (a living man of one year). I have released a home insect to roll into your house. Your family has set out a big table for the large insect (manager) to sit in and have given him a pipeful of tobacco to smoke. You have arranged a stool for the manager to sit on and prepared a meal for him to eat," (The manager invited by the family itself.)

The manager called by the family says, "You have invited the big insect to come (the manager secured by the guests) to go by the long road. You have released the great insect (manager) to go on the straight road. You have released the big insect to roll into this house. The

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in your home (people of the house) have rolled (come quickly) to our room here. We haven't a big table for the great insect to sit by. We haven't a pipeful of tobacco for the big insect to smoke or a stool for him to sit on or a meal for him to eat."

The manager secured by the guests says, "I do not know whether the great insect (the manager secured by the family) has arrived or not. We run here and look. With hands empty we come (humble). When I have arrived, he lets his hands hang down. When we come, you take a *liu shêng* and place it in your home. What affair is it?"

Then the manager for the family says, "You come and look. We will place the *liu shêng* in your house. The demon (ceremonial) drum resounds in the house. The dead ancestor has come back to take off the straw mat. (It is believed that at death a man ties one on himself to sleep in. Now it is removed so he can be more comfortable). It is the dead ancestor who has come back to take off the winnowing basket (*bo chi*). When this has been done and the old person's body is made lighter, then he (the dead ancestor) goes to see his ancestors as though the weather were very good."

Then the manager for the guests says, "I-, his parent's soul has come back to remove the straw mat. His old parent's soul has come back to remove the winnowing basket, then we have run here to look. In our hands there is nothing to bring. If a person had, he would bring it and fill up a big room. Whether it is nine jars full of wine or ten jars of wine, they would bring it and fill up a big part of a room. Well, we have come empty-handed. I have said that I have to worship the demons and it is to worship the demon. People can speak. People can walk around the mountain and encircle the water and speak. I am not efficient in speaking. I point with my finger and speak. Others are efficient in speaking. They speak rapidly like the rolling of peaches and pears. I am not an able speaker. I will point with my finger at the basket for carrying things on my back and speak. Now, there is a peck of wheat, a roll of spirit money, a peck of corn, a peck of beans, ten buckets full of fiery wine, a bunch of incense and a pair of candles (given by guests to the family)."

The manager of the family says, "I-, We are unwilling to accept them but probably will do so. If we do not accept them we fear you will say that we are not efficient in accepting and will say that when others come, we will accept but when you come, we will not accept. I-, Probably we will accept and place them in the cesspool of the pig-pen and there will be a noise, then they cannot be seen. I am afraid that I will secretly take them away and cannot return them."

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The manager chosen by the guests says, "When we come we will tread on the green grass. When we go back we will tread on tall reeds. We have come to be good friends. We are not saying that our gifts are sufficient to secure good will. It is finished. Please sit down. A, please the able ones of the family who can play the *liu shêng* and beat the drum for the dead ancestor to use when he goes and stays near his female and male ancestors for three generations and in Ntso's flat ground." 765.

D. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHÊNG TS'AI 熊正才, NOW DECEASED, OF WANG WU CHAI, WHO WAS OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD. HE WAS A SIMPLE FARMER WHO WAS SATURATED WITH THE CUSTOMS AND IDEALS OF HIS PEOPLE AND WAS SAID TO KNOW OVER A THOUSAND FOLK-SONGS.

I. THE G'A GEI OPENS THE WAY FOR THE DEPARTED SOUL TO ITS FUTURE ABODE 764

In the g'a gei's hands he carries a rooster. On his back he carries a bow. At his side he wears a beheading knife.

He stands beside the dead person's coffin on the west. In his hand he holds a pair of divining sticks (made of two halves of a bamboo sprout). He then repeats the following formulae.

Three times he calls out the name of the dead person saying, "Arise, arise, arise." As he calls he takes hold of the dead person's hand and pulls as though to lift the dead person up. Then he says:—

A. "I have called you three times and you are unable to reply. I pulled three times but you are unable to rise. You cannot live as a man and so you must live as a demon. Your head is bent down toward ʒaŋ nTo·^{2} na·^{6} Ti·^{5} (soul demon sky big hand earth). You wear the sky like a hat above your head and your head leads towards glaŋ To· na· ntgaŋ (the land of dead souls or demons). I will give you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. If you cannot drink it all do not give it to demons that cause sickness for them to drink. If you cannot drink it give it to the dead demons (demons of dead persons to drink. You give it to your ancestors for three generations. xʌu^{6} lo·^{2} xʌ ·ʒn (Drink some)."

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engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made
as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather
like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it
often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger
blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

765 drum and the coffin to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu sheng*. They exert so much strength that often some of the dancers are pushed over, furniture is smashed, and the walls of the room or house are broken. One story says that in this dance the house was pushed down and everything inside was smashed.

When the coffin is about to be carried out of the house for burial, the priest stands across the doorsill and shoots three arrows inside and three outside the house. This is to drive away demons that might cause any sort of a disaster.

765 775 Twelve days after the funeral there is performed a ceremony called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao *a si* or *a shi*. The ceremonial drum is not beaten, the bull is not killed, and there is no music of the *liu sheng*. At this time the spirit of the deceased person is believed to return to his old home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door, and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. It is believed that the footprints will reveal whether the ancestor is now a person, an animal, a reptile, or a fowl.

Not less than one year later there is held a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *tso chai* and in Ch'uan Miao *a vang*. Friends and relatives observe the ceremony in the house or march to the grave beating the ceremonial drum and gongs and playing the *liu sheng* to entice the soul of the dead back home. A cow, a water buffalo, or a pig is killed and offered to the deceased ancestors; it is then cooked and eaten by the relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers and sisters and for ancestors for three generations.

It is believed that after death a woman carries a grass mat on her back, and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket such as is commonly used in West China. These prevent the souls from entering the palace of the level land of Ntzī. In the *tso chai* or *a vang* ceremony the ancestors are released from these burdens and go happily to God's flat land where they are able to enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

Later, generally after several years, there is a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* and in Ch'uan Miao *tsa mong*. The grave is opened, the coffin is burned or thrown away, and the bones are washed with wine and then rubbed with oil. A new coffin and new clothing are provided, and the corpse is reburied in the same or another grave. During this ceremony the drum and the *liu sheng* are used, a cow, water buffalo, or pig is killed, and there is a feast. It is believed that the deceased person becomes very uncomfortable lying in the same position for a long time; also, if the ceremony is not performed, the descendants will not prosper. After the ceremony the ancestor is comfortable and happy, and the descendants will prosper.

765 There is another memorial ceremony called in Chinese *hua t'an*, or flowery altar, and in Ch'uan Miao *a gi bang* or *a gei bang*. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by all the relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years. A bull is killed, and his hide may be used to cover a ceremonial drum. The meat of the bull and rice, corn, wine, and vegetables are offered to the ancestors, after which there is a feast. The drum is beaten, the *liu sheng* and the flute are played, and there is dancing and singing. Twelve men

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/954 AE5 Miao AE5

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzɔ^{2} Ti$^{\cdot 5}$ lʌu^{2} gʌu^{1} bi^{6}). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

[25 cont.]

784 coffins are borne by sixteen persons and the smaller ones, by eight. The son-in-law of the deceased leads the funeral procession with a lighted bark of fir tree, followed by the daughter-in-law, carrying on her back three sheng of grains in a basket. There are drummers, liu sheng players, and men who fire rifles and firecrackers. On such a solemn occasion, of course, the priest is not missing. Wielding a dagger in his left hand and holding an empty water bucket in his right, he walks along, abandoning the bucket as soon as he passes the village gate. As he moves along he swings the dagger and mumbles magic phrases. The coffin is followed by family members and friends and relatives, the latter each sending a package of glutinous rice to be taken along it is said, by the deceased to the nether world for distribution among those kinsmen already gone before. After burial the bereaved family mixes all the rice together and distributes it among the guests, the family itself being forbidden to eat this rice. When the burial ceremony is completed they return to the bereaved family, where they set up the spirit tablet for the deceased. The priest lays his dagger on the left of the tablet. At that time, the bereaved family has to provide wine and meat to feed the guests and after the meal they take their leave. For his three days of performance the priest re-
[465] ceives as reward a basketful of glutinous rice, a pig's heart, a pig's stomach and a jug of wine.

Three days after burial, the family of the deceased returns
●765 to the tomb to offer sacrifices known as "fu-shan" [going back to the mountain]. The spirit tablet in the house has to be guarded by the elder son for about a month in the case of either deceased parent. During this month he is not supposed to cross the threshold or a bridge, nor to step into a puddle of water, nor to sing songs, nor to eat bamboo or bracken. After the period of spirit-guarding is over, the family has to send a package of glutinous rice of about two or three sheng and a cock to the house of the maternal uncle. Within three years after the burial regular sacrifices must be made at the tomb at every spring festival (twenty-five days after the beginning of spring) [in early March], after which "kua ch'ing" [hanging the green] [26] at Ch'ing-ming time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

[153 cont.]
291 slipper with wide linen leg. In winter the well-to-do "Méo" wear a padded jacket and a sort of padded loincloth.

[302] The "Méo" shave the hair about their heads for a width of from three or four centimeters; the remaining hair, braided or not, is confined in a turban. Besides, it is not rare to meet a bare-headed "Méo."

[301] Many "Méo" men wear jewelry: rings, bracelets, or neck-laces of silver, copper, or sometimes of iron.

[765] Mourning is indicated by the wearing of a white turban. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42.)

The costume of the "Méo" women shows rather remarkable peculiarities in the various tribes. They even exceed, among the "Peu-Méo," the costume of the "Man-ta-pan" in magnificence of embroidery and liveliness of colors.

Except among the "Méo-moung-cha," the cut of the feminine garments is almost uniform, as much for the working clothes as for the ceremonial costumes.

The "Peu-méo" women, whom the French commonly call "Méotes with the sailor collar" wear a working costume made up of the following pieces (photo 103, Plate 39).

A white bodice, full, and reaching down to the waist, where it is held in with the skirt by a wide belt. This bodice is folded over very low in front, leaving a considerable portion of the breast visible and giving the entire garment the appearance of a very low cut sailor's collar. This collar, as well as the lower part of the sleeves, is bordered with a band of colored material, of variable width (blue or red).

A white skirt, reaching down to just above the calf, and held in at the waist by the belt referred to above. This skirt, which is very wide, is of the "plissé-soleil" type. While walking, during [481] which the "Méo" women swing their hips very markedly, the pleats of the skirt gather now on the right, now on the left, following the movements of legs and torso.

An apron, in blue linen, simply fastened about the waist by a [154] cord. A rather voluminous turban of blue linen, but with an outside turn often made up of a band of material in white and blue squares.

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The an-
769 cestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
778 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Lông-wâng"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al-
776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II, p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II, p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

"One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
764 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
775 string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse,
is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; more-
[789] over, a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In
[767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 775 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 [114] [522] This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.
765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[782] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
[604] ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[768] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

/103 cont./

766 756 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight, or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore, the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the [775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard, hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force. Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a [292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead, then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he [302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not washed for four months, during which period the mourner does [302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or 60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also. For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her headband for three days.

593 From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

766 **Death and Burial.** When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

757 When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

764 535 The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

*A rectangle of brown "grass paper" with a de-

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 764 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包 are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[26 cont.]

000 time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

766 Hê Miao who die of leprosy are cremated. The dead body
164 is carried to a vacant lot to be placed on a pile of firewood and
757 burned before the public. It is probably for the same purpose of avoiding contagion that the Hê Miao at Yung-chiang who die of small pox are cremated -- a sanitary idea derived from experiences.

5. Religious Beliefs

The Short-skirt Hê Miao apparently believe in animism.
774 In their view every object in nature is invested with a spirit.
776 The sky, earth, sun and moon are all nature spirits, but even rocks, rivers, bridges, trees and wells are also endowed with spiritual powers. The duties and responsibilities of these spirits, however, are not quite divided, and therefore in case of sickness, engagement and the acquisition of sons they would go to one of these objects to offer prayers, and if their prayers are fulfilled they would have to offer sacrifices. There are two kinds of spirits: the good spirits, efficacious and powerful, who guard over the welfare of the mortals, but in case of offences against them, can also inflict severe punishments; the bad spirits or ghosts, who are bent on doing harm and whom one has to suppress if one cannot put up with them. The first category of spirits includes the Jade Emperor, the Guarding Buddha, one's ancestors, the King of Hades, the Earth God, the God of Wealth, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Yo Fei [warrior hero of the 12th century], Shen-nung [Divine Husbandman, a mythical emperor of pre-historical times], Kwan-ti [warrior hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the God of War], tree spirits, cliff spirits, bridge spirits, the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the winnowing-fan spirits, and the Lady Buddhas. The second category includes the spirits of thunder and lightning, the tiger ghost, the well ghost, the drowning ghost, the mouth odor ghost, the sly ghost who hurts people surreptitiously, the pu-nung (Miao dialect) ghost, the nai-huang (Miao dialect) ghost, the leg-pulling ghost, the breath-obstructing ghost, the soul-bewitching

/116 cont./

764 spirits, a pig and a couple of chickens are slaughtered, and the
[775] soul is invited to feast on them. Then a great dance takes
[789] place."

The deathwatch is maintained by the parents, the surviving spouse, and the children. After a few hours, two or three of these closest relatives relieve one another. During the deathwatch relatives and condoling friends, whose numbers depend on the importance of the deceased, speak of the dead
[766] person and mourn his passing. If the deceased was a distinguished man, his body lies in state for two days; in the case of a humble man and women and children, only one day.

614 During the deathwatch the men of the sib prepare the
764 coffin for the deceased. For this purpose a tree trunk of a proper
[322] length for the deceased is hollowed out. No ceremonies and no special handling of the tools are connected with the carving of the coffin. They go about this work in the same way as they do when they make a pig trough. Then the corpse is put, on its back, into the coffin, and the latter is closed with two boards. Toward twelve o'clock the same men begin to dig a grave at a place in the jungle selected by them. Since there are no cemeteries, and no special burying grounds for the sib, the choice of the site is left to these men, who perform this work as a pious service and have no other function in con-
[767] nection with the burial. -- There are no professional grave-diggers.

764 The grave is always laid out in an east-west direction, and in stony or level ground it is dug out about one meter deep, otherwise another half a meter.

The burial takes place between about two and three
[614] o'clock. The closest male members of the sib who are able-bodied carry the coffin to the burial place, accompanied by all the sib members and guests. Here it is let down into the pit in such a way that the corpse lies horizontally in the grave, with the head toward the east and the feet toward the west. The Meau of today no longer know why this direction is observed; they are following a /117/ custom handed down from

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by [775] putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, women, and children, with no differences other than that the [554] sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/116 cont./

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765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[554] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when
782 a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[787] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[604] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
[768] a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 men of the family — his son, the nephews,
and their sons — and his own daughters had
592 free access to his rooms. The second wife
was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at
596 home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen,
512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning
[768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and

 eat.

[22 cont.]

586 marriage. The amount of indemnity varies from under one hundred to several hundred dollars, fixed and guaranteed by relatives of both families at the time of negotiation to avoid future complications. Of course, this kind of divorce is not only limited to pre-arranged marriages by parents, the fact is that even in marriages of love, separations often occur due to incompatibility and difference of opinions. But whenever children are born within the wedlock, divorces never occur.

768 587 [589] There are very few cases of young widowhood among the Miao-I. According to customs a young widow may return to her own family six months after the death of her husband. Among the neighboring Long-skirt Miao the wife may go out through the back door to "yao-ma lang" with another man hardly before her husband breathes his last on the deathbed. The children of the deceased father generally remain in his family to be looked after by the grandparents, but the widow may bring them along to her own family if her deceased husband's family is poor and unable to support them. [23] At the same time the widow's parents may proceed to find another husband for their daughter. After marriage the second husband has to pay $4.20 to the wife's family, from which $1.20 is given to the deceased husband's family as "incense money" for sacrifices to his spirit. At the wedding the bride is escorted on foot by two old women to her husband's house, where feasts may be given and the occasion celebrated if his family is well-to-do.

582 Of course, the Miao also have certain taboos in their marriage system. Between sisters and brothers, between cousins and, like the Chinese, between parties of the same surname, no marriage takes place. Sometimes certain families are not matched with others although their surnames are different. For instance, the Yang family at P'ing-chai in the Chou-ch'i district in Lu-shan never have marital relations with the Pan family across the river at Hsin-chai. Between the Chinese and the Miao there are also very few instances of intermarriage. In the country the Miao, who consist of the majority of the population, maintain the most friendly relations in utter social equality

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
●768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

Miao AE5

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567] In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[736] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

/51 cont'd/

585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[793] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[768] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[769] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, M [131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came [301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as [556] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they [527] hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came [462] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such [782] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice [769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with [262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until [263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M /19 cont./

*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[648] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

M
*101 /20 cont./
CC in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[517] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

2:Ling & Ruey--41 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

M *101 CC 563 M [782] [769]

/22 cont./

(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

M [782] [769] [574] [248] [262] [175]

(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

M [167]

From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

/38 cont./

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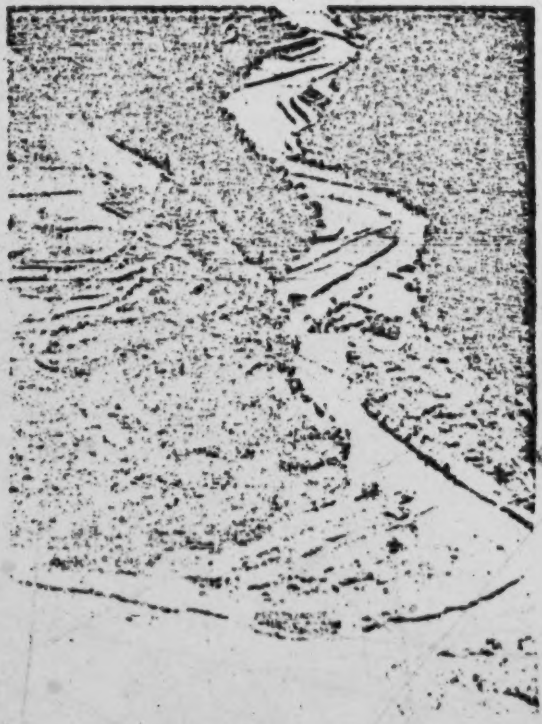

Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353
[778] Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
782 room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
769 in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
354 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
000 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

2:Ling & Ruey--65 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/40/

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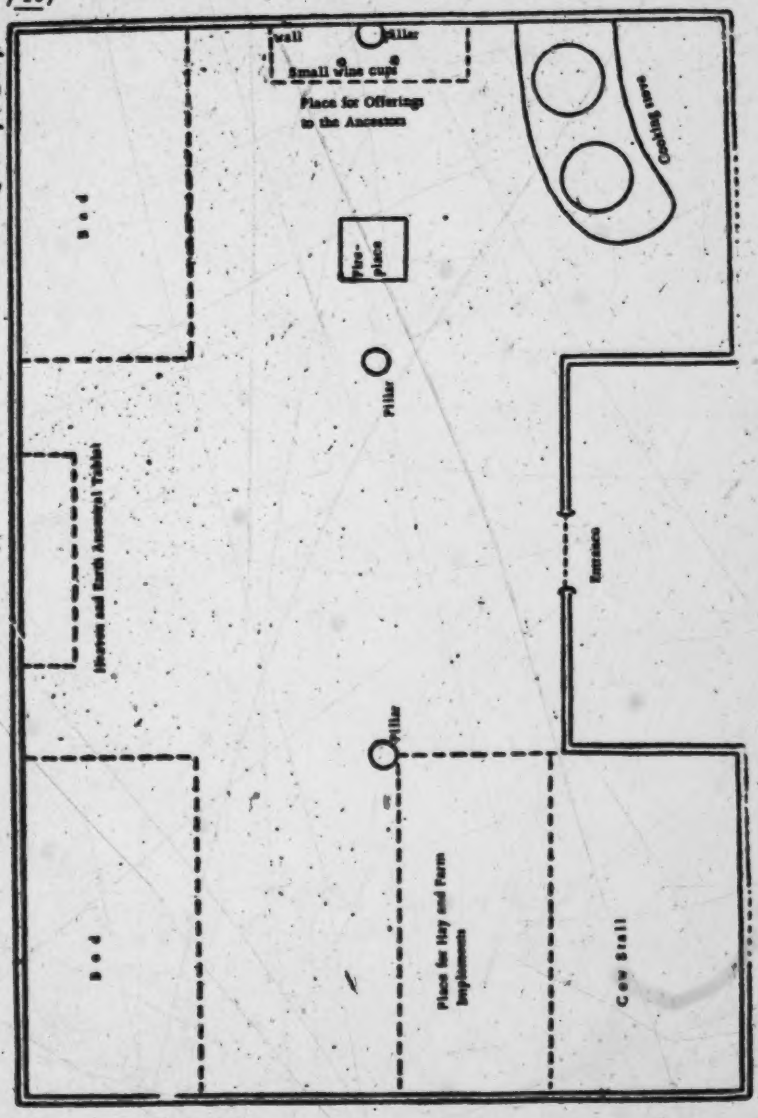

Illustration 15. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lang family among the Miao

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
[113] 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
769 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
[113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which ~~is~~ called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/130 cont./

*782 177 Among the 24 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the guest religion, the "Local Divinity of the Soil" and "Flying Mountain" are routine sacrifices, and the rest may be performed for multiple entreaties. The following is a presentation in separate divisions of the various sacrifices to kuei in both the Miao and guest religions.

1. Miao Religion

(1) Sacrifice to the Ancestors

769 *782 The sacrifice to the ancestors, called [ɕi˩ ɕioŋ˩˧] in the Miao language, is performed generally once a year in every family, but sometimes once every few years, after the autumn harvest. In the event of a death, it must be performed not later than within five or six days after the death. The kuei invoked are called [ɕioŋ˩ lio˥˧ ɕioŋ˩ ko˥˧]. The place for the sacrifice is beside the fire pit inside the house and the time is in the early morning. They set up a winnowing basket in which are placed five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, with the rest of the space filled with pa-pa.[1] The winnowing basket is laid down on the left side of the fire pit, and a bowl of beeswax and a bamboo tube on the right. The Miao Sorcerer sits facing the fire pit, beating the bamboo tube with his right hand, uttering incantations, the general idea of which is as follows:

"The fifth and the sixth months has already gone by; the ninth and the tenth months have arrived. In the loaded fields the five grains have ripened. They carry the grain back home, the men on their shoulders with a pole and the women on their backs. They cannot eat it all; they invited me to come. I brought soldiers and horses to fill this house; I am burning beeswax, beating the bamboo tube, and have prepared the wine, meat, pa-pa, and paper money. I beg you kuei to receive them, but hold them for the time being without eating them!"

769 787 At this point he ceases to beat the bamboo tube and with a pair of chiao-tzu (1) divines the fortunes of the whole family

[1] [ie - maize baked into a crust - ANALYST]

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/130 cont./

1. Chiao-tzu, an implement of divination which is made from two bamboo splints. The character chiao as written here is not found in any /Chinese/ books on etymology. It is probably a miswriting of the character chiao in pei-chiao /an implement of divination/; four other characters with the same sound are also used for it. The method of divining with chiao is: The sides looking up of the two chiao are the yang chiao, the sides looking down are the yin chiao, and one side looking up and one looking down are the sheng /"excellent"/ chiao.

one by one. /131/ Yang chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies wealth; yin chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies sickness and calamity. Sheng ("excellent," also written with the homonym meaning "holy") (1) chiao (one chiao looking

1. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (Sung dynasty), Yen Fan Lu: "...sheng chiao, one looking up, one looking down." Yeh Meng-te, Shih Lin Yen Yü: "One looking down, one looking up are sheng /"holy"/ chiao."

•769 /131 cont./
[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At
769 the same time he utters the following incantation:
*782 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death [777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called [kuey mbaʌ] in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei" of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
[776] mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[796] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14 strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each. The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot. [788] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers, next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part [769] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the [776] house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance. On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh. There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number of slices of cut-up beef. No beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is [263] very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao superstition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

1. See "Myths about the Flood, 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." 1/A

A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

1/A [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

/151 cont./

*782 783 sorcer-priest holds the chiao and rings the bell, standing in front of the table, and the words of the incantation he utters are to the following effect:

> "Now we have prepared well wine, meat, a cock, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, clean water, and ready money to cleanse the house. First we invoke the ancestors of the host. When you hear my call, please hurry down and receive the objects of sacrifice. Next we invoke the ancestors of the previous tenant. The host, fearing that he may not be at peace here, has asked me to come to cleanse the house. I have come with many soldiers and horses. With water I cleanse the house, first cleanse the fire bed, next the fire pit. I cleanse the right and the left of the house; I cleanse the front and the back doors. After I have cleansed three times, the host may live in it with great prosperity, resources abundant, prosperous harvests of the five grains, and the increase of the six kinds of domestic animals. The trouble-making kuei have now been sent out the door, hereafter peace will be everlasting."

[769]

[787] After the incantation has been completed, he then divines with the chiao. If either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao appears, it is auspicious, and paper is burned to send off the kuei. But if the yin chiao appears, then the incantation has to be said again, until he divines and gets either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, when it is the end. After the sorcerer-priest has completed his performance, he drinks the wine on the table and takes the cock, meat, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, and copper yuan offered in sacrifice to the kuei, home with him.

[152/ (10) Cleansing the Cat

[825] The Miao consider that a cat dying in the house is an ill omen, and it is then necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to purify the house in order to expel harmful emanations. In Miao this is called

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine. 796 782

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village. 527

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter. 796 527 769

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves—roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5–17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking. 796 527 769

Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.[5] This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice — yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn. 796 527

Tuan Yang.[6] In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21–June 4.)

[6] The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

house erected for the god for the special purpose of guarding the village gate, such as the Chinese earth buddha. This is known among the Miao-I as the village god who maintains peace and security for the entire population of the village. Every sixth day of the sixth moon the village makes a public sacrifice to this god. 776 796

(4) The Tree God. The Miao-I people always plant trees at the back of their village. The woods thus formed is known as the "Rear Dragon", and there the biggest tree is chosen as the tree god. The villagers dare not touch a blade of grass or a twig of wood in the woods. If inadvertently one picks up something and becomes sick, one is said to have offended the tree god. Every year on the head-dragon day of the second moon the villagers would build a straw pavilion before the tree god as an altar for sacrifice, and the sacrificial ritual is led by the Kwei-shih. All villagers participate in the ceremony, bringing meat and rice as gifts.

/91/ (5) The Buffalo King and the Horse King. Near the larger Miao-I villages in the hsien area there are low huts built for the buffalo king and the horse king, whom the Miao-I worship diligently because they look after the welfare of the cattle in the village. The eleventh day of the tenth moon is set aside for the worship of the buffalo king; and the twenty-third day of the sixth moon, for the horse king. The sacrifice is made with a cock and a pig's head. If there is sickness among the cattle in the village, then the cure is effected by sacrificing good meat, paper and candles before the respective gods.

(6) The Spirit Tablet. The Miao-I have adopted the Chinese custom of ancestral worship, placing in the family hall, no matter how small and ugly, a wooden tablet, on which are pasted words such as "the Seat of the Heaven and Earth Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others. 769

be in charge that year through a system of rotation would collect ten cents from each family for the purpose of purchasing chicken, duck, beancurd, paper money, incense, candles and colored paper. With the paper they make little triangular flags and stick them on the gate. The Kwei-shih would carry a long knife in the right hand and a dragon-head cane in the left, and followed by a man carrying a chicken and a duck, would descend upon each household, wielding the sword and shouting: 796 791

I come not your money to clear,
Nor your rice I level;
Surely I come not to take your lady dear,
But I sweep off the devil --
To the western area.

After the ceremony all family members crowd around the Kwei-shih as they move out of the village to a three-forked road in the west. Tossing the dragon-head cane onto the ground, the Kwei-shih burns it up with lighted papers and candles. Then, after killing the chicken and the duck, he sprinkles the blood on the road. The chicken and duck are cooked together with beancurd and other foodstuffs in a huge cauldron and eaten by the villagers on the roadside.

(8) The Chia Performance. When a person dies among the Hua Miao, the rest of the family would pray to him for their safety and health. If the years after his death prove prosperous to the family, then on passing the thirteenth year its members would perform Chia or the great Chai, involving the sacrifice of a buffalo in his memory. If at that time the family does not have the means to make a sacrifice, then the Kwei-shih may be invited to respectfully inform the deceased person of a postponement of the sacrificial date. Before performing Chia 769

769 the family must buy a buffalo way ahead of the date so that it can grow fat for the occasion. On the vacant ground outside the village a small straw pavilion is erected as the altar of sacrifice. The offspring of the deceased would lead the buffalo to the altar, and waving a large butcher's knife, shout several times: "Let no one rob our buffalo!" Inside the pavilion, incense and candles are lit and placed alongside such sacrificial items as chicken and duck. Standing beside the straw pavilion, the Kwei-shih would pray to the dead: "Your descendants so-and-so send you a buffalo and wish you would watch over them always." The man then brings the butcher's knife upon the buffalo's head. If the animal is killed with one stroke, then the greatest luck would attend the household. The head of the buffalo is placed in the pavilion as a sacrifice and the beef is cooked in a huge cauldron. Those friends and relations, who have come with five measures of rice and one jar of wine as gifts, now partake of the feast. After it is over, each one carries home three pieces of beef on a pointed bamboo stick.

759 (9) Hong Ma and Hong Pa. In the Miao-I
847 village one often sees abandoned butchered children lying around. The heads and legs of these dead children are severed with a kitchen knife by their own parents, the same knife thrown beside the body with blood strewn all over, - the whole presenting a gruesome spectacle. This happened because the dead child's parents had brought to this world several sons who had died of the same illness, and so they believed that an evil spirit must have possessed them and been reborn several times to "hong ma and hong pa" (to deceive the parents). Therefore, this child is now decapitated and slaughtered so that the headless and limbless spirit of vengeance would not be able to come to

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

765 descendants in every way. Animals are killed with the idea that a life must be given but the life of the animal becomes a living creature that can be used in the other world by the ancestor. Such sacrifices are not atonements for sin.

These memorial festivals are taken very seriously by the Ch'uan Miao. They believe that people must not imitate these festivals in play, and certainly not ridicule them. The ancestors will surely take the life of a cow or water-buffalo that is offered in pretence.

Twelve days after the funeral there is a memorial festival called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao a'gi or *a'si*. The ceremonial drum is not used and the bull is not sacrificed. There is no music of the *liu shêng* or beating of drums or singing of songs.

At this time, the spirit is supposed to come back and visit his former home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. By the footprints it can be learned whether the person is now a grown human being, or a child, or has been transformed into a fowl, a horse, a dog, or some other creature. A cock is killed and offered in a raw state to the spirit. Then it is cooked, other food is added, and the relatives and friends have a feast. This festival is observed for parents, or for brothers or sisters over three years of age.

769 At a later date there is a memorial service called in Chinese *tso chai* 做斋 and in Ch'uan Miao a vang. It must take place not less than one year after the *sao ch'ieh*, and generally takes place two or three years later, but may be delayed ten or more years if this is made necessary by poverty. Friends and relatives march in procession to the grave (some families do not go to the grave but observe the entire ceremony in the home), beating gongs and drums and playing the *liu shêng*. In this way the soul of the dead is enticed back home. Generally a cow or a water-buffalo or rarely a pig is killed and offered to the ancestor, then it is cooked and eaten by relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers or sisters and for ancestors for three generations. The ceremonial drum and the *liu shêng* are used in this ceremony.

775 After death a woman carries on her back a grass mat and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 made of bamboo and about two and half feet in diameter. These are burdensome to the souls of the dead, since they make it impossible for them to enter the palace in the level country of Ntsa. The ancestors are released from these burdens during the *tso chai* ceremony and then go happily away to God's flat land where they can enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

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There is a legend that in former times a Miao group or tribe cal' d Hmoŋ Kw'a were accustomed to kill their parents when they had become old and eat them and that their parents were glad to have them do so. It is said that the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 still call themselves Hmoŋ Kw'a and are probably the descendants of that ancient group. It is asserted that during the *tso chai* ceremony the descendants take bread or rice cakes and with their hands mould the cakes into human form, then place them in a bamboo bowl. The *liu shêng* is played, a cow, pig, sheep or chicken is killed as an offering, and after the offering is made the image is cut up and eaten. This is thought to be a continuance of the old custom of eating the parent. It is done very secretly for a Chinese or some other person might ask for an explanation and it would be difficult to give an acceptable reply. 769

Later, after an indefinite period there is a ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* 超度, and in Chuan Miao tsa moŋ. The custom is to dig up the corpse, throw away or burn up the old coffin, carefully wash the bones, place a new coffin in the old or in a new grave and new garments in the coffin, arrange the bones in their natural order on top of the clothing, carefully fold the edges of the clothing over the bones, put the lid on the coffin, and cover the coffin with dirt. This is still performed by many Ch'uan Miao. It is noteworthy that the same custom, which is rapidly disappearing, is found among the Chinese in Fukien Province. 765

It is thought that because the dead person cannot turn over, he or she becomes very tired and uncomfortable. After from three to ten years the corpse is dug up. The bones are washed with "fire wine" 火酒, then they are rubbed with mustard oil. If the bones are black, the burial place is not good and the corpse must be reburied in a new place else the descendants will not prosper. If the bones are yellow or white, the place is lucky and the reburial should be in the same spot, and the descendants will prosper. During this ceremony the demon drum is used, the *liu shêng* is played to the accompaniment of dancing and appropriate songs are sung. A cow or a pig is sacrificed and there are offerings to the ancestors and a feast. Sometimes the person presiding, called mo, places in a bamboo basket a chopstick for each deceased ancestor and during the ceremony hangs the basket on a beam of the house. The results of this ceremony are that the deceased ancestor who is reburied is comfortable and the descendants have less illness and prosper. [775]

I have been told by a Miao living at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 that in that locality they no longer dig up the coffin, wash the bones and provide a new coffin and clothing but that instead they make a tiny wooden coffin and garments only a few inches long and burn these with paper or spirit money in the

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

I. REPETITIONS WHILE MAKING OFFERING AT THE NEW YEAR'S TIME

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The year is ended. The night of the twelfth moon and the thirtieth day has come. The dead ancestors are invited to come and eat rice biscuits. I give the rice biscuits to the ancestors with my own hands.

When the rice biscuits have been eaten, you must go and remove diseases and remove calamities and remove pains and remove quarrels and remove sins. You must leave them on the roads of the Lolo and the Chinese. You must add to the strength of your descendants so we can go and sow. You must add to their power so they can make clearings in the wilderness, so that your descendants will have food and clothing. Then you will have meat to eat and wine to drink and your descendants will sacrifice to three generations of female and male ancestors.

You come first (and eat). Now I will make the offerings with my (own) hands. Come and eat. Now I will invite my own ancestors of three generations with all the dead relatives of three generations, all to come together and eat.

(When he has spoken to this place, he must invite them to come and eat, beginning with the oldest, calling each of them by name, until he has reached his own parents (if they are dead). He must certainly mention them by name one by one and give food to each one. When he is through making the offerings, then he may eat himself. The husband is always invited first, then the wife, then another male).

II. WORDS REPEATED AT NEW YEAR'S TIME, ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR WHILE MAKING OFFERINGS

First a pot of new rice must be cooked. Fresh water and new tea leaves must be used to make tea. First tea must be offered to the ancestors. When the tea has been offered then they offer rice and meat. He repeats the following while making the offerings.

The first day of the new year has come. Your descendants have cooked new rice. The new year will become ten thousand years (for the descendants). We offer to you a wooden spoon (in which food is given) so you can eat the new year meal. xʌu lo xai (come and eat and drink). Let the female and male ancestors of three generations come together to eat the New Year feast. xʌu lo xai. When you have eaten, you must come and increase the strength of your descendants so that they can plow and sow the fields and the mountain wildernesses so that they can have food. If they have food and clothes then we will first make offerings to

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the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo-xai. When you have eaten, you must come and add many domestic animals and cause the crops to grow and cause the old forests and the uncultivated hills to grow (trees and grass), and cause many sons to be born and many grandsons. When the descendants have planted their crops, and made clearings in the wilderness, you must cause your descendants to get things to eat and drink and they will first make offerings to the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo-xai.

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(When he has repeated to this point, he calls the names of the ancestors, one by one, beginning with the oldest, inviting them to come and eat and offering them food to eat. Sometimes the offerings are thrown on the ground, sometimes they are placed in a bowl on a table. Always the male is called on first, then his wife, then another male of a nearer generation.)

III. OFFERING WINE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY TO ANCESTORS

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the first day of the New Year. My three generations of female and male ancestors have come to drink New Year's wine. When you have drunk wine, you must lead your descendants forth to be scholars and civil officials and lead them to be military officials. After that you must look after your descendants so that they can raise many domestic animals. When you have drunk, you must make their descendants very numerous. You must cause the sons and grandsons to have food and drink. You must cause the descendants to accomplish so that they have meat to eat and wine to drink. Then they will first come and make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors so that you will all come and get (wine) to drink. When you have drunk and gone you must not nourish diseases (lest they come and injure us). You must not nourish groans, you must not nourish quarrels, you must not nourish crimes, but let the descendants farm and get food and drink. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so that they may come together and drink.

(When he has spoken up to this point, then he must mention the three generations of female and male ancestors and invite them to come and make offerings to them, from the oldest even including his own sons and daughters who are dead. When he has finished these offerings the living descendants may eat breakfast.)

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

IV. OFFERINGS ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE NEW YEAR

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My grandmother and my grandfather, the third day of the New Year has arrived. The three generations of female and male ancestors have already been here three days. The big hill is trampled down (i.e., the grass, from the people enjoying themselves on the hills). Now we invite you to come and eat the biscuits you have left over. I am going to report to you so that you may depart. You will return to your places and stand among the reeds and sit among the flowers. You go and dig up grass roots to nourish your lips (to eat). You must go still more and dig up grass roots and roots of reeds to nourish your bodies. Now you have eaten. You must go and carry away illnesses (for the descendants). You must go and carry away pains, you must go and carry away quarrels, and you must go and fill up the pits of illness and fill up the pits of groans and fill up the pits of quarrels and you must also go and collect all kinds of pain and illness. When you have collected them you must increase the strength of your descendants to farm, open clearings in the wilderness and cut down deep forests. You must cause your descendants to have food to eat, then they will make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors. You have eaten. You must wait the year and month when you should come and then we will invite you to come and eat meat and eat rice. You have eaten, so go. If you become hungry you can in a dream at night imitate rain and wind as a sign (and we will know that you are hungry). (This is regarded as such an omen by the Chinese.) You must not come as a sickness or a pain and injure us lest your descendants have to eat wild berries behind the house (because of hunger) and become unable to make offerings to you. Please come and drink (wine) and when you are through drinking return to your place and come back at *tuan yang* 端阳.

V. TEA MUST BE OFFERED ON THE SAME DAY (THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST MOON)

It is the morning of the third day of the New Year. People are through playing on both the large and the small mountains. When the remaining biscuits are all eaten up you must drink tea. When you are through drinking tea, I will inform you that you must go to your country and dig reed roots to nourish your mouths and dig up grass roots with which to nourish your bodies. When you have drunk tea, you must go and remove calamities, sickness, quarrels, and bad things. You must increase the strength of your descendants so that they can farm, so that they will have strength to climb mountains like wild pheasants running, and

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

go down hill like black snakes. When you have drunk it you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can go and farm. When they do their farming, do not let the grasshoppers eat it or white insects cut it off. Let your descendants have clothes and food. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations.

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Now we want to invite the deceased ancestors all to come together and eat. When you are through eating, I will determine for you that you must wait until the fifth moon at *tuan yang* before we will again make offerings to you.

VI. OFFERINGS AT TUAN YANG 端陽 IN THE FIFTH MOON

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the fifth moon feast, *tuan yang*. We invite you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat the *tuan yang* meal. xai, xai, xai.

When you have eaten it, cause your descendants to be students and civil officials. When you have drunk, go and cause them to be soldiers. When you have eaten, cause the domestic animals of your descendants to be very numerous. When you have eaten, cause your descendants to multiply and cause your descendants to have clothing and food and drink. They will then first make offerings to their female and male ancestors for three generations so they can come and drink. When you have eaten, you go. If you are thirsty, you change to wind and rain and come first and come and reveal it to us. Do not become severe illnesses and come to injure us. You must protect your descendants so they will have food and drink before they can make offerings to you. Xai, xai, xai. (We are making offerings for you to eat).

(When this has been repeated to this place, the officiator must call by name, as before described, the departed ancestors for three generations).

VII. THE OFFERINGS AT THE CEREMONY OF EATING NEW GRAIN

Xai, xai, xai. We are making offerings to our female and male ancestors of three generations. Your descendants have harvested their crops and have not yet tasted them and to-day is a propitious day. We will first come and make offerings for you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat. When you have eaten them, you all come together and eat (the) new (grain). When you have eaten, you go and remove quarrels, add to the power of your descendants to do farming, and make clearings in the deep forests. Let your descendants have

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings
to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they
769 will come forward again and make offerings to the female
and male descendants for three generations before you can
have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The
girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared
585 much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and
the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared
782 and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float
about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xʌu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xʌu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

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You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsə's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made
as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather
like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it
often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger
blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/954 AE5 Miao AE5

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, [illegible] play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors [illegible] e ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion [illegible] re belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzə^{2} Ti$^{\cdot 5}$ lau^{2} gau^{1} bi^{9}). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a superhuman, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntzong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

The year is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194 [193]

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[180 cont.]

796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom [593] in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

[181 cont.]
796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and fire-crackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

[182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
241 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after
796 breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the
796 Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district 796 have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the 535 dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New 796 Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating [769] oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

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796 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must at-
[461] tend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after
●769 the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar
796 calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I
[262] eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "[illegible]ging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the older grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for
796 sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-
231 huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

769 On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that [251] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their [773] tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.—Analyst]

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their [627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a fam-
769 ily tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property [428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

[165 cont.]

585 The ceremonies which accompany the conclusion of a "Méo" marriage are just so many excuses for feasts and drinking bouts.

When a young man has cast his choice upon a young woman, 584 he informs his father of his intentions. The latter selects two old men belonging to the family, whom he charges with going and making the official request in marriage. These two intermediaries, bearing gifts, go to the home of the young woman and are received by her father, who offers them food and drink. If this offer is made within the house, it means that the request is accepted in principle and that the terms may now be discussed. The neighbors are asked in and a small feast is held. (If the offer is made outside the house, it means that the request is not approved, the intermediaries content themselves with eating a morsel and drinking a small cup of alcohol, and withdraw without having entered the home.) The intermediaries then return to the home of the young man to announce the happy result of their mission and to participate in a series of feasts, which last for two days and to which all the relatives and friends of the fiancé are invited. The fiancé receives on this occasion all the gifts [588] which will enable him to make up the amount of the dowry agreed upon.

The engagements usually last only a short time. The "Méo" 585 pay no attention to the agreement of the horoscopes. Upon the day [787] [166] set for the marriage, the fiancé, accompanied by his friends and preceded by flute players, betakes himself to his fiancée's home where he presents his gifts and where a monstrous feast begins which lasts throughout the day. The fiancée spends the night in her own house, surrounded by her friends, who aid her in making her preparations. The morning of the next day the fiancée dons her garments for grand ceremonies, which she generally wears only on that day. (If the fiancé is of another tribe, she assumes the costume of that tribe.) The cortège, formed of the two spouses accompanied by their friends of both sexes and preceded by "sen" players, goes to the home of the young man where the young wife is presented to her parents-in-law. In the tribes where ancestral worship is practiced, [769] the newlyweds prostrate themselves before the altar. Then begin the feasts, the dances, and the songs, which often last for several days, according to the resources of the fiancé. The young couple

[167 cont.]

684 586 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general 548 778 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon 548 see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

764 [769] The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously observed among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then [825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The an-
769 cestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
778 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Long-wang"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al-
776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

39: Bernatzik--61 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/35/

c) Family Units

A M 614 [764]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha do the sibs /Sippen/ live locally separated or have their own totems. On the other hand, the Akha have their own burial places, but the Meau do not. Likewise among the two peoples there are no religious sib-celebrations or common insignia or individual sib-heads. The unit is not the sib, but the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/, which lives in one house and consists of the head of the family, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, among the Meau, the married sons up to the end of their thirtieth year and their families.

A M 596

The rights of the head of a large family are very extensive. All those living in the house; wives, children, and grandchildren, must obey him; he has unlimited authority, and he may punish, beat, or, among the Meau, in special cases even kill the members of the household under him. This is not the case among the Akha, among whom only twins are killed (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Birth"). Otherwise, however, the head of the large family, who is responsible for the well-being of all the others, irrevocably decides all the disputes within his household community.

In view of the proverbial compatibility of the members of a Meau family, the head of such a large family hardly ever has occasion actually to interfere, but on the other hand, he often does among the Akha. Among the Meau I repeatedly observed that the head did not make a decision without first consulting with the sons who lived under his roof. There was never a decision against the will of the subordinate concerned. The sons, too, however, avoided expressing their opinion until after they had conferred with the head of the large family. In such cases I was always given the answer: "This is not our business; we must first ask the father."

A M [769] [756]

It is the duty of the head to officiate and offer the sacrifices in connection with the religious festivals of the large family, namely, the festivals for the dead or the veneration of the ancestors. If especially important affairs are involved, for instance, if measures have to be taken in connection with the

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bride-[152] groom into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of [782] [769] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until [513] [595] the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/102 cont./

184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

114 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,
591
585

1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The
585
[584]

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

/111 cont./

M 587 "Courtship and Betrothal" in this chapter); if the husband dies, however, among the Meau the oldest of the younger brothers of the deceased usually takes the widow or widows into his house as his wives. It is up to each individual, however, to choose whether or not he wants to take this course. Matters are usually arranged so that the widows who are old and have many children become the wives of the brother of the deceased; the young and pretty widows, however, who do not as yet have many children, marry an outsider. The brother does not have to pay a purchase price for the widows, but the outsider must pay approximately the sum paid for a girl, with the price adjusted according to the number of children and their youth; M [614] the fewer and the younger the children of the widow are, the higher the price, which is shared by the membersof the sib.

A 587 [292] /112/ Among the Akha the widow again goes to the dancing places with the young girls, after she has removed the veiling of the bamboo cover of her head adornment (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); and henceforth her behavior does not differ in any way from that of the girls. In general, however, it is about six to twelve months before she decides to enter another marriage, in which case she must leave her children with the family of the deceased. If she does not want to do this, she has no other course but to renounce any new marriage. As A [589] a consequence, Akha women who are somewhat older and are richer in children usually do not marry again, whereas young women with few or no children usually take the course of re-A M marriage. Among neither the Meau nor the Akha, however, do widows return to their original sib; if the widow was [614] pregnant at the time of the death of the husband, the post-[851] humous child belongs to the sib of the deceased, but later children belong to the new husband.

M 586 [769] Aside from the dissolution of marriage through the death of one of the spouses there is such through divorce. It is rare, however, because among the Meau it is regarded as unacceptable to the ancestors. Savina (1), too, writes that divorces are

1. II, p. 226.

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
[578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common.
[595] The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she tums to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
[583] know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

764 "One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
775 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse,
is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/150 cont./

M 114 535 796 [769] I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A 535 The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example; but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the A [832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the A Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with [832] love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A M 535 883 The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only the young people take part in these dances, no married women of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both

1 [see cat 116, p 131- ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 132- "]

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was [828] no explanation for fainting.

769 114 [775] When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they have been informed of the change of location through a special ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in

II, p. 319.

case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 774 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is commonly assumed, as was said, that evil spirits prevent it from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes [761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 761 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer. which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats [516] or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position [788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his [756] wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses [787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro- [516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship 776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are 782 dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the [778] spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship 776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom [782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other
[769] prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large [596] [769] /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782] New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
[769] voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
[526] munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
[241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
[776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/208 cont./

769 782 [852] [764] As has already been described in detail in the pertinent sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If [437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 782 [461] Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the [787] spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

1 [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/209 cont./

484 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having
782 its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moder-
574 ate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so
782 that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means
114 for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-
261

1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau
[796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time
[776] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the
[241]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
[177] sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however, are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II, p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

A M [513]

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A M 753 776 M 755 [756] [769]

As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

/248 cont./

c) Criminal Law

673 Regarded as crimes among the Meau are: theft, robbery, manslaughter, lying, bodily injury, and offense by assault, whereas verbal offenses are not ordinarily punished. Furthermore, kidnapping, especially of children, is regarded as a crime. In former times, treason was added to the list of possible crimes which were punished.

684 Incest, on the other hand, is punished exclusively by the [769] ancestors; the people do not interfere. If it becomes known, [626] however, it is regarded as the utmost disgrace.

At first it seems surprising that rape generally remains unpunished. Since, however, in the life of the Meau a girl can hardly be taken unawares without some co-operation on her part -- there are always female companions or family members nearby when a girl leaves a village -- it is assumed that a girl who goes off alone with a boy is prepared for every eventuality. If a case of rape should occur, however, the girl's father demands two or three pieces of silver from the culprit, who will pay without opposition. The case is different if the girl becomes pregnant. Then no distinction is made between rape and voluntary surrender. Even then, however, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," no pressure is exerted for marriage, /Ills. 46-51 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /249/ although the girl's parents in particular will make every attempt to bring about the marriage.

[848] If a girl who is pregnant as a consequence of the wrong done to her should give birth to a stillborn child, the culprit must pay the same price for the stillborn child as is charged for children who must be turned over to a creditor in lieu of payment, namely, 70 pieces of silver for a boy, and 50 pieces for a girl.

/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
773 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
775 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

/66 cont'd/

715 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
713 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/126 cont./

000 obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system
C of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao
563 area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un
669 fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders
[425 often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt
651] in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances.
M In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao re-
648 bellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system.
[429 It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un
701] officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

/127/ CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

M The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There
121 are no people however primitive without religion and magic.
771 Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in Science, Religon and Reality by

/127 cont./

121 Joseph Needham, translated
771 into Chinese by Li An-che,
Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao
yü Shen-hua, page 1, The
Commercial Press.

According to the report
114 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of
771 today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-
ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation
Bureau's Chinese translation, page
259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept
771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been
177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

776 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese,
771 "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/.
[177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have
[192] supernatural power; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits, or gods, they are all called "kuei," [kuey] in the Miao language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648] 1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛ˨ ɕioŋ˨˩] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛ˨ tsa˨˩] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
756 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
*[782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia˧˥]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien˧˥] and a body [ko˧˥-ʂʿieŋ˧˥/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pe˧˥ tsʿɔ˧˥]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ˧˥
[824] ʂo˧˥] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ˧˥ ndu˧˥]. When there is a
*[782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

/193 cont./

*782 the chanting are over, the gong and drum are silenced, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the host's house to eat breakfast. After breakfast the sorcerer makes a liang-yüan, and with both hands he gives it to the host to be stuck in the sheng of rice. At the same time he says a few words of good luck.

At this point, all the various rituals for Huan No Yüan are over. The sorcerer packs up his implements and the thank-you gifts from the host, who sends someone to escort him home. On passing each village the sorcerer must blow his horn once, the idea being to call the yin troops to return to the altar. When he arrives home he blows his horn once more and utters the incantation of returning to the altar.

(2) Magic

● 771 789 Both magic and religion are in the sacred domain. The distinction between the two sometimes is not very clear. The celebrated British scholar of magic and religion, Sir James Frazer, set up his standard of differentiating between magic and religion on the basis of whether the method employed in controlling nature was a personal, direct application of the use of spells and charms, or an indirect one by invoking the help of spirits. (1) The former is /194/ magic, and the latter

1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li An-che's translation, pp. 3-4.

is religion. The contemporary scholar, Malinowski, has made a more penetrating distinction between the two. He says: "Within the domain of the sacred, magic as a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfillment of their purpose." (1)

1. See above-quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[993] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

583 585 [591] The young people are married at seventeen or eighteen, and it seems to make no difference whether the young couple live with the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or set up housekeeping in their own home. The wedding is usually held at the groom's home, two or three young girls and a young man or two from his village going for the bride and escorting her back. The bride wears no distinctive dress except a peculiar headdress under her kerchief, and an embroidered girdle of undyed cloth. She also carries two small towels of this same material thrown over her shoulders, and one to cover her face. According to their custom, the bride and groom sit on the same bench and eat and drink together, and then declare their allegiance to the family by serving tea to the parents or in some other simple way.

• 771 [797] The Miao in their heathen state apparently worshipped any and all gods in an effort to appease them but with little definite idea or set ritual. Idols do not seem to be in evidence in their houses, and being a roving people, they have no temples. They have within the last few years become interested in the Gospel and whole villages have become Christian, much as has been the case in the mass movement, so-called, in India. They are a simple people, highly emotional and temperamentally religious, which is often true of hill peoples. Thus certain emotional phases of religion immediately become paramount in their eyes, and without careful teaching they are liable to be led astray on these points.

797 [2,2] The Miao have no written language of their own, but pick up Chinese character with amazing rapidity. The Christian villages each put up a chapel at their own expense, meet every morning for prayer before they go to their work, and every evening for a short service and an hour or so of study. When a Chinese evangelist or a missionary comes to the village, they study until midnight, when they are sent home in self-defence by the teachers—and at 2 a.m. they are up pounding rice, so that we wonder when they sleep. They are a wonderfully interesting people, these "Children of the Forest," as they style themselves, and it is a rare privilege to be among them and come to know them.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 579 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being distilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

836 The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House", where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [346]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356]

6:Ch'eh--1 E-5 (no date)1942 AE5 Miao AE5

Religious Beliefs of the Miao and I Tribes in An-shun, Kweichow

[101] 771

An-shun is a center of the Miao and I tribes in Kweichow province, where there are two Miao tribes, the Ch'ing /green/ Miao and the Hua /flower/ Miao, and one I tribe, the Chung-chia. Although there are various groups of Miao-I with different customs, from the point of view of religious beliefs they are all polytheists. In recent decades due to contacts with the Chinese people a portion of the Chung-chia have been assimilated. Besides setting up family altars and worshipping ancestors, they believe in Kuan-yin /goddess of mercy/, Confucius, Kuan-kung /a deified hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the god of war/ and other gods. The Catholics and the Protestants have also exerted in recent years a strong latent influence on the Miao and I villagers.

The following is a brief study of the religious development and beliefs of the Miao-I tribes.

/89/ The Catholic church in the city of An-shun is known as Shan-tsung T'ang /hall of goodness/ with four branch halls at Kung-pu, Mo-wan-tung, Shui-tang-chai and Ch'iu-chow. They all hold properties which are yearly on the increase. It is said that the Catholic Church at An-shun was established by a certain French priest some fifty years ago. Today, it is administered by Lengkuohsien /transliterated/ and Chailiszu /transliterated/, both French, and the expenses for maintaining it comes from the Catholic headquarters in Kweiyang. The church maintains an elementary school, studying chiefly the Bible, and the enrollment is about from 30 to 40 boys from Catholic families. Within the hsien district there are about 2000 Catholics, one-half of them being the Chung-chia people. 797 [162]

6:Ch'en--3 E-5 (no date)1942 } AE5 Miao AE5

an enlightened person among the Miao. His re- 797
ligious fervor, however, was a little too ex- 792
cessive, and it disqualified him as a true lead-
er of his people. He preached among them for
more than twenty years with great success, but
since he and his foreign associates had left the
church, no one succeeded them as a full time
preacher. The church school has been closed
down. There are only two American doctors in
the hospital, having charge at the same time of
the church, but they have no time for preaching.
So the faith of the Miao and I in Protestant
Christianity is also on the decline.

Besides the Catholic Church and the China
Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists have
recently established a church in An-shun to
spread the Christian principles but rather on a
small scale. At present the work is carried on
by a young man of the Hua Miao tribe, named Tang
Chen-ying, with about thirty members equally di-
vided among the Chinese and Miao-I, and a church
school of over ten Miao children.

The Miao and I in An-shun are largely un- 771
educated and superstitious, believing strongly 181
in ghosts and evil spirits. All their daily and
farm activities, trading, sickness, marriage and
funeral events are subject to the influences of
the spirits.

The following are some examples:

(1) Spiritual Media. The names for spiri- 791
tual media in An-shun are the same in the Miao-I
language as in the Chinese. The men are known
as Kwei-shih or Tuan-kung; the women, Mi-la or
Mi-pu. Their duty is to sacrifice to the
spirits to invoke their aid and to provide a
medium between the spiritual and the human
worlds. As such they are respected by the
people. All ancestor worship and funeral events
have to be presided over by the Kwei-shih. Every

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

the presence of a foreigner, converts and inquirers are ready to talk about and explain things frankly to the missionary. It must be remembered that some of these Miao tribes have been widely separated in time and space, so that what may truly be said of some of them may not be true of all. And here it may as well be admitted that we who have been so much among them have yet a good deal to learn, and possibly something of what has been learned has not been properly understood. But the religious ideas and practices of a new people, for the Miao are a new people to many of our readers, are always interesting, so we shall now put down what we have learned, or think we have learned, about them.

And first let it be said that, as far as our own observation goes, the Miao have no idols and do not worship any gods. We have heard of idols among the Miao, but cannot remember ever to have seen them. They have no temples and no priests, and we never saw them engaged in any act of adoration. They are certainly not Buddhists. They practise certain rites in reference to the dead or to demons, such as a stranger might naturally suppose were acts of divine worship, but they are not acts of divine worship as the term is generally understood.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

771 From the earliest times the Chinese have known and worshipped *Shang-ti* as the Supreme Being, and have also worshipped inferior local deities. Many of the Miao have been living in close touch with the Chinese for ages, and some of them, as at present, have intermixed much with the Chinese, but, as far as we know, they have not copied the Chinese in their earlier worship of Shang-ti, or in their later worship of Buddhist and Taoist idols.

Most of the Chinese now say they worship Heaven and Earth, and the Miao, when asked about their objects of worship, will sometimes say they worship Heaven and Earth. This, we think, they have learned to say from the Chinese, and learned to say recently. We have often seen the Chinese worshipping Heaven and Earth, and though we have been in and out among the Miao now for fifteen years, we never saw them worshipping Heaven and Earth or any other object. Little shrines may sometimes be seen at the entrance to their villages, but this building of shrines is said to be a recent innovation. We have frequently seen them sacrificing animals and making offerings to the dead, but we never saw them worshipping at a shrine. After years of intercourse and inquiry among them, we are of opinion that those

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

who are not Christians do not pray to or worship any Supreme Being. 771

This is the more remarkable as they have the story of a Creation. The Heh Miao say Vang-vai made heaven and earth, and Zie-ne made other things, but they never worship Vang-vai or Zie-ne. The Hua Miao say that in the beginning there was no heaven and earth. There was a man named Gloe-an, and his wife Ngo-a, and these had two sons. The elder, beating about with a brass hammer, made forty-eight heavens, or a heaven in forty-eight parts. The younger son, with an iron hammer, beat about and made earth in forty-eight compartments. We never heard of them worshipping these persons. 773

All the Miao have musical festivals once or twice a year, now in one part of the country and now in another. If asked why they hold these festivals, they say that if they failed to do so their harvests would be bad; and yet they do not profess to understand how the harvests are influenced by this custom. If ever there was a religious element in their musical festivals, there does not seem to be anything religious about them now. As at present conducted they are fêtes, attended by the people from all the countryside, at which there is not 796 527

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

771 THE MIAO AND, WE THINK, ALL THE OTHER RACES of Eastern Asia ought to be reckoned as Animists. The Chinese may call themselves Confucianists and Buddhists, but they are also Animists. It is conceivable that in a short time many of them will profess to be Agnostics and Materialists, but they will also be Animists. For all the peoples of Eastern Asia the world is full of immaterial powers and intelligences, even certain rocks and trees are possessed of some sort of spiritual efficacy. Among the Miao these spiritual beings are demons and always inimical to human kind.

771 755 At first we were inclined to think that the Miao worshipped demons, but when again and again they denied this, and seemed unfeignedly amused at the idea of worshipping demons, we concluded that we were mistaken. The performances they go through, which seem to us like religious rites, are done to drive away or keep away the demons, and to counteract their evil influences. If a man is ill, or his cattle sick, if he has had bad luck, or any misfortune befalls him, he attributes this to demons; and a wizard or exorcist is summoned. Their modes of procedure are various, but might generally be summed up as offerings, unintelligible mutterings, and the throwing about of rice water and 755 knives in every direction. They also believe

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

538 clear whether the two stones were two round pieces of a stonegrinder or not. The Ch'uan Miao assured me that they 773 were not two round pieces of a stone grinder but merely two round stones and that they rolled down from opposite hill-or mountain-sides, the opposite sides of a canyon.

Another kind of legend is that which gives an explanation for Ch'uan Miao customs. There are many of them and not a few of the customs here described were first learned about in a legend. As an illustration I will tell the story of the origin of raising chickens.

A man was walking through the woods. A pheasant flew out cackling and the man found some pheasant chicks. These he took home and fed and gradually they became very tame and grew up as pets. The family liked them so much that they did not kill them and eat them. When these chicks grew up they laid eggs and hatched out more chicks which in turn grew up. This family gave some of the fowl to other families and gradually people learned to raise chickens.

538 There are many love songs or songs that relate the experiences of lovers, for the Ch'uan Miao have had their 837 share of Romeos and Juliets. Some of these songs tell of love between men and their wives or between men and women whom they love and wish to marry, but probably ninety percent of the love songs tell of love affairs between married men and women who are not their wives or between married women and men who are not their husbands, or between unmarried people who do not expect to get married, and in nearly all of these cases it is stated or implied that there was sexual intercourse between them. It seems to be assumed that love between the sexes will result in sexual intercourse and the pure love song that plays such a large part in the literature of the world is hard to find.

IX. RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

In my opinion the Ch'uan Miao are a very religious people, 771 but they have no religious organization, no images of gods, and no temples. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and through their religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a satisfying life in which the basal needs of food, sex, protection or security, and play and amusement are satisfied. Two of the fundamentals in the Ch'uan Miao religion are belief in demons which cause disease and other calamities and for whose exorcism ceremonies are required, and the ancestral cult with its ceremonial offerings and commemoration.

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

Besides the Meos' predilection for mountain tops they have other claims to distinction. They are utterly independent and quite fearless. Their passion for freedom compels them to live in the smallest of villages and, apart from such rare events as the invasion of 1860, they will not tolerate chiefs or leaders. If forcibly brought to lower altitudes they are soon taken ill and die. They are normally pacific, but if compelled to fight are apt to eat the livers of slain enemies. M 181

The Meos are the only people in Indo-China who are not in the slightest concerned with evil spirits, although they admit their existence. Their complete indifference to all the ghouls and devils that plague the races surrounding them has invested them with enormous prestige, which they are careful to cultivate. They like to encourage the belief, prevalent among the Thais, that they are were-wolves and can turn into tigers at wish. They have no funerary cults but celebrate a funeral – or any other event providing the slightest excuse – with orgies of drinking. Husbands and wives keep their own property. Children are given the greatest degree of freedom; and sexual promiscuity before marriage – even with strangers – is general. 'Sacred groves' exist – there is a celebrated one at Dong-Van in Tonkin – to which Meo girls resort, and offer themselves freely to all comers. It is said that large-scale maps, upon which the locations of such groves have been scrupulously plotted, are the prized possessions of most French garrisons in Tonkin. Besides breeding fine, white dogs, they are experts at taming monkeys and birds, particularly a kind of minah which they teach a wide repertoire of imitative sounds. The Meos will only part with their animals for an enormous price – payable in solid silver which they immediately convert into massive jewellery. M 771 M 836 M 231 435

But the first village beyond Muong Kassy, perched on a bare hill-top and reached laboriously up a long winding path, proved not to belong to Meos but the 'black' Thais – so called from the distinctive dress of their women. It was like climbing up to an eagle's eyrie and finding crows in possession. A rare species of crow though. Check- ST 361

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
● 771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The ancestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
769 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a
778 small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Lông-wâng"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al-
776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

158: Diguet--142 G-3 (ca 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE 5

Certain peculiarities relative to funeral ceremonies should be pointed out. The body of the deceased is either stretched out on a cot or fixed to a plank, which in certain tribes is laid out along a partition for three or four days preceding burial. The body is dressed in its finest garments, from which buttons and fastenings have been removed, so that the soul may leave the corpse more easily. A square of red linen is placed over the lower part of the face and on the mouth. The children offer a feast to relatives and friends. The guests present pigs, goats, and dogs, to the deceased, whose flesh will be served to them at the funeral meals. A dog, also prepared for cooking, is attached to the right hand of the deceased by a paw and is supposed /144/ to guide his wandering foot-steps in the other world. The dead person is borne into his grave on the plank to which he is fixed, and the coffin is constructed in the trench even as among the Man Tien. The family's meal is brought to the grave for two or three days, then it is abandoned completely. 764

The Meo are the most eclectic of the mountaineers in matters of religion and superstition. They have in their homes an altar to the Ancestors. But this piece of furniture is no more than a small plank suspended by two cords along a partition, and on it is a small ash-bowl in which the sticks of incense are placed. They also have an altar just as crude for the worship of the Hearth. They worship Heaven and Earth as dieties, venerate the Buddhist goddess Quan Am as a good Madonna, the Spirit of Thunder and the Dragon, and believe in three human souls like all the peoples of the Far East. Finally, they are much less afraid then the other mountaineers of Evil Spirits and Demons, to whom they are satisfied to attribute the cause of certain diseases. Their sorcerers are not to be distinguished from the rest of the population. They limit themselves to placing a white veil over their face while officiating at ceremonies. All of the festivals, whatever they may be, are accompanied by music, songs, and feasts irrigated with alcohol. 771 791

M /73 cont./
883 consider which partner they could marry, and, in short, no longer live only in the present. They are entirely satisfied
M with the way of life prescribed by the sib laws. There are
[578] never any disputes between the generations. On the contrary, the young people treat the older ones with veneration and respect, and it never occurs to them to criticize existing institutions.

M
869 Similarly, their attitude toward religious matters does not change. Since early childhood these matters have played
755 a major role in their lives (see the chapter, "Religion and
● 771 Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). They have re-
[883] peatedly seen the shaman drive away evil spirits and believe that in doing so he has freed other children, and perhaps themselves, of these spirits and therefore of sicknesses (see the chapter, "Medicine"). Moreover, they have heard that in case of the death of a child, the shaman was weaker than the evil spirits. They do not doubt for a moment the existence of such spirits, whose activity and effect have been so strikingly and obviously demonstrated, for the death of a child always makes a lasting impression upon his playmates.

A /74/ Things are somewhat different among the Akha.
881 Probably as a result of premature sexual intercourse (see the
[886] section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter), the actual beginning of puberty brings with it only slight psychological changes.

A The pubescent Akha give no thought to the past or the
881 future. They do not criticize, but rather are completely satis-
883 fied with the way the adults regulate life. Similarly there is no criticism among them concerning the traditions and even less about religious matters, which in general do not play
A nearly as decisive a role as among the Meau. An exaggerated
[776] fear of the spirits is as unknown to the adolescents as to the
[781] adults. There is no period of passivity or of intense activity, no withdrawal or shame on the part of girls menstruating for the first time. The pubescent Akha for the most part have long been informed, and they therefore expect the advent of puberty with all the accompanying circumstances. There is no daydreaming or introspection among them. With the increase

/155 cont./

A 527 273 "Outside, on the open areas between the houses, the young people begin to assemble. They come hurrying from all directions, light-hearted from the good food and slightly intoxicated from considerable quantities of the rice liquor.

A 535 527 "As we step into the open, the sun is already sinking, but after the gloom of the house we must close our eyes in the piercing light. Here and there mouth organs are heard; the young men practice a little, gather in a circle, and begin to play and to dance even here between the houses. It is amazing how they can maintain the melody during the difficult dance steps, the bending of the body, and the leaps. The girls stand around admiring them and are an appreciative audience for the dancing skill of their friends. Little boys join the young men and try to imitate the steps of the adults. Toward sundown it becomes quieter in the village. Gradually the gay young dancers disappear and move to the nearby dancing places, where the girls' dances now begin and with them the moonlight frolics of the Akha young people."

/156/

Chapter 9
Religion and Magic

M 771 776 [114] The religion of the Meau is described by various authors as either a vague belief in spirits with a god of heaven as the chief spirit or, if it is more in harmony with an author's attitude and world view, as a monotheistic religion. Dhuraratsadorn (1), for

1. Page 172.

instance, speaks of "spirits of the clouds and ancestors." Lajonquière (2) reports: "The Meau vaguely worship a god of

2. II, p. 312.

the heavens, 'To,' and a god of the earth, 'Ang,' the spirits of the mountains, 'Sien-Chen,' the spirit of thunder, 'Lu-Chen,' the ancestors, 'Dang,' and the goddess, 'Kouan-Yin,' who blesses human beings and animals, but whose story they do not

/156 cont./

know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
[771] in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
[776] worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
[114]

3. Page 168.

same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of

4. II, p. 253.

heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
[177] Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
[771] native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
[776] Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
[782] sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated. Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[795] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan, the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

/157 cont./

771 114 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially important to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau. The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incantations and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning religion, before persons who do not belong to the community. Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

123 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, became sick. [753] His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wander- [774] ing and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sick- [164] ness for the Meau. I told the chief that many little evil spirits had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood. Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the ceremony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction. Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

1. Page 98.

most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 The Meau believe in an immortal soul, plī, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the M [753] [776] [761] [755] experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
* [782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
● 772 of heaven [ta] piaɣ]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pienɣ] and a body [koɣ-ʔʿienɣ]. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pɛɣ tsʿəʔ]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋɣ
[824] ɕoɣ] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋɣ ndu̱ɣ]. When there is a
* [782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

823 I can hardly affirm that the Ch'uan Miao believe that the world is flat. The untutored Miao does not know that the world is round, but he sees and climbs and farms so many hills and cliffs and mountains that he regards the world as only comparatively flat. The world has an end somewhere, but he has no conception of its size.

772 Above the sky, or rather on it, is a level land where the souls remain after death with the souls of their ancestors. This paradise is Ntsə ni lʌu GʌU bi or the level land of Ntsə. There are no hills to climb and there is neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day. Although there are no rainstorms there is no lack of moisture. Those who live there do not farm but find in the forests such things to eat as berries and fruit, as people are supposed to have done on earth in very ancient times. They are given food, clothing and money by their descendants through the memorial and calendar festivals. It is a good place to live in but not as good as this world. There is a ladder to the sky, but ordinarily mortals cannot go up. Some have swooned away and returned and related to their friends what they saw in the level land of Ntsə.

Under this earth there is another world inhabited by dwarfs. These are called in Chinese *sao pa jên* 掃把人 or broom people, because they are as tall as small Chinese brooms or about two feet high. They farm and have their own king, soldiers and government. They live very much as people on this earth, but they have much smaller houses, farms, etc. One Miao fell into dwarfland through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace, and later came back to the earth through a crack in the ground caused by a drought. When rain finally came, the ground swelled and closed up the crack.

In a special region dragons live or at least the king of dragons lives there. Other stories are told of fishermen who hooked the king of dragons or other dragons with fishhooks in rivers and creeks. To reach the palace of the dragon king it is always necessary to go down through pools of water. When the palace is reached, everything is normal and dry.

There is a special region where demons live where it is always dark. People rarely go there although certain legends describe it.

177 776 The Chinese idea of three principal souls or *hun* 魂 and seven lesser souls or *p'o* 魄 is accepted by these people. The *hun* are called in Ch'uan Miao pl'ei and the *p'o* are called *mpl'o*. Of the three principal souls, one remains in the tomb, one goes to Ntsə's level country. One stays among the beams under the roof of the house. On the other hand, one is supposed to be reincarnated. The ideas of reincarnation and of the three *hun* and seven *p'o* were learned evidently from the Chinese; my impression is that they have not been well assimilated.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/954 AE5 Miao AE5

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzɔ^{2} Ti^{-5} lɑu^{2} gɑu^{1} bi^{6}). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

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533 Every two lines in this kind of song also constitute one unit. If seven-character lines follow in the sequence, singing will be done in the manner of singing songs composed of seven-character lines.

This is all that we know about the ways Miao songs are sung. If there are other ways of singing them, we are not aware of them at present.

(4)

538 The legends of the Miao may be divided into two classes: One comprises those which are indigenous, and the other comprises those which have been introduced from outside. This distinction is immediately apparent when we take a look at the contents of the legends. Moreover, the legends may be divided into two classes from the point of view of form: those which have the same form as the songs, and those which do not. The legends with the same form as the songs are either the texts of the civilian and military Taoist priests, or the various songs for social occasions. These are easily available, since they have been written down. As regards those legends which are not in song form, they have been handed down entirely through oral transmission, and collecting them is difficult.

Of those legends which are indigenous, the most interesting are the ones which explain the process of the creation of heaven and earth and the origin of their ancestors. Two of this kind will be re-
539 773 corded as follows:

(a) The Little Girl of Fu-chi Sings:
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! The drum is turned to Yang —
The little girl of Fu-chi arrives at the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Fu-sang Temple.
The kung-ts'ao /"merit official"/ was ordered to send you an invitation.
At the invitation of your masters,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the site of the altar.

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You dismounted in front of the Heavenly Hall.
You were received at the royal feast to sing your first graces.
You looked at the Emperor and the Empress before you began to sing,
To sing the song of the little girl of Fu-chi:
There is in the official records of the olden days: thunder fell to the ground.
Honorable Chang with his feet kept it in the heart of Ts'ang.
Honorable Thunder said to Honorable Chang:
"Take a basin of water and wash yourself all over.
Take a basin of water and ... all over.
I think it will work to get me out of the heart of Ts'ang."
When Honorable Thunder finally got out of Ts'ang,
He offered his teeth to acknowledge the favor.
The teeth he granted were the seeds of felicity —
In three generations all debts were redeemed.
Then there were a brother and his younger sister to whom Honorable Thunder said:
"Take a knife with sharpened edge and put it in the heart of the stove."
They took a knife with sharpened edge and put it in the heart of the stove.
Then they carried wood and water and put them into the heart of the stove.
When they had filled the stove with wood and water,
They had a dream that in the east there rose a cloud.
The cloud did not seem like a cloud,
It truly was an extraordinary cloud.
Rain fell for seven days and seven nights.
For seven days and seven nights it darkened heaven and earth.
For seven days and seven nights the Flood rose.
The stove was thrown up to the level of heaven.
After seven days and seven nights the Flood subsided;
And the stove fell into the Koulkun Mountains.
Next morning they got up early.

/92 cont'd/

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They had seen in a dream that there was peace but there were no men.

/93/ When they walked past the foot of the /Koulkun/ Mountains,
They met Green Bamboo in the woods.
Then the brother and his younger sister inquired of Green Bamboo:
"Are there any people in the world?"
To the brother and sister Green Bamboo replied:
"There is not a single man in the world,
There is not a single ghost in heaven,
And there is not a single soul on earth,
As all men in the world were drowned by the flood."
He earnestly proposed that the brother and sister should become man and wife.
But the brother and sister were offended.
They chopped Green Bamboo's root with a big sword, and said:
"If you, Green Bamboo, grow together as before,
We, brother and sister, will get married and become man and wife.
If you do not grow whole again,
The world will certainly be without mankind."
If one walks past the foot of the Koulkun Mountains,
One will see the body of Mr. Green Bamboo:
Originally he was without nodes and joints —
Now one will see the scars left by the sister's sword.
Next morning they got up early.
As the cock crowed they ate breakfast, then again went into the woods.
There they inquired of Tortoise:
"Are there any people in the world?"
To the brother and sister Tortoise replied:
"There is not a single man in the world,
There is not a single ghost in heaven,
And there is not a single soul on earth,

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J73

As all men in the world were drowned by the flood."
He earnestly proposed that the brother and sister should become man and wife.
/94/ But the brother and sister were offended.
They chopped Tortoise with a big sword, and said:
"If you, Tortoise, grow whole as before,
We, brother and sister, will get married and become man and wife.
If one walks past the foot of the Koulkun Mountains,
One will see the reborn body of Tortoise:
Originally he had a smooth and shining shell —
Now one will see the sword scars there.
Then the hearts of the brother and sister were still unwilling.
They bought and burned incense whose fume rose up to the clouds.
They burned incense in two places;
The fumes of the two crossed and reached the heart of the sky.
They made a vow that they, brother and sister, would become man and wife,
And their marriage lasted spring after spring,
For three and five years as man and wife.
For three and five years they had no child.
Then they gave birth to a lump of blood.
They thought of a plan to make mankind from it.
They made people under three hundred and sixty surnames.
Half of them were officials and the other half were common people.
Mankind did not have rice to eat:
They ate leaves of trees and hearts of rattan.
Mankind did not have clothes to wear:
They used leaves of trees to make gowns and skirts /i.e., women's clothes/.
There were more men than women:
That is why there are bachelors in the world today.
There was once a mouse at the top of Tzu-wei Mountain.

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J73

/94 cont'd/

He was looking around with a seed of grain in his mouth.
Shen Nung /legendary emperor, supposed teacher of husbandry/ took the seed and planted it.
That was the origin of grain.
/95/ That is why today there is enough to eat in the world,
Passed straight down for generations to the present.
Now whosoever believes in him will prosper.
Looking beyond the high mountains the sacred divine one will return.
Shen Nung will arrive at the temple to guard and bless us in person,
To protect us from calamities from heaven and eradicate suffering and ills according to the heart of heaven.
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! the drum is tuned to Yang.
P'an Ku /legendary being who created the universe/ descends to the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Ch'ing-tsao Temple.
Because respect was bestowed on you by the masters, you were invited to sing your first graces.
At the words of invitation,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the scene of the aerials.
You dismounted in front of the Heavenly Hall.
You were received at the royal feast to sing your first graces.
You entered the feast and received a drink of An-ch'ih wine,
And sat at the feast and began to sing your first graces.
You looked at the Emperor and the Empress before you began to sing,
To sing of P'an Ku himself.
In the old, old times Emperor P'an Ku
Opened up the first day, in the person of P'an Ku himself.
There was not yet heaven nor earth,
No sun, no moon, nor that which is between heaven and earth.
But there was first the Jade Emperor, as it was told by P'an Ku.

/95 cont'd/

539 773 "The Jade Emperor and I were produced together.
We were not reared by a father and mother.
But we were born out of many-colored dark clouds.
The Jade Emperor evolved many changes in heaven.
He created heaven, earth, and all that which is between heaven and earth.
/96/ The Jade Emperor has three hundred and six transformations of his eyes.
P'an Ku had three hundred and six transformations of his body.
The left eye became the sun;
The right eye became the moon.
The earth on top of the mountains are what was on his head.
The fish in the deep waters are what was his liver and heart.
His teeth became money and jewels.
And his bones became great rocks.
His flesh became golden earth.
His red blood became flowing water in the rivers.
His fingernails became trees in the mountains.
His hands and feet became stars.
His stomach and entrails became the nine bright pearls.
His feet and toes became ponds and pools in the fields.
And the bones and flesh in his whole body were all changed,
The stars and trees were from his body.
Today he comes here to bless us in person,
To eradicate sickness and calamities according to the heart of heaven. (End)

539 (b) Song to be sung at the temple. (The following song is in the form of questions and answers. The words in the parentheses are the answering parts.)

(The first part of the song is omitted here.)

Who opened the sky and established the earth? (Prince P'an)
How many pillars were used in making heaven and earth? (Five)
How many chang between heaven and earth? (Ninety thousand)

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This is not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a
173 daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/101 cont'd/

539 they were children of a dog. One day /102/ when the dog, feeling
773 lazy, did not go to the mountains to hunt, he was beaten by the two children. Upon this, their mother scolded them severely and told them the truth. She said that they were born of her union with the dog and that the dog was in fact their father. She further told them that since they were children of a dog, nobody would ever want to marry them. It was thus wise that they should marry each other in order to continue the line. After the brother and sister were married, they had two boys. When they grew up, the two boys were not able to get along with each other and often quarreled. Their mother became disgusted and drove them out. One fled up to the mountain, and the other down to the sea. The one who went up the mountain became the ancestor of the Miao; the one who went down to the sea became the ancestor of the Tanka /boat people of Canton/. Henceforth, the descendants of these two groups have not walked on the prince's land nor paid taxes.

773 This legend gives us a picture of how the ancestors of the Miao were symbolically conceived of by them (i.e., born of a dog), what kind of economic life they led at the beginning (i.e., hunting), and what kind of marriages between those of the same blood originally existed among them (i.e., marriage between brother and sister), and also what the relationship between the two groups, Miao and Tanka, was like, etc. What important implications all this revealed to us in our study of the Miao social system!

538 As regard to the legends which were brought to the Miao from outside, these are numerous. Due to limited space here, only the following sample, which consists of a section of the sad and romantic story of a Mr. Yen Hui and a Miss Chang Meng-wo is given here:

539

The Ancient Song of Meng-wo

Speaking at leisure of old tales and books,
Let me sing the story of Meng-wo.
Thousands of other old tales have been told over and over again,
Let me sing now the story of Meng-wo:

/160 cont./

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[784] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
[776] are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[627] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[778] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao
area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69),
which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village
without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
[627] Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be
asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the
T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go
to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before
the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints,
secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece
of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned.
The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the pro-
tection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or
both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, de-
pending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial
condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house
to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things
promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the re-
sults shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled,
but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

● 773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there
are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-
chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the
Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

/163 cont./

773 776 Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third

> 1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Y ang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 776 [753] [93] 372 [82] When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

/178 cont./

175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
776 In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

[113] 1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk
[773] Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen;[1] and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

1 [for this ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280. - ANALYST]

/185 cont./

*782 [787] to utter the chien-ling, chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. For each of these incantations the sheng chiao is sought, but for kou-hsiao the yin chiao will do. After the incantations are over, the gong and drum are sounded and the horn is blown. Then the horn is placed in the crook of both arms (as in the rituals for seeking a son and wheeling in money). The helpers burn the paper money, and the sorcerer does the three-step walk, simultaneously uttering the wheeling in money incantation. After a passage he turns toward the door, blows the horn once, and continues to recite another passage. He then turns toward the inside, blows the horn, and chants again, and again blows the horn. After the incantation is over, the sorcerer takes a rest. The helpers and the host and his relatives eat supper together, /186/ which is known as Hsia Ma Fan /the meal taken after dismounting from a horse/.

*782 533 The thirteenth part[1] is the singing of the No song. The sorcerer-priest in his red headkerchief sits in front of the Peach Spring cave, while assembled friends and relatives of the host also sit in a circle in front of the cave. First the sorcerer begins to sing the No song, followed by each of the friends and relatives in turn, and then all in unison. There is no fixed length to the verses nor a fixed number of singers. The singing goes on until no one continues it, when they consider it ended. The texts of the verses cover a wide area. In addition to the verses telling of the No shen's virtues and requesting good fortune, and those for driving away misfortune, calamities, and difficulties, there are the "Song of the Origin of the No Shen" and the "Song of Duke No and Mother No," relating the story of the origin of the No shen. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1. The Myth about the Flood /not translated/.) The Miao think that [773] [776] Duke No and Mother No were brother and younger sister and that the Miao today are the descendants from the marriage between these two. (1) In addition they also sing and perform

[113]

1. See Ruey Yih-fu: Miao Tsu Hung Shui Ku Shih yü Fu Hsi Nü

1 [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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*782 grains will be abundant and resources will increase, and last he seeks the expulsion of the five pestilences, the hundred kuei, bandits, thieves, and all kinds of strange phenomena. After this, he inverts the two chiao-tzu on the tablet. Next he *782 utters the incantation about the origin of the chiao-tzu. He says *787 that the chiao-tzu originally were three persons: the yin chiao had the surname Hsiao, the yang chiao, Kuo, and the sheng 773 chiao, Tu. All three received offerings from humans at the place of the No Shen. When the incantation is finished, he *782 picks up the willow towel and rises together with the host. The helpers gather up the bedding and the rice straw.

/188/ The sixteenth part is K'ai Tung /"opening the cave"/. The sorcerer, with the red headkerchief and holding two hsien-feng banners in his hands, does the three-step walk at the front of the main hall and sings the magic K'ai Tung words, asking [774] the shen of the drama to emerge from the cave. After the singing, the gong and drum are struck, and the ritual terminates.

The seventeenth part is Pan Hsien Feng /"impersonating fairies"/. The sorcerer wears women's clothes and head orna- [292] ments to disguise himself as a woman and holds a hsien-feng banner or a fan. (If there are more than two pigs and two goats in the host's house, two females are impersonated.) The sorcerer-priest walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, singing out first the reasons why he has come to the No hall. Then he continues to sing about what he has seen in the hall, and asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. Then he sings to tell about the origin of hsien-feng. Finally, he bids the shen farewell. He accompanies the singing with movements of his hands and feet. After each passage of the singing, the gong and drum are sounded a few times and he moves several steps.

The eighteenth part is Pan Sung Tzu /"performing the handing over of a son"/. A square table is set up before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer-priest in the apparel for the [292] Pan Hsien Feng, stands on the table, holding the image of the [533] No child in his hand, and sings the song of farewell of the

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

/235 cont./

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
517 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
526 same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[177] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
[411] of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around,
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the swing:
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Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

/239 cont./

539
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Shouting, he made known his invitation.
A maid from the Sleeping Tiger Mountain,
Came to ride on the eight-men swing.
She was loved by all present.
Soon, a go-between was found —
Man and wife were joined together for a
hundred years.

576 one another's left shoulder and asking "*Dieh zao nioh gioh?*"—"Are you well?" An adult greets children by rubbing or patting his or her head. The form of farewell is (the host) "Go slowly, go slowly" (the parting guest) "Sit slowly, sit slowly".
574 181 They are wonderfully hospitable and guests are expected to eat to satisfy. How often the traveller sees them stuff away basin after basin of maize until he fears there will be a terrible accident! People will go short themselves so that visitors be generously treated. Should a guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and cooked—it is not always meticulously clean—and upon the departure of the guest a leg of the animal is always given to him. A non-observance of this custom would be a serious breach of good manners, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor. Hospitality is as characteristic of them as of the Arab, and a Miao will borrow food to entertain a guest. Though poor, thriftless and no lovers of fighting, they are simple and generous, honest and lovable. One of the child races of the world, they are as old as the Chinese, and when Moses led the children of Israel through the wilderness, the Miao were hunting wild beasts on their beloved hills and at the close of day their bards would sing a Miao version of the Creation, the Flood, and the Re-population of the World; and story-tellers would narrate quaint legends which have been handed down to this generation. Here is one. Would not Kipling have enjoyed it?

773 539 Long, long ago, instead of there being only one

sun in the skies, there were six, and in those days the world was beautifully warm. One year, however, the rain refused to come and by degrees all vegetables and trees were withered. A meeting of the old men was held to discuss what could be done. One man said this and another that until it was finally decided that the suns must be shot. A famous archer called Yang Yah was called and ordered to shoot the suns. Bringing his cross-bow and arrows, Yang Yah looked up at the suns and observed they were a long distance away. Fortunately, near by, there was a small lake in which all six suns were reflected and the happy thought came to Yang Yah that if he could shoot the reflections the same purpose would be served as hitting the suns themselves. Adjusting an arrow and taking careful aim, he released the trigger and hit sun number one right in the centre, upon which sun number one promptly disappeared. He shot a second arrow and sun number two disappeared, and so on with suns number, three, four and five, but as Yang Yah adjusted his arrow to shoot sun number six, this sun became vastly afraid and away it went beyond the horizon. The next morning—well, really there wasn't a next morning, as the sun refused to come out and day after day darkness was upon the face of the earth. To bring water from the springs people had to carry torches, and to plough the land, lights were suspended from the horns of the cows. What was to be done? A second gathering of the old men of the tribe was held; once more one man suggested this and another

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suggested that, until finally it was proposed that some one should call to the sun and ask him to come out, assuring him that no one would shoot him. But how were they to call to the sun? It was thought that a tiger would be able to do this rather well; so one was brought and loudly it roared. "Dear me!" thought the sun, "the people are still angry with me, I won't go out yet." Then some one wondered whether it wouldn't be a good thing to use a cow to call to the sun. The lowing of a cow is far-reaching and yet not so frightening as the roar of a tiger. So a cow was brought and loudly it lowed. "Aha!" thought the sun, "they are not quite so displeased with me as they were, but they are still angry; so I won't go out yet." Then some one had the happy idea of using a cock; the crow of a cock is far-reaching yet pleasing, and being placed on a perch, it crowed lustily. "What a very nice sound that is," thought the sun, "I'll just look out to see what is happening," and he peeped over the horizon. People were so pleased to see him that they shouted for joy. The sun was quite as delighted as the people, and from the red of the morning he fashioned a little comb which he placed on the head of the cock. Now every morning, before the sun comes out, the cock crows to tell him it is all right, no one will shoot him.

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Who made heaven and earth?
Who made insects?
Who made men?
Made male and made female?
    I who speak don't know.

Vang-vai (Heavenly King) made heaven and earth.
Zie-ne made insects.
Zie-ne made men and demons,
Made male and made female.
    How is it you don't know?

How made heaven and earth?
How made insects?
How made men and demons?
Made male and made female?
    I who speak don't know,

Heavenly King is (or was) intelligent.
Spat a lot of spittle into his hand,
Clapped his hands with a noise,
Produced heaven and earth.
Tall wild grass made insects.
Stones made men and demons.
Made male and made female.
    How is it you don't know?

Made heaven in what way?
Made earth in what way?
    Thus by rote I sing,
    But don't understand.

Made heaven like a sun-hat.
Made earth like a dust-pan.
    Why don't you understand?
Made heaven a single lump,
Made earth a single lump.

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Who put heaven up?
Heaven then so very high.
Who separated earth low down?
Earth then deep and low.
I sing and don't understand.

The poem then goes on to relate how heaven and earth were kept apart after they were separated. They tried all sorts of wood and all sorts of metal, and at length decided to prop up heaven with pillars made of silver. But where were they to get fire to melt the silver? Fire had gone up to heaven; how were they to bring it down? Fire eventually came down from heaven in a stone, and with raw steel and tinder they extracted the fire from the stone. After heaven had been propped up with silver pillars, the sun and moon and milky-way were fixed in their places. The sun, however, went away and would not come back. Thereupon they sent various beasts and birds to call the sun to return, but they would not go; or if they went, the sun refused to come at their call. Finally, they sent the cock to call the sun to return, and when the cock crew the sun came back. The poem concludes that the proof of this is that when the cock crows the sun rises!

"Heavenly King" is a translation of *Vang-*

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"Heavenly King" is a translation of Vang-
vat, the two words used as the name of the 773
Creator. In this legend it is very interesting 776
to note how clearly and simply they say "Heavenly King made heaven and earth." This is so different to the elaborate and confused cosmogeny of the Chinese as to compel the opinion that we have here a very old tradition, and one which they did not learn from the Chinese. The stanzas given above contain all that is said of the Heavenly King. In the rest of the poem, of more than a thousand lines, *Zie-ne* and others in turn come upon the scene and do things, but who these were, or if Zie-ne is another name for the Creator, we have not been able to discover. But we feel almost sure that Zie-ne is an earthly person and not the Heavenly King. There is a word *ne* of the same tone which means "land," generally "low-lying land." If it is the same word, then Zie-ne means "earthly Zie" and must be distinguished from "Heavenly Vang." Zie may merely be a name. In the legend of the Deluge, "Zie" or "A-Zie" is the only male survivor. "A" is a very common prefix to names and relationships.

In the Heh Miao metrical version of the 773
Flood, that catastrophy was in consequence of a quarrel between the two brothers A F'o and

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773 A-Zie. *F'o* means "thunder," but as we have just mentioned above, we do not know what *Zie* means. These two fell out about the division of the family possessions, a very common source of ill-feeling among the Miao and others. Thunder evidently lived above, probably in heaven, and A-Zie lived on earth. When Thunder threatened to destroy the earth with a deluge, A-Zie hollowed out a large gourd for himself, and collected a hundred kinds and a thousand sorts of seeds, and put them in a smaller gourd.

After the Flood, when the earth dragon had swallowed up all the water, and the hill dragon all the mist, the earth was again habitable. As all the people on the earth had been destroyed, and they were the only persons surviving, A-Zie asked his sister to be his wife. How this sister had been preserved is not clear in the Heh Miao version. She declined to be his wife on the ground that such a marriage was not proper. When A-Zie insisted, his sister proposed that each of them should take a millstone, and going to the top of adjacent hills should roll them down into the valley below. If these should be found together in the valley, one over the other after the manner of millstones, she would consent to marry him,

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but if they were found apart she would not be his wife. 773

Now this A-Zie was a very crafty fellow, and thinking how very improbable it was that two stones rolled from adjacent hills should thus come together, he secretly procured two other millstones, and put them one upon the other in the valley. The millstones that the brother and sister rolled from the hill-tops were lost in the brushwood, but when they came down into the valley, A-Zie showed his sister the two stones he had placed in the position required, and claimed that she should be his wife. She, however, was not yet satisfied, and demanded another appeal to chance or overruling providence. She suggested that a scabbard for two knives should be placed in the valley, and each of them taking a knife should hurl them from the adjacent hill-tops into the valley. If both knives were found in the scabbard, she would be his wife; if otherwise, she would not.

A-Zie, again thinking it very improbable that the knives would be thrown into the scabbard from such a great distance, surreptitiously put two other knives in the scabbard. The knives thrown from the hill-tops were, as he expected, lost, but when they came

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773 down into the valley, he showed her the two knives in the scabbard and she finally consented to be his wife. In course of time a child was born to them without any limbs. A-Zie was very angry, and taking a big knife killed the child, chopped it to bits, and scattered the bits all over the hill-side. Next morning they discovered that these pieces had all changed into men and women, and thus the earth was repeopled.

Part of this legend may, as an illustration of all, be given in a rough translation of the Metric Version:

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Zie demanded his sister in marriage,
His sister spoke,
Spoke how?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Then his sister spoke,
You want to marry your sister;
Lift up a millstone each opposite,
Let go to roll to the valley;
(If) they roll and make one,
You marry your sister.
If the stones rest apart in the valley,
(We) both go and rest in our own place.
So his sister spoke,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

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Let the stones go into the valley;
Did the stones then make one (or)
Did the stones rest apart?
I who sing don't know.

The stones rested apart.
Zie contrived wickedly,
Put stones in the valley,
Called his sister to come
To see the stones become one.
A-Zie then spoke,
Now we two will marry,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

His sister again spoke,
Spoke words nicely,
How did she speak?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

His sister again spoke,
Take knives each on a separate hill,
Throw the knives into the valley;
(If they) enter into one sheath,
We two will marry.
(If) the knives rest apart,
We will rest apart.
So his sister spoke,
Spoke words thus,
Why don't you understand?

A-Zie then hit on a plan,
Made up his mind what to do,
He would have his sister for wife.
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

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A-Zie then hit on a plan,
He made his heart wicked,
Made two pairs of knives,
He placed knives in the valley,
(They) rested apart.
Threw and went into the grass,
(He) called his sister to come
To see the two knives in a pair.
Now we two will marry,
He would have his sister for wife,
Why don't you understand?

Would have his sister for wife,
The two returned home.
Who did they ask (about it)?
Commanded what?
So the two got married.
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

So the two returned home,
And asked their Mother,
Their Mother then said,
Heaven has no people,
Earth has no people,
You two must marry.
Kill buffaloes, kill cows, receive guests,
Hang meat on the branches of the "Zan" tree,
Call your brother cousin,[1]
Hang meat on the branches of the "Ma sang" tree,
Call your Mother mother-in-law,
So their Mother spoke,
Spoke words thus,
And the two got married.
Why don't you understand?

[1] Not a human being but a genius or fairy; the same with the guests.

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So the two got married,
Afterwards they had a child,
Had a child, what sort?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Afterwards they had a child,
Had a child like a hammer,
Why don't you understand?

They had a child which had no arms or legs—this is why they say it was like a hammer.

Had a child like a hammer,
Zie saw, did Zie love it?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

Zie saw and did not love it,
Zie saw and Zie got angry,
Why don't you understand?

A-Zie was full of anger,
Took the child and did what?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

A-Zie was full of anger,
Zie drew out a great knife,
Took the child and chopped it up,
Why don't you understand?

Zie took the child and chopped it up,
Where did he throw (the pieces)?
Flesh went and got a name,
What did they become and what were they called?
Thus by rote I sing,
Still don't understand.

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He sowed them on the hill,
In the morning they became people,
Thus they got a name,
What they became so they were called,
Why don't you understand?

773 Mr. H. J. Hewitt had the same story told him, in a different way, by the Hua Miao. Years ago they told me their story, but I did not write it down; so here is Mr. Hewitt's version.

According to this, two brothers ploughed a field one day, and next morning found the soil all replaced and smoothed over as if it had never been disturbed. This happened four times, and being greatly perplexed they decided to plough the field over once more and observe what happened. In the middle of the night while the brothers were watching, one on one side of the field and the other on the other side, they saw an old woman descend from heaven with a board in her hand, who, after replacing the clods of earth, smoothed them with the board. The elder brother at once shouted to the younger one to come and help him to kill the old woman who had undone all their work. But the younger brother suggested that they should first ask her why she did this and put them to so much trouble. So they

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asked the old woman why she had acted so, and made them labour in vain. She then told them it was useless for them to waste time in ploughing land as a great flood was coming to drown the world. She then advised the younger brother, because he had been kind to her and prevented the elder brother killing her, to save himself in a huge wooden drum. He was to cut down a tree, hollow it out from the bottom upwards, and nail a piece of skin over the opening. She told the elder brother, because he had wished to kill her, to make for himself an iron drum. They were each to retire into their respective drums when the flood came.

When the flood came and the waters rose, the younger brother invited his sister to take refuge in his drum, and she did so. The elder brother was drowned in his iron drum, but the younger brother and his sister were safely preserved in the wooden one. The waters rose half-way up to heaven, and so high were the brother and sister carried in the hollow tree. With the rush of water they were carried hither and thither, and the tree at length was seen by one of the Genii of heaven, who thought it was some huge creature with as many horns as the tree had branches. He was very much alarmed, and said: "I have only twelve horns,

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773 but this thing has many more; whatever shall I do?" Thereupon he cried out for the dragon, lizards, tadpoles, and eels to clear out the channels and make holes for the waters of the flood to recede, and thus deliver him from the monster with so many horns.

Through the efforts of the dragon and his crew, after twenty days the waters subsided, and the hollow tree stuck half-way down a steep and dangerous precipice. Then it came to pass that an eagle built its nest and hatched two young ones. This suggested a mode of deliverance from their difficult situation to the young man. He plucked some hair from his head, plaited a small cord, and with this tied the wings of the young eagles so that when they were fledged they were unable to fly.

The mother-bird was much perplexed when in due time her young ones could not fly, and went to consult a fairy about it. The fairy said, "Go and ask the stem of the tree near to which your nest is built, and it will tell you what to do. In return for this you must take the tree and fly away with it down to the ground." So the bird flew back to its nest, and addressing the tree, said: "Let my young ones fly, I pray thee." The man in the tree replied, "If I let them fly will you carry me down to the ground

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in safety?" The eagle promised to do so, and the young man at once unfastened the cords he had tied round the wings of the young eagles, and they were immediately able to fly. Then the eagle took the tree, with the brother and sister in it, and flew with it down to the ground.

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On coming out from their late abode, these two survivors found themselves in great straits. They had no companions, no fire, and no rice to eat. The brother seeing a red bird not far from him, picked up a piece of old iron and struck at it. The bird flew away, and the iron struck a rock which gave forth a spark. Thus they discovered the way to get fire, and having gathered some dry stalks, they made a fire at which they warmed themselves.

Finding no other human beings on the earth, the brother proposed to his sister that they should be man and wife. Here also the sister was unwilling, and here also the matter was to be decided by the two millstones as in the Heh Miao story; but in the Hua Miao version it was the brother who proposed that test. Here also the millstones were found in the valley one upon the other, but nothing is said about the way in which the brother deceived his sister. For a second trial the sister was to

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• 723 take a needle and the brother a piece of thread and throw them into the valley; if the needle was found threaded in the valley, it was agreed they should marry. The needle was found threaded in the valley, and so they became man and wife. When their child was born without arms and legs, they appealed to the fairy about it, who told them to cut up the child in a hundred pieces, and throw the pieces in a hundred different places. They did this, and next morning all these pieces had turned into men and women, who took their names from the things on which the pieces had fallen. Thus one was called Water, another Wood, another Stone, and so on. Hence the "hundred families,"[1] and this is how the earth was re-peopled and how people got their names.

The Ya-ch'io Miao, three or four days south of Kweiyang, also tell the Story of the Flood. They also tell of a brother and sister, the only survivors, who were saved in a huge bottle gourd they had hollowed out for themselves. They also tell the story of the millstones, but as the second test they mention two trees. If both bore fruit, they would marry; if one bore fruit and the other did not, they would not

[1] The Chinese Book of Names is called *Peh-chia-sing* or "Hundred Family Names."

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marry. Finally, they married and had two children, who were born mute and without arms or legs. These they cut in pieces, and the pieces turned into men and women.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say the man's name was Bu-i, and his sister's name Ku-eh ("eh" like "i" in "Sir"). When talking Chinese they call Bu-i "Fu-hsi," who is sometimes called the Chinese Noah. *Bu* probably means "ancestor," and *I* means "one" or "first," and thus *Bu-i* almost certainly means "First Ancestor." In the name of the sister, *Ku* may mean "ancient," and *eh* means "water." The Miao, as we have mentioned, have no characters which would help to settle the meaning of a word. As in Chinese, they have many words pronounced exactly the same, but with very different meanings, so Chinese students, at all events, will understand why it is not wise to dogmatise about the meaning of Miao names. Besides, my Ya-ch'io Miao vocabulary is very limited, but future students might bear these points in mind.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say that P'an-ku divided heaven and earth. P'an-ku in their own language they call Wa-Ku-lo. Now the Chinese are by no means clear or unanimous as to the meaning of P'an-ku. It is generally understood

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773 to be the name of a person, but some scholars suggest that the two words *P'an-ku* mean "ancient times." Beyond all question the word *Ku* as written means "ancient," "antiquity," and the word *P'an*, among the many other things it means, means also "to coil," "to wind," "coiled," "winding." Thus *P'an-ku* might mean "revolving ages" and be equivalent to "long, long ago." In that case *P'an-ku k'ai t'ien, p'i ti* would mean "long, long ago heaven and earth were divided" (or formed). *Wa-ku-lo* is the Ya-ch'io name or equivalent of *P'an-ku*. *Wa* means "ten thousand" and *lo* means "old." I am not sure what *ku* means, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that it means the same here as in the name of the only woman survivor of the Flood, Ku-eh, and the same as in the Chinese name P'an-ku, that is, that it is the Chinese word *Ku* and means "ancient," "antiquity." This then would give us "Old ten thousand ages ago" as the Ya-ch'io Miao equivalent of P'an-ku. It should be noted that in the Miao language the adjectives come after nouns, and in adding the adjective "lo" they would put it after Wa-ku. Wa-ku is evidently their rendering of the Chinese P'an-ku, and lo is an addition of their own which personifies the term. Did they in former

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times say "Ages long ago, heaven and earth were divided"? And in course of time, as the tradition passed from generation to generation, and the meaning of it was partly lost, did they personify the term "ages ago" by adding the word "old" to it, and thus say Wa-ku-lo, Old Wa-ku, divided heaven and earth? It seems very like it.

In all the Miao stories of the Flood, the three mentioned above and others, there are always just two survivors, a brother and sister, who became man and wife. It is interesting to note that Ovid in his Story of the Deluge knows only of two survivors, Deucalion and Pyrrha his wife, who was also his sister. This is manifest from the way Deucalion addresses her, "O soror, O coniux, O femina sola superstes." They were told by an oracle to throw the bones of their great mother behind them. When they understood that by their great mother the earth was meant, and that by bones stones were meant, they threw stones behind them. Those thrown by the man became men, and those thrown by the woman became women, and thus in Ovid's story the earth was repeopled. If it should be objected that Deucalion and Pyrrha were only cousins, it is also possible that the two Miao survivors were also cousins.

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The children of brothers among the Miao and Chinese are reckoned as brothers and sisters, and not allowed to marry.

We mentioned above that Bu-i, which almost certainly means "First Ancestor," is the Ya-ch'io Miao name for Fu-hsi, who is sometimes called the Chinese Noah. Readers may thereby be led to infer that the Chinese also have a story of Noah's Deluge, but this would be misleading. At the very dawn of Chinese history, in the days of Yao and Shuen, 2200 B.C., the "Book of History" mentions a terrible inundation which desolated the land. This must have been caused at that time by an abnormal rise of the Yellow River, and probably also by the giving way of its embankments. Subsequently this water, which covered much of the land for many years, was drawn off by the unwearied labours of Yü, who later became King and Founder of the Hsia dynasty. It was after nine years' hard work, clearing out the old and cutting new channels for the water, that the land was drained. There can be no doubt that Yao, Shuen, and Yü were historical characters, but much of what is said of them in the "Historical Books" is legendary. They were the earliest leaders of the Chinese people, and later times regarded them as ideal kings, endowing

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them with all virtue, all wisdom, and with superhuman ability. 773.

It is not difficult in those legends of the overflow of the Yellow River to trace the legend of an earlier and more terrible flood. It is said, "In their vast extent they (the waters) embrace the mountains and over-top the hills, threatening heaven with their floods." This is very extraordinary language to use in describing an abnormal rise of the Yellow River. Dr. Legge, in his Prolegomena to the *Shu King* or "Book of History," touches on this question, and concludes by saying, "I think, therefore, that in the description of the inundation of Yao's time we have an imperfect reference to the Deluge of Noah."

Why Fu-hsi is sometimes called the Chinese Noah is not very clear. According to Chinese mythology, P'an-ku was the first man, but Fu-hsi was also the first man of another epoch, and it is worthy of note that there were ten generations between P'an-ku and Fu-hsi. The time of Fu-hsi is given as 2852 B.C. Evidently for these reasons some writers have spoken of Fu-hsi as the Chinese Noah. This opinion is confirmed by the Ya-ch'io Miao legend of Bu-i, who was beyond all doubt their Noah, and whom when speaking Chinese they call Fu-hsi.

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who are not Christians do not pray to or worship any Supreme Being. 771

This is the more remarkable as they have the story of a Creation. The Heh Miao say Vang-vai made heaven and earth, and Zie-ne made other things, but they never worship Vang-vai or Zie-ne. The Hua Miao say that in the beginning there was no heaven and earth. There was a man named Gloe-an, and his wife Ngo-a, and these had two sons. The elder, beating about with a brass hammer, made forty-eight heavens, or a heaven in forty-eight parts. The younger son, with an iron hammer, beat about and made earth in forty-eight compartments. We never heard of them worshipping these persons. 773

All the Miao have musical festivals once or twice a year, now in one part of the country and now in another. If asked why they hold these festivals, they say that if they failed to do so their harvests would be bad; and yet they do not profess to understand how the harvests are influenced by this custom. If ever there was a religious element in their musical festivals, there does not seem to be anything religious about them now. As at present conducted they are fêtes, attended by the people from all the countryside, at which there is not 796 527

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There is a variation of this legend which states that when the two brothers first separated they took a brass gong and broke it in two, each brother burying his piece near the grave. Later, at the official investigation, the two parts fitted together, proving their common ancestry.

The Ch'uan Miao trace their ancestry to a female ancestor called Na Bo Hmo Ntsə or the Miao mother named Ntsə.

One legend is that of P'an Ku 盤古, a great superman who with his hammer and chisel carved out the sky and the earth. The Chinese also have this legend and it is a question whether the Miao learned it from the Chinese or the Chinese from the Miao. An interesting fact is that this was not a creation of original materials but a shaping of the sky and the earth out of substances that already existed.

Savina found among the Miao of Tongkin the Biblical story of the flood, the tower of Babylon, the confusion of tongues, and a migration across northern Asia, finally reaching Tongkin. I have always suspected that the Miao of Tongkin learned these stories in recent times from Christian sources. I have not found the slightest trace of them among the Ch'uan Miao.

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The story of the flood as I have learned it from Ch'uan Miao friends is as follows. Two brothers were hoeing a piece of land in order to plant a crop. Every morning when they returned to the field they found the soil turned back as it had been before they began work. One night, they kept watch to see who was doing this and saw an old man come onto the field and begin turning the soil back. When they asked for an explanation, the old man said, "It is useless for you to plant a crop. The world will be flooded and all the crops will be ruined and all the people will be drowned." Then they went and asked ʒ̀e sʌu what to do about it. He advised each of them to make a large tub or barrel and to get into it when the flood arose. So the younger brother made a wooden tub and the older brother made one of iron. When the rains descended and the floods came, each brother got into his tub. The iron tub sank and the older brother was drowned but the wooden tub floated and so the younger brother was saved.

There is a variation of this story by which a brother and a sister were saved from the flood. There were no other people on earth, but they were brother and sister and had the same name, so it was not right for them to marry. They made three tests which finally proved to their satisfaction that it was the will of Ntsə that they should marry. One of these tests was the rolling of two round stones from opposite sides of a gulch or canyon. Their stopping together was a proof of the will of Ntsə that they should marry. Savina says that in the legend as he received it, it was not

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538 clear whether the two stones were two round pieces of a stonegrinder or not. The Ch'uan Miao assured me that they 773 were not two round pieces of a stone grinder but merely two round stones and that they rolled down from opposite hill-or mountain-sides, the opposite sides of a canyon.

Another kind of legend is that which gives an explanation for Ch'uan Miao customs. There are many of them and not a few of the customs here described were first learned about in a legend. As an illustration I will tell the story of the origin of raising chickens.

A man was walking through the woods. A pheasant flew out cackling and the man found some pheasant chicks. These he took home and fed and gradually they became very tame and grew up as pets. The family liked them so much that they did not kill them and eat them. When these chicks grew up they laid eggs and hatched out more chicks which in turn grew up. This family gave some of the fowl to other families and gradually people learned to raise chickens.

538 There are many love songs or songs that relate the experiences of lovers, for the Ch'uan Miao have had their 837 share of Romeos and Juliets. Some of these songs tell of love between men and their wives or between men and women whom they love and wish to marry, but probably ninety percent of the love songs tell of love affairs between married men and women who are not their wives or between married women and men who are not their husbands, or between unmarried people who do not expect to get married, and in nearly all of these cases it is stated or implied that there was sexual intercourse between them. It seems to be assumed that love between the sexes will result in sexual intercourse and the pure love song that plays such a large part in the literature of the world is hard to find.

IX. RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

In my opinion the Ch'uan Miao are a very religious people, 771 but they have no religious organization, no images of gods, and no temples. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and through their religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a satisfying life in which the basal needs of food, sex, protection or security, and play and amusement are satisfied. Two of the fundamentals in the Ch'uan Miao religion are belief in demons which cause disease and other calamities and for whose exorcism ceremonies are required, and the ancestral cult with its ceremonial offerings and commemoration.

[114 cont.]

121 habits. The development of the plot of the story, furthermore, will, on the whole, exhibit clearly what is considered right and what wrong. .... Material of this kind does not represent a systematic description of the ethnology of the people, but it has the merit of bringing out those points which are of interest to the people themselves. They present in a way an autobiography of the tribe." (1)

[1. Franz Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909-1910 (Washington, D.C., 1916), p. 393.]

As to the origin of man, stories vary according to different 121 racial groups. Among these, however, there are points of 171 similarity such as the story of the flood, the rescue of a small ● 773 number of people favored by the spirits and ghosts, marriages between brothers and sisters, and so on. There are many such stories among the Miao in Kweichow, and in several respects their central theme is rather analogous to that of similar tales among other racial groups elsewhere in the world. The following is an account of some mythological tales among the Hua Miao and the Hê Miao for the reference of ethnologists.

2. The Folklore of the Hua Miao

[115] One day two brothers finished ploughing a field. 539 The next morning they found, to their surprise, that their previous day's work was undone by some people for the field was levelled down as if it had never been ploughed. In their distress and uncertainty they had to plough the field all over again. But the second morning they found that the field was once more levelled. This was repeated four times and they were greatly

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539 of the parents they were engaged in constant fights. One day the twelve brothers drank together, but the youngest brother filled his gourd with cold water and poured real wine into his brothers' cups. When they were drunk and fast asleep, he lit a pile of straw and pushed his brothers into the fire to be burned alive. After death one brother became Thunder and ascended into the sky; one became a dragon and descended into the water; one became a snake and crept into a hole; one became a tiger and hid himself deep in the woods; one became a weasel and climbed up a hill; the other six all became animals and went away in search of food. When Thunder reached heaven he thought of revenge by sending down a disastrous flood to drown his wicked brother. But the youngest brother managed to reach heaven in time and did not return to earth until after the flood had subsided. One day he met a beautiful young woman, who was his younger sister born afterwards by his mother. They married each other and soon gave birth to an eyeless and noseless monster shaped like a melon. They killed the monster, cut it into twelve pieces and abandoned them on the ground. Unexpectedly each piece of flesh became the ancestor of a Miao tribe, and the last piece was the forefather of the Short-skirt Hê Miao today.

5. Conclusion

773 171 The myths regarding the origin of man are generally alike in substance among the Hê Miao at Pa-chai, the Hua Miao and the Short-skirt Hê Miao. [128] A few points worthy of note are: first, the stories are not related to man's first ancestors after the creation, but to the resuscitation of mankind after the flood. They are not the stories of Adam and Eve but those of Noah. The story of the flood is found in the myths of all these primitive peoples. The Miao are supposed to have originally migrated from Hunan and Kiangsi, and the flood referred to in their myths was probably the legendary flood during the time

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of the great Yü [who finally quelled the flood and was made an emperor]. Although their ancestors might not have lived in the flood devastated valleys, at least through contacts with the Chinese or from Chinese legends they might have gotten the stories. These referred to the use of iron knives, iron pieces, needles, and other metals. So if iron was only first used during the Ch'un Ch'iu period [spring and autumn, an historical period from 722 to 484 B.C.], this body of folklore must have originated after that period. In all these stories the surviving brother and sister eventually got married. Anthropologists have informed us that marriage between brother and sister was early tabooed among all ethnic groups, and that violations were considered serious perversions of nature and human relationship. Among the royal families in ancient Egypt, Peru, Japan and India such marriages were permitted at first to preserve the purity of the royal blood, but soon this custom was abolished. The incestuous marriages in the Miao myths have shown that the sisters were the unwilling parties, who yielded only after much persuasion and reluctance. It is apparent that at the time these mythological tales became current, unions between brothers and sisters were no longer in vogue or already under ban. Otherwise, there is no reason why these marriages should be consummated only after the fulfillment of some impossible conditions. According to eugenic reports marriages within the family are detrimental to the offspring. The children born of a marriage between brother and sister may have the beautiful looks of Cleopatra of ancient Egypt, but statistically considered they are in the majority weak of mind and body. In the mythologies of the Hê Miao and Hua Miao, the children of such marriages were all crippled monsters. Among the Ya-ch'ieh Miao there is a similar story, in which the offspring was not only without four limbs but also dumb. This genetical fact had already been noticed by these primitive peoples. We do not know whether there was ever a custom among the Chinese of marriage between brother and sister, but in any case at the Ch'un Ch'iu period incestuous marriage [129] was banned because of its "non-productivity" and "disease-giving

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171 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did
773 not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many changes later.

174 From these myths we can gather some material regarding the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive people originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from the American Indians to show that the method of friction pre-
174 ceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of
372 the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire, and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with localities, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of our attention.

114 (This article was first published in the "She-hui hsün-k'an" [Social Studies, a publication appearing every ten days], Nos. 4-5, of the Kwei-yang Ke-ming Jih-pao [Kwei-yang Revolutionary Times], May 19, 1938, and has been slightly revised in its present form.)

[133 cont.]

105 7. In marriage cattle are used as betrothal gifts. Men may have two or three wives.

8. According to their customs marriage between cousins is a matter of course.

9. Their men and women are used to premarital affairs.

10. When a woman dies after marriage her parents are entitled to "bone money" from her husband.

11. The aged are weary of life and willing to be buried alive. This is in line with the ancient story of taking one's life on completing the cycle of sixty years.

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12. They still have a "black-ear" slave system.

13. Every village has a village head, and in case of urgent events announcements are made by sending out wooden tablets.

14. Huan-ku-chang [lit., to settle an old account] is an important festival occasion, celebrated with beef or pork.

15. There is current a story of "the changed woman."

2. Three Versions of Their Ancestral Myth

121 773 What was the origin of the ancestors of man? Every ethnic group has its own hereditary myth, which in modern mythology is known as the ancestral myth. The ancestral myth of whatever group is always an account of inconceivable miraculous events, from which, however, we can have a glimpse into the infantile psychology and the living condition of the primitive people as well as their conceptions of the universe, creation, and ancestors. Therefore, when an ethnologist is lucky enough to acquire the ancestral myth of an ethnic group he has a very valuable material in his possession. When 773 the present writer went to the Sheng Miao area at Hsia-chiang to make a systematic investigation he gathered a great deal of material worthy of study especially the original regarding their ancestors. The Sheng Miao are the most primitive among

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773 the Miao, and this mythology is therefore the oldest and the most important.

As far as the present writer is aware, the ancestral myths of the different Miao tribes vary slightly, but that of the Sheng Miao is especially interesting. Disregarding the irrationality of these strange events, we have to recognize the fact that with the simple, ignorant people mythology is their living history. This kind of myth came from an unknown period in ancient times, that is, the mythical period. If we ask the Sheng Miao about their myth, they would say that they "do not understand" or that "it was handed down from generation to generation by their ancestors since the remotest times." They have long since forgotten [135] its origin. Some of the Sheng Miao are specially 773 entrusted with the duty of preserving and passing on such tales, 888 and they are generally well-known leaders or aged people with good memories. Young men and women know a little about these stories, but cannot tell them entirely. These mythical tales are not told for recreation, as ordinary stories and as a rule they are not commonly heard. We know that with the primitive people experience is very important. The young people usually listen to the words and warnings of the aged, who become automatically their guardians and leaders. With the Sheng Miao it is the same. The old people are the custodians of all their knowledge and wisdom. The fact that they can recount their ancestral myths entitles them to special respect. The telling of myths is a special occasion, from which outsiders are not often excluded. If we compel them to tell the stories, they would find excuses or else would not do a thorough job for fear that they may be ridiculed.

In every Sheng Miao village there is a set of rules and 627 regulations which are voluntarily observed. In case of violation 773 the offense is quickly adjudged by the public and an elder is invited to execute the punishment. Before it is carried out, however, he would tell the accused in a solemn manner the myths of their ancestors. Also in the case of a serious dispute the elder would summon both parties together, and first tell them the story of their ancestors before settling the dispute.

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627 After a decision is rendered in this fashion both parties would
773 show compliance and would not carry the case to the law courts. Although the mythology handed down from mouth to mouth does not have religious contents, it becomes a kind of prophecy to those people who hold everything pertaining to their ancestors in the highest respect. It is entirely due to this inherent respect for their ancestors that the ancestral myth is recounted before carrying out the punishment or at the time of settling a dispute. The idea is to employ the will of the ancestors to restrain the actions of their descendants. It is interesting to note that the mythology of the Sheng Miao, meant originally to inform posterity of the stories of their ancestors' life, has also assumed the corrective and preventive functions of law.

773 [136] The ancestral myth recorded by this writer consists
538 of three versions, which are scattered over every corner of the Sheng Miao area. Although these versions show some variance, they have the same origin. The original mythology of all ethnic groups is told in verses or songs so that they can be remembered easily by posterity. The first two versions of the ancestral myth are told by the Sheng Miao as prose stories due to the disappearance of the poetical versions in the course of time. The third version is a song sung by the Sheng Miao, and few indeed are those elders in the whole area who can sing the song in its entirety. It therefore still retains all its simple primitive character. The whole song has 488 lines and represents the pure myth of the Sheng Miao regarding the origin of man. The three versions are given as follows.

The First Version

There was an old woman who descended from heaven to
539 the earth with a melon seed. She planted this seed on the top of a mountain range. After three days the seed sprouted and the vine extended to more than two feet. After seven days the melon plant covered the whole mountain, yielding many large melons. Among the melons there was the melon king so large that it could accommodate several dozen persons inside. It

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From this wedlock came a son,
Without eyes and without ears, --
No more, no less, like a melon he looked --
And the parents were all in tears.

En cut the monster into lumps,
And tossed them around high and low,
They became the Sui-chia and the Chuang,
And the Nine Tribes.

All the people in the world
Were originally unable to speak;
They knew not how to eat rice
Or to enjoy the joys of sex.

En boiled some beans to eat as rice,
And soon he broke wind.
The Han [Chinese] cried "ch'ih-fan";
The Tung, "chi-kou";

The Miao, "no-nüeh";
All meaning "eating rice."
After this the Han, Miao, and Tung,
They all had speech.

3. Conclusions

●773 Based on these three versions of the Miao myth, the following points deserve attention.

1. It is without doubt that though superficially the three versions seem different, they actually originate from the same story, altered here and there by later story-tellers. The common theme of these versions is: "Once in ancient times there was a flood, which destroyed all mankind except a brother and sister, who escaped from the disaster. After the flood had subsided, brother and sister were forced to marry each other. They bore a son who looked like a melon. In anger the father cut it into

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773 pieces and tossed them around, which became the different racial groups today." This kind of myth is not a special story of the Sheng Miao as the other Miao groups investigated by the writer have similar versions. That it is a common ancestral myth of the Miao is worthy of our notice.

2. The earliest people, according to the three versions, were a brother and sister. The first version does not give their names. The second and the third versions give En as the name of the brother and Mei as that of the sister. Probably in ancient stories only these two names were given. After their marriage they procreated different groups of the human race. En and Mei were the original ancestors of mankind. The ethnic groups in China today, the Chinese, the Miao, the Tung, the Sui-chia, the Chuang, and the Yao all came from a common ancestry. That the Sheng Miao mythology contains this unexpected scientific view of the "common origin of man" is also worth noticing.

3. We understand that totemism is a necessary stage in the development of all races. The myth of a common ancestral birth must be associated somehow with totemism, such as the Chinese myth relating to the birth of Shang [founder of Shang or Yin, the first historical Chinese dynasty] from a black bird. The story in the third version regarding two big insects that laid five eggs, which became Dragon, Tiger, Snake, Thunder, En and Mei, shows that the Sheng Miao had already come into contact with totemism. The second version also states that a certain couple had six children, Dragon, Tiger, Snake, Thunder, En and Mei. The Sheng Miao have no inhibition at all in identifying their ancestry with animals. Truly according to modern biological [146] studies, men and animals were originally related, and the Sheng Miao have shown this conception in their mythology. Again, in the above myth, not only 773 778 was En a supernatural being who could ascend to heaven and descend to earth with ease, but natural objects such as thunder and rocks, and animals such as dragon, snake, tiger, rat, insects, birds, eagle, monkey, cat and goose were all personified. The ancient belief that they are endowed with human will and intelligence, capable of speaking and taking

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773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

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5. In the above three stories, there are intimations of the
773 enmity between the various tribal groups and the origin of the ill-feeling between them. For instance in the first version the sons of the Miao king and the Han king struggled for the possession of land; the former who were clumsy and ignorant were taken advantage of by the latter, who were shrewd and cunning. In the second and third versions, the story of the brothers Thunder and En fighting repeatedly for the field, the former violent and belligerent, and the latter wicked and deceitful, possess the same significance. The most interesting
773 part of the first version has to do with the acquisition of a large
829 area of land by the Han king and the subsequent convention at Tu-shan, in which the Chinese acquired a pen and was able to read, write and become officials, whereas the Miao king lost ground and retired to the mountains with the chicken feet left over from the meeting, and could only work hard by ploughing the field in the mountains. This is given as the reason why at present the Chinese are successful and the Miao are retarded.

6. The amusing section in the second and the third versions
773 as to how the different tribes began to talk should interest the linguists. When En tossed the pieces of flesh around, the human beings coming out of them were at first unable to speak. In the second version En happened to burn the bamboo. In the third version he broke wind after a bean meal; both the noises of breaking wind and cracking bamboo stirred the human beings into talking. They spoke three different languages which became those of the Tung, the Miao and the Chinese. I wonder whether this would explain that at the time of human origin the differences between the races were due to the differences in languages. Furthermore, the earliest vocabulary of all races was related to food matters. In the third version, [148] the first words they uttered such as "ch'ih-fan" by the Chinese, "chi-kou" by the Tung, and "no-nüeh" by the Miao all have the same meaning of "eating rice" in different pronunciations. This is just like our teething infants who upon learning to speak, first learn the words "ch'ih-fan." How thought-provoking all this is!

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796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before 769 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that [231] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their [773] tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.—Analyst]

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The an-
769 cestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
778 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Long-wang"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al-
776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

/167 cont./

776 know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither
[829] fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient
times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought
[773] them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank, even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231/ There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created
776 by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so
[775] much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits. In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a
[782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation of a guardian spirit.

1 [See cat. 116, p666 - ANALYST]

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pę dŏ. Savina (1) [114 773]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this c chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in- [931] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore espe- [825] cially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals [224] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[973] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They pre- [626] sume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/219 cont./

A 784 All these prohibitions are in force for all the Akha who are in a situation connected with a taboo, for instance, pregnancy or sickness. There is no taboo that embraces social or political groups.

Every taboo is strictly observed. Transgression do occur, of course, but only through carelessness. The transgressor always A [688] [787] [756] hastens to the shaman and immediately tells him what has happened, whereupon the shaman questions the offended spirit as to the form of expiation required of the transgressor.

The prohibition that strangers may not walk about alone A 123 609 784 in the village borders on taboo. I was told that such an act offends the spirits, whose wrath is then felt, not by the stranger, but by the inhabitants of the village. I had the impression, however, that this was more a pretext to prevent our investigations in the villages, since it was apparently disagreeable to the Akha A [126] to be watched by us. I therefore, for example, had to take my photographs with telescopic Tessar lenses from a great distance.

If one tries to obtain an explanation for the taboos, the A 178 784 [756] answer is always: "Because the spirits wish it and our /220/ ancestors did so." The prohibitions were therefore handed down from ancient times and cannot be modified or moderated by the shamans, just as they likewise do not have the power to create new taboos.

A 779 As numerous as the taboo rules are, the Akha, too, do not have any totemistic conceptions in any form.

/221/

Chapter 10

Myths and Fairy Tales

M 114 538 773 Undoubtedly myths and fairy tales must be present in considerable numbers among all the mountain peoples of Farther India. Nevertheless, relatively few became known to me from the Meau in Thailand, and even in the literature I was able to find little about the fund of Meau myths.

/221 cont./

182 538 773 Especially among a people as mentally alert and of such high standing as the Meau, one can probably see in this fact an indication that we have here an economically-conditioned cultural loss. Poetry, like every free artistic activity, requires not only mental ability, but also security in the basic conditions of life. That the mental ability in any case is present among the Meau is attested to, in addition to the communications from Savina, by both the mental development of the children and, above all, the spiritual culture which both the Meau and the Akha have developed. People who need all their strength in order merely, with the hardest work, to avoid starvation, however, cannot possibly have the energy required for poetic invention. Traditional lore maintains itself longer, but it, too, disappears if there is not sufficient time and leisure to cultivate it.

773 [184] Nevertheless, among the Meau in Thailand I was able to record a number of legends which often are identical to a great extent with the corresponding myths and tales that other authors have recorded among the Meau in Tonkin. Accordingly, I am presenting the recorded material in the grouping most useful for comparative purposes. Concerning /222/ the origin of the human race, the following was reported to me:

In the beginning the earth was flooded by the ocean. When the water had gradually created its own pathways and earth became visible, a pair of siblings was living there. The brother impregnated the sister, and she gave birth to a gourd, which instead of seeds contained germ cells from which, in the course of time, human beings developed.

539 Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) also describe this episode,

1. II, p. 314.

2. Page 168.

but these authors state that the Meau have knowledge of the Deluge and the siblings were the only survivors of this natural catastrophe. Savina (3) also described the creation of human beings:

3. II, p. 244.

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at
the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch
on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave
pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[177] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male mem-
bers will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female
members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both
men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making
complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others
kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes.
After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-
back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few
grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters
water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get
rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal
of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then
must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought
along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten
again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it
may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane.
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien] and a body [ko-ʔ'ieŋ/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[961] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pɛ ts'əʔ]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ
[824] ʂo] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ ndu]. When there is a
*[782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

/143 cont./

*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the guests are leaving. Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each [574] receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

755 Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other *782 place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao con- •774 sider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer- [753] priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called [lio˥ [776] kuei˥˩], originally meaning "kuei of springs." The two kuei invoked are called [naŋ˧ ne˧ lio˥ u˧] and [naŋ˧ me˧ lio˥ teɤ˥]. The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kuei.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [346]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

The soul, if we may speak of it in the singular, is about the size of a person. It is not flesh, but shadowy. It is generally invisible but not invariably so. Some say that if a person is good his soul is larger and that if he is evil his soul is smaller. The soul does not sleep when a person sleeps. It may wander away and if it does not return the person dies. All birds, animals, and many inanimate things have souls. These include trees, rocks, rivers, and mountains. 774

The shadow is a vital part of a human being. If a mad dog bites a man's shadow, it will kill him. It is worse for a man's shadow to be bitten or cut with a knife than for his body to be bitten or cut. Many of the Ch'uan Miao identify one's shadow with his soul. Therefore at night they place the lamps on low tables or stools so that the souls or shadows will be large and frighten away the demons. Some think the souls are small after death so that they must climb up into bowls in order to eat or drink.

The Ch'uan Miao sometimes find it difficult to say that rocks, trees, mountains, and such things have souls, and find it more natural to say that they have lives, are intelligent, have eyes, and can see. But some assert that the life and the soul are the same. In offering the sacrificial animal, a life must be given and the life becomes a living animal in the world of spirits. It seems to me that the life idea was probably held by the Ch'uan Miao before the Chinese idea of three major and seven lesser souls was absorbed.

The doctrine of transmigration, and its attendant theory of cause and effect as influencing rebirth into this world, seem to be assumed and believed. But I have been unable to find much evidence that they have any considerable influence on the thinking and living of these people. Ch'uan Miao friends have told me that cause and effect, or *yin kuo* 因果, are among the things that they regard as living and that it is generally assumed that the dead person will be reborn into this world as a human being. 775

Demons are the souls of people, of birds and animals, of mountains, and of other kinds of inanimate things. If a person has no descendants to care for him, or if his descendants are unfilial and do not pay proper respect to him and do not offer him the necessary food, clothing, money, etc., then he may become a demon. Demons inhabiting rivers and creeks are the souls of people who have been drowned and who try to drown others. The demons of people who have hanged themselves try to cause others to do likewise. Some demons living in caves harm people; these develop from the vapor within the caves. (Probably this idea was caused by the presence of poisonous gases in caves). 776

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs. 787

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm. 751

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *fêng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the mana and the wakanda conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Ntsə, ʒei SʌU, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntsoŋ, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc. 776 778

To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu shêng* 六聲, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves. 774

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

774 A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it
778 is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries. A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is a living being that can speak. He has a definite character and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is lighting. It is this knife that causes the damage when lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

. . . . . .

177 The greatest changes in all their history are now taking place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited
797 these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the
563 Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years. Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and one graduate of the West China Union University gave the money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager for modern education and higher culture. With the continued help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese people, they can become an enlighteed race that will be an asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to the British Empire.

[26 cont.]

000 time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

766 Hê Miao who die of leprosy are cremated. The dead body
164 is carried to a vacant lot to be placed on a pile of firewood and
757 burned before the public. It is probably for the same purpose of avoiding contagion that the Hê Miao at Yung-chiang who die of small pox are cremated -- a sanitary idea derived from experiences.

5. Religious Beliefs

774 The Short-skirt Hê Miao apparently believe in animism.
776 In their view every object in nature is invested with a spirit. The sky, earth, sun and moon are all nature spirits, but even rocks, rivers, bridges, trees and wells are also endowed with spiritual powers. The duties and responsibilities of these spirits, however, are not quite divided, and therefore in case of sickness, engagement and the acquisition of sons they would go to one of these objects to offer prayers, and if their prayers are fulfilled they would have to offer sacrifices. There are two kinds of spirits: the good spirits, efficacious and powerful, who guard over the welfare of the mortals, but in case of offences against them, can also inflict severe punishments; the bad spirits or ghosts, who are bent on doing harm and whom one has to suppress if one cannot put up with them. The first category of spirits includes the Jade Emperor, the Guarding Buddha, one's ancestors, the King of Hades, the Earth God, the God of Wealth, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Yo Fei [warrior hero of the 12th century], Shen-nung [Divine Husbandman, a mythical emperor of pre-historical times], Kwan-ti [warrior hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the God of War], tree spirits, cliff spirits, bridge spirits, the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the winnowing-fan spirits, and the Lady Buddhas. The second category includes the spirits of thunder and lightning, the tiger ghost, the well ghost, the drowning ghost, the mouth odor ghost, the sly ghost who hurts people surreptitiously, the pu-nung (Miao dialect) ghost, the nai-huang (Miao dialect) ghost, the leg-pulling ghost, the breath-obstructing ghost, the soul-bewitching

[26 cont.]

774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost, the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost, the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primitive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
777 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

756 In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium, who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and socially it does not command any special respect and authority. Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated as follows:

755 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,
756

[27 cont.]

756 all diseases are caused by evil spirits, and to expel them is to
755 rid oneself of the diseases. In case of slight indisposition one's family members would burn incense and paper to drive away the wild ghost. But in case of serious sickness [28] the evil workings of an important ghost are presumed and it is necessary to get hold of a priest to slaughter an animal and to employ magic in order to achieve the desired end.

2) To pray for a son. If man is without a child at the age
756 of forty-three or forty-four he can ask a priest to appeal to the
842 Jade Emperor for a son (the Miao do not believe in the Son-awarding Bodhisattva), or to enter the mountain to pray to a huge rock, the spirit of which is said to be able to award a child. So, in the second and the tenth month, incense is burned continuously to the rock spirit. At the time of worship two bowls of glutinous rice, five or six sticks of red incense, eight to sixteen fish as well as candles and paper money are used.

3) To arrest the soul. If a person is pale, thin and
756 dispirited or overtaken by serious sickness without being able to
774 get up, the conclusion is that it is an omen of the impending
[787] departure of the soul. A priest is engaged to appear before Yen-wang (the king of Hades) to arrest the soul and bring it back. In so doing, it is necessary to slaughter a pig for sacrifice before Yen-wang. After the soul is arrested all the relatives contribute from ten or twenty cents to a dollar or two toward a fund for the making of a necklace or a bracelet, called respectively the life-preserving chain or the hundred-family lock, for wear by the stricken person. At the same time a string of bamboo rings is hung crosswise at the gate together with a piece of charm to indicate that the soul is locked in and prevented from escaping again. Sometimes, a bad harvest is also attributed to the disappearance of the soul, and the priest is asked to slaughter a duck to summon it back.

4) To arrest the ghost. In cooking rice, when the pan
756 shrieks, or when the bucket in which the rice is steamed issues
[787] a shrilling sound, it indicates the presence of a ghost. The priest is asked to slaughter a cow for sacrifice, because this ghost is the thunder demon, the greatest of all ghosts, and to

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli,"
774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies
795 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so
796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere-
[527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo"
[157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The
[531] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The
[533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing
[535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving
524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

[774] This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [756] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes 836 out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home.

[Text continues on p. 112]

/157 cont./

771 114 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially important to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau. The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incantations and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning religion, before persons who do not belong to the community. Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

123 [753] [774] Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, became sick. His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wandering and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sickness for the Meau. I told the chief that many little evil spirits had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood. Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the ceremony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction. Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

1. Page 98.

most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 The Meau believe in an immortal soul, pli, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the M [753] [776] [761] [755] experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/159 cont./

774 sib comes into the world. It makes no difference whether the
775 person to whom the soul belonged was good or evil in his
614 previous lifetime.

In contrast to this, Lajonquière (1) reports: "Human be-

1. II, p. 313.

ings have three souls, 'pli,' which arise again after twelve months when they enter the body of a pregnant woman. The souls of evil men are reborn in a frail child which is doomed to a miserable life and speedy death. Those of young unmarried girls haunt the paternal home, as do the souls of small children, which are reborn in the same family. All these conceptions, which are generally vague and sometimes contradictory, appear to us more like fortuitously discovered
[114] stories than native doctrine." Although Abadie (2) has borrowed

2. Page 169.

these statements, too, almost literally, they have not gained in probability, at least for the Thailand area. There is much more of an impression that both authors -- for whatever reasons -- did not probe deeply into the complex religious conceptions of the Meau. I was able to determine the following:

753 According to the view of the Meau, a person becomes
774 sick when the soul does not return, but then, too, the soul leaves the body when a person becomes sick. One notices this by the fact that the person loses the zest for living and seems
775 to be absent-minded. When a person dies, /160/ the soul is always absent. It then returns to the dead body and takes up residence in it until it is buried. Then it leaves the dead body, but remains for three days in the vicinity of the grave. During this period it is given food which is placed on the grave by the survivors. Then it returns to the house and takes up permanent residence there until it is reborn. If the direct family dies out, the soul takes up residence in the house of the nearest blood relatives. When I asked what would happen if the

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was [828] no explanation for fainting.

769 When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they 114 have been informed of the change of location through a special [775] ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in

II, p. 319.

case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is commonly assumed, as was said, that evil spirits prevent it 774 from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes [761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead 761 body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

/162 cont./

M 774 825 Trees, rocks, and the like do not have a soul, but some animals do, such as some tigers, but also dogs, which will be discussed in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

M 775 614 The souls of the ancestors exert an influence upon the lives of their descendants. They protect them against evil spirits, help wherever they can, as in case of sicknesses, which are usually caused by evil spirits, and promote the growth of field products and the well-being of domestic animals. Their most important function, however, is their concern for the perpetuation of the sib. They do this by inducing the spirit which is next in the succession of deaths to let itself be reborn as a child. There is a striking contradiction in the fact that, on the one hand, the ancestors are regarded as helpful spirits, while, on the other hand, they are reborn. Under normal circumstances the members of a sib multiply, so that more children are born than individuals of the sib die. If the ancestors are reborn in the children, the lack of further ancestors would bring about a cessation of births, or some of the children born would have to come into the world without souls. Moreover, if all the ancestors were reborn as babies, no one would remain to carry out the important functions of ancestors. I explained my doubts to various informants. Each one answered without further deliberation that there were many more ancestors from former times than could ever be reborn, for in ancient times the Meau were much more numerous than they are today. I had no reply to this logic.

A 761 Like the Meau, the Akha regard sickness as a cause of death, but they also view old age and not least the effects of black magic as causes of death. The Akha, too, believe in a soul, ne, which likewise /163/ leaves the body during sleep in order to wander about. Therefore, dreams are the experiences of the soul, to which, consequently, special importance is attached. One therefore does not fail to visit the shaman to have the dream experience interpreted if such an occasion arises. In any case upon awakening one must see to it that the soul is

A 774 [828] [787] [756]

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏhň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be [177] dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [726] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

should be bewitched or poisoned. Missionaries, who are not infrequently appealed to by Chinese when they fancy themselves bewitched by the Miao, mostly find them to be suffering from malarial. The Miao say that the witch throws things down on the road, sometimes only a straw, and the first person who comes along is bewitched. They may also bewitch a person's food and in this way injure him. Some time ago the whole countryside not far from Anshun-fu was troubled by a witch. The Miao from that region came in a body to the district magistrate in Anshunfu city, and petitioned that the witch might be removed from that neighbourhood. The witch was arrested and banished.

All the Miao believe in the soul and a future state. The Ya-ch'io Miao say that a man has three souls—one is his shadow, one is his reflection as seen in the water, and the third is his real self. Probably they learned this from the Chinese. As a rule, we think they only know and speak of one soul. They also believe in heaven, but most of them know nothing about a hell. The Hua Miao say there is a place in the earth where demons are, but do not mention it as a place to which the souls of the wicked go. They think that ordinary people, that is most

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

775 people, when they die go to heaven, but that very wicked people are born again on earth in a very wretched condition. We doubt if they attach the same idea of superlative bliss to the place where the dead go as is generally associated with heaven, but we must think of it as heaven because they call it so, and speak of it as being above the sky. The ancient Chinese seem to have had no knowledge of a purgatory or hell. In the Classical Books the good kings who died are mentioned as being in heaven with their loyal ministers, but nothing is said of bad kings and bad ministers who died, or of the common people. What the Chinese now say of hell or purgatory they learned from the Buddhists, and if any Miao now talk of hell, they have probably learnt it from the Chinese.

764 Of course, beliefs and practices vary among the different tribes, and their funeral ceremonies and rites concerning the dead are not all just the same. Among the Heh Miao when a man dies they plait a mat of bamboo, six feet by two feet, upon which they lay the corpse. In dressing the dead they do not fasten the clothes in the usual way on the right side, but lay them loose on the left side. Next they invite an exorcist to drive away any evil influences that might injure the living or the dead, and to choose

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766 756 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight, or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore, the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the [775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard, hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force. Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a [292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead, then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he [302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not washed for four months, during which period the mourner does [302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or 60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also. For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her headband for three days.

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
* [782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia˧˥. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien˧˥] and a body [ko˧-ʂ'ieŋ˧/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
• 775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[961] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[772] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pɛ˧ ts'ə˧˥]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ˧ ʂo˧˥] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ˧ ndu˧˥]. When there is a
[824] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
* [782] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated
[237] above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

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● 775 (12) Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering

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When there is a death in the family, for the deceased they [765] perform Releasing the Soul from Suffering and Begging Pardon, which in Miao is called [ts˧˥ mi˧˥], with the meaning "to cause [776] a person to be released." There are two kuei sacrificed to: [li˧˥ tɔ˧˥ kuen˧˥ dzɑ˧˥] and [li˧˥ ɕ'i˧˥ kuen˧˥ dɑ˧˥]. The time for the performance is in the evening after supper, and the place in the right corner inside the door in the main house. A bamboo stick about 90 cm. long is used. Every 30 cm. one side of the bamboo is cut off to allow it to be bent into a frame, the two ends of which are stuck into the earth. In front of the bamboo frame is put a rectangular wooden board, on which is spread a piece of white cloth. Five empty bowls are put on the cloth, but before the board are set up five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice arranged in three rows. A bowl of wax is placed behind the board, near which is a handleless spade (Illus. 66). The Miao sorcerer sits behind the bamboo frame, holding a piece of bamboo in his right hand and beating the frame as he utters an incantation in time with the beating to the following effect:

> "After the kuei have led away the dead man, the host will return to having peace. The kuei have come with a steelyard to weigh a human being and take him away. Why /Illus. 66 appears here/ /155/ do you not weigh a pig or a dog, a large cow, a chicken or a duck, instead of weighing a human being? The dead person was in the --- generation (either senior or junior generation) with reference to the host. When a man is dead, he cannot be called back. After death he becomes a kuei. Among men he still has good sons and good grandsons. Today, we have selected a lucky day to make inquiries. At the inquiry tonight you must come to the fire pit. Sorcerers are very few in the world, and so I have been called. I have brought with me the soldiers and horses of my patron saint to this house. The bowl of beeswax, the bamboo frame, five bowls

/155 cont./

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of wine, the spade, the wooden board, the white cloth, all are ready here. Will the kuei please come to take them! [lio˥ to˧˥ kuei˩˧ da˧˥], [lio˥ ʑi˨˩˦ kuei˩˧ da˨˩˨]!"

At this point he stops beating the bamboo frame, takes it away, and sets up the bowls of wine, meat, and cooked rice. The sorcerer-priest makes gestures while uttering an incantation at the same time:

"The helpers have set up the wine, meat, rice, and paper money, and invite the kuei to take them. The dead man has been dead for three days, but when his soul heard the sorcerer-priest's call, then he returned. He returned to his own local area, he returned to his own home. In the world you still have good sons and good grandsons to beg pardon for your sins. The former sins of your

[291]
[576]

Illus. 66. Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering.

/155 cont./

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*782

life are now all cast away. The sins cannot be cast away in the house, or left to your sons and grandsons, or to the village. All your enmities in the world are also cast away! Guard the host in peace and without troubles."

On finishing the foregoing part of the incantation, the helpers immediately burn the paper money, and the sorcerer-priest continues:

> "Wine, meat, and rice have all been offered to you to consume, paper money has been burned; and we ask you to take and use them! Everything is over; now please turn around and go back."

After this the sorcerer-priest and the host eat the meat and drink the wine together.

(13) The Kuei of the Five Grains

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[231]
[776]

Whenever the harvest of the five grains is not abundant, or the six kinds of domestic animals do not increase, the Miao will sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains, in Miao called [lio˧ no˥˩]. The kuei invoked are called [mp'a˧˥ no˥ kuen˧ mi˧˥] and [ɲi˥ no˥ kuen˧ no˥˩]. The time of the sacrifice is in broad daylight at any time, and the place is in the right corner inside the main house. A table is set up, and on it are spread five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice, arranged in three rows. The wax is also on the table, and the bamboo /156/ tube is placed behind the table. The Miao sorcerer beats the bamboo tube with the right hand and utters an incantation as follows:

> "The host's last year's harvest was not abundant; the five grains formed ears, but produced no grain. Further, they were eaten by locusts. The old year has gone by, the new year has arrived. Now that we have come to the first and second month, an auspicious day has been selected to sacrifice to the kuei. I have been asked to come here, so I

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 764 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *féng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *féng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包 are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

765 descendants in every way. Animals are killed with the idea that a life must be given but the life of the animal becomes a living creature that can be used in the other world by the ancestor. Such sacrifices are not atonements for sin.

These memorial festivals are taken very seriously by the Ch'uan Miao. They believe that people must not imitate these festivals in play, and certainly not ridicule them. The ancestors will surely take the life of a cow or water-buffalo that is offered in pretence.

Twelve days after the funeral there is a memorial festival called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao a'gi or *a'si*. The ceremonial drum is not used and the bull is not sacrificed. There is no music of the *liu shêng* or beating of drums or singing of songs.

At this time, the spirit is supposed to come back and visit his former home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. By the footprints it can be learned whether the person is now a grown human being, or a child, or has been transformed into a fowl, a horse, a dog, or some other creature. A cock is killed and offered in a raw state to the spirit. Then it is cooked, other food is added, and the relatives and friends have a feast. This festival is observed for parents, or for brothers or sisters over three years of age.

769 At a later date there is a memorial service called in Chinese *tso chai* 做斋 and in Ch'uan Miao a vang. It must take place not less than one year after the *sao ch'ieh*, and generally takes place two or three years later, but may be delayed ten or more years if this is made necessary by poverty. Friends and relatives march in procession to the grave (some families do not go to the grave but observe the entire ceremony in the home), beating gongs and drums and playing the *liu shêng*. In this way the soul of the dead is enticed back home. Generally a cow or a water-buffalo or rarely a pig is killed and offered to the ancestor, then it is cooked and eaten by relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers or sisters and for ancestors for three generations. The ceremonial drum and the *liu shêng* are used in this ceremony.

775 After death a woman carries on her back a grass mat and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 made of bamboo and about two and half feet in diameter. These are burdensome to the souls of the dead, since they make it impossible for them to enter the palace in the level country of Ntso. The ancestors are released from these burdens during the *tso chai* ceremony and then go happily away to God's flat land where they can enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

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There is a legend that in former times a Miao group or tribe cal' d Hmoŋ Kw'a were accustomed to kill their parents when they had become old and eat them and that their parents were glad to have them do so. It is said that the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 still call themselves Hmoŋ Kw'a and are probably the descendants of that ancient group. It is asserted that during the *tso chai* ceremony the descendants take bread or rice cakes and with their hands mould the cakes into human form, then place them in a bamboo bowl. The *liu shêng* is played, a cow, pig, sheep or chicken is killed as an offering, and after the offering is made the image is cut up and eaten. This is thought to be a continuance of the old custom of eating the parent. It is done very secretly for a Chinese or some other person might ask for an explanation and it would be difficult to give an acceptable reply. 769

Later, after an indefinite period there is a ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* 超度, and in Chuan Miao tsa moŋ. The custom is to dig up the corpse, throw away or burn up the old coffin, carefully wash the bones, place a new coffin in the old or in a new grave and new garments in the coffin, arrange the bones in their natural order on top of the clothing, carefully fold the edges of the clothing over the bones, put the lid on the coffin, and cover the coffin with dirt. This is still performed by many Ch'uan Miao. It is noteworthy that the same custom, which is rapidly disappearing, is found among the Chinese in Fukien Province. 765

It is thought that because the dead person cannot turn over, he or she becomes very tired and uncomfortable. After from three to ten years the corpse is dug up. The bones are washed with "fire wine" 火酒, then they are rubbed with mustard oil. If the bones are black, the burial place is not good and the corpse must be reburied in a new place else the descendants will not prosper. If the bones are yellow or white, the place is lucky and the reburial should be in the same spot, and the descendants will prosper. During this ceremony the demon drum is used, the *liu shêng* is played to the accompaniment of dancing and appropriate songs are sung. A cow or a pig is sacrificed and there are offerings to the ancestors and a feast. Sometimes the person presiding, called mo, places in a bamboo basket a chopstick for each deceased ancestor and during the ceremony hangs the basket on a beam of the house. The results of this ceremony are that the deceased ancestor who is reburied is comfortable and the descendants have less illness and prosper. [775]

I have been told by a Miao living at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 that in that locality they no longer dig up the coffin, wash the bones and provide a new coffin and clothing but that instead they make a tiny wooden coffin and garments only a few inches long and burn these with paper or spirit money in the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

823 I can hardly affirm that the Ch'uan Miao believe that the world is flat. The untutored Miao does not know that the world is round, but he sees and climbs and farms so many hills and cliffs and mountains that he regards the world as only comparatively flat. The world has an end somewhere, but he has no conception of its size.

772 Above the sky, or rather on it, is a level land where the souls remain after death with the souls of their ancestors. This paradise is Ntsə ni lʌu Gʌu bi or the level land of Ntsə. There are no hills to climb and there is neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day. Although there are no rainstorms there is no lack of moisture. Those who live there do not farm but find in the forests such things to eat as berries and fruit, as people are supposed to have done on earth in very ancient times. They are given food, clothing and money by their descendants through the memorial and calendar festivals. It is a good place to live in but not as good as this world. There is a ladder to the sky, but ordinarily mortals cannot go up. Some have swooned away and returned and related to their friends what they saw in the level land of Ntsə.

Under this earth there is another world inhabited by dwarfs. These are called in Chinese *sao pa jên* 掃把人 or broom people, because they are as tall as small Chinese brooms or about two feet high. They farm and have their own king, soldiers and government. They live very much as people on this earth, but they have much smaller houses, farms, etc. One Miao fell into dwarfland through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace, and later came back to the earth through a crack in the ground caused by a drought. When rain finally came, the ground swelled and closed up the crack.

In a special region dragons live or at least the king of dragons lives there. Other stories are told of fishermen who hooked the king of dragons or other dragons with fishhooks in rivers and creeks. To reach the palace of the dragon king it is always necessary to go down through pools of water. When the palace is reached, everything is normal and dry.

There is a specia' region where demons live where it is always dark. People rarely go there although certain legends describe it.

177 775 The Chinese idea of three principal souls or *hun* 魂 and seven lesser souls or *p'o* 魄 is accepted by these people. The *hun* are called in Ch'uan Miao pl'ei and the *p'o* are called *mpl'o*. Of the three principal souls, one remains in the tomb, one goes to Ntsə's level country. One stays among the beams under the roof of the house. On the other hand, one is supposed to be reincarnated. The ideas of reincarnation and of the three *hun* and seven *p'o* were learned evidently from the Chinese; my impression is that they have not been well assimilated.

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The soul, if we may speak of it in the singular, is about the size of a person. It is not flesh, but shadowy. It is generally invisible but not invariably so. Some say that if a person is good his soul is larger and that if he is evil his soul is smaller. The soul does not sleep when a person sleeps. It may wander away and if it does not return the person dies. All birds, animals, and many inanimate things have souls. These include trees, rocks, rivers, and mountains. 774

The shadow is a vital part of a human being. If a mad dog bites a man's shadow, it will kill him. It is worse for a man's shadow to be bitten or cut with a knife than for his body to be bitten or cut. Many of the Ch'uan Miao identify one's shadow with his soul. Therefore at night they place the lamps on low tables or stools so that the souls or shadows will be large and frighten away the demons. Some think the souls are small after death so that they must climb up into bowls in order to eat or drink.

The Ch'uan Miao sometimes find it difficult to say that rocks, trees, mountains, and such things have souls, and find it more natural to say that they have lives, are intelligent, have eyes, and can see. But some assert that the life and the soul are the same. In offering the sacrificial animal, a life must be given and the life becomes a living animal in the world of spirits. It seems to me that the life idea was probably held by the Ch'uan Miao before the Chinese idea of three major and seven lesser souls was absorbed.

The doctrine of transmigration, and its attendant theory of cause and effect as influencing rebirth into this world, seem to be assumed and believed. But I have been unable to find much evidence that they have any considerable influence on the thinking and living of these people. Ch'uan Miao friends have told me that cause and effect, or *yin kuo* 因果, are among the things that they regard as living and that it is generally assumed that the dead person will be reborn into this world as a human being. 775

Demons are the souls of people, of birds and animals, of mountains, and of other kinds of inanimate things. If a person has no descendants to care for him, or if his descendants are unfilial and do not pay proper respect to him and do not offer him the necessary food, clothing, money, etc., then he may become a demon. Demons inhabiting rivers and creeks are the souls of people who have been drowned and who try to drown others. The demons of people who have hanged themselves try to cause others to do likewise. Some demons living in caves harm people; these develop from the vapor within the caves. (Probably this idea was caused by the presence of poisonous gases in caves). 776

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engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made
as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather
like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it
often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuon kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger
blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzi, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

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765 drum and the coffin to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu sheng*. They exert so much strength that often some of the dancers are pushed over, furniture is smashed, and the walls of the room or house are broken. One story says that in this dance the house was pushed down and everything inside was smashed.

When the coffin is about to be carried out of the house for burial, the priest stands across the doorsill and shoots three arrows inside and three outside the house. This is to drive away demons that might cause any sort of a disaster.

765 775 Twelve days after the funeral there is performed a ceremony called in Chinese *tso ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao *a si* or *a shi*. The ceremonial drum is not beaten, the bull is not killed, and there is no music of the *liu sheng*. At this time the spirit of the deceased person is believed to return to his old home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door, and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. It is believed that the footprints will reveal whether the ancestor is now a person, an animal, a reptile, or a fowl.

Not less than one year later there is held a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *tso chai* and in Ch'uan Miao *a vang*. Friends and relatives observe the ceremony in the house or march to the grave beating the ceremonial drum and gongs and playing the *liu sheng* to entice the soul of the dead back home. A cow, a water buffalo, or a pig is killed and offered to the deceased ancestors; it is then cooked and eaten by the relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers and sisters and for ancestors for three generations.

It is believed that after death a woman carries a grass mat on her back, and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket such as is commonly used in West China. These prevent the souls from entering the palace of the level land of Ntzī. In the *tso chai* or *a vang* ceremony the ancestors are released from these burdens and go happily to God's flat land where they are able to enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

Later, generally after several years, there is a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* and in Ch'uan Miao *tsa mong*. The grave is opened, the coffin is burned or thrown away, and the bones are washed with wine and then rubbed with oil. A new coffin and new clothing are provided, and the corpse is reburied in the same or another grave. During this ceremony the drum and the *liu sheng* are used, a cow, water buffalo, or pig is killed, and there is a feast. It is believed that the deceased person becomes very uncomfortable lying in the same position for a long time; also, if the ceremony is not performed, the descendants will not prosper. After the ceremony the ancestor is comfortable and happy, and the descendants will prosper.

765 There is another memorial ceremony called in Chinese *hua t'an*, or flowery altar, and in Ch'uan Miao *a gi bang* or *a gei bang*. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by all the relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years. A bull is killed, and his hide may be used to cover a ceremonial drum. The meat of the bull and rice, corn, wine, and vegetables are offered to the ancestors, after which there is a feast. The drum is beaten, the *liu sheng* and the flute are played, and there is dancing and singing. Twelve men

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impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzə^{3} Ti$^{\cdot 3}$ lau^{3} gau^{1} bi^{3}). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

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775 and transmigration, is known and accepted by the Ch'uan Miao but does not
seem to be absorbed and does not greatly affect the lives of the people. The soul
776 is real but shadowy, and the soul of a good man is larger than that of a bad man.

Demons are the souls of human beings or of birds, animals, reptiles, or inanimate things. If a deceased person has no descendants or if his descendants are unfilial and do not meet his needs by making the customary offerings, he becomes a demon and harms people. Demons of human beings are called *glang*, and demons of other living creatures are called *ts'ao*. When a person goes crazy and speaks in a meaningless or silly way, it is thought that he is possessed by a demon who is speaking through him. His speech is then called *glang lo* or demon talk.

The idols in the Chinese temples are regarded as demons and are called *glang miao*. There is one devil called *glang da lo* who is so big that he can step from one mountaintop to another and from the earth to the sky. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb, and if he strikes a person on the chest with the palm of his hand the person dies, and the marks of his palm can be seen on the dead person's chest. There is another sky demon or devil called *ndo glang* who is worshiped by an elaborate ceremony in which a sow is killed.

The gods of the Ch'uan Miao are invisible unless they choose to reveal themselves to human beings. Chief among these is Ntzī, who lives in the sky and controls heaven and earth. He is regarded as good, just, kindly, and very powerful. He is the supreme but not the only god. Some stories tell of his sending his daughter to help poor and unfortunate men, and she generally marries them. A name that is sometimes used is Ntzī (or Ndgū) Nyong Leo, which means god, foundation, old. It apparently designates the same deity.

Another very interesting deity is called Ye Seo, Yei Seo, or Ye Seo. He never dies, is very wise, kindly, merciful, and just, induces people to do good deeds, and helps people, especially the poor, who are in trouble. He is often seen in the clouds and can easily make himself visible or invisible. In the province of Canton the name Jesus is often pronounced Ye Seo, but it is uncertain whether the name and character of this deity have any relation to Jesus Christ.

There is a female deity who lives in the sky called Ts'T' Ma Niang Tsai. She is very merciful and especially shows kindness to unfortunate children.

821 There is a warty toad called in Chinese *lai ke pao*, which is believed to have
776 marvelous powers and to cause hailstorms. During these storms men shoot off guns to frighten the toad and cause it to cease sending down hail.

There is a dragon king who causes rain and who lives in a palace beneath a pool or lake. There are stories that tell of his daughter's marrying a very poor man in order to help him.

776 Certain kinds of trees are sometimes worshiped as deities. They are generally trees on hills or mountains that are old and do not shed their leaves in winter—evergreens such as the *nan mush*, but never a fir or pine tree.

778 A strange custom is the worship of the door. The thick doorsill together with the door itself, which often has two wings, is regarded as a deity and is worshiped in an elaborate ceremony in which a pig is killed and offered.

[24 cont.]

764 All night they beat drums and play liu-sheng (6-reed wind instrument). The following day is the day of mourning when friends and relatives bring along different kinds of gifts as expressions of condolence. Some would bring a basketful of glutinous rice; some, a jug of wine; others, firecrackers, candles, incense and paper money. The host would slaughter a buffalo or a horse to feed the mourners. At the same time he has to kill a male dog so that in the nether world the dog can watch the buffalo or the [775] horse. The four legs of the animal are divided among the married children of the family and close relatives, distant relations being given only other parts of the meat. When there are not many relatives, each can bring home a piece of meat weighing about three or four catties. On the third day the corpse is lowered into the coffin after being clothed in four, six or eight black garments as well as shoes and socks. The number of sheets on which the corpse lies depends upon the number of children of the deceased. In case the deceased is childless, he is wrapped only in one sheet. There are three kinds of coffins: the rich use two coffins, the inner and the outer. Ordinary families use the outer coffin; the poor use the inner coffin, also known as the "fire box." The inner and the outer coffins are finished with black paint, but the "fire box" is made of plain wood. All coffins have their fixed dimensions. The inner coffin is one inch thick, five feet two inches long [sic], one foot and two inches wide at the feet and one foot three inches wide at the head. The outer coffin is one foot eight inches thick at the head, nine inches thick at the feet for the upper board, and eight inches thick for the bottom board, the total length being five feet eight inches, the width at the feet being one foot five inches, and the width at the head, two feet. The Miao have the strongest ob-
[823] jection to the presence of iron or [25] copper in the coffin. At the time of burial the family members have to make a last minute inspection for fear some one might slip into the coffin some metal pieces. They believe that "to bury the dead with iron and copper will cause annihilation to the whole family."

As soon as a corpse is laid in a coffin, the burial takes place. This is called "fu-shan" [supporting the mountain]. The larger

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852

[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli," 774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies 793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so 796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere- [527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo" [157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The [831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The [533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing [535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving 524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

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Chapter 5

Social Organization

a) Organization of the Family

A M 596 618 [611] Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, the family is organized strictly by father right. No esteem even similar to the consideration enjoyed by the parents is shown toward any other relative. In accordance with the organization by father right, descent is reckoned in the male line, and married women belong absolutely to the family of their husband, if he is already independent, or otherwise to the family of the father-in-law.

A M [614] M [775] The extent to which wives are absorbed in the new family group is shown by the fact that the married woman among the Meau not only loses every connection with the sib /Sippe/ from which she is descended, which is also the custom among the Akha, but also, after her death, her soul arises anew in the next child of her husband's family (cf. the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 596 618 [591] Adult unmarried sons always remain with their father; even married sons do not at first establish an independent family, but are regarded among the Meau as belonging, along with their wives and children, to the family of the father until they have completed their thirtieth year. Accordingly, they live in the paternal home up to this time, even though in a separate area, with their wives and children, and do not manage an independent household. Not until they have reached the aforementioned age do they have a right to build themselves a house and to establish an independent family.

M 593 618 /31/ According to Dhuraratsadorn (1), the Meau never

1. Page 167.

part from their sons, even if the latter are married. As my remarks show, this statement can be regarded as correct only

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to [775] the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 888 [592] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

A M [782] [775]

M 764 775 Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of

1. Page 461.

Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

M [789]

/116 cont./

764 spirits, a pig and a couple of chickens are slaughtered, and the
[775] soul is invited to feast on them. Then a great dance takes
[789] place."

The deathwatch is maintained by the parents, the surviving spouse, and the children. After a few hours, two or three of these closest relatives relieve one another. During the deathwatch relatives and condoling friends, whose numbers depend on the importance of the deceased, speak of the dead
[766] person and mourn his passing. If the deceased was a distinguished man, his body lies in state for two days; in the case of a humble man and women and children, only one day.

614 During the deathwatch the men of the sib prepare the
764 coffin for the deceased. For this purpose a tree trunk of a proper
[322] length for the deceased is hollowed out. No ceremonies and no special handling of the tools are connected with the carving of the coffin. They go about this work in the same way as they do when they make a pig trough. Then the corpse is put, on its back, into the coffin, and the latter is closed with two boards. Toward twelve o'clock the same men begin to dig a grave at a place in the jungle selected by them. Since there are no cemeteries, and no special burying grounds for the sib, the choice of the site is left to these men, who perform this work as a pious service and have no other function in con-
[767] nection with the burial. -- There are no professional grave-diggers.

764 The grave is always laid out in an east-west direction, and in stony or level ground it is dug out about one meter deep, otherwise another half a meter.

The burial takes place between about two and three
[614] o'clock. The closest male members of the sib who are able-bodied carry the coffin to the burial place, accompanied by all the sib members and guests. Here it is let down into the pit in such a way that the corpse lies horizontally in the grave, with the head toward the east and the feet toward the west. The Meau of today no longer know why this direction is observed; they are following a /117/ custom handed down from

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered with much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by [775] putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, [554] women, and children, with no differences other than that the sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

"One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
764 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
775 string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse,
is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/119 cont./

764 This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),
[775]

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; more-
[789] over, a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In
[767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member
775 of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),
[114]
[562]

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.
765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

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Miao AE5

/120/

M 764 [114] [789]

Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

1. II, p. 229.

M [787] [775] [825]

A 764 628 [203] [765]

The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in themourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764

Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

/156 cont./

know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
[114]

3. Page 168.

same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of

4. II, p. 253.

heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
177 Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
771 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
776 Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
[782] sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated. Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[795] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan, the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

1. Page 98.

most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 The Meau believe in an immortal soul, pli, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the M [753 776 761 755] experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/159 cont./

774 sib comes into the world. It makes no difference whether the
775 person to whom the soul belonged was good or evil in his
614 previous lifetime.

In contrast to this, Lajonquière (1) reports: "Human be-

1. II, p. 313.

ings have three souls, 'pli,' which arise again after twelve months when they enter the body of a pregnant woman. The souls of evil men are reborn in a frail child which is doomed to a miserable life and speedy death. Those of young unmarried girls haunt the paternal home, as do the souls of small children, which are reborn in the same family. All these conceptions, which are generally vague and sometimes contradictory, appear to us more like fortuitously discovered
[114] stories than native doctrine." Although Abadie (2) has borrowed

2. Page 169.

these statements, too, almost literally, they have not gained in probability, at least for the Thailand area. There is much more of an impression that both authors -- for whatever reasons -- did not probe deeply into the complex religious conceptions of the Meau. I was able to determine the following:

759 According to the view of the Meau, a person becomes
774 sick when the soul does not return, but then, too, the soul leaves the body when a person becomes sick. One notices this by the fact that the person loses the zest for living and seems
775 to be absent-minded. When a person dies, /160/ the soul is always absent. It then returns to the dead body and takes up residence in it until it is buried. Then it leaves the dead body, but remains for three days in the vicinity of the grave. During this period it is given food which is placed on the grave by the survivors. Then it returns to the house and takes up permanent residence there until it is reborn. If the direct family dies out, the soul takes up residence in the house of the nearest blood relatives. When I asked what would happen if the

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was [828] no explanation for fainting.

769 When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they 114 have been informed of the change of location through a special [775] ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in

II, p. 319.

case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is 774 commonly assumed, as was said, that evil spirits prevent it from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes [761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead 761 body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

/161 cont./

775 [761] not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 787 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one. Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 775 776 825 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not feared either. There is one exception, however. During the three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected, so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 825 [648] Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the [763] [177] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/162 cont./

M 774 825 Trees, rocks, and the like do not have a soul, but some animals do, such as some tigers, but also dogs, which will be discussed in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

M 775 614 The souls of the ancestors exert an influence upon the lives of their descendants. They protect them against evil spirits, help wherever they can, as in case of sicknesses, which are usually caused by evil spirits, and promote the growth of field products and the well-being of domestic animals. Their most important function, however, is their concern for the perpetuation of the sib. They do this by inducing the spirit which is next in the succession of deaths to let itself be reborn as a child. There is a striking contradiction in the fact that, on the one hand, the ancestors are regarded as helpful spirits, while, on the other hand, they are reborn. Under normal circumstances the members of a sib multiply, so that more children are born than individuals of the sib die. If the ancestors are reborn in the children, the lack of further ancestors would bring about a cessation of births, or some of the children born would have to come into the world without souls. Moreover, if all the ancestors were reborn as babies, no one would remain to carry out the important functions of ancestors. I explained my doubts to various informants. Each one answered without further deliberation that there were many more ancestors from former times than could ever be reborn, for in ancient times the Meau were much more numerous than they are today. I had no reply to this logic.

A 761 Like the Meau, the Akha regard sickness as a cause of death, but they also view old age and not least the effects of black magic as causes of death. The Akha, too, believe in a soul, ne, which likewise /163/ leaves the body during sleep in order to wander about. Therefore, dreams are the experiences of the soul, to which, consequently, special importance is attached. One therefore does not fail to visit the shaman to have the dream experience interpreted if such an occasion arises. In any case upon awakening one must see to it that the soul is

A 774 [828] [787] [756]

/167 cont./

776 [829] [773] know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank, even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231 776 There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of [775] the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits. In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a [782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation of a guardian spirit.

[1] [See cat. 116, p 666 - ANALYST]

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom [775] of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pĕ dŏ. Savina (1) [114] [775]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals [931] [825] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high [224] Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[773] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the [626]

/177 cont./

428 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to
756 go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 It is the task of the shaman to learn the
787 wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make them known to human beings. The shaman,
[775] however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also im-
756 possible for the shaman to bewitch human
[754] beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural
[789] powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40
Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the
755 spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors,
789 the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects.
[822] Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures
[787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant
[778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

39: Bernatzik--729 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
776 789 [775] born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 789 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 782 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 243 482 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.

/XI

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
342 [415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.

353 [264] [354] Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 [264] [352] Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
773 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
775 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

779 /55/
776

San Tsu	Tou-fu San Kuan	Wu-shang-hui
Hsi-tao wu-shang	Shih-erh Shang-ping /The twelve wounded soldiers/	P'in-pu-chi
Hao Kung-Chi /The good cock/	Shih-wu Shang Kung-chi /The fifteen injured cocks/	Shang-yüan-p'ou-hsiang
Chung-yüan Lo-p'a	Hsia-yüan Lo-p'a	Shih Kung-tsao /The four clerical officers/
Chao Shuai /General Chao/	Ma Shuai /General Ma/	Teng Shuai /General Teng/

776 As to which gods belong to the military group and which ones to the civilian group, I do not know. Each god seems to preside over a particular business. Their different duties are clearly divided. [532] Hence during the tso-chai ceremony, they only hung up ten or more pictures of gods who are in charge of the business of this particular ceremony. Because the pictorial representation and the duties of each god differ, the texts for each also are different. To save space in this book, I have merely copied the text of the Chiu-niang /the ninth lady/ section which is as follows:

779
539

You, drummer, beat the drum of yang-shou;
Beat again the drum of chao-yang.
Hearing the tunes of the drum turned to yang,
Chiu-niang, highly praised, dismounted from her horse.
This morning you were in the temple of Fa-t'an.
The kung-tsao officer was ordered to bring you the invitation.
After you received the invitation from the kung-tsao,
The precious horses were prepared for you to go to the place of ceremony.
You dismounted in front of the altar,
And were welcomed to the ceremony, enjoying the burning incense.

/66 cont'd/

715 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
713 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

•776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[184] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/12 cont./

*101 ward, the I and P'u tribes came to the city and complained
*175 that their Bamboo King had not been born of blood and flesh
173 and asked that a family line be set up. Pa enfeoffed his third
[776] son as a marquis. At his death he was included in the sacrifice to his father's ancestors. At present he is worshipped as the spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King." The Hou han Shu also gives an account of this story in the Hsi Nan I Ch'uan /History of the Barbarians in the Southwest/: "Yeh Lang was first found by a girl bathing in the Tun-Shui River. A large bamboo with three nodes flowed between her legs. She heard someone crying inside and when she broke open the bamboo, she found a baby boy. She brought him home and reared him. When he grew up into a talented and brave man, he established himself as the Marquis Yeh Lang and took Chu /bamboo/ as his surname. In the sixth year of Yüan Ting /III/ Emperor Wu-ti subjugated the southern barbarians and established Tsang-kou prefecture. The Marquis Yeh Lang surrendered. The Emperor issued the official seal to him, and later executed him. The I and the Liao tribes believing that the Bamboo King had not been born from flesh and blood and greatly respecting him, asked that a line of descendants be set up. The prefect of Tsang-kou, Wu Pa, reported this to the Emperor, who enfeoffed his /Bamboo King's/ son as a marquis. At his death, he was
[776] included in the sacrifice to his father. He is the spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King as worshiped today in Yeh-lang Hsien." The account recorded in the Hou Han Shu is based
*101 upon the Hua-yang Kuo Chih but the two stories differ slightly.
*175 The latter mentions the Bamboo King as leading the barbarians, but the former says that he made himself Marquis Yeh Lang. Yeh Lang, according to the Chih, surrendered to Ch'u during the last days of the Chou Dynasty. Nan Chung Chih says: /13/ "Toward the close of the Chou dynasty Hui Wang of Ch'u (Ch'ing Hsiang Wang according to Hou Han Shu) despatched General Chuang Ch'iao (Hao according to Hou Han Shu) up the Yüan-shui River to Ch'ieh-lang in order to subjugate Yeh Lang,

/13 cont./

*10 name for the people who wore red belts, whom they called the
*175 Hung /"red"/ Miao. (1)

[113]

1. Yen Ju-yü in Miao Fang-pei Lan Feng-su K'ao /A Study of Miao Customs/ says: "Those who wear red belts are the Hung Miao." According to Torii Ryūzō in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao: Those who wear red clothes are the Hung Miao. Actually the present-day Hung Miao in western Hunan no longer wear red clothes nor red belts. Previously they might have had this custom, but today it is no longer practical.

[291]

*175 The spirit most venerated by the Hung Miao today is Pai
776 Ti T'ien Wang, who also is one of three brothers. According to the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih /Annals of Lu-ch'i Hsien/: "The boy found in the bamboo as recorded in the story of the southwest barbarians in Hou Han Shu grew up to be the Marquis Yeh Lang and was killed by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. His three sons were all respected by the southern barbarians, and among them the third was the bravest. Posterity regarded the Bamboo King, since he was not born of flesh and blood, as a spirit and built a temple in his honor. Today, the idol, San Lang, worshiped in the temples, has the fiercest appearance and is held most in awe by the Miao. It must be the spirit of the third son. The Yung-sui T'ing Chih also says: "Large T'ien Wang /heavenly king/ temples are found in all localities, of which the one at Ch'ao-shui-ch'i is the oldest. This is the Ch'ao-shui-c'hi of Wei-ch'eng. The present-day Ch'ao-shui-ch'i has

[778]

[346]

/13 cont//

*175 no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in
776 Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the
[346] Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in
/14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without basis.

*101 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and
*175 meaning of [ko˥ ɕioŋ˥˩], a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/ CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

131 Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density
[161] of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the
173 center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas
167 all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the
*[101] Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

M *101 CC 563 M [167] [462] [517] [533] [167] 291 583 517 584 [167] 782 574 291 302 [167] M [291] M [527] 782 769 [776] M [531] 386

/20 cont./
in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

/96 cont./

585 The bride arriving here brings
782 Great luck and great prosperity.
539 The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family, she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to welcome her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
•[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
[776] To officiate at this marriage rite.
We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
[264] groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[756] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/127 cont./

121 771

Joseph Needham, translated into Chinese by Li An-che, Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao yü Shen-hua, page 1, The Commercial Press.

According to the report

114 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of 771 today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation Bureau's Chinese translation, page 259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept 771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been 177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

●776 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese, 771 "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/. [177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have [182] supernatural powers; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits, or gods, they are all called "kuei," [kuey⁴⁴] in the Miao language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien] and a body [ko ʔ ʰien/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pɛ ts'ə]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kuen
[824] ɕo] and trees, tree kuei [kuen ndu]. When there is a
*[782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

● 776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

769 /131 cont./
[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At the same time he utters the following incantation:
769 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as
*782 well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death
[777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called [kuei mbaʌ] in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei" of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
[776] mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[796] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14 strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each. The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot. [788] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers, next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part [769] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the [776] house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance. On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh. There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number of slices of cut-up beef. [illegible] beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is [263] very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao superstition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

1. See "Myths about the Flood, 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." 1/A

A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

1/A [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

/135 cont./

*782 wine and cooked rice. In addition meat is sliced, and seven slices strung together to make one string. In all, seven strings of meat are put on a platter. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation and divines with the chiao and sends off the kuei. This is the sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains. [787] [776]

The tenth part is performed at noon, when two "Five-Flower pillars (1) are set up in an open area, and to each pillar is

1. Five-Flower pillars are made of pine shan wood about 3 chang long, on which are carved ornamental designs, which are smeared with red and white colors. [531]

tied a pig. The hind legs of the pigs are bound together with hemp ropes. This rope must have been made by members of the lower generation. Moreover, a cock is tied to a small wooden pillar near the ornate pillars by means of a fine hemp string threaded through the beak. The sorcerer-priest stands under the eaves of the house, wearing a cap and long gown and holding in his hand a tree branch. [292] The host wears a ceremonial hat and a red rug thrown over his body. He first picks up a bench and places it against one of the Five-Flower pillars, holding in his left hand a double-edged sword and a bamboo splint and flourishing the latter as if he were driving the pigs away. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation to send the pigs away, and after the incense and the paper are burned, the various members of the lower generation come out grasping weapons as in Illus. 61. They bow three times facing the interior of the house and three times facing the outside. Then they kill the pigs and the chicken.

The eleventh part is performed in front of the main house. A bamboo mat is spread on the ground and on it are placed the caps and clothes of the members of the lower generation. Behind the mat there is a bench, on which are placed a bowl of wine and a piece of water-buffalo meat. The sorcerer-priest stands outside the entrance, wearing a wide rain hat on his head and carrying a bamboo cage on his back, in which are clothes and other articles. [292] [482]

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*782 Wielding a wooden rod, he utters an incantation, telling of the
[776] source of the kuei of pigs. After the incantation he goes directly into the house and partakes of the wine and meat on the bench.

The twelfth part is performed late at night or in the fourth or fifth watch. The long door boards are put up as a table. /Illus. 61 appears on p. 136/ /137/ The two pairs of pigs from the Five-Flower pillars, which have been killed, cut up, and washed clean, are put on the table with the heads of the pigs facing the interior of the house. On the table are further laid out wine, meat, and sweet wine, nine bowls each, as well as a bowl of sour soup and a bowl of tea. There are also 12 bowls of cooked rice, on each of which is placed a string of lean and fat pork. The upper millstone, incense, rice /uncooked/ and li-shih are also there. There is no blowing and beating of instruments, only the sorcerer-priest's soft-voiced, gentle petition.

On the fourth day the thirteenth and the fourteenth parts are performed. The thirteenth takes place when the cock crows in the fifth watch. A member of the lower generation with a felt
[292] rug thrown over his body and a straw hat on his head holds an ox horn containing wine in his left hand and a knife in his right hand, as well as grasping a string of seven slices of pork. He walks to a river bank or a well. He empties the wine from the horn and puts in clear water. While returning, he eats the seven slices of meat. Arriving at the gate, he imitates the crowing of the cock. After entering the house he sits down. On the table is laid a tray on which are set three cups of wine and three slices of meat. Under the tray is a jar, into which the water is emptied from the horn. The sorcerer-priest strikes the drum and utters an incantation. After the incantation the water carrier runs out the door, while the host throws ashes from used firewood on his body.

The fourteenth part is to send the kuei away and is performed in the early morning. The pigs' heads are cooked and cut into small slices or chunks, and are distributed in three trays, on each of which are placed three cups of wine. One tray is put at the foot of the middle pillar in the main house; one tray is placed on the floor of the front-half side room; and one

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*782 tray is put beside the entrance. The incantation, uttered by the sorcerer-priest sends off the kuei.

(3) Ta Chia Hsien

755 When a Miao becomes ill and taking medicine does not
*782 make him better, then he must make a vow to "ta chia hsien"/lit. "beat the family ancestors"/, which in the Miao language is called [pa³ mbu¹ pio³⁴], which means "beating Miao pigs." It may be performed during the illness or after the recovery. Before the event takes place, the host must serve notice to members of the
[602] mother's brother's family, inviting them to send seven members of the maternal uncle's family (six men and a woman) to be guests. If that family does not have so many people, the maternal uncle may ask other people to make up the number. But the persons invited should not have the same surname as the host. No day needs to be selected as lucky, but the following days must be
[777] avoided: if a child is born in the family, it is necessary to wait one month before the ceremony is performed; the birth of kittens also necessitates one month's separation; the birth of pigs, goats, cows, horses, and dogs causes a postponement of 12 days; the hatching of chicks, ducklings, and goslings, three days; a funeral in the family or when the head of the family has witnessed a funeral of another family, 12 days. If the notice should arrive before the time of expiration of any of the above periods, the maternal uncle's family may refuse such an invitation. If the host because he seeks an immediate recovery from a sickness cannot wait any longer, he may invite other guests, but they may not have the same surname as he.

/138/ The Ta Chia Hsien ceremony is divided into four parts, requiring a whole day from morning till night. There
[776] are altogether eight kuei invited: [na³¹ ma¹ tsoŋ³ teŋ³], [na³¹ mi¹ bu¹ ɲieŋ³], [tsoŋ³ teŋ³ tsoŋ³ ɲieŋ³], [bu¹ ɲieŋ³ tsei³ ma³], (it is said that these four are the ordinary names for the kuei of

/138 cont./

755 the ancestors). [bu˧ naŋ˧ tsoŋ˥˧ lie˧˥], [a˧ naŋ˧ tsoŋ˥˧ kas˧˥], (this
*782 is the oldest ancestral kuei); [tsoŋ˥˧ meŋ˧ tɛ˧˥ ɕio˧˥], [tsoŋ˥˧ toŋ˥˧
●[774] tɛ˧˥ lie˧˥], (these are the kuei names of the seven invited guests).
The place is beside the fire pit inside the house. The Miao sorcerer-priest sits on a low stool behind the fire pit, facing the entrance. In front of him is a bamboo tube and a bowl of wax. In front of the fire pit is set up a square table, on which are placed ten square pieces of fancy /flower/ paper divided in two rows. On each square of paper in the back row is placed a bowl of wine, and behind the back row are stuck up four paper kuei. In the two far corners of the table are stuck up two paper flags. Two chickens are tied to the legs of the table with fine cord through their beaks. Two pigs with their feet tied up with rope are placed in front of the chickens, heads facing the stove. To the right of the Miao sorcerer-priest, on the floor, there is a bamboo mat, on which is a /cooked/ rice bucket /Illus. 62 appears here/ /139/ with the lid off, and a bit in front is a jar, in which is put a piece of fancy paper with a bowl of wine on it. In front of the mat to the right of the fire pit is a winnowing basket. Above it three pieces of bamboo form a semicircular top, on the outside of which paper is pasted, and then cloth. Inside are stuck three paper kuei, in the middle four pieces of fancy paper, and on each of the two pieces of paper in the rear is placed a bowl of wine, see Illus. 62.

For the first part, which concerns inviting the shen, the Miao sorcerer sits on the stool, without using any of his magic implements, and only uttering an incantation, whose general purport is as follows:

"All you older and younger relatives of the host!

The host has recently run into bad luck. When he walked on the road, he saw strange happenings among the grass and trees. When he ate, there were inexplicable fragments and pieces of a broken saucepan in his rice. When the host looked quickly, then he saw these strange phenomena. The (here the name of the ancestral kuei of the family is mentioned) kuei, wanting food to eat, first came and did these things, then made the host fall sick. The host, not getting well, made a vow, and after this, his sickness left him.

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755 are all placed beside the table. We request the kuei to come
* 782 to take them. And after taking them, please eat quickly." (He
● [776] utters the name of the ancestral kuei of the family.)

The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube. While beating the bamboo tube, the Miao sorcerer utters an incantation, generally describing many supernatural phenomena, such as the mischievous behavior of the 12 large trees; strange happenings after eating fish, meat, bamboo shoots, and smoking tobacco; strange happenings with the water at the time of using water, in a bath or sitting in a boat; strange happenings with clothes; strange happenings with ants and snails; with wooden rods and bamboo poles, etc.

The third part is the handing over of the animals. After the incantation for the second part is finished, there is a short respite. The Miao sorcerer then picks up the bamboo tube and the bowl of beeswax is moved onto the table. Afterward he asks a man and a woman from among the seven guests from the maternal uncle's family to sit opposite each other, the man inside next to the bamboo mat facing outward, the woman outside next to the winnowing basket facing inward. The rest of the five men sit at the table on a bench next to the fire pit, without making a movement. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bamboo chiao in his right hand and ringing the hand bell with his left, begins once more to utter an incantation:

> /140/ "The wine for ta chia hsien is now ready. There are altogether seven empty wine bowls, two beside the fire pit and five beside the entrance. Please come and take — them! After taking them, please do not drink right away. As for the pigs and chickens, if not sent they will not arrive. Once we send them they will arrive. I invoke my patron saint's soldiers and horses; I order my own 1,000 men and 10,000 horses to help deliver the large pig, to help send the small pig and the two chickens. The chickens are sent to the coop, the small pig is sent to the pig sty, and the large pig is sent to the tower."

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755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
[787] to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kuei yiei /, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is
842 the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously
[787] ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[776] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
[231] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

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*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the guests are leaving. Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each [574] receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

155 Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other *782 place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao con-774 sider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer-priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called [753] [lio˥ kuei˩˧], originally meaning "kuei of springs." The two kuei in-[776] voked are called [nan˧ nti˧ lio˥ ui˧] and [nan˧ mei˧ lio˥ tei˧]. The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kuei.

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(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple
[753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con-
[776] sidered that the [nɑŋ˧ ŋuei˧˥ pi˧˥nu˧˥] and [nɑŋ˧˥ nu˧ pi˧ ʂɛ˧˥] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /pɑŋ˧˥ pi˧˥ nu˧˥/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called [tɑ˧˥ ɣ'io˧˥ t'ɑ˧˥ liɛŋ˧˥] in the Miao
787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate
[825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then
[791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/.
*782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

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*782 The first part consists of the invocation of the kuei, in
● 776 Miao called [ʐaŋ¹ piaŋ¹]. There are four kuei invoked: [naŋ¹ nɛ¹ kueŋ¹ tio¹], [naŋ¹ mɛ¹ kueŋ¹ lieŋ¹], [kueŋ¹ bu¹ kueŋ¹ teŋ¹], and [kueŋ¹ zɔŋ¹ kueŋ¹ piaŋ¹]. According to Miao sorcerers the four kuei are two males and two females, the most respected kuei in heaven. The invocation of the kuei takes place in front
*782 of the main house. The sorcerer-priest hangs out the paper streamers which he cut the previous day in the host's house on three tree trunks. He then encircles the tree trunks with paper banners planted to form a semicircle. At the foot of the steps is a small table, on which are laid out 12 bowls, bottoms up, and wine is poured into the hollows of the bottoms instead of wine cups. In another small bowl burns beeswax. The Miao sorcerer stands on the steps, holding the chiao in his right hand and ringing
[788] a hand bell in his left hand, mumbling some phrases to himself. He then begins to invoke the kuei (Illus. 64). Before he utters the incantation, he first calls out /ha ji jo o ho ho/. His incantation follows, with the general purport as given below:

> "The sun rises and the sun sets. The smoke from the beeswax in the dish rises to the sky and leads the kuei to this house. This beeswax is burned by my (the sorcerer designates himself) hand. The smoke from the wax rises up the mountain slope, while I, the sorcerer-priest, stand here before this house. The smoke from the wax changes to mist, shrouding the mountain slope and the sorcerer-priest. The smoke from the wax goes up to the sky and together with the mist /Illus. 64 appears here/ /146/ protects the world. The kuei, not knowing the sorcerer-priest, are frightened. I do it three times, and burn three piles of beeswax. The smoke from the wax drifts before the sorcerer-priest's altar, leading down my patron saints. We ask hundreds and thousands of honorable patron saints to come here. Such and such patron priests... (calling the patron saints by name) have all come! Please do not forsake me. In front is the entrance, behind is the city; in front is the

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*782 mountain, behind is the slope; in front are soldiers, behind is the general. Up the hill is a path; down the stream is a boat. Each word and each phrase is to be listened to. Being in the same place, any time I may call your name. The host is sitting at peace, not going to the fields to swear oaths. At the temple he does not swear oaths, nor at home. He does not swear oaths with cold water, and when beating his wife /and children ?/ does not swear oaths. The host is willing to feed others, and does not take advantage of others, nor laugh at other people's sons and descendants. He does not act unjustly, but observes litigations all around him."

At this point he once more burns beeswax, makes a gesture of leading down the Kuei. His incantation continues:

"If the ta kan lo paper banners and their staffs become disarranged, we ask the kan lo kuei to please set them right. These are the strange occurrences caused by the kan lo kuei: the pig goes mad; the dog jumped on the roof; the pig ran up to the entrance; the hen entered her nest to eat her egg; the pig went up the stairs to eat a small child; the hen can crow like a cock; the cock can hatch chickens; the hen laid a soft-shelled egg; the bitch had only one puppy; the pig had a litter of two piglets; the crops ripened in the third month; a dead thing was seen when coming out the entrance; two snakes were seen together; two tigers hid in the house; a rat made a squeaking sound; a snake was seen in the house; a snake shed its skin in the house. The host had a terrible dream, dreaming he was in rain and snow, dreaming he was in the midst of a deep forest. He therefore went to the diviner. It was found that no other kuei was causing these calamities, only the kan lo

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*782 [776] kuei were eating food and seeking sacrifices from people. A vow was made on a selected auspicious day. After the vow everything became peaceful. After a few days the host accumulated a sum of money. Wherever an ox was killed today up and down the village, with the money he bought some beef and returned home. On reaching home he sent for the sorcerer-priest. The sorcerer-priest has summoned his soldiers and horses and patron saints to come to this house. The wax is lit; the hand bell is ringing; the table has been set up and spread with fine bowls; the paper banners have been stuck up in the place; the flag poles have been erected, with paper streamers flying; a chicken has been killed, and everything is set."

*782 787 After the above incantation is over, the priest tosses the chiao-tzu beside him on the ground. He studies the chiao-tzu to divine whether the kuei have come down. The yin and yang chiao indicate that the kuei still have not come down. It is necessary to get the sheng chiao, for then the kuei have come down. If the kuei have not yet descended, it is necessary to invoke them again.

*782 /147/ The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube [pas¹ ɕiou¹ doŋ¹]. When this part is performed, the various arrangements outside the entrance are not moved, except that the bowl of wax is moved inside the entrance to the righthand corner, and the bamboo tube is placed on the ground behind the bowl of wax. The Miao sorcerer sits on a stool behind the bamboo tube. He beats it with his right hand while he utters an incantation. Each beat punctuates two words (Illus. 65). The general purport of the words are as below:

"The host has asked me today to come to perform the Ta Kan Lo, entirely of his own voluntary wish, without compulsion from anyone. The sun dragon and the moon dragon in the skies, the water dragon in the fields. I wear three steel helmets, iron shoes,

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*782 The sorcerer-priest again offers wine and meat. Kan lo kuei please eat a lot, once, twice, thrice -- all please eat. After eating, please go home. Hereafter when the host divines by the diagrams or calculates a horoscope, let not the names of kan lo kuei be arrived at again. When the host in the future calculates for other kuei, he must not see the names of kan lo kuei come out again, for he cannot select a day for offering sacrifices to the kan lo kuei. From now on all the omens of the host's dreams shall be auspicious, all dangerous matters will be cut off; ten thousand years of peace and contentment. [ha ji jo ho ho!]

[787] After the Miao sorcerer finishes the incantation, he throws the chiao-tzu on the ground to divine whether the kuei have gone or not. If the yin chiao and the sheng chiao appear, the kuei have already gone, but if the yang chiao appears then the kuei have not yet gone. He must again utter the incantation to send off the kuei, with slight variations this time, such as: "Now, we are sending the kuei back, our thanks to you! On this occasion the wine and meat were not plentiful, which we regret." Then he begins to divine with the chiao again until the [787] yin chiao appears. All the paper money and other paper things are burned, and the sacrifice is over.

(8) Sending Away the Supernatural Force of the Old Trees

*782 824 [776] If a Miao inside the house suddenly hears a strange noise and on opening the door does not see anything, then he thinks that the big trees in front of or behind the house or near the village are acting up. It is the two kuei [nang ɲuei t'oŋ ndu] and [nang nu t'oŋ ho] coming to eat. The sorcerer-priest must be asked to come to expel the supernatural forces of the old trees, in Miao called [ɕi ndu]. At night a table is put outside the main entrance. On the table are placed five

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*782 824 bowls each of wine and meat and a bowl of beeswax. The Miao sorcerer sits in front of the table, beating a bamboo tube with his right hand and uttering the incantation to send away the old trees' supernatural forces. The general purport of the incantation /151/ is to request the kuei to go away quickly after partaking of the wine and meat, for the children in the village after hearing the strange noise are terrified. Among the phrases of the incantation is "kill a goat to sacrifice to the kuei." This shows that previously the goat was also used as an object of sacrifice but now it is spared; the text of the incantation, however, has remained unchanged. After one section has been [788] recited, he stops beating the bamboo tube. He starts ringing the bell with his left hand and continues the incantation. At the [787] same time he performs divination with the chiao-tzu. If the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, the supernatural forces are considered to have departed. If he gets the yang chiao, they have not gone, and the incantation and the divination have to be repeated until either the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, when the kuei may be sent away by burning the paper money.

(9) Cleansing the House

*782 783 If one's house has been lived in by a family of a different surname, the master of the house must ask a Miao sorcerer to cleanse the house after that family moves out, otherwise, the owner after living there would not be prosperous. Cleansing the house in Miao is called [ndzæ˨ pæv˩˧]. The two kuei invoked are [deiʌ ʔæ˩˧ nɔŋ˩ dɛ˨˩] and [deiʌ ʐɑ˩˧ nɔŋ˩ qa˨˩]. The time is any time during broad daylight, and the place may be anywhere inside the house, either in the main room or in the side room, facing outside the door. A table is set up, and on it placed five bowls of wine, five pieces of pork, five piles of mi-pa, and five pieces of tofu/bean curd/. A piece of green cloth 6 ch'ih long is spread out on the ground under the table. On the cloth are one or two strings of copper yuan; they also use a cock, whose two wings are tied to a leg of the table. They do not use beeswax, but only use three slender sticks of incense stuck up in the mi-pa. The

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*782 783 825 [776] [t[illegible] [illegible]-mo[illegible]]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kuey[illegible] mo[illegible] jen[illegible] [illegible]] and [kuey[illegible] mo[illegible] jen[illegible] [illegible]]. The time is in broad daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782, 627 [578] When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple"](1) [778] [776] to drink blood.

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

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*782 627 to drink blood. They may be treated separately as follows:

A. Drinking at the shrine of the local divinity of the soil.

Drinking blood at the local shrine is also called "drinking [825] chicken blood." During the day or at night they prepare a cock and some paper money. First they kill the cock, and its blood is allowed to drip into wine. This is then carried to the local shrine and offered to the kuei. The names of the kuei are [nan˧ nɛ˦ ɕiɤ˥˧ bu˧] and [nan˧ mɔ˦ ɕi˥ teŋ˧]. A Miao sorcerer is asked to [776] utter an incantation to the following effect:

> "This sorcerer-priest has arrived at a forked road and cannot think how to decide. Formerly, without any business I dared not recklessly mention the local kuei's names, but today these two parties are involved in a dispute over land boundaries, each insisting on his version of the case, and not able to reach a settlement. Therefore, we have made /153/ this bowl of chicken [825] blood, and the two sides have come before the kuei to drink blood and take a vow. After the drinking, then a settlement will result."

At this point the parties of the dispute each has a swallow of blood. The sorcer-priest burns paper and continues the incantation:

> "The wrong party after drinking this blood will then die, dying nine times and becoming nine times extinct."

After the incantation, they disperse. The cock is taken by the sorcerer-priest, to whom each side also has to give one or two, three or four, strings of cash. There being no set number.

B. Drinking blood in the T'ien Wang Temple.

Drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple is also called [825] "drinking cat's blood," because it is necessary to stab a cat, and its blood is dripped into wine to drink to make a vow. When drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, one must have a witness, who is called the "blood supervisor." There are many designations for blood drinking, and there are three kinds, drinking one tube of blood, two tubes of blood, and three tubes of blood. Because there are many cases, the number of occasions for drinking blood also are numerous. There is also substitute blood drinking, when the witness or a relative of one of the parties may be allowed

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(12) Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering

When there is a death in the family, for the deceased they perform Releasing the Soul from Suffering and Begging Pardon, which in Miao is called [ts'ɑ̃ mi̱ɑ̃], with the meaning "to cause a person to be released." There are two kuei sacrificed to: [lio̱ tɔ̃ kuei̱ dzɑ̃] and [lio̱ ɕ'i kuei̱ dɑ̃]. The time for the performance is in the evening after supper, and the place in the right corner inside the door in the main house. A bamboo stick about 90 cm. long is used. Every 30 cm. one side of the bamboo is cut off to allow it to be bent into a frame, the two ends of which are stuck into the earth. In front of the bamboo frame is put a rectangular wooden board, on which is spread a piece of white cloth. Five empty bowls are put on the cloth, but before the board are set up five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice arranged in three rows. A bowl of wax is placed behind the board, near which is a handleless spade (Illus. 66). The Miao sorcerer sits behind the bamboo frame, holding a piece of bamboo in his right hand and beating the frame as he utters an incantation in time with the beating to the following effect:

> "After the kuei have led away the dead man, the host will return to having peace. The kuei have come with a steelyard to weigh a human being and take him away. Why /Illus. 66 appears here/ /155/ do you not weigh a pig or a dog, a large cow, a chicken or a duck, instead of weighing a human being? The dead person was in the --- generation (either senior or junior generation) with reference to the host. When a man is dead, he cannot be called back. After death he becomes a kuei. Among men he still has good sons and good grandsons. Today, we have selected a lucky day to make inquiries. At the inquiry tonight you must come to the fire pit. Sorcerers are very few in the world, and so I have been called. I have brought with me the soldiers and horses of my patron saint to this house. The bowl of beeswax, the bamboo frame, five bowls

/155 cont./

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*782

life are now all cast away. The sins cannot be cast away in the house, or left to your sons and grandsons, or to the village. All your enmities in the world are also cast away! Guard the host in peace and without troubles."

On finishing the foregoing part of the incantation, the helpers immediately burn the paper money, and the sorcerer-priest continues:

"Wine, meat, and rice have all been offered to you to consume, paper money has been burned; and we ask you to take and use them! Everything is over; now please turn around and go back."

After this the sorcerer-priest and the host eat the meat and drink the wine together.

(13) The Kuei of the Five Grains

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*782
[231]
[776]

Whenever the harvest of the five grains is not abundant, or the six kinds of domestic animals do not increase, the Miao will sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains, in Miao called [lio¹ non¹]. The kuei invoked are called [mp'a¹ no¹ kuen¹ mi¹] and [pi¹ no¹ kuen¹ non¹]. The time of the sacrifice is in broad daylight at any time, and the place is in the right corner inside the main house. A table is set up, and on it are spread five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice, arranged in three rows. The wax is also on the table, and the bamboo /156/ tube is placed behind the table. The Miao sorcerer beats the bamboo tube with the right hand and utters an incantation as follows:

"The host's last year's harvest was not abundant; the five grains formed ears, but produced no grain. Further, they were eaten by locusts. The old year has gone by, the new year has arrived. Now that we have come to the first and second month, an auspicious day has been selected to sacrifice to the kuei. I have been asked to come here, so I

/157 cont./

*782 his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accom-
[292] panying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is
[843] allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests
[788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the
777 Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʂɨɤ˧ ɕio˧ ba˨
731 lon˨ ɲie˨]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss, they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'a˧˥ tsu˧ lio˧ tɤ˧˥] and [ɲi˧ tsu˧ lio˧ ntɕ'i˧]. The time of this cere-
[776] mony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar, On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

/158 cont./
After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

776 In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity
791 of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during
778 the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples
[787] were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines, generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He
*[782] said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his shrine. (Illus. 68).

*782 /159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that
[776] the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by
825 sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts. Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity. The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all arranged on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest. Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand
[787] and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/160 cont./

*782 soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection
[776] for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant
[753] and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices
[755] it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation
[787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and
[787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

*782 In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar
784 period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are
[776] days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

1 [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain Shrine - ANALYST]

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*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[782] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
[776] are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[627] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[778] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69), which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
[627] Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints, secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned. The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled, but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

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773 •776 Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third

> 1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Y ang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 776 [753] [931] 372 [82] When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

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*782 the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.
[779] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts
[787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

[774] The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five
[757] wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules
[231] and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not in-
[249] creasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of
[731] sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

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*782 must be the third-grade sacrifice, and a few years later, if they wish to offer a sacrifice, then it is the fifth grade. After sacrificing the twelfth grade, then it starts all over again from the first grade. The number of tables used in the sacrifice is determined by the grade number. For example, the first grade requires one table, and the third grade requires three tables. When there are not enough tables, chairs or stools may be used as substitutes. Only at the twelfth-grade sacrifice must there be three sorcerer-priests present.

The first-grade sacrifice is performed with a table set up outdoors to the east of the house, and on it are placed five stacks of paper money; five bowls of wine; five pieces of tofu, each covered with a vegetable leaf; five piles of mi-pa; and one bowl of water, on which floats a spirit tablet /ling p'ai/. Behind the paper money there is a sheng measure containing rice, on which are placed the seal of the sorcerer-priest and a few coins, and a pair of candles and three sticks of incense stuck in. This is the setting of the upper altar. Under the table is a layer of rice straw, on which there are three bowls of wine, three piles of mi-pa, three stacks of paper money, a piece of tofu, again under a vegetable leaf. There is also a bowl of rice with one candle and one stick of incense stuck in. This is called the lower altar. In addition at the right or left of the table is a chair crosswise, and on it is a winnowing basket which contains a certain number of piles of mi-pa and a certain number of pieces of tofu, also covered with a leaf. Also there is a bowl of rice, in which is inserted a candle and a stick of incense and five stacks of paper money. This is called hsi-k'ung.

For the sacrifice to the Shen of the five wisdoms no animal food should be used. At the time of the sacrifice the host [785] and the sorcerer-priest must bathe and fast and rinse out the mouth the previous day. When it is time to eat mi-pa they have to [776] rinse the mouth again. This shen being from the east, the table has to be set up east of the house, and the sorcerer-priest, while performing the ceremony, also faces the east. The sacrifice is divided into two parts. The first part is the setting [792] up of the altar. With his head wrapped in a red kerchief, and

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*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [231] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some bystanders' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the [178] Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

•[776] [55] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[787] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

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(7) The Great Yen-lao Shen

*782 This shen is sacrificed to after the death of a person in
[776] a family. It is said this shen may be frightened by the sound of
[765] wailing and crying, and they ask him to excuse them, and also
[556] protect the family wealth. A square table is set up to the right of the main entrance inside the main house, and on it are placed seven stacks of paper money, in which three sticks of incense are stuck in. On the side is a bowl of chaff, already burnt. There are also seven bowls of wine and seven piles of mi-pa. Behind the table is a bamboo frame, on which seven strings of silver paper ingots are hung. The sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands before the table, uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After this he divines with the
*[787] chiao-tzu. When it is found that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the sacrifice. After inviting the spirit to accept the sacrificial objects, the sorcerer-priest takes a little recess. The host then takes out a certain number of pieces of cooked beef and divides them into seven piles on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup and a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck seven pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer-priest then resumes his original position and invites the shen once more to take the offerings. After
*[787] divining with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper and utters the incantation to send off the shen.

(8) The Great Yen-t'ang Shen

[765] They sacrifice to this shen for the same reason as that for
[776] the Great Yen-lao shen. The ritual is also the same. But the arrangements are marked by the absence of the bamboo frame and the silver paper ingots. The other things such as the paper money, wine, mi-pa, and chopsticks are the same, except that each item numbers five instead of seven and pork is used instead of beef, also in five piles.

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(9) The Kuei of the High Slope

*782 [731] [776] [691]

This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife, seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the in-
*[787] cantation, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-tzu, the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551] [776] [755]

The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

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*782 of meat, and a bowl of salted pepper soup. The sorcerer-priest once more squats at his original place, utters an incantation, *[787] divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send the shen away.

(11) The Kuei of Deceit

[491] [776] When a Miao is involved in a litigation, he will wish to cause the kuei of deceit to go to confuse the opposite party, and so he sacrifices to this kuei. A winnowing basket is laid down to the right of the main door inside the main house. In it are put five piles of mi-pa, each made up of three pieces, and into the middle pile are stuck three sticks of incense. There are also five bowls of wine and five stacks of paper money in the tray. Outside the tray a bowl of chaff burns. The sorcerer wears ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand, and sits down facing the

[353] [352]

Illus. 73. Sacrifice to the Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries.

*[787] winnowing basket. He utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the performance. He

/171 cont./
*782 once more divines with the chiao-tzu, and if the shen has con-
*[787] sented to offer protection, the paper is burned to send him away.

(12) Expelling the Five Kuei

[755 776] When the Miao seek for speedy recovery from an illness, or when they run up against trouble from kuei and seek to make them go away quickly, then they sacrifice to the "Five Kuei." The Five Kuei are evil kuei, consequently the ritual is called Expelling the Five Kuei. It is performed in the daytime by means of a winnowing basket placed to the right of the main door inside the main house. In the basket are put five piles of mi-pa, five bowls of wine, a piece of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/, a bowl of water, several coins, and five stacks of paper money. There is also a sheng container of uncooked rice, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. Five eggs, each with eyes, nose, and mouth painted on, are also placed in the sheng. A cock is also placed in the basket. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and shaking the ritual knife with his left, sits opposite the winnowing basket. He utters
*782 the incantation to invoke the shen, and at the same time divines
*787 with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen have descended. If so, he pours the wine and states the reason for the occasion. /172/ After further divination he threads a string through the nose of the cock and asks a helper to walk around the house once with the cock. At the same time he recites an incantation to expel the kuei. Then he divines again, and if he finds that the kuei are gone, he asks the helper to come with him, leading the cock and carrying the winnowing basket, to an intersection where three roads meet in the open. There he burns the paper
*782 to send the kuei away. After the performance is over the sorcerer-priest puts the cock, eggs, and mi-pa into a cloth bag that he has brought along. He either returns home or goes to the host's house to eat a meal. But his bag has to be hung outside the house and not taken inside the host's house. The

/172 cont./
782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mis-
[578] chief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to
come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one in-
[776] advertently walks into a house where this performance is going
on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a
performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs
[171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore,
[576] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he
[609] does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it
all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all
right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to
get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid
of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to
spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*[787] voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and distributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over, the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
[578] the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe from this kuei.

[821]
[776] (16) The Wind Kuei

[755] If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better, it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

/173 cont./

*782 755 place on a mountain slope at an intersection of paths where there is wind. For this ritual the articles required are a cock, a sheng of uncooked rice on which some coins are placed and three sticks of incense, stuck in, a bowl of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/ on which there is a little salt and a pair of chopsticks, five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money. Except for the cock, all articles are in a winnowing basket. A knife and a pot also have to be brought up there beforehand. The sorcerer-priest waving the ritual knife in his left hand and holding the chiao-tzu in his right, utters an incantation, divines with *[787] the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. The helper kills the chicken, cooks it, fills the bowl with the meat, and puts it in the winnowing basket. At the same time he puts out a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck five pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer utters an incantation and burns paper to send off the shen. He and the helper eat the items offered in sacrifice right there.

(17) The Tea Shen

*[776] For eye trouble the Miao seek a cure by sacrificing to the tea shen. There are three kinds of sacrifice according to the time at which it takes place. If it takes place in the early morning, it is called the Early Tea Shen. At noon it is called the Day Tea Shen. At night it is called the Night Tea Shen. At the time of sacrifice one must not laugh, because it is said that this [776] shen is shy. It is also said that he wears tattered old clothes. If [82] anyone laughs /174/ he will not come. Therefore, if it takes place in the daytime outside the house, the winnowing basket must be enclosed by a bamboo screen. Except for the helper, no outsider is allowed to watch. When the performance takes place at night inside the house, all lights must be extinguished.

For the ritual for the Early Tea Shen a thin stick of wood, burnt at one end to be a stick of incense, is stuck in the ground. A winnowing basket is also used, and in it are placed five bowls of

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*782 755 tea, five piles of mi-pa, five stacks of paper money. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding a ritual knife and a chiao-tzu, squats in front of the winnowing basket. *[787] He utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu, sips the tea, and states the reason. When the divination indicates that the shen can cure the ailment, then he again takes a cup of tea and utters an incantation into the cup, and rubs the tea on the eyes of the patient. After this the host and his friends and relatives in the village come to the house, and after they are assembled, the sorcerer-priest burns the paper to send off the shen.

The ritual for the Day Tea Shen is the same as that for the Early Tea Shen. That for the Night Tea Shen is also the same, except that it is held inside the house and that when all arrangements are in order and the sorcerer-priest is ready to perform the lights are extinguished.

(18) Offering Thanks to the Earth

*782 556 [776] A Miao family which has held a Welcoming the Dragon ceremony has dug a "dragon chamber" in the center of the main house (see "Welcoming the Dragon"), which is the place where the dragon shen is. Offering Thanks to the Earth is also called "Comforting the Dragon," to make the dragon shen happy in his chamber, thus bringing prosperity to the household. Therefore in Offering Thanks to the Earth the dragon chamber becomes the center of activities. They draw the eight diagrams outside it *782 with powdered lime. In the middle of the diagrams are written the two characters chung-ying /"the center"/. Outside the diagrams is drawn a circle. Outside the circle are drawn five bows with arrow and the four characters chiu kung pa kua /"nine palaces, and eight diagrams"/. Twenty-three bowls are used: eleven bowls of wine; five bowls of uncooked rice, with a stick of incense and a candle inserted in each: five bowls of mi-pa; one bowl of tofu; and one bowl of tao-t'ou with a pair of chopsticks placed on it. There are also ten stacks of paper money, laid on each diagram within the circle and one

/175 cont./

*782 which are six bowls of wine less than for the ceremony of offering thanks to the earth. There is one more petition box, making seven boxes in all. The rest of the articles on the table are similar, except that the cinnabar is placed on top of the uncooked rice in the sheng. The ritual also is the same as for offering thanks to the earth, but no tea is poured and no bow and arrow are used. At the time of sending off the shen, the petition boxes are burned where they are. No shen numbers are used. When the cinnabar wine is ground it is buried on the top of the grave by /176/ piercing a small hole with a stick, after which the wine is poured down, and then it is covered with earth, and paper burned on it.

(20) Lu Pan

[776] [755] Lu Pan is the coffin shen, to whom sacrifices are offered in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. It is performed during the daytime at the right side of the main entrance. A winnowing basket is used, containing five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of meat with a sprinkling of salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. There is also a sheng of uncooked rice, on which there are a few coins and three sticks of incense stuck in. There are also five stacks of paper money and a bowl of water. They also use a cock with its wings and legs bound and a string through its nose, tethered to an axe. The axe and a saw are put against the doorsill. A piece of wood about 30 cm. long and 10 cm. wide is used as a small coffin, on which is placed a thin round stick as the carrying pole for the coffin. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the ritual sword and the chiao-tzu, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. He then divines with the chiao-tzu to see *[787] whether the shen has descended. He pours the wine and states the reason for the invocation, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings. He divines again, entreating the shen to protect

*782 /176 cont./
*[787] the whole family. The helper then unties the cock's feet and leading it, /Illus. 74 appears here/ /179/ sorcerer-priest following, walks around the whole house, as in Illus. 74.[1] Then neighbors and relatives are invited to the house. After burning paper, the relatives and friends depart, and the helper carries all items to the crossroads, where the little coffin is burned with the paper money. The offerings are taken home by the sorcerer-priest. The utensils must be thoroughly washed before being taken into the house of the host.

(21) Lo Kung

[755] [776] The Miao sacrifice to Lo Kung because of sickness or because of having seen strange things. The ceremony is performed inside the main door during the daytime, when a square table is used, on which are laid five cups of wine; five piles of mi-pa, in the middle pile of which are inserted three sticks of incense; five stacks of paper money, and a bowl of burning chaff. The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters and incantation. After he has divined *[787] with the chiao-tzu to invoke the shen, stated the reason, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings, he takes a rest. The host then cooks the beef, cuts it up to make five piles, and puts it on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup. After the sorcerer-priest has again finished an incantation, he sits down with the host to eat the food on the table, and again takes a rest. The host adds five more bowls of beef together with five bowls of cooked rice, eadh having a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. The sorcerer again utters an incantation, divines with *[787] the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send off the shen.

1 [see category 116, p265- ANALYST]

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*782 few coins inside the sheng of rice. The sorcerer-priest in plain
842 clothes and holding the ritual knife and chiao-tzu utters an in-
*[787] cantation and divines, pours the wine and states the reason. After having divined again for when a son is to be born, he burns the paper to send off the shen. After the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, he next performs the Nuan No.

(23) Nuan No

•[776] /178/ When the No shen /a god who drives away pestilence/ has been offended, (for details see "Huan No Yüan") if the time for Huan No Yüan is still far away, then they must do this. Also every ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the day when the No shen comes down, and the third day of the third month is the day when this shen goes up to heaven, and some people hold the same ritual on either one of these two dates. Also the ritual of Putting Up an Earth Bridge has to be followed by the performance of Nuan No. It is held during the daytime, with a square table placed in the back half of the main house. On the table are set five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and a sheng of rice on which there are some coins, incense, and candles. There are also two stacks of paper money, a bowl of meat with a little salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. The sorcerer-priest wears plain clothes and a red head kerchief, and, holding the ritual knife and the chiao-tzu, he utters the same incantation as that for Putting Up an Earth Bridge. After he has finished he burns the paper to send off the shen.

(24) Huan No Yüan

175 Huan No Yuan /"fulfilling the No vow"/ is fulfilling a
*782 vow to the No shen. The origin of No is very ancient. The
776 "Hsiang Tang" chapter of the Lun Yü says: "When the villagers drove away the demons of pestilence /no/, they dressed in formal robes and stood on the eastern steps." After the Ch'in and Han

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175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
776 In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

[113] 1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke
[773] No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen;[1] and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

1 [for this ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280. - ANALYST]

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*782 place in the spring, when it is colloquially called a "peach blossom vow," but this is rare. /Illus. 75 appears between pp. 178-79./

/179/ To carry out the fulfilling of a vow to the No, it is necessary to invite a guest sorcerer. Relatives and fellow-villagers are also invited to come to the house. Before the date an altar is set up in the center of the main house, and on it are displayed the images of Duke No and Mother No (see Illus. 75). Behind the altar are pasted five colored portraits of the shen of the five sacred mountains. In front of the altar is a portal made of colored paper, called T'ao Yüan /"peach spring," i.e. Arcadia, from a Chinese legend/ cave. In front of the portal they also put up a hsi-kung. (1) The performance of the sorcerer,

1. See the layout for the first-grade sacrifice to the Kung-An shen.

according to the investigation of the writers, consists of 30 parts, lasting from three to seven days. The following are brief accounts of each of these parts.

The first part is An Szu Ming "calming the god of the kitchen." It is performed at dawn. The sorcerer-priest wears a red kerchief around his head and holds a chiao-tzu. Standing in front of a winnowing basket set in front of the Peach Spring cave, he makes a low bow to the No shen with his hands in front, and utters an incantation to ask his patron saint to possess his *[787] body and to ask the ancestors of the host's family to come down. On finishing his incantation, he picks up a bowl of water with his left hand and makes his patron saint's esoteric gestures with his right hand, as if writing, facing the bowl of water. At the same time he also utters the incantation for cleansing the [783] sacrificial objects. First he speaks of the origin of water; next he flicks some drops of water on the offerings with his fingers. [776] The Miao think that the Szu Ming shen abstains from meat, wine, garlic, etc., and therefore the things have to be cleansed. *[787] After the cleansing, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and stops if

2: Ling & Ruey--269 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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*182

Illus. 75. Images of Duke No
and Mother No.

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*782 drum are beaten and the horn blown. The sorcerer-priest, candle in hand, faces the No shen. After he has once more uttered the k'ai-kuang incantation, he sticks the candle in the candlestick, takes up two hsien-feng banners, blows the horn and waves the banners, three times in all. When the waving of the banners and the beating of gong and drum cease, he sings out magic words invoking the shen before the Peach Spring. cave. After one passage is sung, he beats the drum and gong, blows the horn, and waves the banners, three times. Then the drum and gong are silenced, and facing the Peach Spring cave he continues to sing, accompaning the singing with the gesture of sweeping something outdoors and sweeping something in. Raising the banners with both hands, he also makes the gestures of opening doors to the right and left, and then he deposits the banners in the hands of Duke No and Mother No, followed by gesticulating along with the phrases sung. When this is over, he does the three-step walk; facing outside, next facing inside, he recites and gesticulates, and does the three-step walk. Afterward facing the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, utters incantations and does the three-step walk. Then he uses the whip to draw the character for a well in the eastern corner, and then turns to the Peach Spring cave to lay down the whip and pick up the chiao-tzu, inviting the shen to dismount. Lighting three sticks of incense, he leads the host to worship the shen. Next he utters

*[787] another incantation and divines with the chiao. When the yin chiao appears it indicates Duke No has dismounted. The yang chiao indicates Mother No has dismounted, and the sheng chiao, the dis-

[176] mounting of the San Ch'ing /the Taoist trinity/. Then he invites the ancestors of the family and other shen to dismount, following with the incantation to disrobe, and the ritual terminates.

*782 842 The tenth part is the seeking of a son. (This is performed only for a host without a son.) In front of the Peach Spring cave is set up a long table about ten chang long, spread with blue or green cloth, red and white being avoided. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, fancy headgear, and the willow towel on his back. Standing before the long table in front

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*782 [787] to utter the chien-ling, chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. For each of these incantations the sheng chiao is sought, but for kou-hsiao the yin chiao will do. After the incantations are over, the gong and drum are sounded and the horn is blown. Then the horn is placed in the crook of both arms (as in the rituals for seeking a son and wheeling in money). The helpers burn the paper money, and the sorcerer does the three-step walk, simultaneously uttering the wheeling in money incantation. After a passage he turns toward the door, blows the horn once, and continues to recite another passage. He then turns toward the inside, blows the horn, and chants again, and again blows the horn. After the incantation is over, the sorcerer takes a rest. The helpers and the host and his relatives eat supper together, /186/ which is known as Hsia Ma Fan /the meal taken after dismounting from a horse/.

*782 533 The thirteenth part is the singing of the No song. The sorcerer-priest in his red headkerchief sits in front of the Peach Spring cave, while assembled friends and relatives of the host also sit in a circle in front of the cave. First the sorcerer begins to sing the No song, followed by each of the friends and relatives in turn, and then all in unison. There is no fixed length to the verses nor a fixed number of singers. The singing goes on until no one continues it, when they consider it ended. The texts of the verses cover a wide area. In addition to the verses telling of the No shen's virtues and requesting good fortune, and those for driving away misfortune, calamities, and difficulties, there are the "Song of the Origin of the No Shen" and the "Song of Duke No and Mother No," relating the story of the origin of the No shen. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1. The Myth about the Flood /not translated/.) The Miao think that [773] [776] Duke No and Mother No were brother and younger sister and that the Miao today are the descendants from the marriage between these two. (1) In addition they also sing and perform

[113] 1. See Ruey Yih-fu: Miao Tsu Hung Shui Ku Shih yü Fu Hsi Nü

[of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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*782 grains will be abundant and resources will increase, and last he seeks the expulsion of the five pestilences, the hundred kuei, bandits, thieves, and all kinds of strange phenomena. After this, he inverts the two chiao-tzu on the tablet. Next he *782 utters the incantation about the origin of the chiao-tzu. He says *787 that the chiao-tzu originally were three persons: the yin chiao 773 had the surname Hsiao, the yang chiao, Kuo, and the sheng chiao, Tu. All three received offerings from humans at the place of the No Shen. When the incantation is finished, he *782 picks up the willow towel and rises together with the host. The helpers gather up the bedding and the rice straw.

/188/ The sixteenth part is K'ai Tung /"opening the cave"/. The sorcerer, with the red headkerchief and holding two hsien-feng banners in his hands, does the three-step walk at the front of the main hall and sings the magic K'ai Tung words, asking [776] the shen of the drama to emerge from the cave. After the singing, the gong and drum are struck, and the ritual terminates.

The seventeenth part is Pan Hsien Feng /"impersonating fairies"/. The sorcerer wears women's clothes and head orna- [292] ments to disguise himself as a woman and holds a hsien-feng banner or a fan. (If there are more than two pigs and two goats in the host's house, two females are impersonated.) The sorcerer-priest walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, singing out first the reasons why he has come to the No hall. Then he continues to sing about what he has seen in the hall, and asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. Then he sings to tell about the origin of hsien-feng. Finally, he bids the shen farewell. He accompanies the singing with movements of his hands and feet. After each passage of the singing, the gong and drum are sounded a few times and he moves several steps.

The eighteenth part is Pan Sung Tzu /"performing the handing over of a son"/. A square table is set up before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer-priest in the apparel for the [292] Pan Hsien Feng, stands on the table, holding the image of the [533] No child in his hand, and sings the song of farewell of the

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*782 heavy, it may be placed on a stool). The sorcerer, waving the ritual knife in his right hand, sings the magic words of Shao Yüan. After he has sung a long passage, the helpers put the basket on the ground. The sorcerer leads the host outdoors in front of the hsi-kung and utters the incantation to pledge the opponents in wine. After the incantation the sorcerer takes the two cups of wine in the basket held by the host and pours the wine on the ground, and puts the cups upside down in the basket. He then returns with the host in front of the Peach Spring cave, and squats on the ground. The host puts down the small winnowing basket, holds the prayer box in both hands, and kneels in front of the No shen. The sorcerer holds the liang-yüan in his hand and recites the ch'ou-yüan incantation. When the incantation is over, a helper burns the liang-yüan and the prayer box, as well as some paper money. The sorcerer sings the

*[787] yüan magic words and divines the time when the No shen will go back. He also invokes protection for the peace of the family of the host, the increase of the six animals, and the abundance of the five grains. After the sheng chiao is obtained, the gong and drum are struck, and the sorcerer and the host stand up. The former blows the horn once, then rests it on his wrists, takes the three-step walk, and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After having blown the horn three times, the sorcerer takes off his garment and takes a rest. In the meantime the pork and the mutton /goat meat/ are cut up and placed in 12 bowls and put before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer takes the chiao-tzu, and after uttering the incantation for pledging

*[787] with wine, seeks the sheng chiao, after which the ritual terminates.

The twenty-eighth part is Pan T'u-ti /"impersonating the local divinity of the soil"/. The sorcerer, wearing the mask

[532] of the local divinity of the soil and holding his patron saint's

[522] cane and whip, sings a few phrases in the main hall and then engages in a humorous dialogue. Then he sings out the names

[776] of the malignant spirits of the 12 months and /192/ indulges in humorous dialogue with the host. Next he sings out the ranks

/192 cont./.

*782 [776] and ages of the nine local divinities who are brothers. After this he announces the name and place of birth of the host, asks the shen to receive the offerings, and also asks for their protection. He then utters the chiao-na, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations, after which he sings the magic words of keng-yang-ch'un. Then he bids the shen farewell, and the ritual terminates.

The twenty-ninth part is Pan P'an-kuan /"impersonating a judge"/. A table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is placed a sheng of rice with several coins on it. There are also set out two cups of wine, two bowls of meat, a trayful of salted peppers, and a pot of wine. The sorcerer wears the [532] mask of a judge, a red garment, and a red kerchief around the head, and holds a spear in his right hand as a pen, and in his left hand a cash account book as well as a ling-p'ai /spirit tablet/. He walks in a semicircle outside the door, singing out the reason for going to the No hall. As he walks into the house, he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. He asks [522] to see the host and engages him in some humorous dialogue; he congratulates him and asks him to take part in the worship of the No shen. At the same time the gong and drum are sounded, and the sorcerer takes his place behind the table with his back toward the Peach Spring cave. On the right and the left of the table sit two other men, and the host sits before the table, facing the judge. The sorcerer sings, and the two men and the host sing in response. Wine is poured for the host to drink while good luck words are sung. He drinks four times while four passages are sung. After this, the host leaves the table. Then he performs the act of filing a petition, which is [522] purposely made full of jokes, which the sorcerer refutes. At last the purpose of the petition is given to be the fulfilling of a vow to the No shen. The sorcerer then opens up the cash account book and begins to read, carrying on at the same time a dialogue with the helpers. Now and then he makes a sign in the book with red ink and writes the character huan /"paid"/

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*782 on the page, singing: "The character huan is written thousands of times, and of the character ch'ien /"due"/ not a fraction is left." Every passage read in the account book is followed by singing and acting. After this the sorcerer-priest burns a few pieces of paper money, handing them to the helpers to be burned in front of the door in order to send back the shen. This being done, the sorcerer, holding the book in his left hand and holding up the spear in his right hand, walks in a semicircle, facing the door. He sings the farewell song to the shen, and the ritual ends.

The thirtieth part is Chin Piao /"presenting spears"/. The sorcerer, wearing the red garment and a red kerchief around his head, topped with the ceremonial headgear, holds two spears in his hands and walks in front of the door in a semicircle, singing the magic words of Chin Piao. After singing a passage, he walks into the house to stand before the Peach Spring cave and recites another passage. He then burns one spear and sings the magic words to invite the shen to receive the spear. After *[787] the singing, he divines. The yang chiao indicates that Duke No has received it, the yin chiao indicates that Mother No has •[776] taken it. The sheng chiao indicates that the San-ch'ing shen has taken it. The other spear is stuck into the sheng of rice in order to make a vow. Some more magic words about the spear are said, while at the same time the sorcerer acts out the meaning of the words. Then he utters the magic words of offering wine before mounting a horse, and the host pours out wine from the pot. After five cups have been poured, the sorcerer divines. *[787] The yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the yin chiao indicates that Duke No has mounted his horse; and the sheng chiao indicates that the San-ch'ing shen has mounted. The sorcerer sings as he divines, while the helpers dismantle the set-up in the Peach Spring cave. When it is divined that the No shen and the San-ch'ing all have mounted, the sorcerer goes outdoors /193/ and jumps on his left foot as if mounting a horse himself. After gesticulating with his hands to indicate a large horse and a small horse, he sings out more

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771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
[755] into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[754] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

/198 cont./

2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five constituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

[671] [683] [776] [824] [753] [787]

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

on a bench or on top of the cupboard), jars of rice wine, and a bean mill. On the walls hung scythes for cutting wood, carrying poles, carpenter's tools, a wicker basket of chopsticks, skeins and balls of hemp thread, small jars of oil, and sometimes a water pipe. Leaning against the wall were pipes with long bamboo stems, bundles of faggots and carrying poles with baskets on either end. In a well-to-do home pieces of meat hung from the rafters. Lamps were the ordinary pottery saucer with pith wicks and vegetable or t'ung oil fuel. They were suspended by a wire from the rafters or set on an iron stand. For lighting the way or borrowing fire thin pieces of wood tipped with sulfur, small bundles of straw, or a few strips of bamboo were used. Generally speaking, the objects found in these villages were not for comfort but rather for utility and convenience. 352

Every home had a shrine to "Heaven, earth, rulers, relatives, and scholars," which was merely the inscription in Chinese characters on red paper pasted up on the wall facing the door, with appropriate sentiments on other strips on either side. In some homes there was also a shelf the full width of the room — the main hall, if there was one — with these inscriptions above and holders for incense, candles and other objects for worship on it. After the old man in the family in which I lived died a square table was set up in one corner of the main room with cloth forming a third side. On the table were the ancestral tablet, figures and cones of mosaic, colored paper with pompoms of frilled paper on top, a support for incense sticks, and small dishes. Along the top and sides of the opening were inscriptions in Chinese. I saw this shrine, also, in two houses in Yang-niu-ts'un, while in a third home the open shelf above a cupboard was used for this purpose. Here the objects were an ancestral tablet, a lamp, a support for incense sticks, and a gong. At dusk, as in Chinese Buddhist homes, they set in new, lighted incense sticks and beat the gong several times. 352 776

This main hall was not lived in as much as other rooms of the house, but according to the season the large bamboo mats used on the threshing floor, bamboo baskets for grain, various implements — plows, harrows, grain- 352 412

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

778 two priests were not the same, but the chant
788 was the same and they had the same bored air. In both cases I believe they were saying prayers for the good fortune of the house and at the same time receiving a little rice as a fee.

346 **Ritual Structures.** The village contained
778 no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

776 **Deities.** Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,[3] was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,[4] remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

[4] The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

[46b]

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the 755
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

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paper money placed on a sieve, and to carry them outside the village gate to be discarded on the ground. Then the sick person will recover immediately.

2. The Shrinking Head Spirit. When one meets this spirit on a mountain slope, one acquires a terrible headache; the antidote is to throw a bowl of rice with water at the village gate.

3. The Wealth Wasting Hundred Blessing Spirit. This spirit when encountered causes a person to vomit; the antidote is the same as for the Shrinking Head Spirit.

4. The Nine Worms Spirit. When a man gets this spirit he would feel cold all over his body and would vomit. To cure this sickness one has to make an effigy of a worm with paper and rice straw and leave it at the intersection of three roads outside the village.

5. The Drowning Spirit. When one meets this spirit one gets a terrible stomach-ache. In order to get cured one takes a bowl of rice with water, plants a burning incense in it and leaves it on the road outside the village.

6. The Suspended Spirit. This spirit gives one pain in the heart and stomach; the cure for this sickness is the same as that for the shrinking head spirit.

7. The Wolf Dog Spirit. If one has a severe stomach-ache while working in the field, he must have encountered this spirit. The method of cure is to knead a ball of clay into the shape of a dog to be discarded by the sick man at a distant place.

8. The Headless Spirit. If a child cries without stop at the intersection of three roads, he must have seen a headless ghost. To stop the child crying, take a bowl of water, place a bamboo leaf in it, and leave it at the junction.

776 755 9. The Eagle Spirit. If someone feels weak and painful all over the body while walking outside the village or in the field, you can take a small chicken, circle it around the sick person's head a few times, and then send it to a distant place. He will soon get well.

10. The Dragon Tail Spirit. If walking in the field one finds great pain in one's legs, it is because this spirit is giving trouble. Make a flag out of a piece of flower paper and walk with it around the field, and the pain in the leg will cease.

11. The Tree Spirit. Meeting this spirit gives one pain all over the body. To cure this illness take a piece of good meat, a cup of tea and a bowl of rice to the tree spirit in the village. After the sacrifice the sickness will be cured.

12. The Buffalo Spirit. When one meets this spirit one has a swollen stomach. Take a bowl of ashes from wheat husk and scatter it outside the village.

13. The Earth Spirit. One vomits after meeting this spirit, and the method of cure is the same as that for the sickness caused by the buffalo spirit.

14. The Wine Spirit. This spirit gives a person giddiness, and to get rid of him one burns three pieces of paper money outside the house.

15. The Mother Pig Spirit. Meeting this spirit one feels feverish all over the body. Take a pair of candles and several sticks of incense, stick them up beside the door, and this spirit will go away.

776 796 (3) The Village God. After the spring sacrifice to the tree god the Miao and I people within the hsien district would chop off a piece of wood to make a pair of idols to be placed in front of the village gate, or sometimes in a low

house erected for the god for the special purpose of guarding the village gate, such as the Chinese earth buddha. This is known among the Miao-I as the village god who maintains peace and security for the entire population of the village. Every sixth day of the sixth moon the village makes a public sacrifice to this god. 776 796

(4) The Tree God. The Miao-I people always plant trees at the back of their village. The woods thus formed is known as the "Rear Dragon", and there the biggest tree is chosen as the tree god. The villagers dare not touch a blade of grass or a twig of wood in the woods. If inadvertently one picks up something and becomes sick, one is said to have offended the tree god. Every year on the head-dragon day of the second moon the villagers would build a straw pavilion before the tree god as an altar for sacrifice, and the sacrificial ritual is led by the Kwei-shih. All villagers participate in the ceremony, bringing meat and rice as gifts.

/91/ (5) The Buffalo King and the Horse King. Near the larger Miao-I villages in the hsien area there are low huts built for the buffalo king and the horse king, whom the Miao-I worship diligently because they look after the welfare of the cattle in the village. The eleventh day of the tenth moon is set aside for the worship of the buffalo king; and the twenty-third day of the sixth moon, for the horse king. The sacrifice is made with a cock and a pig's head. If there is sickness among the cattle in the village, then the cure is effected by sacrificing good meat, paper and candles before the respective gods.

(6) The Spirit Tablet. The Miao-I have adopted the Chinese custom of ancestral worship, placing in the family hall, no matter how small and ugly, a wooden tablet, on which are pasted words such as "the Seat of the Heaven and Earth Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others. 769

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

"HEAVENLY KING" IS A TRANSLATION OF VANG-

val, the two words used as the name of the 773
Creator. In this legend it is very interesting 776
to note how clearly and simply they say "Heavenly King made heaven and earth." This is so different to the elaborate and confused cosmogeny of the Chinese as to compel the opinion that we have here a very old tradition, and one which they did not learn from the Chinese. The stanzas given above contain all that is said of the Heavenly King. In the rest of the poem, of more than a thousand lines, *Zie-ne* and others in turn come upon the scene and do things, but who these were, or if Zie-ne is another name for the Creator, we have not been able to discover. But we feel almost sure that Zie-ne is an earthly person and not the Heavenly King. There is a word *ne* of the same tone which means "land," generally "low-lying land." If it is the same word, then Zie-ne means "earthly Zie" and must be distinguished from "Heavenly Vang." Zie may merely be a name. In the legend of the Deluge, "Zie" or "A-Zie" is the only male survivor. "A" is a very common prefix to names and relationships.

In the Heh Miao metrical version of the 773
Flood, that catastrophy was in consequence of a quarrel between the two brothers A Fo and

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

The soul, if we may speak of it in the singular, is about the size of a person. It is not flesh, but shadowy. It is generally invisible but not invariably so. Some say that if a person is good his soul is larger and that if he is evil his soul is smaller. The soul does not sleep when a person sleeps. It may wander away and if it does not return the person dies. All birds, animals, and many inanimate things have souls. These include trees, rocks, rivers, and mountains. 774

The shadow is a vital part of a human being. If a mad dog bites a man's shadow, it will kill him. It is worse for a man's shadow to be bitten or cut with a knife than for his body to be bitten or cut. Many of the Ch'uan Miao identify one's shadow with his soul. Therefore at night they place the lamps on low tables or stools so that the souls or shadows will be large and frighten away the demons. Some think the souls are small after death so that they must climb up into bowls in order to eat or drink.

The Ch'uan Miao sometimes find it difficult to say that rocks, trees, mountains, and such things have souls, and find it more natural to say that they have lives, are intelligent, have eyes, and can see. But some assert that the life and the soul are the same. In offering the sacrificial animal, a life must be given and the life becomes a living animal in the world of spirits. It seems to me that the life idea was probably held by the Ch'uan Miao before the Chinese idea of three major and seven lesser souls was absorbed.

The doctrine of transmigration, and its attendant theory of cause and effect as influencing rebirth into this world, seem to be assumed and believed. But I have been unable to find much evidence that they have any considerable influence on the thinking and living of these people. Ch'uan Miao friends have told me that cause and effect, or *yin kuo* 因果, are among the things that they regard as living and that it is generally assumed that the dead person will be reborn into this world as a human being. 775

Demons are the souls of people, of birds and animals, of mountains, and of other kinds of inanimate things. If a person has no descendants to care for him, or if his descendants are unfilial and do not pay proper respect to him and do not offer him the necessary food, clothing, money, etc., then he may become a demon. Demons inhabiting rivers and creeks are the souls of people who have been drowned and who try to drown others. The demons of people who have hanged themselves try to cause others to do likewise. Some demons living in caves harm people; these develop from the vapor within the caves. (Probably this idea was caused by the presence of poisonous gases in caves). 776

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chin ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[525] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

776 551 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo [754] ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less fromless.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 A tiger often changes into a good person. A woman who has changed into a tiger is called in Chinese a *lao pien p'o* 老變婆 or an old woman who changes. She looks like a dead person or is formless and invisible. Or she may look like a visible woman but when she thinks of being transformed into a demon she smiles and when she thinks of being transformed into a human being she weeps. She goes in front of a tiger to make a way for him and if a trap or a trap-gun is set to injure the tiger she removes it so the tiger will not be hurt. The first son of a family named T'ao, Wang or Chang can change easily into a tiger and the first daughter can
776 change easily into a *lao pien p'o*. A fox can assume the form of a man and entice a woman to sexual intercourse. After-
753 wards the woman has pains and develops spots where the skin dries up. If she is not cured, she gradually dies and changes
755 into a fox. A very large snake called in Chinese a *mang she* 蟒蛇 may transform itself into a man or a woman and entice a person to have sexual relations with him or her. The result is that the person pines away and dies unless a *tuan kung* 端公 can overcome the snake and save the person. The supposed snake may be killed and its liver given the patient to eat; this cures him. Imagination and suggestion probably have a great deal to do with such sicknesses and cures. Banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, and eels may also change into human form and entice a human being to sexual intercourse with the result that the person becomes ill and dies unless saved by the help of the *tuan kung*.

776 There are god-like beings that are believed in by the Ch'uan Miao but who are not formally worshipped. The greatest god is Ntsə. He controls the heaven and the earth but lives in the sky. The paradise to which the souls of the dead go, as we have seen, is the level land of Ntsə. A Miao told me that Ntsə is the very highest, the ultimate, and that he is everywhere, can be in the lowest place and is compassionate and most powerful.

Ntsə sometimes sends his daughter to succor poor and unfortunate men. This has been noted by Savina in his book on the Miao of Tongkin. Sometimes she becomes, at least temporarily, the man's wife.

Another name, Ntsə Njoŋ LʌU, means god, foundation, old. One can imagine easily that it means Ntsə the foundation of the universe. Some Ch'uan Miao identify Ntsə Njong LʌU with Ntsə but in the minds of others it is not very clear.

Another deity-like being is Yei SʌU or ʒ̊ei SʌU. He is very intelligent, never dies, is very kindly and merciful, is just, induces people to do good deeds and helps people who are in trouble, especially the poor. He is sometimes seen among the clouds and can easily make himself invisible.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Among the Ch'iang 羌 there is a mediator between A-ba-ch'i or the Father in Heaven and the priest, called Njei Dsu or Njei Su, which is much like the Nestorian word for Jesus. Rev. J. Huston Edgar told me that among the Tibetans there is a similar name for a similar being. The Ch'uan Miao name Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu is not a great deal different from the Chinese name for Jesus, Yeh Su 耶稣. It is not impossible that the Njei Dsu or the Njei Su of the Ch'iang and the Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu of the Ch'uan Miao may both be a dim and not too distinct tradition of Jesus that has come down from the distant past from the Nestorians, the Manichaeans, the Buddhists, or even the early Catholics. But the Ch'uan Miao had no idea of connecting the tradition of Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu with Jesus until I suggested it to them. A slightly different pronunciation sometimes met among the Ch'uan Miao is ʒ̊ɛ SΛu in which ʒ̊ɛ means an old man and SΛu means an immortal.

It is asserted that formerly the dragon was fierce and ate people, but that now he is regarded as harmless and benevolent. This change is probably due to Chinese influence. The dragon king is often mentioned in the legends. He lives in a palace and is reached by going down through a pool of water. He causes it to rain. He often sends a daughter to help and save an unfortunate man, especially an orphan or a person who is very poor and she generally becomes his wife, at least temporarily.

There is a young woman who lives in the sky, who is called in Ch'uan Miao, Ts'i Ma Niang Tsai. She is very compassionate and especially shows mercy to and helps unfortunate children.

The witch, Bo Ntsong, who has already been mentioned, changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself.

There is a warty toad, called in Chinese *lai ke pao* 癞格包 who causes hailstorms. People shoot off guns during hailstorms to scare the toad and cause it to cease, and this of course stops the hailstorms.

In some homes a family god symbolizes the ancestors. He is represented by some spirit money which the *tuan kung* 端公 pastes up in center of the rear of the main room, sprinkling some chicken blood on it. It is an imitation of the Chinese god or *chia shên* 家神 on which are inscribed the words *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih wei,* 天地君親師位

The high respect in which the deceased ancestors are held has already been noted and the memorial services briefly described. The Ch'uan Miao assert that their departed ancestors are not gods but honored and loved human beings who are revered and to whom offerings are made.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the .oor itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means original demon.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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Glaŋ ta lo, the demon who can step to the sky, is so large that he can step across from one mountain top to another. He can reach heaven at one step. He is very strong and if he strikes a person on his chest with the palm of his hand the person soon dies and the marks of the demon's palm can be seen on the person's chest. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb.

There is a sky demon, nTo glaŋ. The Chinese are sometimes told that this is the god *t'ai shan shih kan tang* 泰山石敢當 but the Ch'uan Miao do not really believe that the demon and the Chinese god are the same. A ceremony in which he is worshipped with offerings is as follows:—

The priest, called mo, takes a bamboo food bowl with corn and beans in it, then stands up in the house and sings a memorial chant, and at the same time shaking the bowl and walking about. This brings the demon, after which the sacrifice is offered.

An old sow which has had litters and has been fattened is sacrificed. She is first tied upon two carrying poles. Torches are lighted and carried in the hands. Small boys make bamboo whistles and blow them. The family takes a bowl of water and turns a dipper upside down on the bowl and the dipper is beaten as a drum.

The sow must be carried in a procession around the house two or three times with the torches lighted and the whistles blowing. After this is finished, all call out, "Oh! Oh! Oh!" twelve times. Each time the arms are lifted up toward the sky. This is a ceremonial fighting with a Chinese who wanted the wife of a Miao but it is also to exorcise and drive away the sky demon.

The pig is first wet with cold water, then placed over a big fire, which makes the hair easy to scrape off. After it has been scraped off, the meat is cut up and boiled. After the pork is thoroughly cooked, it is dipped out and offered to the demon, after which it is eaten with biscuits made as follows.

The blood of the pig is mixed with flour and biscuits made of them. These are first offered to the demon and then eaten.

Instead of a table the pork and the biscuits are placed on a wooden bedstead. Seven wooden knives must be made with which to cut the biscuits. The knives are placed on this bed. After the offerings have been made to the demon, he is escorted away with polite words and is supposed to depart.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them
782 where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭師 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nʌn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron ploughshare, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on
789 twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs. 787

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm. 751

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *fêng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the mana and the wakanda conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Ntso, ʒei SΛu, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntsoʊ, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc. 776 778

To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu shêng* 六聲, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves. 774

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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XVIII. REQUESTING THE DOOR GODS TO CAREFULLY REMEMBER THE NAMES OF THE DEMONS

The very thin demons without flesh are named dry, lean demons (glaŋ ntʂʌu). The very tall, very large demons that are able to climb mountains are called climb-mountains-cross-passes, (glaŋ^{6} Ta^{5} nTo^{2}). The demon that nets for wild animals is called ɛʌn^{3} ŋga^{2} (grows-flesh). The demons of women who died in childbirth are called glaŋ^{6} so^{6} (demon that sheds red blood). The demons that cause people to vomit and their hearts to be disturbed are called glaŋ^{6} Ta^{5} (vomiting demons). Demons that cause people to have malarial fever are called glaŋ^{6} nao^{5} (cold demons). Demons that cause people to die from hunger and thirst are called glaŋ^{6} tʂ'ai^{6} (hunger demons) or glaŋ^{6} nk'ai^{5} (thirst demons). Demons that cause people to drown are called glaŋ^{6} glei^{5} (water demons). Demons that cause people to die by hanging are called glaŋ^{6} sʌu^{5} (hanging demons). The demons in caves are called glaŋ^{6} tsao (demons that rush out of caves). Demons that cause children to cry at night are called glaŋ^{6} dza^{5} la^{5} (naked demons). Demons that cause abortion are called glaŋ^{6} ts'ʌu^{5} (demons that throw away on the hill). Demons that cause young men and women to be sad and to make long sighs are called glaŋ^{6} ntʂoŋ (enticing demons).

If such demons as these come, let the door-gods use brass clubs and beat them and they will not come.

XIX. OPENING LOCKS

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The master of the house must find several sheets of yellow paper. The *tuan kung* 坛公 uses a pair of scissors and cuts the paper into a net (sky-net, earth-net) and an imitation iron chain and brass lock, which he ties on the body of the sick person. (This is done when they believe that the illness is caused by a demon having locked a lock and chain around the neck of the sick person). The *tuan kung* beats a gong, carries an iron cooking-pot, heats the iron point of a plow and puts his foot on it, and he unlocks the door for the sick person. Then he says, "Water comes from the sky to grind knives with. On earth are people to cut off intercourse (contacts between men and demons), unloose the brass nets, unloose the iron nets, unloose the sky nets, unloose the earth nets, open up cages and release birds, unloose nets and release fish, unloose brass armor, unloose iron armor, unloose brass nets and iron nets, unloose brass chains and iron chains, unlock brass locks and iron locks, unloose brass threads and iron threads (that have bound people). If the head aches, release the body, if the body aches, release the feet, and when the body and the feet have been released, and

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764 After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the g'a gei) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the g'a gei says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntsə's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the g'a gei pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntsə's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He 776 takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats 782 it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says,

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"ʒ̄ε nts'ai ʒ̄ε lAu, (the name of the sky demon) come and take an animal from the family. You are in Ntsə's heaven. You have a horse so you ride a horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit." Then the priest takes the bamboo divining sticks and throws them into his bamboo basket. He asks, "Has it come or not." His companion then replies, "He has come." Then he says, "Since you have come, I will lead you to return to your home." At this time yellow candles made of beeswax are lighted. All are seated in the guest room. At this time it is not permitted to speak Chinese and women are not permitted to come and look. He continues to speak; 776 782

"ʒ̄ε nts'ai ʒ̄ε lAu, you are in heaven. Come and take this pig from the old people of this family. This family will give it to you. You have a horse to ride on here. I have come but I have no horse. I will ride a wind-spirit. Are you coming."

The companion replies, "Coming", Then the bamboo divining sticks are again thrown into the basket.

IV. SPEAKING ABOUT FEEDING A PIG AND REPORTING TO THE SKY DEMON

When feeding the pig, feed one handful and then you leave for one year. We feed two handfuls and then you leave for two years. We feed three handfuls and then you leave for three years. We feed five handfuls and you leave for five years. We feed six handfuls and you leave for six years. We feed seven handfuls and you leave for seven years. We feed eight handfuls and you leave for eight years. We feed nine handfuls and you leave for nine years. When we feed him ten handfuls, you stay away a thousand hundreds of years." (Each time as he speaks of feeding a pig, he takes a handful of pigs' food and throws it upon the pig's body.) "ʒ̄ε nts'ai ʒ̄ε lAu you are in Ntsə's heaven. You come and take a pig from this family. This family will give it to you. You must make the family's illness light. You must make the family's pains light. Make their mouths and tongues light (lest they anger people), make their wrongs light and make their calamities light. Now we will end this (animal's) life and give it to you. You take it with you. Don't come back for a thousand hundreds of years (a hundred thousand years). Since you have a horse, you ride the horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit."

"Has he come?" Then the companion of the priest answers, "He has come." At this time the pig is killed. The pig's blood is mixed with corn-meal and is rolled into biscuits. Hot water must not be poured on the pig. The hair must be

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burnt off and then the skin is scraped off clean with a hoe. When this is finished the pig is cut up into small pieces so that each person gets one piece. (The size varies according to the number present.) What is left over is boiled. Tea is made of the leaves of a bush having thorns and everybody drinks some of the tea.

An offering of pork and this tea is made once. Then evedybody plays on bamboo flutes. When they have finished playing, everybody eats some of the biscuits made of corn and blood (which have been cooked). When they are through eating, the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu, have you come?"

Then everybody replies, "He has come."

When they are about to worship the sky demon, they split the skull of the pig open and take the pig's brain and offer it to the demon. They do not tell the demon that it is pig brains but say to the demon, "This is salt." Then they offer some salt and say, "This is ashes we are using to worship you." Then the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu. Have you come?" Then all reply, "Come", (that is, he has come). (1) Have you come to eat pig brains, will you come?" (2) They reply, "He has come." He then offers the pig's liver and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the pig's kidneys and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the intestines and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." Then in the same way the stomach, some of the bloody biscuits, then rice are offered, each time with the same question and the same answer.

When the above has been finished, they take the ropes used to tie the pig, the bamboo flutes, and the seven wooden knives used to cut the blood biscuits, and they bring them and say, "Now we are going to escort baŋ ts'ə out of doors." Then the priest sings the following song;

"The flowers will slowly fade away."

"jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn (Mr. Yang who is excellent at shooting arrows) came for a long time to-day. He will return to Ntsə's plain. Because the Chinese were not efficient in worshipping the sky demon, they wanted me, jaŋ lʌu, to go and help the Chinese worship him. At that time the pig's heart of these Chinese stuck to the cooking-vessel.

And the Chinese said that I, jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn ate it.

They said that I swallowed it. So the Chinese brought soldiers and surrounded my house and attacked. Ntɡʌu, the Chinese, with an arrow shot me dead.

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He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.
Now, ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ ʃau, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

585

To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *k'ai chang* 開 場 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛 鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no ʒ̄in (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xau lo xai. (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ʒ̄ɛ gi (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

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impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzə^{2} Ti$^{\cdot 3}$ ɹau^{2} gau^{1} bi^{9}). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

775 and transmigration, is known and accepted by the Ch'uan Miao but does not
776 seem to be absorbed and does not greatly affect the lives of the people. The soul is real but shadowy, and the soul of a good man is larger than that of a bad man.

Demons are the souls of human beings or of birds, animals, reptiles, or inanimate things. If a deceased person has no descendants or if his descendants are unfilial and do not meet his needs by making the customary offerings, he becomes a demon and harms people. Demons of human beings are called *glang*, and demons of other living creatures are called *ts'ao*. When a person goes crazy and speaks in a meaningless or silly way, it is thought that he is possessed by a demon who is speaking through him. His speech is then called *glang lo* or demon talk.

The idols in the Chinese temples are regarded as demons and are called *glang miao*. There is one devil called *glang da lo* who is so big that he can step from one mountaintop to another and from the earth to the sky. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb, and if he strikes a person on the chest with the palm of his hand the person dies, and the marks of his palm can be seen on the dead person's chest. There is another sky demon or devil called *ndo glang* who is worshiped by an elaborate ceremony in which a sow is killed.

The gods of the Ch'uan Miao are invisible unless they choose to reveal themselves to human beings. Chief among these is Ntzī, who lives in the sky and controls heaven and earth. He is regarded as good, just, kindly, and very powerful. He is the supreme but not the only god. Some stories tell of his sending his daughter to help poor and unfortunate men, and she generally marries them. A name that is sometimes used is Ntzī (or Ndgū) Nyong Leo, which means god, foundation, old. It apparently designates the same deity.

Another very interesting deity is called Ye Seo, Yei Seo, or ʒe Seo. He never dies, is very wise, kindly, merciful, and just, induces people to do good deeds, and helps people, especially the poor, who are in trouble. He is often seen in the clouds and can easily make himself visible or invisible. In the province of Canton the name Jesus is often pronounced Ye Seo, but it is uncertain whether the name and character of this deity have any relation to Jesus Christ.

There is a female deity who lives in the sky called Ts'ī Ma Niang Tsai. She is very merciful and especially shows kindness to unfortunate children.

821 There is a warty toad called in Chinese *lai ke pao*, which is believed to have
776 marvelous powers and to cause hailstorms. During these storms men shoot off guns to frighten the toad and cause it to cease sending down hail.

There is a dragon king who causes rain and who lives in a palace beneath a pool or lake. There are stories that tell of his daughter's marrying a very poor man in order to help him.

776 Certain kinds of trees are sometimes worshiped as deities. They are generally trees on hills or mountains that are old and do not shed their leaves in winter—evergreens such as the *nan muh*, but never a fir or pine tree.

778 A strange custom is the worship of the door. The thick doorsill together with the door itself, which often has two wings, is regarded as a deity and is worshiped in an elaborate ceremony in which a pig is killed and offered.

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[26 cont.]

000 time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

766 Hê Miao who die of leprosy are cremated. The dead body
164 is carried to a vacant lot to be placed on a pile of firewood and
757 burned before the public. It is probably for the same purpose of avoiding contagion that the Hê Miao at Yung-chiang who die of small pox are cremated -- a sanitary idea derived from experiences.

5. Religious Beliefs

The Short-skirt Hê Miao apparently believe in animism.
774 In their view every object in nature is invested with a spirit.
776 The sky, earth, sun and moon are all nature spirits, but even rocks, rivers, bridges, trees and wells are also endowed with spiritual powers. The duties and responsibilities of these spirits, however, are not quite divided, and therefore in case of sickness, engagement and the acquisition of sons they would go to one of these objects to offer prayers, and if their prayers are fulfilled they would have to offer sacrifices. There are two kinds of spirits: the good spirits, efficacious and powerful, who guard over the welfare of the mortals, but in case of offences against them, can also inflict severe punishments; the bad spirits or ghosts, who are bent on doing harm and whom one has to suppress if one cannot put up with them. The first category of spirits includes the Jade Emperor, the Guarding Buddha, one's ancestors, the King of Hades, the Earth God, the God of Wealth, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Yo Fei [warrior hero of the 12th century], Shen-nung [Divine Husbandman, a mythical emperor of pre-historical times], Kwan-ti [warrior hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the God of War], tree spirits, cliff spirits, bridge spirits, the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the winnowing-fan spirits, and the Lady Buddhas. The second category includes the spirits of thunder and lightning, the tiger ghost, the well ghost, the drowning ghost, the mouth odor ghost, the sly ghost who hurts people surreptitiously, the pu-nung (Miao dialect) ghost, the nai-huang (Miao dialect) ghost, the leg-pulling ghost, the breath-obstructing ghost, the soul-bewitching

[26 cont.]

774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost, the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost, the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primitive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
777 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

756 In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium, who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and socially it does not command any special respect and authority. Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated as follows:

755 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,
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[146 cont.]

773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The ancestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
769 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a
778 small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Lông-wâng"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al-
776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli,"
774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies
793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so
796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere-
[527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo"
[157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The
[831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The
[533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing
[535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving
524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/33 cont./

A 597 Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all. A [435]

M 608 Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both go to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded. M [273] M [776] [782]

The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other. M [428] [837]

A 608 572 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends," without any special rights and duties.

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance
[776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to
[782] [775] the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These
[231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter,
[787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke
[782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour,
[521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed.
[854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old,
[853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breatt so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[772] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
[688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers pr[illegible]ed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/155 cont./

A 527 273 "Outside, on the open areas between the houses, the young people begin to assemble. They come hurrying from all directions, light-hearted from the good food and slightly intoxicated from considerable quantities of the rice liquor.

A 535 527 "As we step into the open, the sun is already sinking, but after the gloom of the house we must close our eyes in the piercing light. Here and there mouth organs are heard; the young men practice a little, gather in a circle, and begin to play and to dance even here between the houses. It is amazing how they can maintain the melody during the difficult dance steps, the bending of the body, and the leaps. The girls stand around admiring them and are an appreciative audience for the dancing skill of their friends. Little boys join the young men and try to imitate the steps of the adults. Toward sundown it becomes quieter in the village. Gradually the gay young dancers disappear and move to the nearby dancing places, where the girls' dances now begin and with them the moonlight frolics of the Akha young people."

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Chapter 9
Religion and Magic

M 771 776 [114] The religion of the Meau is described by various authors as either a vague belief in spirits with a god of heaven as the chief spirit or, if it is more in harmony with an author's attitude and world view, as a monotheistic religion. Dhuraratsadorn (1), for

1. Page 172.

instance, speaks of "spirits of the clouds and ancestors." Lajonquière (2) reports: "The Meau vaguely worship a god of

2. II, p. 312.

the heavens, 'To,' and a god of the earth, 'Ang,' the spirits of the mountains, 'Sien-Chen,' the spirit of thunder, 'Lu-Chen,' the ancestors, 'Dang,' and the goddess, 'Kouan-Yin,' who blesses human beings and animals, but whose story they do not

/156 cont./

know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
● 776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
[114]

3. Page 168.

same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of

4. II, p. 253.

heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

177 Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
771 Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
776 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
[114] Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[782] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated.

Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[795] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan, the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/158 cont./

A M 771 The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

1. Page 98.

most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

M 761 776 The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

M 774 M [753] [776] [761] [755] The Meau believe in an immortal soul, pli, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

M 774 775 614 Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

/161 cont./

775 [761] not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 787 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one. Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 775 776 825 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not feared either. There is one exception, however. During the three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected, so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 825 [648] Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the [763] [777] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

/163 cont./

A 769 [773] As ancestors, the souls of the dead may be useful to human beings and are even especially revered as helpers. /164/ I could not find any confirmation for the idea reported by Telford (1) that the ancestors are also the creators of the world.

1. Page 98.

A [241] [782] The ancestors can have a special influence on the growth of field products, for which reason the Akha sacrifice a pig to them before laying out a new field and ask them to provide for the growth and increase of the crops.

A soul can thus act beneficially for the members, but it can be very unpleasant to strangers, especially if they are alone in the forest. Since, however, it cannot kill a person in any case, the soul is not too greatly feared even by strangers, in any case just as little as a corpse. Nevertheless some fear of the souls of the dead seems to be observable among the Akha of Kengtung, for Telford (2) reports: "Neglected souls return in the shape of

A [825]

2. Page 215.

A [775] [765] birds and insects in order to eat up the harvest and the livestock. Souls are never reborn in children. The Kaw serve a farewell feast of roasted meat at the grave. A small portion is offered to the corpse as one addresses it: 'You are dead. Do not love us. We do not love you, either. Do not return!'"

A 775 774 The conception of a paradise or of a judgment of the dead and his soul is as unfamiliar to the Akha as that of the rebirth, not only of human beings, but also of animals or plants. According to the view of the Akha, the latter are soulless, whereas my informants thought it possible that the stars have souls. I was also told, however, that nothing definite is known about this.

b) Deities and Spirits

M ●776 According to the conceptions of the Meau, there are supernatural beings. These spirits do not roam about freely, but live in large trees or rocks and especially like caves, but never live in entire mountain ranges, rivers, or brooks; rice fields and

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyǒňň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be [177] dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [726] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/165 cont./

326 spirits of the smithy, the chief spirit, dǎ lǔ pǎn, which literally
● 776 means "to know great fire," and his two assistant spirits, lǔ lǔ pan and san lu pan, and asks these three spirits to help him and to see to it that the iron neither cracks nor becomes overheated. Da lu pan, the chief spirit of the smithy spirits, also taught the Meau /166/ other useful things, especially technical skills. These spirits of the smithy are of the male sex. The smiths
[782] make sacrifices to them on the altar in their houses and believe that they actually live there. Before the Meau begins his work at the forge, he lights an incense candle for each of the three spirits, that is, three candles altogether, and asks dǎ lǔ pǎn and his two assistant spirits to follow him to the smithy. After that it is believed that the three spirits actually accompany the smith to the workshop and return to the dwelling after the work is done. No explanation could be given when I objected that there must be vast numbers of such spirits, since there are many Meau smiths and dǎ lǔ pǎn with his two assistant spirits lives in the house of every one of them.

756 The teacher-spirit of the medicine man is called yǔ wǎn
776 sǔ fū. The curer makes offerings to him, with whom no assistant
[782] spirits are associated, on the altar which he has erected in his house, before he begins to treat a sick person. Two incense candles are lighted for this sacrificial act.

The shamans, too, follow a teacher-spirit, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsū. They are also helped by three pairs of assistant spirits: tǎ fū yé, lū fū yé, and sǎn fū yé.

776 Other good spirits live in the clouds. Human beings do not know how many of them, who are called sẹn šẹn, there are. In one Meau village I met a woman who was convinced that she had the special good-will of these cloud spirits, for which reason
[782] she had erected in her house a special altar for them, on which she regularly offered sacrifices to the sẹn šẹn. This woman
[212] believed that the cloud spirits had taught her to write! How easy it was to determine that she had seen Chinese characters among itinerant Haw traders. Upon my request she scribbled on paper fanciful characters, whose meaning, of course, she was unable to explain to me.

/166 cont./

776 825 [372] [626] [171] The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pīn. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 [844] I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

[778] [756] The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." [177] [829] In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/167 cont./

776 know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither
[829] fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient
times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought
[773] them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank, even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231 There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created
776 by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of
[775] the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits. In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a
[782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation of a guardian spirit.

1 [See cat. 116, p666 - ANALYST]

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen dọ nă thu /169/ pẹ̆ dŏ. Savina (1)

[114 775]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals [931] [825] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high [224] Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[973] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the [626]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/169 cont: /

M 776 spirits and regard lightning as the avenging power, so to speak, with which these spirits punish rebellious mortals.

821 [626] The Meau do not know how an eclipse of the sun or the moon is produced. As soon as such natural events occur, one must shut himself up at home and may not in any case look at the stars because the latter are being eaten by evil spirits. If one should look nevertheless, the spirits concerned would likewise eat him in an instant. How it happens that the "devoured" stars appear again cannot be explained, nor is it attempted.

M 177 821 [776] The Meau also do not associate the aforementioned natural phenomena with the supreme "Father-Mother" spirit. How little the religious views of the peoples with whom the Meau come in contact have been adopted is shown by the fact that they pay no attention to comets, whose appearance is of great significance for their Laotian and Chinese neighbors. This is all the more striking since among the Chinese the appearance of a comet signifies the outbreak of a war or revolution, among the Lao the death of a person of royal blood, both being conceptions which, in view of the history and mentality of the Meau, could certainly psychologically /170/ make an impression on them. As has been said, however, although the Meau know the deities of the neighboring peoples, they are little influenced by their views.

A 776 Among the Akha, too, I discovered the conception of a supreme being, which is found in such a marked fashion in the religion of the Meau, and, to be sure, among the Akha it is the god of heaven, ǎdŏdŭchŏ. He likewise resides in and above the clouds, and all the other spirits are subject to him. Accordingly, A [782] he automatically partakes of all the sacrifices offered by the human beings to the other spirits, and therefore special offerings to him are regarded as unnecessary. Telford's (1) opinion that

1. Page 98.

such a conception is only "vague" among the Akha contrasts with A [773] these findings. Perhaps, however, Telford's words refer to the spirit "yǎbĭdĕlăhăt," who created the universe. In any case,

/17 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The
[302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing
[292] mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of
756 his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
787 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
[782] spirit of all the shamans, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsŭ, and the three pairs of assistant spirits, tă fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé. The teacher-
[776] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
[801] Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/186 cont./

755 789 On the day immediately following the conjuration described, I experienced another instance of the assistance of the shaman in cases of illness. This concerned the sick woman who /187/ had asked the shaman for his help during the conjuration of the soul of Lü, and therefore it was not a matter of a sacrifice satisfactory to the spirits, but rather the exorcisism of the evil spirit from the house afflicted by sickness, and the creation of a guardian [776] spirit such as has already been discussed (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter).

[787] At this spirit-exorcism the beginning of the ceremony was identical with the one of the previous day. While the shaman was in an hour-long trance, the sick woman stood behind him on two spirit-papers, and the chief again burned spirit-money, drew the dividing lines on the ground with the sword, spat water in all directions, and scattered the maize kernels. Suddenly the shaman stopped his twitching and rhythmical movements; his rattling sounds ceased. We learned that the spirit had become too tired [787] to answer and that he would have to be re-awakened. For this purpose the head of the house stepped up to the shaman and struck him on the shoulder. Once more the monotonous conjuration formulas and the twitching of the shaman began. In the meantime, the head of the house tied a string to the young dog to be sacrificed. Then the shaman lighted a straw torch, threw gunpowder into the flames so that they flared up hissingly, spoke accompanying words of conjuration, and walked around the sick woman a few times with the burning torch. He was preceded by the man with the young dog, and at his side walked a young man carrying the gunpowder in an inverted bronze gong. This small procession stepped out of the door and walked around the house several times, while from time to time the shaman threw the proffered gunpowder into the torch (Ill. 102),[1] spat in all directions, murmured prayers, and, whenever the flame hissed up, shouted: "Off with you, evil spirit!" Smoke and stench enveloped the house, which, evidently, was supposed to drive away the evil spirit. The sacrificial animal, however, was led around the house so that the guardian spirit would recognize the area it was to watch. The procession came to a halt. In front of the

[1] [See cat 116, p704 - ANALYST]

/187 cont./

755 entrance to the house the shaman cut the throat of the young dog
789 (Ill. 101)[1] and caught the blood in leaves. With the blood he then drew a cross on the backs of the head of the household and each of the other members and smeared some blood on the door
[787] posts. /188/ Finally, he once more threw the oracle horns and burned a quantity of spirit-money as a sacrifice.

756 On another occasion we were able to observe the activity
787 of a female shaman. This involved the invocation of the father-
[776] Mother spirit, who, as soon as the rice is ripe, according to the Meau, moves away in order to be ready for the New Year's festival. Now this spirit had supposedly returned and would be asked by the female shaman to bring blessings to the occupants of the house. Outwardly there is little difference from the activity of a male shaman. It was striking to us that the female shaman used not two, but four oracle horns. At this ceremony, too, there was a struggle with evil spirits. Whenever the female shaman in her exertions jumped upon the bench to indicate that an evil spirit was present, the head of the household scattered maize and his wife spat water in the four directions. Despite the fact that everything was carefully observed and care was taken to scatter the kernels and spit out the water in the prescribed way, the evil spirit would not yield. Finally, the head of the household seized the spirit-sword hanging on the wall by the altar and stuck it into the ground in front of the altar. The female shaman had actually fallen into a deep trance and had to be awakened very laboriously by being pounded on the back by the head of the household after the conjuration was over.

756 Besides this kind of activity, obviously recognizable as a
789 priestly performance, there falls to the shaman, but not exclusively to him alone, the making of spirit-paper (Ill. 84, 85)[2] and thus spirit-money. Moreover, the shaman is obliged to make certain amulets and talismans, although many other Meau know how to make various such means of protection against the evil spirits. The ingredients are obtained from flowers and plants. Small triangular cloth bags are filled with the mixture. Such amulets are worn on a string around the neck or attached to the silver neck-ring itself.

[1] [See Cat 116, p666 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", P598 - "]

/188 cont./

789 Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to
[753] the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," for protection against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak, are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most effective substances known against certain individual spirits and therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root
[824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits, the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the Meau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this
[301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There
[776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets
[714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great number is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails, since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
787 careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above, since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
[825] to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
• [776] that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
825 omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occupants will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
825 the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes that he cannot expect to bag any game.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig."

A 313 824 789 The same author (4) also made the following observation:

4. Page 114.

"When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 M [755] Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 789 [778] M [782] [756] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer.
[516] which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position
[788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his
756 wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses
[787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro-
[516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship
776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are
782 dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected
[778] for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship
776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom
[782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil
[769] spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70), flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

[See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782] New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
[769] voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
[526] munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
[241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
[776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/209 cont./

484 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having
782 its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moder-
574 ate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so
782 that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means
114 for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-
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1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau
[796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time
[776] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the
[241]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

782 Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by
796

1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
[776] this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their chil-
dren, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[846] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[14] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
[626] punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II. p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

A M [513]

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A M 753 776 M 755 [756] [769]

As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

39: Bernatzik--666 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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Ill. 101. Creating a guardian spirit among the Meau. The throat of a newborn dog is cut.

/528 cont./

000 medicine that have to be overcome, it should be relatively easy to fight epidemics successfully, especially since almost all the diseases concerned offer no difficult problems for modern European medicine. The readiness to submit to European doctors
M is also stressed in the literature. Abadie, for instance, states(1):
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1. Page 159.

"The Meau prize the free, expert medical treatment which the French doctors give them, with the assistance of native medical helpers, on their circuits among them."

M With the help of well-chosen doctors, it will be possible
756 to influence the beliefs and also to exert a decisive influence
776 upon the shamans, for, in the eyes of the mountain peoples, the ability to cure diseases is equivalent to visible mastery over the evil spirits that call forth these diseases. Most of the shamans by far want only the best for the people for whom they feel responsible. It will therefore not be difficult to persuade them to intercede against moving the villages, if they are convinced that this would be to the advantage of their community.

M The following event proved to me that in this respect
[123] natives whose trust has been won are easily influenced: One day, a Meau chief, in whose village I had stayed for some time, came to me in order to tell me that he and his fellows had become convinced by my many successful cures that my spirits were more powerful than their own. He therefore requested me to ask my spirits whether and when he should move the village. If my spirits approved, he would prefer not to change his residence during his lifetime.

000 The Thailand doctors and their medical helpers would have to gain the confidence of the mountain peoples. Since the Thailand national character is distinguished by tact and sympathy, the right path will soon be taken automatically. Nevertheless it is important to point out that in the medical treatment of the natives, the /529/ shamans and chiefs of the mountain peoples must always be enlisted. Usually these village authorities will let themselves be properly taught and

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
● 777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the
584 lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
[776] To officiate at this marriage rite.
We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest
has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads
the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits
down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started.
The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire
would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement back-
ward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement
then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside
or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated
she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao
grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
[756] and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After
washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a [777] conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [842] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the [177] cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; [755] "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "wash- [783] ing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seek- [777] ing resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies [842] performed for the avoidance of calamities.

769 /131 cont./
[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At the same time he utters the following incantation:
769 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as
*782 well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death
[777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called [kuey mbaʌ] in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei" of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
[776] mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[796] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

/137 cont./

*782 tray is put beside the entrance. The incantation, uttered by the sorcerer-priest sends off the kuei.

(3) Ta Chia Hsien

755 When a Miao becomes ill and taking medicine does not
*782 make him better, then he must make a vow to "ta chia hsien"/lit. "beat the family ancestors"/, which in the Miao language is called [pa˥˧ mbɯ˧ ʂioŋ˧˥], which means "beating Miao pigs." It may be performed during the illness or after the recovery. Before the event takes place, the host must serve notice to members of the
[602] mother's brother's family, inviting them to send seven members of the maternal uncle's family (six men and a woman) to be guests. If that family does not have so many people, the maternal uncle may ask other people to make up the number. But the persons invited should not have the same surname as the host. No day needs to be selected as lucky, but the following days must be
•[777] avoided: if a child is born in the family, it is necessary to wait one month before the ceremony is performed; the birth of kittens also necessitates one month's separation; the birth of pigs, goats, cows, horses, and dogs causes a postponement of 12 days; the hatching of chicks, ducklings, and goslings, three days; a funeral in the family or when the head of the family has witnessed a funeral of another family, 12 days. If the notice should arrive before the time of expiration of any of the above periods, the maternal uncle's family may refuse such an invitation. If the host because he seeks an immediate recovery from a sickness cannot wait any longer, he may invite other guests, but they may not have the same surname as he.

/138/ The Ta Chia Hsien ceremony is divided into four parts, requiring a whole day from morning till night. There
[776] are altogether eight kuei invited: [nɑŋ˧ mɛ˧ tʂoŋ˥ teŋ˧˥], [nɑŋ˧ mɛ˧ bu˧ ɲieŋ˧˥], [tʂoŋ˥ teŋ˥ tʂoŋ˥ ɕieŋ˧˥], [bu˧ ɲieŋ˧ tʂei˥ nɛ˧˥], (it is said that these four are the ordinary names for the kuei of

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the hosts mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [556] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/157 cont./

*782 his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accom-
[292] panying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is
[843] allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests
[788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the
● 777 Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʐiɤ˧ ɕiɔ˧ ba˨˩
731 lon˧ ɲie˧˥]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss,
[776] they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'a˧˥ tsu˧ liɔ˧ tɕɤ˧˥] and [ɲi˧˥ tsu˧ liɔ˧ ntɕ'i˧˥]. The time of this ceremony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar. On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

/157 cont./

*782 777 731 of beeswax. The sorcerer-priest burns the wax, rings the hand bell, and utters an incantation, in general saying:

> "Recently the host has run into bad luck, frequently suffering losses. According to calculations, the Black Emperor Earth Lord or /158/ his descendants are seeking food. Therefore, today, I have been asked to offer sacrifice. Please eat the meat and drink the wine. You /plural/ are also promised a large bull. Please give your protection and bring about peace and safety."

[787] After the incantation, divination is performed with the chiao. The yang chiao indicates financial loss but immunity from disaster; the yin chiao means impending disaster without the loss of wealth; and the sheng chiao shows immunity from both. After the divination, paper is burned to send the kuei away.

(16) Handing Over the Ox

If after the sacrifice to the Black Emperor Earth Lord, one's luck is still bad, the only thing to do is to buy an ox and fulfill the vow, which in the Miao language is called [ʒio4 bu3 ɲie1]. Once this ox is offered to the kuei, it cannot be killed, nor can it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death. The performance of this ritual is the same as that for Warming of the Ox Muzzle, except that the text of the incantation uttered by the sorcerer-priest is different, its general purport being:

> "The former vow being ineffective, luck still is bad. The host has saved money to go to market. At the market he looked around and saw a large bull, with big horns and a big body and handsome appearance. The host wanted it, and for a great deal of money he bought it and brought it home. Today has been selected as an auspicious day, and I have been asked to hand over the ox. I beseech the kuei to take it!"

After the incantation paper is burned to send off the Kuei,

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

• 777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body. So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[23 cont.]

582 with the Chinese who live among them. Many of the Chinese speak the Miao language and are even influenced by the Miao in certain habits and customs, but intermarriages are extremely rare. Actually this is not only true of the Miao and the Chinese, but also of the different Miao groups. For instance at Chou-ch'i in the Lu-shan area there are 4,000 Short-skirt Hê Miao, about 200 to 300 Chinese, and less than 100 Mu-lao Miao. For marriage, these few Mu-lao Miao have to seek contacts in other Mu-lao villages very far away and never for a moment would they think of intermarrying the Short-skirt Hê Miao on the spot.

4. Funeral

764 [777] When a Short-skirt Hê Miao dies his family decides on a lucky day to invite three or four relatives to specially wail aloud for him. The corpse is placed on a temporary scaffold about five feet from the ground on the left side of the hall and covered with sheets of coarse native cloth of about six feet long and two feet wide. The married daughters as a rule each present a sheet. [24] The unmarried daughters at home also collectively present one, though in some rich families everyone gives a sheet. These different colored sheets are used to line the coffin at the time of interment. When the corpse is being moved out of the house, the family members all wear hemp cloth on their heads and weep aloud around the body. At the [202] same time they despatch messengers to announce the bereavement to relatives living far away. In case the deceased is a man, they fire hunting rifles at the gate, or in the case of a woman, firecrackers so that those relatives within earshot may be apprised. The little table in front of the corpse is complete with spirit tablet, incense and candles, four bowls of glutinous rice, twelve cups of wine, a pig's heart and stomach, and other offerings. A priest is engaged to "open the way." He wields a dagger and a bunch of straw, uttering magic words and brandishing, at the same time, the dagger and straw, in an effort to drive away evil spirits that may obstruct the way.

[180 cont.]

796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom [593] in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

M [186 cont.]
796 tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
M bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day
[777] all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

M
[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S The southern border region of Kweichow province has a sub-
161 tropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

/49 cont./

846 After the delivery the mother remains on her bed, and the husband cares for her in the same manner as at the end of her pregnancy. The husband tries to relieve her of all work. The length of the confinement depends on economic circum-
[556] stances. Among poor people it often lasts only a few days, among prosperous women it sometimes extends up to thirty days. In any case, among the Meau, it is prolonged as much as possible, since it is believed that the longer the confinement the healthier and stronger the woman will become and the more children she will therefore be able to bear.

I was unable to find any traces of the couvade among the Meau. On the other hand, Abadie (1) reported that the custom

1. Page 165.

occurs among some Meau tribes in China. He adds that in Tonkin this custom is not practiced, but that one could observe practices that seem to be derived from it. The author then mentions as such practices: "Vegetarian diet for the husband; a prohibition against his being absent or crossing the heights that form the boundary toward the neighboring valleys." Much more convincing is an illustration of the couvade given by Chang-Kong Chiu in his Kultur der Miao-tse (2) and the illustration in

2. Page 59.

the Album Gotha (3). In these cases, however, it is not en-

3. Reproduced in the Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift, 1916, p. 281.

tirely certain whether these illustrations actually refer to the Meau or perhaps to another Chinese mountain tribe.

845 The Meau are especially happy about the birth of twins
[777] and regard it as an omen of good luck. They even try to raise
[732] weaklings, deformed children, and cripples. The hard struggle for survival, however, almost always prevents their growing up.

/13 cont./

*101 name for the people who wore red belts, whom they called the
*175 Hung /"red"/ Miao. (1)

[113]

1. Yen Ju-yü in Miao Fang-pei Lan Feng-su K'ao /A Study of Miao Customs/ says: "Those who wear red belts are the Hung Miao." According to Torii Ryūzō in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao: Those who wear red clothes are the Hung Miao. Actually the present-day Hung Miao in western Hunan no longer wear red clothes nor red belts. Previously they might have had this custom, but today it is no longer practical.

[291]

*175 The spirit most venerated by the Hung Miao today is Pai
776 Ti T'ien Wang, who also is one of three brothers. According to the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih /Annals of Lu-ch'i Hsien/: "The boy found in the bamboo as recorded in the story of the southwest barbarians in Hou Han Shu grew up to be the Marquis Yeh Lang and was killed by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. His three sons were all respected by the southern barbarians, and among them the third was the bravest. Posterity regarded the Bamboo King, since he was not born of flesh and blood, as a spirit
[778] and built a temple in his honor. Today, the idol, San Lang, worshiped in the temples, has the fiercest appearance and is held most in awe by the Miao. It must be the spirit of the third son. The Yung-sui T'ing Chih also says: "Large T'ien Wang
[346] /heavenly king/ temples are found in all localities, of which the one at Ch'ao-shui-ch'i is the oldest. This is the Ch'ao-shui-c'hi of Wei-ch'eng. The present-day Ch'ao-shui-ch'i has

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, M [137] pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-M 353 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

[text continues on p 63]

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[1] see [Cat. 116, p64 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p65 - "]

/38 cont./

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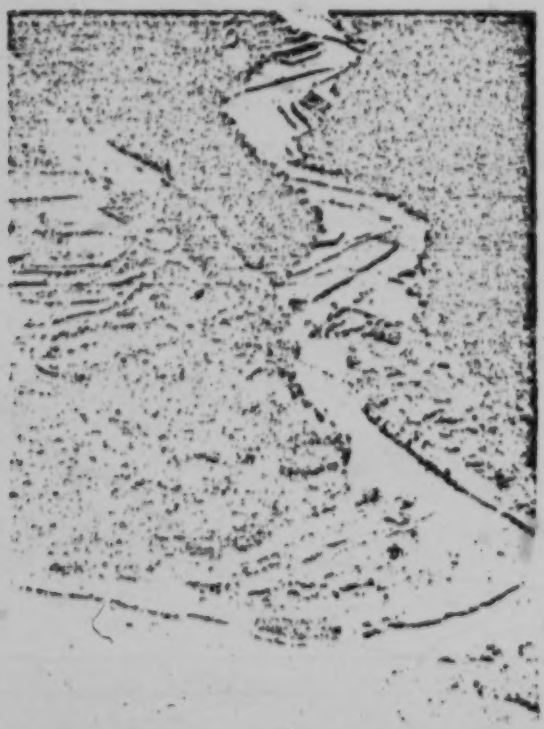

Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353 [778] [177] 352 [231] [354] 782 769 354 000

Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Relatives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/~~/~~41/ and covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

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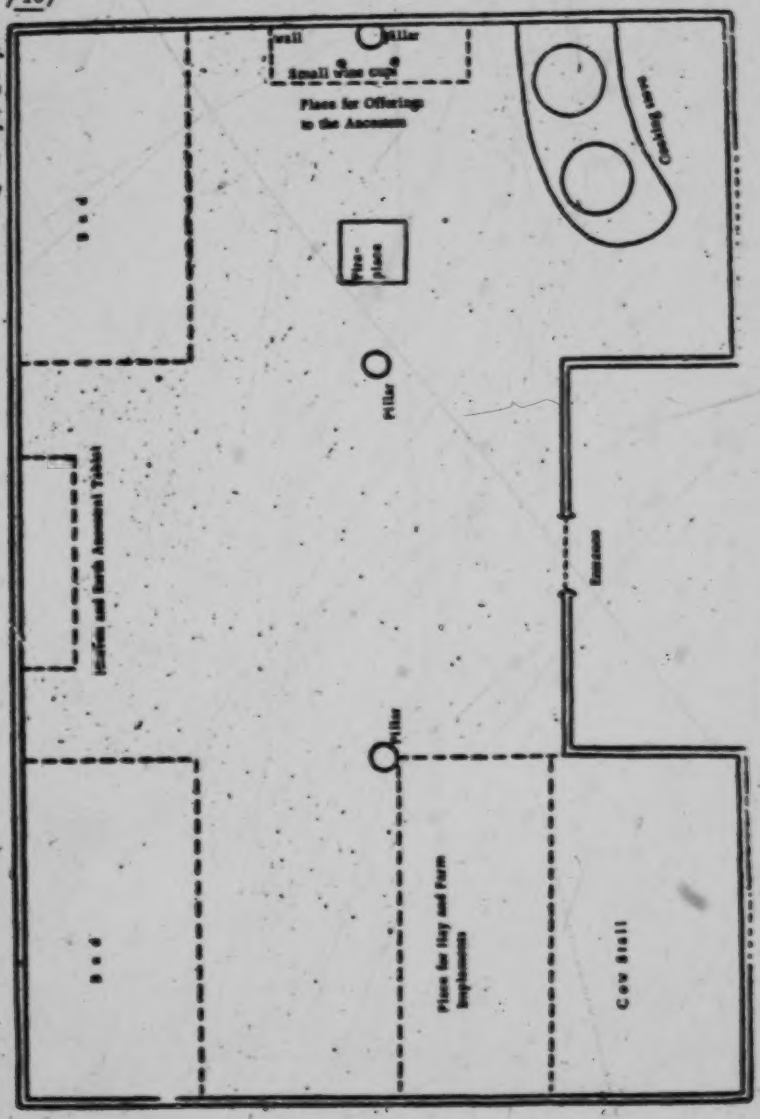

Illustration 15. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Ling family among the Miao

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[784] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
514 for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
M 251 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[243] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M 241 cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
171 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
352 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

/133 cont./

*782 The sorcerer-priest carries out his performance by three times toasting and three times offering, five times toasting and five times offering, seven times toasting and seven times offering, until nine toasts and nine offerings have been made /sic/. The three members of the lower generation sit respectfully to keep the kuei company, as in Illus. 60. They sit until one of them has to go outside to relieve himself. Then the hostess gets out a cock, which is offered as a sacrifice by the sorcerer-priest, after which it is killed and cooked, and offered to the kuei.

On the third day, the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth parts are performed. The seventh part is performed in the early morning. A long door plank is again set up, and on it are laid nine bowls each of wine and meat, a bowl of sour soup, and a bowl of tea, as well as incense, rice /uncooked/, and li-shih /paper horse/. A bow and arrow, a silver bracelet, and a bamboo splint are stuck on the table. There is also an upper millstone on which is a /Illus. 60 appears on p. 134/ /135/ wooden bucket with two dry rice shoots and a double-edged sword on it. On the handle of the millstone is a bamboo-handled sieve, in which is found crosswise a wood plank, one end of which is cut into the shape of a fish with a small hole in it, tied with a piece of red cord. On the wood is carved the sign X. When everything is set out the sorcerer-priest starts to carry out his performance.

The eighth part is performed with wine, cooked rice, and tea, seven bowls each, placed on the floor of the main house at the base of a pillar. The sorcerer-priest enacts his performance, uttering an incantation and making sacrifices to the ancestors. [778] The Miao consider the base of the middle pillar the family altar where their ancestors rest.

The ninth part is performed in the room to the left of the main house. A big fat pig is used, its four legs tied up and a wooden rod going through /between the legs/. The two ends of the rod are tied onto two wooden sticks. First, the sorcerer-priest offers the animal to the kuei. Then it is killed and cooked, and the meat packed into seven small bamboo baskets. The meat is then put into seven bowls, which are set up with seven bowls of

/152 cont./

*782 783 825 [776] [t[illegible] [illegible]-mo[illegible]]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kuei[illegible] mo[illegible] jen[illegible] tian[illegible]] and [kuei[illegible] mo[illegible] jen[illegible] qiao[illegible]]. The time is in broad daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 627 [578] When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [ji[illegible] te[illegible] ni[illegible]]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1) to drink blood.

[778] [776]

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

/158 cont./
After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

776 In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity
791 of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during
the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples
• 778 were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines,
[787] generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending
his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some
of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried
to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up
till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he
was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He
*[782] said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices
to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death
of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry
that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his
shrine. (Illus. 68).

*782 /159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that
[776] the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by
825 sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts.
Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months
all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity.
The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork
placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of
chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all ar-
ranged on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are
lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another
stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest.
Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand
[787] and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands
facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/159 cont./

•778

Illus. 68. Shrine of a local divinity of the soil of the Miao.

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787 chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. After divining again with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper to send off the shen.

/160/ (2) The Flying Mountain

778 Every Miao village also has a Flying Mountain shrine. This shrine resembles closely that of the local divinity of the soil. On the second day of the second and the eighth months *782 every year, after having sacrificed to the local divinity of the

/160 cont./

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[784] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
[776] are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[627] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[778] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao
area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69),
which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village
without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
[627] Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be
asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the
T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go
to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before
the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints,
secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece
of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned.
The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the pro-
tection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or
both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, de-
pending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial
condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house
to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things
promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the re-
sults shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled,
but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
773 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there
776 are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-
chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the
Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

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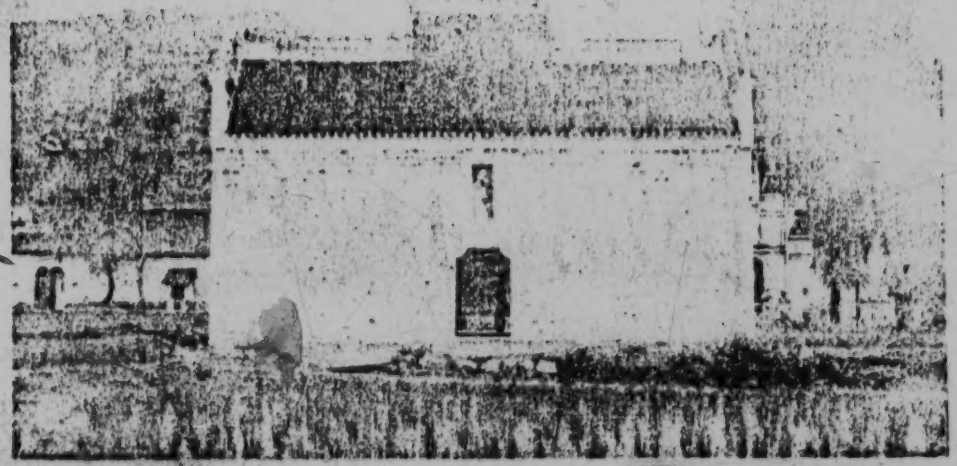

Illus. 69. T'ien Wang Temple at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng.

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754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[829] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

778 788 between "verses." There was an inscription on the roof, and others were about the opening, all in Chinese. Inside were three large heads made of wood, of which one looked rather like a Buddha, one a fierce god with moustaches, and one just stern and calm. This last was in the center and had a red canopy like a tent around it. There were also two fierce-looking smaller figures, one on each side. There was a square block of wood inside the shrine, as well. On top were long pheasant tail feathers; at some of the houses they added more. Beside the feathers there was a bag of rice, into which a small measure of rice was put by someone in each household. At the left of the entrance, looking out, was a red bag containing incense sticks. Some lighted ones were stuck in before the entrance. At some houses they added these, also, and at least one household gave him a dollar. At the right of the entrance was suspended from the roof a ring of iron rope with some iron disks on it, and a dagger which stuck into the floor of the shrine. This ring was rather like that shaken by Taoist priests as they chanted. Below and in front hung a row of cloth strips with inscriptions on them and a polished bull's horn — not a water buffalo horn but much smaller. In front, across the shrine and hanging below it, was a cord with hemp strings tied to it at intervals.

I saw the same sort of a shrine on Lung-li streets at New Year's time. However, there it was more dilapidated and had only two pheasant feathers, the one middle head, the bag of incense sticks, the row of cloth strips, and the cord with hempen strings. The bag for rice lay on the ground behind it. The

* The soul, the spiritual part of man that ascends to heaven.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

778 two priests were not the same, but the chant
788 was the same and they had the same bored air. In both cases I believe they were saying prayers for the good fortune of the house and at the same time receiving a little rice as a fee.

346 **Ritual Structures.** The village contained
778 no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

776 **Deities.** Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,[3] was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,[4] remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

[3] The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

[46 b]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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a, The *lu-sheng*. *b*, The *lu-sheng*, showing men dancing as they play the instrument. *c*. Old woman in ragged clothing. *d*, Two school boys before the shrine to the local deity at the south of the village. *e*, Woman winding bobbins from the ball in a tub of water, one of the priests is behind her. *f*, "Old Black" Miao, showing embroidery like that on the old woman's body at burial (see p. 56).

[916]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

778 Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves
782 in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the
[755] killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked.
264 Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with
262 a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and [illegible]en.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

[585] During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to
776 the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly
782 three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means original demon.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs. 787

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm. 751

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *fêng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the mana and the wakanda conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Ntsø, ʒei SʌU, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntsoŋ, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc. 776 778

To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu shêng* 六聲, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves. 774

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

774 A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it 778 is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries. A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is a living being that can speak. He has a definite character and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is lighting. It is this knife that causes the damage when lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

. . . . . .

177 The greatest changes in all their history are now taking place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited 797 these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the 563 Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years. Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and one graduate of the West China Union University gave the money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager for modern education and higher culture. With the continued help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese people, they can become an enlighteed race that will be an asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to the British Empire.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

775 and transmigration, is known and accepted by the Ch'uan Miao but does not
776 seem to be absorbed and does not greatly affect the lives of the people. The soul is real but shadowy, and the soul of a good man is larger than that of a bad man.

Demons are the souls of human beings or of birds, animals, reptiles, or inanimate things. If a deceased person has no descendants or if his descendants are unfilial and do not meet his needs by making the customary offerings, he becomes a demon and harms people. Demons of human beings are called *glang*, and demons of other living creatures are called *ts'ao*. When a person goes crazy and speaks in a meaningless or silly way, it is thought that he is possessed by a demon who is speaking through him. His speech is then called *glang lo* or demon talk.

The idols in the Chinese temples are regarded as demons and are called *glang miao*. There is one devil called *glang da lo* who is so big that he can step from one mountaintop to another and from the earth to the sky. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb, and if he strikes a person on the chest with the palm of his hand the person dies, and the marks of his palm can be seen on the dead person's chest. There is another sky demon or devil called *ndo glang* who is worshiped by an elaborate ceremony in which a sow is killed.

The gods of the Ch'uan Miao are invisible unless they choose to reveal themselves to human beings. Chief among these is Ntzī, who lives in the sky and controls heaven and earth. He is regarded as good, just, kindly, and very powerful. He is the supreme but not the only god. Some stories tell of his sending his daughter to help poor and unfortunate men, and she generally marries them. A name that is sometimes used is Ntzī (or Ndgū) Nyong Leo, which means god, foundation, old. It apparently designates the same deity.

Another very interesting deity is called Ye Seo, Yei Seo, or ʒɛ Seo. He never dies, is very wise, kindly, merciful, and just, induces people to do good deeds, and helps people, especially the poor, who are in trouble. He is often seen in the clouds and can easily make himself visible or invisible. In the province of Canton the name Jesus is often pronounced Ye Seo, but it is uncertain whether the name and character of this deity have any relation to Jesus Christ.

There is a female deity who lives in the sky called Ts'ī Ma Niang Tsai. She is very merciful and especially shows kindness to unfortunate children.

821 There is a warty toad called in Chinese *lai ke pao*, which is believed to have
776 marvelous powers and to cause hailstorms. During these storms men shoot off guns to frighten the toad and cause it to cease sending down hail.

There is a dragon king who causes rain and who lives in a palace beneath a pool or lake. There are stories that tell of his daughter's marrying a very poor man in order to help him.

776 Certain kinds of trees are sometimes worshiped as deities. They are generally trees on hills or mountains that are old and do not shed their leaves in winter—evergreens such as the *nan muh*, but never a fir or pine tree.

778 A strange custom is the worship of the door. The thick doorsill together with the door itself, which often has two wings, is regarded as a deity and is worshiped in an elaborate ceremony in which a pig is killed and offered.

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they

796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[14 cont.]
241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle,
[231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides
[283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries,
[286] such as home-spinning and weaving. The commercial centers
443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in
778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but
314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit
316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for
784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[144 cont.]

773 pieces and tossed them around, which became the different racial groups today." This kind of myth is not a special story of the Sheng Miao as the other Miao groups investigated by the writer have similar versions. That it is a common ancestral myth of the Miao is worthy of our notice.

2. The earliest people, according to the three versions, were a brother and sister. The first version does not give their names. The second and the third versions give En as the name of the brother and Mei as that of the sister. Probably in ancient stories only these two names were given. After their marriage they procreated different groups of the human race. En and Mei were the original ancestors of mankind. The ethnic groups in China today, the Chinese, the Miao, the Tung, the Sui-chia, the Chuang, and the Yao all came from a common ancestry. That the Sheng Miao mythology contains this unexpected scientific view of the "common origin of man" is also worth noticing.

3. We understand that totemism is a necessary stage in the development of all races. The myth of a common ancestral birth must be associated somehow with totemism, such as the Chinese myth relating to the birth of Shang [founder of Shang or Yin, the first historical Chinese dynasty] from a black bird. The story in the third version regarding two big insects that laid five eggs, which became Dragon, Tiger, Snake, Thunder, En and Mei, shows that the Sheng Miao had already come into contact with totemism. The second version also states that a certain couple had six children, Dragon, Tiger, Snake, Thunder, En and Mei. The Sheng Miao have no inhibition at all in identifying their ancestry with animals. Truly according to modern biological [146] studies, men and animals were originally related, and the Sheng Miao have shown this conception in their mythology. Again, in the above myth, not only 773 778 was En a supernatural being who could ascend to heaven and descend to earth with ease, but natural objects such as thunder and rocks, and animals such as dragon, snake, tiger, rat, insects, birds, eagle, monkey, cat and goose were all personified. The ancient belief that they are endowed with human will and intelligence, capable of speaking and taking

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

Mi 342
Mi [354]
Mi [778]

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

Mi 445

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

Mi 401
Mi 312

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

Mi 343
Mi 231

[167 cont.]

684 586 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general 548 778 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon 548 see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

764 [769] The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously observed among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then [825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The ancestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
769 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a
778 small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Lông-wâng"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al-
776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into M [778] [782] [413] which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of M [532] [114] Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood sculpture.

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though not universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to A [831] nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

1 [See cat 116, p 120 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237 snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
171] Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instru-
171 ment, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
533 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
534 form (Ill. 75)* among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral in-
[778] strument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as
[562] women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

* [see cat. 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/166 cont./

776 The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function
825 to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to
step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by
[372] sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)
[626]
[171]

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth
[844] of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property.
[778] Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their
[756] houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the un-
[177] buried dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese
[829] influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/177 cont./

428 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to
756 go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 It is the task of the shaman to learn the
787 wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make them known to human beings. The shaman,
[775] however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also im-
756 possible for the shaman to bewitch human
[754] beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural
[789] powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40
Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the
755 spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors,
789 the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which
[822] color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures
[787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant
[778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/178 cont./

756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
789 should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
[778] of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
[782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore; and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [see cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig."

A 313 824 789 The same author (4) also made the following observation:

4. Page 114.

"When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. M [755] Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 789 [778] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] M [782] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in [756] addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

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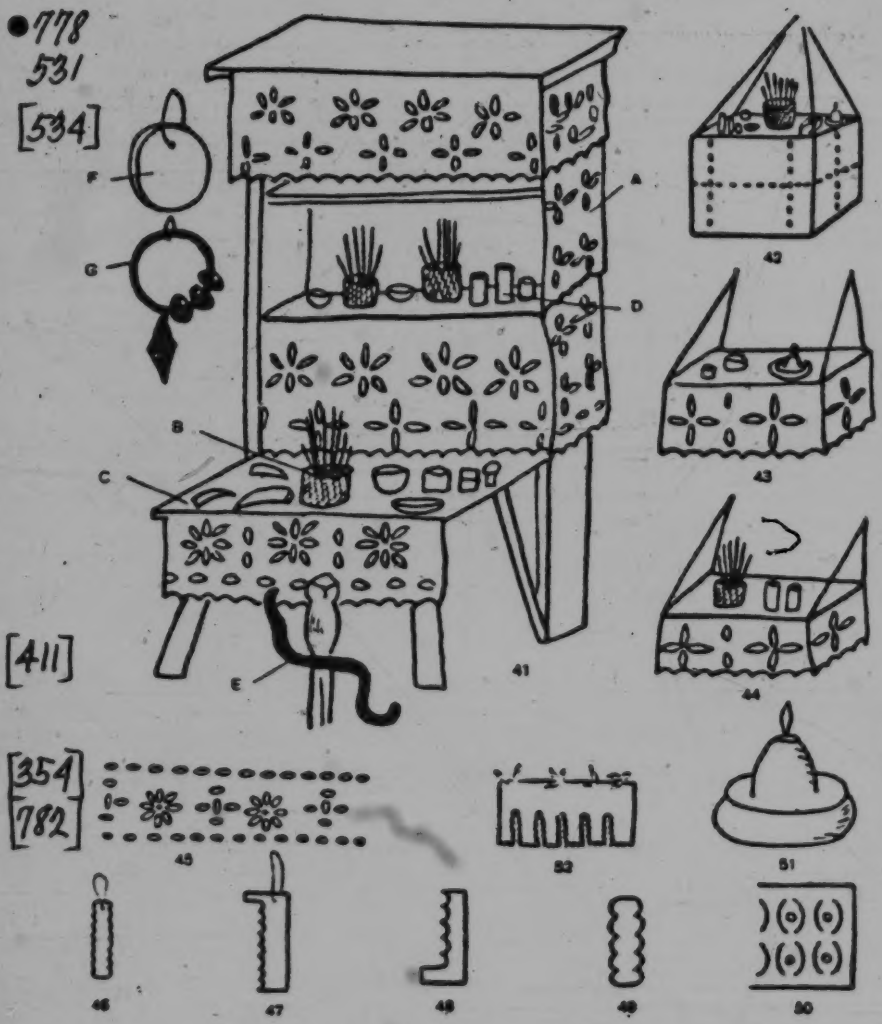

[411]
[354]
[782]

Figs. 41-52. Altars of the Meau.

Fig. 41. Large altar for the worship of the ancestors and the teacher-spirit of the shaman. 1/24 nat. size: A = punched-out paper curtain as decoration for the wooden frame; B = small basket with incense candles; C = oracle horns; D = small tea

[787]

(continued)

Miao AE5

//Caption for Figs. 41-52 cont./

778 bowls and vessels for maize kernels, oil, or water; E = old
[411] battle sword of the Meau, stuck into the ground in order to forbid
[534] access to the evil spirits; F = gong; G = magic rattle of iron.
Fig. 42. Altar in the house of the chief, with incense candles, lamp, oracle horns, and the like, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 43. Altar for the assistant spirits of the shaman. The alter consists of a board with cultic apparatus and provided with a paper curtain, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 44. Altar for the teacher-spirit of the medicine men, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 45. Punch pattern for the
[531] altar paper. Figs. 46-50. Spirit-money of various denominations,
[354] about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 51. Altar lamp, 1/6 nat. size.
[782] Fig. 52. Blood-soaked chicken feathers on the paper curtain of an altar as a sacrifice for the souls of the ancestors.

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer.
[516] which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position
[788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his
[756] wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses
[787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro-
[516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship
776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are
782 dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected
[778] for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship
776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom
[782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too,
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other
[769] prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/207 cont./

782 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the
231 slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau
[778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value
[439] of the animal (Ill. 103).[1] Gold paper, which the Meau do not make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny
[435] shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial
782 hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

782 Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by
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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice-fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/210 cont./

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
[413] however, only after it has been punched with the special punches in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
787 Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
[177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses,
[177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788] dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
[562] purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and
is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The
Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not
[177] perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of
dances.

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411

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.
The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits,
they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but
not images.

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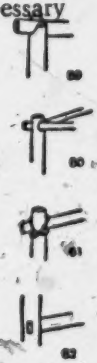
/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the
[574] spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [see cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--371 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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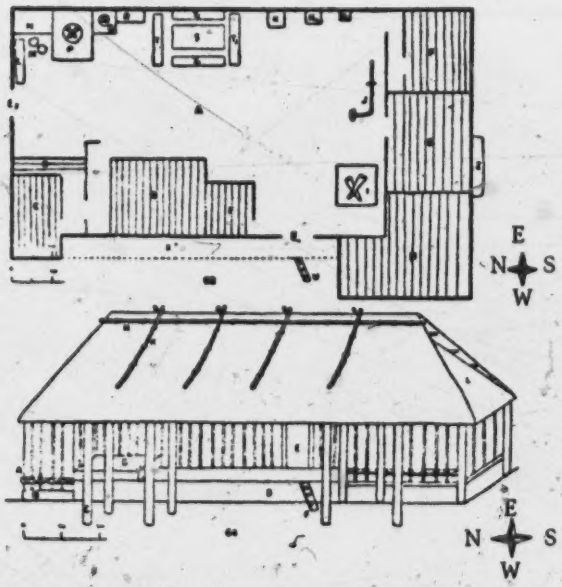

Fig. 63 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

= heavy board walls

= light board walls

..... = ground elevated about 50 centimeters

A = cooking and living room

B = bedroom of the chief and his two wives

C = bedroom of the eldest son and his wife

D = bedroom of the half-grown daughter, who sleeps alone on account of a skin disease

E = bedroom of the unmarried son

F = bedroom of the younger son and his wife

G = common bedroom for all the other children

H = sleeping and resting place for guests and strangers

I = large fireplace

J = built-in large rice-mortar for foot operation

K = altar for the house spirit

K 1 = altar for the wise, soothsaying spirit

K2 = altar for the protective spirit of the smiths

L = trough for collecting food remains for the pigs

(cont.)

39: Bernatzik--375 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

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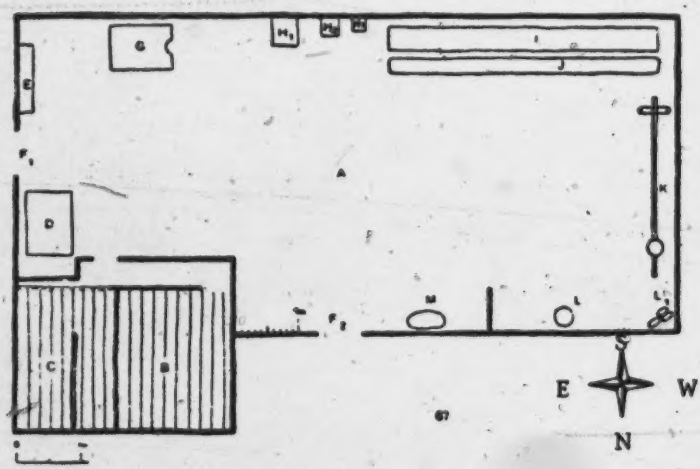


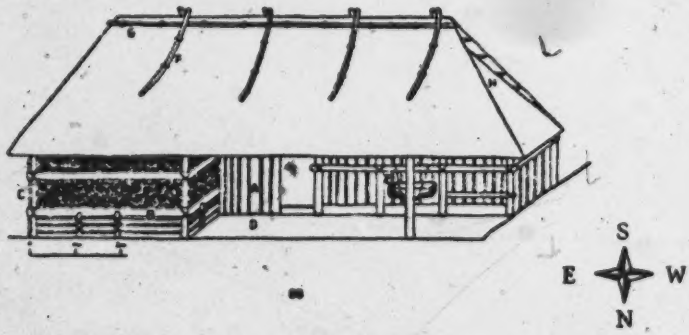


Fig. 67 (above). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

= board walls
A = cooking and living room
B = bedroom of the parents
C = divided bedroom of the children
D = table
E = wooden trough for pig fodder
F 1 and F 2 = entrance doors
G = cooking hearth
H 1, and H2, H3 = altars
I = long table

(cont.)

[513]
[778]

/275 cont./

342 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm
184 leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or
[789] several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent
[411] evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber
[283] cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see
[531] the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

/276 cont./

342 the other two corner posts, as well as all the other supporting posts in between, are set in, the crossbeams of the roof are tied on, and the vertical planks are fastened.

/277/ Then the roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) is laid on and fastened. In the meantime the women have prepared the palm leaves, and the men start the roof covering. /Figs. 75 and 76 appear here./

This proceeds in the following fashion: women and children [462] tie the palm leaves in rows on poles (Fig. 77), and these are then placed on one another in layers, like roof tiles, by the men (Fig. 78). They /Figs. 77-78 appear here/ /278/ start this at the lowest point of the roof and continue until the ridge is reached. When this has been done on both sides of the roof, the long bamboo poles are put to the right and left of it, parallel to the long axis of the roof, and tied fast to the roof truss. Now, at intervals of about one meter, the roof riders, which crowning everything, hold down the leaf shingles, are tied to the roof truss.

When the house is completed in this fashion, the fireplace, the hearth, and the partitions are built. Then a temporary altar 342 782 is erected by putting a board over three supporting posts. Here the owner of the house sacrifices a couple of chickens and invites [778] the ancestors and his spirit-teachers (see the chapter, "Religion," the section, "Deities and Spirits") to move into their new dwelling. In front of the entrance door he likewise sacrifices a couple of chickens for the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to protect the house and to take up residence in it very often.

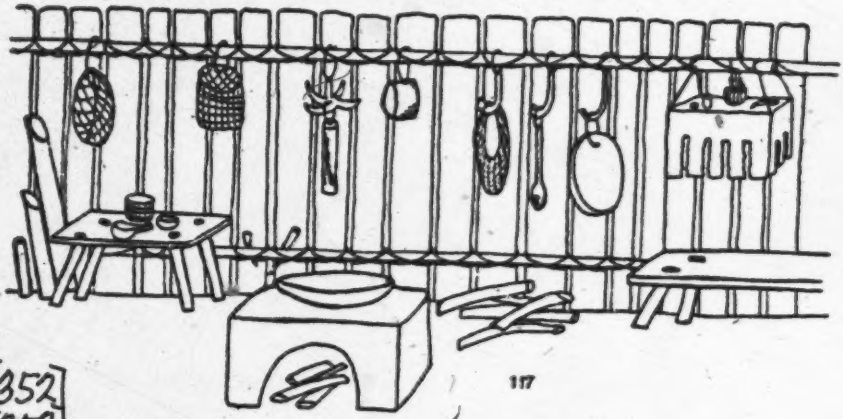
342 Savina (1) describes the house construction in Indochina:

1. II, p. 184.

"The mountain site where the new colony intends to settle has been prepared two or three months previously. The site for the new house has been cleared of weeds, the timber has been cut, the maize fields are cleared and have even been seeded. Thus one is quickly installed. In a few days the house is up, which, [461] incidentally, does not cost much in labor. The Meau make everything themselves. They are masons, carpenters, smiths,

/300/

354 [574] The large open fireplace, which is usually near the guest room or in the room itself, consists of an elevated, /Fig. 118 appears here/ square, mud base, on which a circle of stones is built, with the firewood in layers in the middle of it. This fireplace is the place of the father of



[352] [353] [415] [778]

Fig. 117. Wall in the cooking and living room of the Meau. 1/50 nat. size.

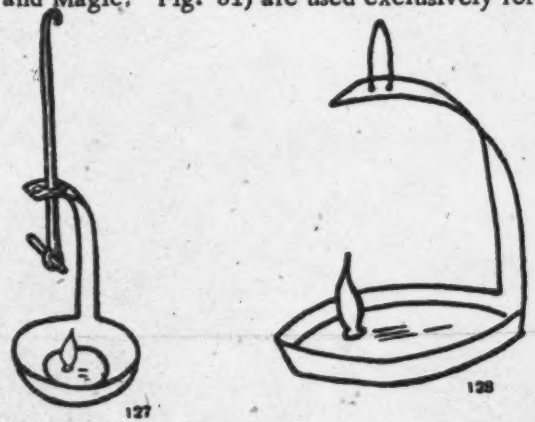
From left to right, hanging above: basket, basketwork bag, rolling pin, chopping block, carrying net, wooden ladle, gong, altar. From left to right, below: bamboo water-containers, little parking-table, knife sticking in the wall, cooking hearth with iron pot, firewood, bench to sit on.

Fig. 118. Hearth of the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

/303 cont./

353 The arrangements of every house include the altar and
●778 the sacrificial and cult equipment which were described in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (Figs. 41-54).

354 For heating the house the previously mentioned hearth fire and the open fireplaces serve. After the onset of darkness, both are the chief sources of light. There are also, however, special iron lamps (Figs. 127 and 128), in which oil is used
[824] as fuel. Torches made of resinous pine shavings are also in use and stand ready /Figs. 127-128 appear here/ to be used, especially at night out in the open. On the other hand, incense candles and fat-lamps (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 51) are used exclusively for cult purposes.



Figs. 127-128. Iron lamps of the Meau.

Fig. 127. Hanging lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.
Fig. 128. Standing lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.

353 There are many kinds of devices for putting up or
352 hanging household equipment. Over the open fireplace in every house of the Meau hang large shelves (Fig. 129) which are fastened to the beams of the storage
[251] loft. They are used chiefly for smoking meat and other foostuffs, but /304/ also for storing seeds, such as ears of maize and the like (Ill. 100). Next to the

/387 cont./

411 In addition there are double-edged swords for close com-
177 bat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size according to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords
[778] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305).
[175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78,[1] Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau
[326] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the
[439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

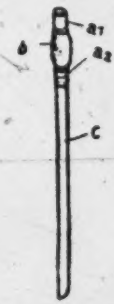


Fig. 305
Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/431 cont./

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114

At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a
[527] division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the
[778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97). 1/1 For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at
[825] night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up
[221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use
[824] any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that
[825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1/1 [see cat 116, p 663- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--663 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p.490/

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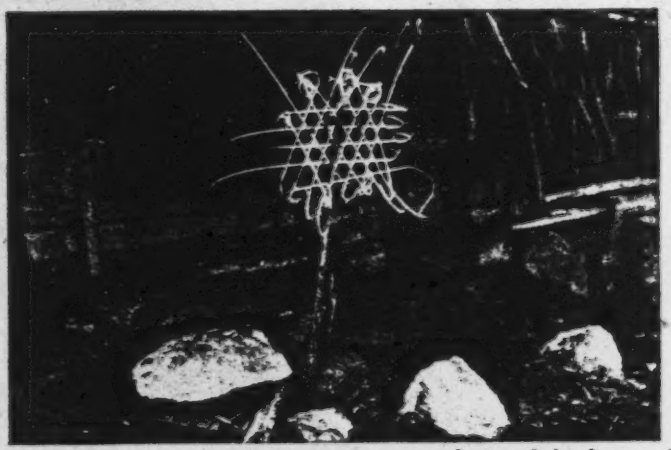

Ill. 97. Sacral sign, which, set up in front of the house door, announces the beginning of a holiday among the Meau.

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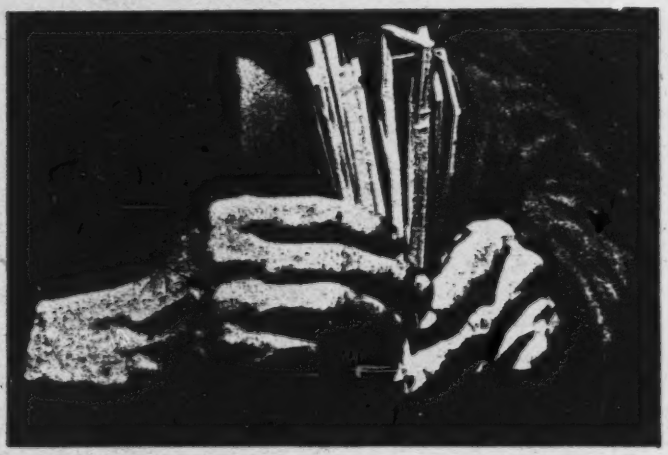

Ill. 98. Meau questions the spirits with the help of a stick oracle.

39: Bernatzik--664 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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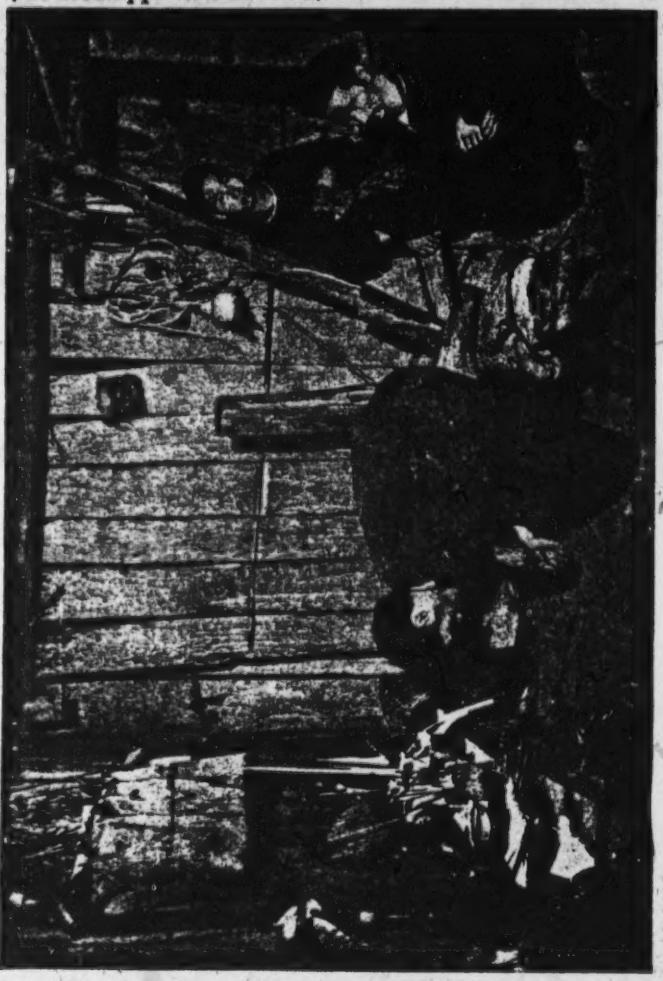

Ill. 99. A Meau shaman conjures up the spirits, in order to call back a lost soul.

Miao AE5

/IX cont./

252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

● 778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII, Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
793 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
795 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

779 /55/
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San Tsu	Tou-fu San Kuan	Wu-shang-hui
Hsi-tao wu-shang	Shih-erh Shang-ping /The twelve wounded soldiers/	P'in-pu-chi
Hao Kung-Chi /The good cock/	Shih-wu Shang Kung-chi /The fifteen injured cocks/	Shang-yüan-p'ou-hsiang
Chung-yüan Lo-p'a	Hsia-yüan Lo-p'a	Shih Kung-tsao /The four clerical officers/
Chao Shuai /General Chao/	Ma Shuai /General Ma/	Teng Shuai /General Teng/

776 As to which gods belong to the military group and which ones to the civilian group, I do not know. Each god seems to preside over a particular business. Their different duties are clearly divided.

[532] Hence during the tso-chai ceremony, they only hung up ten or more pictures of gods who are in charge of the business of this particular ceremony. Because the pictorial representation and the duties of each god differ, the texts for each also are different. To save space in this book, I have merely copied the text of the Chiu-niang /the ninth lady/ section which is as follows:

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You, drummer, beat the drum of yang-shou;
Beat again the drum of chao-yang.
Hearing the tunes of the drum turned to yang,
Chiu-niang, highly praised, dismounted from her horse.
This morning you were in the temple of Fa-t'an.
The kung-tsao officer was ordered to bring you the invitation.
After you received the invitation from the kung-tsao,
The precious horses were prepared for you to go to the place of ceremony.
You dismounted in front of the altar,
And were welcomed to the ceremony, enjoying the burning incense.

/55 cont'd/

779 While the worship-settling wine was served at eight tables,
539 The boys were singing the song of yüan-chang below the tables.
/56/ Has the personal story of Chiu-niang not been told?
Every spring has its source, and every flower has its root.
The wind was blowing from peak to peak;
The current of the water flooded over falls and falls.
Bought up by her parents, she was a clever child.
Niang was very calm and pretty.
Her eyes were as bright as the Seven Stars, and her eyebrows, were like the crescent moon.
Her face was as smooth as the paper made in the Easter Capital;
Her head and feet were equally beautiful.
The flowers she wore were as fresh as the morning stars in the eastern sky.
There was a san-shan cap on her head;
It was decorated with gold dust.
Her blouse was embroidered with pearls;
Her eight-piece silk slip was long enough to touch the floor.
Her elder brother's name was T'ang T'ai-pao;
He was a very handsome young man.
To her parents were born a boy and a girl before Niang.
She, T'ang Chiu-niang, was her parents' youngest child.
One morning she entered the garden;
Inspired by the lushness of the flowers, she pondered for a while.
Going through the Upper Village, there was not a handsome one;
Passing the Lower Village, there was not one gallant.
There was a cousin named Yang-erh who lived in the Middle Village;
He had a handsome bearing and a gallant personality.
Awakening at dawn the next morning,
She was waiting for him on the roadside where people passed carrying water.
There she met Cousin Yang-erh.
"Cousin Erh, please, listen to me.

/56 cont'd/

779
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I have been waiting especially for you this morning;
I should like you to be my companion tonight."
/57/ "Listen to me," Yang-erh replied.
"If you are willing to think of me.
You are an excellent gown maker;
Make a pair of long gowns for me,
And a pair of short ones,
And a pair of under garments,
On which are embroidered a drake and duck with fine silk.
Were all my clothes made by you, Niang,
I would look fine and handsome."
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Listen to me, Cousin Erh,
Whatever food and wine you like, I have all ready in the kitchen.
I'll prepare the wine whenever you like.
The wine is the Ninth Month Wine,
That I will drink with you for remembrance."
Yang-erh then turned to Chiu-niang and said:
"Chiu-niang, please, listen to me:
I won't drink the wine served in a gold cup,
I would like to taste it through your lips."
The East Hall was opened, set with tables and chairs.
Dragons, phoenixes, and drakes and ducks were displayed,
And Yang-erh was received in her home.
He was entertained with different dishes and wines.
Three kinds of food and five kinds of flavors were put on the table;
Boiled pork and choice fish were in the center.
Fruits were offered to him while they were drinking the first cup.
She took away his long robe while the second cup was served.
She became tipsy after the third cup was emptied.
Her face was as pink as a row of /red/ flowers;

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He also became dizzy after the third cup
And went into the inner room to look for Chiu-niang.
The tables and dishes were taken away and the chairs were rearranged.
They went to the bedroom hand in hand.
After sitting a while in the inner room,
They both began undressing.
The long gown was hung up on the gold hook.
The short gown was hung on the beams of her bed.
The head kerchief was put on the bamboo clothes holder;
The shoes were put in her shoe box.
With both hands, he slid open her silk mosquito net,
And asked her where the double pillow was.
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Cousin Erh, why do you speak so thoughtlessly;
Before this, I have been a maid living in the inner room,
I don't know why I should have a double pillow."
During the first tien of the first keng they slept together,
Like a pair of bamboo.
During the second tien of the second keng he was sleeping by her feet,
Which looked like a pair of ivory combs.
They were sleeping so deeply during the third keng,
Just like two dead persons on the high bed.
The cocks began to crow during the fourth keng;
At the fifth keng, it seemed there were hundreds of flowers waving around them.
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Cousin, please, listen to me.
I have a golden cock which has not yet crowed.
My silver cock will report to me at dawn."
They kept sleeping on the same pillow, just like
A pair of blooming flowers.
/59/When Chiu-niang awoke it was dawn,
She asked Yang-erh to get dressed.

/59 cont'd/

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She led him from the East Hall to the West Hall.
From the West Hall they reached the North Hall, which was too long,
Where they met her sister-in-law who said:
"You, sister-in-law, have had a man at home!"
Her brother also saw them.
Soon the neighbors gathered.
They arrested Yang-erh and put him in irons.
They fastened his legs with hemp ropes and iron locks.
They beat Yang-erh out of his skin.
The beating was so painful that
Yang-erh began to cry out and shout to Chiu-niang,
Who then came to her brother.
"Brother," she said, "please listen to me.
I saw you beating Yang-erh as if you were beating me.
You will violate the law if you beat Yang-erh to death.
Chiu-niang then began to think of a scheme;
Later she did hit upon one.
With her left hand, she took off her dragon-and-phoenix hair pin.
With her right hand, she set the granary afire.
Her brother turned away to fight the fire;
Niang then set her lover free to go home.
He was freed with a voiceless cry.
He was freed like a released lamb.
After Yang-erh had gone about three or five li,
Chiu-niang then called him back and said to him:
"You should prepare agates, pearls, and four pecks of silver.
Each peck containing eighty thousand pairs of cash.
/60/ You should save numerous strings of cash, and
I will go into exile with you never to return.
You should take up the silk clothes /business/.
You must not gamble to make me worry.
You must not amuse yourself in the brothels,
That will make you spiritually sick.

/60 cont'd/

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There will be plenty of wine in the shop when you want to drink,
Soup and grain when you are hungry.
If you want to eat meat, please eat the finely cut parts;
Don't eat the bones which might choke you to death.
If you want to build a house, build a high one.
Don't build a low one for that would make other people jeer at you.
To desire fine ladies is the habit of all men in the world,
But who else has a deeper heart than mine?"
They said good-by at the crossroad;
Chiu-niang returned to her room.
She was thinking of hanging herself;
Yet she had not taken leave of her parents.
First, she prayed: "My brother and his wife
Should take good care of our parents.
They must not serve cold rice to our father to eat;
They must not serve cold wine to our father to drink."
Second, she said farewell to the bamboo clothes holder:
"You will never again see your lady hanging up her clothes."
Third, she said good-by to the red silk mosquito net:
"You will never again see younger sister return to her room."
Fourth, she bade farewell to her scissors and measures:
"You will never see younger sister measuring and cutting cloth."
Fifth, she bade farewell to the seven red boxes:
"There will be no more clothes for you to carry."
/61/ Sixth, she prayed in farewell to the six relatives of the nine lanes:
"Yoy will never again see younger sister walking about the countryside.
You will never see her washing her face in the morning;
You will never see her come home at night."
Seventh, she bade farewell to the rivers and piers:
"You will never see her washing clothes."
Eight, she prayed in farewell to the family altar and incense:
"You will never see younger sister burn the incense sticks."

/61 cont'd/

779
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Ninth, she prayed in farewell to her dear parents:
"Your daughter has committed suicide and entered the world of drunkards."
Finally, she prayed in farewell to gallant Cousin Yang-erh:
"We two will be separated forever!"
She hung herself during the first keng:
She was dead at the second.
In the third keng, her spirit appeared in a dream of her parents.
Her father was wakened by a nightmare.
Holding a lamp, he went to the room of younger sister.
At the first glance in her room, he saw her,
She was hanging from the high beam.
Lady T'ang began to cry.
Over and over, she called, "Chiu-niang."
Then she said, "Every girl in the world loves gallant young men;
Why shouldn't I think about /Chiu-niang/."
Then she began to call: "T'ang Tai-pao, my son.
Hurry up, take the long ladder and bring her down."
Her body was washed with incense perfume;
Dressed up in red silk clothes.
A coffin made of camphor wood was bought.
Chiu-niang's body was put into it.
The East Hall was cleaned up for her coffin.
The South Hall was used for the memorial service.
/62/ A geomancer was invited to look for a good grave site.
The wide road leading southward was a good place for spreading a reputation.
Her coffin was carried across the royal river of nine turns.
Her coffin was carried cross the royal river of nine turns.
She was buried at the entrance of the wide road to the south.
The tomb of the victim of love was seen by everybody who passed by.
The tomb was protected by a green dragon on the left;
And by a white tiger on the right.

/62 cont'd/

779 Hundreds of birds bowed in front of it.
539 The goddess of jade protected her from behind.
When a Taoist priest passed by, he would repeat the name of Buddha;
When a Buddhist priest passed by, he would burn some incense.
When an old man of sixty passed by, he would say mournfully:
"What a pity that one so bright died young!"
When an old woman of sixty passed by, she might say sadly:
"What a pity one so bright did not live long!"
When a young fellow of eighteen passed by, he would murmur:
"Why am I not so lucky as to court a clever girl like her?"
When a young girl of eighteen passed by, she might say with grief,
"Why did such a clever girl have to be buried so young ?"
Men and women are kindly advised hereby,
If you have children, think early of their futures.
Should your neighbor to the east have a son, his marriage must not wait long!
Should your neighbor to the west have a daughter, must she not be married while young?
One must not follow the example of Sister Chiu of the T'ang family,
Without a husband, she died like a blossoming /rose/.
Chiu-niang is now here in person to bless those in front of the altar.
You, Chiu-niang, give your blessing to whoever is leading the horse.

779 195 The Taoist books of the Miao are mostly written in this poetic style with seven words in each line. They have nothing to do with the preaching of Taoism. This aspect is /63/ worthy of study.
793 795 Both the civilian and military Taoist priests use wooden seals inscribed with different symbols. The civilian Taoist priests have two rectangular seals of the same size, (See illustration). The military Taoist priests also have two wooden seals, one of which is inscribed with symbols similar to those of the civilian Taoist priests.

/134 cont'd/

764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second month, twenty-seventh day. (Saturday)

The program for the tso-chai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call back the soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests, 554 793 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each [779] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

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535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788] dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
[562] purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
[177] dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

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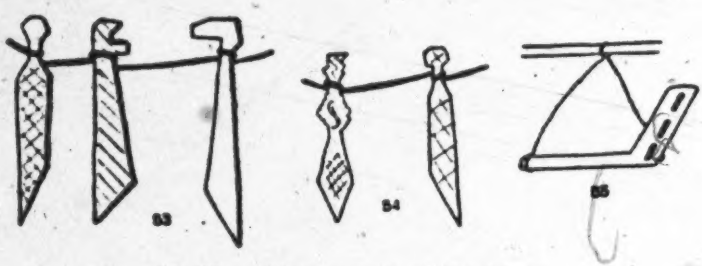

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan
171 Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 4. Festivals and Sports
527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered
● [782] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

2: Ling & Ruey

AE 5 Miao AE5

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/For information on Miao propitiation ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 187-297./

/19 cont./

M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
M 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
[556] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[527] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

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M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

[273] (10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[167] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[291] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[714] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[411] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[648] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

M
*101 /20 cont./
CC in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[577] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
M are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[531] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
[386] is washed out and the designs appear.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. They then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
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(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

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*[101]

/21 cont./

(20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him. They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox, the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns, and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off the four legs of the ox and carry them home. The rest of the guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

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/22 cont./

(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; The Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

/38 cont./

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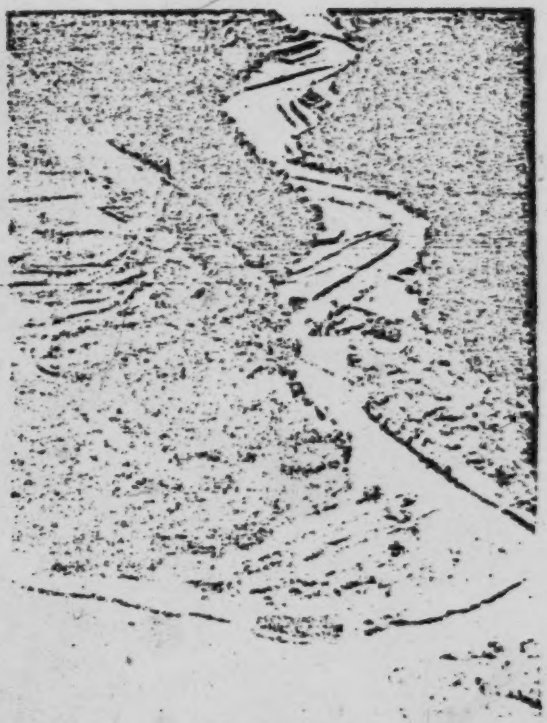

Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353 Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[778] [177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
782 room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
769 in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
354 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
000 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[570] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/95 cont./

584 Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been
[177] thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine
[556] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ɲiaŋ˨˩ tɕʲ mpʰa˨˩), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense
[782] has to take place, which is called /soŋ˨˩ tʰi ɤ˧˥), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally
[583] consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat. The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon
[556] the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may
[583] omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral [782] tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family [556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family 574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the 584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must entertain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered [264] the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large [264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day. After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return 583 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a 584 pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time 777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash 584 and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to 583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.
[301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's
585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's
[177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's
[756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and
[782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense
[787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kow-tows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and
[554] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At
585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense
782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.
[75] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

/96 cont./

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The bride arriving here brings
Great luck and great prosperity.
The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family, she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to welcome her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
[776] To officiate at this marriage rite.
We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, female immortals/ " " "
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
[264] groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[756] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
[756] and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[836] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
843 for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
[113] 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
769 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
[113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[556] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
● 782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spell. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles. Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
764 as the Chinese.
[177]

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[606] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[782] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
[177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
[604] ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[768] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is
[181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are
preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example,
[526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especial-
ly the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording
the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu
[534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and
seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty
women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good
men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in
[292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the
heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back.
Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing,
responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamp-
ing their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the
music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a
[782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial
ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments
[656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao,
and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held.
Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened
[186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, be-
cause they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some
decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly
demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct.
Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey
[184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of
Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

527 796 292 123 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *hu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 574 527 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 796 527 **San Yüeh San.**[3] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[3] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine. 796 782 527

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village.

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter. 796 527 769

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves – roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5-17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

equal body and horn points and matches them as fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop. 796 541

As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second act of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone – first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on 796 782

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*. 796 782

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example. 796 782 252 [562]

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health. 796 782 527

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always have ten or more pair put away. After an old person in the family dies all the families who have them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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luck until after burial, when it is put away. After the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This sign then can be observed from a great distance.

[806]

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [341]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356]

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water in which the pig and entrails have been washed, are buried in this hole. Everything unclean is deposited here, nothing is thrown outside. The pig is then cut into pieces and heart, liver, stomach, everything placed into a large iron pan and boiled. At the same time millet or buckwheat is steamed, to be eaten with the boiled pig; meanwhile a strict silence is observed. When millet and pig are ready for eating, the family squat on the floor, and partake of a sacramental feast. The meat is taken with the fingers from a large wooden basin, and the millet with wooden ladles from a basket; and this is for them a kind of holy communion. The sons of the household and the immolator's wife share the meal, but not the daughters, since they some day will marry into another clan. All bones and gristle are burnt. At the end of the meal each participant stands over the fire, where with both hands he wipes his mouth, throwing the breath, as it were, into the flames, and then holding the hands over the fire, he rubs them together. In this manner, hands, mouth and breath are all cleansed. With the exception of the father and the eldest son, the inmates of the house now retire to sleep. Father and son wait until an hour or two before sunrise, when, standing near the door, the father eats a small piece of the cooked meat and in the hearing of his son quietly repeats a formula handed down from generation to generation: "We worship thee, oh door. Keep away sickness, keep away disease, keep away slander, keep away all that is injurious." With the dawn

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the 755
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

must beseech him to let you pass. If he says, 763
'If I open the gate will you transform yourself and be my ox?' you must answer, 'No! I will not.' If he says, 'Will you be my horse?' you must say, 'No! I will not.' Then say to him, 'I will transform myself and be your servant.' When you say this, he will open the door, and you must quickly pass in and go on. After walking for some time you will come to a place where there are three roads; the one to the right is for Chinese, the one to the left for I-chia, and the one in the middle is the Hua Miao road, which all your forefathers have taken. If some one finely dressed comes to show you the way, it is some one come to deceive you, and not one of your ancestors. If a person wearing coarse clothes comes to lead you, follow him, he is one of your forefathers. If some one with a bad heart asks, 'Who brought you here?' you must say, 'One tall and stout.' If they ask you, 'Can you find him?' you must say, 'You cannot overtake him, his eyes are as big as a cup and his ears as big as a fan.' And now," the exorcist concludes, "I have shown you the way to your ancestors and the demons (or spirits), and you must remain there for ever."

Subsequently, at different periods, the Miao 764
offer sacrifices to their ancestors. Probably all 782

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

764 the oxen killed among them are killed as offerings to their ancestors or to demons. We were
782 never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and
796 Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764 person is your ancestor. If your cock does not reply, that is not your ancestor and you must not go. When you meet your ancestors, report that you were born a certain place at a certain time, lived in such and such places and died at a certain place. Then the ancestors will take you to Ntsə's level country and you will meet your male and female ancestors for three generations." Then the priest,[14] chokes the cock to death and the soul of the cock leads the soul of the dead to heaven. The g'a gei then takes a sharp bamboo stick about two and a half feet long, thrusts it through the cock just below the wings and leans the stick and the cock against the coffin.

Some time after this there is a ceremonial procession. In front is a man whirling a stick or baton. Then follow two men blowing water-buffalo horns, then two carrying green bamboo twigs and finally two men carrying guns. During the entire ceremony the ceremonial drum is beaten inside the house, the two men play the *liu shêng* and dance, the two buffalo horns are blown and the man in front whirls his baton.

The procession comes out of a side door, then through the front door enters the living-room, where the participants march around in a circle for some time. Sometimes the procession marches around the house, then around a square table in the front yard to one corner of which has been tied a green bamboo twig about eight feet high. At other times, they merely march around in the yard, then march around the table. Then they sit down at the table and drink the sweet wine that has been poured out for them in small bowls. The bamboo twigs are symbolic of the fact that in ancient times the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao lived in forests. The horns were formerly used to frighten away the tigers and wolves which abounded and are now continued by way of commemoration. The *liu shêng* is used for the good music and good appearance and the guns are added to symbolize the frightening away of wild animals. The Ch'uan Miao say that in ancient times such horns were actually blown during funeral ceremonies to frighten away the wild beasts that lurked about and that out of this custom the ceremony has developed and become more and more symbolic.

764 782 After this an animal is sacrificed. It is generally a bull but is sometimes a male water-buffalo. It may be a pig, a

14. The priest is now called a g'a gei or one who opens the way. g'a means "open" and gei means "road" or "way". The priest is called a g'a gei only when he is performing this part of the funeral ceremony, opening the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades. It is feared that the saying of this word may cause people to die so that the priest will have to open the way of their souls to the level land of Ntsə.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

sheep or a chicken, but it may not be a duck. The animal is led outside the front door. The rope which is tied to the nose of the bull is passed through the door, over the drum which is hung up inside near the coffin, up to the coffin, and put into the hand of the deceased. Then the priest says, "Your descendants are giving you this cow. Take it to Ntsə's level place. There visit your ancestors for three generations." Or he may say, "This is what your children have given to you. Take it to Ntsə's level country where you will meet your ancestors, and use it." This is followed by weeping on the part of the mourners. Then the priest pours out a bowl of wine for the *liu shêng* player and requests him to play and he pours out another bowl for the one who is to kill the bull and requests him to kill the animal. After drinking the wine the person takes a large knife or a hatchet or an axe and strikes the bull with the b[illegible] of it until the bull falls down stunned. Then the throa[illegible] of the animal is cut and the blood caught in a large dipp[illegible] from which it is dipped out into a large bucket. The skin of the animal is taken off and the animal is cut up according to a regular custom. The oldest custom was apparently to cut it up into thirty-six pieces but now it is sometimes cut up into nine pieces. A pig, a goat or a chicken is cut up into nine pieces. The head, the feet, the tail, the intestines, the stomach, the skin, the lungs and the heart are not counted. The four legs count as four parts, the liver as one part, and the remainder of the body is divided up into four parts, making a total of nine parts. 764 782

The meat is boiled, but not cooked through, and is offered up to the ancestors. Sometimes only a small piece is cut off each of the nine parts, boiled for a short while and then offered to the ancestors in nine small bowls, while wine and rice are also offered and incense and candles burnt. Then all the meat is well boiled and the friends and relatives who are present enjoy a feast. But the sons and daughters of the deceased do not eat any of this meat at this time.

Generally the next night after the bull is killed, there is a ceremony of dancing and pushing. It is performed by the strongest young men. It takes place around the ceremonial drum and in front of the coffin, to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu shêng*. So much strength is used that sometimes furniture is smashed, one or more of the performers pushed down and the walls of the living-room broken. Legend says that this ceremony began in a family where the parent died during the summer time. He was not buried promptly and in a few days numerous maggots crawled out of the coffin and onto the floor. The mourners performed this pushing dance and while doing so trampled the maggots to death. 764

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764 At midnight, on the last night before the burial, or after midnight, the man in charge of the ceremonies and the feast makes a report. He states the cause of the death, tells how much clothing (giving the number of each kind of garment) the descendants have prepared for the dead and how much meat, wine, rice, etc. has been consumed at the feast. He also reports, if the deceased is a male and the head of the family, how many fields, houses, beds, chairs, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, chicken, etc. and how much money the deceased has left for the children and what things are to be inherited by each child. Generally, but not always, the family divides at this time and each son becomes the head of a family.

[782] Some of the meat of the sacrificed animal is placed on the table at this time and the near blood relatives of the deceased who are not descendants eat it. The descendants have been kneeling while the things mentioned above have been anounced. They are now invited to rise. Wine is poured out for the relatives to drink. The descendants do not drink but continue weeping.

764 787 Next morning, very early, the priest throws the two pieces of bamboo used for divining unto the floor. If unfavorable, the dead is regarded as unsatisfied and then they enquire what the trouble is. The possessions may be divided wrongly, the place of burial may not be good, etc. Readjustments are made and the old relatives exhort the deceased to be contented. This is done until the cast is favorable. Then the coffin is carried out and the burial takes place.

764 Before the coffin is carried out, the priest puts a stool over the doorstill. Then three broken bowls are placed on the stool and burning wood or coal or charcoal is placed in the bowls. Sometimes a dry stick of wood is set on fire and used to light the way for the soul. Then the priest shoots three arrows into the house and three outside the house, standing across the doorsill as he shoots. While he is shooting the coffin is lifted up and carried out. The priest says, "I am shooting illness, pain, pestilence, quarrels, and evil things but I am not shooting living beings, domestic animals, or corn or beans. I am shooting quarrels and the places where the sun and the moon set." When he has finished speaking, he kicks over the stool. Some throw the arrows away outside the house and others carry them to the grave and stick them up on the grave to protect it.

While the corpse is being carried out the sons and daughters take the straw off the bed where the dead person slept and burn it behind the coffin to indicated that the illness has gone along to the grave with the dead. If the wind blows the smoke back into the house, people say that the illness has not yet departed and that others in the family may die.

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Part of a Ch'uan Miao funeral ceremony. The bamboo twig is symbolic of ancient times when their ancestors lived in dense forests in which there were many wild animals.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

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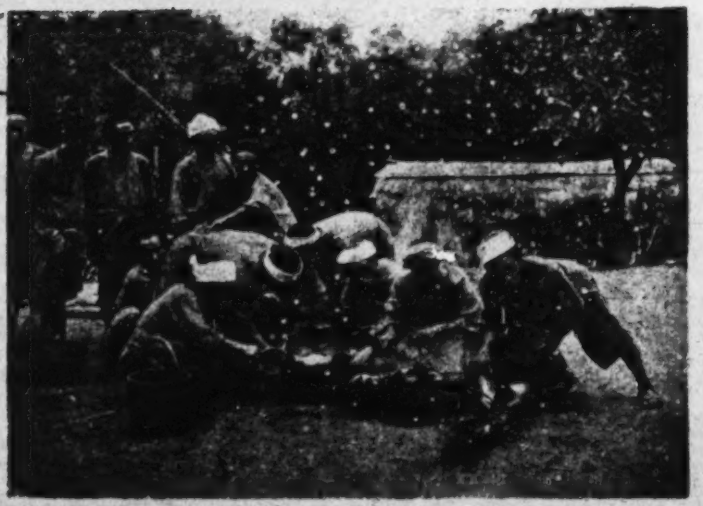

Ch'uan Miao men skinning the sacrificial animal to be offered to the deceased and then eaten as a part of a funeral ceremony.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p.62]

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Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the .oor itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means original demon.

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Glaŋ ta lo, the demon who can step to the sky, is so large that he can step across from one mountain top to another. He can reach heaven at one step. He is very strong and if he strikes a person on his chest with the palm of his hand the person soon dies and the marks of the demon's palm can be seen on the person's chest. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb.

There is a sky demon, nTo glaŋ. The Chinese are sometimes told that this is the god *t'ai shan shih kan tang* 泰山石敢當 but the Ch'uan Miao do not really believe that the demon and the Chinese god are the same. A ceremony in which he is worshipped with offerings is as follows:—

The priest, called mo, takes a bamboo food bowl with corn and beans in it, then stands up in the house and sings a memorial chant, and at the same time shaking the bowl and walking about. This brings the demon, after which the sacrifice is offered.

An old sow which has had litters and has been fattened is sacrificed. She is first tied upon two carrying poles. Torches are lighted and carried in the hands. Small boys make bamboo whistles and blow them. The family takes a bowl of water and turns a dipper upside down on the bowl and the dipper is beaten as a drum.

The sow must be carried in a procession around the house two or three times with the torches lighted and the whistles blowing. After this is finished, all call out, "Oh! Oh! Oh!" twelve times. Each time the arms are lifted up toward the sky. This is a ceremonial fighting with a Chinese who wanted the wife of a Miao but it is also to exorcise and drive away the sky demon.

The pig is first wet with cold water, then placed over a big fire, which makes the hair easy to scrape off. After it has been scraped off, the meat is cut up and boiled. After the pork is thoroughly cooked, it is dipped out and offered to the demon, after which it is eaten with biscuits made as follows.

The blood of the pig is mixed with flour and biscuits made of them. These are first offered to the demon and then eaten.

Instead of a table the pork and the biscuits are placed on a wooden bedstead. Seven wooden knives must be made with which to cut the biscuits. The knives are placed on this bed. After the offerings have been made to the demon, he is escorted away with polite words and is supposed to depart.

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776 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them
782 where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nΛn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron ploughshare, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on
789 twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

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796 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings
to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they
769 will come forward again and make offerings to the female
and male descendants for three generations before you can
have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The
girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared
585 much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and
the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared
782 and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float
about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants
have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xAu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xAu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

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You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsə's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

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764 After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the g'a gei) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the g'a gei says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntsə's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the g'a gei pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntsə's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

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The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says,

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"ʒ̊ε nts'ai ʒ̊ε lAu, (the name of the sky demon) come and take an animal from the family. You are in Ntsə's heaven. You have a horse so you ride a horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit." Then the priest takes the bamboo divining sticks and throws them into his bamboo basket. He asks, "Has it come or not." His companion then replies, "He has come." Then he says, "Since you have come, I will lead you to return to your home." At this time yellow candles made of beeswax are lighted. All are seated in the guest room. At this time it is not permitted to speak Chinese and women are not permitted to come and look. He continues to speak;

"ʒ̊ε nts'ai ʒ̊ε lAu, you are in heaven. Come and take this pig from the old people of this family. This family will give it to you. You have a horse to ride on here. I have come but I have no horse. I will ride a wind-spirit. Are you coming."

The companion replies, "Coming", Then the bamboo divining sticks are again thrown into the basket.

IV. SPEAKING ABOUT FEEDING A PIG AND REPORTING TO THE SKY DEMON

When feeding the pig, feed one handful and then you leave for one year. We feed two handfuls and then you leave for two years. We feed three handfuls and then you leave for three years. We feed five handfuls and you leave for five years. We feed six handfuls and you leave for six years. We feed seven handfuls and you leave for seven years. We feed eight handfuls and you leave for eight years. We feed nine handfuls and you leave for nine years. When we feed him ten handfuls, you stay away a thousand hundreds of years." (Each time as he speaks of feeding a pig, he takes a handful of pigs' food and throws it upon the pig's body.) "ʒ̊ε nts'ai ʒ̊ε lAu you are in Ntsə's heaven. You come and take a pig from this family. This family will give it to you. You must make the family's illness light. You must make the family's pains light. Make their mouths and tongues light (lest they anger people), make their wrongs light and make their calamities light. Now we will end this (animal's) life and give it to you. You take it with you. Don't come back for a thousand hundreds of years (a hundred thousand years). Since you have a horse, you ride the horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit."

"Has he come?" Then the companion of the priest answers, "He has come." At this time the pig is killed. The pig's blood is mixed with corn-meal and is rolled into biscuits. Hot water must not be poured on the pig. The hair must be

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burnt off and then the skin is scraped off clean with a hoe. When this is finished the pig is cut up into small pieces so that each person gets one piece. (The size varies according to the number present.) What is left over is boiled. Tea is made of the leaves of a bush having thorns and everybody drinks some of the tea.

An offering of pork and this tea is made once. Then evedybody plays on bamboo flutes. When they have finished playing, everybody eats some of the biscuits made of corn and blood (which have been cooked). When they are through eating, the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu, have you come?"

Then everybody replies, "He has come."

When they are about to worship the sky demon, they split the skull of the pig open and take the pig's brain and offer it to the demon. They do not tell the demon that it is pig brains but say to the demon, "This is salt." Then they offer some salt and say, "This is ashes we are using to worship you." Then the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu. Have you come?" Then all reply, "Come", (that is, he has come). (1) Have you come to eat pig brains, will you come?" (2) They reply, "He has come." He then offers the pig's liver and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the pig's kidneys and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the intestines and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." Then in the same way the stomach, some of the bloody biscuits, then rice are offered, each time with the same question and the same answer.

When the above has been finished, they take the ropes used to tie the pig, the bamboo flutes, and the seven wooden knives used to cut the blood biscuits, and they bring them and say, "Now we are going to escort baŋ ts'ə out of doors." Then the priest sings the following song;

"The flowers will slowly fade away."

"jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn (Mr. Yang who is excellent at shooting arrows) came for a long time to-day. He will return to Ntsə's plain. Because the Chinese were not efficient in worshipping the sky demon, they wanted me, jaŋ lʌu, to go and help the Chinese worship him. At that time the pig's heart of these Chinese stuck to the cooking-vessel.

And the Chinese said that I, jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn ate it.

They said that I swallowed it. So the Chinese brought soldiers and surrounded my house and attacked. Ntɡʌu, the Chinese, with an arrow shot me dead.

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He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.
Now, ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

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To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *k'ai chang* 開場 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no ʒ̄in (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xʌu lo xai. (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ʒ̄ɛ gi (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

[11 cont.]

764 home, his body lying across the hall. When a Ch'ing Miao dies his body is wrapped up in a straw mat and hung up with a rope on a beam in the hall. For funerals performed outside the house, they build a straw hut and place the body inside. The kinsmen [292] wear hemp cloth or white cloth on the head in mourning and cry aloud around the body. This is known as "hao-sang" [wailing funeral]. Meanwhile the bereaved family would send messengers to announce the sad news to friends and relatives in distant parts. 764 At night they put up a spirit tablet and invite a wizard priest [kuei-
787 shih] to "open the way" by means of a cock and a bamboo stick slit into a magic diagram. The priest settles down in front of the spirit tablet and calls the deceased by the name, informing him of the story of genesis and urging him to start on his journey. He too advises the dead how to overcome dangers and obstacles, how to deal with difficulties, how to recognize cross roads and to ferry across rivers and oceans, and so on until the spirit world is reached. After the ritual of opening the road is 764 over, they slaughter a chicken and a piglet to spur the spirit on
782 his way. On the following day at the time of "k'ai-ch'ang" [commencing the ceremony] (the Chinese call it "k'ai-tiao"), a bull is bludgeoned as a gift to the dead. (Among the Hê Miao, a bull is bludgeoned as a sacrifice to a man, and a horse as a sacrifice to a woman.) At the time of bludgeoning the crowd wails and cries to the tune of the liu-sheng. The bull is first led around the straw pavilion three times and then handed over to the priest, who calls out the name of the deceased and makes the presentation before the spirit tablet. The animal is then led out to be slaughtered. Relatives and friends who have come to make sacrifices all have with them a sheng of rice, a pot of wine and a basketful of cooked rice, pork and eggs. These are given to the priest one by one, who in turn calls out to the deceased for a formal offering. The bereaved family then cooks the beef and after first offering it to the deceased, passes it around to the guests. That night all keep the funeral vigil, and sing to each other songs of piety in sad words and melancholic tunes to arouse in those who hear them a feeling of sadness.

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After [illegible]ing in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as
the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.)
Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The
names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to
ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of
superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty,
foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to
Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching
the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind
and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted.
These preachers bought property where their congregation was the
largest and established schools with teachers instructing the peo-
ple in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the south-
west headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua
Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao
language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn
as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written
language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In
childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the
simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside
the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating
experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the
aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can
have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material
things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those
Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter
to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao
reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

8) To protect children. Many families whose children
756 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their
751

[29 cont.]

751 "guardian" for the purpose of getting protection. This is be-
756 cause the body of the priest is supposed to be endowed with a spiritual quality that can put the ghosts in their places. Therefore, children receiving his guardianship can avoid illness. Often a priest may have several hundred people under his protection. To apply for it the protégé has to present a pair of shoes, a handkerchief, a cock and some glutinous rice to the
[553] guiding spirit of the priest, after which offering the protégé is given a new name.

Priesthood among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not a profes-
756 sion, the shaman being a full-time farmer, carpenter or blacksmith. It is only a side-line. Each time the priest performs some service, his remuneration consists of a few insignificant "lucky" items. It is said that priesthood is not a willing choice. Every priest has at least twenty to thirty different spirits seeking his mediumship, and if he refuses the spirits would derange his mind. So once seized by the spirits a man cannot help being a priest. He then cuts a piece of red paper into a row of human forms [30] and pastes them before his ancestral altar. A board is nailed horizontally against the wall, on which two or three tea cups are placed. After each magic performance, the head of
[742] the cow, pig, or dog used in the ritual must be brought home to be sacrificed before the altar. But chickens and ducks used for the same purpose need not be brought home.

The capability of the shamans varies. Some can only catch small or wild ghosts but are unable to subdue big and fierce ghosts, who only surrender to priests with greater supernatural powers. Therefore, priests are divided into several classes. While performing magic, the priest may be assisted by a t'ung-shih [instructor] who is a less spiritually gifted person. The latter can only assist the priest but cannot engage the ghosts alone, and so his remuneration is still less. He may be fed for the services rendered without extra rewards.

[152 cont.]

538 lot is otherwise so hard. Below are given two extracts from "Méo" songs, borrowed from the work of P. Maraball (op. cit., pp. 296 and 298):

539 1. Love song:

782 The Young Man. — One is born only once. As the bee and the butterfly go far off in search of flowers, so human creatures are obliged to make long journeys to seek out those beings with whom they should unite. In like fashion we two are of different villages and yet we are about to wed. It is Heaven that has so willed it, He who is just and is never mistaken.

The Young Woman. — No, we are like the reed and the plum tree, which are separated by long distances. Don't make fun of it in that way. But since you tell me of the example of the bees, we have only to follow it. Wait for me then this evening at nightfall and I shall take care not to miss the rendezvous.

2. Prayer:

May we have an abundant harvest of maize! May the 539 wind blow with moderation and the rain fall with regularity! Then 782 more than a hundred plants will give rich harvests. Thus the mandarins will have a tranquil people to rule. Oh, that these desires may be completely realized! Let us beat the drum to celebrate autumn.

The costume of the men scarcely varies from one tribe to an-
291 other (see photo 204, Plate 38, in which representatives of various "Méo" tribes of Upper Tonkin appear). It consists of a jacket which buttons [153] usually in front of the right shoulder as well as on the side, and goes down just below the hips, a long pantaloon falling to the feet and held up by a belt, a turban of variable size, wrapped in a haphazard fashion.

Among those tribes which are in direct contact with the Chinese,
[177] the masculine costume approaches that of the Chinese, the jacket buttons in front by means of a variable number of braided loops and buttons and the turban is often replaced by a small skullcap.

The "Méo" usually go about barefooted. Some wear sandals with soles of rattan or bamboo fiber, or even the Chinese heelless

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special intermediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, [448] who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

[435] For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy about seventy, are paid. The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but

1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

they are not refuted by any other author.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/33 cont./

A 597 Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all. A [435]

M 608 Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both go to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded. M [273] M [776] [782]

The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other. M [428] [837]

A 608 572 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends," without any special rights and duties.

/43 cont./

634 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly,
695 as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished,
[342] not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of
[516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the
[276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and
[292] sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri-
[782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] [775] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bride-[152] groom into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of [782] [769] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until [513] [595] the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thǫ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yǫ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[264] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings 585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/102 cont./

184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

114 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,
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1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The
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[584]

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 888 [596] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is wrashed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

A M [782] [775]

M 764 775 Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

M [789]

1. Page 461.

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without 782 much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days addi- [775] tional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, [554] women, and children, with no differences other than that the sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the

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1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages, appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

"One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
764 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
775 string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse, is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into M [778] which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the [782] chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, [413] however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of M Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting [532] nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood [114] sculpture.

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. II[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though NOT universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to A [831] nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

1 [See cat 116, p 120 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

A /152 cont./
123 rang out in the distance. As we discovered later, it was fire-
535 works which the Akha had acquired from the Chinese. Mean-
[541] while the sound of mouth organs was heard drifting toward us;
[177] the noise grew louder and seemed to come closer, and we were quickly on our feet.

Shortly thereafter the first group of the festive throng arrived. It was several dozen young men, accompanied by a number of boys. In their gala costumes, richly hung with silver (Ill. 12), they posted themselves beside our tent and began to dance, while some of them started a huge fire. The flickering, crackling fire cast eerie shadows, which the blazing flames dispelled, on the figures stamping and leaping to the sound of their mouth organs. Over us arched the firmament with the twinkling tropical starry sky. It was one of the most beautiful and rewarding moments we were privileged to experience on this expedition. After a few hours the fire gradually died down, and the tired dancers returned to their village.

A These dances of the Akha, however, are usually danced
527 following a celebration, occasions that are presented in abundance
[535] because of the special liking of the Akha for celebrations. When the full moon shines at harvest time the sound of the mouth organs and the singing of the beautifully adorned girls with their reddened lips and cheeks resound the whole night through. The
M turn of the year is celebrated among both the Meau and Akha
[527] with festivals that last for days, but other occasions also are often presented for breaking the monotony of /153/ /Ill. 26-29 appear here on unnumbered pages/ work with a festival in honor of the spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Deities and Spirits") or of a distinguished guest. We, too,
A had the opportunity to participate as guests in several celebrations
[123] of the Akha along the Doy Tung in northern Thailand. In the following I shall give the description of one of these celebrations from the entries in my wife's journal:

A "At day a pig is slaughtered. Many men hold the loudly
M squealing animal, while one of them cuts its throat. Whereas
[23] the Meau always see to it that the spirits receive their share,
[782] the Akha do not concern themselves about this in the least. They drive a strong pole into the dead animal at the anus and
A out through the snout. Without any sacrificial ceremony and
[252]
[see cat 116, P 37- ANALYST]
[TEXT continues on P214]

/156 cont./

know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
[114]

3. Page 168.

same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of

4. II, p. 253.

heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
177 Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
771 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
776 Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
[782] sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated. Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[795] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan, the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏňň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be [177] dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [726] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/165 cont./

326 spirits of the smithy, the chief spirit, dǎ lǔ pǎn, which literally
776 means "to know great fire," and his two assistant spirits, lǔ lǔ pan and san lu pan, and asks these three spirits to help him and to see to it that the iron neither cracks nor becomes overheated. Da lu pan, the chief spirit of the smithy spirits, also taught the Meau /166/ other useful things, especially technical skills. These spirits of the smithy are of the male sex. The smiths
[782] make sacrifices to them on the altar in their houses and believe that they actually live there. Before the Meau begins his work at the forge, he lights an incense candle for each of the three spirits, that is, three candles altogether, and asks dǎ lǔ pǎn and his two assistant spirits to follow him to the smithy. After that it is believed that the three spirits actually accompany the smith to the workshop and return to the dwelling after the work is done. No explanation could be given when I objected that there must be vast numbers of such spirits, since there are many Meau smiths and dǎ lǔ pǎn with his two assistant spirits lives in the house of every one of them.

756 The teacher-spirit of the medicine man is called yǔ wǎn
776 sǔ fū. The curer makes offerings to him, with whom no assistant
[782] spirits are associated, on the altar which he has erected in his house, before he begins to treat a sick person. Two incense candles are lighted for this sacrificial act.

The shamans, too, follow a teacher-spirit, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsū. They are also helped by three pairs of assistant spirits: tǎ fū yé, lǔ fū yé, and sǎn fū yé.

776 Other good spirits live in the clouds. Human beings do not know how many of them, who are called sěn šěn, there are. In one Meau village I met a woman who was convinced that she had the special good-will of these cloud spirits, for which reason
[782] she had erected in her house a special altar for them, on which she regularly offered sacrifices to the sěn šěn. This woman
[212] believed that the cloud spirits had taught her to write! How easy it was to determine that she had seen Chinese characters among itinerant Haw traders. Upon my request she scribbled on paper fanciful characters, whose meaning, of course, she was unable to explain to me.

/167 cont./

776 know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither
[829] fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient
times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought
[773] them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank, even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231 There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created
776 by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so
[775] much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits. In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a
[782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation of a guardian spirit.

1 [See cat. 116, p 666 - ANALYST]

/176 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they
[302] do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the
[292] back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
756 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
787 spirit of all the shamans, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsŭ, and the three pairs of
[782] assistant spirits, tă fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé. The teacher-
[776] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
[801] Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/178 cont./

756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
789 should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
[778] of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
[782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [SEE cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

/179 cont./

756 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before
787 he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97).[1] [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for [614] cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the [465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,
755 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

[1] [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/180 cont./

125 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
• 782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
787 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/182 cont./

755 All those present tensely watch the horn oracle, which
787 finally indicates a favorable outcome. Then Chief Tsin Tsai
[782] steps forward with the sick son and the eldest son, all three kneel down on the ground before the shaman, facing the altar, fold their hands in prayer in the manner of devout Catholics, and beseech the spirits to come and to help. Now the two sons step back, and the chief picks up the gong and begins to beat it. In the meantime, the shaman covers his face with the black cloth so as to be able to see the spirits as soon as they appear. With his left hand he reaches for the magic rattle (see the chapter, "Art," Fig. 31), sits down on the bench in front of the altar, stamps with both feet, simultaneously to the rhythm of the gong beats, and, in the same rhythm, strikes the back of his right hand on his right knee and the magic rattle on his left knee, all the while moving the upper part of his body backward and forward rattling sounds, like "brrr" and "krrr," are heard uninterruptedly along with his, and in the midst of it his conjurations in a half-sung, half-spoken cadence. Then his motions slow down, and his words are more clearly pronounced, while the eyes of everyone present hang on the shaman's lips, for through him the spirits announce their orders and revelations.

After about ten minutes the chief stops beating the gong, but the shaman continues his actions. His words shape themselves into an order: "The soul of Lü has traveled beyond the clouds; evil spirits are holding it, preventing its return. Sacrifice a pig."

755 The eldest son immediately fetches a small pig and puts
782 the sacrificial /183/ animal upon a second bench behind the
[231] shaman. Other members of the family hold the animal firmly by the snout. The eldest son cuts its throat, and someone catches the blood spurting from the veins in a bowl. The chief dips spirit-money (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50) into the blood and burns it with the pious words: "Spirits, I offer you my pig. Enjoy eating it and help my son get well!" He then takes the spirit-
755 sword (Fig. 55) and with it draws a line on the ground, which clearly includes the place of sacrifice in the altar area and

/184 cont./

755 if you were floating above the clouds pursued by evil spirits. Never leave his body again!"

The patient then sits down in his place. Meanwhile the shaman has imperturbably continued his conjurations. After a quarter of an hour the chief repeats the ceremony with the [782] spirit-paper; then he lights four new incense candles and puts them next to the almost consumed original candles in the vessel on the altar, where the fat-lamp continues to burn. After each action the chief and his eldest son immediately return to their places behind the shaman, who always remains facing the altar. The patient returns to the bench next to the hearth fire. In this way the first hour passes.

At the beginning of the ceremony the occupants of the house conversed with one another freely; now some of them leave the house, the rest remain silent and intently watch the proceedings. Suddenly in the midst of things a Meau woman who does not belong to the community comes and appeals simultaneously to the shaman and the chief: "I am suffering. I have had stomach pains for days. I beg you to help me." Jerkily, the shaman interrupts his conjurations and suddenly answers in a natural voice. He promises to assist the woman the next day and she is to prepare a dog sacrifice. The woman thanks him and leaves the house, and the shaman again begins his rhythmical motions, conjurations, and commands. Suddenly he stops and in his ordinary voice says that evil spirits are approaching. Tsin Tsai and his eldest son quickly step over to the shaman's bench together and hold it firmly, while the chief wife of the chief picks up the gong and beats it uninterruptedly as her husband had done formerly. Jerkily, and for us quite unexpectedly, the shaman jumps on the bench once with both feet simultaneously and then once again, for an /Ill. 30-34 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /185/ evil spirit has crept in among the good ones. [801] Since uneven numbers are regarded as unfavorable and pernicious among the Meau, they are preferred for driving away evil spirits. Accordingly, the chief now takes three handfuls of the prepared maize and rice kernels and scatters them in all directions. His chief wife takes water into her mouth and spits it out in all the

[Text continues on p. 253]

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura-
[787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear
756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the
764 txi ceng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be
[782] slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/194 cont./

123 224 787 As far as I was concerned, the situation was difficult if not actually perilous if I wanted to remain on good terms with the Meau. I could not contradict the spirits and had to follow their orders, which were transmitted to me through the mouth of the chief. Hence it was of utmost importance for me to become thoroughly familiar with the pertinent customs of the Meau. One day Tsin Tsai asked me to accompany him on a gaur hunt. A Meau had wounded a splendid old gaur, but was afraid, and very justifiably so, as I soon discovered, to track down this solitary beast in the difficult terrain. Therefore, /195/ he stopped the pursuit, returned to the village, and reported the facts to the chief. A few hours later, we, the chief, my interpreter, and I, were standing at the spot of the shooting. We had no difficulty in finding the path of flight of the heavy animal. We followed it until it led into an impenetrable thicket, which, as dense secondary growth, covered a rice field abandoned some six years earlier.

With our chopping knives we laboriously started cutting our way through the thicket and could not see two meters ahead. Added to that, the wind changed direction every few minutes. Under these circumstances tracking down an old, as well as wounded, solitary animal was tantamount to suicide. To judge by the trail which led up a steep hillside, it was highly improbable that the animal had died, but, on the other hand, reasonably certain that sooner or later we would be attacked by the wounded buffalo, without being able to parry such an attack by the wounded animal even halfway successfully at this short distance without having the shot pass out of the animal's body.

From the viewpoint of the hunter, Tsin Tsai had evidently committed an error, which surprised me. I drew his attention to the dangers that surrounded us. Tsin Tsai calmly confirmed my observations, but nevertheless held the opinion that, in spite of everything, no danger could threaten us, and, indeed, we were certain to be successful, for he had consulted the spirits by means [782] of the oracle and had even sacrificed a pig to them before we set out, and all the omens had been favorable! Naturally, I could not call the spirits liars, much less question their power. On the

/195 cont./

123 other hand, I had no desire to pursue such a hopeless affair for
224 which I was not responsible. Only strategy could help. Amiably
987 I turned to Tsin Tsai: "Your spirits were right. I, too, however, questioned my hunting spirit. He told me that he would have to go up into the clouds and therefore could not assist me. He advises me therefore to stop the pursuit." The chief understood this immediately. The hunt was immediately called off, and without protest we were able to start back, for Tsin Tsai had no intention of exposing me to danger.

/196/ Another time -- but by no means always -- I was successful in using my influence to overcome bothersome hindrances which the oracle made for us. One day, I could not do any ethnographic fieldwork because my informants were not available. I therefore wanted to go hunting with a Meau, who for his part was very much in favor of my proposal. Beforehand, however, he wanted to consult the oracle as to whether the undertaking planned should be done at this time. Naturally, I feared difficulties again, but I quickly found a way out. I reminded the Meau that he had just laid out the oracle a few days before and that the spirits had told him that we would kill the gaur which I now wished to hunt. The spirits would certainly be annoyed by his asking again. Fortunately that satisfied my Meau; he gave up the oracle and set out with me.

I myself, however, tried to obtain answers through the oracle of the Meau, in order to familiarize myself in every way with their ideas. In one case I wanted to know whether I would have a chance to shoot a certain old bull elephant whose haunt was known to me and to the chief. The chief lighted a fire, burned three pieces of the spirit-money which he carried with him, whittled three small bamboo sticks, and held them between the thumb and index finger of his right hand. Then he drew them through the fire several times, held them up toward the sky, and, while these preparations were going on, began conjuring the great Father-Mother spirit. He informed him that
[782] he had sacrificed spirit-money and asked for answers to the following questions: Whether the bull elephant was occupying its usual haunt at the present time, whether I would be able to shoot it,

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig."

A 313 824 789 The same author (4) also made the following observation:

4. Page 114.

"When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 M [755] Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 789 [778] M [782] [756] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--275 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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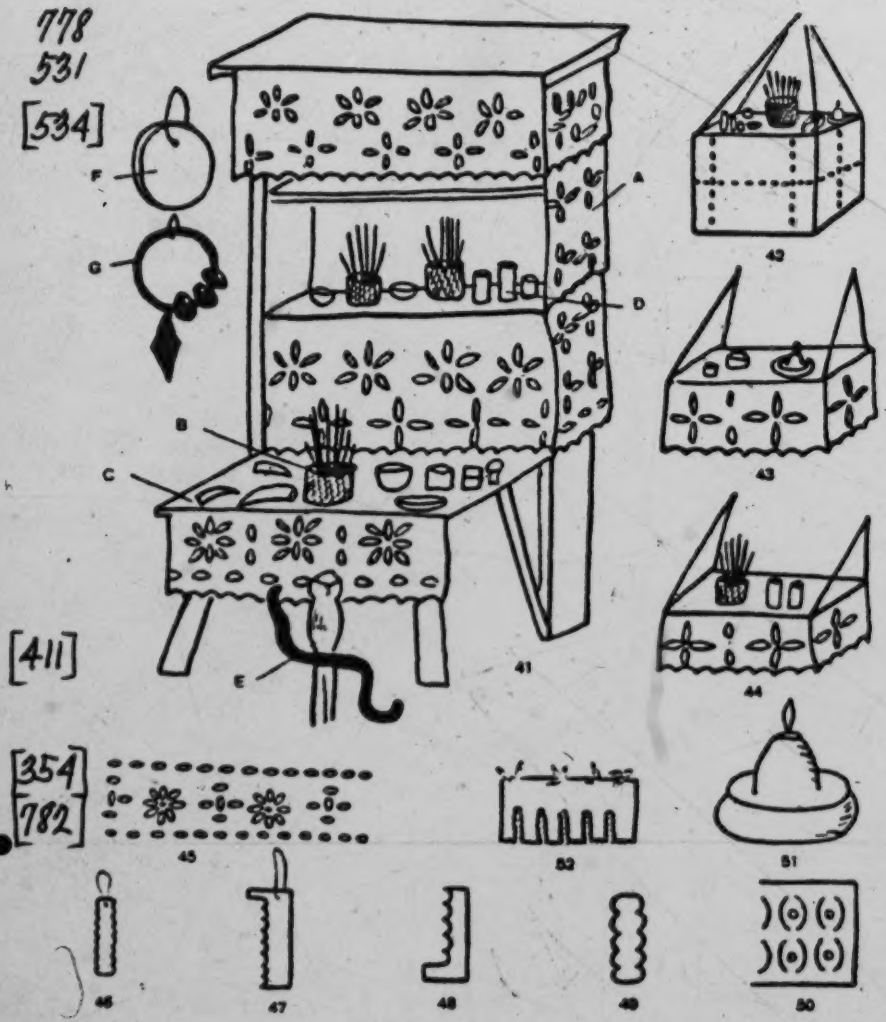
[534]



[411]
[354]
[782]

Figs. 41-52. Altars of the Meau.

Fig. 41. Large altar for the worship of the ancestors and the teacher-spirit of the shaman. 1/24 nat. size: A = punched-out paper curtain as decoration for the wooden frame; B = small basket with incense candles; C = oracle horns; D = small tea

[787]

(continued)

Miao AE5

//Caption for Figs. 41-52 cont./

778 bowls and vessels for maize kernels, oil, or water; E = old
[411] battle sword of the Meau, stuck into the ground in order to forbid
[534] access to the evil spirits; F = gong; G = magic rattle of iron.
Fig. 42. Altar in the house of the chief, with incense candles, lamp, oracle horns, and the like, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 43. Altar for the assistant spirits of the shaman. The alter consists of a board with cultic apparatus and provided with a paper curtain, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 44. Altar for the teacher-spirit of the medicine men, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 45. Punch pattern for the
[531] altar paper. Figs. 46-50. Spirit-money of various denominations,
[354] about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 51. Altar lamp, 1/6 nat. size.
[782] Fig. 52. Blood-soaked chicken feathers on the paper curtain of an altar as a sacrifice for the souls of the ancestors.

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer.
[516] which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position
[788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his
[756] wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses
[787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro-
[516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship
776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are
782 dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected
[778] for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship
776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom
[782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the
782 bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other
[769] prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large [596] [769] /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70),[1] flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

1 [See cat 116, p512 - ANALYST]

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782 New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
769 voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
526 munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
[776 The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/207 cont./

782 231 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau [778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value of the animal (Ill. 103).[1] [439] Gold paper, which the Meau do not make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny [435] shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 782 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

1 [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/208 cont./

769 782 [852] [764] As has already been described in detail in the pertinent sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If [437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 782 [461] Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the [787] spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

1 [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/209 cont./

484 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having
782 its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moder-
574 ate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so
782 that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means
114 for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-
261

1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau
[796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time
[776] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the
[241]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
●782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
241 other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

782 Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by
796

1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/210 cont./

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
[413] however, only after it has been punched with the special punches in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark-powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
787 Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
[177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

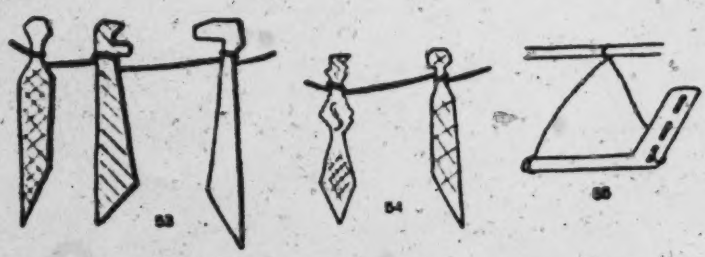
Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses,
[177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

[788] [783] [562] [177]

778 411



Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 571 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, say, a joining together of the young people at the time of initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

[881] [782]

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

532 778 [779]

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured, there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved, and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
[846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[164] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
[626] birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/215 cont./

A 782 [778] [241] to him there (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter). On certain occasions each year sacrifices are regularly offered to a number of spirits, as has already been reported in the section referred to.

A 782 796 [769] Among the Akha, too, the New Year's festival has great importance with regard to sacrifices, since at this festival, which, as among the Meau, lasts four days, sacrifices are likewise made to the ancestors and all of the spirits in accordance with their significance. Telford (1) has found similar conditions

A [778] 1. Page 109.

among the Akha in Kengtung: "The New Year's festival lasts four days. The people eat rice cakes and chickens and drink tea and liquor. Part of this is offered to the spirits, for the core of this festival is the feeding of the ancestral souls." A [769]

Aside from the fixed times, among the Akha -- as among the Meau -- sacrifices are offered whenever special occasions require it, such as sickness, misfortune, death, and birth, but also in case of a violation of a taboo and similar occurrences. A [688] Sacrifices are primarily offered by the shamans, but also by the village elders, the family fathers, and, substituting for them, their wives.

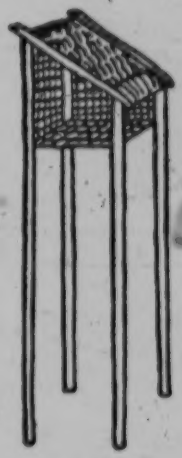


Fig. 56
Little sacrificial house of the Akha. 1/40 nat. size.

/216/ Both tribes use food, meat or whole animals, field products, and alcohol, as sacrifices. The pig is the most important sacrificial animal, followed by chickens and dogs. A M 782 [231] Pieces of the meat of all the other animals eaten are to be sure, similarly sacrificed, as are those of every other food, which is shared with the ancestors and spirits, but these animals are not associated with the cult. A M [764] [114] Savina (1) reports that the Meau in

1. II. p. 200.

/216 cont./

A M 782 764 114 Indochina slaughter six buffalo when a chief dies and two upon the death of a common man. Scott (2) reports that upon the death of

2. Page 275.

an Akha five buffalo are killed. Unfortunately, however, in all the cases it is not apparent whether these are sacrifices or merely roasted meat for the survivors and guests, or both.

M 114 266 782 Like the Meau, the Akha, too, do not know human sacrifice or the offering of human flesh. The statement in the old Chinese literature (3) that the Meau eat their slain enemies raw,

A [782]

3. Album Gotha, No. 38.

as well as the general remark (4) that cannibalism occurs, prob-

4. Eberhard, II, p. 266.

ably has nothing to do with sacrifice or religion. In my opinion the Chinese authors simply wanted to impute to their mortal enemies a crime which is particularly wicked in the eyes of the Chinese.

A 825 178 [782] Among the Akha there is a noteworthy custom of taking the skull and lower jaw of certain animals taken while hunting, such as bear, muntjac, and wild pig, and fastening them for the house spirit in front of his little niche between the two rooms of the dwelling (see section, "Deities and Spirits," of the present chapter). In some places among the Akha one finds rows of monkeys' skulls nailed to the roofs. Today the Akha explain this custom as an attempt to beautify the dwelling of the house spirit and sometimes the house itself. The question was sometimes answered: "We do this because our ancestors did it." In other words, tradition was given as the reason for the custom.

A [727] [174] Might this perhaps be a relic of a lost head-hunting cult? The taboo on killing the hornbill, which will be mentioned later, likewise points in this direction.

/276 cont./

342

Figs. 72-74.
The doors of the Meau.
About 1/7 nat. size.
Fig. 72. Entrance door of wood.
Fig. 73. Door-leaf of Fig. 72.
Fig. 74. Entrance door of bamboo.

342 The construction of a dwelling proceeds in the following
787 manner: After the site of the future dwelling has been carefully
[782] chosen, spirit-money is sacrificed and the ancestors and the high Father-Mother spirit are asked whether the place is auspicious. Then one listens attentively all around and looks for possible omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). One now erects a leaf-roof and sleeps under it. If now there are still no unfavorable omens observable and no dreams of unfavorable portent occur, then the men and women together begin to clear the site of all brush and level it off.

/276 cont./

342 the other two corner posts, as well as all the other supporting posts in between, are set in, the crossbeams of the roof are tied on, and the vertical planks are fastened.

/277/ Then the roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) is laid on and fastened. In the meantime the women have prepared the palm leaves, and the men start the roof covering. /Figs. 75 and 76 appear here./

[462] This proceeds in the following fashion: women and children tie the palm leaves in rows on poles (Fig. 77), and these are then placed on one another in layers, like roof tiles, by the men (Fig. 78). They /Figs. 77-78 appear here/ /278/ start this at the lowest point of the roof and continue until the ridge is reached. When this has been done on both sides of the roof, the long bamboo poles are put to the right and left of it, parallel to the long axis of the roof, and tied fast to the roof truss. Now, at intervals of about one meter, the roof riders, which crowning everything, hold down the leaf shingles, are tied to the roof truss.

When the house is completed in this fashion, the fireplace, 342 the hearth, and the partitions are built. Then a temporary altar ●782 is erected by putting a board over three supporting posts. Here [778] the owner of the house sacrifices a couple of chickens and invites the ancestors and his spirit-teachers (see the chapter, "Religion," the section, "Deities and Spirits") to move into their new dwelling. In front of the entrance door he likewise sacrifices a couple of chickens for the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to protect the house and to take up residence in it very often.

342 Savina (1) describes the house construction in Indochina:

1. II, p. 184.

"The mountain site where the new colony intends to settle has been prepared two or three months previously. The site for the new house has been cleared of weeds, the timber has been cut, the maize fields are cleared and have even been seeded. Thus one is quickly installed. In a few days the house is up, which, [461] incidentally, does not cost much in labor. The Meau make everything themselves. They are masons, carpenters, smiths,

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
[264] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[574] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[262] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
[263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
243

2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is [314] left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] [417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

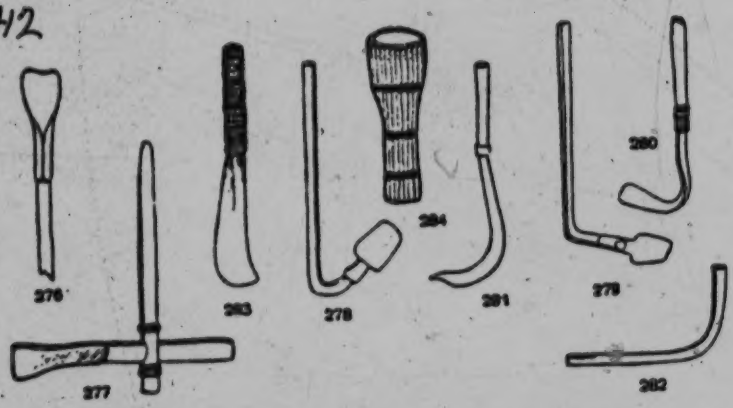
/365 cont./

e) Animal Husbandry

M 231 [262] [782]

The Meau are good livestock raisers. The main emphasis is on the raising of pigs, because the animals are regarded not only as food, but also as the most important sacrificial animals. The Meau raise only a very primitive breed similar to the wild pig, which is crossed with the latter, since the domestic pigs run about freely in the villages and their surroundings during the day. At night, however, they are put in pens built especially for them.

M [417] A 412



Figs. 276-284. Agricultural Equipment of the Akha.

Fig. 276. Digging stick, 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 277. Ax, 1/14 nat. size. Figs. 278-279. Field hoe, 1/28 nat size. Fig. 280. Weeding rake, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 281. Sickle, 1/12 nat. size. Fig. 282. Threshing flail of hard wood, oval in cross-section, 1/80 nat. size. Fig. 283. Jungle knife, 1/19 nat. size. Fig. 284. Sheath of bamboo, 1/18 nat. size.

A [243]

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand,
[184] so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially
broader economic base for them. This is shown by the descrip-
tion that Sâvina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

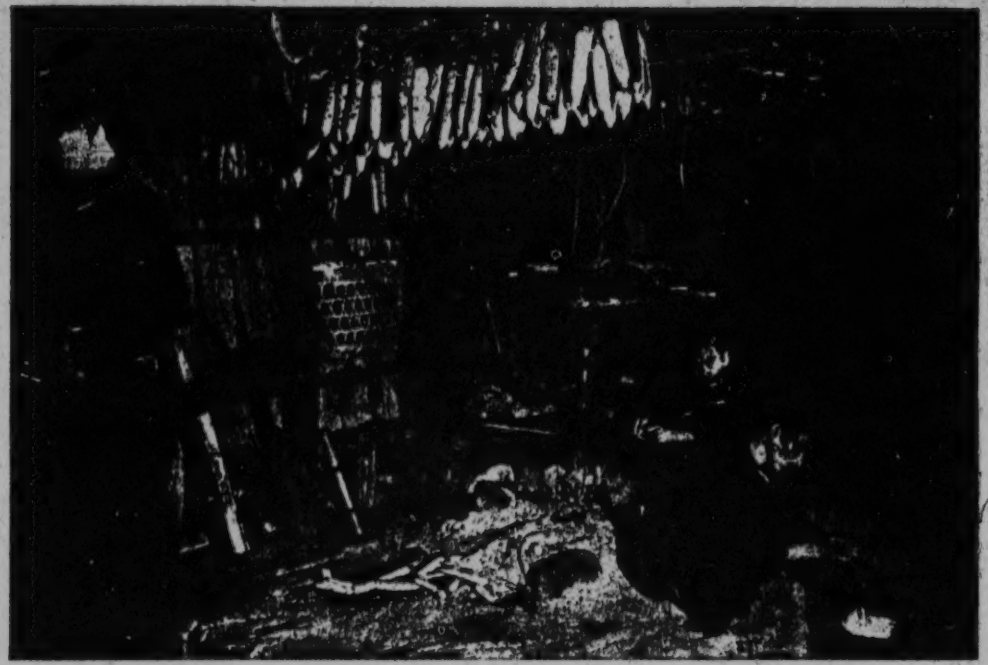
2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep,
chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain
away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how
many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd to-
gether to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a
tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller
ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau
tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There
are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all
these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and
cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every
evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by
themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize.
One is given to them at the place where they are found, and
with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and
cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a
matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the
stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

39: Bernatzik--665 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/



Ill. 100. At the command of the invoked spirits, spirit money is burned in a pit in the floor of the house.

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39: Bernatzik--704 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 522/

756
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Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits with a burning torch by the shaman of the Meau (right) and his assistant.

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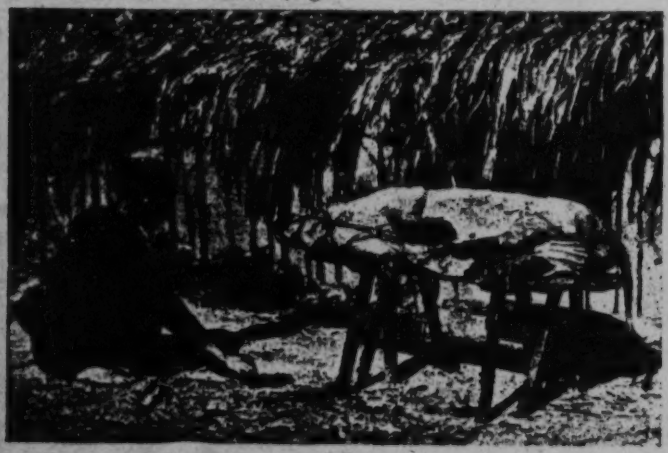
231



Ill. 103. Before the slaughtering, the pig is purchased from the spirits by the Meau by burning spirit-money under the snout of the animal.

/IX cont./

252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

39: Bernatzik--729 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
[354] background on the right, the mud hearth with the
Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
[352] that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/48 cont'd/

585 designated. The two singers sang alternately. When they finished
[533] singing, the go-betweens returned to the small house /to join the bridegroom/. Then a humorous act was put on in the small house. It was called t'ao ch'ien-liang ("to collect land tax"). The act began with two persons representing the bride's family coming there to demand tobacco leaves. During this act, there was a very humorous and interesting dialogue. Prior to leaving the house, the two "tax collectors" sang a song outside the door.

After the humorous act was over, one of the go-betweens then carried the bridegroom on his back toward the bride's house. The order of the procession was the same as before. /49/ The bridegroom's party walked to the bride's house and stopped in front of the door of the side room where they were greeted by an usher from
[533] the bride's family. He greeted the bridegroom with a song. One of the go-betweens sang a song in reply. Between the bridegroom and the usher, there was a winnow in which were placed a wine pot and a wine cup. The usher then offered the wine to all the groom's party except the bridegroom. At this time, the young girls of the village again started making fun of the bridegroom, who stood still like a dummy. After singing and drinking, the go-betweens led the bridegroom to the central room of the bride's house. The interior decoration of this room was as follows: On the left side of the front door there was a censer and on the right side there were a pair of scissors and a sickle. In the center of the room, there was a big betel-nut shell with charcoal burning in it. Beside the betel-nut shell, there was a table on which a bottle of wine, two wine cups, two bowls of rice, and a bowl of cooked pork liver were set. When the bridegroom arrived at the door he stopped.

A man from the bride's family stood inside the door, holding the scissors and the sickle in his hand. Facing the bridegroom, he began to perform a ritual and to recite incantations. (It was said
[783] that this ceremony was to drive away the devils /from the body of the bridegroom/.) After that the bridegroom was invited into the room. Stepping over the charcoal, he passed in and was seated at the table. The two go-betweens and the umbrella carrier were

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a [783] conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [556] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [842] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [842] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [177] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" [755] to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "wash- [783] ing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seek- [777] ing resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning [842] the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [556] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/148 cont./

*782 The Miao sorcerer performs the ritual of repenting three times with the knife. He further repeats the performance with a pair of scissors, and again recites:

[783] "The scissors of the host's family are used to do repenting for the host's sins. After he has repented, he can then receive blessings. These scissors cut only misfortunes but not blessings. They cut the mourning cloth of the host, cut the cord that ties up his feet, cut the rope that wraps around his hands, and cut his coffin. When the host steps over the scissors, he will then have peace and will get blessings. [p'iŋ çiaɹ]. The large scissors split open a bright main road; the small scissors split open a bright path."

After the performance with the scissors, he uses a comb to repeat the ritual of repenting, combing over to the left and once to the right, and continuing the incantation:

[783] "This sun comb and moon comb belong to the shrine of the local divinity of the soil. With it I come to get rid of the sins of the host. This comb does not comb away the host's meritorious acts but his transgressions. He constantly made vows before the shrine of the local divinity of the soil /149/ and also drank blood before the shrine, with blood left on his mouth and sweating blood in his viscera. The host, after this combing with the sun comb and moon comb, will be at peace! [p'iŋ çiaɹ]. The large comb will comb open a bright main road; the small comb will comb open up a bright path."

*782 After the sorcerer has finished with the knife, scissors, and comb, he takes hold of the chiao-tzu and begins divining 787 for the host and members of his family, uttering at the same time the following incantation:

"The three rites of repenting having been completed, the sorcerer-priest now requests that he may question the kan lo kuei. I request that I may question the patron saint, the questions will be clear. I wish to ask the fortunes of the host's family, big and small, men

/150 cont./

*782 824 bowls each of wine and meat and a bowl of beeswax. The Miao sorcerer sits in front of the table, beating a bamboo tube with his right hand and uttering the incantation to send away the old trees' supernatural forces. The general purport of the incantation /151/ is to request the kuei to go away quickly after partaking of the wine and meat, for the children in the village after hearing the strange noise are terrified. Among the phrases of the incantation is "kill a goat to sacrifice to the kuei." This shows that previously the goat was also used as an object of sacrifice but now it is spared; the text of the incantation, however, has remained unchanged. After one section has been [788] recited, he stops beating the bamboo tube. He starts ringing the bell with his left hand and continues the incantation. At the [787] same time he performs divination with the chiao-tzu. If the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, the supernatural forces are considered to have departed. If he gets the yang chiao, they have not gone, and the incantation and the divination have to be repeated until either the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, when the kuei may be sent away by burning the paper money.

(9) Cleansing the House

*782 783 If one's house has been lived in by a family of a different surname, the master of the house must ask a Miao sorcerer to cleanse the house after that family moves out, otherwise, the owner after living there would not be prosperous. Cleansing the house in Miao is called [ndzə˨ pɔ˥˧]. The two kuei invoked are [deiʌ ʻɔ˥˧ nɔŋ˥˧ de˨˩] and [deiʌ lɑ˥˧ nɔŋ˥˧ qa˥˩]. The time is any time during broad daylight, and the place may be anywhere inside the house, either in the main room or in the side room, facing outside the door. A table is set up, and on it placed five bowls of wine, five pieces of pork, five piles of mi-pa, and five pieces of tofu/bean curd/. A piece of green cloth 6 ch'ih long is spread out on the ground under the table. On the cloth are one or two strings of copper yuan; they also use a cock, whose two wings are tied to a leg of the table. They do not use beeswax, but only use three slender sticks of incense stuck up in the mi-pa. The

/151 cont./

*782 sorcer-priest holds the chiao and rings the bell, standing in front
•783 of the table, and the words of the incantation he utters are to the following effect:

> "Now we have prepared well wine, meat, a cock, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, clean water, and ready money to cleanse the house. First we invoke the ancestors of the host. When you hear my call, please hurry down and receive the objects of sacrifice. Next we invoke the ancestors of the previous tenant. The host, fearing that he may not be at peace here, has asked me to come to cleanse the house. I have come with many soldiers and horses. With water I cleanse the house, first cleanse the fire bed, next the fire pit. I cleanse the right and the left of the house; I cleanse the front and the back doors. After I have cleansed three times, the host may live in it with great prosperity, resources abundant, prosperous harvests of the five grains, and the increase of the six kinds of domestic animals. The trouble-making kuei have now been sent out the door, hereafter peace will be everlasting."

[769]

[787] After the incantation has been completed, he then divines with the chiao. If either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao appears, it is auspicious, and paper is burned to send off the kuei. But if the yin chiao appears, then the incantation has to be said again, until he divines and gets either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, when it is the end. After the sorcerer-priest has completed his performance, he drinks the wine on the table and takes the cock, meat, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, and copper yuan offered in sacrifice to the kuei, home with him.

[152/ (10) Cleansing the Cat

[825] The Miao consider that a cat dying in the house is an ill omen, and it is then necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to purify the house in order to expel harmful emanations. In Miao this is called

/152 cont./

*782 [t[illegible] [illegible]-mo[illegible]]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kuei[illegible] mo[illegible] jen[illegible] [illegible]] and [kuei[illegible] mo[illegible] jen[illegible] [illegible]]. The time is in broad
783 daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only
825 necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are
[776] placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some
L27 matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is
[578] wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [ti[illegible] t[illegible] ni[illegible]]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine
[778] for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is
[776] necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1) to drink blood.

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

/178 cont./

*782 place in the spring, when it is colloquially called a "peach blossom vow," but this is rare. /Illus. 75 appears between pp. 178-79./

/179/ To carry out the fulfilling of a vow to the No, it is necessary to invite a guest sorcerer. Relatives and fellow-villagers are also invited to come to the house. Before the date an altar is set up in the center of the main house, and on it are displayed the images of Duke No and Mother No (see Illus. 75). Behind the altar are pasted five colored portraits of the shen of the five sacred mountains. In front of the altar is a portal made of colored paper, called T'ao Yüan /"peach spring," i.e. Arcadia, from a Chinese legend/ cave. In front of the portal they also put up a hsi-kung. (1) The performance of the sorcerer,

1. See the layout for the first-grade sacrifice to the Kung-An shen.

according to the investigation of the writers, consists of 30 parts, lasting from three to seven days. The following are brief accounts of each of these parts.

The first part is An Szu Ming "calming the god of the kitchen." It is performed at dawn. The sorcerer-priest wears a red kerchief around his head and holds a chiao-tzu. Standing in front of a winnowing basket set in front of the Peach Spring cave, he makes a low bow to the No shen with his hands in front, and utters an incantation to ask his patron saint to possess his

*[787] body and to ask the ancestors of the host's family to come down. On finishing his incantation, he picks up a bowl of water with his left hand and makes his patron saint's esoteric gestures with his right hand, as if writing, facing the bowl of water. At the same time he also utters the incantation for cleansing the

[783] sacrificial objects. First he speaks of the origin of water; next he flicks some drops of water on the offerings with his fingers.

[776] The Miao think that the Szu Ming shen abstains from meat, wine, garlic, etc., and therefore the things have to be cleansed.

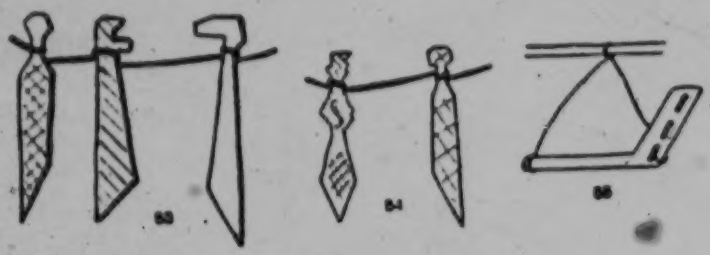
*[787] After the cleansing, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and stops if

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

[788] [783] [562] [177]

778 411



Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 571 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, say, a joining together of the young people at the time of initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

[881] [782]

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

532 778 [779]

/66 cont'd/

715 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
713 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/55 cont./

243
312

1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I, 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

[171]

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao-area involve considerable labor. On a slope where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up ~~in tiers~~, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

[332]
[333]

[731]
[784]

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[570] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [550] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/160 cont./

*782 soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection
[776] for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant
[753] and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices
[755] it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation
[787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and
[787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

*782 In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar
• 784 period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are
[776] days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

[1] [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain Shrine - ANALYST]

/160 cont. /

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
[784] ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
[776] are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
[627] taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
[778] repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69), which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
[627] Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints, secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
[731] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
[755] rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
[691] an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned. The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
[691] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
[731] fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
[755] is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled, but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[25 cont.]

784 coffins are borne by sixteen persons and the smaller ones, by eight. The son-in-law of the deceased leads the funeral procession with a lighted bark of fir tree, followed by the daughter-in-law, carrying on her back three sheng of grains in a basket. There are drummers, liu sheng players, and men who fire rifles and firecrackers. On such a solemn occasion, of course, the priest is not missing. Wielding a dagger in his left hand and holding an empty water bucket in his right, he walks along, abandoning the bucket as soon as he passes the village gate. As he moves along he swings the dagger and mumbles magic phrases. The coffin is followed by family members and friends and relatives, the latter each sending a package of glutinous rice to be taken along it is said, by the deceased to the nether world for distribution among those kinsmen already gone before. After burial the bereaved family mixes all the rice together and distributes it among the guests, the family itself being forbidden to eat this rice. When the burial ceremony is completed they return to the bereaved family, where they set up the spirit tablet for the deceased. The priest lays his dagger on the left of the tablet. At that time, the bereaved family has to provide wine and meat to feed the guests and after the meal they take their leave. For his three days of performance the priest re-
[465] ceives as reward a basketful of glutinous rice, a pig's heart, a pig's stomach and a jug of wine.

Three days after burial, the family of the deceased returns
765 to the tomb to offer sacrifices known as "fu-shan" [going back to the mountain]. The spirit tablet in the house has to be guarded by the elder son for about a month in the case of either deceased parent. During this month he is not supposed to cross the threshold or a bridge, nor to step into a puddle of water, nor to sing songs, nor to eat bamboo or bracken. After the period of spirit-guarding is over, the family has to send a package of glutinous rice of about two or three sheng and a cock to the house of the maternal uncle. Within three years after the burial regular sacrifices must be made at the tomb at every spring festival (twenty-five days after the beginning of spring) [in early March], after which "kua ch'ing" [hanging the green] [26] at Ch'ing-ming time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

[180 cont.]

796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom [593] in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

Akha A04
Miao AE5

b) Music and Musical Instruments

A M 533 The basic music is the same among both peoples; both peoples know singing and the use of musical instruments.

Singing

Singing plays an important role among the Meau as well as among the Akha; both sexes sing on various occasions. I found no confirmation for the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn that the Meau make music only in connection with burials. To be sure, the Akha enjoy singing even more than the Meau, for whom singing while working in the rice fields is prohibited by M [243] [784] a taboo (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), whereas the Akha sing unhindered and by preference at just such work.

Among both peoples there are a few traditional songs of old whose texts are unalterable. The dance songs of the Akha girls belong to this group. The great majority of song texts, however, are improvised and depend on the situation and the singer. There are, for instance, many variations of the songs with which the mother sings her child to sleep. Hopes, wishes, and admonitions are woven into these lullabies of the Meau in M [854] which are repeated innumerable times and always to the same melody:

M [539] "Sleep well, my child, I shall cover you to keep you warm and go into the rice field to get fodder for our animals."

"Sleep, my girl, and do not cry, otherwise the dogs and the pigs will bite you."

"Sleep well, my boy, and do not play with knives and do not lose your covering."

"Sleep, my child, I shall go into the rice field and cut sugar cane for you and bring you good food."

A M 533 832 Singing is very important for lovers; it gives them a chance to express the intensity of their emotions, knowledge, mental ability, ready wit, and humor. It is significant that

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
[782] at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured, there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved, and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
[846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[164] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[626] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
765 as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
[262] member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[834] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well
[756] as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/214 cont./

M 784 [756] [626] [821] corresponding period has elapsed. Otherwise, however, not even the shaman has the power nowadays to lift or to modify a taboo. The people are convinced that non-observance, which would bring the punishment called for in connection with the particular prohibition, would be generally punished by the spirits and ancestors so that lightning would strike the malefactor and kill him.

A 776 782 [171] The cultic practices of the Akha are generally similar to those of the Meau, but quite different in particulars. The Akha devote a regular cult to all the spirits and ancestors, with the exception of the god of heaven, "ɣdŏdŭchŏ," and the spirit of the world. The god of heaven, it will be recalled, remains excluded from the regular cult, because in the view of the Akha he dwells above and below the clouds, all the other spirits are his subjects, and therefore he, of course, partakes of all the sacrifices offered to them. As has also been stated, the creator of the world, "yăbĭdĕlĭahăt," about whom I could learn only vague ideas, is likewise offered no sacrifices, but I was unable to obtain more detailed information on this.

A 782 The Akha, too, view the sacrifice as a means of making the spirits and ancestors favorably disposed toward them and likewise use invocations to establish contact with the spirit concerned or the ancestors during the sacrifice. In contrast to the A [516] Meau, however, the Akha do not assume a definite position while uttering their prayers. /215/ Some may be seen bending one A [788] knee, others squat, and still others stand. Set prayer formulas, here again in parallel with the Meau, are also unknown among the Akha. One turns to the spirit with ordinary words and explains the matter to him in detail. Such prayers or invocations are always associated with the offering of sacrifices, which, however, in comparison with the Meau, are relatively rare.

/Fig. 56 appears here./

A 782 778 [241] The sacrifices are usually offered at the presumable abode of the spirit concerned, if special sacrificial places or little temples have not been erected for this by the Akha (Fig. 56). For example, before clearing is begun, a small temple abode is erected for the field spirit, yɣmyătsĭ, and sacrifices are made

/164 cont./

*782 must be the third-grade sacrifice, and a few years later, if they wish to offer a sacrifice, then it is the fifth grade. After sacrificing the twelfth grade, then it starts all over again from the first grade. The number of tables used in the sacrifice is determined by the grade number. For example, the first grade requires one table, and the third grade requires three tables. When there are not enough tables, chairs or stools may be used as substitutes. Only at the twelfth-grade sacrifice must there be three sorcerer-priests present.

The first-grade sacrifice is performed with a table set up outdoors to the east of the house, and on it are placed five stacks of paper money; five bowls of wine; five pieces of tofu, each covered with a vegetable leaf; five piles of mi-pa; and one bowl of water, on which floats a spirit tablet /ling p'ai/. Behind the paper money there is a sheng measure containing rice, on which are placed the seal of the sorcerer-priest and a few coins, and a pair of candles and three sticks of incense stuck in. This is the setting of the upper altar. Under the table is a layer of rice straw, on which there are three bowls of wine, three piles of mi-pa, three stacks of paper money, a piece of tofu, again under a vegetable leaf. There is also a bowl of rice with one candle and one stick of incense stuck in. This is called the lower altar. In addition at the right or left of the table is a chair crosswise, and on it is a winnowing basket which contains a certain number of piles of mi-pa and a certain number of pieces of tofu, also covered with a leaf. Also there is a bowl of rice, in which is inserted a candle and a stick of incense and five stacks of paper money. This is called hsi-k'ung.

For the sacrifice to the Shen of the five wisdoms no animal food should be used. At the time of the sacrifice the host [785] and the sorcerer-priest must bathe and fast and rinse out the mouth the previous day. When it is time to eat mi-pa they have to [776] rinse the mouth again. This shen being from the east, the table has to be set up east of the house, and the sorcerer-priest, while performing the ceremony, also faces the east. The sacrifice is divided into two parts. The first part is the setting [792] up of the altar. With his head wrapped in a red kerchief, and

/177 cont./

(22) Putting up an Earth Bridge

*782 842 If after a childless Miao has made a vow to the shen for a son, and still a child is not born, then the ceremony of Putting up an Earth Bridge is performed in order to make a bridge down to earth for the son in heaven, so that he can descend.

[185] The host selects an auspicious day and regulates his thoughts, fasts, and bathes. Before the date he prepares a stone slab about 60 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 5 cm. thick. Four perpendicular lines are chiseled on the slab, dividing it into five sections. He also uses five branches of a fruit-bearing tree, the size of each branch being equal to that of one section on the stone slab. On the principal day the stone slab and the tree branches are buried inside the door near the middle of the threshhold. A square table is used, on which are

*782

Illus. 74. Sacrifice to Lu Pan.

*782 842 placed five stacks of paper money, a sheng of uncooked rice in which are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of cooked tofu, and five cups of wine. There are also a

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

787

/For additional information on divination in Miao propitiation ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 251-273 and 277-296./

/34 cont'd/

622 whether there was also a property qualification. It is a fact, however, that the present chia-ch'ang, successors of the former shan-chia, all appear to be better off than the ordinary Miao people. Shan-chia is the keeper of knowledge for the Miao people. In his home he keeps the almanac, the Confucian classics, and other kinds of books. The public affairs of the village are under his direction and are all decided upon by him.

[527 787] According to an old Miao custom, on the eve of the New Year, the entire population of the village usually gathered in the shan-chia's home to present him with jars of wines and to offer congratulations. They sang and asked the shan-chia about things of the coming year. From his experience and greater learning, the shan-chia would answer them one by one. The song that they sang was called "The Old Villager," the words of which are as follows:

539 Creating the heaven, creating the earth—Emperor P'an has done;
He made the rites followed by later men.
In accord with the rites, dinner is served for two;
A bare table would trouble the venerable official.
The first cup, we offer to him to drink,
After the second and third cups, the sands turn to gold.*
Thousands of cups are for all the stars to drink,
So that the venerable tree /uncl[illegible] sitting at the table
may not be bored!
The golden/?/* cup is now respectfully put on the table,
Like a moon among the stars in the sky.
As two rows of stars now line the hall,
Also hope that the sun, standing above all the rest, will
protect them.
In P'eng-cheng hall, all the stars are now sitting,
Without rest, without settling down, they await the
difficulties of the coming spring.
Virtue spreads out to all the stars,
May the country be prosperous and the people be secure for
ever!

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 651 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- 583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [131] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 583 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in- 591 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal pres- 608 ents are given by the bride's family.

/68 cont'd/

4. Magic

754 The Miao have a kind of "black magic," which is intended to injure other people. If a man has a bad enemy, he requests a Taoist priest to avenge him through sorcery. The method is to write the enemy's name on a piece of paper, which is nailed up in a grove of trees. The enemy's soul is thus confined, and he will fall ill with a strange disease and slowly sink into a half-alive state. The only way the victim can be saved is to get hold of the sorceror and compel him to release the soul from imprisonment.

755 This was what I heard from the Miao. Whether this magic was really workable I still do not know. However, I once encountered a disabled man in the home of a Li headman. I was told that this disablement was due to the fact that when this man was a follower of a Li headman who had attacked the Miao, he had killed a great many people. For revenge, the Miao had confined his soul. Might this story be true!

5. Superstition

823 The Miao believe in feng-shui /Chinese system of geomancy/. When I was in Ang-chi village, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang, told me that the reason the Miao people there were so poor was because the feng-shui was not good there. He also pointed out how the feng-shui was poor. The mountain peaks were too sharp, there was a lack of springs, and the aspect was too narrow, so that there was nothing from which wealth could issue. His cousin, a pao-ch'ang, 756 also asked me whether I knew how to practice feng-shui. I gave him a negative answer. He said that he would save more money to enable him to engage a good master of feng-shui, who would find for him a place of prosperity.

●787 They also believe in fortunetelling through horoscopes and the practice of physiognomy. While I was there a number of them asked me whether I knew how to read horoscopes and practice physiognomy. /69/ There are some aspects of their social life that have led the Miao to believe in such superstitions. We will discuss it in detail in the next chapter.

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[648] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing,
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563 (19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the
584 lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom. [301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's 585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's [177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and [756] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the [782] ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kow- [787] tows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and [556] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At 585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense ~~782~~ and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine. [75] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
[113] 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
769 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
[113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[556] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed in an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[791] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
[787] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
177 influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
604 ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[768] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
"heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
bers may begin to cry and weep.

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen. Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region. (1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648]

1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pa˩ tɛ˨˩ ɕioŋ˩˧] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pa˩ tɛ˩ ʂa˩˧] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
752 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit.
•787 "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
*[782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

/130 cont./

*782 177 Among the 24 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the guest religion, the "Local Divinity of the Soil" and "Flying Mountain" are routine sacrifices, and the rest may be performed for multiple entreaties. The following is a presentation in separate divisions of the various sacrifices to kuei in both the Miao and guest religions.

1. Miao Religion

(1) Sacrifice to the Ancestors

769 *782 The sacrifice to the ancestors, called [ɕi˩ ɕioŋ˩˧] in the Miao language, is performed generally once a year in every family, but sometimes once every few years, after the autumn harvest. In the event of a death, it must be performed not later than within five or six days after the death. The kuei invoked are called [ɕioŋ˩ lio˥˧ ɕioŋ˩ ko˥˧]. The place for the sacrifice is beside the fire pit inside the house and the time is in the early morning. They set up a winnowing basket in which are placed five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, with the rest of the space filled with pa-pa.[1] The winnowing basket is laid down on the left side of the fire pit, and a bowl of beeswax and a bamboo tube on the right. The Miao Sorcerer sits facing the fire pit, beating the bamboo tube with his right hand, uttering incantations, the general idea of which is as follows:

"The fifth and the sixth months has already gone by; the ninth and the tenth months have arrived. In the loaded fields the five grains have ripened. They carry the grain back home, the men on their shoulders with a pole and the women on their backs. They cannot eat it all; they invited me to come. I brought soldiers and horses to fill this house; I am burning beeswax, beating the bamboo tube, and have prepared the wine, meat, pa-pa, and paper money. I beg you kuei to receive them, but hold them for the time being without eating them!"

769 ●787 At this point he ceases to beat the bamboo tube and with a pair of chiao-tzu (1) divines the fortunes of the whole family

1 [i'e - maize baked into a crust - ANALYST]

769
787

/130 cont./

1. Chiao-tzu, an implement of divination which is made from two bamboo splints. The character chiao as written here is not found in any /Chinese/ books on etymology. It is probably a miswriting of the character chiao in pei-chiao /an implement of divination/; four other characters with the same sound are also used for it. The method of divining with chiao is: The sides looking up of the two chiao are the yang chiao, the sides looking down are the yin chiao, and one side looking up and one looking down are the sheng /"excellent"/ chiao.

one by one. /131/ Yang chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies wealth; yin chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies sickness and calamity. Sheng ("excellent," also written with the homonym meaning "holy") (1) chiao (one chiao looking

1. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (Sung dynasty), Yen Fan Lu: "...sheng chiao, one looking up, one looking down." Yeh Meng-te, Shih Lin Yen Yü: "One looking down, one looking up are sheng /"holy"/ chiao."

769 /131 cont./
[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At the same time he utters the following incantation:
769 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as
*782 well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death
[777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called [kuei mbaʌ] in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei" of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
[776] mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[776] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed
[796] for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

/135 cont./

*782 wine and cooked rice. In addition meat is sliced, and seven slices strung together to make one string. In all, seven strings of meat are put on a platter. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation and divines with the chiao and sends off the kuei. This is the sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains.

[787] [776]

The tenth part is performed at noon, when two "Five-Flower pillars (1) are set up in an open area, and to each pillar is

1. Five-Flower pillars are made of pine shan wood about 3 chang long, on which are carved ornamental designs, which are smeared with red and white colors.

[531]

tied a pig. The hind legs of the pigs are bound together with hemp ropes. This rope must have been made by members of the lower generation. Moreover, a cock is tied to a small wooden pillar near the ornate pillars by means of a fine hemp string threaded through the beak. The sorcerer-priest stands under the eaves of the house, wearing a cap and long gown and holding in his hand a tree branch. The host wears a ceremonial hat and a red rug thrown over his body. He first picks up a bench and places it against one of the Five-Flower pillars, holding in his left hand a double-edged sword and a bamboo splint and flourishing the latter as if he were driving the pigs away. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation to send the pigs away, and after the incense and the paper are burned, the various members of the lower generation come out grasping weapons as in Illus. 61. They bow three times facing the interior of the house and three times facing the outside. Then they kill the pigs and the chicken.

[292]

The eleventh part is performed in front of the main house. A bamboo mat is spread on the ground and on it are placed the caps and clothes of the members of the lower generation. Behind the mat there is a bench, on which are placed a bowl of wine and a piece of water-buffalo meat. The sorcerer-priest stands outside the entrance, wearing a wide rain hat on his head and carrying a bamboo cage on his back, in which are clothes and other articles.

[292] [482]

/140 cont./

755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then
[787] the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home,
carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the
sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The
sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and
paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile,
the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the
sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kuen niei/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is
842 the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously
ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[787] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
[776] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is pre-
venting the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to
[231] send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn
beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to
bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been
cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei
of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection
of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to
select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/
and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right
and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an ani-
mal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the
host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then some-
one is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members
of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway.
When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [554] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

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*782 After each passage the musicians play their instruments a while. When the sorcerer-priest has occasion to stand up, the four "leg-bearing" men who accompanied the kuei also stand up; when the sorcerer-priest sits down, the "leg-bearing" men also sit down; when he presents wine, they must also do so. From first to last it is done nine times until late at night.

In the morning of the second day the sorcerer-priest orders the helpers to go outside the village to choose an open area to erect Five-Flower pillars. After the pillars are erected they make bamboo rings with bamboo strips and put them around the pillars. A piece of hemp rope is used to tie the nose of the ox to the bamboo ring. The creeper brought by the "leg-bearing" relatives are used to bind up the horns so that the animal cannot hurt anyone with the horns, see Illus. 63. After the arrangements have been finished, the sorcerer-priest is asked to make an inspection, and if he finds everything satisfactorily arranged, then they can proceed. The host then changes into new clothes, and offers wine and meat as sacrifices to the kuei, burns incense [788] and paper, and kneels three times and kowtows nine times facing the ox. At the same time the sorcerer-priest utters an incantation, telling the origin of the ox kuei. After the incantation is finished, the mother's brother takes hold of the spear and acts as if he were chasing the ox to stab it. The spear is then taken by a young man to do the actual stabbing of the animal. At the same time the din from the drums and gongs rends the air and the ox runs around the Five-Flower pillars. /Illus. 63 appears between pp. 142 and 143./ /143/ with the man pursuing and repeatedly stabbing, until the animal is dazed and falls to the ground. [787] They note the direction in which the head falls to decide whether the sign is auspicious or not. If the head faces toward the host's house, it is a good omen; if the head faces away, then it is a bad omen.

After the animal has been stabbed to death, then the meat is divided up. The head and heart, liver, entrails, and bowels go to the host to be used to sacrifice to the kuei. The left and right hind legs go to the "first- and second-leg-bearing" relatives,

/143 cont./

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*782

(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple
[753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con-
[776] sidered that the [naŋ˧ ŋuei˧ pi˧nu˧] and [naŋ˧ nu˧ pi˧ ʂɛ˧] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /pa˧ pi˧ nu˧/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called [ta˧ ʐ'io˧ t'a˧ lieŋ˧] in the Miao
787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate
[825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then
[791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/.
*782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

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*782 mountain, behind is the slope; in front are soldiers, behind is the general. Up the hill is a path; down the stream is a boat. Each word and each phrase is to be listened to. Being in the same place, any time I may call your name. The host is sitting at peace, not going to the fields to swear oaths. At the temple he does not swear oaths, nor at home. He does not swear oaths with cold water, and when beating his wife /and children ?/ does not swear oaths. The host is willing to feed others, and does not take advantage of others, nor laugh at other people's sons and descendants. He does not act unjustly, but observes litigations all around him."

At this point he once more burns beeswax, makes a gesture of leading down the Kuei. His incantation continues:

"If the ta kan lo paper banners and their staffs become disarranged, we ask the kan lo kuei to please set them right. These are the strange occurrences caused by the kan lo kuei: the pig goes mad; the dog jumped on the roof; the pig ran up to the entrance; the hen entered her nest to eat her egg; the pig went up the stairs to eat a small child; the hen can crow like a cock; the cock can hatch chickens; the hen laid a soft-shelled egg; the bitch had only one puppy; the pig had a litter of two piglets; the crops ripened in the third month; a dead thing was seen when coming out the entrance; two snakes were seen together; two tigers hid in the house; a rat made a squeaking sound; a snake was seen in the house; a snake shed its skin in the house. The host had a terrible dream, dreaming he was in rain and snow, dreaming he was in the midst of a deep forest. He therefore went to the diviner. It was found that no other kuei was causing these calamities, only the kan lo

*782 ●787 825

*782 776

/146 cont./

*782 [776] kuei were eating food and seeking sacrifices from people. A vow was made on a selected auspicious day. After the vow everything became peaceful. After a few days the host accumulated a sum of money. Wherever an ox was killed today up and down the village, with the money he bought some beef and returned home. On reaching home he sent for the sorcerer-priest. The sorcerer-priest has summoned his soldiers and horses and patron saints to come to this house. The wax is lit; the hand bell is ringing; the table has been set up and spread with fine bowls; the paper banners have been stuck up in the place; the flag poles have been erected, with paper streamers flying; a chicken has been killed, and everything is set."

*782 •787 After the above incantation is over, the priest tosses the chiao-tzu beside him on the ground. He studies the chiao-tzu to divine whether the kuei have come down. The yin and yang chiao indicate that the kuei still have not come down. It is necessary to get the sheng chiao, for then the kuei have come down. If the kuei have not yet descended, it is necessary to invoke them again.

*782 /147/ The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube [pas giom dom]. When this part is performed, the various arrangements outside the entrance are not moved, except that the bowl of wax is moved inside the entrance to the righthand corner, and the bamboo tube is placed on the ground behind the bowl of wax. The Miao sorcerer sits on a stool behind the bamboo tube. He beats it with his right hand while he utters an incantation. Each beat punctuates two words (Illus. 65). The general purport of the words are as below:

"The host has asked me today to come to perform the Ta Kan Lo, entirely of his own voluntary wish, without compulsion from anyone. The sun dragon and the moon dragon in the skies, the water dragon in the fields. I wear three steel helmets, iron shoes,

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*782 The Miao sorcerer performs the ritual of repenting three times with the knife. He further repeats the performance with a pair of scissors, and again recites:

[783] "The scissors of the host's family are used to do repenting for the host's sins. After he has repented, he can then receive blessings. These scissors cut only misfortunes but not blessings. They cut the mourning cloth of the host, cut the cord that ties up his feet, cut the rope that wraps around his hands, and cut his coffin. When the host steps over the scissors, he will then have peace and will get blessings. [p'iŋ ɕiɑŋ]. The large scissors split open a bright main road; the small scissors split open a bright path."

After the performance with the scissors, he uses a comb to repeat the ritual of repenting, combing over to the left and once to the right, and continuing the incantation:

[783] "This sun comb and moon comb belong to the shrine of the local divinity of the soil. With it I come to get rid of the sins of the host. This comb does not comb away the host's meritorious acts but his transgressions. He constantly made vows before the shrine of the local divinity of the soil /149/ and also drank blood before the shrine, with blood left on his mouth and sweating blood in his viscera. The host, after this combing with the sun comb and moon comb, will be at peace! [p'iŋ ɕiɑŋ]. The large comb will comb open a bright main road; the small comb will comb open up a bright path."

*782 After the sorcerer has finished with the knife, scissors, and comb, he takes hold of the chiao-tzu and begins divining ●787 for the host and members of his family, uttering at the same time the following incantation:

"The three rites of repenting having been completed, the sorcerer-priest now requests that he may question the kan lo kuei. I request that I may question the patron saint, the questions will be clear. I wish to ask the fortunes of the host's family, big and small, men

/149 cont./

*782 and women, old and young, in their affairs,
•787 and about the family's wealth, crops, and animals, etc. In accordance with the questions asked, I consider the chiao evidence. The yin chiao indicates danger; the yang chiao indicates peace and security; the sheng chiao indicates good luck. Now that the questions
*782 to the kuei have been asked, there is only the burning of the paper money. After the paper is burned, it becomes money: he who gets a lot shares a lot; he who receives little, shares little."

The fourth part consists of sending the kuei away [soŋ kueiŋ]. The layout for sending the kuei away is the same as that for invoking them, except that on the table there are added 12 bowls of meat and 12 piles of pa-pa, while the number of bowls of wine remain the same. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bell in his right hand and chiao in his left hand, utters the following incantation:

"All ye kuei gather here to receive sacrifices in meat and wine, 12 bowls of meat, 12 piles of meat. The wine and meat are all spread before you. The kan lo kuei are fond of this wine and meat. Please help yourselves. After helping yourselves, please protect this family, big and small. May they be at peace and without trouble; may they not lose money or rice and
*782 not experience lawsuits; may the cattle not have an
231 epidemic and, while eating grass, may they not fall into a pit; while drinking water, may they not fall into the river; while going up the mountain to plow, may they be safe. Protect the pigs, dogs, chickens, and ducks when let loose outside so that at night they may return home by themselves and grow without fodder. May one of them be a thousand or a hundred. May eagles fail to catch the fowls. May the host not fall
*782 when he treads on a welter of stones while walking. May the house not be lost by fire. When the host goes

/150 cont./

*782 The sorcerer-priest again offers wine and meat. Kan lo kuei please eat a lot, once, twice, thrice -- all please eat. After eating, please go home. Hereafter when the host divines by the diagrams or calculates a horoscope, let not the names of kan lo kuei be arrived at again. When the host in the future calculates for other kuei, he must not see the names of kan lo kuei come out again, for he cannot select a day for offering sacrifices to the kan lo kuei. From now on all the omens of the host's dreams shall be auspicious, all dangerous matters will be cut off; ten thousand years of peace and contentment. [ha ji jo ho ho!]

[787] After the Miao sorcerer finishes the incantation, he throws the chiao-tzu on the ground to divine whether the kuei have gone or not. If the yin chiao and the sheng chiao appear, the kuei have already gone, but if the yang chiao appears then the kuei have not yet gone. He must again utter the incantation to send off the kuei, with slight variations this time, such as: "Now, we are sending the kuei back, our thanks to you! On this occasion the wine and meat were not plentiful, which we regret." Then he begins to divine with the chiao again until the [787] yin chiao appears. All the paper money and other paper things are burned, and the sacrifice is over.

(8) Sending Away the Supernatural Force of the Old Trees

*782 824 [776] If a Miao inside the house suddenly hears a strange noise and on opening the door does not see anything, then he thinks that the big trees in front of or behind the house or near the village are acting up. It is the two kuei [naŋ⁴ ŋuei⁴ tʰoŋ¹ ndu⁴] and [naŋ⁴ nu¹ tʰoŋ¹ lho¹] coming to eat. The sorcerer-priest must be asked to come to expel the supernatural forces of the old trees, in Miao called [ɕi¹ ndu⁴]. At night a table is put outside the main entrance. On the table are placed five

/150 cont./

*782 824 bowls each of wine and meat and a bowl of beeswax. The Miao sorcerer sits in front of the table, beating a bamboo tube with his right hand and uttering the incantation to send away the old trees' supernatural forces. The general purport of the incantation /151/ is to request the kuei to go away quickly after partaking of the wine and meat, for the children in the village after hearing the strange noise are terrified. Among the phrases of the incantation is "kill a goat to sacrifice to the kuei." This shows that previously the goat was also used as an object of sacrifice but now it is spared; the text of the incantation, however, has remained unchanged. After one section has been [788] recited, he stops beating the bamboo tube. He starts ringing the bell with his left hand and continues the incantation. At the [787] same time he performs divination with the chiao-tzu. If the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, the supernatural forces are considered to have departed. If he gets the yang chiao, they have not gone, and the incantation and the divination have to be repeated until either the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, when the kuei may be sent away by burning the paper money.

(9) Cleansing the House

*782 783 If one's house has been lived in by a family of a different surname, the master of the house must ask a Miao sorcerer to cleanse the house after that family moves out, otherwise, the owner after living there would not be prosperous. Cleansing the house in Miao is called [ndzaˡ pɤ˥]. The two kuei invoked are [deiʌˡ ɤɤ˥ nogˡ deˡ] and [deiʌ ɪɑˡ nogˡ qaˡ]. The time is any [776] time during broad daylight, and the place may be anywhere inside the house, either in the main room or in the side room, facing outside the door. A table is set up, and on it placed five bowls of wine, five pieces of pork, five piles of mi-pa, and five pieces of tofu/bean curd/. A piece of green cloth 6 ch'ih long is spread out on the ground under the table. On the cloth are one or two strings of copper yuan; they also use a cock, whose two wings are tied to a leg of the table. They do not use beeswax, but only use three slender sticks of incense stuck up in the mi-pa. The

/151 cont./

*782 783 sorcer-priest holds the chiao and rings the bell, standing in front of the table, and the words of the incantation he utters are to the following effect:

> "Now we have prepared well wine, meat, a cock, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, clean water, and ready money to cleanse the house. First we invoke the ancestors of the host. When you hear my call, please hurry down and receive the objects of sacrifice. Next we invoke the ancestors of the previous tenant. The host, fearing that he may not be at peace here, has asked me to come to cleanse the house. I have come with many soldiers and horses. With water I cleanse the house, first cleanse the fire bed, next the fire pit. I cleanse the right and the left of the house; I cleanse the front and the back doors. After I have cleansed three times, the host may live in it with great prosperity, resources abundant, prosperous harvests of the five grains, and the increase of the six kinds of domestic animals. The trouble-making kuei have now been sent out the door, hereafter peace will be everlasting."

[769]

[787] After the incantation has been completed, he then divines with the chiao. If either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao appears, it is auspicious, and paper is burned to send off the kuei. But if the yin chiao appears, then the incantation has to be said again, until he divines and gets either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, when it is the end. After the sorcerer-priest has completed his performance, he drinks the wine on the table and takes the cock, meat, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, and copper yuan offered in sacrifice to the kuei, home with him.

[152/ (10) Cleansing the Cat

[825] The Miao consider that a cat dying in the house is an ill omen, and it is then necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to purify the house in order to expel harmful emanations. In Miao this is called

/152 cont./

*782 [t[illegible] [illegible]-mo[illegible]]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kuei[illegible] mo[illegible]
783 jen[illegible] [illegible]] and [kuei[illegible] mo[illegible] jen[illegible] [illegible]]. The time is in broad
825 daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only
[776] necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some
627 matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is
[578] wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [[illegible] t[illegible] n[illegible]]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine
[778] for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is
[776] necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1) to drink blood.

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

/156 cont./

243 *782 have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the chiao, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the chiao in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

"Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[787] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the chiao, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The yang chiao and the sheng chiao are auspicious. The yin chiao is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five [946] [755] grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

/157 cont./

*782 777 731 of beeswax. The sorcerer-priest burns the wax, rings the hand bell, and utters an incantation, in general saying:

> "Recently the host has run into bad luck, frequently suffering losses. According to calculations, the Black Emperor Earth Lord or /158/ his descendants are seeking food. Therefore, today, I have been asked to offer sacrifice. Please eat the meat and drink the wine. You /plural/ are also promised a large bull. Please give your protection and bring about peace and safety."

[787] After the incantation, divination is performed with the chiao. The yang chiao indicates financial loss but immunity from disaster; the yin chiao means impending disaster without the loss of wealth; and the sheng chiao shows immunity from both. After the divination, paper is burned to send the kuei away.

(16) Handing Over the Ox

If after the sacrifice to the Black Emperor Earth Lord, one's luck is still bad, the only thing to do is to buy an ox and fulfill the vow, which in the Miao language is called [nio bu nie]. Once this ox is offered to the kuei, it cannot be killed, nor can it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death. The performance of this ritual is the same as that for Warming of the Ox Muzzle, except that the text of the incantation uttered by the sorcerer-priest is different, its general purport being:

> "The former vow being ineffective, luck still is bad. The host has saved money to go to market. At the market he looked around and saw a large bull, with big horns and a big body and handsome appearance. The host wanted it, and for a great deal of money he bought it and brought it home. Today has been selected as an auspicious day, and I have been asked to hand over the ox. I beseech the kuei to take it!"

After the incantation paper is burned to send off the Kuei,

/158 cont./
After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

776 In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity
791 of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during
778 the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples
[787] were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines, generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He
*[782] said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his shrine. (Illus. 68).

*782 /159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that
[776] the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by
[825] sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts. Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity. The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all arranged on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest. Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand
[787] and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/159 cont./

778

Illus. 68. Shrine of a local divinity of the soil of the Miao.

*782

●787 chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. After divining again with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper to send off the shen.

/160/ (2) The Flying Mountain

778 Every Miao village also has a Flying Mountain shrine. This shrine resembles closely that of the local divinity of the soil. On the second day of the second and the eighth months *782 every year, after having sacrificed to the local divinity of the

/160 cont./

*782 soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection
[776] for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant
[753] and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices
[755] it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation
● [787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and
[787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

*782 In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar
784 period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are
[776] days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

[1] [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain Shrine - ANALYST]

/163 cont./
*782 the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.
[776] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts
• [787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

[776] The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five
[757] wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules
[231] and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not in-
[243] creasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these
[931] they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

/165 cont./

*782 cooked they are put back in their original places.

The second part of the ritual consists of tasting the cooked food. Wearing the red gown, the red kerchief around his head, [292] and the ceremonial headgear, his left shoulder covered with the willow towel and his right hand holding the ox horn, the sorcerer-priest stands before the altar (Illus. 71). First he makes a low bow with hands in front, and when the drums and gongs are sounded, he joins the cacophony by blowing the horn. On finishing blowing, he holds the horn in his left hand and one chiao-tzu in his right, and, rapping on the horn, he utters an incantation to invoke the shen. On completing the incantation, /Illus. 71 appears here/ /166/ he again utters the incantation for invoking the spirit. When finished he dances with the willow [787] towel. Next he divines with the chiao-tzu, at the same time uttering the incantation to the effect that the protection of the shen is sought in everything, and that divination has been done for every member of the family, big or small. Then, the farewell incantation is uttered, and the members of the family burn the paper money. The ceremony comes to an end. The mi-pa and the tofu are eaten. Whatever is left is given to the sorcerer-priest to take home.

The third-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table and the things on the table are identical with those for the first-grade sacrifice. On top of the table is a chair, on which is put a bowl of rice, into which are stuck a candle and a stick of incense, a stack of paper money, a pile of mi-pa, a piece of tofu covered with a vegetable leaf, and a bowl of wine. On the chair is put another small stool, and the items on the stool are exactly the same as those on the chair. Behind the table they use a bamboo pole to make a frame, on which are hung upside down nine strings of paper money. For each grade up three more strings are added. For instance, the fifth grade would call for 15 strings, and the seventh grade, 21 strings, and so on. As for the rest of the setup, the lower altar and the hsi k'ung are the same as for the first-grade sacrifice.

/198 cont./

2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against [67] the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article [683] relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku [776] witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five con- [824] stituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers [753] either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul [787] of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

301 436 Polo refers to them in this capacity in his description of the journey he took into the southwest of China on behalf of the Great Khan. The I-shu (異蘇) says, "Yünnan people call the pei 'hai p'a,' p'a being the shell of the animal."[8] There are in the Museum at West China Union University at Ch'engtu metal objects made to represent cowries and once used as money. Hai-p'a (Cowrie Shell) Miao girls also wear ornaments of silver in the form of cowrie shells.

787 Another character, "cheng" (貞), has been interpreted as the fee paid to one who examines the markings on a shell. It might also be thought of as divination by means of cowrie shells. Among the Mo-so of Yünnan cowries are still used for that purpose. A full account of this is given in an article by Dr. T'ao Yün-kuei in the *Anthropological Journal*.[9] There are in the Ch'engtu Museum a number of the Mo-so divination classics from the collection made by Dr. Joseph Rock.

301 Still another character, "fen" (玢), suggests for us by its composition of shells and plants a third use to which these shells are put among many peoples of Southwest China, ornamentation. I have seen an apron used by the Ch'uan Miao of southern Szechuan, the

the womb again. After this any child born is 751
sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and 847
butchering have to be done before the child
breathes his last. When the parents perceive
that the illness of the child is identical to
that of the other deceased children, /92/ they
expect him to die, and taking advantage of his
still being alive they cut off his head and
legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention
would not be effective. It is said that some
ignorant Chinese in the same locality also fol-
low this custom.

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of 787
the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a 852
fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If 856
his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed
to grow until he is six or twelve years old when
he has his first haircut. The long unshaved
hair is said to help preserve the life of the
child. The first haircut is an occasion for
great celebration: every household in the vil-
lage would hang out red and green festoons and
send greetings to the parents, who in turn would
give a party, killing chicken and pig for a
great feast.

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child 755
among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without 753
stop, the parents would attribute the cause of
the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse",
a colloquial name for the locust. They would
hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled
with rice and water, and little images of horses
cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop
the cry of the child.

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-
I first becomes ill, the general assumption is
that he has run into some starving ghost. The
family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked
rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of
rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body. So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

amined. If the white of the egg shows a concave dent, then it is a proof of the existence of the poison. Thereupon the members of the sick person's family would shout curses outside the gate, so that the dispenser of the venom would come by himself or herself to get rid of it. Also there are cases where sick persons escape to other villages to avoid attack by these poisonous agents. We have closely investigated many areas but have not yet discovered a single instance of some one who actually possesses poisonous insects or medicines. This is after all pure superstition. But the Miao people believe in it strongly and take every precaution against it. A woman who is suspected of possessing poisonous insects may never expect to be married, and a man who is found to own such medicines is subject to lynching and expulsion. The belief of the I tribe in this connection is less deeply rooted than that of the Miao. 754 787

(16) Feng-shui. The Chung-chia in An-shun believe in Feng-shui /wind and water/ much more than the local Chinese. In the Chung-chia village there are one or two persons noted for their ability to divine Feng-shui such as in building a house and erecting grave mounds, the fortune of the offspring being dependent upon how these are located in relation to nature, mountain and river, and their shapes and conditions. It is further believed that the unusual rocks and overhanging cliffs as well as the green trees and gigantic vines in the mountains are endowed with the spiritual essence of the universe which serves to suppress the baleful vapors of the valleys and rivers. So even though it is known that a certain mountain yields valuable minerals, people will not mine them for fear of upsetting the stabilizing influence of these precious substances. 787 823

Of all the foregoing superstitions the 000

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764 At midnight, on the last night before the burial, or after midnight, the man in charge of the ceremonies and the feast makes a report. He states the cause of the death, tells how much clothing (giving the number of each kind of garment) the descendants have prepared for the dead and how much meat, wine, rice, etc. has been consumed at the feast. He also reports, if the deceased is a male and the head of the family, how many fields, houses, beds, chairs, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, chicken, etc. and how much money the deceased has left for the children and what things are to be inherited by each child. Generally, but not always, the family divides at this time and each son becomes the head of a family.

[782] Some of the meat of the sacrificed animal is placed on the table at this time and the near blood relatives of the deceased who are not descendants eat it. The descendants have been kneeling while the things mentioned above have been anounced. They are now invited to rise. Wine is poured out for the relatives to drink. The descendants do not drink but continue weeping.

764 787 Next morning, very early, the priest throws the two pieces of bamboo used for divining unto the floor. If unfavorable, the dead is regarded as unsatisfied and then they enquire what the trouble is. The possessions may be divided wrongly, the place of burial may not be good, etc. Readjustments are made and the old relatives exhort the deceased to be contented. This is done until the cast is favorable. Then the coffin is carried out and the burial takes place.

764 Before the coffin is carried out, the priest puts a stool over the doorstill. Then three broken bowls are placed on the stool and burning wood or coal or charcoal is placed in the bowls. Sometimes a dry stick of wood is set on fire and used to light the way for the soul. Then the priest shoots three arrows into the house and three outside the house, standing across the doorsill as he shoots. While he is shooting the coffin is lifted up and carried out. The priest says, "I am shooting illness, pain, pestilence, quarrels, and evil things but I am not shooting living beings, domestic animals, or corn or beans. I am shooting quarrels and the places where the sun and the moon set." When he has finished speaking, he kicks over the stool. Some throw the arrows away outside the house and others carry them to the grave and stick them up on the grave to protect it.

While the corpse is being carried out the sons and daughters take the straw off the bed where the dead person slept and burn it behind the coffin to indicated that the illness has gone along to the grave with the dead. If the wind blows the smoke back into the house, people say that the illness has not yet departed and that others in the family may die.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 764 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包, are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 After the parade, playing the *liu shêng* and dancing continues and songs are sung. The singing sometimes becomes a contest to see who can remember and sing the most songs. After each song the singer ties a knot somewhere on the tree or on his person so that after the contest the knots can be counted and the winner determined. Of course during these ceremonies the animal that is sacrificed is cooked, wine, rice, corn and vegetables are added and there is a feast.

VI. THE CALENDAR AND THE CALENDAR FESTIVALS

[177] The Ch'uan Miao use the lunar calendar like the Chinese from whom they have probably learned it. There are normally twelve months in the year but sometimes thirteen. The month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Ch'uan Miao are becoming acquainted with the western calendar.

787 As among the Chinese, there are twelve creatures with reference to whom lucky and unlucky days are determined. These are the rat, the cow or water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep or goat, the monkey, the cock,[1] the dog and the pig. The hours, days, months and years are controlled by these creatures in succession. The lucky creatures are the cow or water-buffalo, the dragon, the dog, the pig, the sheep or goat, the horse, and the cock. The unlucky are the monkey, the rat, the snake, the hare and the tiger. The days, months and years controlled by the unlucky creatures are unlucky and those controlled by the lucky creatures are lucky. Important journeys should not be begun, sales made or projects started on unlucky days. But engagements should be made on dog and on dragon days, and burials on snake or on rabbit days. The souls of animals are sometimes commemorated in the eleventh moon on cow days.

The seasonal or calendar festivals are as follows:—

796 **The first day of the first moon,** or New Year's Day. New leaves of the tea tree are used to symbolize the fact that the new year has come and tea is made from these leaves. Biscuits or *pa pa* 粑粑 are made of rice, corn, or some other kind of grain and bean curd is cooked. After offering these things to the deceased ancestors, with sweetmeats, the descendants have a family meal at which they eat the same things. The ancestors must be invited to this meal.

The second day of the first moon. On this day the ancestors rest. There are no ceremonies of commemoration and no offerings, although the ancestors are regarded as present. The living play and enjoy themselves.

1 [sic --Analyst]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them
782 where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nʌn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron plough-share, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on
789 twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

791 the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon, but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored.
177 Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao. But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

791 There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused
787 with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called *yin yang kua*. This fortune-teller is called a so ɓʌu. So means first or previously and bʌu means to know or understand. Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods. They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person q os ɐ ɐɔʌʇs ʌna present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits, money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao believe in the so bʌu and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

828 Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain
787 things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey, a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill; if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horse, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a parent will probably die.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs. 787

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm. 751

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *fêng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the mana and the wakanda conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Ntsə, ʒei SʌU, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntsoŋ, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc. 776 778

To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu shêng* 六星, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves. 774

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

789 fire (demon's fire). Leave the *yang* fire to control the home. Drive the *yin* fire to hades (where demons live). Secure *yang* fire to control the family and make it peaceful (without demons). Drive the *yin* fire to the *yin* spirit (or soul). Leave the *yang* fire to control the family so it will be peaceful. If the fire is a foot high, let water be ten feet high. If fire is ten feet high, water will flood up to heaven and hold down the fire.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 uses a bowl of water and as walks along in the house, repeating his words, he sprinkles water with his hands. When he has finished speaking, he pours out the water from the bowl and the bowl on the table upside down).

XXII. INCANTATION TO DIVINE BY MEANS OF UNCOOKED RICE

787 There is a sky pestilence and an earth pestilence so I come to report to the god. (The uncooked rice is treated and addressed as a god). If there is any unsatisfactory matter I shall come and report to the god. If the head aches and the whole body is hot, we shall come and report to the god. If there is any unworshipped demon of the *t'an shen* or ruined temples, I shall come and report to the gods. If there is any fierce god that kills people, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any grass demon, wood demon, or demon of the forest, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any fierce (murderer) I shall report the fierce matter. If there is anything hard, we shall report it. Without something important, we shall not wantonly report. Without something fierce, we shall not wantonly report.

(When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family).

XXIII. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMON THAT PUNISHES SIN BY PAIN IN THE EYES

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If you bump (sin) against wood, the wood demon will enter you and harm your eyes. If you bump (sin) against wood, wood will harm you. If you bump (sin) against stone, stone will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a grave, the grave will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the stone of the cow pen, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a stone of a stove, it will harm you. If you bump

[11 cont.]

764 home, his body lying across the hall. When a Ch'ing Miao dies his body is wrapped up in a straw mat and hung up with a rope on a beam in the hall. For funerals performed outside the house, they build a straw hut and place the body inside. The kinsmen [292] wear hemp cloth or white cloth on the head in mourning and cry aloud around the body. This is known as "hao-sang" [wailing funeral]. Meanwhile the bereaved family would send messengers to announce the sad news to friends and relatives in distant parts. 764 At night they put up a spirit tablet and invite a wizard priest [kuei-787 shih] to "open the way" by means of a cock and a bamboo stick slit into a magic diagram. The priest settles down in front of the spirit tablet and calls the deceased by the name, informing him of the story of genesis and urging him to start on his journey. He too advises the dead how to overcome dangers and obstacles, how to deal with difficulties, how to recognize cross roads and to ferry across rivers and oceans, and so on until the spirit world is reached. After the ritual of opening the road is 764 over, they slaughter a chicken and a piglet to spur the spirit on 782 his way. On the following day at the time of "k'ai-ch'ang" [commencing the ceremony] (the Chinese call it "k'ai-tiao"), a bull is bludgeoned as a gift to the dead. (Among the Hê Miao, a bull is bludgeoned as a sacrifice to a man, and a horse as a sacrifice to a woman.) At the time of bludgeoning the crowd wails and cries to the tune of the liu-sheng. The bull is first led around the straw pavilion three times and then handed over to the priest, who calls out the name of the deceased and makes the presentation before the spirit tablet. The animal is then led out to be slaughtered. Relatives and friends who have come to make sacrifices all have with them a sheng of rice, a pot of wine and a basketful of cooked rice, pork and eggs. These are given to the priest one by one, who in turn calls out to the deceased for a formal offering. The bereaved family then cooks the beef and after first offering it to the deceased, passes it around to the guests. That night all keep the funeral vigil, and sing to each other songs of piety in sad words and melancholic tunes to arouse in those who hear them a feeling of sadness.

[27 cont.]

756 all diseases are caused by evil spirits, and to expel them is to
755 rid oneself of the diseases. In case of slight indisposition one's family members would burn incense and paper to drive away the wild ghost. But in case of serious sickness [28] the evil workings of an important ghost are presumed and it is necessary to get hold of a priest to slaughter an animal and to employ magic in order to achieve the desired end.

2) To pray for a son. If man is without a child at the age
756 of forty-three or forty-four he can ask a priest to appeal to the
842 Jade Emperor for a son (the Miao do not believe in the Son-awarding Bodhisattva), or to enter the mountain to pray to a huge rock, the spirit of which is said to be able to award a child. So, in the second and the tenth month, incense is burned continuously to the rock spirit. At the time of worship two bowls of glutinous rice, five or six sticks of red incense, eight to sixteen fish as well as candles and paper money are used.

3) To arrest the soul. If a person is pale, thin and
756 dispirited or overtaken by serious sickness without being able to
774 get up, the conclusion is that it is an omen of the impending
[787] departure of the soul. A priest is engaged to appear before Yen-wang (the king of Hades) to arrest the soul and bring it back. In so doing, it is necessary to slaughter a pig for sacrifice before Yen-wang. After the soul is arrested all the relatives contribute from ten or twenty cents to a dollar or two toward a fund for the making of a necklace or a bracelet, called respectively the life-preserving chain or the hundred-family lock, for wear by the stricken person. At the same time a string of bamboo rings is hung crosswise at the gate together with a piece of charm to indicate that the soul is locked in and prevented from escaping again. Sometimes, a bad harvest is also attributed to the disappearance of the soul, and the priest is asked to slaughter a duck to summon it back.

4) To arrest the ghost. In cooking rice, when the pan
756 shrieks, or when the bucket in which the rice is steamed issues
[787] a shrilling sound, it indicates the presence of a ghost. The priest is asked to slaughter a cow for sacrifice, because this ghost is the thunder demon, the greatest of all ghosts, and to

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

8) To protect children. Many families whose children
756 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their
751

[181 cont.]
796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and fire-crackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

[182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
241 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after
796 breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the
796 Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[165 cont.]

585 The ceremonies which accompany the conclusion of a "Méo" marriage are just so many excuses for feasts and drinking bouts.

When a young man has cast his choice upon a young woman, 584 he informs his father of his intentions. The latter selects two old men belonging to the family, whom he charges with going and making the official request in marriage. These two intermediaries, bearing gifts, go to the home of the young woman and are received by her father, who offers them food and drink. If this offer is made within the house, it means that the request is accepted in principle and that the terms may now be discussed. The neighbors are asked in and a small feast is held. (If the offer is made outside the house, it means that the request is not approved, the intermediaries content themselves with eating a morsel and drinking a small cup of alcohol, and withdraw without having entered the home.) The intermediaries then return to the home of the young man to announce the happy result of their mission and to participate in a series of feasts, which last for two days and to which all the relatives and friends of the fiancé are invited. The fiancé receives on this occasion all the gifts [583] which will enable him to make up the amount of the dowry agreed upon.

The engagements usually last only a short time. The "Méo" 585 pay no attention to the agreement of the horoscopes. Upon the day [787] [166] set for the marriage, the fiancé, accompanied by his friends and preceded by flute players, betakes himself to his fiancée's home, where he presents his gifts and where a monstrous feast begins which lasts throughout the day. The fiancée spends the night in her own house, surrounded by her friends, who aid her in making her preparations. The morning of the next day the fiancée dons her garments for grand ceremonies, which she generally wears only on that day. (If the fiancé is of another tribe, she assumes the costume of that tribe.) The cortège, formed of the two spouses accompanied by their friends of both sexes and preceded by "sen" players, goes to the home of the young man where the young wife is presented to her parents-in-law. In the tribes where ancestral worship is practiced, [769] the newlyweds prostrate themselves before the altar. Then begin the feasts, the dances, and the songs, which often last for several days, according to the resources of the fiancé. The young couple

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] [775] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/53 cont./

851 •787 Meanwhile the shaman has finished his conjuring, seizes the chickens, and cuts them up in order to examine the omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"). First he takes out the tongues of the chickens and observes the hyoid bones for a long time; then he strips off the skin from the front of the heads and likewise carefully observes it. Finally, he takes the feet of the animals, holds them in the smoke of the incense candles, and also studies these omens. If they are unfavorable, it means that evil spirits are close by, from which the ancestors cannot protect the newborn child. In this case, the shaman must first drive away the evil spirits, and then the whole ceremony must be repeated. If the shaman discovers that only part of the ancestors have appeared, the conjuration must be performed again in the same way at the end of the month. This is repeated until the omens are favorable.

851 608 If the omens are favorable, however, as in this instance, the sponsor steps forward, and the child's mother addresses him as follows: "May my child one day be as great and powerful as you are." If the sponsor has special characteristics, they are also appropriately mentioned. The sponsor now ties a piece of string first around the right wrist and then around the left wrist of the child. This is supposed to protect the newborn [789] child against evil spirits and at the same time signifies that the sponsor assumes the sponsorship. With the same piece of string one of the child's wrists is tied to his own, whereupon he makes a little speech in which he expresses his good wishes for the child and promises to fulfill his duties as a sponsor. Then the sponsor hands the mother the first clothing for the child or silver amounting to the price of the clothing so that it can be bought by the parents. A modest festive meal in which all those present, including the shaman, participate, concludes the ceremony.

The completed ceremony means that the sponsor will always receive the child /54/ in his house whenever he visits him, and that he will help him as much as he can. Conversely, the same obligations are incurred by the child toward the sponsor. The children of distinguished persons sometimes have two sponsors.

/54 cont./

851 During my visit to the Meau village of Nam Fa in
608 northern Thailand I was asked by the Meau Tua Sen Kun to
123 assume sponsorship for his newborn son (1). I was told that it
[787]

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 188 ff.

was regarded as an auspicious omen that I, a powerful foreigner, was present in the village at the time of the birth.

551 As names for boys those of famous ancestors are preferred on the ground that boys continue the family. The child may also be given the name of the sponsor. For girls one chooses at will a name which, like all names, has a special meaning. A sharp distinction is made between names for boys and those for girls.

	Names	Meaning
Boys:	lū	pure
	pǎu	surety, guarantor (2)

2. Cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law."

	tšü	has everything
	fō	to have many children to care for him
	tšǎn	to grow
	pǎn	to flourish
	tsuṅ	bud
Girls:	tšǎy	slender
	yī	round
	ltšay	fearful
	tšá	plain
	mǎy	good
	ltšoa	green leaf

/97 cont./

A 582 Among the Akha, the marriage age for both sexes is between the sixteenth and twentieth year.

e) Courtship and Betrothal

M 583 183 For a Meau boy there are several ways to marry a girl. A common way taken is probably the one whereby a boy loves a girl, she bears a child, and later the parents of both give their consent. This way does not conform to the demands of "public opinion" and is therefore not customary among respectable families. M 584 A second way is to go out looking for a wife. The young man visits the various villages and selects a girl. Then he goes to his father or to the head of his large /extended/ M [787] family and asks for his advice. The ancestors are queried about it by way of an ordeal (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). If the outcome of the ordeal is unfavorable, the young man drops the idea, but if the result is auspicious, he visits the girl's village again and asks her whether she consents to the proposed M [836] marriage. If the girl agrees, she leaves her parents' home in great secrecy and sleeps with the young man in the house of his parents. The next day, the young man's parents visit the parents of the bride in order to inform them of the fact, and M [574] they send them a pig. The latter for their part also now slaughter one and invite the relatives of the bridal couple to a feast. The two animals are eaten, rice liquor is copiously served, and the day for the wedding is set.

It often happens, however, that the girl refuses to leave her parents' house without their consent, that is to say, secretly. In this case, the young man /98/ asks his parents to visit the parents of the bride and ask for the girl. If the bride's parents give their consent, then everything is in order and the wedding day can be set. If the bride's parents do not give their permission, however, it is up to the girl to make the decision. M [836] She can still decide to spend a night secretly with the boy in his parents' home or simply to have intercourse with him until

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/120/

M 764 [114] [789]

Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

1. II, p. 229.

M [787] [775] [825]

A 764 628 [203] [765]

The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in the mourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764

Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

/161 cont./

775 not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of
[761] apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one.
787 Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not
775 feared either. There is one exception, however. During the
776 three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected,
825 so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling
825 neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the
[648] Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the
[763] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person
[177] is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/175 cont./

A 776 532 842 All these spirits are invisible, and there are no images of them. The situation is different with regard to the wooden figures standing next to each entrance gate to an Akha village and typically recognizable as male and female (Ill. 45),[1] which, according to Telford (3), are called "Hkow De," the female, and

3. Page 101.

"Bvuh Je," the male figure. They are regarded as fertility deities of a sort, who see to a blessing of many children for the women and are often represented in the act of copulation. /176/ One also turns to them when a woman has a difficult confinement. A [845] Water is then poured over the two figures, caught in vessels, and given to the woman in labor to drink, a custom which is also confirmed by Telford (1).

1. Page 102.

A 177 [776] As among the Meau, among the Akha, too, no attention is paid to the deities of other peoples or tribes. However, whereas among the Meau relatively little has been borrowed from other religions, there are elements among the Akha, such as the previously mentioned swing, which point to foreign influences. Among these, presumably, are the wooden swords and arrows of the Akha children, which may go back to Chinese influence.

c) Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens

M 756 ●787 The Meau believe that there are human beings whose supernatural faculties permit them to have more intimate relations with the spirits than is possible for ordinary human beings. The shamans, called ǒǎ nĩn, are such human beings, who sometimes are even more powerful than certain spirits. The supernatural powers come about from a spirit's having entered the body of a person without his co-operation. Through this the human being acquires the ability to see spirits even in the waking state and to associate with them. Furthermore he now has knowledge that ordinary human beings do not have. Accordingly, these abilities

[1] [See cat 116, p297- ANALYST]

/176 cont./

756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The
[302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing
[292] mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of
756 his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
787 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
[782] spirit of all the shamans, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsŭ, and the three pairs of assistant spirits, tǎ fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and sǎn fŭ yé. The teacher-
[776] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
[801] Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/177 cont./

428 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to
756 go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 It is the task of the shaman to learn the
787 wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make
[775] them known to human beings. The shaman, however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also im-
756 possible for the shaman to bewitch human
[754] beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural
[789] powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40
Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the
755 spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors,
789 the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which
[822] color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures
[787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant
[778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/178 cont./

756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
789 should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
[778] of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
[782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [SEE cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

/179 cont./

756 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before
787 he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97).[1] [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for [614] cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the [465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,
755 Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

1 [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50). Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
755 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which
•787 all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/181 cont./

755 787 The shaman stands with the gong between the altar and the bench for about five minutes and beats it, and then turns to the door of the house and repeats the procedure in order to ward off the evil spirits. From a small wooden box brought with him, he takes a black cloth, ceremoniously unties his turban, winds it again, and fastens this cloth to it, but for the time being he throws it back over the turban so that his face remains free. Later on, it is to cover the shaman's face, for only in this way can he see the spirits.

Meanwhile, however, he takes two oracle /Ordal, literally "ordeal," but used in the sense of "oracle" /horns from the same wooden box that held the cloth. They are usually the [237] tips of gaur horns or the ends of deer antlers cut in half lengthwise. The shaman sits down on the bench, bends forward toward the altar and throws the oracle horns to the ground, studies their position (Ill. 99),[1] picks them up again, and throws them again until the backs of both are uppermost. This indicates that the invoked spirit is willing to appear. Every other variation in the position of the oracle horns also has its meaning:

If the inner sides of both oracle horns are uppermost: the spirit is already present.

If the inner side of the left horn and the outer side of the right one are uppermost: an evil spirit has come along and must first be driven away before the conjuration of the good spirit may begin.

/182/ If the inner side of the right horn and the outerside of the left one are uppermost, it means: an evil spirit is more powerful than the good one who would be willing to help the shaman, and therefore he cannot help the patient.

In this most unfavorable situation, the shaman throws the oracle horns once again in order to ask whether the catastrophe cannot be averted. If now the inner sides of both oracle horns are uppermost, it might still be possible for him to cure the patient. If the unfavorable omen is repeated, however, all efforts are in vain, and the sick person will die.

1 [see cat 116, p664 - ANALYST]

/182 cont./

755 All those present tensely watch the horn oracle, which finally indicates a favorable outcome. Then Chief Tsin Tsai
● 787 steps forward with the sick son and the eldest son, all three kneel
[782] down on the ground before the shaman, facing the altar, fold their hands in prayer in the manner of devout Catholics, and beseech the spirits to come and to help. Now the two sons step back, and the chief picks up the gong and begins to beat it. In the meantime, the shaman covers his face with the black cloth so as to be able to see the spirits as soon as they appear. With his left hand he reaches for the magic rattle (see the chapter, "Art," Fig. 31), sits down on the bench in front of the altar, stamps with both feet, simultaneously to the rhythm of the gong beats, and, in the same rhythm, strikes the back of his right hand on his right knee and the magic rattle on his left knee, all the while moving the upper part of his body backward and forward rattling sounds, like "brrr" and "krrr," are heard uninterruptedly along with his, and in the midst of it his conjurations in a half-sung, half-spoken cadence. Then his motions slow down, and his words are more clearly pronounced, while the eyes of everyone present hang on the shaman's lips, for through him the spirits announce their orders and revelations.

After about ten minutes the chief stops beating the gong, but the shaman continues his actions. His words shape themselves into an order: "The soul of Lü has traveled beyond the clouds; evil spirits are holding it, preventing its return. Sacrifice a pig."

755 The eldest son immediately fetches a small pig and puts the sacrificial /183/ animal upon a second bench behind the
782 shaman. Other members of the family hold the animal firmly
[231] by the snout. The eldest son cuts its throat, and someone catches the blood spurting from the veins in a bowl. The chief dips spirit-money (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50) into the blood and burns it with the pious words: "Spirits, I offer you my pig. Enjoy eating it and help my son get well!" He then takes the spirit-
755 sword (Fig. 55) and with it draws a line on the ground, which clearly includes the place of sacrifice in the altar area and

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura- [787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear 756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the 764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the [782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/186 cont./

756 the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks
[764] concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves
[787] supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my
[114] own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is
789 the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both
224 among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or
223 the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the
756 weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/186 cont./

755 789 On the day immediately following the conjuration described, I experienced another instance of the assistance of the shaman in cases of illness. This concerned the sick woman who /187/ had asked the shaman for his help during the conjuration of the soul of Lü, and therefore it was not a matter of a sacrifice satisfactory to the spirits, but rather the exorcisism of the evil spirit from the house afflicted by sickness, and the creation of a guardian [776] spirit such as has already been discussed (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter).

[787] At this spirit-exorcism the beginning of the ceremony was identical with the one of the previous day. While the shaman was in an hour-long trance, the sick woman stood behind him on two spirit-papers, and the chief again burned spirit-money, drew the dividing lines on the ground with the sword, spat water in all directions, and scattered the maize kernels. Suddenly the shaman stopped his twitching and rhythmical movements; his rattling sounds ceased. We learned that the spirit had become too tired [787] to answer and that he would have to be re-awakened. For this purpose the head of the house stepped up to the shaman and struck him on the shoulder. Once more the monotonous conjuration formulas and the twitching of the shaman began. In the meantime, the head of the house tied a string to the young dog to be sacrificed. Then the shaman lighted a straw torch, threw gunpowder into the flames so that they flared up hissingly, spoke accompanying words of conjuration, and walked around the sick woman a few times with the burning torch. He was preceded by the man with the young dog, and at his side walked a young man carrying the gunpowder in an inverted bronze gong. This small procession stepped out of the door and walked around the house several times, while from time to time the shaman threw the proffered gunpowder into the torch (Ill. 102),[1] spat in all directions, murmured prayers, and, whenever the flame hissed up, shouted: "Off with you, evil spirit!" Smoke and stench enveloped the house, which, evidently, was supposed to drive away the evil spirit. The sacrificial animal, however, was led around the house so that the guardian spirit would recognize the area it was to watch. The procession came to a halt. In front of the

[1] [See cat 116, p704 - ANALYST]

/187 cont./

755 entrance to the house the shaman cut the throat of the young dog
789 (Ill. 101)[1] and caught the blood in leaves. With the blood he then drew a cross on the backs of the head of the household and each of the other members and smeared some blood on the door
[787] posts. /188/ Finally, he once more threw the oracle horns and burned a quantity of spirit-money as a sacrifice.

756 On another occasion we were able to observe the activity
787 of a female shaman. This involved the invocation of the Father-
[776] Mother spirit, who, as soon as the rice is ripe, according to the Meau, moves away in order to be ready for the New Year's festival. Now this spirit had supposedly returned and would be asked by the female shaman to bring blessings to the occupants of the house. Outwardly there is little difference from the activity of a male shaman. It was striking to us that the female shaman used not two, but four oracle horns. At this ceremony, too, there was a struggle with evil spirits. Whenever the female shaman in her exertions jumped upon the bench to indicate that an evil spirit was present, the head of the household scattered maize and his wife spat water in the four directions. Despite the fact that everything was carefully observed and care was taken to scatter the kernels and spit out the water in the prescribed way, the evil spirit would not yield. Finally, the head of the household seized the spirit-sword hanging on the wall by the altar and stuck it into the ground in front of the altar. The female shaman had actually fallen into a deep trance and had to be awakened very laboriously by being pounded on the back by the head of the household after the conjuration was over.

756 Besides this kind of activity, obviously recognizable as a
789 priestly performance, there falls to the shaman, but not exclusively to him alone, the making of spirit-paper (Ill. 84, 85)[2] and thus spirit-money. Moreover, the shaman is obliged to make certain amulets and talismans, although many other Meau know how to make various such means of protection against the evil spirits. The ingredients are obtained from flowers and plants. Small triangular cloth bags are filled with the mixture. Such amulets are worn on a string around the neck or attached to the silver neck-ring itself.

[1] [See cat 116, p666 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", P598 - "]

/189 cont./

787 [756] The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great number is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad [241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails, since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 787 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above, since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the [433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior [825] and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means [776] that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 787 825 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occupants will be blessed.

224 787 825 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters, too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac, the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes that he cannot expect to bag any game.

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
[821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

[763] In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[171] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

/191 cont./

787 If a Meau dreams that his house is on fire or that he is fleeing, it bodes ill fortune for the inhabitants of the house in which the sleeper is resting. It is likewise unfavorable to dream of tigers or an inundation. Misfortune is likewise imminent if in a dream a tree, a horse, or a cow falls.

If in a dream one sees people engaged in pounding rice, /192/ then all depends on the color of the rice. If it is white, it is regarded as a good omen, whereas black rice is regarded as a bad omen.

Special good luck is indicated by dreams in which one sees a hen with many chicks or people in new clothes, or shallow water, or if one dreams that a new year has begun.

787 851 Besides the attention given to the omens described and others, and to dreams and soothsaying, an oracle /Ordal, literally "ordeal," but used here in the sense of "oracle"/ is also consulted among the Meau, as was described above in connection with the conjurations by the shaman in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community." [123] It will be recalled that in every case my presence in the village, as that of an influential stranger, was regarded as a good omen, and, after the oracle had been consulted, I was asked to be the sponsor of the newborn little boy. At that time, the chicken oracle was used, whose procedure I have already described. If the skin on the head of one or both animals of the sacrificed pair of chickens had been black or spotted black, if the hyoid bones of one of the animals had not been parallel or if the chickens' toes had not run together toward the front, but instead had stood out sideways, especially the first or third toe, everybody would have been convinced that the ancestors would not be able to protect the child against the evil spirits that were present and that these would have to be exorcised before the child could be received into the family community. On the other hand, if two of the omens had been good and one bad, this would have been regarded as a warning sign, indicating that great caution was needed. In [609] such case any stranger would have been denied entry into the house of the newborn baby. Thus, as this witnessed example 787 indicates, among the Meau there is a direct connection between

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

439 787 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

123 224 Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, [787] whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [322] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

/193 cont./

123 go hunting together, and immediately Tsin Tsai was again
224 favorably disposed toward me. We would set out to hunt ele-
[326] phants, gaur, and other big game which, with his primitive guns,
[411] he was able to kill only at the risk of his life. His passion for hunting was so great that, even at the time of the harvest, he would drop everything in order to accept my invitation. Needless to say, Tsin Tsai also knew how to handle the crossbow, the
[411] most important and favorite weapon of the Meau, or poisoned arrows, with which any game can be brought down. My high-power rifle, /194/ however, aroused general admiration, and Tsin Tsai in particular could not get his fill of looking at it; he repeatedly picked it up and stroked it lovingly.

The Meau are familiar with the habits of game to a remarkable degree, naturally far more so than we Europeans. Just as I always deferred to the natives while hunting in the tropics, here, too I followed the instructions of the bold Meau hunters. They know the weather and the wind directions in relation to the haunts of the game; they are familiar with the scarce sources of salt in the primeval forest, which are regularly visited by all the wild animals; they know whether and at what time of the day or night the various species of animals seek out the waterholes or the salt licks; they deduce from the tracks of a wounded animal when it will take cover; in a word, they know the answers to all the questions that are involved in success for a hunter in the primeval forest.

123 Chief Tsin Tsai in particular was able to answer the most
224 incredible questions. After a short time I myself relied com-
787 pletely upon what he said. In order to be able to judge the extent of the knowledge possessed by this excellent hunter, I constantly posed new and more difficult questions, which nevertheless were always answered. When I tried, as far as possible, to verify his statements, I soon, to my surprise, found contradictions and inaccuracies. Finally, however, this inexplicable situation was clarified for me, when I discovered Tsin Tsai engaged in having my questions answered by the spirits by means of oracles! Apparently the spirits were less well informed about the living habits of the animals than the living Meau were!

/194 cont./

123 224 787 As far as I was concerned, the situation was difficult if not actually perilous if I wanted to remain on good terms with the Meau. I could not contradict the spirits and had to follow their orders, which were transmitted to me through the mouth of the chief. Hence it was of utmost importance for me to become thoroughly familiar with the pertinent customs of the Meau. One day Tsin Tsai asked me to accompany him on a gaur hunt. A Meau had wounded a splendid old gaur, but was afraid, and very justifiably so, as I soon discovered, to track down this solitary beast in the difficult terrain. Therefore, /195/ he stopped the pursuit, returned to the village, and reported the facts to the chief. A few hours later, we, the chief, my interpreter, and I, were standing at the spot of the shooting. We had no difficulty in finding the path of flight of the heavy animal. We followed it until it led into an impenetrable thicket, which, as dense secondary growth, covered a rice field abandoned some six years earlier.

With our chopping knives we laboriously started cutting out way through the thicket and could not see two meters ahead. Added to that, the wind changed direction every few minutes. Under these circumstances tracking down an old, as well as wounded, solitary animal was tantamount to suicide. To judge by the trail which led up a steep hillside, it was highly improbable that the animal had died, but, on the other hand, reasonably certain that sooner or later we would be attacked by the wounded buffalo, without being able to parry such an attack by the wounded animal even halfway successfully at this short distance without having the shot pass out of the animal's body.

From the viewpoint of the hunter, Tsin Tsai had evidently committed an error, which surprised me. I drew his attention to the dangers that surrounded us. Tsin Tsai calmly confirmed my observations, but nevertheless held the opinion that, in spite of everything, no danger could threaten us, and, indeed, we were certain to be successful, for he had consulted the spirits by means [782] of the oracle and had even sacrificed a pig to them before we set out, and all the omens had been favorable! Naturally, I could not call the spirits liars, much less question their power. On the

/195 cont./

123 224 987

other hand, I had no desire to pursue such a hopeless affair for which I was not responsible. Only strategy could help. Amiably I turned to Tsin Tsai: "Your spirits were right. I, too, however, questioned my hunting spirit. He told me that he would have to go up into the clouds and therefore could not assist me. He advises me therefore to stop the pursuit." The chief understood this immediately. The hunt was immediately called off, and without protest we were able to start back, for Tsin Tsai had no intention of exposing me to danger.

/196/ Another time -- but by no means always -- I was successful in using my influence to overcome bothersome hindrances which the oracle made for us. One day, I could not do any ethnographic fieldwork because my informants were not available. I therefore wanted to go hunting with a Meau, who for his part was very much in favor of my proposal. Beforehand, however, he wanted to consult the oracle as to whether the undertaking planned should be done at this time. Naturally, I feared difficulties again, but I quickly found a way out. I reminded the Meau that he had just laid out the oracle a few days before and that the spirits had told him that we would kill the gaur which I now wished to hunt. The spirits would certainly be annoyed by his asking again. Fortunately that satisfied my Meau; he gave up the oracle and set out with me.

I myself, however, tried to obtain answers through the oracle of the Meau, in order to familiarize myself in every way with their ideas. In one case I wanted to know whether I would have a chance to shoot a certain old bull elephant whose haunt was known to me and to the chief. The chief lighted a fire, burned three pieces of the spirit-money which he carried with him, whittled three small bamboo sticks, and held them between the thumb and index finger of his right hand. Then he drew them through the fire several times, held them up toward the sky, and, while these preparations were going on, began conjuring the great Father-Mother spirit. He informed him that [782] he had sacrificed spirit-money and asked for answers to the following questions: Whether the [illegible]l elephant was occupying its usual haunt at the present time, whether I would be able to shoot it,

/196 cont./

123 and whether, after the shot, we would be able to get the booty.
224 With each question, Tsin Tsai pointed to one of the sticks in
787 order to communicate to the spirit in this way the significance of each stick. He then bent each stick with his thumb nail at intervals of about three centimeters, until he finally held all of them in his hand in the manner shown in Ill. 98[1] as triangles and scrutinized them carefully. The position of the upper side of the first stick which stood for the haunt of the bull elephant, was horizontal, which indicated the unchanged position, that is, the unchanged /197/ haunt of the bull. If the point of this side had been turned away from the sacrificer, it would have meant that the bull had moved away. The point of the second stick, which was supposed to answer the question regarding the shot, was turned toward the sacrificer, which meant an affirmative answer. The reverse position would have indicated that I would not have a chance to shoot. The upper side of the third stick was likewise turned toward the sacrificer, thus this question, too, was answered affirmatively, and we could therefore count on seizing the game.

We eagerly set out on the hunt. We actually found the bull in its haunt, and we stalked it until we were about 20 paces from it. Through the bush I repeatedly saw the outlines of the enormous gray mass. Only once, however, for a fraction of a second would I have been able to fire a fatal shot. Under these circumstances I could not make up my mind to follow the advice of the chief, who actually trembling with buck fever, demanded, with reference to the predicted outcome, that I shoot at the bull through the tangle of vegetation. The giant animal escaped unharmed when the wind turned for a moment and carried our scent to him. Thus at the last moment I failed to put the oracle to a definite test, but it seemed wiser to me to trust my hunter's instinct.

On another occasion we discovered a salt spring in the primeval forest, which, of course, was the meeting place for much game. After I had shot a fine gaur, however, the rest of the game seemed to have been blown away. Tsin Tsai decided to consult the high Father-Mother spirit about our further hunting prospects and set up his stick oracle, conducting his ceremonial performance in the same way as previously described. This

1 [See cat 116, p 663 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/197 cont./

123 224 787

time he used seven sticks since he directed the following seven questions to the great Father-Mother spirit: whether we had a chance 1. to shoot tigers, 2. elephants, 3. buffalo, 4. deer; 5. whether the old bull elephant that we had pursued in vain into the thicket several days ago still remained at the same location, 6. whether a splendid old gaur that traveled alone and stayed in the thickets of abandoned rice fields in the vicinity of our Meau village could be slain by us; 7. my interpreter asked whether his wife and his newborn baby /198/ were doing well. As may be seen, the questions were posed in such a way that the answer had to be either yes or no.

Tsin Tsai now took the sticks one by one, bent them with his thumbnail ten or eleven times at intervals of about three centimeters, and left one side of each stick about ten centimeters long without bending. Then he took all the sticks into his left hand and folded them into triangles. Once again the answers given us by the great Father-Mother spirit were shown by the position of the upper side of the triangle and the tips. A horizontal position meant "situation unchanged"; if the tip of the triangle was directed toward the conjurer, it was taken as affirmative; if it was turned away from him, it was taken as negative.

Again we examined the oracle sticks and learned from them the following answers: Tigers, elephants, and buffalo have moved far away. Deer have remained and can be hunted since the other omens are not unfavorable. The old bull elephant: likewise "situation unchanged." He has therefore returned and is again occupying his station from which we pursued it in vain some days previously. The interpreter's question was also answered: his wife and child were doing well. The chief added that the wife was sleeping badly because she was worried about her husband. His son was thinking of him -- my informants put it in a rather charming way: "His soul is hopping to the father."

The answers to all six of the questions posed by me coincided fully with my own assumptions. Hence I had no objections to complying with them. This time, too, however, I could not test their correctness, for, although we did shoot deer, we did not have time to wait for the return of other big game, and I

Miao AE5
AKha A04

/198 cont./

M 123 224 787 could not take the time to check whether or not they were actually to be found in their haunts. Moreover, such an attempt would very obviously have shown distrust of the oracle. Much later we learned that the interpreter's wife had actually been worried about her husband. We had stayed in the primeval forest area much longer than was originally intended and had all been given up for lost.

A 756 The Akha, too, believe that there are human beings who are born with supernatural faculties, but, in contrast to the /199/ Meau, know far fewer people of this kind. Accordingly, the latter are regarded as much more powerful than they are A [634] among the Meau. These people are the chief shamans, called [621] tŭmō. Every tŭmō stands over many villages, and if one remembers that the villages of the Akha embrace several hundred houses, the importance of the tŭmō becomes obvious.

A [622] The ordinary shaman is called bŭbā among the Akha. This office often coincides with that of the chief. Aside from this, however, the bŭbā plays a comparatively larger role than the tŭmō, because in every village there lives a bŭbā, who is far more intimately connected with his village community than the tŭmō is with the villages under him.

A 756 778 [776] Both the tŭmō and the bŭbā are mediators between the spirits and human beings. The bŭbā has to offer the regular sacrifices to the spirits, and furthermore, above all, he has to take care of the spirit of the swing and the guardian spirit. Accordingly, he is in charge of the management and upkeep of the sacral gates. Also, the wooden idols beside the sacral gates (Ill. 48)[1] are carved at his command by men of the village chosen by him, who also decorate the gates newly erected every year, while the old gates gradually disintegrate. This A custom made it easy for us to ascertain how many years previously [174] a village had been founded. One need only count the number of gates at the entrance to the village.

1 [See cat 116, p333 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--275 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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[534]

[411]

[354]
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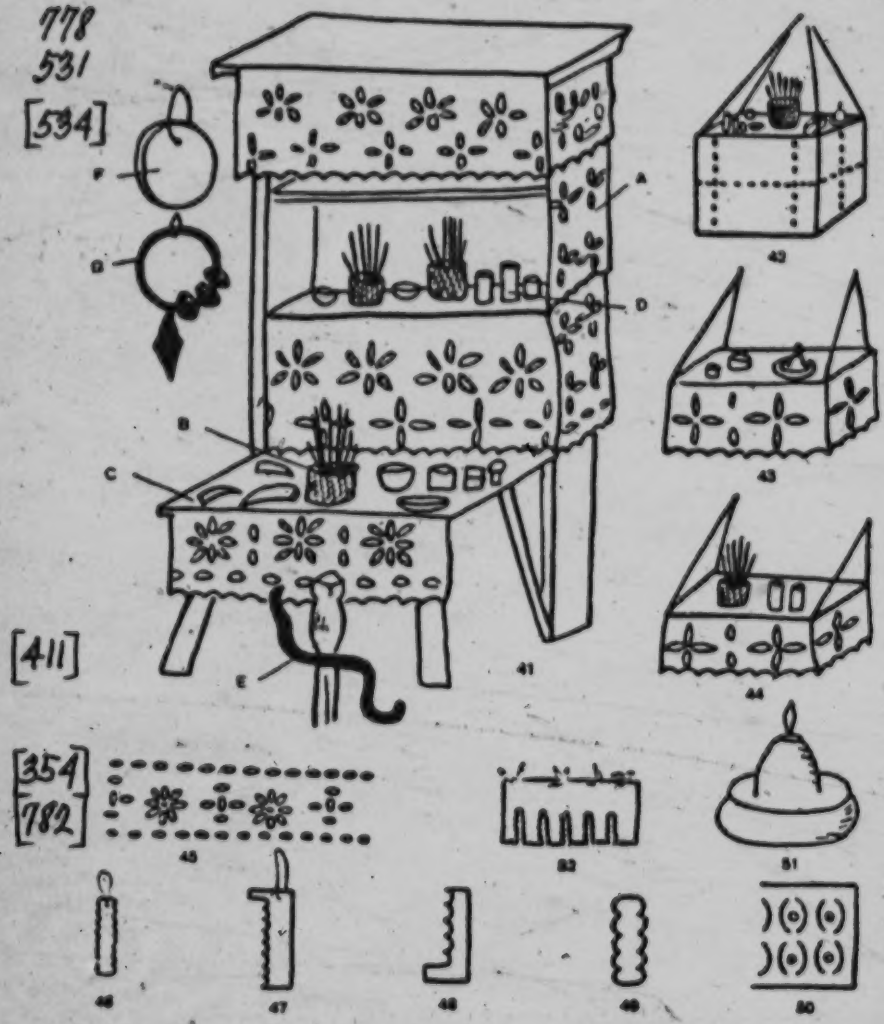

Figs. 41-52. Altars of the Meau.

Fig. 41. Large altar for the worship of the ancestors and the teacher-spirit of the shaman. 1/24 nat. size: A = punched-out paper curtain as decoration for the wooden frame; B = small basket with incense candles; C = oracle horns; D = small tea

[787]

(continued)

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer.
[516] which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position
[788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his
[756] wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses
[787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro-
[516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship
776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are
782 dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the
[778] spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship
776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom
[782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/208 cont./

769 782 [852] [764] As has already been described in detail in the pertinent sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If [437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 782 [461] Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the [787] spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

1 [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/210 cont./

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
however, only after it has been punched with the special punches
[413] in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and
the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze
●787 (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
[177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses,
[177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

/276 cont./

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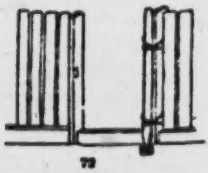

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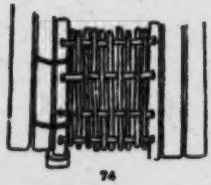

74

Figs. 72-74.
The doors of the Meau.
About 1/7 nat. size.
Fig. 72. Entrance door of wood.
Fig. 73. Door-leaf of Fig. 72.
Fig. 74. Entrance door of bamboo.

342 The construction of a dwelling proceeds in the following
● 787 manner: After the site of the future dwelling has been carefully
[782] chosen, spirit-money is sacrificed and the ancestors and the high Father-Mother spirit are asked whether the place is auspicious. Then one listens attentively all around and looks for possible omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). One now erects a leaf-roof and sleeps under it. If now there are still no unfavorable omens observable and no dreams of unfavorable portent occur, then the men and women together begin to clear the site of all brush and level it off.

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
243

2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is [314] left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless [417] it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

/468 cont./

115 156 622 123 "Chief Tsin Tsai is a wonderful fellow. When he sits cross-legged on the ground, his long back hair knotted, the long tobacco pipe in his hand, his high forehead furrowed in thought, tensing the muscles of his lean jaws, /469/ stroking his sparse beard which hangs down from his strongly projecting zygomatic arches, he is so remarkably the typical representative of his industrious people, and yet he towers above their average. Not for a moment is he idle or unoccupied. Now he plaits a basket; scarcely finished, he cuts up a piece of game and distributes the meat, and now he sharpens his knife on a stone and goes into the bush for a few minutes. There he digs up some edible roots and brings them to us as a welcome supplement to our monotonous diet in the camp and visits my husband at his work in order to propose a hunting trip together. As soon [224] [787] as my husband has consented, he goes into his house to lay out a stick oracle and ask the spirits in which direction he must turn in order to have success, what kind of booty he can expect, and more of the same. During this time his people have come back from the fields. They quietly wait for the oracle and then turn to the chief with a series of questions. Quietly and decisively the latter now gives his orders and then is off on the hunt."

A few pages further in her journal my wife returns to the chief: "It is a pleasure to watch Tsin Tsai at work. He is friendly and helpful, offers us every service, carries the hand luggage, and regards no work as 'beneath his dignity.' Moreover, he is clever, circumspect, and prudent; he sizes up the situation immediately and is able to differentiate between the essential and the nonessential. He answers questions with brief, logical, and sensible replies. If one asks him for advice, he always supplements his information with detailed reasoning. To be sure, in matters dealing with hunting, he always judges for us on the basis of his own experiences, so that sometimes differences result. He maintains, for instance, that, after a shot, tigers come along to search for wounded game, whereas our experience was that they immediately disappeared, never to be seen again. Moreover, wild animals were generally much more timid than he expected, probably because there were more of us than he was accustomed to.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

39: Bernatzik--663 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.490/

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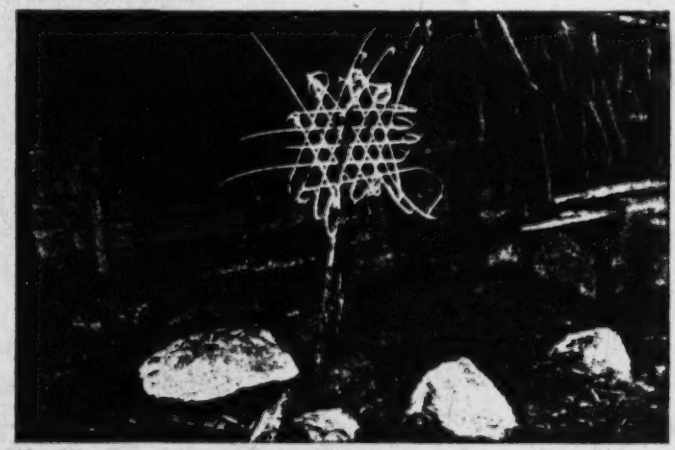

Ill. 97. Sacral sign, which, set up in front of the house door, announces the beginning of a holiday among the Meau.

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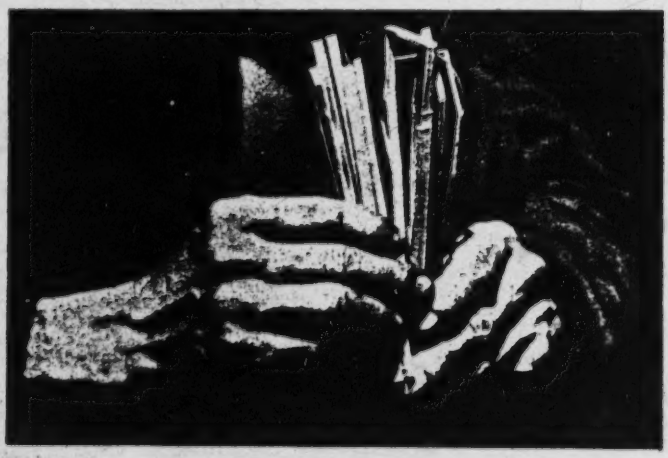

Ill. 98. Meau questions the spirits with the help of a stick oracle.

39: Bernatzik--664 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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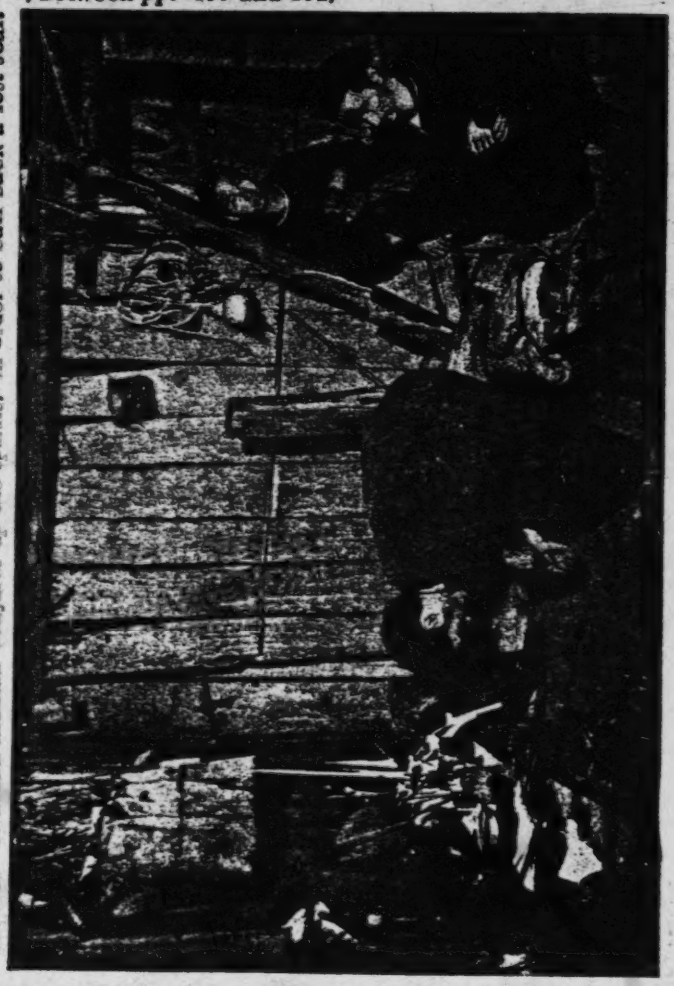

Ill. 99. A Meau shaman conjures up the spirits, in order to call back a lost soul.

39: Bernatzik--665 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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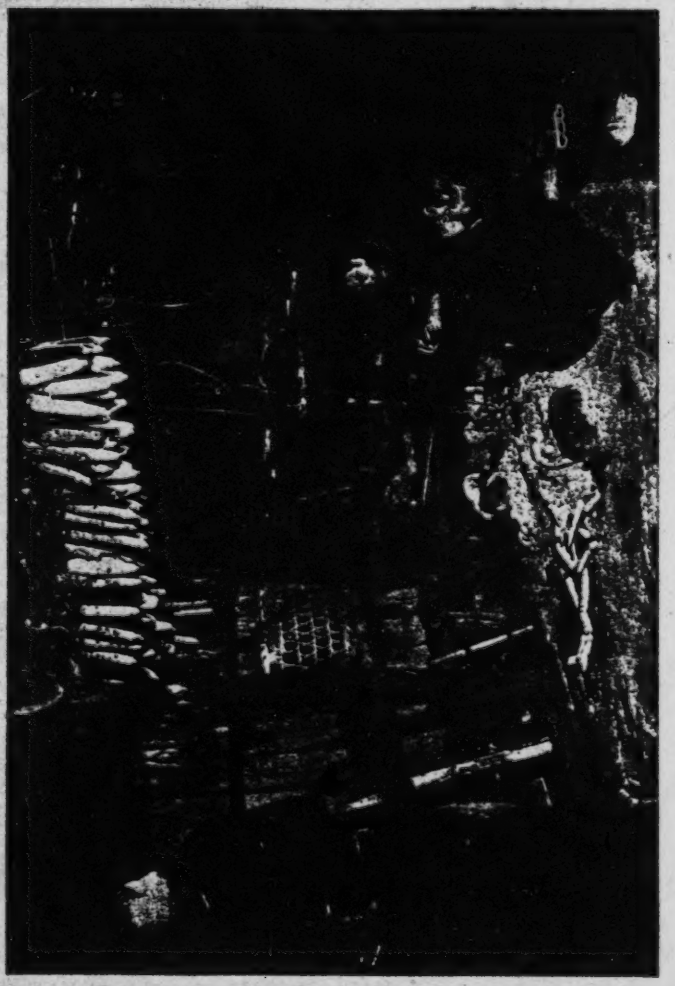


Ill. 100. At the command of the invoked spirits, spirit money is burned in a pit in the floor of the house.

/IX cont./

252 256 the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

243 [412] Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

755 787 [756] Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

[782] Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
[776] To officiate at this marriage rite.
We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest
has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads
the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits
down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started.
The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire
would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement back-
ward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement
then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside
or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated
she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao
grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After
washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14 strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each. The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot. [788] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers, next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part [769] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the [776] house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance. On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh. There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number of slices of cut-up beef. No beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is [263] very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao superstition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

1. See "Myths about the Flood, 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." 1/A

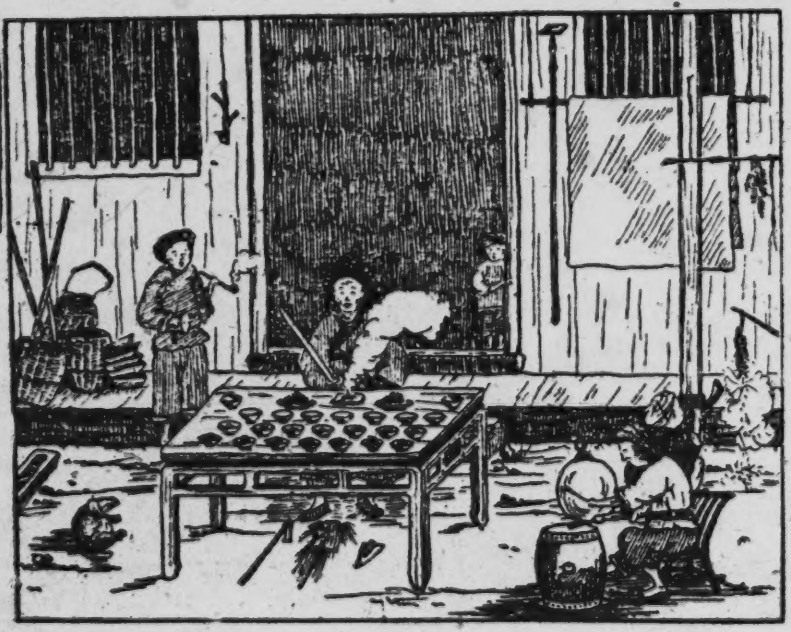
A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

1/A [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

/132 cont./

*782 they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and a bracelet. He utters an incantation, while attendants hold the [788] wine pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

[342] [352] [415] [412] [291]



Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

/133 cont./

*782 of water-buffalo meat are offered, one string being offered each time, and ending with the seventh string. Then after the pig is offered to the kuei by the sorcerer-priest, the pig is sent to the kitchen to be killed and cooked. Then the cut-up meat of the pig and the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs are distributed in seven bowls and offered to the kuei.

The fourth part is performed in the afternoon toward evening. A small table is set outside the entrance, on which are placed incense, rice, and li-shih (1), and a pair of green candles

1. Li-shih, a kind of paper horse.

as well as five cups of wine.

The fifth part is performed at night after the first night watch is sounded. Two large tables are put together in the middle room. It is surrounded by a number of benches. On the tables are spread out 12 bowls of wine in two rows, six in a row, and 12 bowls of cooked rice in one long row. On top of each bowl of rice is a piece of pork and a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. There are also 12 bowls of meat, placed like the bowls of rice in a long row. In front of the bowls of meat are a bowl of tea and a bowl of sour soup. On one corner of the table is a wooden bucket, on which are two dried rice shoots and a double-edged sword. The sorcerer-priest and the members of the lower generation as well as the close relatives of the same clan sit down around the table. The sorcerer-priest performs his ritual, and the rest light fire-
[788] crackers, blow the signal horn, and beat the drum, filling the hall with rumbling and roaring.

The sixth part is performed after the second watch is sounded. A long door plank is set up outside the ground floor. On the plank are laid nine bowls of wine, nine bowls of meat, nine bowls of sweet wine, a bowl of sour soup, and a bowl of tea. On the right side is placed an upper millstone, on which is set up a rice bucket on which are put a dried rice shoot and a double-edged sword. The sorcerer-priest and three members of the lower generation are seated in a row, and behind them is hung a red rug.

/141 cont./

*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to [178] the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes [188] out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] [535] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full [292] dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

/142 cont. /

*782 After each passage the musicians play their instruments a while. When the sorcerer-priest has occasion to stand up, the four "leg-bearing" men who accompanied the kuei also stand up; when the sorcerer-priest sits down, the "leg-bearing" men also sit down; when he presents wine, they must also do so. From first to last it is done nine times until late at night.

In the morning of the second day the sorcerer-priest orders the helpers to go outside the village to choose an open area to erect Five-Flower pillars. After the pillars are erected they make bamboo rings with bamboo strips and put them around the pillars. A piece of hemp rope is used to tie the nose of the ox to the bamboo ring. The creeper brought by the "leg-bearing" relatives are used to bind up the horns so that the animal cannot hurt anyone with the horns, see Illus. 63. After the arrangements have been finished, the sorcerer-priest is asked to make an inspection, and if he finds everything satisfactorily arranged, then they can proceed. The host then changes into new clothes, and offers wine and meat as sacrifices to the kuei, burns incense [788] and paper, and kneels three times and kowtows nine times facing the ox. At the same time the sorcerer-priest utters an incantation, telling the origin of the ox kuei. After the incantation is finished, the mother's brother takes hold of the spear and acts as if he were chasing the ox to stab it. The spear is then taken by a young man to do the actual stabbing of the animal. At the same time the din from the drums and gongs rends the air and the ox runs around the Five-Flower pillars. /Illus. 63 appears between pp. 142 and 143. / /143/ with the man pursuing and repeatedly stabbing, until the animal is dazed and falls to the ground. [787] They note the direction in which the head falls to decide whether the sign is auspicious or not. If the head faces toward the host's house, it is a good omen; if the head faces away, then it is a bad omen.

After the animal has been stabbed to death, then the meat is divided up. The head and heart, liver, entrails, and bowels go to the host to be used to sacrifice to the kuei. The left and right hind legs go to the "first- and second-leg-bearing" relatives,

/144 cont./

*782 The first part consists of the invocation of the kuei, in
776 Miao called [ʐɑ˧ piɑ˥]. There are four kuei invoked: [nɑŋ˧ nɑ˧ kueŋ˧ tio˥], [nɑŋ˧ mɑ˧ kueŋ˧ lieŋ˥], [kueŋ˧ bu˧ kueŋ˧ teŋ˥], and [kueŋ˧ ʐɑŋ˧ kueŋ˧ piɑ˥]. According to Miao sorcerers the four kuei are two males and two females, the most respected kuei in heaven. The invocation of the kuei takes place in front
*782 of the main house. The sorcerer-priest hangs out the paper streamers which he cut the previous day in the host's house on three tree trunks. He then encircles the tree trunks with paper banners planted to form a semicircle. At the foot of the steps is a small table, on which are laid out 12 bowls, bottoms up, and wine is poured into the hollows of the bottoms instead of wine cups. In another small bowl burns beeswax. The Miao sorcerer stands on the steps, holding the chiao in his right hand and ringing
•[788] a hand bell in his left hand, mumbling some phrases to himself. He then begins to invoke the kuei (Illus. 64). Before he utters the incantation, he first calls out /ha ji jo o ho ho/. His incantation follows, with the general purport as given below:

> "The sun rises and the sun sets. The smoke from the beeswax in the dish rises to the sky and leads the kuei to this house. This beeswax is burned by my (the sorcerer designates himself) hand. The smoke from the wax rises up the mountain slope, while I, the sorcerer-priest, stand here before this house. The smoke from the wax changes to mist, shrouding the mountain slope and the sorcerer-priest. The smoke from the wax goes up to the sky and together with the mist /Illus. 64 appears here/ /146/ protects the world. The kuei, not knowing the sorcerer-priest, are frightened. I do it three times, and burn three piles of beeswax. The smoke from the wax drifts before the sorcerer-priest's altar, leading down my patron saints. We ask hundreds and thousands of honorable patron saints to come here. Such and such patron priests... (calling the patron saints by name) have all come! Please do not forsake me. In front is the entrance, behind is the city; in front is the

/150 cont./

*782 824 bowls each of wine and meat and a bowl of beeswax. The Miao sorcerer sits in front of the table, beating a bamboo tube with his right hand and uttering the incantation to send away the old trees' supernatural forces. The general purport of the incantation /151/ is to request the kuei to go away quickly after partaking of the wine and meat, for the children in the village after hearing the strange noise are terrified. Among the phrases of the incantation is "kill a goat to sacrifice to the kuei." This shows that previously the goat was also used as an object of sacrifice but now it is spared; the text of the incantation, however, has remained unchanged. After one section has been [788] recited, he stops beating the bamboo tube. He starts ringing the bell with his left hand and continues the incantation. At the [787] same time he performs divination with the chiao-tzu. If the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, the supernatural forces are considered to have departed. If he gets the yang chiao, they have not gone, and the incantation and the divination have to be repeated until either the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, when the kuei may be sent away by burning the paper money.

(9) Cleansing the House

*782 783 If one's house has been lived in by a family of a different surname, the master of the house must ask a Miao sorcerer to cleanse the house after that family moves out, otherwise, the owner after living there would not be prosperous. Cleansing the house in Miao is called [ndzɜ˨ pɜ˨˩]. The two kuei invoked are [776] [deiʌ˨˩ ɜ˨˩ nogɪ˧ dɕ˧˥] and [deiʌ˨˩ ɪɑ˧˥ nogɪ˧ qa˧˥]. The time is any time during broad daylight, and the place may be anywhere inside the house, either in the main room or in the side room, facing outside the door. A table is set up, and on it placed five bowls of wine, five pieces of pork, five piles of mi-pa, and five pieces of tofu/bean curd/. A piece of green cloth 6 ch'ih long is spread out on the ground under the table. On the cloth are one or two strings of copper yuan; they also use a cock, whose two wings are tied to a leg of the table. They do not use beeswax, but only use three slender sticks of incense stuck up in the mi-pa. The

/156 cont./

243 *782 have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the chiao, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the chiao in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

"Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[787] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the chiao, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The yang chiao and the sheng chiao are auspicious. The yin chiao is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

[946] [755]

/157 cont./

*782 his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accom-
[292] panying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is
[843] allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests
•[788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the
777 Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʐɨɤ˧ ɕio˧˥ ba˨˩
731 loŋ˨˩ ɲie˨˩]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss,
[776] they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'a˥˧ tɕu˧˥ lio˧˥ tɤɤ˧˥] and [ɲi˧˥ tsu˧˥ lio˧˥ ntɕ'i˧˥]. The time of this ceremony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar. On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

/165/

*782 holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and standing before the
[292] table, the sorcerer-priest utters the An-shen incantation. On finishing the incantation he blows the ox horn, and his helpers beat drums and gongs. The sorcerer-priest changes into red clothes and dons ceremonial headgear, and makes gestures with
[788] both hands toward the house and toward the open space, doing the three-step walk with his two feet forming a triangle. After this performance he takes a rest. The host collects the mi-pa and tofu from the three places and fries them in camellia oil. After being

Illus. 71. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, A.

/166 cont./

*782 The ritual for the fifth-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table, a small table, a chair, and a stool, piled up to form an altar. The layout on the lowest, large table is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice, and the layouts on the chair and the stool are the same as those for the third-grade sacrifice. The lower altar and the hsi k'ung are arranged as for the first-grade sacrifice. Behind the altar is a bamboo frame, on which are hung 15 strings of paper money. Also a five-colored paper flag is stuck in the ground next to the table. Eight or nine small, five-colored flags are hung on tree branches near the bamboo frame and the table. There are four parts to this performance:

The first part consists of arranging the altar, and the performance is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice. When it is over, there is a recess, and mi-pa is eaten.

The second part consists of "connecting the streets." The sorcerer-priest wears his red clothing, red headkerchief without the ceremonial headgear, holding the ox horn in his [292] right hand and the ceremonial knife in his left. When gong and drum are sounded, he faces the altar and blows the horn. After [788] this, the horn and the knife in the left and right hands are interchanged, he does the three-step walk, waving and dancing, now facing in, now facing out, at the same time uttering an incantation.

The third part is "making the bridge." The sorcerer-priest wears the same clothes and holds the same ritual articles as in the previous part, except that his left shoulder is covered with a willow towel. When the gong and drum sound, then he blows the horn. After that he interchanges the horn and the knife in his hands, takes the three-step walk, waving and dancing, at the same time uttering an incantation. This performance is done once each in the five directions of east, south, west, north, and center. After this he utters the incantation pledging in wine. The sorcerer-priest then holds the willow towel in his left hand to dance to the music of continuous drumming and beating of gongs, dancing once facing out and twice facing in.

/166 cont./

*782 After dancing a certain number of times this part of the ritual is over.

The fourth part, tasting the cooked food, is done in the same way as for the first-grade sacrifice.

The seventh-grade sacrifice is performed with seven pieces of furniture, tables, chairs, and stools, piled up to form an altar, as in Illus. 72. One of the bottom two tables /Illus. 78 appears on p. 167/ /168/ is arranged like the table for the first-grade sacrifice. The other tables and chairs are arranged like the small tables for the third-grade sacrifice. But the sheng of rice on the lower altar of the seventh table and the hsi k'ung each has a paper spirit tablet stuck up. There are two large flags, one red and one black; there are also 12 small flags, hung up in the same way as in the fifth-grade sacrifice. A cock is also prepared for use after the performance. The ritual is divided into five parts, the first, second, third, and fifth parts being identical to the fourth part of the fifth-grade sacrifice. The addition here is the fourth part of reviewing soldiers. Tasting the cooked food becomes the fifth part. For the ritual of reviewing soldiers, the sorcerer-priest dons his red robe, red kerchief, and ceremonial headgear, and carries a gong in his left hand, a horn in his right. First he blows the horn. Then, putting down the horn, he picks up the hammer of the gong, and as he utters an incantation he beats the [788] gong. With each beat, he bows to the front and the rear. As he stops bowing, he stops beating. After once more uttering an incantation, he faces the altar and beats the gong nine times, followed by alternate reciting and beating. After this reciting the sorcerer-priest holds the willow towel in his left hand, and on it is placed a stack of paper money. Three sticks of incense are lit and stuck on the paper money, which is held fast with the left thumb. A bowl of rice is then placed on the table. When gong and drum are sounded, he picks up the horn with his right hand and gives a blow. Putting down the horn, he picks up the knife, taking the three-step walk, chanting and dancing, and also squatting to bow three times toward the altar. He once more blows the horn and once more he chants, and at the time

/179 cont./

*782 and utters the incantation for gathering up the evil kuei. When
*787 the incantation is over, he divines. After the sheng or yin chiao is obtained, he hangs up the whip. He takes the ritual knife with his right hand and dips the point in the bowl of water, then raises it up and, swinging right and left, continues the incantation. After he has recited /180/ a passage, the helper beats the gong and the drum, and the sorcerer-priest, holding a wooden bell with both hands, worships the shen to the accompaniment of the beating of the gong and drum for about 15 minutes. When the worship is over, the sorcerer-priest picks up the chiao-tzu and utters the incantation to invoke the shen, first facing the Peach Spring cave, later turning to face out the door, then again turning to the cave. After he has finished invoking the shen, he divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is obtained, this part ends.

*782 The third part is An T'u Ti /"calming the local divinity of the soil"/. Wearing ordinary clothes and standing before the hsi kung, the sorcerer-priest makes a low bow with hands in front, and utters an incantation. First he invokes the shen; then he offers the sacrifices, burns the paper money, and asks the shen to accept these things.

The fourth part is Pu T'an /"displaying the altar"/.
[292] The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, ceremonial headgear, and a willow towel on his shoulder. He stands before the Peach Spring cave, gesticulating and beating the gong and the drum at the same time. After this act the
•[788] sorcerer-priest leads the host to the shen to make a low bow with both hands in front and to kowtow. Following this ceremony the sorcerer-priest, holding a horn in his left hand and the chiao-tzu in his right, and rapping the former with the latter, utters the incantations to invoke the shen. After having recited a passage, he pulls off the towel with his left hand and begins to shake the ritual knife with his right hand; he ceases beating the gong and the drum, but utters the incantation for pledging in wine. After this, he takes out the previously prepared written prayers from the four prayer boxes and, bowing the knee before the shen, he leads the host to kneel and make obeisance,

/180 cont./

*[787] and reads the petition. After this, amidst the sound of gong and drum, he gives one long blast of the horn. The host then gets up and stands at the side. Holding the prayer box in the left hand and shaking the ritual knife in his right hand, the sorcerer-
•[788] priest takes the three-step walk toward the Peach Spring cave, uttering the incantation to present money. After a passage has been recited, he hangs the ritual knife on his right wrist and gesticulates with his finger as if writing characters on the prayer box. Then he continues his incantation, blowing on the horn at the same time. After two blows, holding the whip in his right hand, he stands up, and first facing inward, he strikes the ground once with the whip, then facing outward, he strikes the ground twice. Turning once more inward, he again strikes the ground, and also blows the horn, Then he utters another incantation passage. Then he turns, facing out the door, and puts the prayer box on a small table and blows the horn once more. When the incantation is finished, he raps the horn with the knife and utters an incantation invoking the meritorious spirits. After the incantation,
*[787] he divines, and, when the sheng or the yang chiao is obtained, he shakes the ritual knife several times, facing the man /men?/ beating the drum and gong, ordering him to stop, and then utters an invocation pledging in wine to the meritorious shen. After pledging with wine three times and pouring it three times, he asks the shen to accept the items on sacrifice. When he divines and the
*[787] sheng chiao appears, he knows that the shen have accepted the articles, and then he burns the four prayer boxes and removes the items on sacrifice. He puts the ritual knife and the whip on the ground, utters an incantation, and following the eight directions
[823] in sequence, east, west, south, north, northeast, southwest, northwest, and southeast, he takes the three-step walk, to make a square, and stamps once on the ground with his feet. After he has gone past the eight directions, he turns to the right of the Peach Spring cave and utters the incantation to invoke the shen and the ancestral spirits of the host. After the incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up the whip and the ritual knife he had put on the ground and takes the chiao-tzu and the spirit tablets,

/189 cont./

*782 money. There is also a prayer box and a monk's mask. The sorcerer, wearing the red kerchief and red garment, stands before the basket, hitting the small cymbals with both hands and bowing at the same time. After three bows he hits the cymbals against each other and utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After a passage, he picks up the bowl of water and dips the fingers of his right hand into it and flicks the water on the sacrificial offerings. He continues the incantation, picks up the cymbals in his hands and hits each of the cymbals on the edges. The incantation is continued, but after each passage ●[788] he hits the edges of the cymbals and bows three times each time. After seven repetitions of the hitting and bowing, he *[787] divines. On obtaining the sheng chiao he pledges with wine. This is followed by the reading of the prayers. The shen are then asked to accept the sacrifices. Paper is burned and the shen are sent off. The sorcerer hits the edges of the cymbals again, walking along the basket in a semicircle, and recites the farewell incantation to the shen. When the incantation is over, he pours out the water from the bowl toward the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center.

The twenty-fourth part is Chiao Hsing /"delivering animals"/. A large table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it are offered a pig and a goat. Stuck in the animals are sticks of incense and candles, and on the side are two butcher's knives. Under the table are offered the viscera of the animals, in which are also stuck sticks of incense and candles. The sorcerer, wearing the red kerchief, ceremonial headgear, and red garment, and carrying the willow towel on the back, stands before the Peach Spring cave, singing the magic words of offering animals. After one passage is sung, first he makes the magic sign of his patron saint with his left hand, and then with his right hand. He announces the names of three generations of ancestors of the host. Then the gong and drum are sounded, and he blows the horn three times, after which he puts it down. His left hand continues to make the magic signs of his patron saint, and he utters magic words asking his patron saint to deliver the animals. *[787] After the incantation he divines. After the sheng chiao is

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*782 magic words, facing the inside of the house, calling upon the ancestral spirits of three generations to get on their horses.

*[787] For these the sheng chiao is required. After the divination the helpers beat the gong and drum, and at the same time the images of Duke No and Mother No are taken down. First the heads are taken off and given to the host, who places them on the bed. Then the paraphernalia from the dismantled Peach Spring cave are either burned or kept for future use. Then the gong and drum are sounded, the sorcerer blows on his horn, and the helpers come out, carrying the various things one by one in an orderly fashion. The sorcerer follows behind and closes the door for the host, at the same time uttering the incantation for closing doors. Then he opens the door, and utters the incantation for opening doors. After this all of them go to a vacant area of level ground, where rice straw is spread. The prayer box is burned here to the accompaniment of the beating of gong and drum. The sorcerer blows the horn once and then

• [788] places it in the crook of his arms with his hands folded together, the fingers crossed together, and the thumbs going around, and does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After each passage he circles once and blows the horn once. Altogether eight passages are uttered, and eight times the horn is blown. A helper then picks up a cock held in readiness and bites through the neck, letting its blood drip down around the spot where the prayer box was burned. Then the sorcerer, holding the horn in his right hand and lifting the left lower corner of his red garment with his left hand, walks around the place where the blood has dripped.

[576] When he returns to his original place, he squats on his heels, puts the horn in between his knees, and utters the incantation for opening the road, performing at the same time. First he

[788] sticks out the middle finger and forefinger of each hand, and then the little fingers and the fourth fingers. Then he joins both hands behind his back, crossing the fingers together. Moving his hands to the front he rotates them on his chest, and then covers his ears with his sleeves. When the acting and

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as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

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778 between "verses." There was an inscription
788 on the roof, and others were about the opening, all in Chinese. Inside were three large heads made of wood, of which one looked rather like a Buddha, one a fierce god with moustaches, and one just stern and calm. This last was in the center and had a red canopy like a tent around it. There were also two fierce-looking smaller figures, one on each side. There was a square block of wood inside the shrine, as well. On top were long pheasant tail feathers; at some of the houses they added more. Beside the feathers there was a bag of rice, into which a small measure of rice was put by someone in each household. At the left of the entrance, looking out, was a red bag containing incense sticks. Some lighted ones were stuck in before the entrance. At some houses they added these, also, and at least one household gave him a dollar. At the right of the entrance was suspended from the roof a ring of iron rope with some iron disks on it, and a dagger which stuck into the floor of the shrine. This ring was rather like that shaken by Taoist priests as they chanted. Below and in front hung a row of cloth strips with inscriptions on them and a polished bull's horn — not a water buffalo horn but much smaller. In front, across the shrine and hanging below it, was a cord with hemp strings tied to it at intervals.

I saw the same sort of a shrine on Lung-li streets at New Year's time. However, there it was more dilapidated and had only two pheasant feathers, the one middle head, the bag of incense sticks, the row of cloth strips, and the cord with hempen strings. The bag for rice lay on the ground behind it. The

*The soul, the spiritual part of man that ascends to heaven.

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two priests were not the same, but the chant was the same and they had the same bored air. In both cases I believe they were saying prayers for the good fortune of the house and at the same time receiving a little rice as a fee.

Ritual Structures. The village contained no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

Deities. Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,[3] was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,[4] remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

[4] The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

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women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages. 165 163

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual. 844 788 791

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground. 788 793

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

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the older man carried a live duck and a bowl of wine, one of the younger men a bag for rice, and the other a staff with leaves and white paper streamers, and a handful of spirit money. The older man chanted as before and kept muttering to himself as he went from one house to another. They told me this was called *sao ho hui.* 788 793

The activities of the priest in connection with death and burial have already been described. The priest also has a part to play in connection with bullfights (see pp. 76–80).

The ritual which Miss Li saw took place just outside of the village in the presence of the baby's father. This priest had before him a bowl of rice and one of wine. In his arm he held a live duck. After he had chanted he set an egg into the bowl of rice, spilled some of the wine, felt in the earth for "the child's spirit, or soul," wrapped up a bit of the earth in a cloth and gave it to the father, who took it and the duck and went home. The child died. 788 755 793

Before the taoist priest chanted, a table was set up before the shrine to the house god in the main hall of the house, partly in and partly out of the pile of unhulled rice lying there. Along the front of the table was the festoon of wooden daggers which usually hung above the door of this house. On the table were one of the priest's sacred books, a banner of white paper in a bamboo stick, a measure of rice with incense sticks in it, several bowls, and some bamboo lots. I had been invited to have supper with them because I had been helping them cut rice that day. While we were waiting for supper to be prepared in the home of the son, next door, we sat in the front side room in which the wife of the head of the house lay on a pallet of straw by the fire. The priest showed me three books from a bagful which he had brought with him. One contained his chants, one charts of the face with points marked on it, and the third explanations of the meaning of the dragon and other sacred things. Before he chanted again he took down a book which he had laid on the woven bamboo shelf above the fire, and placed it on the table. The three books I had been examining he put where the first book had been.

This man was dressed in a pair of loose khaki trousers and an old jersey. As he sang

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788 or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes
793 facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house
788 where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one
755 of these priests was called in on behalf of
793 the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

791 **The Priestess, or Shamaness.** (In Miao,
788 "*mu la*" or "*mo wa.*") There were three women in the village who were able to go into
755 a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl – chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

* Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

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741 guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that
788 in his own village he received nothing for his
755 services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*[9] to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them, but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

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her feet never leaving the floor. She began her song, which was interrupted by speaking and action. As she sang, her hands assumed various positions: clasped in her lap close to her body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door — a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks — knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

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I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg

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was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable.

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Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave santonine and calomel. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round, white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side,

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788 and the frame was taken away. She struck
the hatchet down into the firepit between the
725 piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice
to the right ear, once to the left, again to the
791 right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room. This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

See p. 52.

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blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She took the bowl in her left hand and poured out some of the water. A bowl of rice was set before her. She poured out a little more of the water, then the remainder, and turned the bowl upside down beside the bowl of rice. The piece of pork was laid between the rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was taken away and the scythe put into her right hand. A small wooden tub with water in it was set near her left hand. She whetted the scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as before, and washed her hands in the tub. A duck's egg was given her, which she set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe five times toward the door. (We had been warned to move just in time.) She put a piece of blazing charcoal into the tub of water, which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from the fire to the door of the house. Again the tub and scythe were brought and used as before. Another egg was given her and set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire was taken to the door — a bundle of blazing spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into her right hand, and, as she swung it back and forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly upside down on the floor at her right the ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,[10] a baby of a year and a half, who had dysentry. Two days before the mother had told me he had a fever. I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin. Then I learned that he had dysentery, and gave her bismuth for him. They told me later that he had not taken it. I do not know whether that meant that he would not take it — it is hard for a child to take, being a powder that does not dissolve easily in water — or whether they did not give it. He developed meningitis and died during the night after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court before the old house water buffalo horns set upright on the stones, with rushes under them. I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

During the morning I saw a spray of thorn tied with rushes lying at the corner of the stable before the new house. Later, and this must have been part of the ceremony, though I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an open space before the house foundation in front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in the ground and went back to the old house.

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This was like carrying a bundle of burning straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the door and calling the soul to return. When I heard the singing I went into the court and the child's grandmother told me to go in. I thought the old man's second wife protested later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the ceremony.

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DETAILS OF CEREMONY (Speaking and song all in Miao)

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Motion of hands	Motion of feet	Singing, and so on
Hanging beside thighs, before bench	Jumping together stiffly, toes not leaving floor	Singing
Right hand raised	" " "	"
Together before knees	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Before knees, but not together	"	Whistle 1 note, singing
On ground twice, fore and middle fingers touching, others under	"	" " " "
	"	Whistle 1 note
Clap once	"	Speaking, whistle, singing
On ground as before	"	Whistle
Hanging, right raised at times	"	Singing
Clap once	"	Speaking
" "	"	Whistle
Taking up pinches of ashes and putting them to right, left, right, left ear	Quiet	Singing, interrupted by two whistles
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Cupped, put down and up as if picking up something	Quiet	"
		Whistle, singing
Repeat; clasped at knees	Quiet	" "
Clap; raise right hand	Jumping	" "
Repeat; cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
(From this point on the head was kept turning from side to side.)		
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Repeat cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
Hanging beside thighs; head still	Jumping	Singing
Clap; repeat; clasped on lap	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, whistle
Clasped	Quiet	" "
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing
Hanging by thighs; clap	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clasped; left raised; clasped	"	"
Left raised; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Clap once	Quiet	Long whistle
Brought together; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Quiet
Hand on ground, as above; head turning	Quiet	Speaking
Clap	"	Whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
On ground, as above	Quiet	Whistle, speaking
Clap once	"	Singing

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THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO OF KWEICHOW

•788 Hanging by thighs; clap once	Quiet	Singing, speaking
R. raised; clasped; hanging by thighs	"	Singing
Clap once; clasped	"	Speaking
R. raised; hanging by thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap and let fall, twice	"	"
Clasped; clap once; clasped	Quiet	Whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing
Right gesturing; clasped	"	Speaking
Before knees, but apart	"	"
Right on ground, as above	"	Whistle, speaking
Clasped at body; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, speaking
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Clasped at body	Jumping	Speaking, singing
Right up; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Right stretched front, thumb and forefinger pinched together	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	"
Clap; hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Repeat twice	"	Singing
Right, left, right raised in turn	"	Long whistle
Clap twice	"	Repeat; singing
Clap 7 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Held straight out to side, fluttering from wrist	" "	"
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Singing
Clap 9 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Held loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clap once	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front; right raised	Quiet	"
Takes up pinches of ashes, tucks in back of belt	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times	"	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle
Right raised; hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 5 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	" "	"
Right raised; clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs; clasped	"	"
Hanging by thighs; clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once	"	"
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Fast jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped; clap once	Quiet	Singing

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THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS

Hatchet put into right hand	Quiet	Speaking
Takes hatchet in both hands	"	"
Strikes hatchet down, then up	"	Singing
Strikes hatchet down into ashes of fire-pit	"	Whistle, singing
Takes up in left hand pinches of ashes, holds to right, left, right, left ear	Squatting	Whistle, singing
Puts pinch of ashes in back of beak	"	Singing
Holds hatchet in right hand	"	Speaking
Lets hatchet fall	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet, then lays it down	"	"
(A piece of meat in a straw loop was offered to her, but she did not take it.)		
An egg was given to her, which she set up on end on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet	"	Singing, speaking alternate
Puts hatchet down	"	
Clap; clap once; clapped	*Mu la*[11] back on bench, quiet	Whistle, singing, speaking
Hanging loosely; clapped	Quiet	Singing, whistle alternate
Right raised; hanging loosely	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
A hen was given, her which she held by its wings with the left hand. With the right she pulled out some down and let it fall into the ashes. Let hen go.	Squatting	Speaking
Repeated, but did not let hen go again	"	Singing, speaking
Hatchet put into right hand	"	Speaking
Almost severed hen's head, holding it on a board placed before her	"	Singing
Put hen in ashes, where it died	"	Singing
	"	"
	Mu la back on bench	Speaking
(The hen was later made the chief dish of the feast.)		
Hanging beside thighs; clap once	Jumping	Singing
Loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Right on ground, as above	"	Singing, whistle alternate; speaking, whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
She was given a small bundle of straw, which she tied in 3 bunches below and 5 above the straw which bound it, then held it in her left hand	Quiet	"
(Meanwhile the old man's first wife had been whittling 3 pieces of wood into the shape of knives, which she now striped black on the handles.)		
She set the straw bundle on the floor at her left, and various persons capped the 5 bunches with egg shell		Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging loosely in front	Jumping	Singing
Clasped in lap	"	Whistle
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	
She took up bundle with egg shells on it	"	Singing

[11] The Misa word for shamans.

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THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO OF KWEICHOW

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She took off shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set bundle down at her left	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, speaking
Clasped	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs; right raised	Jumping	Singing
She moved the egg shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set up the straw bundle on the board before her	"	Singing
Clasped	"	"
A lighted bundle of spirit money was given her	Jumping	Whistle, singing alternate
A bowl of rice and one of wine were set before her. Some sprays of cypress from the fire-pit were lighted and three sticks of incense laid across the bowls.	Quiet	Singing
A piece of meat was put before her and a piece of wood in her right hand	Squatting	Speaking
She took the three "knives" in her left hand and let the other fall in two pieces	"	"
She poured out the wine slowly	"	Speaking fast
She turned the bowl upside down	"	" "
Hands hanging loosely	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing

(The straw was taken away. The egg had been quietly removed before.)

Clap 8 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Clasped; hanging beside thighs	Quiet, then jumping	Singing
Clap 8 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once, let fall	"	"
Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing

(The chicken and hatchet were taken away.)

Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap twice	"	"

(Before her are now the upturned bowl with two pieces of wood on it, one with incense sticks across it, and the three knives, with a bowl back of them.)

Clap twice	Quiet	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap; raise right hand	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	Singing, speaking, whistle, speaking, whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing

(The feathers were taken from the fire-pit.)

Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely, then clasped; repeat	Quiet	Singing

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Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(A branch of bamboo and a stick were placed in the ashes.)		
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 6 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle, singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
(An egg was placed at her right. The scythe was brought and the board taken away.)		
She took the scythe and sharpened it on the edge of the little tub of water. She set it up on the hearth handle down, took it up, and moved the ashes in the fire-pit	Squatting	Speaking
She took up pinches of ashes, put them to her ears as before and into the back of her belt	Squatting	Singing
She was given an egg, which she set up on end	"	Speaking
Clap once	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
(Ashes were put into the water in the tub; it was taken away.)		
She threw the scythe twice, almost to the door	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 6 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet, then jumping	Singing, whistle
She took the bamboo branch in her left hand	Quiet	Speaking
She laid it aside	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle, alternate
Clasped	Quiet	Repeat thrice
Hanging at side; right raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
(Another bamboo branch was brought.)		
With her left hand she set it on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking, singing, whistle
(A lighted stick was held under the branch.)		Blowing
She shook the branch		Speaking
(A piece of blue cloth was held under the branch, which was shaken as lighted sticks were held under it.)		Whistle, singing
(More sticks were lighted and used thus.)		
She shook the branch again		Singing
(Sticks were used as if looking for something fallen from the branch.)		
Clap once; then hanging loosely	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Holding edge of bench	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	Quiet	" "
(Another branch was brought and used as before. Two or more women looked for something and when it was found in rolled-up leaves, they wrapped it in the cloth and took it away. Much concern was shown about this and much care taken to insure getting something.)		
Clasped	Quiet	Singing

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Another egg was brought; she set it up on end	Squatting	Speaking
Clasped	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
She broke a leafless bamboo branch and put it into the ashes	Quiet	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	"	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	" "
Another chicken was brought, from which she took more feathers and put them into the fire	Squatting *Mu la* back on bench	Speaking
Out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely	"	Singing
Clap once; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
She tied a string to the leg of the chicken	"	Singing
Out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely	Quiet	Singing, speaking
She put pinches of ashes to her ears as before	Squatting	" " alternate
An egg was brought; she set it on end	"	Speaking
Clap once; hanging beside thighs	*Mu la* back on bench, feet jumping	Singing
Clap 10 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clasped	Quiet	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 12 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Right on ground, as before	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
She put a pinch of ashes at back of belt	Quiet	"
Clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 12 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Right on ground, as before	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	Squatting	"
She picked up the hatchet and struck it on the hearth, then in the ashes. She took up pinches of ashes as before, and held them to her ear, then put a pinch in her belt	*Mu la* back on bench	Speaking, singing
She held the piece of meat over the ashes, then put it in them	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	*Mu la* back on bench	"
Resting on bench	Jumping	Singing
(The piece of meat was taken out.)		
Clap 4 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent

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Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clap 9 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
(The scythe and tub were brought.)		
She whetted the scythe, as before; set it on end, handle down; stirred the ashes with it; took up pinches of them, put them to her ear and in her belt.	Squatting	Silent
She tried to set the egg up on end, but failed	"	Singing
She threw the scythe 3 times	*Mu la* back on bench	Speaking
Resting on bench	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(Ashes were put in the water in the tub. It was taken away.)		
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing a long time
Clap once	"	Calling "Mu la"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle
(The egg was taken away.)		
She set her hand to swinging as if holding a bowl. In some confusion someone noticed the omission and supplied one hurriedly from those on the tray.		Singing, calling "Mu la"
She set the bowl upside down on the ground.		

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788 I had arrived after the ceremony began. On
755 the hearth before her was a partly burned
791 bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
755 nan, until money should be sent to him for traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of
791 the three.

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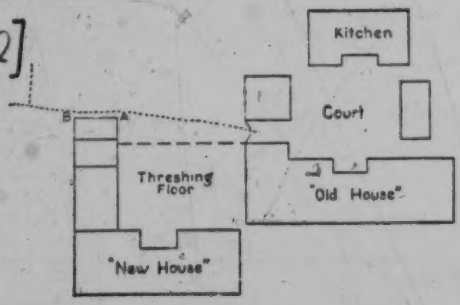

FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

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She had already begun to sing when I was called in from helping with the sunning of grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

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788 quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She had a graceful motion of lifting the hand be-
755 fore the face and turning the palm upward, or with the thumb slightly raised.
791 A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the *sheng* measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers, and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

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788 and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after
755 which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied
791 over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on her back. She threw the axe as the others had thrown the scythe. A basin of water was brought so that she might wash her hands.

A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up – except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

[17] Graham, 1937, p. 90.

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from the wrist, clapping them before her, then raising the left hand before her face. Once she bent over double as she held her hands behind her and fluttered them. When she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

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Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamanesses in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after a funeral was guest at a meal in another home to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

> When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.[32]

[716]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7] 712

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home. 788 765

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time. 224

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese. 463

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house. 462

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 綏阜縣志

/203 cont./

One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer. 782 which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats [516] or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position [788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his [756] wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses [787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro- [516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

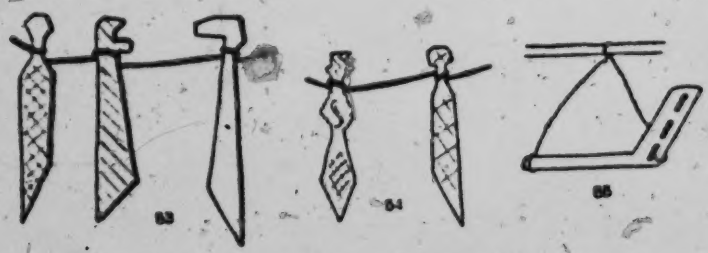
769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship 776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are 782 dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected [778] for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship 776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom [782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already [788] [783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and [562] is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward [177] dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

778 411



Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, 571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of [881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, [782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; 532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of 778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau [779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

/66 cont'd/

795 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
793 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
534 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[562] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/100 cont./

000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[765] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich
[554] sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[756] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[756] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spells. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles. Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
764 as the Chinese.
[177]

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[606] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/101 cont./

764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony. After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of 764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress' 604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a 605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over, he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family and those on the maternal side who came with the maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat, towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative" each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth "for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various 604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of [789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer [754] picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it upside down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien] and a body [ko-ʿien/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pe ts'ə]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kuen
[824] ɕo] and trees, tree kuei [kuen ndu]. When there is a
* [782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

/140 cont./

755 At this point the sorcerer-priest makes the gesture of forcibly
*782 sending off the pig. While sending off the pig he says three phrases
789 of a magic formula in a low tone. The bystanders can only see his lips moving but cannot hear anything. According to the Miao sorcerer, at the time his teacher taught him this formula, he repeatedly warned him that after that day he must not teach it to any insincere disciple and must not teach them indiscriminatingly to anyone, or else, the person who teaches it may lose his life or his methods would not be effective. After having finished the three phrases of the magic formula to send off the pig, once more in a loud voice he intones:

755
*782

> "Helpers take the wooden rod and hit the pig in the chest and kill it. Roast it with fire and wash it with water! Do it quickly! The kuei have been waiting here for fully half a day already."

After the incantation is over, the host and the helpers kill the animal with the rod and carry it inside the house. They roast it over the fire, then wash it with water, lay bare the stomach, and cut the pig into two halves: one half is taken by the host, with one leg cut off for the sorcerer-priest, and the other half is received by the seven guests. The other pig is similarly distributed, but after the host's share is put aside, the guests' share is cut into small chunks, and seven bowls are filled with meat. Two bowls are placed on fancy paper in the winnowing basket, and five bowls, on fancy paper at the table. Then, a few other chunks of meat are put into a tin can on the mat. After the meat has been set up, each person returns to his original seat.

The fourth part is to send the kuei away. The sorcerer-priest, ringing the hand bell with his left hand and holding the chiao with his right hand, utters an incantation to the following effect:

"The pork has been cooked in the saucepan. Seven fine bowls of meat and seven fine bowls of wine have been placed beside the stove. Another ten bowls of meat have been put beside the entrance. This sorcerer-priest takes this wine and meat and offers them to the ancestral kuei. So, please receive them."

*782 533 [H3]

/186 cont./

Wa te Ch'uan Shuo /The Story of the Flood among the Miao and the Legend of Fu Hsi and Nü Wa/, in Jen-lui Hsüeh Chi K'an /Anthropological Review/, Vol. 1, No. 1.

the play, "Meng Chiang Nü," and the friends and relatives who come to see it toss out cash as "praising the song money."

*782 ●789 The fourteenth part is checking in the troops. (This part of the ritual is performed only when the host desires to drive away evil influences, otherwise it may be omitted.) Rice straw is spread before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is laid a fine bamboo mat. The sorcerer, with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding two spears, stands on the mat and does the three-step walk. A helper picks up the colter of a plow and puts it in the fire until it is red. The sorcerer sings, swinging the spears. He first checks the troops in the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. For the east, north, and center he faces the inside of the house, whereas for the south and north /sic/ he faces outward. Next he checks the names of the 12 piao /body of troops/ leaders, and then the soldiers of the 12 months. After this checking, holding the two spears in his left hand and taking the chiao-tzu in his right hand, he divines. If the yin chiao appears, it is considered that Duke No has mounted his horse; the yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the sheng chiao shows that all the other shen have mounted their horses. When the divination shows that all the shen have mounted their horses, the gong and drum are struck, the sorcerer priest blows his horn and grasps the spears, which have been in his left hand, separately and waves them to the left and right, does the three-step walk, and at the same time utters the hua-piao /"transforming the spears"/ incantation. After one passage, he goes

*[787]

[of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

/186 cont./

*782 989 around in a circle, faces to the right of the Peach Blossom cave, bends a little, and, spears still waving to the right and left, continues the incantation. After another passage, he takes a step facing outside, acts as if he were mounting a horse, then turns facing inside again. He passes the two spears to the helper, blows the horn once, and then picks up two hsien-feng banners and waves them to the right and left, at the same time uttering the hua-ch'i /transforming the banners"/ incantation. After passage, he takes another step facing outside the door, and once more makes the movement of mounting a horse, once more turns facing inside, passes the two hsien-feng banners to the helper, blows the horn once, picks up the branch of a peach tree, and waving it right and left, utters the ts'o-su /"twisting rope"/ incantation, /187/ gesticulating according to the text of the incantation to the east, south, west, north, and center. Then after he has turned facing inside and has blown the horn once, he utters the jang-hu /"lake"/ and the jang-hai /"sea"/ incantations to the five directions. Then he blows the horn once toward the interior of the house, picks up the whip in his left hand, shakes the ritual knife in his right hand, takes the three-step walk, and in the din of gong and drum he utters the ch'a-ping /"despatching the troops"/ incantation. After a passage, he walks in a circle, puts the whip and knife on the ground, makes gestures with his left hand, does the three-step walk, and continues the incantation. Then he changes the style of walking. After eight steps, he circles around once and faces to the right of the Peach Spring cave, his two hands together, the fingers intertwined and the thumbs twirling. With his right foot planted on the whip and the knife and both hands waving to the left and right, he utters the incantation to expel evil influences. After one passage, he circles around once, picks up the whip and knife from the ground, strikes the ground with the whip once, and jumps once, then while jumping he utters an incantation. Then he faces inside and picks up the red-hot colter in the fire with a pair of iron tongs. On top of it he puts some paper money, a piece of mi-pa, and some drops of tung oil.

/187 cont./

*787 As black smoke curls up, he asks someone to go around the
● 789 house with it, and when he comes to the front of a bed, to the central hall, and beside the cattle stall, he puts down the colter, while the sorcerer spits a mouthful of tung oil on the colter to send black smoke curling upward. Helpers, holding spears, banners, and peach branches, cry out loudly, "ho, ho," to drive away the evil kuei. The sorcerer, holding the willow towel and the ritual knife, follows behind, waving and dancing, uttering an incantation all the while. After the tour of the house is over, the colter is deposited outside, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the main house to utter another incantation
*[787] and to divine. After the sheng chiao or the yin chiao are obtained, he sings out the magic words to call in the troops, to the accompaniment of the sound of gong and drum. After singing a passage, he picks up the two spears and waves them to the right and left as he did when he checked in the troops. After
*[787] singing some more, he divines, and on obtaining the sheng chiao, the ritual is over.

*787 The fifteenth part is T'ao Chiao /"asking for the chiao-tzu"/. On a small table is placed a sheng of rice, a piece of cloth (green or blue in color), and a woman's ornament. On the rice are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles. The sorcerer priest appears in a red headkerchief and carrying the willow towel on his back, and sings the T'ao Chiao incantation. After one passage is sung, the helpers spread out rice straw on the ground, and on it is spread a piece of bedding. The sorcerer-priest and the host both kneel down on the bedding; the sorcerer puts the willow towel in front of his knees, holds a ling-p'ai /honorable tablet, i.e. the ancestral tablet?/ in his left hand and the chiao-tzu in his right, and utters an incanta-
*[787] tion to invoke the shen. When it is divined that the shen have already descended and taken cognizance of the items on sacrifice, the sorcerer first begs their protection for the family, the father, mother, sons, and daughters of the family, one by one, and next for the horses, oxen, goats, chickens, ducks, geese, cats, and dogs. Next he seeks their protection so that the five

/193 cont./

*782 the chanting are over, the gong and drum are silenced, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the host's house to eat breakfast. After breakfast the sorcerer makes a liang-yüan, and with both hands he gives it to the host to be stuck in the sheng of rice. At the same time he says a few words of good luck.

At this point, all the various rituals for Huan No Yüan are over. The sorcerer packs up his implements and the thank-you gifts from the host, who sends someone to escort him home. On passing each village the sorcerer must blow his horn once, the idea being to call the yin troops to return to the altar. When he arrives home he blows his horn once more and utters the incantation of returning to the altar.

(2) Magic

771 789 Both magic and religion are in the sacred domain. The distinction between the two sometimes is not very clear. The celebrated British scholar of magic and religion, Sir James Frazer, set up his standard of differentiating between magic and religion on the basis of whether the method employed in controlling nature was a personal, direct application of the use of spells and charms, or an indirect one by invoking the help of spirits. (1) The former is /194/ magic, and the latter

1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li An-che's translation, pp. 3-4.

is religion. The contemporary scholar, Malinowski, has made a more penetrating distinction between the two. He says: "Within the domain of the sacred, magic as a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfillment of their purpose." (1)

1. See above-quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

/194 cont./

1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted
Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
789 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

/195 cont./

755 a cup of wine, and meat, and lays them down one by one.
789 The magician then kowtows three times facing the altar for incense. Then he burns the paper money and takes down the cup of water with his left hand, using the thumb, forefinger, and little finger to hold it secure /Illus. 77 appears here/ /196/ (the middle and the fourth fingers bend into the palm). The forefinger and middle finger of his right hand close together to draw three magic signs facing the cup of water (Illus. 76, 77). While the magic signs are being drawn he

[352]

Illus. 76. The ritual of drawing water.

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755 recites to himself the magic formula for invoking his teacher,
789 while imagining the situation under which his teacher taught him. After the magic formula invoking the teacher has been

Illus. 77. The gesture for drawing water.

said, he utters the magic formula for drawing water, and at a certain passage he takes a mouthful of water and sprays it upon the sick person, or he asks the sick person to drink the cup of water. In case of sudden illness or an injury sustained in open country or in the mountains, when it is not possible to set up an incense altar, it is only necessary to burn incense and paper, recite the incantation and draw the spell, and smear the injured part of the sick person with saliva.

The incantations for drawing water may be divided into two parts: one part is the magic formula for the invocation of

/196 cont./

755 the teacher, and the second part is the magic formula for the
789 water. In the various kinds of incantations for drawing water, the formula for invoking the teacher is largely similar, but the formula for water differs. The following are some examples:

(1) Chiang-chün shui /general's water/: Cures sudden illness accompanied by fainting. The magic formula for invoking the teacher runs as follows: "Invoking /197/ Master so and so, who taught me orally, I raise my head to look up to the skies in the center of which the master is, and call him to come. As soon as I call, he comes. He is before me, behind me, to my left, and to my right, going from front to back, from left to right, hiding me, transforming me, so that where my body is cannot be seen. He helps me talk of proper water, and speaking of proper water, I draw a brass knife and an iron knife. The brass knife kills the kuei. The iron knife kills the kuei." Having said this magic formula to invite the teacher, he then utters the magic formula for the water: "Moving one foot, calling out once, I call upon the great Shang-yüan Great General. The first general, who bears the surname T'ang, was once the king of the Li kingdom; his feet pushes 800 carriages, like a room in Lao-chün's /i.e., Lao-tzu's/ inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (At this point the magician takes a mouthful of water and, making a fierce sound like a tiger, he sprays the water on the body of the sick person, and then, stamping his foot on the ground, he continues.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going away now, wait awhile. A hundred birds are repairing to the mountain, and so is the pretty woman. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The second general, whose surname is Ko, emits smoke from his

/197 cont./

755 nose and a river from his mouth, and swells in Tu-wei palace
789 in heaven. He pushes 800 carriages with his feet, like Lao-chün in his inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As in the previous instance the magician sprays a mouthful of water and stamps his foot on the ground.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The belly of the kuei will be ripped open, his intestines taken out and his heart eaten. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The third general, whose surname is Chu, can reverse the current of the Yellow River and can also push 800 carriages with his feet, like a room in Lao-chün's inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As before the magician sprays water and stamps his foot.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The big ones will be half-eaten, and the little ones will be scraped and hung to dry. Everyone has a net, and so come quickly. If you do not come your nets will be messed up. (The last two sentences are uttered in a low and muffled tone.)

752 (2) Lu-szu shui /"egret silk"/: A remedy when a bone
755 gets stuck in the throat through eating or drinking carelessly.
789 On drinking this cup of water, the sick person can vomit out or swallow down the bone. The magic formula for invoking the teacher is the same as above. The magic formula for

752 /197 cont./
755 water is as follows: "When the moon rises above the four
789 pillars, chop up all the dirty kuei. /198/ May I become a monkey to properly change to drink water. If I call to change, then I will change. If I do not change, the disciple will draw a June sun in which to change. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not, the disciple will draw a June sun, in which to melt. If I call to change, I will change; and if I do not, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to strike me into changing. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not melt, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to force me to melt. Raising my head to look at the four directions, I see nine dragons coming down from heaven. When the dragons come they drop off their claws; when the tigers come they drop off their skins, and the hundreds of birds in the mountains drop off their feathers. Step by step they become steel. When I touch them they become small open boats." (Chanted three times.)

(3) Hsüeh-shan shui /"snow-mountain water"/: Heals skin burns. If the injury is slight, saliva can be used to smear on the burn, but for a serious injury it is necessary to use a bowl of water. He sprays three mouthfuls of water, and also flicks water on the burned place with his fingers. The magic formula for water follows: "The first request is for a distance of one li, the second for the distance of two li. The large army knife please go to the big snow mountain; and the small army knife please go to the small snow mountain. I respectfully invite my teacher, Lung Sheng-fa and profound disciple, Ma Lao-ch'iao. When an army is burned it is broken off; when the skin is burned it is broken off. Do not flow blood! do not flow water! Take the saliva as medicine."

(4) Ke-shan shui /"separated-by-a-mountain water"/: For healing someone injured by a fall or by a cut on the other side of a mountain. If the magician hears the cry for help, he then can utter an incantation to heal the injured person, except that he must inform the injured person beforehand: "If I ask you whether you are well or not, you should reply 'yes,'

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752 or the healing will be ineffective." The magic formula for
755 water is as follows: "On the other side of the mountain press
down the mountain; on the other side of the water press down
789 the water; draw /i.e. delineate/ the burden of the kuei, chop
off the kuei mountain. The old dragon has personally come to
the dragon-deep rapids. Li Lao-ko of Mu-shan has been in-
vited, and without fear of miscellaneous kuei or distant ones,
the left hand draws the thunder of heaven, the right hand draws
the thunder of the earth, drawing altogether 500 savage thunders."

(5) Tan-hsüeh shui /"carrying-blood water"/: This is used to heal an injured person whose blood keeps flowing. First ordering the man to take hold of the injured place, he utters an incantation and sprays a mouthful of water, and thus the bleeding will stop. The magic formula for the water is as follows: "Moving a foot, calling out once, I got Master Wu Hwa-hsing. Across the mountain I call out for the three stars; across the water I call out for shui-i /literally, "water meaning"/. The large army knife is carried to Ta-hung-sha /lit. "large great sands"/; the small army knife is carried to Hsiao /"small"/-hung-sha. The water of the Yangtze River and the current from the sea are carried. The foot stamps on the dragon's head, and the blood carried does not flow; the foot is set on the dragon's waist, and the blood carried does not seep out. Boys, boys, changed in the muddy fields. The boys are related. The master asks me to mark off the four places. The disciple asks me to point in the four directions."

(6) Feng-tao-k'ou shui /"closing-a-knife-wound water"/: Heals knife wounds. After this incantation is uttered three times, not only does the wound close, but the fingers become
[751] immune to knife cuts. The magic formula is: "When the sun comes up it is a drop of red; the hand wields a golden whip to ride the dragon; a swallow of water stops the flow of the Yangtze River; the disciple presses the pulse, and the blood stops flowing."

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body. So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

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776 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried
782 away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nΛn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron plough-
789 share, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

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A Ch'uan Miao magician performing a ceremony to exorcise demons.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

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Ch'uan Miao men playing the wind instrument called the gaign or *lin shêng* and beating the ceremonial drum. While they do this they perform a folk dance.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

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791 If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it.
•789 Then the patient recovers.

In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed
791 by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square
796 table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth.

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggled at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called gla ʒ lo or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinsee characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different steps of the ceremony were explained as follows.

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THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

000 Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

114 The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To^{3} nʌn^{6} or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo^{5} or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝宋, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO *TUAN KUNG* 端公 TO^{3} NʌN^{6}. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

755 789 First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used. The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

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A. The *tuan kung* stands up and sings, "The yellow wax burns, and the smoke arises. When the wax burns I will call. I will call Ntscɔ jin* (his helper) here to lead. I will call Ntsoɔ jin to come and go ahead. I will call jin tɕa to come and go ahead. I will call jin tɕa to come and lead. ɔa· jin held an iron fan. jin tɕa held a brass fan in his hand. He fanned himself with the brass fan and thus scattered the demons by the sea. He fanned with an iron fan and thus drove the demon illnesses and groans away."

When he has repeated thus far, he beats the gong loudly.

B. "When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, the *tuan kung* goes and calls. He calls na· bo· sʌn jin to come to the front. He calls sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə to come to the front. na· bo· sʌn jin carries an iron club in his hand. sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə carries a brass club in his hand. The iron club will beat the demons of illness as the water of the sea scatters. The brass club beats the demons of illness and the demons of groans so that they go to the place where people sleep and scatter."

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong awhile.)

C. "When the beeswax burns, the incense smokes. When it smokes, I again call. I call nine thousand soldiers to come to the front. He calls upon the soldiers of 900 fortified places to come forward and bring the big guns and shoot them everywhere, and bring the spears and stand them up black (and sharp) and to shoot the big guns with their black smoke. When it looks black, I will call for the soldiers to charge. They will charge against the demons in the forest and the grass of these old people's family, to charge them down to the river on the lower bend, casting them onto the roads, the cliffs and the crossroads."

The *tuan kung* now beats the gongs awhile.

D. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, we will again come and call. We will call the scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven comes and looks. He looks to see if the souls (living) of this family are few or not; to see if the boys of this family are crooked or not; to see if these old people's pool is full or not; to see if the lake of these old people is clean or not. Ntsə's group of controllers of heaven came and looked at the earth; to see if the souls of the living of this family are here or not; to see if the souls of the

*Note.—Unfortunately the deaths of Hsiung Cheng Ts'ai and Hsiung Ts'ao Sung have made it impossible to check up the tones of the Miao names in this translation, so some of them have been omitted.

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bodies of this family have returned to their right bodies or not; to see if the souls of these bodies are with their bodies or not. (The *tuan kung* at this time beats the gong awhile.)

E. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will also come (the *tuan kung* will=we). He will call na^{8} bo^{9} so^{5} to come to the front. He will call the thunder god to come to the front. He will call tga^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front (the lightning). We will call $\dot{\zeta}e^{5}$ so^{5} and tga^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front. Bo^{9} so^{5} came with a stir. $\dot{\zeta}\varepsilon^{5}$ so^{5} came with a roar. bo^{9} so^{5} made a stir and came and beat the demons that cause sickness and those that cause groans. $\dot{\zeta}\varepsilon^{5}$ so^{5} came roaring and shouting and chased away the demons of the forest and the grassy places. Bo^{9} so^{5} then used tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut the demons of sickness and those of groans into halves. She cut the demon of quarrels until it perished. $\dot{\zeta}\varepsilon^{5}$ so^{5} also brought tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut. She cut the demons of sickness, of the forest and of the grassy places. Bo^{9} so^{5} separted men and the demons. $\dot{\zeta}\varepsilon^{5}$ so^{5} separated the demons so that they could not see people.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

The demons must not come near people. Bo^{9} so^{5} took an iron hatchet. $\dot{\zeta}\varepsilon^{5}$ so^{5} took a big stone axe in his hand. Na^{8} bo^{9} so^{5} then struck the stone cliff with her axe. $\dot{\zeta}\varepsilon^{5}$ so^{5} will cut the stone terrace and the colored cliff. They will come and cut (with their stone axes) the dragon pool of these old people so that it will not spoil. They will cut the big rock and the stone cliff and will cut the old people's lake so that it is safe.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

F. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, I will call (the *tuan kung* calls and the smoke helps him). We will call the $\dot{\zeta}$wang tsai (the colored dragon) to bring tsaŋ xʌu (a leader in the dragon land). We called ninety-nine colored dragons. When the ninety-nine colored dragons came, they went into the dragon pool of this family. There are also eighty-eight colored dragons who came to control the lake of these old people so that it will not dry up.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

G. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call again. We call $tgo^{\cdot}$ tsai (the striped tiger) to come to the front. We also call $tsai^{5}$ $gi^{\cdot 7}$ $tgo^{\cdot 7}$ $nd^{z}\text{ʌ}u^{5}$ (a big lion) to come to the front. T o n u bit with his teeth. Tsai i t o n u bit and gnashed with his teeth. $tgo^{\cdot 7}$ $nd^{z}\text{ʌ}u$ then stood up firmly and ate the demons of sickness and those of groans. $tsai^{5}$ $gi^{\cdot 7}$ $tgo^{\cdot 7}$ $nd^{z}\text{ʌ}u$ came moving

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and ate the demons of sickness and the gasping demons. Then tʂo$^{\cdot 7}$ ndᶻʌu^{5} ate the demon of chills (cold diseases) and demons of blood diseases. Tsai shi tso ntsau also bit his teeth together firmly and ate the demon of coughs. When he has eaten it, he wants you old folks of this family clear about it (and without ills, etc.). They ate the demon of sickness and the demon of groans so that they could not harm people. They cannot harm the family of you old people. When the demon of the forest and those of the grasslands come they cannot injure your young people and cannot injure your garden.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

H. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When the smoke arises, we again call. We call the lady sun to come forward. We call to the moon young man to come to the front. When the lady sun has come out, it has shone; it has shone on the souls of you old people's farming and on the five grains. She will also shine on the souls of the domestic animals including cattle and horses. She also shone on the souls of your descendants. She has shone on enough to fill the house. She shone on enough to fill the central floor of the house. The souls in the center pushed out. Those on the two sides went out on each side, and some surged out through the middle door. The front and the rear were full and they went out slowly.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong a while).

I. When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises. When the smoke rises, then we again call. We call the Nts'ai hwa (girl cloud) to come from the sky above. We call ndᶻʌu^{5} dʒa$^{\cdot 7}$ (male wind) to come from the land above the sky. Nts'ai hwa came and smoked the eyes of the demons of sickness and the demons of death so they could not see. She also smoked the demons of the forest and those of the grasslands. ndᶻʌu^{5} dʒa$^{\cdot 7}$ came and blew. When he blew, the roads of sickness of this family were cut off. When he blew the sounds of the groaning and the sounds of sickness were ended. He blew the sound of the sickness into the water. They blew the demons until they were unable to grow (or live). He blew the demons of the grasslands and those of the forests and vanquished them below the white cliffs. The demons of the forests and those of the grasslands cannot come back.

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong a while).

J. When the beeswax is burning, the smoke arises. When the smoke rises, we will call again. We will call a pair of Chinese from Wu Lang Yo. (Here he beats the gong).

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When the white wax is burning, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will again come and call. We will call a Chinese *Ho Lan Tsi* to come to the front. The Chinese from Wu Lang Yo lighted the lantern and lighted things. They will lighten the soul of this family as it comes and enters the room. The two Chinese from Honan brought the lantern and lighted (the room) together. They will lighten that family's living soul as it returns to the guest room. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) half way along the road and lighten its souls as they return home. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) to half way along the road. They will lighten the souls of the family as they come back and return to their garden squares, (where the gardens are divided into squares for planting different things).

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong as usual).

II. USING THE CHINESE LANGUAGE TO SUMMON CHINESE GODS

At this time, the paper horns must be taken off the *tuan kung's* 端公 head and he does not beat the gong but merely stands up and calls or sings.

"I call the six stars of the southern dipper (cross), the seven stars of the northern dipper. In the name of *Li Lao Güin* I speak to the Great Pearly (jade) Emperor above and below to *Kuan Shih Yin* (*Kuan-Yin*) of Nan Hai."

Now he must speak the Miao language to exorcise demons.

When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call ntsoŋ jin (a person who was once a prophet of Ntsə, a revered patron of the *tuan kung*) who lives at the foot of Ntsə's great stone called the stone bamboo sprout. Call also na· bo· sʌn jin to come from Ntsə's old colored cliff. Call the ninety-nine layered cliff to come to the front. Call the mountain with eighty-eight layers to come to the front. Also call the cliff with ninety-nine layers to come and separate. Separate people into their homes and demons to the land of demons. Separate people so that they will not go near demons and demons so that they will not go near men.

III. MAKING A CONTAINER

A large bamboo container shallow and with a flat bottom is used. In it are placed bean-curd, biscuits, wine, meat, paper (spirit) money, incense and candles. (Some put water and a little rice in a rice bowl also).

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A. If I am not to make this vessel (container made of bamboo), then I will not. If you make such a vessel, it is harder and harder. If I make the vessel, it is not very hard. From this time, if you make the vessel, it has a beginning. A piece of bamboo is braided back and forth. The two ends are cut off and you use the middle. A slanting weave (road) is made and a slanting edge. On the two sides are made slanting edges and in the middle is made a square. There is a slanting weave and a slanting edge. We request the Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 to sit in the center. The slanting weave comes, beginning with the man character (i.e., the weave, slanting in two directions resembles the character 人 "man"). We request the Emperor Jên Tsung to come and sit on a high seat.

(As he speaks these words, the demon is supposed to be driven away).

B. First I call the wood characters 甲乙 *chia i* from the east. Secondly, I invite the fire characters 丙丁. In the third place call the water character *jên kuei* 壬癸 from the west. Fourthly call the metal characters from the north *kêng hsin* 庚辛. Fifth, call from the middle the earth character *wu chi* 戊己. (These are on the round object used by Chinese geomancers and are here regarded as demons).

(The *tuan kung* 端公 hear shouts "t'ai" and stamps his foot to frighten the demons).

First, call Mao Ta Lang (the oldest son of the Mao family). Second, invite the second son of the Mao family. Third, call the third son of the Mao family. Fourth, invite the fourth son of the Mao family. Fifth, invite the fifth son of the Mao family. Six, invite the sixth son of the Mao family. Seventh, invite the seventh son of the Mao family. Also invite the flowery mountain sister. Then the pitcher of wine and the sliced meat will emit light (because the gods have come). If one's head aches and one's whole body aches, it is you (i.e., the demons mentioned above). If your stomach aches and the flesh flinches, it is you. If the heat and cold are not in harmony, and coolness and warmness are not peaceful, it is you. If one's body is feverish, it is you. To be hot and then cold, it is you. If the whole body aches, it is you emitting light. If the whole body aches as though bound, it is you emitting great light. If the whole body is bound, it is you emitting great light. Please come up on this container (flowery vessel) and go forward. There are some people killing a pig and pouring out wine on the stone-paved road who have invited you. Come, come, we will go together. This is not a place where you will stay a long time. It is not a place where you can tie up your horse. In this place there is the foul odor of urine and human ordure. Go, go, go, get on the container. Let us go together.

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When he has repeated the ceremonial to this point, he puts the container on the ground. He regards the demons as having been led (invited) into the vessel and he will open a light for these demons.

IV. OPENING UP THE LIGHTS, PLACING IMAGES

A pair of candles made of beeswax shine brightly. People in the future will have no use for the candles. I (the student) will in the future open up the gods' (source of) light. When I have opened the light of the head, the head is well. When I have opened up the light of the eyes, then the two eyes are bright. When I have opened up the ear-light, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When the nose-light has been opened up, then the bridge of the nose will give good light. When the light of the mouth has been opened up, the mouth-light will hold sixteen pairs. When the hand-light has been opened up, then the hands can be doctors and go in all directions. When the stomach-light, there will be inside the abdomen several tens of intestines. When the foot-light has been opened up, the feet can be doctors and go in all four directions. (When they have opened up the light, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use incense and candles and burn them for the demons mentioned above. When the light is being opened up in the different places mentioned above, blood from a rooster's comb is used and smeared on that part of the paper figures that have been cut out and placed in the bamboo container).

V. MAKING A GRASS MAN

Grass must be taken off the roof of a straw-roofed house.

If I am not to make this straw man. I will not make it. When people make straw men, it is very hard. But when I make straw men, it is not hard. The Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 made a vow (to God?) to present twenty-four human heads. I will make a straw man as a substitute for the sick person's body.

(At this point the ceremony of opening the light is repeated as recorded in Section IV. In both places, exactly the same words are used).

He again says, "If I am not to make a straw man, I will not make it. If I myself make a straw man it will not be hard. I will pull off (from the roof) a bunch of straw with which to make him. (The straw man is made by placing part of the straw with heads in one direction, part in the other). I will make a man of it to substitute for your body" (as a gift to the demon of sickness who will then desist from trying to capture the patient through his death).

(At this point the ceremony for opening light is again repeated as noted above).

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VI. ESCORTING OUT THE STRAW MAN

On the tree is hung out long paper (spirit) money that is white like silver. In the future, people will have no use for it (the spirit money). I will use (the spirit money to display my glory and skill by driving out demons). I will not sweep away this family's wealth or silks (and satins). I will sweep away the demons and quarrels. I will not sweep this family's wealth and happiness. I will sweep away this family's demons and quarrels. I will sweep away the sky pestilences, the earth pestilences. When I have swept them away your whole bodies will be free from sorrow and sickness. With one (uttered) sound, I will sweep away the (demons of) prize fighters and doctors who have no pupils (to worship them after death and therefore become demons), and castrators of animals who are without pupils, and men who put coal or wood on fires who are without pupils. I will sweep them upon the hua· p'an (the container described in III), malarial fevers, and masons who make the foundations for the pillarstones and idols and are without pupils (to make offerings to their teachers after they have died), roaming demons of carvers, roaming demons of painters, roaming demons of actors, and I will sweep them upon the container (hua· p'an) and cause them to straddle the mountains and cross the passes. (I will sweep away) the demon of a second son who calls dogs, the demons that whistle for winds, and those who whistle on their fingers (to call dogs) with their lips, and the two who assist the *tuan kung* 端公 (by leaping, called the *ma chiao* 馬脚, demons of those who were skillful in bending bows and shooting arrows, the king of demons who controls burial by cremation; I will sweep them onto the container.

VII. SENDING AWAY GODS (DEMONS)

After you have called the gods to you, you must send them away. The gongs and drums are beating loudly. If the common people beat them they will be useless. If I beat them, he can escort away those of glory and skill, to send the gods away. To send the gods to the crossings of the great roads, to send the gods back, to send the gods to the crossing of the big roads. The gong resounds, the drum resounds. A wife and a concubine had three (sons) brothers. Lo alone (among them) was taken away to be a soldier. He met (the demons) and fought a battle. The upper part of his body could fight but the lower part of his body was weak. He fought until the demon's whole body was dripping blood. It was like the hairy caterpillar meeting the stinging worm, the offended person (i.e., who has been harmed and is strong because angry) meeting his enemy. If (the demon) meets us, we will fight a battle. That side will lose and I will win.

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(When he has reached this point—all has been spoken—then the knife in the *tuan kung's* 端公 hand is circled once around the container and his foot is circled around it once. Then he carries it outside the house and the hua p'an, the straw man, the paper money, the paper net, the paper rope, and so on and the demons enticed there, are burned on the cross-roads).

VIII. PREPARING WATER

(Put a bowl of water on the table. The *tuan kung* 端公 rolls a sheet of paper into a round tube, lights it and puts it in the water. He must repeat the following incantations).

We are preparing a bowl of water which is not ordinary water. It is water from the great ocean of the dragon king. It is snow water, water of commands (command water). Common people after this will have no use for it. I will use it in the future to conceal my body and Hua T'o 華陀 water (the name of a great Chinese physician of the Three Kingdoms), water to protect the body, water of the six stars of the southern cross, of the seven stars of the northern dipper, and of Li Lao Chün 李老君 (Lao Tzu 老子), water of Kuanyin of the south sea, water of the roaring god of thunder and the drizzling rain, water to protect ones home, water to cut off the heads of the demons and the spooks and such strange creatures, water of the commanding bugle, water of the commanding Erh Lang 二郎 a Szechwan god; (he represents the originator of the Chengtu plain irrigation system), water of the commands of seven sons of the lotus flower, and water of the commands of five sons who became great officials.

IX. STRIKING WITH THE LIN P'AI

On the table is a *lin p'ai* 令牌. Will the general with sharp hairs please arise and sit in the large hall for gods? Let the lesser gods arrange themselves in rows on the two sides. Let (the general with sharp hairs) be seated in the center of the hall and (the lesser gods) arrange themselves in rows on each side. Will the general of sharp hairs please arise? Will the roaring god of thunder and the deity of drizzling rain behead unclean demons and behead spooks? Stamp once with your feet and roar once and then the unclean demons and spooks will at once start off.

(When he has spoken to this point, he must take the *lin p'ai* and circle it about on his body. When this is done the *tuan kung* 端公 must stamp his seal on the body of the sick person).

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X. DISPLAYING THE SEAL

The *tuan kung* 端公 takes a seal in his hands and displays it toward the person who is ill in order to chase away the demons and repeats the following.

One seal is displayed toward heaven. One seal is displayed toward the earth. One seal falls on the person's head. Ten demons see it and nine demons are sad.

Two seals fall on the person's body. The ten demons see it and nine demons fall. Three seals fall on the person's hand (he brings it down three times on the person's hand. The seal prints a charm probably). When the ten demons see it nine of them depart. Four seals fall on a person's breast. Ten demons see it and nine go quickly. Five seals on the (sick) person's foot, and the unclean demons and spooks fall off (the sick person). They fall off his body and off his feet and he is peaceful.

XI. DRAWING WITH A SWORD

The *tuan kung* 端公 holds his hand and circles it about to the left and to the right and he repeats the following.

I take the sword in my hand and cut off the heads of unclean demons and spooks. I will not behead wealth and silks and satins but cut off the demons of quarrels. I will not behead wealth and happiness but I will behead unclean demons and demons (of quarrels) with the mouth and the teeth. I will cut off the heads of demons of sky pestilences and demons of smallpox and measles and of the demons of stiff (paralyzed) legs diseases. I have cut off the heads of five demons and of the demons of this year's pestilences. The five demons have five heads. If ten people see it, there will be heads of nine people. The five demons have five bags. If the saints in the sky see it, they will bow themselves (from the waist). The five demons in the parlor are sitting. If there is no calamity, there must be woes. The blood of the five demons shines. If you do not become ill, you will have boils. The bird is the spirit of a white tiger. He that creeps in the forest (a snake) is a white tiger. A mourner is a white tiger. One with four feet is a white tiger. Each road has five pestilences. I will escort them onto the container hua p'an.

(When he has repeated to this point, the *tuan kung* takes the knife, moves it and encircles it once).

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XII. GOING INTO HADES

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Hades is not below but it is a dark place. The *tuan kung* 端公 wears the paper horns on his head and covers up his face with grass paper (coarse bamboo paper). In his hand he takes his ceremonial knife. On his finger he hangs his small ring bell. He sits on a stool as he would on a horse. He sets some grass paper on fire and puts the flame all over the stool to open the light so that the stool can see. Then he sits down and calls his gods and he is like a dead person (if you speak to him or punch him, he will not notice it). He merely repeats his incantations. His body bends to the right and to the left. He does this for four hours. He calls his gods using the words below.

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. It arises up to Ntsə's land. It goes down as far as the earth prefecture (of the demon king). Ah, go quickly, go quickly, TAV, TAV, TAV" (he makes thus the noise of a horse running; his lips resound at the end of each syllable). He says:—

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises up to the sky. Let ninety-nine lanterns come and go to the front. Call nine thousand (soldier) horsemen to come and go to the front. Quickly bring the saddles and saddle the horses. Bring the bridles and put them in the horses' mouths. Leap on the mules' backs. Leap onto the backs of the donkeys. Leap onto the backs of the big horses. TAV, TAV, TAV (horses running).

"The horses run quickly and well. Go up to Ntsə's land. Go down to the prefecture of Hades. Hurry and bring the lanterns and lamps and lighten (up the way). The flags and the bugles go round and round. The long-handled knives (*ko* 戈) and spears with their handles shine blackly. I am going to go down to the prefecture of Hades. I am going to ascend to Ntsə's land. The red flags go around and around and go up into the heavenly palace. There are numerous men and horses as rising water (of rivers and streams). I go down to the prefecture of the earth and also arrive at Ntsə's land. I arrive at the great palace of the five emperors. Quickly open up widely your main door. I am going to enter the city. I have business or I would not enter the door of your precious palace. Quickly open very wide your main gate. I am going to enter and investigate people. TAV, TAV, TAV. The horses are running fast. I have entered the first gate of the palace. I have entered the second gate of the palace. I have entered the third gate of the palace. I have entered the fourth gate of the palace. I have entered the fifth gate of the palace.

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789 "I have entered into the great palace of the five emperors. Old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors, I am going to come and investigate people. My men and horses are very numerous. The lanterns and torches shine in all directions. Shine brightly, shine brightly. Investigate carefully. Investigate carefully and come again and investigate carefully. When you have investigated, your hand above deliver the souls I want to me and I will (below) give money to you. I have money. It is not easy money to get. It is truly money to exchange for lives (souls). I have three thousand times ten thousand copper coins. With a hand above we give the money. With a hand below you give the people (to me). One hand gives the money and another hand gives (receives) the people. Let the same hand give quickly (do not change hands but act quickly.) Search well, investigate well. Give all the souls to me, one, then the second. Give me all the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *p'o* 魄. Give them up nicely. Give them up well and put them on the horses. Write with a red pen (ink) and mark it with a black pen (ink). (Then the person will not die. Officials write with black ink and mark with red ink if the person is to be executed). Mark the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* to return to the world. With the upper hand, hand over the people. With the lower hand (I) give the money. God's old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors(?) give me peoples' three souls and seven *p'o*. You who are in the world, quickly throw the divining sticks (one up and one down) and send money (burn spirit money). Ntsə's old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors, thank you. We will ride the horses and go back again. On all sides, lighten up with the lanterns and torches. We have gone out of one of the palace doors and closed the first palace door. We have gone out of the second palace door and closed the second palace door. We have gone out of the third palace door and closed the third palace door. We have gone out of the fourth palace door and closed the fourth palace door. We have gone out of the fifth palace door and closed the fifth palace door.

"On the left is a person (general) who keeps the gate. On the right side is a demon gatekeeper. Thank you, thank you. I will ride the horses back to earth."

(At this point he certainly must speak the Miao language. He might use Chinese sometimes before).

XIII. GOING INTO HADES

Xan, Xan, Xan, whip the mules. Let the big horses go very quickly. Raise the lanterns and the torches higher. Tav, Tav, Tav. We are going up to Ntsə's sky above. We will go and dance at the flower altar. The *hua t'an* 花壇 is in Ntsə's heaven above. We will see if his flowery altar has

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come out or not. We will see if the time for using the flowery altar and the flowery drum has come. We are going to climb Ntsə's heavenly ladder. One section, two sections, three sections, (four sections), five sections, six sections, seven sections, eight sections, nine sections, ten sections, eleven sections, twelve sections. When we have climbed the twelve sections, then you have reached the house in heaven. We will see if Ntsə's li tsə flowers are blooming or not. We will see if the pears are bearing fruit. I, see, see, the pear blossoms have dried up. The insects are eating the pear trees. They do not bloom nor bear fruit. XAn, XAn, quickly take the brass fan and fan it. (The tree is the souls of my parents. Pear blossoms are daughters, pears are sons. If the tree dries up, the parents will suffer and there will be no descendants). Bring the iron fan and fan it (then the tree will prosper). Quickly release the falcons (sparrow hawks) to eat the insects. ja-², the tree is clean and leaves are growing, and it is blossoming. The blossoms are blooming all over the tree. The fruit is growing all over the tree.

We will also see if the rice field is full of water and if the lake is dry or not. Ah, we will call Ntsə's mbao To t'ao to come and repair it. We will also call Ntsə's mbao To t'oŋ to come and help dig the ditch deeper and repair the lake and dragon pool. I will also see if the other family's flower tree has fallen or not. We also must see if that family's young fruit tree is crooked or not. We will call Ntsə's mbao To tsai to come to help lift it straight, to lift that family's young flower tree until it stands firm. We will go quickly and we will see if the flowery altar has many people or not and the flowery drum has many people about it or not. We will call Ntsə's mbao To jai to come and help uncover it. We will also call Ntsə's mbao To jai to come and help unbind it, to allow (the souls in) the flowery altar to go away (in several directions), to uncover the flowery altar so that the souls can fly off. Let us light the lanterns and lamps to see if that family's souls are complete or not and to see where the *hun* 魂 and *p'o* of that family have gone. A-, a-, the souls of the family of those people went early. The *hun* and the *p'o* have all gone. xAn, xAn, lift the lanterns and the torches higher. Drive the horses and pursue quickly. We will call Ntsə's mbao To-ts'ai to follow you (god's sons who are excellent pursuers). We must look after the souls of the old people as they return home. You must look after the *hun* and the *p'o* of the old people as they return to the world. Call this family's souls to come quickly. *Hun* and *p'o* come quickly. This is not your sleeping place. This is not your dwelling. This place is rotten like chicken manure and rotten like duck manure. Come quickly, let us go. Ah, ah, they have been caught (the souls), they have been caught.

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•789 We have caught the souls of these old people (of this family). Ai, I have caught them. I have caught the *hun* and *p'o* and they are in my hands. Bring them and put them in my hands. Catch them and put them in my hands. Bring the souls and put them on the backs of the mules and bring the lanterns and lamps to make light. They must show if the souls are cleared or not (all present or not) and the *hun* and *p'o* are all here or not. Give the souls to the leaders of the troops to bring. Let the several generals catch the souls. Catch them carefully, bring them home and let them control their families. If one is missing, I will call you to account. Let us bring the lanterns and lamps and light them. We are going home. TAV, TAV, TAV, the horses come rapidly. We are going down the ladder of heaven. We go down the first section, second section, third section, fourth section, fifth section, sixth section, seventh section, eighth section, ninth section, tenth section, eleventh section, twelfth section.

"I come to thank you, Ntsə, to give thanks to you, Ntsə. Above I will inform Ntsə's heavenly palace. Below, we will inform the old people, Tɛ⁵ bo⁹ and Tɛ⁵ ʔɕɛ⁹. I have come to thank you, to express thankfulness to you. I am going to drive the horses and return home. Leap off the horses, leap off the backs of the colts, steady the horses, for we are going to go back. TAV, TAV, TAV, TAV, we have come back and are getting off the horses."

At this time the *tuan kung* 端公 must again cast the bamboo divining instrument and say: See if the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* are complete or not, if they have come or not. (Here he again casts the divining instruments. If not correct, the souls are not all present). He must once get a *yang kua* 陽卦 throw. He must also get three *yin kua* 陰卦 in order to protect the body of the sick person. When this is done, he has finished this part of the ceremonies.

XIV. SENDING BACK THE GODS AND MENTIONING THE DEMONS

(A lump of meat must be used with wine and arranged properly and the *tuan kung* 端公 repeats the following).

In the midst of sending back the gods, you must send away the demons. If I am not to mention demons, I will (nevertheless) mention demons. When mentioning demons, the demons' hair is untied and worn on the back of the head with the tongue hanging out and I call it a *tiao ching kuei* 吊頸鬼 (a demon that died by hanging). If I am not to mention demons, I will not. This demon is beneath the bed. A person sleeps on the bed. If I am to mention demons, I

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will mention them. Speaking of demons, they sit on the rafters. Tonight, I know you. Ntsoo jin (an ancient *tuan kung*), bo sʌn (a woman who talks in a tone pleasant to hear) will come and catch you. If we do not speak of demons, we will yet speak of them. Speaking of demons, they are upstairs. Tonight, in the night, I know about you. Yang Shih Güin Tzū will make things clear of you (demons). If we do not mention demons, we will then mention them. To mention the demons, they live in the cow pen. Tonight I know you. The *t'u ti* of the south gate will clear things of you. If we do not mention demons we will then mention them. To mention demons, they are in the pig pen. Tonight, I know you. The gods of the pen door will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we then mention them. The demons live on the stove. Tonight I know you. The kitchen goddess will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sleeping in the bedroom. Tonight I know you. The king of the bedcurtain will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are in the firepit. Tonight I know you. The fire-gods heir to the throne will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sitting in the guest room. Tonight I know you. The family gods and family demons (the souls of the ancestors) will exorcise you. To mention the demons, they are sitting below the door (the cross-piece at the bottom of the door). Tonight I know you. The god of wealth and the door spirits will exorcise you. A grain of rice is sharp on both ends. Tonight I will injure you. I will not harm the family's wealth or silks or satins. I will injure the demonic mouths and tongues (of demons). I will injure the sky pestilences and the earth pestilences, annual pestilences, monthly pestilences, daily pestilences and hourly pestilences. Tonight I will take you away. I will take you away so that men will not associate with demons, and demons will not associate with men.

XV. CALLING BACK SOULS

Pl'ei^{5} lo^{2}, pl'ei^{5} lo^{2}* (souls come, souls come), come quickly. Ah, souls, come quickly. Ah souls, all come. The soul was reborn (as a babe) and came back. (It can leave the babe temporarily, or permanently and cause death). It was reborn in another person and still came back. He went into a family's flowergarden and came back. He went into the deep creek, stopped and came back. Come quickly, come quickly.

(When the *tuan kung* 端公 has repeated to this point, he uses an axe and strikes the crossbeam at the bottom of the main door).

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*Pl'ei is generally pronounced blei.

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The bird frightened you and you came. The rat frightened you and you came. A domestic animal frightened you and you came. You stopped on the level spot on the mountain and came back. You dropped on the big flat and came back also. You dropped on the cliff and also came. You dropped on the crossroads and also came back. If you do not come, my big knife that calls souls and fights demons will be your companion. Today is a good day and tonight is a good night. Come more quickly. Come rapidly. Come, come, come back to your bed and come back to your father and your mother. Come and follow your brothers. Live (here) 1000 years, live here 100 years. Poles cannot pierce into you and nets cannot catch you. You may live here until your hair becomes white. You may live here until you are an old man (with hair) that is gray. You can sit with your hands on your knees (as old people do) and your knees bent. Come more quickly, come, come. If I call you and you do not come, my axe will be your companion. Come quickly. You have come, you have come.

(When calling the soul, the *tuan kung* grasps an axe. He uses a person who has an egg in his hand or the *tuan kung* may hold a rooster in his arms. When the soul arrives, then the egg will fall over. Then he will take the egg and burn it in the fire-pit. When the egg is cooked, then the *tuan kung* cuts it open and looks and says whether it has a soul or not. The egg must be cooked on an even day of the month not on an odd day. One, three or five eggs may be burned).

XVI. SETTING UP THE FAMILY GODS

A pair of candles must be lighted or a sheet of grass paper, rolled up into a long thin roll. The *tuan kung* 端公 carries these in his hand and walks around and around toward the center of the house. Then he says:

If the people of a family are not free from demons (if they are ill), the family gods are not at peace. When the *hua t'an* 花壇 ceremony is completed, I will open the light and I will sprinkle some chicken's blood.

When a pair of beeswax candles burn, then the smoke arises and it shines brightly in the home of you old people. If an ordinary person brings them (the candles), it is useless. I will use them to open the light of the family gods (ancestors). When I have opened up the light of the head, the head will lean in all directions. When I have opened the light of the eyes, the two eyes will be very bright. When I have opened up the light of the ears, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When I have opened up the light of the nose,

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the two nostrils will emit good light. When I have opened up the light of the mouth, the mouth will contain sixteen pairs of teeth. When I have opened up the light to the hands. the hands will protect all four directions. When I open up the light to the feet, the feet will stand firmly like a rock pillar. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled chicken-blood on the image of paper, the chunk of meat and clean wine will be placed on the table and I will come and set up the gods in their places. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled blood on the paper image, we will call wealth here and if there are calamities we will exorcise them. I will protect the master of this home so that he will go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth. One seed will fall into the ground and 10,000 will return to the granary. You will raise cows as big as mountains and pigs as big as cows. After we have opened up the light for the house-gods, you will be protected and peaceful forever.

XVII. OPENING UP THE LIGHT FOR THE FRONT DOOR

The front door has been opened three feet, three inches high. Open it during the day, close it at night. After it is opened tonight if you have wealth, I will bring wealth. If you have calamities, I will remove them and I will protect and give peace to the large and the small of the house and drive away all diseases. The cows you raise will be as big as the top (head) of a mountain and the pigs you raise will be as big as steers. I will protect the old members of this family so that they can go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth and silks and satins in their arms. One grain will fall to the ground and 10,000 be reaped and brought home. When people come, the door-gods will open up. If demons come, the door-gods will beat them. If wealth comes, the door-gods will entice it to enter. If demons come, the door-gods will drive them away. If calamities come, the door-gods will exorcise them. If wealth and happiness come, the door-gods will welcome them either by day or by night; they will receive them every day and not cease at night. They will not cease a quarter of an hour. They look away as far as 1000 *li*. Near by, they will look in all four directions. With their eyes they will see clearly and with their mouths they will beat demons and spooks in two. They will open the door to people of this world and close the door to demons. They will only permit people of this world to come and not permit the people of Hades (demons) to go.

(After the above has been repeated, the door is opened for a time, then closed for a time and the ceremony is ended).

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XVIII. REQUESTING THE DOOR GODS TO CAREFULLY REMEMBER THE NAMES OF THE DEMONS

The very thin demons without flesh are named dry, lean demons (glaŋ ntgʌu). The very tall, very large demons that are able to climb mountains are called climb-mountains-cross-passes, (glaŋ^{6} Ta$^{\cdot 5}$ nTo^{2}). The demon that nets for wild animals is called gʌn^{3} ŋga$^{\cdot 2}$ (grows-flesh). The demons of women who died in childbirth are called glaŋ^{6} so$^{\cdot 6}$ (demon that sheds red blood). The demons that cause people to vomit and their hearts to be disturbed are called glaŋ^{6} Ta$^{\cdot 5}$ (vomiting demons). Demons that cause people to have malarial fever are called glaŋ^{6} nao^{5} (cold demons). Demons that cause people to die from hunger and thirst are called glaŋ^{6} tg'ai^{6} (hunger demons) or glaŋ^{6} nk'ai^{5} (thirst demons). Demons that cause people to drown are called glaŋ^{6} glei^{5} (water demons). Demons that cause people to die by hanging are called glaŋ^{6} gʌu^{5} (hanging demons). The demons in caves are called glaŋ^{6} tsao (demons that rush out of caves). Demons that cause children to cry at night are called glaŋ^{6} dza$^{\cdot 5}$ la$^{\cdot 5}$ (naked demons). Demons that cause abortion are called glaŋ^{6} ts'ʌu^{5} (demons that throw away on the hill). Demons that cause young men and women to be sad and to make long sighs are called glaŋ^{6} ntgoŋ (enticing demons).

If such demons as these come, let the door-gods use brass clubs and beat them and they will not come.

XIX. OPENING LOCKS

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The master of the house must find several sheets of yellow paper. The *tuan kung* 端公 uses a pair of scissors and cuts the paper into a net (sky-net, earth-net) and an imitation iron chain and brass lock, which he ties on the body of the sick person. (This is done when they believe that the illness is caused by a demon having locked a lock and chain around the neck of the sick person). The *tuan kung* beats a gong, carries an iron cooking-pot, heats the iron point of a plow and puts his foot on it, and he unlocks the door for the sick person. Then he says, "Water comes from the sky to grind knives with. On earth are people to cut off intercourse (contacts between men and demons), unloose the brass nets, unloose the iron nets, unloose the sky nets, unloose the earth nets, open up cages and release birds, unloose nets and release fish, unloose brass armor, unloose iron armor, unloose brass nets and iron nets, unloose brass chains and iron chains, unlock brass locks and iron locks, unloose brass threads and iron threads (that have bound people). If the head aches, release the body, if the body aches, release the feet, and when the body and the feet have been released, and

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when the head aches remove the heat (of the body) and when the body aches, it becomes cool. Drink tea, peace-giving tea. Drink the peace-giving water. Do not wait until daylight. When I say it, immediately depart. If we say it at midnight, depart at midnight. If any do not depart, I will call Rong sji'n's fire from heaven to burn you away. 789

(When the *tuan kung* has spoken this far, he takes the paper chain and the paper net and the paper lock and puts them all into the winnowing basket, carries them outside the door, and burns them at the crossroads).

XX. REVIVING ONE WHO HAS FAINTED

(Reviving sha—The Miao believe, like the Chinese, that there is a poisonous air called *sha ch'i* 殺氣 that kills people. When a person swoons, he has been injured by *sha ch'i* and a *tuan kung* 端公 can revive him by chasing away the demons.) 789 755

The *tuan kung* opens and holds above him an umbrella of oiled paper. He throws a handful of mustard seed. If he has no mustard seed, he throws a handful of corn. When he throws he shouts, "t'ai, t'ai," and stamps his feet. He says, "Beat the sky demon, beat the earth demon, beat the human demon. Beat the sky demon and send back (what the sky demon has brought) the sky *sha ch'i*. Beat the earth demon and send back the earth *sha* (ch'i). Beat the dead person's demons and send away the *sha* (*ch'i*) of the dead people. Beat the demon of the living people and send back living people's *sha ch'i*. Beat the year demon and send away the year *sha ch'i*. Beat the month demon and send away the month *sha*. Beat the day demon and send away the day *sha*. Beat the time demon sī hou and send away the time *sha*; beat the fierce god who wickedly kills people and turn back the great *sha ch'i* of everything. t'ai t'ai, (and he stamps with his foot), "quickly strike, quickly recede. Recede, recede. recede."

XXI. HOLDING DOWN THE FIRE STAR (MARS)

I have held (pressed) down the fire of Heaven. I have held down the fire of earth. I have pressed down the fire of the year. I have pressed down the fire of the month. I have pressed down the fire of the day. I have pressed down the fire of the moment (time). I have pressed down the fire of the central room. I have pressed down the center of the fire. I have pressed down the fire of the *yin* 陰 (the female principle). I have pressed down the fire of the *yang* 陽 (male principle). I have pressed down the fire of the sun. I have pressed down the fire that likes to kill people (without affection). I have pressed down the demon fire. I have pressed down the fire of living people. I have pressed down the drive-away-*yin* fire. I have pressed down the detain-*yang* 789

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789 fire (demon's fire). Leave the *yang* fire to control the home. Drive the *yin* fire to hades (where demons live). Secure *yang* fire to control the family and make it peaceful (without demons). Drive the *yin* fire to the *yin* spirit (or soul). Leave the *yang* fire to control the family so it will be peaceful. If the fire is a foot high, let water be ten feet high. If fire is ten feet high, water will flood up to heaven and hold down the fire.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 uses a bowl of water and as walks along in the house, repeating his words, he sprinkles water with his hands. When he has finished speaking, he pours out the water from the bowl and the bowl on the table upside down).

XXII. INCANTATION TO DIVINE BY MEANS OF UNCOOKED RICE

787 There is a sky pestilence and an earth pestilence so I come to report to the god. (The uncooked rice is treated and addressed as a god). If there is any unsatisfactory matter I shall come and report to the god. If the head aches and the whole body is hot, we shall come and report to the god. If there is any unworshipped demon of the *t'an shen* or ruined temples, I shall come and report to the gods. If there is any fierce god that kills people, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any grass demon, wood demon, or demon of the forest, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any fierce (murderer) I shall report the fierce matter. If there is anything hard, we shall report it. Without something important, we shall not wantonly report. Without something fierce, we shall not wantonly report.

(When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family).

XXIII. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMON THAT PUNISHES SIN BY PAIN IN THE EYES

789 758 If you bump (sin) against wood, the wood demon will enter you and harm your eyes. If you bump (sin) against wood, wood will harm you. If you bump (sin) against stone, stone will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a grave, the grave will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the stone of the cow pen, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a stone of a stove, it will harm you. If you bump

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(sin) against the dya of the stove, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against grass, wood or stone, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against all the things in a home, they will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the eastern direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the western direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the north direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the west direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against water it will harm you and it will immediately fade away. If you bump (sin) against wood, it will fade away. From the time we have repeated this to-day, you will be well.

(While the above is being repeated, the *tuan kung* uses grass paper to sweep. When he has finished sweeping, he takes a bowl of water and cooked rice and pours it out on the ground).

XXIV. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMONS THAT CAUSE WOMEN TO LOSE THEIR CHILDREN OR TO HAVE MISCARRIAGES

After the *tuan kung* 端公 has called the gods, then he must repeat the following and it will enable her to normally give birth to babies and to bring them up. He must actually hold or press down the demons. After he has done this, he worships the gods and the men and women of the family must worship. He says:

"The sky sinned against the sky monkey and neither the moon nor the sun shone any more. The earth sinned against the earth monkey and the grass and trees would not grow. If a person sins against the monkey that climbs the cliffs, he will dry up. To-day I will free you from this and you will immediately get well."

XXV. PREPARING SIX HORSES AND BRIDGE BEAMS FOR THE SICK

As the method of arranging the bridges, you must use 12 feet of cloth and arrange it well, and four stools, one above the other. The *tuan kung* uses a brass gong and alternately beats it and speaks. He says:

"The difficult bridge and the six horses are spoilt. I will protect the sick person. When the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *p'o* 魄 come upon the bridge, I will wear an iron hat on my head."

(He will put the brass gong on his head and pretend that he is wearing a hat. On his feet he is supposed to wear iron-topped boots. He brings the brass gong and pretends to put on shoes. He should wear brass armor also, and he uses the brass gong to imitate this).

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789 "Come and lead a thousand soldiers and horses and 19,000 fortresses."

755 "Soldiers and horses come upon the bridge. The rest may be repeated like the first one in this book."

XXVI. CALLING WATER TO BECOME DIVINE FOR THE GODS TO DRINK

789 Use a bowl or a pot and put water inside. Cover it with three sheets of paper and a piece of cloth. The *tuan kung* 端公 repeats:

"Ntsə's water in heaven is called the water from the river in heaven brought by the prince of heaven. The old man of the earth brought water of the earth below and from the creek he brings water of the rivers and seas. From the home he takes incense fire and beeswax fragrant water. From the rice field he brings water of the rice-plants. Ntso G jin brought water to destroy demons."

XXVII. CALLING WATER TO EXORCISE DEMONS

(Spoken in Chinese).

"Water is the source of the heaven and the earth, the foundation of all living things, widely cultivating people's happiness, used by people in heaven and on earth, inside and outside. For tao 道 learning,* you are reverenced and your body has marvellous light to protect our bodies so that seeing we do not see, hearing we do not hear, and you can protect us in heaven and on earth and nourish all our lives, and propagate it a thousand times. You are bright. Heaven and earth will come and wait upon and protect you. In ancient times *Wu Ti* 武帝 would welcome you. All gods of virtue will come and worship you. It uses the thunder and lightning. Demons and spooks will lose their courage. Your learning *tao* will last forever. I have also called you. Without affairs you stabilize space and control people."

(When this is finished the *tuan kung* 端公 takes water and sprinkles it in all directions and says the following in Chinese."

"When I sprinkle this once, above it pacifies fire calamities. (Lest fire break out). When I sprinkle this a second time, below it will pacify cave demons. When I sprinkle the third time, in the center it will avoid calamities. When I sprinkle the fourth time, there will be peace among men."

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*This is the Chinese word *tao* 道 and of course the meaning is far more inclusive than the English term "learning". To the Ch'uan Miao interpreter it seemed that the word "learning" came very near to what *tao* means to the Ch'uan Miao.

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XXVIII. TO PREVENT BLOOD FROM FLOWING CUT WITH A KNIFE AND REPEAT THIS INCANTATION

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When I go to the east, it is black. In my hand, I hold a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I will cut in two the mouths of two creeks that flow together. I will stop the bubbles under the skin so that the blood will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop up (like a stopper) the sky river. Below is the head of a rapid. We shall stop up the yellow river. A well with two mouths, we will stop the blood of the skin so the blood will not flow. We will stab in two the water of the western river so it will not flow. The blood prince (a male deity) is named *ch'iu* 秋 (autumn). The blood woman is named *liu* 流 (flow). One road (of the blood) changes to ten roads (in veins and arteries). Ten roads change to a hundred roads. A hundred roads change to a thousand roads. All the roads have definiteness. All the roads have spirits (intelligence). First, do not deceive me. Secondly, do not deceive other people who have come. If you still bleed, I will add a golden lion cat and stop it.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use his two hands and twist them like a lion. Then he says:)

"At the order of ʒ̇ei ʒ̇ai na· ʒ̇ei, like an order according to the law," (and again he repeats) "I go to the east and it is black. My hand grasps a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I stop up the mouth of the blood stream and will stop the blood bubbles so they will not flow. In a large way, I will stop the great Yangtse. In a small way I will stop a small river. I will cut off the Yellow River's *chiu hsi chiang* 九西江 nine west rivers. The wind enters the emptiness. Emptiness enters the wind. One wind, two winds, and the iron wire sews it together, (i.e., the bleeding skin). The left foot moves and the mountain comes and cuts off the sea. (The *tuan kung's* eyes are closed a while and he moves his left foot around as secretly as possible.) He says, "When the right foot moves, it cuts off the gateway of the sea. (He moves his right foot as though crossing a mountain). He says: The left hand crosses over the mountain to cut (block) off the sea. The right hand crosses the mountains to block off the gateway of the sea. (When he is saying the above, he closes his eyes and moves his hands as though they were crossing a mountain.) One, two, three, four, five, metal, wood, water, fire, earth. Metal does not leave wood and wood also does not leave metal. The blood man is named *chou* the blood mother is named *hsiu*. Stop, stop, do not flow, do not flow, do not flow. When I use these words, I will stab away the power of the wind and the water will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop the sky river. Below is the

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789 head of a rapid. Stop the Yellow River. Above, stop the Yellow River's *shuang ho ching* 雙河井 (double river well). Below, stop the two gates (mouths) of the Yellow River. He blows his breath three times and pinches the (open sore) together. The *tuan kung* opens his eyes and lifts up his head to see the clear sky. The one who has taught me (this) by word of mouth, come before my eyes. Mr. Huang, who have taught me, if I call you a thousand times, let it be efficacious (bring an answer) a thousand times and if I call you ten thousand times, answer ten thousand times.

XXIX. TO REMOVE BONES OR METAL OBJECTS THAT HAVE BEEN SWALLOWED

789 I lift up my eyes and lift up my eyes to see the clear
755 sky. The instructor who taught me with his own mouth is before my eyes. I ask my teacher for a bowl of water. The teacher has nine dragons in the bowl. The water of the throat of the nine dragons (is in the bowl). When gold, silver, copper, iron, or pewter touches this water, it is turned into dirt. I obey the command of tsai ʒin ʒai lʌu, order you to swallow a bone and transform the bone, and to swallow brass and transform the brass, and to swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills like (as easy as) the nine dragons entering the deep rapid. My breath of virtue endures long. If there is copper, transform copper. If there is no copper, do not transform the flesh. If there is bone, iron, pewter, or nails, you must transform them. If there are none of these, do not transform the (person's) flesh. I obey this command; immediately transform.

(When the incantation has been completed, the patient must drink the water the *tuan kung* has secured.)

XXX. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES PAIN IN THE NIPPLES

He repeats the incantation saying, "The baby drinks the milk laughing. Why have you come to me? I reply, The nipple is helpless. It is pitiful. I request you not to let people rub your nipples to cure you. If the pain is in the left, heal the left nipple. If the pain is in the right, cure the right. Rub the left and the pain of the left will depart. If we rub the right, (the pain in) the right will depart. If it still does not depart, I will take (the pain) away.

(The *tuan kung* uses the second and third fingers and he traces on the nipple, then she is well.* When he has taken away (the demon), he again asks the milk to come out).

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*This tracing resembles the one below:

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The milk must not accumulate (at one spot). The milk must not delay. When he calls you, you must come out at once.

XXXI. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES BOILS

I invite the thunder god, I invite the thunder goddess, I invite the Chinese medicine god, and also invite the Patriarch of the Lamas, and the teacher who removes water (out of ones body) and grows broken bones together, the upright teacher, the teacher who removes fever, the teacher who removes swellings, the teacher who stops the flow of blood and stops pains: the Patriarch among the snow mountains, the young lady among the snow mountains, the Crown Prince among the snow mountains.* At the first watch much snow falls. At the second watch a heavy frost falls. At the third watch it becomes very cold. At the fourth watch, frost is again added on top of the snow. At the fifth watch the bantam (golden) rooster will report (that) daylight (has come). This place has been transformed into a snow mountain plot. The dragons come. The dragons display their claws. The tigers come. The tigers display their bodies. When the tiger comes, the skin of the tiger will recede. When the dragon comes, the bones of the dragon will recede. The water of snow stops blood and stops pains and causes fevers to disappear and removes swellings and grows broken bones together. It sets dislocated bones (joints) so they can grow flesh, and grows together holes in the flesh. I, ʒ̇in Ntsoɔ̃ ʒ̇ɛdgi·, come and bear witness. If you call me a hundred times, then it is efficient a hundred times. When you have taken (the demon) away, then (the boil) will be well.

XXXII. INCANTATION TO HEAL BOILS

Black, black and bright, bright. (On one hand black, on the other bright). The sun is coming out in the east. Ntsɔ^{2} ɔ̃gAu^{2} go^{5} with Ntsɔ^{2} nts'ai^{5} ʒwɛi^{6}† came to cure boils (by taking away the demons). First, healing them so they will not swell. Secondly, healing them so they will not be painful. Thirdly, healing them so they will not discharge pus. Fourthly, healing them so they will not bleed. If there is something fierce, remove the fierce (thing). If there is swelling, remove the swelling. Do not let this time pass. (When he has spoken thus, he uses his second and fourth

*The meaning here is evidently that one snow mountain is the patriarch, another is a young lady, and a third is a Crown Prince among the other snow mountains, all of which are living beings.

†Ntsɔ^{2} ɔ̃gAu^{2} go^{5} is a golden boy or girl.

Ntsɔ^{2} nts'ai^{5} ʒwei^{6} is a stone girl.

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789 fingers and traces a circle (spiral) on the boil.† When he has drawn this he repeats the incantation again.)

755 First, we have turned around the sky and the earth. Secondly, we have turned around the sun and the moon. The third turn and pus will not come out. The fourth turn and blood will not come out. If there is something fierce, then we will remove the fierce. If there is swelling we will remove it. I will add the bugle of the gods and the bronze bells, an iron axe, a brass finger ring, and an iron finger ring to remove (the boil). (When he has finished saying this, he again traces the spiral.)

XXXIII. INCANTATION TO PURIFY THE HOUSE AFTER A DEATH DURING THE MONTH

789 The heaven and the earth are as a matter of course and the poisonous air. The cave is empty. Huang Lang T'ai Hsüan* the majestic god of the eight directions cause me to be (as a matter of course) unmolested, spiritual precious and charm commands to broadly report to the nine heavens. Let Kan Lo Tang Lo and Tong Kang T'ai Hsüan behead spooks and tie up the demoniacal and kill 10,000 demons. The incantations of the gods in the mountains of the Primary Literary God. I repeat one section and I will capture demons and protect one's years, and arrange the five hells and know the eight seas. The demon king's hands are tied and 1000 soldiers come and help me. The fierce and unclean will disappear and the breath of *tao* 道氣 will last long.

(While he is repeating the above the *tuan kung* 端公 holds a broom in his hand and he holds a piece of cloth in his hand which must be white and twelve feet long, and he sweeps it around. He lights a torch and goes around the house to lighten and smoke it up to make it impossible (by the light) to see the demon and chase out the demon forms.)

XXXIV. THE WATER OF THE NINE DRAGONS (THIS WATER CAN HEAL COLDS IN THE HEAD)

789 755 Use a bowl of water and draw charms above it. Put it on a table. Use a live rooster. You must have a piece of white cloth or black or dark blue; do not use red cloth. And a knife is needed and clean wine. Get them ready, then repeat this incantation. With the finger a dragon should be traced above the water while the person is repeating the incantation. With the two hands three knots must be twisted. The incantation follows:

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†The spiral is like this

*These are Chinese names, so they are romanized according to Chinese sounds. The Chinese characters could not be secured.

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I lift up my eyes and lift up my head to see the clear sky. The teacher who taught me with his mouth is before my eyes. I want a bowl of water from Ntsə's sky. In the water are nine dragons. This water is from the throat of the nine dragons which can transform gold, silver, brass and iron. When they touch the water they will be changed to dirt. Obey the command of Nts'ə in heaven, swallow and transform brass, swallow iron and transform it. (If there is a cold, I will transform the cold.) I also swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills, as the nine dragons going down steep rapids. I have *tao* 道 and my life will endure long.

When he has repeated thus far with his left hand he lifts up the bowl of water and with his right hand he draws a large dragon on the water. Then he gives the water to the sick person to drink.

XXXV. THE NINE DRAGONS TRANSFORM BONES AND WATER THAT DRIVE AWAY COLDS OR HELP IN CHILD-BIRTH

"I lift up my eyes and look at the clear, blue sky. Before my eyes is my instructor. I call the instructor Tsang the *tuan kung* and I also invite Ntsə^{2}'s Ta$\eta^{=}$ ʒɛ^{5} glo^{6} in heaven. He has a bone which is a pill to cure colds. To-day will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. There is another bone that is a pill to transform colds. I myself will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. Brass, iron, colds and fevers will be transformed into water. Pewter things and bamboo things will be changed into dust. All illnesses will be transformed into water. Indigestion and malaria will be transformed into dust. In front it is empty. Behind it is empty. It will be transformed until it is without appearance. You ferry me teacher so that I can creep into Ntsə's heaven."

The *tuan kung* 端公 twists his hands into a nine-dragon turn over their bodies' knot. He also says,

"This water is not common water. This water is water to make peaceful births and transform demons. This water is not ordinary water. This water is water to exorcise spooks and transform strange demons. When I have finished I draw pictures (with the hands) over the water and everything will be prosperous and well.

C. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG TZŬ NIANG 熊子良 A CH'UAN MIAO FARMER FAMOUS AS A PRIEST OF MO WHO LIVES AT CHAO CHIA LING 趙家林 NEAR WANG WU CHAI 王武寨 AND IS OVER FIFTY YEARS OLD.

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As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a superhuman, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntxong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

The year is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194 [193]

[185 cont.]

The Eighth Month. The fifteenth day of this month is the mid-autumn festival. The local Chinese have the custom of making offerings to the moon, which the Miao-I do not have. Before this date, however, some frolicsome fellows among them might steal a pumpkin from somebody's yard and on the eve of the fifteenth day would dress it up into the likeness of an infant, complete with garment and shoes, and wrap it inside a dress. While one man carries the pumpkin, another would walk behind, simulating baby talk or baby cry. They also carry with them different eatables and visit neighbors and relatives who do not have children. On arriving, they would set off firecrackers and then knock at the door to ask for entrance. The childless family, knowing the visit in advance, would prepare a feast to entertain the visitors in the hall. After entering the house, the visitors would take the pumpkin to an inner chamber and place it on a bed, imitating at the same time a child's crying. One visitor would then spit into the bed and exclaim: "The baby is wet!" On hearing this noise the owner of the house dashes into the room and invites the visitors to the feast. This performance is commonly known as "presenting the old pumpkin," and is regarded by childless couples as a good omen for childbearing. If in the future the recipient should actually give birth to a son, the pumpkin bearers would be treated to another feast.

The Ninth Month. The ninth day of the ninth month is the Ch'ung-yang festival. On this day the Miao-I families within the district all eat tz'u-pa and make wine, known as Ch'ung-yang wine. It is said that the wine made on this day is especially delicious in taste and can last for a whole year without becoming weak.

The Tenth Month. No festivals.

The Eleventh Month. No festivals.

[186] The Twelfth Month. The eighth day of this month is known as "La-pa," on which the Miao-I have the custom of competing for the first bucket of water. The bearers are all women, who rise early in the morning to go to the nearest well to draw the first bucketful of water to carry home. It is used to cook rice for the animals, to wash the women's hair, and to brew

/53 cont./

851 787 Meanwhile the shaman has finished his conjuring, seizes the chickens, and cuts them up in order to examine the omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"). First he takes out the tongues of the chickens and observes the hyoid bones for a long time; then he strips off the skin from the front of the heads and likewise carefully observes it. Finally, he takes the feet of the animals, holds them in the smoke of the incense candles, and also studies these omens. If they are unfavorable, it means that evil spirits are close by, from which the ancestors cannot protect the newborn child. In this case, the shaman must first drive away the evil spirits, and then the whole ceremony must be repeated. If the shaman discovers that only part of the ancestors have appeared, the conjuration must be performed again in the same way at the end of the month. This is repeated until the omens are favorable.

851 608 If the omens are favorable, however, as in this instance, the sponsor steps forward, and the child's mother addresses him as follows: "May my child one day be as great and powerful as you are." If the sponsor has special characteristics, they are also appropriately mentioned. The sponsor now ties a piece of string first around the right wrist and then around the left wrist of the child. This is supposed to protect the newborn [789] child against evil spirits and at the same time signifies that the sponsor assumes the sponsorship. With the same piece of string one of the child's wrists is tied to his own, whereupon he makes a little speech in which he expresses his good wishes for the child and promises to fulfill his duties as a sponsor. Then the sponsor hands the mother the first clothing for the child or silver amounting to the price of the clothing so that it can be bought by the parents. A modest festive meal in which all those present, including the shaman, participate, concludes the ceremony.

The completed ceremony means that the sponsor will always receive the child /54/ in his house whenever he visits him, and that he will help him as much as he can. Conversely, the same obligations are incurred by the child toward the sponsor. The children of distinguished persons sometimes have two sponsors.

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 888 [596] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

A M [782] [775]

Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of

M 764 775

1. Page 461.

Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

M [789]

/116 cont./

764 spirits, a pig and a couple of chickens are slaughtered, and the soul is invited to feast on them. Then a great dance takes [775] place."

[789] The deathwatch is maintained by the parents, the surviving spouse, and the children. After a few hours, two or three of these closest relatives relieve one another. During the deathwatch relatives and condoling friends, whose numbers depend on the importance of the deceased, speak of the dead [766] person and mourn his passing. If the deceased was a distinguished man, his body lies in state for two days; in the case of a humble man and women and children, only one day.

614 During the deathwatch the men of the sib prepare the 764 coffin for the deceased. For this purpose a tree trunk of a proper [322] length for the deceased is hollowed out. No ceremonies and no special handling of the tools are connected with the carving of the coffin. They go about this work in the same way as they do when they make a pig trough. Then the corpse is put, on its back, into the coffin, and the latter is closed with two boards. Toward twelve o'clock the same men begin to dig a grave at a place in the jungle selected by them. Since there are no cemeteries, and no special burying grounds for the sib, the choice of the site is left to these men, who perform this work as a pious service and have no other function in con- [767] nection with the burial. -- There are no professional grave-diggers.

764 The grave is always laid out in an east-west direction, and in stony or level ground it is dug out about one meter deep, otherwise another half a meter.

The burial takes place between about two and three [614] o'clock. The closest male members of the sib who are able-bodied carry the coffin to the burial place, accompanied by all the sib members and guests. Here it is let down into the pit in such a way that the corpse lies horizontally in the grave, with the head toward the east and the feet toward the west. The Meau of today no longer know why this direction is observed; they are following a /117/ custom handed down from

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; more-
[789] over, a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In
[767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member
775 of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 [114] [562] This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.
765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

39: Bernatzik--170 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/120/

M 764 [114] [789] Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

1. II, p. 229.

M [787] [775] [825]

A 764 628 [203] [765] The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in the mourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764 Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pĕ dŏ. Savina (1)

[114 773]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in- [931] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore espe- [825] cially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals [224] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[973] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They pre- [626] sume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

/177 cont./

428 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to
756 go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 It is the task of the shaman to learn the
787 wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make
[775] them known to human beings. The shaman, however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also im-
756 possible for the shaman to bewitch human
[754] beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural
[789] powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40
Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the
755 spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors,
789 the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which
[822] color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures
[787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant
[778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/178 cont./

756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
789 of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to
[778] leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
[782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [SEE cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

/179 cont./

756 787 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97).[1] [755] [614] [465] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 755 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

[1] [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/186 cont./

756 the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks
[764] concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves
[787] supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my
[114] own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is
●789 the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both
224 among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or
223 the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the
756 weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/186 cont./

755 789 On the day immediately following the conjuration described, I experienced another instance of the assistance of the shaman in cases of illness. This concerned the sick woman who /187/ had asked the shaman for his help during the conjuration of the soul of Lü, and therefore it was not a matter of a sacrifice satisfactory to the spirits, but rather the exorcisism of the evil spirit from the house afflicted by sickness, and the creation of a guardian [776] spirit such as has already been discussed (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter).

[787] At this spirit-exorcism the beginning of the ceremony was identical with the one of the previous day. While the shaman was in an hour-long trance, the sick woman stood behind him on two spirit-papers, and the chief again burned spirit-money, drew the dividing lines on the ground with the sword, spat water in all directions, and scattered the maize kernels. Suddenly the shaman stopped his twitching and rhythmical movements; his rattling sounds ceased. We learned that the spirit had become too tired [787] to answer and that he would have to be re-awakened. For this purpose the head of the house stepped up to the shaman and struck him on the shoulder. Once more the monotonous conjuration formulas and the twitching of the shaman began. In the meantime, the head of the house tied a string to the young dog to be sacrificed. Then the shaman lighted a straw torch, threw gunpowder into the flames so that they flared up hissingly, spoke accompanying words of conjuration, and walked around the sick woman a few times with the burning torch. He was preceded by the man with the young dog, and at his side walked a young man carrying the gunpowder in an inverted bronze gong. This small procession stepped out of the door and walked around the house several times, while from time to time the shaman threw the proffered gunpowder into the torch (Ill. 102),[1] spat in all directions, murmured prayers, and, whenever the flame hissed up, shouted: "Off with you, evil spirit!" Smoke and stench enveloped the house, which, evidently, was supposed to drive away the evil spirit. The sacrificial animal, however, was led around the house so that the guardian spirit would recognize the area it was to watch. The procession came to a halt. In front of the

[1] [See cat 116, p704 - ANALYST]

/187 cont./

755 entrance to the house the shaman cut the throat of the young dog
789 (Ill. 101)[1] and caught the blood in leaves. With the blood he then drew a cross on the backs of the head of the household and each of the other members and smeared some blood on the door
[787] posts. /188/ Finally, he once more threw the oracle horns and burned a quantity of spirit-money as a sacrifice.

756 On another occasion we were able to observe the activity
787 of a female shaman. This involved the invocation of the Father-
[776] Mother spirit, who, as soon as the rice is ripe, according to the Meau, moves away in order to be ready for the New Year's festival. Now this spirit had supposedly returned and would be asked by the female shaman to bring blessings to the occupants of the house. Outwardly there is little difference from the activity of a male shaman. It was striking to us that the female shaman used not two, but four oracle horns. At this ceremony, too, there was a struggle with evil spirits. Whenever the female shaman in her exertions jumped upon the bench to indicate that an evil spirit was present, the head of the household scattered maize and his wife spat water in the four directions. Despite the fact that everything was carefully observed and care was taken to scatter the kernels and spit out the water in the prescribed way, the evil spirit would not yield. Finally, the head of the household seized the spirit-sword hanging on the wall by the altar and stuck it into the ground in front of the altar. The female shaman had actually fallen into a deep trance and had to be awakened very laboriously by being pounded on the back by the head of the household after the conjuration was over.

756 Besides this kind of activity, obviously recognizable as a
789 priestly performance, there falls to the shaman, but not exclusively to him alone, the making of spirit-paper (Ill. 84, 85)[2] and thus spirit-money. Moreover, the shaman is obliged to make certain amulets and talismans, although many other Meau know how to make various such means of protection against the evil spirits. The ingredients are obtained from flowers and plants. Small triangular cloth bags are filled with the mixture. Such amulets are worn on a string around the neck or attached to the silver neck-ring itself.

[1] [See cat 116, p666 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " , P598 - "]

/188 cont./

789 [753] Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," for protection against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak, are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most effective substances known against certain individual spirits and therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root [824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits, the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the Meau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this [301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There [776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets [714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig."

A 313 824 789 The same author (4) also made the following observation:

4. Page 114.

"When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. M [755] Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 789 [778] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] M [782] [756] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in addition one tries to exercise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

/275 cont./

342 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm
184 leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Crédner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/ north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] [789] [411] [283] [531] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

/325 cont./

301 are worn over one another (Ills. 52-54).[1] The most common are simple round hoops which are worn open at the neck or are provided with a fastener of silver rings (Fig. 213). Instead of the small silver rings, a silver clasp may also be used to close the hoop, as, for example, in the case of the large neck ring of the shaman, which is illustrated in Fig. 212. Some-
[789] times small charms, powder sewed into black cloth and the like, are attached to the neck hoop for protection against evil spirits (Fig. 211). The two bent ends of the neck hoop are
[531] usually provided with incised designs (Figs. 214-216). In
[412]

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Figs. 209-210. Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 209. Wooden comb to stick in the hair, about 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 210. Bamboo comb for dressing the hair, about 1/3 nat. size.

addition to these typical solid silver hoops, such neck rings made of iron or copper, or of silver twisted with copper, are also worn (Fig. 217). All of the neck hoops are made by the Meau themselves and are also worn on workdays.

[325] The material for the making of silver ornaments is ob-
[177] tained by melting down the old Indochinese piaster pieces or Chinese silver coins. For a heavy men's hoop nine pieces of mon (which are old Indochinese silver coins) are required.

The earrings of the girls and women -- I did not see any on men -- are likewise made of solid silver. The most common form is provided with an arrow wound with fine silver wire (Fig. 218 and Ill. 60).[2] /326/ I have also often come across the large silver ear-pendants in the shape of reversed question marks, which Lajonquière (1) mentions, among the

1. II, p. 309.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
789 efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an
[465] honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

39: Bernatzik--666 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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Ill. 101. Creating a guardian spirit among the Meau. The throat of a newborn dog is cut.

39: Bernatzik--704 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 522/

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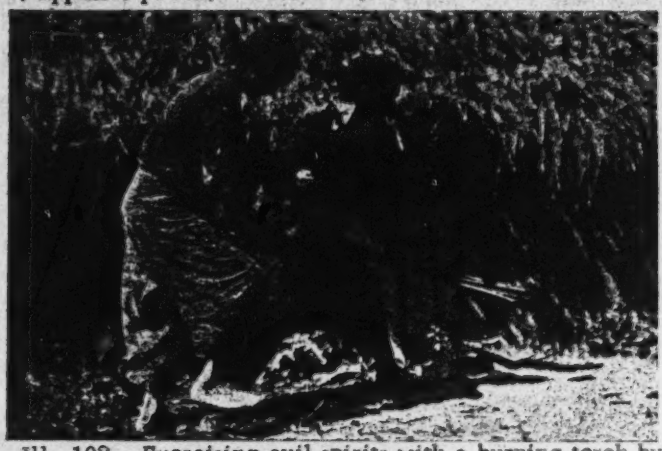

Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits with a burning torch by the shaman of the Meau (right) and his assistant.

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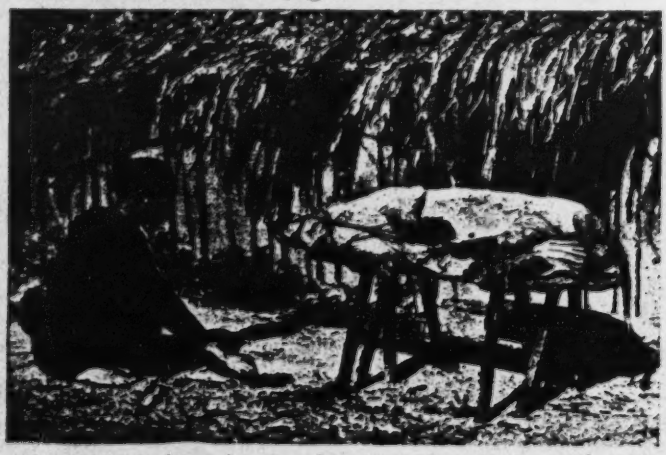

Ill. 103. Before the slaughtering, the pig is purchased from the spirits by the Meau by burning spirit-money under the snout of the animal.

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231 776 789 [775] Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 789 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 782 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 243 482 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.

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342 [415] Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.

353 [264] [354] Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 [264] [352] Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
[372] oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice, in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen. Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region. (1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

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1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛʏ ɕionʏ] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛʏ ʂaʏ] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
756 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
● 791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297- ANALYST]

177 /129 cont./
●791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

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(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple
[753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con-
[776] sidered that the [nɑŋ˧ ŋuei˧˥ pi˧nu˧] and [nɑŋ˧ nu˧ pi˧ ʂɛ˧] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /pɑ˧ pi˧ nu˧/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called [tɑ˧ kʰio˧˥ tʰɑ˧˥ lieŋ˧] in the Miao
787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate
[825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then
[791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/.
*782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

/158 cont./

After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

776 In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity
791 of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during
778 the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples
[787] were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines, generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He
*[782] said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his shrine. (Illus. 68).

*782 /159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that
[776] the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by
[825] sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts. Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity. The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all arranged on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest. Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand
[787] and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/194 cont./

1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
789 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages. 165 163

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual. 844 788 791

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground. 788 793

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes
793 facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house
788 where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one
755 of these priests was called in on behalf of
793 the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

•791 **The Priestess, or Shamaness.** (In Miao,
788 "*mu la*" or "*mo wa.*") There were three women in the village who were able to go into
755 a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl — chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

• Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that in his own village he received nothing for his services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*[9] to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them, but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

her feet never leaving the floor. She began her song, which was interrupted by speaking and action. As she sang, her hands assumed various positions: clasped in her lap close to her body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door — a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks — knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

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I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg

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was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable.

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Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave santonine and calomel. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round, white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side,

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788 and the frame was taken away. She struck
755 the hatchet down into the firepit between the
791 piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice to the right ear, once to the left, again to the right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room.* This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

*See p. 52.

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blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She took the bowl in her left hand and poured out some of the water. A bowl of rice was set before her. She poured out a little more of the water, then the remainder, and turned the bowl upside down beside the bowl of rice. The piece of pork was laid between the rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was taken away and the scythe put into her right hand. A small wooden tub with water in it was set near her left hand. She whetted the scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as before, and washed her hands in the tub. A duck's egg was given her, which she set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe five times toward the door. (We had been warned to move just in time.) She put a piece of blazing charcoal into the tub of water, which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from the fire to the door of the house. Again the tub and scythe were brought and used as before. Another egg was given her and set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire was taken to the door — a bundle of blazing spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into her right hand, and, as she swung it back and forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly upside down on the floor at her right the ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,[10] a baby of a year and a half, who had dysentry. Two days before the mother had told me he had a fever. I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin. Then I learned that he had dysentery, and gave her bismuth for him. They told me later that he had not taken it. I do not know whether that meant that he would not take it — it is hard for a child to take, being a powder that does not dissolve easily in water — or whether they did not give it. He developed meningitis and died during the night after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court before the old house water buffalo horns set upright on the stones, with rushes under them. I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

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During the morning I saw a spray of thorn tied with rushes lying at the corner of the stable before the new house. Later, and this must have been part of the ceremony, though I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an open space before the house foundation in front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in the ground and went back to the old house.

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This was like carrying a bundle of burning straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the door and calling the soul to return. When I heard the singing I went into the court and the child's grandmother told me to go in. I thought the old man's second wife protested later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the ceremony.

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[63b]

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I had arrived after the ceremony began. On the hearth before her was a partly burned bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

[69b]

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788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
755 nan, until money should be sent to him for traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of
791 the three.

[342]

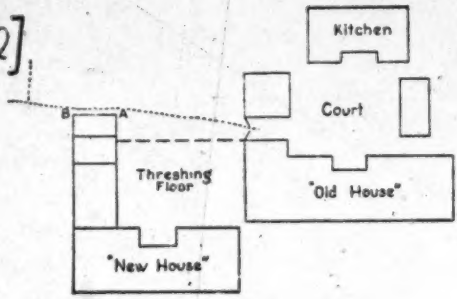

FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

[69c]

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788 She had already begun to sing when I was
called in from helping with the sunning of
755 grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame
of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of
791 the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with
lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a
stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

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788 quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She had a graceful motion of lifting the hand be-
755 fore the face and turning the palm upward, or with the thumb slightly raised.
791 A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the *sheng* measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers, and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

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788 and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after
755 which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on her back. She threw the axe as the others had
791 thrown the scythe. A basin of water was brought so that she might wash her hands.

A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up – except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

[12] Graham, 1937, p. 90.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

from the wrist, clapping them before her, then raising the left hand before her face. Once she bent over double as she held her hands behind her and fluttered them. When she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

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Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamanesses in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after a funeral was guest at a meal in another home, to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

> When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.[12]

[71b]

an enlightened person among the Miao. His re- 797
ligious fervor, however, was a little too ex- 792
cessive, and it disqualified him as a true lead-
er of his people. He preached among them for
more than twenty years with great success, but
since he and his foreign associates had left the
church, no one succeeded them as a full time
preacher. The church school has been closed
down. There are only two American doctors in
the hospital, having charge at the same time of
the church, but they have no time for preaching.
So the faith of the Miao and I in Protestant
Christianity is also on the decline.

Besides the Catholic Church and the China
Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists have
recently established a church in An-shun to
spread the Christian principles but rather on a
small scale. At present the work is carried on
by a young man of the Hua Miao tribe, named Tang
Chen-ying, with about thirty members equally di-
vided among the Chinese and Miao-I, and a church
school of over ten Miao children.

The Miao and I in An-shun are largely un- 771
educated and superstitious, believing strongly 181
in ghosts and evil spirits. All their daily and
farm activities, trading, sickness, marriage and
funeral events are subject to the influences of
the spirits.

The following are some examples:

(1) Spiritual Media. The names for spiri- 791
tual media in An-shun are the same in the Miao-I
language as in the Chinese. The men are known
as Kwei-shih or Tuan-kung; the women, Mi-la or
Mi-pu. Their duty is to sacrifice to the
spirits to invoke their aid and to provide a
medium between the spiritual and the human
worlds. As such they are respected by the
people. All ancestor worship and funeral events
have to be presided over by the Kwei-shih. Every

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

000 Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others.

796 (7) Sweeping the Village. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao every year stage a village sweeping ceremony, the idea being to avoid sickness and disaster during the year. The conditions and rituals of the two being different, they are separately described as follows:

796 791 (A) Village Sweeping of the Hua Miao. Every year on the head dragon day of the second moon, the Hua Miao would collect enough money in the village to perform village sweeping. They first put up a straw pavilion in front of the tree god, in which incense and candles are lit, and led by the Kwei-shih each family would come forth to worship and make sacrifices of rice. After the ceremony is over, the gathering proceeds to a nearby river to dig up a few piculs of river sand, and thence to the mountain to gather a few dozen rattan vines. They twist the rice straw into ropes, on which they fly little colored pennants. Then the Kwei-shih would tie the ropes around the tree god, the earth god and the village god. Next he would visit every family in the village, holding a cock in one hand and dragging a dog with the other; he was followed by the villagers carrying sand and rattan vines. Reaching each house, Kwei-shih would circle around the hall with the cock and dog, and upon leaving, tie a rope on the gate. Sprinkling sand all around and shaking the rattan vines, the party would give a loud yell. When all the households are visited and serviced, the villagers would gather together outside the village, killing the chicken and dog and cooking them in a huge cauldron for a feast.

(B) Village Sweeping of the Ch'ing Miao. One of the days toward the end of the lunar New Year or in the second moon is set aside for village sweeping by the Ch'ing Miao. A few days before the event the village head who happens to

be in charge that year through a system of rotation would collect ten cents from each family for the purpose of purchasing chicken, duck, beancurd, paper money, incense, candles and colored paper. With the paper they make little triangular flags and stick them on the gate. The Kwei-shih would carry a long knife in the right hand and a dragon-head cane in the left, and followed by a man carrying a chicken and a duck, would descend upon each household, wielding the sword and shouting: 796 791

I come not your money to clear,
Nor your rice I level;
Surely I come not to take your lady dear,
But I sweep off the devil --
To the western area.

After the ceremony all family members crowd around the Kwei-shih as they move out of the village to a three-forked road in the west. Tossing the dragon-head cane onto the ground, the Kwei-shih burns it up with lighted papers and candles. Then, after killing the chicken and the duck, he sprinkles the blood on the road. The chicken and duck are cooked together with beancurd and other foodstuffs in a huge cauldron and eaten by the villagers on the roadside.

(8) The Chia Performance. When a person dies among the Hua Miao, the rest of the family would pray to him for their safety and health. If the years after his death prove prosperous to the family, then on passing the thirteenth year its members would perform Chia or the great Chai, involving the sacrifice of a buffalo in his memory. If at that time the family does not have the means to make a sacrifice, then the Kwei-shih may be invited to respectfully inform the deceased person of a postponement of the sacrificial date. Before performing Chia 769

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

in the use of herbs as medicine, but when to take medicine and when to send for the exorcist is not very clear. We imagine when a man is sick he first takes medicine, and if this fails to act as it ought, he concludes there is a demon troubling him and sends for an exorcist to deal with it. In the case of ague, the Heh Miao always think it is a demon, and the sufferer goes away into the woods to hide himself and thus escape from it. 755

Any man who has learned the incantations and knows how things ought to be done, may be a wizard or exorcist. Their fees are not exorbitant. A quart or two of rice, and a little of anything else that may be going, pork or whisky, is all they get for their services. There are usually two or three of them in every village. The Miao say that their exorcists are the same as the Chinese *tuan-kung* or Taoists, and so it appears to us they are. 791

Sometimes a man is accused of having a demon, and this is a bad thing for the man, if it is generally believed. This does not mean that he is possessed by a devil, but that he has at his command a demon who does his will to the injury of others. We know a man who lately accused a neighbour before the Chinese magistrate for saying that he had a demon. 754

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

754 They believe also in such demon possession as is recorded in the New Testament; so do also the Chinese.

791 They also believe in soothsayers, and often when anything is lost or stolen, or if an unknown person has injured their property, they consult them. After the soothsayer has received his fee, he performs certain ceremonies, and after a longer or shorter time a demon takes possession of him. He at once begins to mutter and answer questions, without moving his lips, something after the manner of a ventriloquist. Very often the answers are correct, but not always. The Miao say it is the demon who speaks, not the man. Sometimes the soothsayer will tell a man to offer oxen in sacrifice to his deceased parents when his luck is bad. These soothsayers do not eat flesh meat. A missionary once asked one of them if he were still practising his art, whereat all the other Miao laughed, and the man replied, "Since I have begun to eat meat the demon will not come to me."

754 The Miao are great believers in witches and witchcraft, but they say that only one here and there can really bewitch people. Even the Chinese are afraid of Miao witches, and fear to eat food offered them by the Miao lest they

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

[847] [848] 791 844 When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a nearby road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.[12] 846

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placenta of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house. 844

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons. 852

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kuan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult. 881 791

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony will not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

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12. I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practiced by the Ch'uan Miao. 846

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried
782 away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nʌn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron plough-
789 share, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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A Ch'uan Miao magician performing a ceremony to exorcise demons.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

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Ch'uan Miao men playing the wind instrument called the gaign or *liu shêng* and beating the ceremonial drum. While they do this they perform a folk dance.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 66]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

791 If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to
789 eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it. Then the patient recovers.

In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed
791 by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square
796 table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth.

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggled at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called gla ʒ lo or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinsee characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different steps of the ceremony were explained as follows.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

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6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shêng* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

791 the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon,
but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored.
177 Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose
that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao. But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

791 There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a
prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused
787 with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called *yin yang kua*. This fortune-teller is called a so bʌu. So means first or previously and bʌu means to know or understand. Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods. They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person q os ɐ ʞɐʌ ʌna present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits, money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao believe in the so bʌu and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

828 Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In
addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain
787 things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey, a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill; if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horse, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a parent will probably die.

158: Diguet--142 G-3 (ca 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE 5

Certain peculiarities relative to funeral ceremonies should be pointed out. The body of the deceased is either stretched out on a cot or fixed to a plank, which in certain tribes is laid out along a partition for three or four days preceding burial. The body is dressed in its finest garments, from which buttons and fastenings have been removed, so that the soul may leave the corpse more easily. A square of red linen is placed over the lower part of the face and on the mouth. The children offer a feast to relatives and friends. The guests present pigs, goats, and dogs, to the deceased, whose flesh will be served to them at the funeral meals. A dog, also prepared for cooking, is attached to the right hand of the deceased by a paw and is supposed /144/ to guide his wandering foot-steps in the other world. The dead person is borne into his grave on the plank to which he is fixed, and the coffin is constructed in the trench even as among the Man Tien. The family's meal is brought to the grave for two or three days, then it is abandoned completely. 764

The Meo are the most eclectic of the mountaineers in matters of religion and superstition. They have in their homes an altar to the Ancestors. But this piece of furniture is no more than a small plank suspended by two cords along a partition, and on it is a small ash-bowl in which the sticks of incense are placed. They also have an altar just as crude for the worship of the Hearth. They worship Heaven and Earth as dieties, venerate the Buddhist goddess Quan Am as a good Madonna, the Spirit of Thunder and the Dragon, and believe in three human souls like all the peoples of the Far East. Finally, they are much less afraid then the other mountaineers of Evil Spirits and Demons, to whom they are satisfied to attribute the cause of certain diseases. Their sorcerers are not to be distinguished from the rest of the population. They limit themselves to placing a white veil over their face while officiating at ceremonies. All of the festivals, whatever they may be, are accompanied by music, songs, and feasts irrigated with alcohol. 771 791

797 They are mostly converted to the faith because
427 they are tenant farmers on the land owned by the church. This land, also known as the "bible-hall land", is scattered over a number of localities that border on the Chung-chia villages. The profits from the land are equally divided. The advantages for tenant farmers being more than elsewhere, many Chung-chia people become believers in order to cultivate the church land. Every Sunday the farmers attend mass in nearby churches. During harvest time in October the church would send out priests to the villages to supervise harvests, where they also conduct religious services morning and night, requiring all believers to attend (some of the villages have small churches). The priest remains in each village for about a week, putting up with the richest family, but the expenses on food are borne by all the tenant farmers in the village. In recent years this relationship is undergoing a change as it is said that the priests have indulged in extortions which have greatly shaken the faith of the Miao-I believers.

797 Besides Catholics there are Protestants within the district. The China Inland Mission maintains a Gospel Church in An-shun. It was established in 1897 by an American missionary, Tanchüshih /transliterated/, who went deep into the Miao villages in many areas. His friendli-
[162] ness and sincerity won him many converts. At present there are in this hsien area from 5000 to 6000 Christians, both Chinese and Miao-I. The missionary was especially successful among the Hua Miao, and there are more Christians
792 among this tribe than among others. The leader
797 of the Hua Miao in An-shun was Yang Ching-an, who was trained by Tanchüshih. In the early years of the Chinese Republic, Yang had followed the American missionary to Shanghai and Nanking. With his extensive experience he was considered

an enlightened person among the Miao. His religious fervor, however, was a little too excessive, and it disqualified him as a true leader of his people. He preached among them for more than twenty years with great success, but since he and his foreign associates had left the church, no one succeeded them as a full time preacher. The church school has been closed down. There are only two American doctors in the hospital, having charge at the same time of the church, but they have no time for preaching. So the faith of the Miao and I in Protestant Christianity is also on the decline. 797 792

Besides the Catholic Church and the China Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists have recently established a church in An-shun to spread the Christian principles but rather on a small scale. At present the work is carried on by a young man of the Hua Miao tribe, named Tang Chen-ying, with about thirty members equally divided among the Chinese and Miao-I, and a church school of over ten Miao children.

The Miao and I in An-shun are largely uneducated and superstitious, believing strongly in ghosts and evil spirits. All their daily and farm activities, trading, sickness, marriage and funeral events are subject to the influences of the spirits. 771 181

The following are some examples:

(1) Spiritual Media. The names for spiritual media in An-shun are the same in the Miao-I language as in the Chinese. The men are known as Kwei-shih or Tuan-kung; the women, Mi-la or Mi-pu. Their duty is to sacrifice to the spirits to invoke their aid and to provide a medium between the spiritual and the human worlds. As such they are respected by the people. All ancestor worship and funeral events have to be presided over by the Kwei-shih. Every 791

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585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[793] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[769] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/52 cont'd/

765 for one day, two, three, or five days. What I observed was a two-day service which actually lasted two days and two nights.

[713] The tso-chai service was conducted by Taoist priests. On the occasion which I observed, they invited more than ten Taoist priests of two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests. The two groups paid honor to different gods, chanted different liturgies, and performed different rituals. (See the following chapter.) The tso-chai service was so complicated that it can hardly be described in detail. Therefore, I shall only describe it in a general way. The tso-chai ceremony formally began on the night of the first day of the service. The Taoist priests of the two groups hung up portraits of their respective gods. At the same time they chanted liturgies and leaped before the gods until midnight. Next morning they performed the chao-hun /"spirit calling"/ service. It was in general as follows: A wooden platform was erected in an open space outside the house. The two groups of chanting Taoist priests holding pennants in their hands ascended the platform in turn. Facing the sky, they called the spirit of the dead man to come back.

765 That afternoon a Taoist initiation ceremony was held. Since it
796 was not directly included in the tso-chai service, we will discuss it in the following chapter. On the morning and afternoon of the third day the chanting of liturgies and the dancing continued, but the details were entirely different from that of the day before. The tso-chai ended near evening in a humorous act, "Devil Dance." The dance was performed as follows: A priest was dressed up as a devil wearing a dreadful-looking mask and hid behind the curtain. Two boys dressed as girls drew the devil out from behind the curtain. After seeing the "girls" the devil then became sexually excited, and holding a male sexual organ two to three feet /ch'ih/ long (made of straw), he began dancing while chasing the two "girls." The show was so indecent that it made a person feel ashamed to watch it. In the morning of the fourth day, the hosts entertained the priests with wine. Guests and hosts sang alternately while drinking, and that brought the tso-chai to an end.

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526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
●793 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
795 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

/62 cont'd/

779 Hundreds of birds bowed in front of it.
539 The goddess of jade protected her from behind.
When a Taoist priest passed by, he would repeat the name of Buddha;
When a Buddhist priest passed by, he would burn some incense.
When an old man of sixty passed by, he would say mournfully:
"What a pity that one so bright died young!"
When an old woman of sixty passed by, she might say sadly:
"What a pity one so bright did not live long!"
When a young fellow of eighteen passed by, he would murmur:
"Why am I not so lucky as to court a clever girl like her?"
When a young girl of eighteen passed by, she might say with grief,
"Why did such a clever girl have to be buried so young?"
Men and women are kindly advised hereby,
If you have children, think early of their futures.
Should your neighbor to the east have a son, his marriage must not wait long!
Should your neighbor to the west have a daughter, must she not be married while young?
One must not follow the example of Sister Chiu of the T'ang family,
Without a husband, she died like a blossoming /rose/.
Chiu-niang is now here in person to bless those in front of the altar.
You, Chiu-niang, give your blessing to whoever is leading the horse.

779 195 The Taoist books of the Miao are mostly written in this poetic style with seven words in each line. They have nothing to do with the preaching of Taoism. This aspect is /63/ worthy of study.
793 795 Both the civilian and military Taoist priests use wooden seals inscribed with different symbols. The civilian Taoist priests have two rectangular seals of the same size, (See illustration). The military Taoist priests also have two wooden seals, one of which is inscribed with symbols similar to those of the civilian Taoist priests.

1: Wang--63a S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (1)

The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (1)

(The black part is raised, the white recessed.)

The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (2)

/64/
532 The other one is inscribed on four sides of the seal with the symbol of a man, a dog, a dragon (?), and a pheonix (?) respectively. It is very interesting that the second seal is entirely different from the first one, (See illustration).

/65/Usually whenever a ceremony is performed both the civil-
796 ian and military Taoist priests are present. This was the case in
●793 both the tso-chai and the chung-jen chai ceremonies that I personally observed.

The Taoist priesthood is open only to men. A man who intends
793 to be a Taoist priest must undergo a kind of Taoist initiation ceremony, one of which I once attended. It took place at the time of a tso-chai ceremony. As to whether they also have a particular ceremony for initiation at a fixed time and place, I do not know. The initiation rites of the civilian and military groups were conducted in much the same manner.

The manner in which a military priest was initiated was as follows: The candiate wearing a red Taoist robe were seated on a red rug (each priest has a red rug) in front of the altar. A piece of thin paper was put on his head. A picture of a god was fastened with red strings hung from his forehead. A group of old (referring to rank regardless of age) Taoist priests chanted and walked around him. Periodically at every stop of the chanting, they all kneeled down, tearing apart the thin paper on his head, after which they again walked around him. This was done three times. A pause in the ceremony was now announced.

After a short time the candidate was led into an open yard by the old priests and followed by other priests playing gongs and drums. While they were proceeding to the yard, the oldest /i.e. leading/ priest put a grass rug on the ground on which he turned several somersaults. In the yard the candiate was seated in front of a wooden platform. The old priests then took turns in going up the platform upon which they chanted and danced. When the chanting was over, a large net made of tree bark was spread out. The candidate was thrown into it and was lifted up and turned around

1: Wang--64a S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (2)

(b)

(a)

(c)

(d)

/65 cont'd/

793 several times and then put back on the ground. After that he was entertained with a meal and wine. Then they returned to the altar. The ceremony was now over.

The initiation ceremony of the civilian Taoist priests was similar to that of the military group. The only difference between them was that they did not have the part performed in the yard. Moreover, at the time the civilian priests chanted before the altar, when they kneeled down after chanting, they combed the hair of the candiate with a wooden comb, which was not done by the military priests.

793 554 /66/ After the Taoist initiation ceremony, the new priest was given a Taoist name. The names given by the two groups were entirely different. Either group, however, has a set of five characters any one of which is used as a prefix to another character in formulating a two-character name. The five characters of the civilian group were "Yin, Yün, Tao, Miao, and Wan," and those of the military group were "Ying, Sheng, Fa, Hsien, and Wan." The method of formulating a Taoist name was to put any one character after one of the five characters. For instance, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village was a civilian Taoist priest. His Taoist name was Yin-ts'ai. Thus every Taoist priest's name clearly indicates whether he is a civilian or military priest. Moreover, the order of the Taoist names is followed by father and son. As Lu Tsun-ying's Taoist name is Yin-ts'ai, his son's Taoist name would be Yün-X. His grandson's Taoist name would be Tao-X. At the end of the series, they start over again at the beginning. There is no age limit for the Taoist initiation. During the initiation ceremony which I observed there were five candiates, of whom the oldest was about twenty and the youngest one was a two- or three-year-old unweaned child who was carried by his mother. Right after the initiation the older ones begin to learn to chant the liturgies and to perform other ritual matters from the older priests, and after some time they could carry out their duties as priests. The younger ones have to wait for a period of years, before studying but once one is initiated, one is qualified to have the status of a Taoist priest.

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715 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
713 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/134 cont'd/

764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second month, twenty-seventh day. (Saturday)

The program for the tso-chai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call back the soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests, 554 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than ●793 ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each [779] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

/135 cont'd/

554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages. 165 163

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual. 844 788 791

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground. 788 793

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the older man carried a live duck and a bowl of wine, one of the younger men a bag for rice, and the other a staff with leaves and white paper streamers, and a handful of spirit money. The older man chanted as before and kept muttering to himself as he went from one house to another. They told me this was called *sao ho hui.* 788 793

The activities of the priest in connection with death and burial have already been described. The priest also has a part to play in connection with bullfights (see pp. 76–80).

The ritual which Miss Li saw took place just outside of the village in the presence of the baby's father. This priest had before him a bowl of rice and one of wine. In his arm he held a live duck. After he had chanted he set an egg into the bowl of rice, spilled some of the wine, felt in the earth for "the child's spirit, or soul," wrapped up a bit of the earth in a cloth and gave it to the father, who took it and the duck and went home. The child died. 788 755 793

Before the taoist priest chanted, a table was set up before the shrine to the house god in the main hall of the house, partly in and partly out of the pile of unhulled rice lying there. Along the front of the table was the festoon of wooden daggers which usually hung above the door of this house. On the table were one of the priest's sacred books, a banner of white paper in a bamboo stick, a measure of rice with incense sticks in it, several bowls, and some bamboo lots. I had been invited to have supper with them because I had been helping them cut rice that day. While we were waiting for supper to be prepared in the home of the son, next door, we sat in the front side room in which the wife of the head of the house lay on a pallet of straw by the fire. The priest showed me three books from a bagful which he had brought with him. One contained his chants, one charts of the face with points marked on it, and the third explanations of the meaning of the dragon and other sacred things. Before he chanted again he took down a book which he had laid on the woven bamboo shelf above the fire, and placed it on the table. The three books I had been examining he put where the first book had been.

This man was dressed in a pair of loose khaki trousers and an old jersey. As he sang

788 or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his
793 right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house
788 where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one
755 of these priests was called in on behalf of the postmaster when he was ill. The proce-
793 dure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

791 **The Priestess, or Shamaness.** (In Miao, "*mu la*" or "*mo wa.*") There were three
788 women in the village who were able to go into
755 a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl — chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

*Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli," 774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies ●793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so 796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere- [527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo" [157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The [831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The [533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing [535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving 524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

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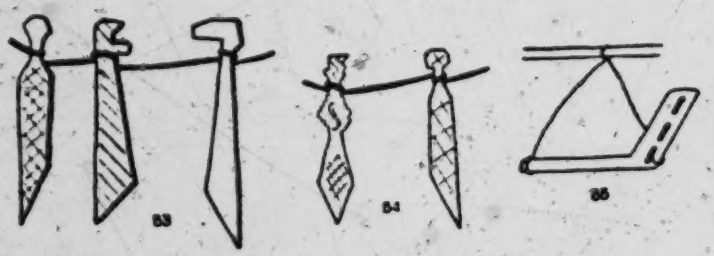
535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

[788] [783] [562] [177]

778 411



Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, say, a joining together of the young people at the time of initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

571 [881] [782]

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

532 778 [779]

/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
793 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
● 795 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

/62 cont'd/

779 Hundreds of birds bowed in front of it.
539 The goddess of jade protected her from behind.
When a Taoist priest passed by, he would repeat the name of Buddha;
When a Buddhist priest passed by, he would burn some incense.
When an old man of sixty passed by, he would say mournfully:
"What a pity that one so bright died young!"
When an old woman of sixty passed by, she might say sadly:
"What a pity one so bright did not live long!"
When a young fellow of eighteen passed by, he would murmur:
"Why am I not so lucky as to court a clever girl like her?"
When a young girl of eighteen passed by, she might say with grief,
"Why did such a clever girl have to be buried so young ?"
Men and women are kindly advised hereby,
If you have children, think early of their futures.
Should your neighbor to the east have a son, his marriage must not wait long!
Should your neighbor to the west have a daughter, must she not be married while young?
One must not follow the example of Sister Chiu of the T'ang family,
Without a husband, she died like a blossoming /rose/.
Chiu-niang is now here in person to bless those in front of the altar.
You, Chiu-niang, give your blessing to whoever is leading the horse.

779 195 The Taoist books of the Miao are mostly written in this poetic style with seven words in each line. They have nothing to do with the preaching of Taoism. This aspect is /63/ worthy of study.
793 795 Both the civilian and military Taoist priests use wooden seals inscribed with different symbols. The civilian Taoist priests have two rectangular seals of the same size, (See illustration). The military Taoist priests also have two wooden seals, one of which is inscribed with symbols similar to those of the civilian Taoist priests.

/66 cont'd/

745 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
743 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
534 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/52 cont'd/

765 for one day, two, three, or five days. What I observed was a two-day service which actually lasted two days and two nights.

[713] The tso-chai service was conducted by Taoist priests. On the occasion which I observed, they invited more than ten Taoist priests of two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests. The two groups paid honor to different gods, chanted different liturgies, and performed different rituals. (See the following chapter.) The tso-chai service was so complicated that it can hardly be described in detail. Therefore, I shall only describe it in a general way. The tso-chai ceremony formally began on the night of the first day of the service. The Taoist priests of the two groups hung up portraits of their respective gods. At the same time they chanted liturgies and leaped before the gods until midnight. Next morning they performed the chao-hun /"spirit calling"/ service. It was in general as follows: A wooden platform was erected in an open space outside the house. The two groups of chanting Taoist priests holding pennants in their hands ascended the platform in turn. Facing the sky, they called the spirit of the dead man to come back.

765 That afternoon a Taoist initiation ceremony was held. Since it
796 was not directly included in the tso-chai service, we will discuss it in the following chapter. On the morning and afternoon of the third day the chanting of liturgies and the dancing continued, but the details were entirely different from that of the day before. The tso-chai ended near evening in a humorous act, "Devil Dance." The dance was performed as follows: A priest was dressed up as a devil wearing a dreadful-looking mask and hid behind the curtain. Two boys dressed as girls drew the devil out from behind the curtain. After seeing the "girls" the devil then became sexually excited, and holding a male sexual organ two to three feet /ch'ih/ long (made of straw), he began dancing while chasing the two "girls." The show was so indecent that it made a person feel ashamed to watch it. In the morning of the fourth day, the hosts entertained the priests with wine. Guests and hosts sang alternately while drinking, and that brought the tso-chai to an end.

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan
171 Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr. /

796 4. Festivals and Sports

527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered
[782] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/64/

532 The other one is inscribed on four sides of the seal with the symbol of a man, a dog, a dragon (?), and a pheonix (?) respectively. It is very interesting that the second seal is entirely different from the first one, (See illustration).

796 /65/Usually whenever a ceremony is performed both the civil-
793 ian and military Taoist priests are present. This was the case in both the tso-chai and the chung-jen chai ceremonies that I personally observed.

The Taoist priesthood is open only to men. A man who intends
793 to be a Taoist priest must undergo a kind of Taoist initiation ceremony, one of which I once attended. It took place at the time of a tso-chai ceremony. As to whether they also have a particular ceremony for initiation at a fixed time and place, I do not know. The initiation rites of the civilian and military groups were conducted in much the same manner.

The manner in which a military priest was initiated was as follows: The candiate wearing a red Taoist robe were seated on a red rug (each priest has a red rug) in front of the altar. A piece of thin paper was put on his head. A picture of a god was fastened with red strings hung from his forehead. A group of old (referring to rank regardless of age) Taoist priests chanted and walked around him. Periodically at every stop of the chanting, they all kneeled down, tearing apart the thin paper on his head, after which they again walked around him. This was done three times. A pause in the ceremony was now announced.

After a short time the candidate was led into an open yard by the old priests and followed by other priests playing gongs and drums. While they were proceeding to the yard, the oldest /i.e. leading/ priest put a grass rug on the ground on which he turned several somersaults. In the yard the candiate was seated in front of a wooden platform. The old priests then took turns in going up the platform upon which they chanted and danced. When the chanting was over, a large net made of tree bark was spread out. The candidate was thrown into it and was lifted up and turned around

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

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755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

756, 796

/For information on the part played by the sorcerer-priest (shaman) in Miao propitiation ceremonies, and a description of these ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 191-297./

769 /131 cont./
[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At the same time he utters the following incantation:
769 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as
*782 well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death
[777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called [kuei mbaʌ] in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei" of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
[776] mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[796] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed. 292

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family. 241

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*.* For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children. 805 796 241 527

*See p. 50.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
•796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
527 thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
541 embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or
[764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[8] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring
243 appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

THE daily tasks of living furnished the 571
framework for group activities within the family and between families. Such activities included those connected with the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the cleaning of stables and the transportation of fertilizer, fishing and digging for water chestnuts, going to the mountains for firewood, and to market to sell and buy, and the construction and repair of a house, for these in which members of several households worked together were greatly enjoyed in the doing and always followed by a special meal furnished by the owners of the house, stable, or fields worked upon that day. When they went to market they waited until several had their loads ready before starting off. They also returned in groups and stopped to rest and talk at a point about half way, where they could drink from a spring or in a wayside teahouse.

When a household was of the extended 592
family type living in a connected group of buildings, they furnished among themselves a good deal of social life, for men and women worked together or the women in their group, children played together, and together they gathered around the firepits to eat, talk, and smoke. On rainy days the women also came together to sew, make thread, and mend. Even when the buildings were more separate, the homes tended to be grouped so that the households mingled freely and helped one another at work or in the entertainment of guests. A group of girls were often seen in the home of one of them embroidering, chatting very gayly over designs and plans, smoking, and laughing. The village was not extensive and there was constant opportunity to meet and talk, with much teasing and laughter. Women carried leaves of tobacco in the folds of their turbans, men in rolls in little metal boxes; pipes and tobacco were shared in a group.

Calendric feasts afforded the opportunity 796
for both interfamily and intervillage activities. 571
The festivals of the lunar New Year, Ch'ing Ming, and San Yüeh San, as well as lesser festivals such as Tuan Yang and Hsiao Mang, were accompanied by offerings to the house

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born. 796 571

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders. 571

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes. 596

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village 621 [563]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

RITES OF INTENSIFICATION[1]

CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS

796 527 **The Lunar New Year.** Preparations for the period of leisure and festivity of which the lunar New Year was the central point began soon after the rice harvest. Glutinous rice cakes, some stuffed with beans, some made of the black rice, some colored red, but almost all white, rice wine, bean curd, pork in various forms, and sometimes beef had to be made ready not only for the feasts of the first month, but also for weddings, bullfights, and all occasions known as "invitations to drink wine." Of the weddings I saw or knew about all took place between the sixth of the tenth month and the eighteenth of the second month. Bullfights took place on the second day of the second month and in the eighth and ninth months.

They had to bring in a large supply of fuel, also, not only for the first fifteen days of the first month, at least, when as little work was done as possible, but also for the large amount of cooking involved in the making of these special foods. As many had new clothes as could afford them. This called for the dyeing of pieces of white cloth to a very dark blue, the cutting and making of garments, the embroidering of aprons and overpieces, the weaving of belts, and the making of pads for the babies. Clothing and bedding were washed wholesale so that no one need think of that for two or three weeks after the New Year. The whole village was put in order.

796 252 527 For the glutinous rice cakes the hulled rice was boiled to a stiff paste, which was then put into a large stone mortar and pounded with large, wooden mallets on long handles until it was of the right consistency to shape. If beans were to be put inside, they were boiled with herbs or ginger and salt to season them and the paste wrapped around them. Some liked a thin shell of paste, some a thicker one. For the pounding of the paste two strong men were needed; women did the rest. Freshly made cakes could be eaten as they were, for

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

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796 the cooking and pounding heated them and
they had not yet become stiff and hard. At
252 this stage they were also good cut in pieces
and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in
527 brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame
seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually
toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest
the air dry them out too much they were kept
in large jars full of water. When they formed
the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable
mixed with much red chillie was eaten with
the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice
were greatly prized because not much of this
grain was raised and it was sweeter than the
white. Red ones were liked because red is
the color of joy.

796 One morning I went into the kitchen and
found the old man's first wife and the second
273 nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden
cask with no top or bottom had been set,
527 large end down, in one of the large kettles
over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the
old lady's task to keep just the right fire going
under it. Sawdust was packed around the
lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been
put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl
with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam.
From a hole in one side of the cask ran a
length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen
jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth
to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was
a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This
equipment was owned by this household and
borrowed by others when there was occasion
to make a large supply. New wine was sweet
and had some rice in it. Later it became sour
or strong of alcohol.

796 Bean curd was made as follows: The soy
beans and water were dipped with a small
252 wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in
527 the upper of two millstones set on a wooden
frame at a convenient height. From between
the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a
trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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527

anything added to cause it to curdle. The mill was turned in one of two ways: Either a wooden handle stuck up beside the upper millstone so that one operator had to lean over to turn it, or a curved beam rose from the rod in the side of this stone and had a handle at right angles to it, supported by a rope from the beam above. One or two persons pushed and pulled this around. I helped when they were making bean curd at the time of the second old lady's funeral. A hot fire of straw and grass was kept burning beneath one of the large bowls. Into it the operator of the mill poured the contents of the buckets of bean milk until it was full. When the milk had boiled up it was poured into a wicker tray or scoop with a cloth in it, set over a wooden cask. When the whey had gone through, hastened by some pressure on the cloth, the cloth was laid on a flat board and the curd cut into squares.

The killing of the New Year pig was the occasion of an offering to the household gods and a feast in which all the dishes contained pork. In our family it was killed a week before New Year's Day. The old man's brother from Yang-niu-ts'un and his son, who went to school in Lung-li, the old man from House 33, and his sons helped. When I arrived a small table was set on the steps before the door. In the center of it was a *sheng* measure of rice with lighted incense sticks set in it, and at each corner a rice bowl containing (1) wine, (2) bean curd, (3) chillies, and (4) salt. To one corner of the table were fastened two long bamboo poles, both of which had some strips of white paper and leaves at the top. One was split finely to make a holder in which a bowl was set. The pig killed was a large one, worth well over a thousand Chinese dollars. The blood had been allowed to drip into a tub, after which the carcass had been put on a wooden frame, and the bristles scraped off. The entrails had been taken out and were being washed. The animal had been cut squarely in two from snout to tail. The two parts of the pig were taken into the hall and set on boards on the floor. They were then weighed and the women took pieces to make the dishes of the feast. The one I attended was of the following dishes: pig's blood broth, carrots and pork, celery and pork, and a soup

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of fat and lean pork, with a seasoning of chillies. All but the old man drank wine. I was invited to eat with the men and boys. The other women ate in the hall. After the feast the pig was cut up and the relatives went home with a big piece of it and two bunches of carrots. They gave me a piece of lean and a piece of fat. 796 252 527

The next day there was mist everywhere and it became colder and colder until there was ice all over the mountains, bending the bamboo down to the ground. It was thick enough on rice fields so that the children cut slabs of it and carried them about. There was also some snow. This weather pleased the people very much. They said it meant that the crops would be good this year. Mo-mei spent most of these days making a new long garment for her oldest cousin as she sat by my fire. Some of the other girls were there one day, and on another, one of the women from House 11 came. 796 527

The oldest nephew, Cheng-hsüan, and the son Cheng-hsiang spent most of the last day of the twelfth month writing appropriate New Year inscriptions in black on red or orange, and in white on blue paper. They got these formulae from a book of them. These strips of paper were pasted on the door frames and window frames, top and both sides. Red or orange indicated that the family was not in mourning, blue or white that it was. Those on blue paper Cheng-hsüan sent to his old home in Yang-niu-ts'un, as his mother had died during the year. (Cause of death: heart disease with edema.) That evening a feast was held in the big house at which the dishes were of pork — several of them — "long life noodles," bean curd, and a kind of spoon bread with egg in it. There were piles and piles of glutinous rice cakes laid out in the hall, and two young men were pounding more of the paste in a mortar. Some of the cakes had beans in them. I had given the family a large roll of firecrackers, half of which they set off at this time. The small boys scrambled for the paper cases. Incense sticks were set in at one side of the door sills of both the "new" and the "old" houses and the gate into the court.

The next morning they set off the rest of the roll of firecrackers and all had a special

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
252 before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
[124] pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
527 then other things in turn. I sat until noon
with the old man and his second wife and
found them very ready to answer questions
about family history. The conversation led
into that channel in an interesting way. The
old man had been reading about Roosevelt in
the newspaper and asked me questions, being
most desirous of knowing whether there were
many people named Lo in the United States.
(The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and
he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo
his surname.) I explained, and said that Roose-
velt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's an-
cestors had come from Holland to the United
States. That led the old man to tell me of the
migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell
Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned
earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
527 lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual
place, but they had no visitors as yet. During
the day children went around from house to
house making bows from the waist or kneel-
ing and knocking the head to the ground.
They were given sunflower seeds and parched
beans and peas. That evening the family had
another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
533 fires in the houses, the women about several
527 fires at certain points in the village and just
inside the wood. The same women usually
composed each group, but now and then one
would visit a group not her own. The girls
now sat about two fires and their "chaper-
ones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell
Miao boys from other villages came each day.
There was much playing on bamboo flutes
which seemed to call for a certain tune. They
sang such songs as the farewell to the bride
a great deal and made up more words for it.
One of the young men wrote out for me the
song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered
292 overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
123 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'

[2] See p. 8.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

527 style and half married women's style, as it
796 included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and
292 taught me how to swing shoulders and hips
123 to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her
574 best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in
527 Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 **San Yüeh San.**[3] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village
796 built three fires at the shrine on the south,
527 killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[3] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine. 796 782 527

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village.

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter. 796 527 769

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves – roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5–17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking.

796 527 769

Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.[5] This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice — yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn.

796 527

Tuan Yang.[6] In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21–June 4.)

[6] The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 527 Lung Hui.[7] For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

796 541 Bullfights (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.[8] The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, *f*). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

[7] "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 544 the fights were going on a large group of men brought their caged thrushes together in one place to hear them sing against one another.

For this occasion both young men and young women wore very good clothing, new if possible. There were not many married women present. Two girls wore a silver ornament on the back of the overpiece (fig. 17, *c*), consisting of silver chains of beads to one silver cowrie shell, then to three, and then to five silver bells of various shapes. These made a fine tinkling as they walked. Two girls were dressed in the layers of colored blouses with embroidered pieces on the upper sleeves and silver disks covering the whole overpiece, trousers, and aprons, but not the pleated skirt. Several wore the fancy scarf on the turban. Two young men played the *lu sheng* at intervals during the afternoon.

The fights lasted from about ten o'clock in the morning to late afternon, when the guests went to the nearby villages. For much of the night the girls and young men played the *lu sheng*, talked and sang. The next day they went home, but the fights were held for three successive afternoons. I was invited to spend two weeks in Yang-ñiu-ts'un with relatives of those from Yang-chia-sai.

Another was held on this same field early in the eighth month of the lunar calendar. On the tenth, one was held at Hsin-ch'ang, a market town a little over a mile from Yang-ñiu-ts'un. It took place in a level space just outside the village, with the road leading into the village crossing it well to one side. There were two slopes here, also. Only a few people stood on the west one, though they were joined by others as the sun came lower. It was a very hot day. Each group of villagers had flags of white with a design which faintly resembled a dragon on them, and staves topped with a rosette of white chicken feathers and other rosettes of colored paper at intervals along them.

We were early enough this time for the ceremony of *ta ch'ang*.* This was a procession consisting of groups of men, including one or two in the orange or yellow robes of the

*The opening ceremony.

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priest. One priest led the bull, one man had a gong, one a long stick upon which was festooned a long, lighted string of firecrackers, two trumpets, and several villagers the banners and staves. Most of the bulls were covered with bright cloths of various colors or with red ribbons. The procession followed the foot of the hill upon which we stood, went around a clump of trees well beyond it, along the foot of the opposite hill, around the whole village and back to the field, where the bulls were divested of their finery and the banners and staves were set up in their former places. The "field" was thus defined as a plowed part which had been somewhat leveled off, one sodded and more level, some land on either side of the stone road leading into the village, and the village itself. As the procession moved nine gunpowder charges were set off twice at each end of the plowed section.

At this fight there was no gong when a fight was to be held, but a group of men with bamboo staves in their hands went to invite two bulls at either end of the field to be led on. It was so hot that only one really good fight took place. Most of the bulls just looked at one another as if to say, "Well, what do you think of that thing!" and then looked away. Sometimes one at once turned and ran.

It was market day at Hsin-ch'ang and those who attended the market also watched the fight. For the occasion even the little girls wore their best. This included the embroidered scarf on the turban showing the design on the edge, silver on the overpiece up to a maximum, which was the whole front and shoulder pieces covered with silver disks, large and small, four-petalled flowers of cowrie shells in the back with rows of shells suspended from them in two tiers, and a silver ornament consisting of chains, shells, and bells. It must have represented a goodly sum of money, as it could be bought only with real silver in the lump or Chinese silver dollars. Dr. Wu, in his account of the fight and sacrifice held each twelfth year, the initial one of a cycle, or "the year of the rat," speaks of a bullfight as a harvest festival coming after the harvest, when the period of relaxation begins, but this particular fight came right in the midst of harvest when the villagers were at their busiest.

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Two other fights I saw were held on the tenth of the ninth month of one year and the nineteenth of the ninth month the next year, at the meadow just outside Yang-chia-sai. Just before the first one we had been having bad weather for some time and, while it did not rain that day, it was still gray, misty in the valleys, and wet under foot. There was also a cold northeast wind. Therefore, fewer came than would have been the case had the weather been fine and the roads dry. The crowd seemed to be composed mostly of Chung-chia and Chinese from neighboring villages, with only a few visiting Cowrie Shell Miao. The audience filled the rise of ground with grave mounds on it to the east of the field. Sellers of noodles, nuts, candy, and wine occupied a piece of ground nearby.

Before the fights began a table was set up in the middle of the field and the usual objects of worship set upon it: a measure of rice with candles and incense sticks set in it, bowls of wine, and so on. The priests, of whom there were five, bowed to the ground before it before the *ta ch'ang* procession took place. After the procession it was removed and a cluster of lighted incense sticks was stuck in the ground at that place until they burned down. The procession consisted of five boys bearing large red banners on bamboo poles, a group of musicians, the five priests in orange silk robes, of whom the first carried a horn of wine which he spilled as he walked. The others carried umbrellas. After them came men with firecrackers and gongs and the gayly decked bulls, each led by one man. Some bulls without trappings did not go in the procession. This one followed the road to the south, around the group of Chinese houses and the temple, coming back to the highway along the wood, thence to the Tu Ti Miao, and onto the field, where they disbanded. The larger element of worship may have been due to the presence of important ancestral graves near by. However, this may have taken place at the Hsin-ch'ang field. I could not see what took place about a table there.

There were about a dozen bulls at the Yang-chia-sai fight and the fights were about as usual — some acted bored, one or two ran right off the field, two stampeded toward the

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sellers of food, and there were one or two really good fights. The banners were washed next day, and kept by our family.

The day of the fight held at the same place on the nineteenth of the ninth month of the following year was a bitterly cold one. So few bulls were brought that there was no procession. There was a larger group of Cowrie Shell Miao there than on the former occasion, however, because a young man in the village had just been married and the large group of wedding guests from other villages was still there. Several of the village girls put on their best clothes. There was one stam-

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pede into the sellers of sweetmeats which created much excitement and amusement, but no harm was done. Two bulls fought extremely well. Even after one bull had run off the field the other pursued him and continued the fight in a rice field until one of them had had enough and ran again. After the fights a feast was held at the home of the bridegroom, to which they invited me. The bride and her attendants and the bridegroom had already gone back to her village. Some of the guests sat at tables outside, but there was a group of men in one house and a group of the principal women guests in the other. I was asked to eat with them.

[78 b]

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Bullfighting Among the Cowrie Shell Miao*

DR. WU TZU-LIN**

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Bullfighting among the Cowrie Shell Miao is a part of ancestral worship. Originally it was an act in the great sacrifice when they killed a bull to pay reverence to their ancestors, doubtless so that the ancestors might see that only the value of a bull was sufficient to express their respect for so important a divinity. In the economy of an agricultural village, to kill a bull every year is an impossibility because of poverty, so that among the Cowrie Shell Miao each *tzu* year the wealthy do it once, and it is called *ta*. Between two such sacrifices there must be an interval of eleven full years, but in these eleven years they must do much in the way of preparation. First, the selection of the bull is an especially important thing. Bulls which clash horns must be male water buffalo, and their physique and the form of their horns are all extremely important. Besides, they pay special attention to the feeding of the bull. The daily work of the bull is comparatively light, the food, however, comparatively rich. Until almost the time of the duel what they eat is special, so that the bulls selected to fight are reared to be large, fat, and, of course, quite unlike those used for plowing.

Bullfights are all conducted in the ninth or tenth month of the Chinese calendar. On the one hand, of course, it is a token of remembrance of the ancestors; on the other, it is a kind of ritual pastime at a comparatively short interval after harvest. Having worked all year, in their big meeting on this day they forget all their troubles. So, although the formal sacrifice of killing a bull must come at intervals of eleven years, really the two or three pre-

*From an article in a local newspaper in Kweiyang, 1940.

[78c]

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ceding the sacrifice are all a preliminary to the fight. Thus, in ordinary years, while the bullfight is little like *the* fight, yet sometimes it has a period of preliminary offering. The elders of the villages used to make their decision and, about Ch'ing Ming, send a notice inscribed on a tablet of wood to villages within a radius of ten li to make their selection. In recent years instead of wood they use the red scroll and write on it, "Having fixed such and such a day of such and such a month, we hope each relative or friend who has a bull will come and bring it. So and so respectfully gives notice."

The arena for the fight is a piece of level land near a village or a rice field trampled smooth after water has been put upon it. Before the fight, at about nine in the morning, all the families lead the bulls to the field and, after they have assembled begin a *fu ch'ang* ritual. Each family makes the bull go around the boundary of the arena, with the body of the bull covered with red cloth and red silk given by relatives and friends. Wealthy people also put on the tips of the horns a sheath of silver three to four inches long. The priest puts on a yellow robe and, carrying in his hands a bull's horn full of rice wine, follows the bull, from time to time pouring wine on the path. A man following strikes a gong and another sets off firecrackers to add dignity. This is the first act of the fight.

From noon to three in the afternoon is the actual time of bullfighting. At the field the elders of the villages take charge. They also appoint a man as master of ceremonies, who roughly selects bulls of

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equal body and horn points and matches them as fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop.

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As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second set of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone—first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on

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4:Mickey E.5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*. 796 782

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example. 796 782 252 [562]

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health. 796 782 527

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After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always have ten or more pair put away. After an old person in the family dies all the families who have them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

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luck until after burial, when it is put away. After the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This sign then can be observed from a great distance.

[80b]

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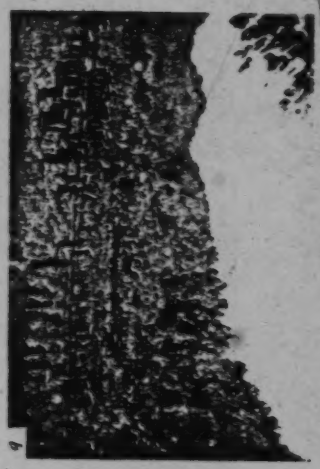

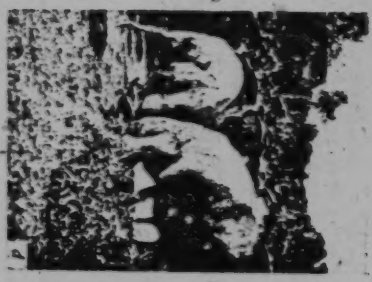

FIGURE 17 — ARTICLE No. 15

[For captions, see p. 90b. -- Analyst]

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a, Two women of the village following the path across the buffalo bullfighting meadow. *b*, Men on the bullfighting field, procession in the background. *c*, Back view of girls viewing bullfight, showing silver ornaments, embroidery band, and turbans. *d*, Bulls actually fighting. *e*, Group of men at bullfight with caged thrushes. *f*, Bulls fighting and spectators, showing group of men with staves.

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worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [346]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356]

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water in which the pig and entrails have been washed, are buried in this hole. Everything unclean is deposited here, nothing is thrown outside. The pig is then cut into pieces and heart, liver, stomach, everything placed into a large iron pan and boiled. At the same time millet or buckwheat is steamed, to be eaten with the boiled pig; meanwhile a strict silence is observed. When millet and pig are ready for eating, the family squat on the floor, and partake of a sacramental feast. The meat is taken with the fingers from a large wooden basin, and the millet with wooden ladles from a basket; and this is for them a kind of holy communion. The sons of the household and the immolator's wife share the meal, but not the daughters, since they some day will marry into another clan. All bones and gristle are burnt. At the end of the meal each participant stands over the fire, where with both hands he wipes his mouth, throwing the breath, as it were, into the flames, and then holding the hands over the fire, he rubs them together. In this manner, hands, mouth and breath are all cleansed. With the exception of the father and the eldest son, the inmates of the house now retire to sleep. Father and son wait until an hour or two before sunrise, when, standing near the door, the father eats a small piece of the cooked meat and in the hearing of his son quietly repeats a formula handed down from generation to generation: "We worship thee, oh door. Keep away sickness, keep away disease, keep away slander, keep away all that is injurious." With the dawn

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the 755
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribes-people. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

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drunkenness and immorality. The Miao had been accustomed to holding a great annual gathering on the hillside on the fifth day of the fifth moon, when thousands of people would meet together and, to the playing of pipes and the singing of love songs, they would let loose their passions. This festal day Pollard captured for Jesus Christ and in place of the riotous merrymaking, there was a joyous singing of Christian hymns taught to the Miao on the tonic sol-fa system, the preaching of the Word, and in later years an exhibition of skill and drill given by schoolchildren. It is not the purpose of this book to give the details of those early days. These can all be read in the Rev. W. A. Grist's well-documented book on *Samuel Pollard;* from Mr. E. H. Hayes's book on *Sam Pollard of Yunnan;* and in Sam Pollard's own *The Story of the Miao.* It is necessary, however, that readers should realise the extent of Pollard's parish, and there is no more adequate description of this than Pollard's own account: "If a day's journey were supposed to be about twenty or twenty-five miles over rough mountainous roads, then in the North East the Mission stretches five days, to the East three days, to the South East four and a half days, in the North West three and a half days, Westward two and a half days and in the South West three and a half days." During the next few years in carefully selected centres throughout the district, chapels were built and schools opened. The chief of these were Rice Ear Valley, Long Sea, Great Level, Halfway House and Heavenborn

776 755 9. The Eagle Spirit. If someone feels weak and painful all over the body while walking outside the village or in the field, you can take a small chicken, circle it around the sick person's head a few times, and then send it to a distant place. He will soon get well.

10. The Dragon Tail Spirit. If walking in the field one finds great pain in one's legs, it is because this spirit is giving trouble. Make a flag out of a piece of flower paper and walk with it around the field, and the pain in the leg will cease.

11. The Tree Spirit. Meeting this spirit gives one pain all over the body. To cure this illness take a piece of good meat, a cup of tea and a bowl of rice to the tree spirit in the village. After the sacrifice the sickness will be cured.

12. The Buffalo Spirit. When one meets this spirit one has a swollen stomach. Take a bowl of ashes from wheat husk and scatter it outside the village.

13. The Earth Spirit. One vomits after meeting this spirit, and the method of cure is the same as that for the sickness caused by the buffalo spirit.

14. The Wine Spirit. This spirit gives a person giddiness, and to get rid of him one burns three pieces of paper money outside the house.

15. The Mother Pig Spirit. Meeting this spirit one feels feverish all over the body. Take a pair of candles and several sticks of incense, stick them up beside the door, and this spirit will go away.

776 796 (3) The Village God. After the spring sacrifice to the tree god the Miao and I people within the hsien district would chop off a piece of wood to make a pair of idols to be placed in front of the village gate, or sometimes in a low

house erected for the god for the special pur- 776
pose of guarding the village gate, such as the 796
Chinese earth buddha. This is known among the Miao-I as the village god who maintains peace and security for the entire population of the village. Every sixth day of the sixth moon the village makes a public sacrifice to this god.

(4) The Tree God. The Miao-I people always plant trees at the back of their village. The woods thus formed is known as the "Rear Dragon", and there the biggest tree is chosen as the tree god. The villagers dare not touch a blade of grass or a twig of wood in the woods. If inadvertently one picks up something and becomes sick, one is said to have offended the tree god. Every year on the head-dragon day of the second moon the villagers would build a straw pavilion before the tree god as an altar for sacrifice, and the sacrificial ritual is led by the Kwei-shih. All villagers participate in the ceremony, bringing meat and rice as gifts.

/91/ (5) The Buffalo King and the Horse King. Near the larger Miao-I villages in the hsien area there are low huts built for the buffalo king and the horse king, whom the Miao-I worship diligently because they look after the welfare of the cattle in the village. The eleventh day of the tenth moon is set aside for the worship of the buffalo king; and the twenty-third day of the sixth moon, for the horse king. The sacrifice is made with a cock and a pig's head. If there is sickness among the cattle in the village, then the cure is effected by sacrificing good meat, paper and candles before the respective gods.

(6) The Spirit Tablet. The Miao-I have 769
adopted the Chinese custom of ancestral worship, placing in the family hall, no matter how small and ugly, a wooden tablet, on which are pasted words such as "the Seat of the Heaven and Earth Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others.

000 Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others.

• 796 (7) Sweeping the Village. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao every year stage a village sweeping ceremony, the idea being to avoid sickness and disaster during the year. The conditions and rituals of the two being different, they are separately described as follows:

796 791 (A) Village Sweeping of the Hua Miao. Every year on the head dragon day of the second moon, the Hua Miao would collect enough money in the village to perform village sweeping. They first put up a straw pavilion in front of the tree god, in which incense and candles are lit, and led by the Kwei-shih each family would come forth to worship and make sacrifices of rice. After the ceremony is over, the gathering proceeds to a nearby river to dig up a few piculs of river sand, and thence to the mountain to gather a few dozen rattan vines. They twist the rice straw into ropes, on which they fly little colored pennants. Then the Kwei-shih would tie the ropes around the tree god, the earth god and the village god. Next he would visit every family in the village, holding a cock in one hand and dragging a dog with the other; he was followed by the villagers carrying sand and rattan vines. Reaching each house, Kwei-shih would circle around the hall with the cock and dog, and upon leaving, tie a rope on the gate. Sprinkling sand all around and shaking the rattan vines, the party would give a loud yell. When all the households are visited and serviced, the villagers would gather together outside the village, killing the chicken and dog and cooking them in a huge cauldron for a feast.

(B) Village Sweeping of the Ch'ing Miao. One of the days toward the end of the lunar New Year or in the second moon is set aside for village sweeping by the Ch'ing Miao. A few days before the event the village head who happens to

be in charge that year through a system of rotation would collect ten cents from each family for the purpose of purchasing chicken, duck, beancurd, paper money, incense, candles and colored paper. With the paper they make little triangular flags and stick them on the gate. The Kwei-shih would carry a long knife in the right hand and a dragon-head cane in the left, and followed by a man carrying a chicken and a duck, would descend upon each household, wielding the sword and shouting: 796 791

I come not your money to clear,
Nor your rice I level;
Surely I come not to take your lady dear,
But I sweep off the devil --
To the western area.

After the ceremony all family members crowd around the Kwei-shih as they move out of the village to a three-forked road in the west. Tossing the dragon-head cane onto the ground, the Kwei-shih burns it up with lighted papers and candles. Then, after killing the chicken and the duck, he sprinkles the blood on the road. The chicken and duck are cooked together with beancurd and other foodstuffs in a huge cauldron and eaten by the villagers on the roadside.

(8) The Chia Performance. When a person dies among the Hua Miao, the rest of the family would pray to him for their safety and health. If the years after his death prove prosperous to the family, then on passing the thirteenth year its members would perform Chia or the great Chai, involving the sacrifice of a buffalo in his memory. If at that time the family does not have the means to make a sacrifice, then the Kwei-shih may be invited to respectfully inform the deceased person of a postponement of the sacrificial date. Before performing Chia 769

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who are not Christians do not pray to or worship any Supreme Being. 771

This is the more remarkable as they have the story of a Creation. The Heh Miao say Vang-vai made heaven and earth, and Zie-ne made other things, but they never worship Vang-vai or Zie-ne. The Hua Miao say that in the beginning there was no heaven and earth. There was a man named Gloe-an, and his wife Ngo-a, and these had two sons. The elder, beating about with a brass hammer, made forty-eight heavens, or a heaven in forty-eight parts. The younger son, with an iron hammer, beat about and made earth in forty-eight compartments. We never heard of them worshipping these persons. 773

All the Miao have musical festivals once or twice a year, now in one part of the country and now in another. If asked why they hold these festivals, they say that if they failed to do so their harvests would be bad; and yet they do not profess to understand how the harvests are influenced by this custom. If ever there was a religious element in their musical festivals, there does not seem to be anything religious about them now. As at present conducted they are fêtes, attended by the people from all the countryside, at which there is not 796 527

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796 527 only music but also pony-running and buffalo fights. These fêtes are great occasions for social intercourse among the old folk and for courting among the young. A young man once remarked to a missionary, "If I do not go to the festivals I shall never get a wife." Scores and hundreds of girls are to be seen there in all the glory of richly-embroidered clothes and heavy silver ornaments, and just as many young men in their finery.

534 The musical instrument they play at these festivals they call *Ki*, and the Chinese call it *Lu sen* or "six tones." They are made of bamboo pipes, sometimes six being let into a piece of wood like a hollow club, the handle of which is the mouth-piece. The noise—perhaps we ought to say sound—is produced by a brass tongue attached to a small metal frame (such as are used in concertinas and harmoniums) let into the bamboo tube, one in each of them. The sound is something like the sound of the bagpipes. They are made in sets of different sizes, the smallest having pipes about three feet long, and the largest with pipes twelve or fourteen feet long. The lower end of the large pipes is put into a drum or cylinder three or four feet long, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree. These large reeds give forth a very creepy

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sound, the lowest note, we believe, to which 534
mortal ears are sensible. The tunes they play
are very monotonous.

At the Heh Miao festivals, five players in a 535
row, with instruments of different sizes, wheel 796
round and round the man who plays the large
pipes with the drum. A row of five young
women go round with them, sometimes facing
them and moving backwards, sometimes behind
and following. To alter their position the
young women wheel outside of the circle, let
the pipers go round, and then wheel in again.
This they call dancing, but there is no real
dancing about it; it is merely pacing, yet it
seems to interest them, and they do it very
seriously. We think it must be reckoned bad
form for them to laugh or smile while thus
engaged, for we have seen the girls severely
exerting themselves to keep their faces straight,
when they evidently wanted at least to smile.
As for the pipers, it is no laughing or smiling 533
matter for them. They exert themselves so 796
much that their cheeks are swollen, their eyes
seem to stand out of their heads, and the
perspiration streams down their red faces.
We have seen thirty or forty of these groups
of ten, circling round on one plot of ground,
hemmed in by hundreds of spectators. The

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533 796 sound of so many pipes all playing independently at the same time and place is certainly not music, and soon becomes positively exasperating to some ears. On the edge of the crowd are sweetstuff and cake sellers, and other hawkers moving about.

796 All the Miao have these festivals, but the music and pacing are not the same. Among the Hua Miao and Shui-hsi Miao, the women do not dance, but men dressed up in women's clothes, with their hair done up like women, take their place. Among the Hua Miao, all the babies born during the year are taken to these festivals, and carried about on the backs of their fathers. Many of the Miao villages around Anshunfu have, besides the pipes, their own band of four musicians, provided with a drum, a pair of cymbals, and two flageolets or flutes. These musicians are often invited and paid by the Chinese to play at their marriages, funerals, and other functions.

541 796 The pony-runnings at these festivals are not races, and there are no prizes given. A piece of land is selected, level or nearly level, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. Along this they gallop in a line one after another. On reaching the end of the course they turn off, and walk or trot back again to the starting-

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place, like boys who have made a slide on the ice. When on the course they gallop the ponies at the top of their speed. Any one on a pony can join in or leave off when he likes.

We have attended these festivals, but have never seen a buffalo fight. We have seen men urging on the buffaloes to fight with one another, but the animals either did not understand what was expected of them or they had too much sense to do anything so foolish. On one occasion we saw a buffalo, exasperated by these attempts, break away from its tormentors and tear away at full speed across the ground. It overturned a pony and its rider, but did not attempt to gore them. All the buffalo wanted was to get clear away, and as everybody there showed the utmost possible alacrity to give it plenty of room, it succeeded. We have heard, however, that buffaloes do fight sometimes at these festivals, and that now and then one gets killed in the contest. They also fight sometimes of their own accord. We once saw two combatant buffaloes with their horns locked together, and half of the village pulling at ropes attached to their hind legs. They were finally pulled apart, and neither of them seemed any the worse for the encounter.

The Miao and, we think, all the other races

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764 the oxen killed among them are killed as offerings to their ancestors or to demons. We were
782 never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven
796 and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

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him to drink and make horns of rice biscuits which they put on his head. Then two girls herd six cows to the left and six to the right. Then the *liu shêng* is played, and while it is being played the twelve cows fight. Some of the cows as supposed to be killed. The people pretend to offer the cows that are killed to the ancestors and then to eat them. Those who do not die are left to do farm work and to get married. Four dressed as girls pretend to get married to four of the cows. After the marriage the four men play the *liu shêng* and dance, two women play flutes, one woman makes music on a tree leaf and one woman carries an imitation baby, pretending to suckle it and to bestow affection upon it. The women rub soot upon the faces of the men until their faces are black. Then those who are playing the *liu shêng* beat the child. About daybreak, the dummy child is beaten to pieces and the ceremony soon ends. The drum is sometimes carried to a cliff and rolled down the cliff or simply laid down on the side of the mountain after which the people disperse.

It is noteworthy that all Ch'uan Miao who have the same name can participate in this ceremony, not merely those who are known to be related. It indicates that the clan idea still survives and that all having the same surname are regarded as relatives.

There is a special ceremony to make offerings to the souls of the domestic animals. It occurs on the third day of the third lunar month or on a cow day (a day controlled by the cow or the water-buffalo) during the first few days of the eleventh moon. It is generally performed on tops of hills or mountains or on mountain passes. A level place is always sought for the ceremony which is continued for from three to eight days.

The ceremony occurs once in three years. One family gives it and provides most of the food and wine although others assist. The purpose is to secure sons and daughters, to cause crops to prosper and to protect the domestic animals from wild beasts and from pestilences and to cause them to multiply.

A tree is cut off about as high as a man's head and the ceremonial drum is hung up on the stump. The tree is called in Chinese a *hua shu* 花樹 or a flower tree. Near the tree a bull is killed while the drum is being beaten and the *liu shêng* is being played and it is offered with wine to the animal spirits. Then several men playing the *liu shêng* and dancing parade three times to the left around the tree, then three times to the right. All this time the ceremonial drum is being beaten.

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796 After the parade, playing the *liu shêng* and dancing continues and songs are sung. The singing sometimes becomes a contest to see who can remember and sing the most songs. After each song the singer ties a knot somewhere on the tree or on his person so that after the contest the knots can be counted and the winner determined. Of course during these ceremonies the animal that is sacrificed is cooked, wine, rice, corn and vegetables are added and there is a feast.

VI. THE CALENDAR AND THE CALENDAR FESTIVALS

[177] The Ch'uan Miao use the lunar calendar like the Chinese from whom they have probably learned it. There are normally twelve months in the year but sometimes thirteen. The month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Ch'uan Miao are becoming acquainted with the western calendar.

787 As among the Chinese, there are twelve creatures with reference to whom lucky and unlucky days are determined. These are the rat, the cow or water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep or goat, the monkey, the cock, the dog and the pig. The hours, days, months and years are controlled by these creatures in succession. The lucky creatures are the cow or water-buffalo, the dragon, the dog, the pig, the sheep or goat, the horse, and the cock. The unlucky are the monkey, the rat, the snake, the hare and the tiger. The days, months and years controlled by the unlucky creatures are unlucky and those controlled by the lucky creatures are lucky. Important journeys should not be begun, sales made or projects started on unlucky days. But engagements should be made on dog and on dragon days, and burials on snake or on rabbit days. The souls of animals are sometimes commemorated in the eleventh moon on cow days.

The seasonal or calendar festivals are as follows:—

796 **The first day of the first moon,** or New Year's Day. New leaves of the tea tree are used to symbolize the fact that the new year has come and tea is made from these leaves. Biscuits or *pa pa* 粑粑 are made of rice, corn, or some other kind of grain and bean curd is cooked. After offering these things to the deceased ancestors, with sweetmeats, the descendants have a family meal at which they eat the same things. The ancestors must be invited to this meal.

The second day of the first moon. On this day the ancestors rest. There are no ceremonies of commemoration and no offerings, although the ancestors are regarded as present. The living play and enjoy themselves.

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The third day of the first moon. The same edibles are offered to the ancestors as on the first day after which there is a family meal at which the same things are eaten. Then the ancestors are ceremoniously sent away to the level land of Ntso. That is, they are sent away with kind and respectful words and sometimes imitation paper money is burnt for the use of the ancestors in Hades.

The fifteenth day of the first moon. The wife may visit her parents on this day. Wine, cooked rice and pork or some other kind of meat are offered to the ancestors, after which the family has a meal at which the same things are eaten. At this festival the ancestors must be invited to come.

The third day of the third moon. Many visit the graves on this day and make offerings to the ancestors. It is fitting for young brides to visit their parents at this time. At this festival the deceased ancestors must be invited to come and enjoy the feast.

The fifth day of the fifth moon, the *tuan yang* 端陽 festival. Weddings are likely to occur on this day and the ancestors are commemorated as on New Year Day. Offerings are made, and the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake, after which there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten as have been offered to the ancestors.

The ceremony of tasting new grain. After the rice and corn have ripened and often before it is harvested, there is a ceremony called *shang hsin* 嘗新 or "taste new." Nobody will eat the new grain until this ceremony has been performed. Each home fixes the date as it pleases regardless of other families. Some of the new grain is picked and offered, with vegetables, meat and wine, to the ancestors, after which there is a family meal. Formerly a certain kind of green bird had to be killed and offered up at this festival but now it is no longer necessary. The idea seems to be that before the living can eat any of the new grain some of it must be offered to the ancestors.

The thirteenth day of the seventh moon. On this day the ancestors return without being invited. They are offered wine, rice, corn, pork, chicken and vegetables, after which there is the usual family meal. Paper or spirit money is burnt as an offering, which was not formerly done.

The fifteenth day of the eighth moon. The same offerings are made as on the thirteenth day of the seventh moon, including paper money, but the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake. This is the Chinese *chong ch'iu* 中秋 festival.

The ninth day of the ninth moon. The offerings are the same as on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon and the

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796 tirteenth day of the seventh moon and there is a similar family meal. The ancestors must be invited to come.

The first day of the tenth moon. The ancestors must be invited to come. Biscuits, called *pa pa* in Chinese, are made of rice or some other grain. They are first offered to the ancestors and then they are eaten by the family. No other food or drink is offered or eaten.

The thirtieth day of the twelfth moon. At this time the ancestors are welcomed back home. A stone is sometimes heated red hot, then placed outside the front door and water poured on it. Biscuits and tea are offered to the ancestors then wine and later rice and meat, but no vegetables. Beef, pork, and chicken can be used. After these have been offered to the ancestors, there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten.

It should be noted that these calendar festivals correspond very closely to those of the Chinese in West China and that the commemorating of and making of offerings to the deceased ancestors is the primary concern in all of them.

VII. THE LANGUAGE

[193] 194 The language of the Ch'uan Miao is monosyllabic and tonal. The verb follows the subject and the object the verb, but the adjective follows the noun. Instead of saying the black dog it is customary to say the dog black.

Among the sounds to be distinguished are the aspirate and the nonaspirate, the French *j*, the dental *t*, the nasal *n*, the Welsh *l* and an uvular *g*. An initial *n* or *m* before other consonants is more common than in most other languages. For instance, the word nts'ao means grass and mba means pig. One distinction of sound is nothing else than a stronger emphasis in pronouncing the word or sound. For instance, the word ma meaning have is pronounced with the ordinary stress but the words ma for buy and ma for sell must be pronounced with a greater stress of voice.

It is commonly believed that the language has five tones. The fact is that it has nine tones. The first tone is high, and the voice is kept level. The second tone is the lowest, and is also level. Their difference in tone is about one octave. The third tone begins at one and descends almost to two. The fourth begins at the second and ascends almost to one. The fifth is half-way between one and two and corresponds to the Chinese fifth tone. The sixth begins at five and descends to two. The seventh is about half-way between five and one and is pronounced with a slightly greater stress of voice than the others. The eighth begins at five and ascends to one. The ninth is about half-way between five and two, is level,

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If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it. Then the patient recovers.

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In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth.

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggled at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called gla ʒ lo or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinsee characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different steps of the ceremony were explained as follows.

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1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

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6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shêng* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

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I. REPETITIONS WHILE MAKING OFFERING AT THE NEW YEAR'S TIME

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The year is ended. The night of the twelfth moon and the thirtieth day has come. The dead ancestors are invited to come and eat rice biscuits. I give the rice biscuits to the ancestors with my own hands.

When the rice biscuits have been eaten, you must go and remove diseases and remove calamities and remove pains and remove quarrels and remove sins. You must leave them on the roads of the Lolo and the Chinese. You must add to the strength of your descendants so we can go and sow. You must add to their power so they can make clearings in the wilderness, so that your descendants will have food and clothing. Then you will have meat to eat and wine to drink and your descendants will sacrifice to three generations of female and male ancestors.

You come first (and eat). Now I will make the offerings with my (own) hands. Come and eat. Now I will invite my own ancestors of three generations with all the dead relatives of three generations, all to come together and eat.

(When he has spoken to this place, he must invite them to come and eat, beginning with the oldest, calling each of them by name, until he has reached his own parents (if they are dead). He must certainly mention them by name one by one and give food to each one. When he is through making the offerings, then he may eat himself. The husband is always invited first, then the wife, then another male).

II. WORDS REPEATED AT NEW YEAR'S TIME, ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR WHILE MAKING OFFERINGS

First a pot of new rice must be cooked. Fresh water and new tea leaves must be used to make tea. First tea must be offered to the ancestors. When the tea has been offered then they offer rice and meat. He repeats the following while making the offerings.

The first day of the new year has come. Your descendants have cooked new rice. The new year will become ten thousand years (for the descendants). We offer to you a wooden spoon (in which food is given) so you can eat the new year meal. xʌu lo xai (come and eat and drink). Let the female and male ancestors of three generations come together to eat the New Year feast. xʌu lo xai. When you have eaten, you must come and increase the strength of your descendants so that they can plow and sow the fields and the mountain wildernesses so that they can have food. If they have food and clothes then we will first make offerings to

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the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo-xai. When you have eaten, you must come and add many domestic animals and cause the crops to grow and cause the old forests and the uncultivated hills to grow (trees and grass), and cause many sons to be born and many grandsons. When the descendants have planted their crops, and made clearings in the wilderness, you must cause your descendants to get things to eat and drink and they will first make offerings to the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo xai.

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(When he has repeated to this point, he calls the names of the ancestors, one by one, beginning with the oldest, inviting them to come and eat and offering them food to eat. Sometimes the offerings are thrown on the ground, sometimes they are placed in a bowl on a table. Always the male is called on first, then his wife, then another male of a nearer generation.)

III. OFFERING WINE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY TO ANCESTORS

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the first day of the New Year. My three generations of female and male ancestors have come to drink New Year's wine. When you have drunk wine, you must lead your descendants forth to be scholars and civil officials and lead them to be military officials. After that you must look after your descendants so that they can raise many domestic animals. When you have drunk, you must make their descendants very numerous. You must cause the sons and grandsons to have food and drink. You must cause the descendants to accomplish so that they have meat to eat and wine to drink. Then they will first come and make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors so that you will all come and get (wine) to drink. When you have drunk and gone you must not nourish diseases (lest they come and injure us). You must not nourish groans, you must not nourish quarrels, you must not nourish crimes, but let the descendants farm and get food and drink. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so that they may come together and drink.

(When he has spoken up to this point, then he must mention the three generations of female and male ancestors and invite them to come and make offerings to them, from the oldest even including his own sons and daughters who are dead. When he has finished these offerings the living descendants may eat breakfast.)

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IV. OFFERINGS ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE NEW YEAR

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My grandmother and my grandfather, the third day of the New Year has arrived. The three generations of female and male ancestors have already been here three days. The big hill is trampled down (i.e., the grass, from the people enjoying themselves on the hills). Now we invite you to come and eat the biscuits you have left over. I am going to report to you so that you may depart. You will return to your places and stand among the reeds and sit among the flowers. You go and dig up grass roots to nourish your lips (to eat). You must go still more and dig up grass roots and roots of reeds to nourish your bodies. Now you have eaten. You must go and carry away illnesses (for the descendants). You must go and carry away pains, you must go and carry away quarrels, and you must go and fill up the pits of illness and fill up the pits of groans and fill up the pits of quarrels and you must also go and collect all kinds of pain and illness. When you have collected them you must increase the strength of your descendants to farm, open clearings in the wilderness and cut down deep forests. You must cause your descendants to have food to eat, then they will make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors. You have eaten. You must wait the year and month when you should come and then we will invite you to come and eat meat and eat rice. You have eaten, so go. If you become hungry you can in a dream at night imitate rain and wind as a sign (and we will know that you are hungry). (This is regarded as such an omen by the Chinese.) You must not come as a sickness or a pain and injure us lest your descendants have to eat wild berries behind the house (because of hunger) and become unable to make offerings to you. Please come and drink (wine) and when you are through drinking return to your place and come back at *tuan yang* 端陽.

V. TEA MUST BE OFFERED ON THE SAME DAY (THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST MOON)

It is the morning of the third day of the New Year. People are through playing on both the large and the small mountains. When the remaining biscuits are all eaten up you must drink tea. When you are through drinking tea, I will inform you that you must go to your country and dig reed roots to nourish your mouths and dig up grass roots with which to nourish your bodies. When you have drunk tea, you must go and remove calamities, sickness, quarrels, and bad things. You must increase the strength of your descendants so that they can farm, so that they will have strength to climb mountains like wild pheasants running, and

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go down hill like black snakes. When you have drunk it you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can go and farm. When they do their farming, do not let the grasshoppers eat it or white insects cut it off. Let your descendants have clothes and food. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations.

Now we want to invite the deceased ancestors all to come together and eat. When you are through eating, I will determine for you that you must wait until the fifth moon at *tuan yang* before we will again make offerings to you.

VI. OFFERINGS AT TUAN YANG 端陽 IN THE FIFTH MOON

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the fifth moon feast, *tuan yang*. We invite you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat the *tuan yang* meal. xai, xai, xai.

When you have eaten it, cause your descendants to be students and civil officials. When you have drunk, go and cause them to be soldiers. When you have eaten, cause the domestic animals of your descendants to be very numerous. When you have eaten, cause your descendants to multiply and cause your descendants to have clothing and food and drink. They will then first make offerings to their female and male ancestors for three generations so they can come and drink. When you have eaten, you go. If you are thirsty, you change to wind and rain and come first and come and reveal it to us. Do not become severe illnesses and come to injure us. You must protect your descendants so they will have food and drink before they can make offerings to you. Xai, xai, xai. (We are making offerings for you to eat).

(When this has been repeated to this place, the officiator must call by name, as before described, the departed ancestors for three generations).

VII. THE OFFERINGS AT THE CEREMONY OF EATING NEW GRAIN

Xai, xai, xai. We are making offerings to our female and male ancestors of three generations. Your descendants have harvested their crops and have not yet tasted them and to-day is a propitious day. We will first come and make offerings for you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat. When you have eaten them, you all come together and eat (the) new (grain). When you have eaten, you go and remove quarrels, add to the power of your descendants to do farming, and make clearings in the deep forests. Let your descendants have

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796 769 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they will come forward again and make offerings to the female and male descendants for three generations before you can have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 585 782 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xAu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xAu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

10: Graham E-5 (1921- ?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzɔ² Ti·⁵ lʌu² gʌu¹ bi⁸). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[146 cont.]

773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

12: Wu and Ch'en--98 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[148 cont.]

[114] (First published in Shê-hui yen-chiu [Sociological Studies], No. 20, March 25, 1941.)

[180]

The Festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun

Ch'en Kuo-chün

805 796 The calendar used by the various Miao-I tribes at An-shun is the lunar calendar, but as a rule nobody remembers dates or knows the exact time of the New Year's day, those having almanacs at home being very few. To count the days they generally use the symbolic animals of the twelve cyclical branches, -- rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar -- because the markets are held on days named after these animals. But those who can calculate the days according to them are very few. Indeed the majority of the people do not even know the day and month in which they were born. The occurrence of an event on a particular day cannot be recalled with accuracy a month hence, and after a year it is relegated to limbo with at most perhaps a vague notion that it took place at the time of peach blossom, or in the planting season, or during harvest time.

Although the calendar used by the Miao-I is identical to 796 that of the Chinese and likewise the year is divided into twelve months, the festivals observed are somewhat different in importance. The Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia, for instance, regard the sixth day of the sixth month as the greatest festival. The following is a month by month account of the festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun during the year.

The First Month. The first day of the first month is the beginning of the year. The Miao-I in this district would stick up paper money on the door of the house, which is also decorated with red peppers strung together with scented rice straw. Some of the Chung-chia people imitate the Chinese by asking calligraphers to pen symmetrical New Year verses for the door,

[180 cont.]
796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom [593] in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

[181 cont.]
796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and fire-crackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

[182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
241 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after
796 breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the
796 Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district 796 535 have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New 796 Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating [769] oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

[183]

796 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must at-
[461] tend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after
769 the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar
796 calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I
[262] eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "hanging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for
796 sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-
231 huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before 769 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that [231] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their [773] tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.—Analyst]

[185 cont.]

796 789 The Eighth Month. The fifteenth day of this month is the mid-autumn festival. The local Chinese have the custom of making offerings to the moon, which the Miao-I do not have. Before this date, however, some frolicsome fellows among them might steal a pumpkin from somebody's yard and on the eve of the fifteenth day would dress it up into the likeness of an infant, complete with garment and shoes, and wrap it inside a dress. While one man carries the pumpkin, another would walk behind, simulating baby talk or baby cry. They also carry with them different eatables and visit neighbors and relatives who do not have children. On arriving, they would set off firecrackers and then knock at the door to ask for entrance. The childless family, knowing the visit in advance, would prepare a feast to entertain the visitors in the hall. After entering the house, the visitors would take the pumpkin to an inner chamber and place it on a bed, imitating at the same time a child's crying. One visitor would then spit into the bed and exclaim: "The baby is wet!" On hearing this noise the owner of the house dashes into the room and invites the visitors to the feast. This performance is commonly known as "presenting the old pumpkin," and is regarded by childless couples as a good omen for childbearing. If in the future the recipient should actually give birth to a son, the pumpkin bearers would be treated to another feast.

273 796 The Ninth Month. The ninth day of the ninth month is the Ch'ung-yang festival. On this day the Miao-I families within the district all eat tz'u-pa and make wine, known as Ch'ung-yang wine. It is said that the wine made on this day is especially delicious in taste and can last for a whole year without becoming weak.

796 The Tenth Month. No festivals.

The Eleventh Month. No festivals.

[186] The Twelfth Month. The eighth day of this month is known as "La-pa," on which the Miao-I have the custom of competing for the first bucket of water. The bearers are all [312] women, who rise early in the morning to go to the nearest well to draw the first bucketful of water to carry home. It is used to [279] cook rice for the animals, to wash the women's hair, and to brew

M [186 cont.]
7% tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
M bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day
[177] all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

M
[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S The southern border region of Kweichow province has a sub-
161 tropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli," 774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies 793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so 796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere- [527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo" [157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The [831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The [533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing [535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving 524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

/42 cont./

623 The assembly of all the arms-bearing men of a village /43/ is usually convoked by the village chief in all cases pertaining to the welfare of the village. Such cases are: the laying out of rice fields, the selection of a settlement site in the relocation of villages, communal hunts, and the like. The [666] majority vote decides the issue. The popular assembly, how- [634] ever, may be convoked even against the will of the village chief if the villagers want to file a complaint against their village chief with the great chief. In this case the assembly convenes upon the initiative of the village elders.

634 The popular assembly of all arms-bearing men within the administrative district of a great chief had far greater power. It met only when needed; its decisions had to be unamimous. It was convoked by the great chief in order to pass resolutions about important matters. Such important [721] matters were decisions about war and peace and measures to [796] be taken to celebrate the festival of the New Year or the harvest festival. The resolutions passed by the popular assembly of the great chief were of an advisory nature, for the great chief was under no obligation to comply with them. Actually, of course, he avoided acting against the voice of his people. In one case, however, the great chief was absolutely bound to accept the decision of the popular assembly: when the latter [692] had decided on his removal. The great popular assembly was, at the same time, a court of appeal for verdicts of the great chief, and its decisions were regarded as irrevocable.

634 693 The expenses of a popular assembly had to be paid by the person who summoned it, hence either by the great chief himself or the party who had moved that it be convened. Among the expenses there were the provisions for all the assembly-participants at the place of the meeting, but no compensation was given for the journey to and fro. Moreover, in connection with minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol were collected for the great chief and the elders; in connection with major affairs, one or more pigs.

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [75] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device. [202]

Fig. 28-29. Vibrating flute of the Meau. 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 28, from above, Fig. 29, side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/149 cont./

c) Dancing

A M 535 [171]

In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

M 114 535 796 [764]

The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

M [273]

they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

/150 cont./

M 114 535 796 [769] I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A 535 The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example, but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the A [832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the A Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with [832] love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A M 535 883 The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only the young people take part in these dances, no married women of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both

1 [see cat 116, p 131- ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 132- "]

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil
[769] spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large [596] [769] /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70),[1] flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

1 [See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is devoured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it communally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 769 526 241

782 796 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacrifices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

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1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 231 776 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought. The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/209 cont./

484 782 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 782 114 261 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moderate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-

1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau [796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time [776 241] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
241 other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

782 Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by
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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

39: Bernatzik--581 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Chapter 25

Time-reckoning and the Division of the Day

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The Meau reckon by days. This is already shown by the designation for day, dŏ nŭ, literally, day-sun. The month, ĭs dĭ, of the Meau has thirty days; the year, tsŭn, is reckoned by moons. Twelve moons are one year. It begins with the new moon in December and is ushered in with tremendous festivals (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). If circumstances occur which prevent a [796] proper appreciation of the beginning of the new year, the festivities are postponed to a more suitable time.

805 This custom seems to have given the impression among 114 outside observers that the Meau have no calendar and celebrate 171 the beginning of the new year at very different times (Savina (1)).
[796]

1. II, p. VII and p. 222.

Some people have even arrived at the view that the time reckoning of the Meau is of Chinese origin, as Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 314.

maintains, or even Dhuraratsadorn (3), who states concerning

3. Page 172.

this that the New Year's festival of the Meau coincides with that of the Chinese. On the contrary, the divided year of the Meau is fundamentally different from that of their neighbors, the Chinese, Yau /Yao/, Lahu (Mushŏ /Musso/), and Lisu, whose new year begins in January, or that of the Lao, which begins on April 14, and that of the Thailanders, which begins on March 31.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

583 585 [591] The young people are married at seventeen or eighteen, and it seems to make no difference whether the young couple live with the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or set up housekeeping in their own home. The wedding is usually held at the groom's home, two or three young girls and a young man or two from his village going for the bride and escorting her back. The bride wears no distinctive dress except a peculiar headdress under her kerchief, and an embroidered girdle of undyed cloth. She also carries two small towels of this same material thrown over her shoulders, and one to cover her face. According to their custom, the bride and groom sit on the same bench and eat and drink together, and then declare their allegiance to the family by serving tea to the parents or in some other simple way.

771 The Miao in their heathen state apparently worshipped any and all gods in an effort to appease them but with little definite idea or set ritual. Idols do not seem to be in evidence in their houses, and being a roving people, they [797] have no temples. They have within the last few years become interested in the Gospel and whole villages have become Christian, much as has been the case in the mass movement, so-called, in India. They are a simple people, highly emotional and temperamentally religious, which is often true of hill peoples. Thus certain emotional phases of religion immediately become paramount in their eyes, and without careful teaching they are liable to be led astray on these points.

797 [2,2] The Miao have no written language of their own, but pick up Chinese character with amazing rapidity. The Christian villages each put up a chapel at their own expense, meet every morning for prayer before they go to their work, and every evening for a short service and an hour or so of study. When a Chinese evangelist or a missionary comes to the village, they study until midnight, when they are sent home in self-defence by the teachers—and at 2 a.m. they are up pounding rice, so that we wonder when they sleep. They are a wonderfully interesting people, these "Children of the Forest," as they style themselves, and it is a rare privilege to be among them and come to know them.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER III

OUT OF THE MIRE

The Story of Stone-Gateway

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ONE day in 1903 a band of hunters met Mr. James R. Adam, a China Inland Missionary working in Anshun in the West of Kweichow. From their dress Mr. Adam knew that they belonged to one of the Miao tribes and when told they had been hunting the wild boar and were half famished and weary, he shared his meal with them. As they talked together Mr. Adam told them in plain, easy language, the story of Jesus Christ and how He had come to seek and to save that which was lost. "And did He come to seek us?" asked the Miao. "Yes," was the quiet answer, "Jesus came to seek you." That some one should love and care for the Miao was a new idea to these men, and though it took them a long time to comprehend it, when they did slightly understand, they went back to their hamlets with the extraordinary news that they had met a foreigner who, speaking to them with kindness and sympathy, had told them that some one called Jesus loved the Miao. Soon after this, from

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

797 villages nine days' journey away, numbers of Miao tramped to Anshun to make quite sure that no mistake had been made.

Picture these early scouts as they journey. Each carries a felt cape which in the daytime serves as an overcoat and at night as a blanket, and every one has a bag of oatmeal, a basin and chopsticks or a wooden spoon; the oatmeal mixed with water serves as breakfast, lunch and evening meal. Thus they travelled to learn more about the Saviour who had come to seek them. After some months the seekers became too numerous for Mr. Adam to cope with; so, learning that Chaotung was nearer to them than Anshun, he sent them to this city with a letter to his friend Samuel Pollard, who, with Frank Dymond, was Methodism's representative in that faraway corner of China. On July 12th, 1904, the first four Miao entered the compound of the Chaotung Methodist Mission, and stayed five days. In his own incomparable way Pollard told them as simply as he could the Gospel story, the Chinese language being the medium of teaching. Pollard's charm of manner, grace of speech and depth of understanding, won the hearts of those four scouts who, thrilled beyond expression, returned to their homes with the tidings that they had found a Saviour. The effect was electrical; hearts were swept with the thrill of a new hope and the glad tidings spread throughout scores of villages among the mountain fastnesses of Kweichow and Yunnan. Afterwards there was a steady procession of Miao pilgrims who came seeking the White

Teacher—tens, scores, then hundreds came until the citizens of Chaotung became filled with alarm. They began to wonder whether the Miao were going to rebel. Such a strange awakening of a tribe caused weird rumours to be circulated throughout the country districts, and with a view to impeding the movement it was reported that Pollard gave the Miao poison to pollute springs and streams, and to kill their landlords and Chinese rulers. Magical gifts were attributed to him; it was said he could see three feet into the earth and that when he dropped water into the mouths of the illiterate Miao they immediately believed the foreign doctrine. But the pilgrimage was not arrested and coming from the four quarters of the district, they swarmed everywhere, until the strain on Pollard became immense.

Beginning at five o'clock in the morning, they would study their Chinese catechisms through the whole day, making it well-nigh impossible for the missionary to get any rest. Pollard had to start at the very beginning; he had to teach them both to read and to understand the doctrines of the Christian religion; he had to teach them to pray, he had to teach them to sing; but he was equal to the need and with an iron-like will took up the task. To him the coming of the Miao was a Divine call, and nothing daunted him. During the early days the language was a great difficulty, since no one knew a word of Miao and the Miao knew little Chinese. Pollard at once set himself the work of learning their language and after a few weeks

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

797 application he could give short addresses to the tribesmen in their own tongue. As soon as he had acquired a certain ease and fluency in the use of Miao words he went off on a tour of inspection to ascertain the extent of his new work. He visited dozens of villages and though everywhere he learnt that Nosu *t'u-muh* and landlords were ready to employ any means to stop the Miao from becoming Christians, he also discovered that already a change had come into the lives of these hillmen who, to the perplexity of their enemies, evinced a brave obstinacy. A new self-respect had come to them, a sense of moral regeneration; the tribe was on the march, a mass movement was developing and, though beaten, chained, robbed and tortured, no persecution could prevent them from pursuing their quest.

At the outset the Miao had said: "This news is too good to keep ourselves, let us send the message on to the next village"; and forthwith they began to carry out their purpose and met together for reading, prayer and exhortation. It happened, therefore, that sometimes Pollard would arrive at a village which he had never visited, and find a number of enquirers meeting week by week at each other's houses. In March, 1905, a powerful *t'u-muh*, Mr. An, made over to the Church about ten acres of land at the out-of-the-world hamlet called Stone-Gateway which we reached at the close of the last chapter. About twenty-two miles east of Chaotung, Stone-Gateway is just within the Province of Kweichow. As in those days, Stone-

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Gateway consisted only of the broad breast of a barren hill near a few Miao cottages, Mr. An thought he had given a useless piece of land. But it proved to be an admirable centre; it was in the midst of numerous Miao villages and nearby, just below the surface, was enough coal to last for tens of years. Building operations commenced at once, and by May a chapel was opened in which there were seats for about two hundred and fifty and standing room for five hundred persons.

Some people would have thought little of this poor, roughly built chapel with its mud walls and thatched roof, but to the Miao, who out of their poverty had subscribed to erect this first Christian temple in Miao country, it was a Cathedral. Such was the beginning of the work at Stone-Gateway. As the years have passed by, this out-of-the-world hamlet has become the Mecca of the Miao and is celebrated amongst tribesmen of three provinces, Kweichow, Yunnan and Szechuan. The chapel became the centre of a new life, and later schools were built and a number of small whitewashed buildings erected, where the worshippers and preachers could be lodged. Pollard's famous five-pound house was put up and thereafter Pollard became the Moses of the Miao; he was their teacher, their protector, their leader, their lawgiver. With infinite patience and consummate skill he gave the people a new orientation. By kindling new interests and higher loves he helped them to get rid of their evil customs. He purified their marriage practices and led them in a great fight against

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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drunkenness and immorality. The Miao had been accustomed to holding a great annual gathering on the hillside on the fifth day of the fifth moon, when thousands of people would meet together and, to the playing of pipes and the singing of love songs, they would let loose their passions. This festal day Pollard captured for Jesus Christ and in place of the riotous merrymaking, there was a joyous singing of Christian hymns taught to the Miao on the tonic sol-fa system, the preaching of the Word, and in later years an exhibition of skill and drill given by schoolchildren. It is not the purpose of this book to give the details of those early days. These can all be read in the Rev. W. A. Grist's well-documented book on *Samuel Pollard;* from Mr. E. H. Hayes's book on *Sam Pollard of Yunnan;* and in Sam Pollard's own *The Story of the Miao.* It is necessary, however, that readers should realise the extent of Pollard's parish, and there is no more adequate description of this than Pollard's own account: "If a day's journey were supposed to be about twenty or twenty-five miles over rough mountainous roads, then in the North East the Mission stretches five days, to the East three days, to the South East four and a half days, in the North West three and a half days, Westward two and a half days and in the South West three and a half days." During the next few years in carefully selected centres throughout the district, chapels were built and schools opened. The chief of these were Rice Ear Valley, Long Sea, Great Level, Halfway House and Heavenborn

Bridge of which we shall catch glimpses on future pages. And still the movement spread until our Church asked the China Inland Mission to take over in the South-West. This led to the founding of a new centre at Sa-pu-shan. 797

In 1907 this gallant troubadour had a narrow escape. Betrayed by an unbelieving Miao he was set upon in the night and with iron weapons and clubs almost beaten to death; but in the goodness of God, when Pollard was expecting that every blow would be his last, an unknown Chinese wearing a sheepskin jacket stooped down and putting his arms around him, ordered the beating to cease. The Miao were distressed beyond measure, but that beating gave Pollard a place in their hearts and affections that nothing else could have done. During his next furlough, by thrilling and passionate appeals Pollard captured the interest and love of thousands of young people. I was one of these, and as I pen these lines I can see again the man who bewitched me and started me on an adventure which, with the passing of years, has become ever more thrilling and alluring. The first time I saw and heard Pollard was in Sheffield, and I was swept off my feet. In 1910 I joined him at Stone-Gateway, where I was able to see and study him off the stage, as it were. It is one thing to see a brilliant man on the platform and a very different thing to live with him. I lived with Pollard for nearly four years and my admiration for him increased. His whole-heartedness, his white-hot enthusiasm, his arresting, magnetic personality, his passionate

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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devotion to Christ fascinated me. I have listened to him preach the Gospel in brilliant Chinese and then go into our Stone-Gateway Chapel and in Miao sway an audience of a thousand tribesmen. He would discuss plans and schemes with Miao deacons, comfort and encourage mothers and then romp like a boy with Miao children who, when he said good-bye, would sit by the wayside and cry as though their little hearts would break. I longed to become like him. "Flowers of God's heart" he used to call the kiddies, and woe betide any one who caused one of these to stumble.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the White Teacher was confronted was that the Miao possessed no written characters. Pollard solved the problem by providing phonetic signs to represent Miao sounds and by adapting the system employed in shorthand of vocalising consonants. This system of writing came to be known as "The Pollard Script", and since it was quickly and easily learned by the Miao, they became proud of having their language in a written form which they could call their own. Pollard used the script for the translation of passages of scripture, hymns and simple Christian doctrines, and afterwards primers were prepared. Later the Gospel of St. Mark and other Gospels were translated and put into circulation and no one will ever be able to calculate the enormous influence which the light-giving Word has exerted on the Miao. Before the Pollard script, books and a library were unknown. The great majority of these tribesmen had never handled even a sheet of

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5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

writing paper or a pen. They had heard that once upon a time there were books; a tribal legend described how long, long ago the Miao lived on the north side of the Yangtze River, but the conquering Chinese came and drove them from their land and homes. Coming to the river and possessing no boats they debated what should be done with the books and in the end they strapped them to their shoulders and swam across, but the water ran so swiftly and the river was so wide, that the books were washed away and fishes swallowed them. This was the story. When the British and Foreign Bible Society sent the first Gospels and these were distributed the legend grew—the-once-upon-a-time lost books had been found, found in the white man's country, and they told the incomparable story that Jesus loved the Miao. Only the imagination can conceive what this meant to those hillmen; some of whom travelled for days to view the books. The establishment of schools brought light and understanding to the minds of both boys and girls; fathers would undertake all the work in their fields so that a son might be free to study; and mothers carrying supplies to their boys at school would trudge weary miles over hills and mountains.

On September 15th, 1915, Samuel Pollard, the greatest missionary who ever worked in South-West China, passed into eternal rest. For eleven years he had lived day and night for his Miao who, when he died, said to his lifelong chum, Frank Dymond: "He is ours, let us bury him; we will

6:Ch'en--1 E-5 (no date)1942 AE5 Miao AE5

Religious Beliefs of the Miao and I Tribes in An-shun, Kweichow

An-shun is a center of the Miao and I tribes in Kweichow province, where there are two Miao tribes, the Ch'ing /green/ Miao and the Hua /flower/ Miao, and one I tribe, the Chung-chia. Although there are various groups of Miao-I with different customs, from the point of view of religious beliefs they are all polytheists. In recent decades due to contacts with the Chinese people a portion of the Chung-chia have been assimilated. Besides setting up family altars and worshipping ancestors, they believe in Kuan-yin /goddess of mercy/, Confucius, Kuan-kung /a deified hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the god of war/ and other gods. The Catholics and the Protestants have also exerted in recent years a strong latent influence on the Miao and I villagers. [101] 771

The following is a brief study of the religious development and beliefs of the Miao-I tribes.

/89/ The Catholic church in the city of An-shun is known as Shan-tsung T'ang /hall of goodness/ with four branch halls at Kung-pu, Mo-wan-tung, Shui-tang-chai and Ch'iu-chow. They all hold properties which are yearly on the increase. It is said that the Catholic Church at An-shun was established by a certain French priest some fifty years ago. Today, it is administered by Lengkuohsien /transliterated/ and Chailiszu /transliterated/, both French, and the expenses for maintaining it comes from the Catholic headquarters in Kweiyang. The church maintains an elementary school, studying chiefly the Bible, and the enrollment is about from 30 to 40 boys from Catholic families. Within the hsien district there are about 2000 Catholics, one-half of them being the Chung-chia people. 797 [162]

797 They are mostly converted to the faith because
427 they are tenant farmers on the land owned by the church. This land, also known as the "bible-hall land", is scattered over a number of localities that border on the Chung-chia villages. The profits from the land are equally divided. The advantages for tenant farmers being more than elsewhere, many Chung-chia people become believers in order to cultivate the church land. Every Sunday the farmers attend mass in nearby churches. During harvest time in October the church would send out priests to the villages to supervise harvests, where they also conduct religious services morning and night, requiring all believers to attend (some of the villages have small churches). The priest remains in each village for about a week, putting up with the richest family, but the expenses on food are borne by all the tenant farmers in the village. In recent years this relationship is undergoing a change as it is said that the priests have indulged in extortions which have greatly shaken the faith of the Miao-I believers.

797 Besides Catholics there are Protestants within the district. The China Inland Mission maintains a Gospel Church in An-shun. It was established in 1897 by an American missionary, Tanchüshih /transliterated/, who went deep into the Miao villages in many areas. His friendli-
[162] ness and sincerity won him many converts. At present there are in this hsien area from 5000 to 6000 Christians, both Chinese and Miao-I. The missionary was especially successful among the Hua Miao, and there are more Christians
792 among this tribe than among others. The leader
797 of the Hua Miao in An-shun was Yang Ching-an, who was trained by Tanchüshih. In the early years of the Chinese Republic, Yang had followed the American missionary to Shanghai and Nanking. With his extensive experience he was considered

an enlightened person among the Miao. His re- 797
ligious fervor, however, was a little too ex- 792
cessive, and it disqualified him as a true lead-
er of his people. He preached among them for
more than twenty years with great success, but
since he and his foreign associates had left the
church, no one succeeded them as a full time
preacher. The church school has been closed
down. There are only two American doctors in
the hospital, having charge at the same time of
the church, but they have no time for preaching.
So the faith of the Miao and I in Protestant
Christianity is also on the decline.

Besides the Catholic Church and the China
Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists have
recently established a church in An-shun to
spread the Christian principles but rather on a
small scale. At present the work is carried on
by a young man of the Hua Miao tribe, named Tang
Chen-ying, with about thirty members equally di-
vided among the Chinese and Miao-I, and a church
school of over ten Miao children.

The Miao and I in An-shun are largely un- 771
educated and superstitious, believing strongly 181
in ghosts and evil spirits. All their daily and
farm activities, trading, sickness, marriage and
funeral events are subject to the influences of
the spirits.

The following are some examples:

(1) Spiritual Media. The names for spiri- 791
tual media in An-shun are the same in the Miao-I
language as in the Chinese. The men are known
as Kwei-shih or Tuan-kung; the women, Mi-la or
Mi-pu. Their duty is to sacrifice to the
spirits to invoke their aid and to provide a
medium between the spiritual and the human
worlds. As such they are respected by the
people. All ancestor worship and funeral events
have to be presided over by the Kwei-shih. Every

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

774 A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it
778 is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries. A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is a living being that can speak. He has a definite character and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is lighting. It is this knife that causes the damage when lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

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177 The greatest changes in all their history are now taking place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited
797 these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the
563 Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years. Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and one graduate of the West China Union University gave the money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager for modern education and higher culture. With the continued help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese people, they can become an enlighteed race that will be an asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to the British Empire.

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

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871 corrupt and did untold harm. Since the coming of the mission-
797 aries to the Miao area, churches and schools were established,
871 and those who were converted to the Christian religion were given an education. Today there are quite a few Miao who have received a higher education with the help of the church. However, it is regrettable that under the influence of the church, the religious element is too strong. In the 14th year
871 of the Republic [sic. It should probably be the 24th year of
648 the Republic, or 1935.] when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as head of the government came to Kweichow, he saw with his own eyes the low cultural level of the Miao-I and planned to assimilate them through education. The next year the government issued an order to encourage Miao-I education and appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose. In the same year the Provincial Rural Normal School was established at Ch'ing-yen, but its students were not all children of the Miao-I, sixty or seventy percent being Chinese who pretended to be Miao-I. Again, in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] when General Yang Sen was stationed at An-shun he promoted Miao education through his army by establishing three elementary schools with some good results. But not long afterwards his troops were transferred to the front and his education program was abandoned. Aside from these attempts, the provincial
872 government established an elementary school in each of the
648 twelve hsien at Kweiyang, Huang-p'ing, Li-po, T'ai-kung, Wei-ning, An-nan, Kuan-ling, Tan-chiang, Shui-ch'eng, Ting-fan, Lo-tien and Pa-chai, where the Miao-I congregate. In other hsien areas there are short-term elementary schools that also admit Miao-I children. The educational system for the Miao-I in Kweichow is rudimentary at best and with the extensive distribution of the Miao-I over a wide area the work is like extinguishing a wagonful of burning fuel with a cup of water -- not at all effective or enough.

3) Occupations. The Miao-I people, being retarded in
241 cultural development, have just entered the stage of agricultural community, and so their chief occupation is farming. [14] Those Miao-I living in the northwest of the province have high

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Laotians AM8
Miao AE5

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language or religion, cannot follow the subtlety of Western religious concepts. They have a passion for taking things *au pied de la lettre*. Being told that the basic commandment of Christianity as well as Buddhism is 'thou shalt not kill', they cannot swallow such reservations as capital punishment and 'the just war'; while casuistry repels them. Moreover, a bonze, the spiritual leader of the country people among whom he lives and works, occupies by virtue of his rigorous fulfilment of the principles of his religion, a position in their esteem accorded in the West, say, to a boxing champion. The Laotians have come to associate the prestige of sanctity with certain abstinences and uncomfortable practices. The bonze gives an example of utter renunciation which is awe-inspiring by comparison with the minor self-abnegations of the villagers. The Laotians, therefore, although tolerant in the extreme, are not impressed by the worth of a would-be spiritual leader who presents himself to them loaded with material possessions. And this negative attitude deepens into a certain aversion if, as usually happens, the holy men of the West spend most of their time hunting in a country where animals must be allowed to die of old age. I fear that where the austere Dominicans, and the Jesuits failed, there is little hope for the Evangelists.

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However, the missionary was far from despondent. There were Meos in the mountains not far from Vientiane, and just as in the plateaux of Viet-Nam the Moïs had not rejected the Gospel, so here the primitive peoples of the mountains seemed promising material for evangelization. There would be no risk of jeopardizing conversion by hunting, among such hearty amateurs of open-air sports as the Meos, and if the missionary had more of this world's goods than they – well, that was a sure sign that his *ai* (or spirit), was stronger, and it would be a good thing to imitate him. Before the Meos could trouble themselves with renunciatory religions they would have to create a comfortable and abundant civilization for themselves. There was no chance of becoming sated with prosperity at the top of their mountains.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

A DRAGON APPARENT

574 The missionary had made one trip to the Meos and was well
797 pleased with his reception. The Meos, he said, were delightful children. Since tribes at this cultural level are hospitable to the last degree and much given to humouring strangers' whims, the whole village seemed to have foregathered and listened most attentively while he preached. It seemed to me that if the missionary had preached in Meo it was rather an achievement and I asked him whether, in fact, he had done this, or had contented himself with Laotian, which most Meos understand. 'I did neither,' he said. 'I preached in English, and from the way my words were received I feel that we may have started something up there.'

000 It may be doubted that in thus boldly treating the language barrier as non-existent the evangelist had succeeded in communicating anything of the Christian point of view to his Meo audience. But this performance was, in fact, no more than the *reductio ad absurdum* of a situation which had arisen even with the first Jesuit missionaries. The separating gulf of language, of thought and of tradition, was too wide and deep. Father Buzome, for example, the first missionary to be sent to Indo-China by the Society of Jesus at Macao, was, if possible, even less effective. The Father preached with the aid of phrases prepared in advance for him by ships' interpreters, and as a result carried out a number of baptisms. It was only by the accident of watching a farcical theatrical performance in which he saw himself represented, that he found out to his sorrow that his converts had no idea, even, of what the term Christian meant. One of the players was dressed to represent the Father, but was provided with a great artificial stomach. He had a boy as his assistant. The turn consisted in asking the boy 'whether he would go into the Belly of the Portuguese?' The boy then replied that he would, and the player stuffed him into the artificial stomach; repeating this ridiculous procedure many times, to the great diversion of the onlookers.

To his horror Father Buzome realized that the invitation to enter the belly of the Portuguese was precisely the phrase he had been

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175 648 in the basins of both the Yellow River and the Hoai. These wars always ended with the destruction or subjugation of the Meau, the latter inevitably being followed by destruction (see chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples").

In the Chinese reports the Meau are always described as the attackers and as inferior barbarians, which was why the Chinese "had to punish them." The first European reports come from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We owe them [197] to missionaries of the Society of Jesus. Thus, Mailla, du Halde, and Amiot repeatedly speak in their works of the battles of the Meau with the Chinese. Naturally, later works are also based upon the ancient Chinese literature. For example, Savina (3)

3. II, p. 129.

reports: "The 'Sin kouo wen' speaks of the Meau in the eighth volume, which is entitled 'Allgemeine Geschichte von China /General History of China/' (4): 'There follows the period of

4. Translation of Père Lamasse, p. 485.

Hoang-ti. Thanks to the symbols of the calendar it was possible from then on to verify time, an improvement which has lasted to the present day, that is, for more than 4600 years. Hoang-ti invented the weapons of war in order to subjugate the Meau tribes.'"

/12/ At this point we shall borrow from Wieger's study (1)

1. Pages 9 ff.

the following quotations which are illuminating for the history of the Meau: "The Hia, namely, the Chinese, came from the northwest, followed the course of the Wei River...to the Hoai River. Here the migration was stopped by a then numerous people whose remnants are the Meau of today... These resident

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recovered and hoped for the best." -- According to the description, however, the Chinese were only "saving" the subjugated Meau for their festivals. Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ is therefore justified in maintaining that the Chinese used many strategems and were no less cruel than the Meau, assuming that the latter were actually cruel. He calls attention to a truly heart-rending letter written by the missionary Amiot in the year 1775, in which the latter describes how the /16/ Meau, outwitted by the aforementioned General Akoui, were led to Peking under the leadership of King Sonom and his entire court, in order to be executed there. Amiot (1) then describes an abortive

1. Vol. III. p. 387.

attempt to rescue the Meau king and reports on the execution of the verdict: "Before the tortures began, the great military leader of the Meau said to the emperor of China: 'Before he [797] died Father Sourvin (a Catholic missionary, note by Dr. Bernatzik) entrusted the king to my care. He was a young prince and not yet capable of making an independent decision. I am the one who was in favor of war. If this be a sin, then I alone have sinned, I alone deserve to be punished. I beg you to spare the life of the young king who could not be guilty. We could have sold our lives at a high price, and yet we surrendered after we had been assured of Your Majesty's mercy.' But he spoke in vain, and at a signal from the emperor, the tortures were begun. With a gag in their mouths, they were tied to stakes and cut to pieces at eleven o'clock in the morning."

We find similar descriptions of the executions in Amiot's letter which was reproduced by Savina (2): "Sonom, his younger

2. II, pp. 145 ff.

brother Chalopen, his advisers, Kantak, Sonompontchouk, Karoua, Goisar, his aunt Atchin, and her husband Langtsia were cut into small pieces alive, and the two shamans of the king,

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know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
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3. Page 168.

same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of

4. II, p. 253.

heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
177 Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
771 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
776 Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
[782] sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated. Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[775] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan, the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

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539 happened with two coins. Thus the will of heaven had become apparent, and brother and sister cohabited. Their child, however, had neither a head nor hands and feet; it was round like an egg. Perhaps the child is sitting in the egg, they thought, but that was not the case. The pieces which were cut from the egg, however, turned into children. For this reason the egg was divided into as many pieces as possible. The result was an endless number of children, and the earth became repopulated."

114 539 797 Savina reports a number of myths which show an astonishing similarity with Old Testament accounts. He stresses the precise and unaltered transmission of tradition by the Meau. Among the Meau in Thailand I likewise found several myths which, on the whole, seem similar in content to the narratives given by Savina, but they show considerable deviations at decisive points. There are two explanations for these differences. Either the author, under the influence of his own world-view, has involuntarily influenced the statements of the Meau, or the ancestors of the Meau studied by him were at one time under the influence of Christian missionaries. This would not be impossible since it is known that Christian missionaries have been active for centuries in the old territories occupied by the Meau in South China, though the Meau there deserted these territories as a result of the various struggles previously discussed in the chapter, "History." Thus, it is conceivable that the Christian elements adopted, which /224/ show a remote resemblance to the peculiar conceptions of the Meau, were woven in, and Savina then regarded this mixture as characteristic manifestations of the Meau. Under these circumstances the ethnological conclusions that Savina ties in with this fund of myths which he discovered are to be accepted with caution.

539 Savina (1) relates in detail the Meau legend concerning

1. II, p. 243.

the creation of the earth:

"The Lord of Heaven, Ndo Chu or Chu Lau, created heaven and earth in seven days, first heaven, and then earth. The earth

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Of the older authors, Davies and Clarke published short vocabularies, as did Dhuraratsadorn (2). By far the best and

2. Page 175.

most comprehensive are the French-Meau and Meau-French dictionaries which Savina compiled. A comparison of these dictionaries with the surveys of the other authors on the one hand and my own linguistic data on the other hand shows considerable differences in places, which leads one to conclude that there are certain differences in the Meau speech of the various regions. Undoubtedly the Meau of the individual regions have taken over [192] a greater number of expressions from the Chinese and from the languages of other neighbors as loanwords. Since, however, as was said, these neighboring languages in large part have not yet been studied, no definite statements can be made concerning this, and all the less so, to be sure, since the accounts of the authors in question here, with the exception of Savina's publications of this type, give the impression of being very incomplete. It seems as though these authors were not completely familiar with the matter; misunderstandings in their conversations with the Meau can easily be imagined. After all, I myself in working with the Meau have dealt for the first time with a tone language, and a comprehension of it is by no means easy for European ears.

[197] Under these circumstances it is very regrettable that the missionaries working in South China, who have had contacts with the Meau for centuries, have so far, to my knowledge, published nothing concerning this language and in fact, for the most part, give instruction in Manchu. We are therefore completely dependent on the observations and conclusions of individual authors. According to Von Eickstedt (3), the languages of the Meo and

3. II, p. 57.

Yau differ, to be sure, but are nevertheless closely related, at

39: Bernatzik--683 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Lahu AP13
Miao AE5
Burma AP1

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The attempt at conversion was therefore usually instituted by sending a Lahu who had learned to speak English and had passed his examination as a mission teacher into the village of his tribesmen, either alone or in the company of a few native servants and dressed in European clothing. Here this missionary teacher accepted the hospitality of the village chief and tried to make friends especially with the younger generation and to influence his tribal brothers /506/ by describing to them the advantages of social intercourse with the Whites. In the evening he sang psalms, which always caused a sensation, and he tried with solemn speeches to gain the confidence of his host. Since only very intelligent and trustworthy natives were used for this activity by the mission management, one did not have to wait very long for success. Soon the mission had a school erected in the village, in which the congregation regularly assembled, was here made familiar with the God of the white Christians, and prayed to Him.

Of decisive importance for the conversion work were also the mission hospitals and ambulances, which were also at the disposal of the pagans. The natives soon believed that the spirits of the Whites were more powerful than their spirits, for the white physicians succeeded in curing diseases before which their priests in magic stood helpless.

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I know nothing from personal observation about the Catholic missions in China, which were already active there in very early times (see the chapter, "History") and about which it is to be assumed that they, too, came in contact with the mountain peoples (see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"); similarly, nothing concerning the success of the missions there among the mountain peoples is reported in detail in the literature.

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In Indochina I personally had the opportunity to visit Catholic mission stations; interesting statements are also available in the literature. According to Savina (1), the first

1. II, p. 286.

AKha A04
Miao AE5
Burma AP1

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M 797 Meau were converted to Catholicism there in 1907. According to the same source, in 1930, in three districts in which Meau Christians lived, about 2,000 all together were counted. Savina states, however, that there are very few pure Meau villages there. The immigrants from Kweichow had settled down wherever they could, that is to say, in villages where the inhabitants had ceded arable land to them. Accordingly, in the case of the number Christianized, it is evidently a matter of more or less uprooted tribal segments.

B A 797 The Catholic mission in the state of Kengtung where it has erected various stations, takes quite different paths. In the following I shall principally describe the conditions in Kengtung itself, where the Apostolic Prefecture has its seat.

/507/ The Catholic mission directs its special attention to the conversion of the natives. It placed emphasis upon the construction of stone churches and mighty buildings which make an impression on the natives. It preferred to place the children of tribes faithful to their tribal customs in boarding schools, for they could be converted more quickly there than in their own social community. It taught the children European school subjects and some handicrafts. The Catholic mission also maintained a small home for lepers in Kengtung, but there was a lack of physicians and medicaments, which were so especially needed in places where, as was the case for the Catholic missions in Kengtung, the stations were located at low altitudes in B [164] the midst of the malaria region. Amoebic dysentery, typhoid fever, frambesia, and the plague were also common. An attempt was made to persuade the peoples incapable of acclimatization to stay in this region, which was very unfavorable for the mountain peoples both climatically and hygienically. Although I was unable to obtain any demographic data from the Prefecture in Kengtung, some results of this method could nevertheless be ascertained in the Catholic mission station at Monglin. I must state, however, that the conditions in Monglin are certainly considerably more unfavorable than in Kengtung. Monglin was one of the small stations at which a single missionary, often sacrificing his life, scarcely had even the necessities of life,

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

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756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The
[302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing
[292] mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of
756 his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
787 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
[782] spirit of all the shamans, kǒ nǒ kǒ tsū, and the three pairs of assistant spirits, tǎ fū yé, lū fū yé, and sǎn fū yé. The teacher-
[776] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
[801] Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/184 cont./

755 if you were floating above the clouds pursued by evil spirits. Never leave his body again!"

The patient then sits down in his place. Meanwhile the shaman has imperturbably continued his conjurations. After a quarter of an hour the chief repeats the ceremony with the [782] spirit-paper; then he lights four new incense candles and puts them next to the almost consumed original candles in the vessel on the altar, where the fat-lamp continues to burn. After each action the chief and his eldest son immediately return to their places behind the shaman, who always remains facing the altar. The patient returns to the bench next to the hearth fire. In this way the first hour passes.

At the beginning of the ceremony the occupants of the house conversed with one another freely; now some of them leave the house, the rest remain silent and intently watch the proceedings. Suddenly in the midst of things a Meau woman who does not belong to the community comes and appeals simultaneously to the shaman and the chief: "I am suffering. I have had stomach pains for days. I beg you to help me." Jerkily, the shaman interrupts his conjurations and suddenly answers in a natural voice. He promises to assist the woman the next day and she is to prepare a dog sacrifice. The woman thanks him and leaves the house, and the shaman again begins his rhythmical motions, conjurations, and commands. Suddenly he stops and in his ordinary voice says that evil spirits are approaching. Tsin Tsai and his eldest son quickly step over to the shaman's bench together and hold it firmly, while the chief wife of the chief picks up the gong and beats it uninterruptedly as her husband had done formerly. Jerkily, and for us quite unexpectedly, the shaman jumps on the bench once with both feet simultaneously and then once again, for an /Ill. 30-34 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /185/ evil spirit has crept in among the good ones. •[801] Since uneven numbers are regarded as unfavorable and pernicious among the Meau, they are preferred for driving away evil spirits. Accordingly, the chief now takes three handfuls of the prepared maize and rice kernels and scatters them in all directions. His chief wife takes water into her mouth and spits it out in all the

[Text continues on p. 253]

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	The Miao Tribes		The Yao Tribes in Kwangsi Province			
	Kwangsi	Hainan	Lan-tien	Red Head	P'an Ku	Long Hair
one	chŭ	à	a	i	nŏm	i
two	hwŏ	ĭ	i	au	i-(nŏm)	aö
three	bei	bo	bo	be	buo	bu
four	saw	bā	bie	djia	bie	djua
five	jei	bà	bia	biu	bia	bia
six	dŭ	kŭr	djio	dsŭ	djio	du
seven	shen	njē	nje	thang	sjê	sang
eight	i	z	jet	yu	chet	jo
197 nine	yōu	dŏ	ndu	dsŭ	duo	dsŭ
192 ten	shu	sip	siap	dsŭ	ds'ep	dsŭ
nose		bŭ-jong	bu-djong	bi-biau pa-	bu-kot	
eye		ngwie		djan-many pa-	me'-dsing	ge-mang
ear		blom	mo-nom		mo-nom	ge-mia
mouth		jet	djet		dsui	
/6/ hand		bŭ	bu	go-po-be	bu°-du	ba
foot		tou	thou	go-dau	dsau-de	do
son	dà	sā		dung	don	dung-djing
daughter	dăr pĭe	sā-sàr			thié	
dog		clō		du-djé	dju°	dsja
sheep	li	jon	yong	du-yang	yung	du-ang
pig	mēi	dung	dŭng		dung	
house		ber	biau	lu-bi	piau	bia
bunch		dung	dang		dang	dong-yo

/14 cont'd/
162 district. This tendency for the Miao to become Chinese or Li is in-
144 deed unfavorable for an increase in the Miao population.
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/15/ Chapter II. Language

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802

English	Miao	English	Miao
Cardinal Numbers		Cardinal Numbers	
one	ă	twenty-one	nī sip jā
two	i	twenty-two	nī sip ngǐ
three	bo	twenty-three	ni sip tum
four	bā	thirty	tum sip
five	bă	forty	tā sip
six	kur	fifty	ngon sip
seven	njē	sixty	ngŭ sip
eight	z	seventy	kat sip
nine	dŏ	eighty	bid sip
ten	sip	ninety	shŭ sip
eleven	sip jā	one hundred	ă bā
twelve	sip ngǐ	two hundred	i bā
thirteen	sip tum	three hundred	tum bā
fourteen	sip tā	one thousand	á coon
fifteen	sip ngon	/16/ten thousand	à tin
sixteen	sip ngŭ	one hundred thousand	à dū
seventeen	sip kat	a million	à bē
eighteen	sip bid		
nineteen	sip shŭ		
twenty	nī sip		

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English	Miao
Ordinal Numbers	
first	dē it
second	dē ngǐ
third	dē tum
Time	
today	nǐ noy
yesterday	com bō
day before yesterday	ngûr noy
tomorrow	tung deo
day after tomorrow	ngū deo
day	gong-noy
night	ngim
Parts of the Body	
head	bě
eye	ngwǐe
ear	blom
nose	bǔ-jong
mouth	jet
hair	bā

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192

English	Miao
tooth	yà
tongue	bǐd
heart	tim
back	cà-tun-cun
belly	youū
hand	bǔ
finger	bū-ndō-kin
leg	tou-tswie
foot	tou
Human Relationships	
person	moon
man	moon-fà
woman	moon-ou
child	moon-sa
/17/ boy	moon-ton-kin
girl	moon-sà-kin
father	fà
mother	jǐ
son	sā
daughter	sā-sàr
elder brother	kō
younger brother	zū
elder sister	or

/21/

192 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao
807 language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in
171 other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but
193 sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ǐ but sip ngi. This is a notable
171 difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say "blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue," "mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind of syntax.

191 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in
184 Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

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Chapter 24

Counting and Reckoning

M 802 The Meau count with their fingers and toes. For this purpose, they hold both hands in front of them, the palms turned toward the body, and begin with the little finger of the right hand. Then the fourth, the third, and the second finger, and the thumb follow. If one counts further, the little finger of the left hand comes next, until with the thumb the number ten is reached. For eleven one takes the little toe of the right foot and continues in this fashion, so that sixteen falls on the little toe of the left foot.

A 802 The Akha count in the same fashion as the Meau, with the aid of the hands and feet, but they start with the left hand. Accordingly, among them the number eleven is continued with the left foot.

A M 802

The numbers are called:	Among the Meau in Thailand	Among the Akha:
1	ly	tɪ
2	ón	nyɪ
3	pŷ	tsŭm
4	plŭn	ŝ
5	tŝŷ	ŝn
6	tŝóŭ	kŷ
7	xŭŭ	ŭ
8	yɪ	yŷ
9	tŝóŭ	xŏ
10	kóŭ	tsŷ
11	kóŭ ly	tsŷ tɪ
12	kóŭ nó	tsŷ nyɪ
20	nŷh gŭn	nyɪ tsŷ
21	nŷh gŭn ly	nyɪ tsŷ tɪ
30	pŷ kóŭ	tsŭm tsŷ
100	ly pŭn	tsŷ yŭ

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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A M 802

The numbers are called:	Among the Meau in Thailand:	Among the Akha:
1 000	ly kyŭ	tĭ mŭ
10 000	kŏŭ kyŭ	tĭ oĭ
100 000	pŏu kyŭ	tĭ lĭm
many	mĭ mĭu dau	yŏm yĭ

In the case of numbers higher than twenty, various aids are used for further counting. Rice kernels, for instance, may represent the tens and maize the hundreds, for which I have given a practical example in the description of the division of the estate after the death of a family head (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Right of Succession").

A M [211] On the other hand, other counting aids, such as knotted cords and the like, are unknown, as are notched sticks, which serve exclusively as a promissory note, and, to be sure, only among the Meau, but not among the Akha (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law"). Savina (1) reports differently

M [211]

1. II, p. 322.

concerning the Meau in Tonkin: His entire mathematical knowledge is restricted to the counting of notches in a piece of wood, in order to fix the most important events of his life. There are notches for births, deaths, marriages, drought, rain, and the harvest."

Neither the Akha nor the Meau have any special expressions for quantitative concepts such as threescore, dozen, or the like, but rather pronounce all numbers, even the highest. In this connection, the Akha know how to count up to about 100,000, the Meau far higher.

A M 803 868 Among both mountain peoples, I was unable to find any special arithmetical method or system. Also, no arithmetical instruction is given; the appropriate knowledge like all other knowledge, is picked up in daily life.

/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house
596 upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. Moreover, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the sons who are already independent and own their own houses receive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot
[608] inherit anything.

428 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For cal-
803 culating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however, and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions. Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament; if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is distributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance with the system just described. The same procedure is followed with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from
[562] any inheritance, although they retain what was already their
[422] personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of the deceased who are already independent and therefore no
[597] longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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A M 802

The numbers are called:	Among the Meau in Thailand:	Among the Akha:
1 000	ly kyŭn	ti mŭ
10 000	kŏŭ kyŭn	ti ɔ̨
100 000	pŏn kyŭn	ti lŭm
many	mɔ̨ mɔ̨n dan	yŭm yi

In the case of numbers higher than twenty, various aids are used for further counting. Rice kernels, for instance, may represent the tens and maize the hundreds, for which I have given a practical example in the description of the division of the estate after the death of a family head (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Right of Succession").

A M [211] On the other hand, other counting aids, such as knotted cords and the like, are unknown, as are notched sticks, which serve exclusively as a promissory note, and, to be sure, only among the Meau, but not among the Akha (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law"). Savina (1) reports differently

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A M 803 868 Among both mountain peoples, I was unable to find any special arithmetical method or system. Also, no arithmetical instruction is given; the appropriate knowledge like all other knowledge, is picked up in daily life.

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water 252

[text continues on p. 106]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel [412] called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and [373] strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

[10 cont.]

585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight, 591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first 852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would 431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a [804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their [755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/427 cont./

A 439 valleys are likewise sought out by the Akha, is only irregular. In this connection the Chinese who live among the Lao are also sought out for the purpose of smuggling opium, whereby the trader gets the raw product for the merest fraction of the actual selling value, even though the Akha try to strike the best possible A [435] bargain. The reason is primarily, as among the Meau, the lack of contact with the outside world, so that the Akha, too, have no way of comparing the prices offered. Incidentally, there are regions where the Akha refuse to go to the valleys to engage in trade. I discovered, for instance, that the Akha living in villages along the Doy Tung, who, to be sure, could easily have reached the valley stores of the Lao and Chinese, never left their mountains, but rather produced all the necessities of life themselves.

A [438] Among the Akha, too, all trade is undertaken during the dry season. The observation that within the tribe goods are obtained directly from the producer, without any carrying trade, and outside the tribe rarely from the producer and mostly from the trader, is generally true for both peoples.

M 804 177 The Meau are not familiar with any weights and balances and use those of the Chinese. On the other hand, it is indicative of the importance of cotton among the Akha that they have a A 804 special cotton weighing-machine. In connection with this there is a weight, the only one the Akha know, which they call hǎlǒ, a stone that weighs about three-quarters of a kilogram. Every Akha village has such a weight. It is the chief's duty to A [622] produce and to preserve it (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship"). To make it, the chief borrows a hǎlǒ from a neighboring village /428/ and then grinds a suitable stone until its weight corresponds exactly to that of the borrowed one. Every inhabitant of the village who needs the weight may borrow it from the chief without a fee. The cotton trade in the Akha villages requires con- A [439] siderable patience if only because of the complicated weighing procedure. Every quantity that is sold, however, must be weighed little by little, in portions corresponding to the weight of three-quarters of a kilogram.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/428 cont./

M 804 As for linear measures, the Meau are familiar with the fathom, ĭtlǎn, which extends from the tip of the middle finger of an outstretched hand to the same one on the other hand. The span of the Meau, nǎ klŏ, is the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the outstretched index finger. The ell, from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, is called ĭ tsĕ; another linear measure, the distance from the tip of the middle finger to the middle of the body, is called ĭ tsę tlǎn. Finally, the Meau have the linear measure of a foot, tēŭ, and the pace, kŏ tǭǎ.

A 804 Of the linear measures of the Akha, I was able to ascertain the following: The fathom, called tĭnŭm, corresponds to the one of the Meau. The span, tĭtǭ, differing from the span of the Meau, extends from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger of the outstretched hand. The ell, called tĭtsǎ, is the same as that of the Meau.

A M 804 As a dry measure for measuring maize, rice, and the like, the Meau use a round calabash, which is called šǎ; ten šǎ are a basket, tĕŭ; ten baskets, a tǎn, correspond to about 68 kilograms. The Akha, on the other hand, have only a sort of measuring basket which they call gǎpū.

M 804 [439] Liquids are measured by the Meau in bottles which they buy from the Chinese. Small bottles holding about half a liter are called ĭy kī; two small bottles amount to one big one, which is called aŭ kī.

A 804 [439] The Akha likewise measure by bottles, which they buy from the Lao or Schan /Shan/. Among the Akha, the small ones are called mĕtsǎ, among the Lao hā hŏy. Among them, too, two small ones amount to one large bottle, which is called tĭbǎ by the Akha, kŭǭt by the Lao.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563

(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land 243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung 245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees 245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar [805] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in [482] groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the [412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place [258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the [439] outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the [252] seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed. 292

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family. 241

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*.* For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children. 805 796 241 527

*See p. 50.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
527 thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
541 embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or
[764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)* and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains
243 to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

243 very widely scattered near to and far from the
805 village, so that when the plants were ready for
241 transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

241 This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) con-
243 tinued for more than a month. During that
805 time the young people, both married and
574 single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

241 During the third month (the second half of April and the first half of May, 1942) there
312 was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

[412] [373]

12: Wu and Ch'en--98 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[148 cont.]

[114] (First published in Shê-hui yen-chiu [Sociological Studies], No. 20, March 25, 1941.)

[180]

The Festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun

Ch'en Kuo-chün

805 796 The calendar used by the various Miao-I tribes at An-shun is the lunar calendar, but as a rule nobody remembers dates or knows the exact time of the New Year's day, those having almanacs at home being very few. To count the days they generally use the symbolic animals of the twelve cyclical branches, -- rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar -- because the markets are held on days named after these animals. But those who can calculate the days according to them are very few. Indeed the majority of the people do not even know the day and month in which they were born. The occurrence of an event on a particular day cannot be recalled with accuracy a month hence, and after a year it is relegated to limbo with at most perhaps a vague notion that it took place at the time of peach blossom, or in the planting season, or during harvest time.

Although the calendar used by the Miao-I is identical to 796 that of the Chinese and likewise the year is divided into twelve months, the festivals observed are somewhat different in importance. The Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia, for instance, regard the sixth day of the sixth month as the greatest festival. The following is a month by month account of the festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun during the year.

The First Month. The first day of the first month is the beginning of the year. The Miao-I in this district would stick up paper money on the door of the house, which is also decorated with red peppers strung together with scented rice straw. Some of the Chung-chia people imitate the Chinese by asking calligraphers to pen symmetrical New Year verses for the door,

39: Bernatzik--581 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/431/

Chapter 25

Time-reckoning and the Division of the Day

805

The Meau reckon by days. This is already shown by the designation for day, dŏ nŭ, literally, day-sun. The month, ĭs dĭ, of the Meau has thirty days; the year, tsŭn, is reckoned by moons. Twelve moons are one year. It begins with the new moon in December and is ushered in with tremendous festivals (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). If circumstances occur which prevent a proper appreciation of the beginning of the new year, the festivities are postponed to a more suitable time.

[796]

805 114 171 [796]

This custom seems to have given the impression among outside observers that the Meau have no calendar and celebrate the beginning of the new year at very different times (Savina (1)).

1. II, p. VII and p. 222.

Some people have even arrived at the view that the time reckoning of the Meau is of Chinese origin, as Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 314.

maintains, or even Dhuraratsadorn (3), who states concerning

3. Page 172.

this that the New Year's festival of the Meau coincides with that of the Chinese. On the contrary, the divided year of the Meau is fundamentally different from that of their neighbors, the Chinese, Yau /Yao/, Lahu (Mushŏ /Musso/), and Lisu, whose new year begins in January, or that of the Lao, which begins on April 14, and that of the Thailanders, which begins on March 31.

Miao AE5

/431 cont./

805 114 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 [527] I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97).[1] For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at [825] night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up [221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use [824] any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that [825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1 [see dat 116, p 663- ANALYST]

/432 cont./

●805 821 192 According to my observations, the times of day are reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lūn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gē. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tŏă, noon, nū tŭe ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kău, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, [264] and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women [517] settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

M 353 /41 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[35] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
514 animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
M 251 Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[813] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
M 241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a superhuman, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntzong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

I wear is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194 [193]

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
[756] and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien] and a body [ko-ʔ'ieŋ/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[961] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pe ts'ə̃ŋ]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ
[824] ɕo] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ ndu]. When there is a
+[782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

/163 cont./

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776

Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third

> 1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Yang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 776 [753] [93] 372 [82]

When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*[787] voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and distributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over, the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
[578] the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe from this kuei.

[821]
[774]
[755]

(16) The Wind Kuei

If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better, it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
[931] For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[782] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[821] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

775 and transmigration, is known and accepted by the Ch'uan Miao but does not
776 seem to be absorbed and does not greatly affect the lives of the people. The soul is real but shadowy, and the soul of a good man is larger than that of a bad man.

Demons are the souls of human beings or of birds, animals, reptiles, or inanimate things. If a deceased person has no descendants or if his descendants are unfilial and do not meet his needs by making the customary offerings, he becomes a demon and harms people. Demons of human beings are called *glang*, and demons of other living creatures are called *ts'ao*. When a person goes crazy and speaks in a meaningless or silly way, it is thought that he is possessed by a demon who is speaking through him. His speech is then called *glang lo* or demon talk.

The idols in the Chinese temples are regarded as demons and are called *glang miao*. There is one devil called *glang da lo* who is so big that he can step from one mountaintop to another and from the earth to the sky. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb, and if he strikes a person on the chest with the palm of his hand the person dies, and the marks of his palm can be seen on the dead person's chest. There is another sky demon or devil called *ndo glang* who is worshiped by an elaborate ceremony in which a sow is killed.

The gods of the Ch'uan Miao are invisible unless they choose to reveal themselves to human beings. Chief among these is Ntzī, who lives in the sky and controls heaven and earth. He is regarded as good, just, kindly, and very powerful. He is the supreme but not the only god. Some stories tell of his sending his daughter to help poor and unfortunate men, and she generally marries them. A name that is sometimes used is Ntzī (or Ndgü) Nyong Leo, which means god, foundation, old. It apparently designates the same deity.

Another very interesting deity is called Ye Seo, Yei Seo, or ʒɛ Seo. He never dies, is very wise, kindly, merciful, and just, induces people to do good deeds, and helps people, especially the poor, who are in trouble. He is often seen in the clouds and can easily make himself visible or invisible. In the province of Canton the name Jesus is often pronounced Ye Seo, but it is uncertain whether the name and character of this deity have any relation to Jesus Christ.

There is a female deity who lives in the sky called Ts'ī Ma Niang Tsai. She is very merciful and especially shows kindness to unfortunate children.

821 There is a warty toad called in Chinese *lai ke pao*, which is believed to have
776 marvelous powers and to cause hailstorms. During these storms men shoot off guns to frighten the toad and cause it to cease sending down hail.

There is a dragon king who causes rain and who lives in a palace beneath a pool or lake. There are stories that tell of his daughter's marrying a very poor man in order to help him.

776 Certain kinds of trees are sometimes worshiped as deities. They are generally trees on hills or mountains that are old and do not shed their leaves in winter—evergreens such as the *non muh*, but never a fir or pine tree.

778 A strange custom is the worship of the door. The thick doorsill together with the door itself, which often has two wings, is regarded as a deity and is worshiped in an elaborate ceremony in which a pig is killed and offered.

[146 cont.]
773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[786] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

/168 cont./

231 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect
776 a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters
from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here
[731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a
[789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading
the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is
[243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pĕ dŏ. Savina (1)

[114 775]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this c chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in-
[931] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore espe-
[825] cially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals
[224] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[773] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who
[821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They pre-
[626] sume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

/169 cont: /

M 776 spirits and regard lightning as the avenging power, so to speak, with which these spirits punish rebellious mortals.

● 821 [626] The Meau do not know how an eclipse of the sun or the moon is produced. As soon as such natural events occur, one must shut himself up at home and may not in any case look at the stars because the latter are being eaten by evil spirits. If one should look nevertheless, the spirits concerned would likewise eat him in an instant. How it happens that the "devoured" stars appear again cannot be explained, nor is it attempted.

M 177 821 [776] The Meau also do not associate the aforementioned natural phenomena with the supreme "Father-Mother" spirit. How little the religious views of the peoples with whom the Meau come in contact have been adopted is shown by the fact that they pay no attention to comets, whose appearance is of great significance for their Laotian and Chinese neighbors. This is all the more striking since among the Chinese the appearance of a comet signifies the outbreak of a war or revolution, among the Lao the death of a person of royal blood, both being conceptions which, in view of the history and mentality of the Meau, could certainly psychologically /170/ make an impression on them. As has been said, however, although the Meau know the deities of the neighboring peoples, they are little influenced by their views.

A 776 Among the Akha, too, I discovered the conception of a supreme being, which is found in such a marked fashion in the religion of the Meau, and, to be sure, among the Akha it is the god of heaven, ǎdŏdŭchŏ. He likewise resides in and above the clouds, and all the other spirits are subject to him. Accordingly, A [782] he automatically partakes of all the sacrifices offered by the human beings to the other spirits, and therefore special offerings to him are regarded as unnecessary. Telford's (1) opinion that

1. Page 98.

such a conception is only "vague" among the Akha contrasts with A these findings. Perhaps, however, Telford's words refer to the [773] spirit "yǎbĭdĕlǎhǎt," who created the universe. In any case,

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
[821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[763] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is
[171] interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

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/214 cont./

M 784 [756] [626] [821] corresponding period has elapsed. Otherwise, however, not even the shaman has the power nowadays to lift or to modify a taboo. The people are convinced that non-observance, which would bring the punishment called for in connection with the particular prohibition, would be generally punished by the spirits and ancestors so that lightning would strike the malefactor and kill him.

A 776 782 [171] The cultic practices of the Akha are generally similar to those of the Meau, but quite different in particulars. The Akha devote a regular cult to all the spirits and ancestors, with the exception of the god of heaven, "ǎdŏdŭchŏ," and the spirit of the world. The god of heaven, it will be recalled, remains excluded from the regular cult, because in the view of the Akha he dwells above and below the clouds, all the other spirits are his subjects, and therefore he, of course, partakes of all the sacrifices offered to them. As has also been stated, the creator of the world, "yǎbĭdĕĭăhăt," about whom I could learn only vague ideas, is likewise offered no sacrifices, but I was unable to obtain more detailed information on this.

A 782 The Akha, too, view the sacrifice as a means of making the spirits and ancestors favorably disposed toward them and likewise use invocations to establish contact with the spirit concerned or the ancestors during the sacrifice. In contrast to the

A [516] Meau, however, the Akha do not assume a definite position while uttering their prayers. /215/ Some may be seen bending one

A [788] knee, others squat, and still others stand. Set prayer formulas, here again in parallel with the Meau, are also unknown among the Akha. One turns to the spirit with ordinary words and explains the matter to him in detail. Such prayers or invocations are always associated with the offering of sacrifices, which, however, in comparison with the Meau, are relatively rare.

/Fig. 56 appears here./

A 782 778 [241] The sacrifices are usually offered at the presumable abode of the spirit concerned, if special sacrificial places or little temples have not been erected for this by the Akha (Fig. 56). For example, before clearing is begun, a small temple abode is erected for the field spirit, yǎmyǎtsǎ, and sacrifices are made

/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lūn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gē. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tóă, noon, nū tŭe ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kău, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next [264] day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, [517] can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

/470 cont./

177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the [824] Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of [724] war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re- [675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.

/177 cont./

428 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to
756 go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 It is the task of the shaman to learn the
787 wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make
[775] them known to human beings. The shaman, however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also im-
756 possible for the shaman to bewitch human
[754] beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural
[789] powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40
Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the
755 spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors,
789 the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which
[822] color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures
[787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant
[778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
787 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/68 cont'd/

4. Magic

754 The Miao have a kind of "black magic," which is intended to injure other people. If a man has a bad enemy, he requests a Taoist priest to avenge him through sorcery. The method is to write the enemy's name on a piece of paper, which is nailed up in a grove of trees. The enemy's soul is thus confined, and he will fall ill with a strange disease and slowly sink into a half-alive state. The only way the victim can be saved is to get hold of the sorceror and compel him to release the soul from imprisonment.

755 This was what I heard from the Miao. Whether this magic was really workable I still do not know. However, I once encountered a disabled man in the home of a Li headman. I was told that this disablement was due to the fact that when this man was a follower of a Li headman who had attacked the Miao, he had killed a great many people. For revenge, the Miao had confined his soul. Might this story be true!

5. Superstition

●823 The Miao believe in feng-shui /Chinese system of geomancy/. When I was in Ang-chi village, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang, told me that the reason the Miao people there were so poor was because the feng-shui was not good there. He also pointed out how the feng-shui was poor. The mountain peaks were too sharp, there was a lack of springs, and the aspect was too narrow, so that there was nothing from which wealth could issue. His cousin, a pao-ch'ang, 756 also asked me whether I knew how to practice feng-shui. I gave him a negative answer. He said that he would save more money to enable him to engage a good master of feng-shui, who would find for him a place of prosperity.

787 They also believe in fortunetelling through horoscopes and the practice of physiognomy. While I was there a number of them asked me whether I knew how to read horoscopes and practice physiognomy. /69/ There are some aspects of their social life that have led the Miao to believe in such superstitions. We will discuss it in detail in the next chapter.

/180 cont./

*[782] and reads the petition. After this, amidst the sound of gong and drum, he gives one long blast of the horn. The host then gets up and stands at the side. Holding the prayer box in the left hand and shaking the ritual knife in his right hand, the sorcerer-
[788] priest takes the three-step walk toward the Peach Spring cave, uttering the incantation to present money. After a passage has been recited, he hangs the ritual knife on his right wrist and gesticulates with his finger as if writing characters on the prayer box. Then he continues his incantation, blowing on the horn at the same time. After two blows, holding the whip in his right hand, he stands up, and first facing inward, he strikes the ground once with the whip, then facing outward, he strikes the ground twice. Turning once more inward, he again strikes the ground, and also blows the horn, Then he utters another incantation passage. Then he turns, facing out the door, and puts the prayer box on a small table and blows the horn once more. When the incantation is finished, he raps the horn with the knife and utters an incantation invoking the meritorious spirits. After the incantation,
*[787] he divines, and, when the sheng or the yang chiao is obtained, he shakes the ritual knife several times, facing the man /men?/ beating the drum and gong, ordering him to stop, and then utters an invocation pledging in wine to the meritorious shen. After pledging with wine three times and pouring it three times, he asks the shen to accept the items on sacrifice. When he divines and the
*[787] sheng chiao appears, he knows that the shen have accepted the articles, and then he burns the four prayer boxes and removes the items on sacrifice. He puts the ritual knife and the whip on the
• [823] ground, utters an incantation, and following the eight directions in sequence, east, west, south, north, northeast, southwest, northwest, and southeast, he takes the three-step walk, to make a square, and stamps once on the ground with his feet. After he has gone past the eight directions, he turns to the right of the Peach Spring cave and utters the incantation to invoke the shen and the ancestral spirits of the host. After the incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up the whip and the ritual knife he had put on the ground and takes the chiao-tzu and the spirit tablets,

/180 cont./

*[782] and recites the names of the shen. After he has finished, he
*[787] once more lays all the articles on the ground, and begins to divine for the luck of the host's whole family. After the sheng chiao is obtained he puts back the articles in their original places. /181/ The sorcerer-priest then picks up the tablets with his right hand, holds the horn in his left hand, and walks to the doorsill. Putting his left foot on the doorsill, he first blows the horn and then slaps the door three times with the tablets. The beating of the gong and the drum ceases, and he utters the fa-ling /literally, "give the order"/ incantation. After this, the beating of the gong and the drum is resumed, and the sorcerer-priest blows his horn, standing facing the Peach Spring cave. Holding the ritual knife in his right hand, he waves a little at the drum and gong beater to stop, and utters an incantation inviting the shen to mount the altar.

The fifth part is Chieh Chieh /"connecting (or making welcome) the streets/, and is divided into three sections. The first section is Chin-chou Street. The sorcerer-priest wears a
[292] red kerchief around his head and a red garment. First, holding the horn in his right hand, he blows it once, and then changing it over to his left hand, he waves the ritual knife with his right hand. He takes the three-step walk in ffont of the Peach Spring cave and recites the Chieh Chieh /"connecting the streets"/ in-
[823] cantations. It is divided into incantations for the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. When he utters the incantation for the east, he faces the inside of the house. For the south and the west he faces outside. For the north he faces inside again, and for the center, outside again. Each time he finishes reciting, he must blow his horn and circle around twice.

The second section is Wu-lui Street /"the street of five thunders"/. The costume of the sorcerer-priest and his ritual implements, as well as the ritual, are the same as those for the first section. The incantations except for a few phrases are also the same.

The third section is Lo-wang Street. The costume of the sorcerer-priest is the same as above. He holds the whip in his left hand and shakes the ritual knife with his right hand, takes

amined. If the white of the egg shows a concave dent, then it is a proof of the existence of the poison. Thereupon the members of the sick person's family would shout curses outside the gate, so that the dispenser of the venom would come by himself or herself to get rid of it. Also there are cases where sick persons escape to other villages to avoid attack by these poisonous agents. We have closely investigated many areas but have not yet discovered a single instance of some one who actually possesses poisonous insects or medicines. This is after all pure superstition. But the Miao people believe in it strongly and take every precaution against it. A woman who is suspected of possessing poisonous insects may never expect to be married, and a man who is found to own such medicines is subject to lynching and expulsion. The belief of the I tribe in this connection is less deeply rooted than that of the Miao. 754 787

(16) Feng-shui. The Chung-chia in An-shun believe in Feng-shui /wind and water/ much more than the local Chinese. In the Chung-chia village there are one or two persons noted for their ability to divine Feng-shui such as in building a house and erecting grave mounds, the fortune of the offspring being dependent upon how these are located in relation to nature, mountain and river, and their shapes and conditions. It is further believed that the unusual rocks and overhanging cliffs as well as the green trees and gigantic vines in the mountains are endowed with the spiritual essence of the universe which serves to suppress the baleful vapors of the valleys and rivers. So even though it is known that a certain mountain yields valuable minerals, people will not mine them for fear of upsetting the stabilizing influence of these precious substances. 787 823

Of all the foregoing superstitions the 000

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

823 I can hardly affirm that the Ch'uan Miao believe that the world is flat. The untutored Miao does not know that the world is round, but he sees and climbs and farms so many hills and cliffs and mountains that he regards the world as only comparatively flat. The world has an end somewhere, but he has no conception of its size.

772 Above the sky, or rather on it, is a level land where the souls remain after death with the souls of their ancestors. This paradise is Ntsə ni lʌu GʌU bi or the level land of Ntsə. There are no hills to climb and there is neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day. Although there are no rainstorms there is no lack of moisture. Those who live there do not farm but find in the forests such things to eat as berries and fruit, as people are supposed to have done on earth in very ancient times. They are given food, clothing and money by their descendants through the memorial and calendar festivals. It is a good place to live in but not as good as this world. There is a ladder to the sky, but ordinarily mortals cannot go up. Some have swooned away and returned and related to their friends what they saw in the level land of Ntsə.

Under this earth there is another world inhabited by dwarfs. These are called in Chinese *sao pa jén* 掃把人 or broom people, because they are as tall as small Chinese brooms or about two feet high. They farm and have their own king, soldiers and government. They live very much as people on this earth, but they have much smaller houses, farms, etc. One Miao fell into dwarfland through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace, and later came back to the earth through a crack in the ground caused by a drought. When rain finally came, the ground swelled and closed up the crack.

In a special region dragons live or at least the king of dragons lives there. Other stories are told of fishermen who hooked the king of dragons or other dragons with fishhooks in rivers and creeks. To reach the palace of the dragon king it is always necessary to go down through pools of water. When the palace is reached, everything is normal and dry.

There is a special region where demons live where it is always dark. People rarely go there although certain legends describe it.

177 775 The Chinese idea of three principal souls or *hun* 魂 and seven lesser souls or *p'o* 魄 is accepted by these people. The *hun* are called in Ch'uan Miao pl'ei and the *p'o* are called *mpl'o*. Of the three principal souls, one remains in the tomb, one goes to Ntsə's level country. One stays among the beams under the roof of the house. On the other hand, one is supposed to be reincarnated. The ideas of reincarnation and of the three *hun* and seven *p'o* were learned evidently from the Chinese; my impression is that they have not been well assimilated.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/954 AE5 Miao AE5

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzə^{3} Ti$^{\cdot 5}$ lau^{2} gau^{1} bi^{0}). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

[24 cont.]

764 All night they beat drums and play liu-sheng (6-reed wind instrument). The following day is the day of mourning when friends and relatives bring along different kinds of gifts as expressions of condolence. Some would bring a basketful of glutinous rice; some, a jug of wine; others, firecrackers, candles, incense and paper money. The host would slaughter a buffalo or a horse to feed the mourners. At the same time he has to kill a male dog so that in the nether world the dog can watch the buffalo or the [775] horse. The four legs of the animal are divided among the married children of the family and close relatives, distant relations being given only other parts of the meat. When there are not many relatives, each can bring home a piece of meat weighing about three or four catties. On the third day the corpse is lowered into the coffin after being clothed in four, six or eight black garments as well as shoes and socks. The number of sheets on which the corpse lies depends upon the number of children of the deceased. In case the deceased is childless, he is wrapped only in one sheet. There are three kinds of coffins: the rich use two coffins, the inner and the outer. Ordinary families use the outer coffin; the poor use the inner coffin, also known as the "fire box." The inner and the outer coffins are finished with black paint, but the "fire box" is made of plain wood. All coffins have their fixed dimensions. The inner coffin is one inch thick, five feet two inches long [sic], one foot and two inches wide at the feet and one foot three inches wide at the head. The outer coffin is one foot eight inches thick at the head, nine inches thick at the feet for the upper board, and eight inches thick for the bottom board, the total length being five feet eight inches, the width at the feet being one foot five inches, and the width at the head, two feet. The Miao have the strongest ob- [823] jection to the presence of iron or [25] copper in the coffin. At the time of burial the family members have to make a last minute inspection for fear some one might slip into the coffin some metal pieces. They believe that "to bury the dead with iron and copper will cause annihilation to the whole family."

As soon as a corpse is laid in a coffin, the burial takes place. This is called "fu-shan" [supporting the mountain]. The larger

/10 cont./

174 [173] The description by the Meau concerning their later history from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they [823] would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agree with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

[648] We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B. C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

175 648 each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports, around the twenty-seventh century B. C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history

/188 cont./

789 Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to
[753] the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," for protection against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak, are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most effective substances known against certain individual spirits and therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root
[824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits, the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the Méau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this
[301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There
[776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets
[714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
[756] and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
* [782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta] pia˧˥. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien˧˥] and a body [ko˧˥-ʰ'ieŋ˧˥]. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pe˧˥ ts'ə˧˥]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ˧˥ ɕo˧˥] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ˧˥ ndu˧˥]. When there is a
[824] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
* [782] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated
[237] above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

/150 cont./

*782 The sorcerer-priest again offers wine and meat. Kan lo kuei please eat a lot, once, twice, thrice -- all please eat. After eating, please go home. Hereafter when the host divines by the diagrams or calculates a horoscope, let not the names of kan lo kuei be arrived at again. When the host in the future calculates for other kuei, he must not see the names of kan lo kuei come out again, for he cannot select a day for offering sacrifices to the kan lo kuei. From now on all the omens of the host's dreams shall be auspicious, all dangerous matters will be cut off; ten thousand years of peace and contentment. [ha ji jo ho ho!]

[787] After the Miao sorcerer finishes the incantation, he throws the chiao-tzu on the ground to divine whether the kuei have gone or not. If the yin chiao and the sheng chiao appear, the kuei have already gone, but if the yang chiao appears then the kuei have not yet gone. He must again utter the incantation to send off the kuei, with slight variations this time, such as: "Now, we are sending the kuei back, our thanks to you! On this occasion the wine and meat were not plentiful, which we regret." Then he begins to divine with the chiao again until the [787] yin chiao appears. All the paper money and other paper things are burned, and the sacrifice is over.

(8) Sending Away the Supernatural Force of the Old Trees

*782 If a Miao inside the house suddenly hears a strange noise and on opening the door does not see anything, then he thinks that the big trees in front of or behind the house or near the village are acting up. It is the two kuei [nan¹ ŋuei¹ t'oŋ¹ ndu⅄] and [nan¹ nu¹ t'oŋ¹ ɕho¹] coming to eat. The sorcerer-priest must be asked to come to expel the supernatural forces of the old trees, in Miao called [ɕi¹ ndu⅄]. At night a table is put outside the main entrance. On the table are placed five

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

the porcupine, whose flesh is eaten, and whose shiny black 224
and white quills, often a foot long, have various uses. The 262
flying squirrel is a rarer victim, as only the poisoned dart shot from the crossbow by a skilled hunter is quick enough to strike it. Jungle fowl of all sorts are used for food.

The fishing is usually done on a large scale. If a 226
youngster goes a-fishing, his outfit is a piece of bamboo and a piece of hemp string with a noose on the end, where he nooses his catch. But when the rivers are low a whole village or perhaps several villages will join in a common fishing expedition. Some of the men dam the river, others 824
go to the forest and come back laden with the bark of a 227
certain tree and a certain vine. These barks are pounded in mortars until well macerated, mixed, and pounds and pounds of the "medicine" are poured into the river above the dam. The mixture kills or stupifies the fish, which rise to the top of the water and are easily secured. The catch often amounts 226
to a thousand-odd pounds of fish, not to mention crabs and eels and other creatures. The fish are cleaned immediately and the people eat them without fear although they say that a chicken or duck that eats the entrails will sometimes die from the poison. The fish not wanted for immediate con- [251]
sumption are salted down with a variety of pooped rice and kept for future use. This method may injure the small fish in the river—undoubtedly it does injure them in the immediate vicinity of the catching—but does not have any serious effect on the total supply, apparently.

The costume worn by the men differs very little from 291
that worn by an ordinary Chinese labourer except in the way the coat fastens, as it laps a little to the left and fastens slantingly down the front. The costume worn by the women however, is the distinguishing feature of the people, and is a very attractive outfit in its blue and red with touches of other colours on the head kerchief. For a grown woman, the costume consists of a kerchief, a coat and a short skirt, both dark blue, and dark blue puttees. A narrow red silk girdle, about an inch wide, woven by the women themselves and ending in long fringe, is worn around the hips. The same style of tie, only about a quarter of an inch wide, fastens each puttee just below the knee. The material for the clothing is bought from the traders, and is a coarse, heavy, unbleached cotton cloth. The women dye the goods with indigo and set the colour with pigs blood. The coat is made quite like a Chinese woman's coat, but reaching to the knees and not lapping so far over to the side. A piece of turkey red cotton is embroidered and put on as a narrow collar band; the bottoms of the rather loose sleeves are edged the same

/188 cont./

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[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this [301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

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1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

/210 cont./

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
[413] however, only after it has been punched with the special punches in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
787 Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
[177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses,
[177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yǎ. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[847] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kī, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

177 In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role;
278 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
832 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game, for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
[824] ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/ without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude, and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface, a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
[417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hundred meters long."

/265 cont./

621 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one
596 large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

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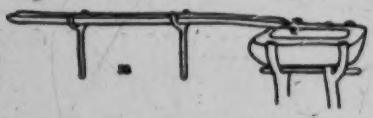


Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.
[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of
621 the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice
[343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per-
[551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize
[343] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the
[551] house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[164] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good
[732] worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with
the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on
unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses, 3. Stables,
2. Granary housing, 4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On
[353] the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs. 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on P. 369]

/276 cont./

342 [824] After this is done, the men go into the bush and cut the supporting posts, usually teak wood, without making any kind of offering. They trim them on the spot and then carry them to the building site where they are worked on and finished. Now the two corner posts are driven in at the lower place of the incline, and then the future occupant says in a loud voice: "May the evil spirits shun this site in the future, for now I am living here." Then

Fig. 75. Rafters tied together.

Fig. 76. Ridge construction: A = ridge stringer, B = ridge posts, C = roof truss. About 1/66 nat. size.

Fig. 75-76. Ridge Construction of the Meau.

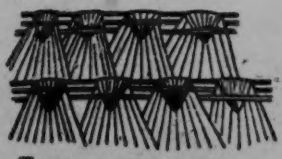


Fig. 77. Leaf shingles, 1/33 nat. size.

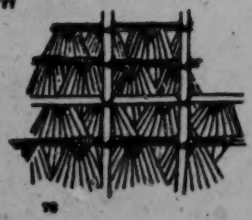


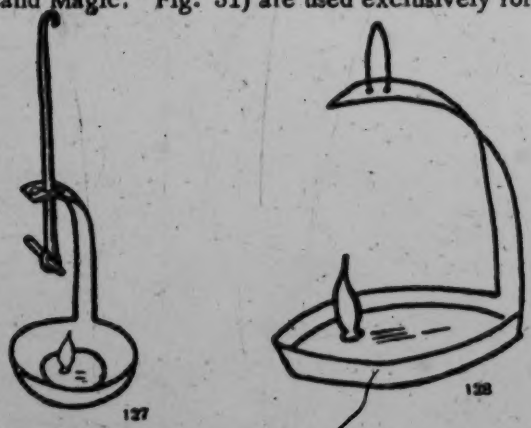
Fig. 78. Roof truss with leaf shingles attached, 1/50 nat. size.

Figs. 77-78. Roof Covering of the Meau.

/303 cont./

353 The arrangements of every house include the altar and
778 the sacrificial and cult equipment which were described in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (Figs. 41-54).

354 For heating the house the previously mentioned hearth fire and the open fireplaces serve. After the onset of darkness, both are the chief sources of light. There are also, however, special iron lamps (Figs. 127 and 128), in which oil is used
[824] as fuel. Torches made of resinous pine shavings are also in use and stand ready /Figs. 127-128 appear here/ to be used, especially at night out in the open. On the other hand, incense candles and fat-lamps (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 51) are used exclusively for cult purposes.



Figs. 127-128. Iron lamps of the Meau.

Fig. 127. Hanging lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.
Fig. 128. Standing lamp, about 1/4 nat. size.

353 /There are many kinds of devices for putting up or
352 hanging household equipment. Over the open fireplace in every house of the Meau hang large shelves (Fig. 129) which are fastened to the beams of the storage
[251] loft. They are used chiefly for smoking meat and other foostuffs, but /304/ also for storing seeds, such as ears of maize and the like (Ill. 100). Next to the

/323 cont./

292 Against rain, the men wear coarsely plaited rain hats made of straw.

The men's clothing of the Meau does not differ from the
291 clothing of the boys. As Lajonquière (1) remarks, men's
184

1. II, p. 307.

[177] clothing is the same among all the tribes. Only the tribes that live in close contact with the Chinese are said to resemble them more and more in dress.

Another author, Abadie (2), also mentions fur-lined vests

2. Page 153.

such as the cold continental climate of Yunnan probably requires, but not that of Indochina or Thailand. The statements of other authors, such as Lajonquière (3) and Savina (4), show that the

3. II.

4. II, p. 211.

clothing of the Meau otherwise, even in other countries, does not essentially differ from that described here. /324/

I could not find footgear anywhere among the Meau in Thailand. Other authors, too, mention this. It is also stated,
[177] however, (1) that some Meau have adopted the Chinese custom

1. Abadie, p. 153.

[824] of wearing sandals with soles made of rattan fibers or bamboo or even Chinese slippers made of canvas. Sandals plaited out of bamboo fibers are also mentioned. One author (2) reports

2. Savina, II, p. 211.

[554] that among the various Meau tribes in Tonkin the clothing of

/345 cont./

224 e can be wedged between the crossbar d and a foot board. After the trap has been set, the block and tackle are removed.

As an example of the behavior of the Meau hunter while stalking game in the forest, I give in the following a description from my journal: "Scouts had reported to us that a powerful lone bull elephant with mighty tusks had taken cover not far from the village. Early in the morning I set out with the chief. We climbed a steep slope and then stood at the edge of a gorge, from the bottom of which came the sound of the breaking of branches. The large mammal stood below, which made the face of the Meau light up happily. He bent forward, remained there for some time, then climbed a tree, changed his observation post several more times, and finally, from the direction of the sound, decided that the elephant was on the opposite mountain slope.

Since in order to reach him, we would have had to wind through the deep gorge in between and it was already late in the afternoon, there was no prospect of reaching the bull still that same day. The chief therefore proposed that we spend the night on the spot in order to be able to take up the chase at dawn, since he figured that he would be able to determine the location of the elephant from where we were. The Meau therefore put up a small windscreen, large enough to protect us, if necessary, against a storm. He closed off three sides of it with leaves of the fan palm, their stems thrust into the ground, in order, as he put it, to prevent the warmth from escaping. He then covered the ground with a layer of leaves about ten centimeters high, which was an excellent bed, for it was soft and kept off the dampness of the ground. At the open side of the windscreen he lighted a fire. These tasks took him about 30 minutes.

224 484 [342] [513]

"Then he began to prepare the evening meal. He searched for water, and after only a few minutes he returned with bamboo-water. In /346/ these regions one can find water stored up in the hollow spaces of certain species of bamboo, even during the dry season. To get the water, such bamboos are cut between the partitioning walls, the liquid that flows out is caught in a bamboo vessel. A thick green bamboo also provided a vessel in which the rice was then cooked. The green

[824] [272] [415] [252] [824]

/346 cont./

224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
[824] large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[415] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[782] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
[264] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[574] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[262] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small,
[263] brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

39: Bernatzik--503 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/372/

Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are [515] thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too occasionally cook.

E-5

39: Bernatzik--511/(1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 378/

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Ill. 67. Nine-year-old Meau girl at the drawing test.

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Ill. 68. Meau children make chains out of fragrant blossoms.

Miao AES

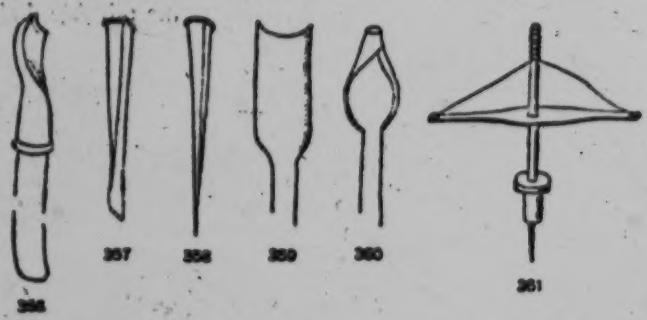
/406 cont./

322 [412] stamping out spirit-money (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic") round punches (Fig. 359) and hollow punches (Fig. 360) are in use. /Figs. 356-361 appear here./

The posts on which the houses rest are made of termite-proof teak or of pine wood; for all other purposes, regardless of whether it is a matter of building material or wood for the making of implements, termite-proof wood is not used, but rather other kinds of varying hardness. The tree trunks are

[824] [313]

412



Figs. 356-358 and 361. Woodworking Instruments of the Meau.

Figs. 359-360. Paper Punches of the Meau.
Fig. 356. Round chisel, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 357. Flat chisel, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 358. Awl, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 359. Round punch, about 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 360. Hollow punch, about 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 361. Drill, 1/20 nat. size.

322 [313] felled with the ax, barked, and split apart into planks with wooden wedges. If it is a matter of wood that cannot be split along the grain, one does not use even the wedge, but cuts a single board out of each trunk with the ax by ripping off one chip after another from either side until a plank of the required thickness is obtained. This is a very laborious procedure, but usually one can select wood that can be split with wedges. In that case the Meau obtain the planks needed for a whole house from a few strong tree trunks.

Miao AE5

/406 cont./

322 Aside from the construction of houses and stables, wood
824 has /407/ an extraordinary number of uses. For example, tables, benches, stools (Ill. 107) 3 and beds, the distillation apparatus for making alcohol, rice mills, rice steamers and pounders, the troughs for the pig fodder, and the pack saddles for the animals (Ill. 81) 2 are made of it; furthermore the handles of tools and knives, sheaths for knives, spear shafts and the gun stocks, crossbows, bellows (Ill. 82), 3 and musical instruments, such as the mouth organ, are produced from it; the altars (Ill. 99) 4 are built out of it; it is likewise necessary for building wells,
[386] and, finally, dyestuff is also obtained from wood.

Since the Meau have long since left the Neolithic, stone
324 tools are no longer in use, and since the immigration of the
[412] Meau into their present habitation area in northern Thailand
[174] took place only a few decades ago, I could no longer find any such material from their early history. On the other hand, even today the Meau work stone into grindstones (Ill. 94) 5 or whetstones. Moreover, from a soft porous stone which they burn out before working, they make the crucibles (Fig. 365)
325 and casting molds (Ill. 82) for silver and copper, since they have a considerable knowledge of the use and working of metals. On the other hand, they are not in a position to obtain metals from ore, nor can they smelt wrought iron, but with the help of their bellows (Figs. 362-364) and a charcoal fire they know how to forge and weld it. They can smelt cast iron
[439] which they obtain from broken pots and pans acquired from the Chinese traders. From this kind of iron, bullets and even implements, such as the shoe of the digging stick (Fig. 267) are molded. For this a mud mold is made of an implement for which one wants to make a new piece, and it now serves for the new casting. Casting by dead mold is unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

The forging equipment (Ill. 82) is of wood, iron, or stone and is entirely made by a Meau smith. It is:

1 [See Cat 116, P706 - ANALYST]
2 + 3 [" " " P596 - "]
4 [" " " P664 - "]
5 [" " " P644 - "]

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants. In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure,
[413] for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely
[171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and
[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

Miao AE5

/431 cont./

805 114 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a [527] division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97). 1 For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at [825] night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up [221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use [824] any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that [825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1 [see cat 116, p 663- ANALYST]

/470 cont./

177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies [824] (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of [926] war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re- [675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.

/66 cont'd/

795 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
793 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
● 825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
cc bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
563 open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
M to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[782] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[541] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[787] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[292] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.
[769]

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[648] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

249 /67 cont./
harvested. After harvest the canes are tied up, 50 to a bundle,
249 and stored in earth pits about one kung ch'ih deep. The pits
251 are first lined with cane leaves, on which the sugar cane are
laid in rows. More leaves are laid on top and then covered
with dirt. Ventilation tubes are stuck in to ensure a free flow
of air in order to prevent decay. On market day, the canes
[443] are carried to market for sale.

The Miao area also produces native tobacco. Beginning
249 with the tenth and eleventh months the Miao nurse tobacco
[343] seedlings. Above the seedbed a thatched shelter with a slant-
ing roof is erected to protect the seedlings from frost and snow.
After they sprout they are watered and fertilized with ashes,
manure, or tung paste. Transplanting takes place in the follow-
ing spring in the third and fourth months. Fields for tobacco
cultivation have to be plowed very early to reduce insect pests,
[825] according to the Miao. The insect called t'u ch'a erh only eats
tobacco plant roots. Tobacco seedlings are transplanted in
rows, by first crushing the earth into powder by hand, then
burying the roots of the seedling in the earth and pressing the
earth tight around the plant. If the earth is dry, then it should
be watered at the root and the stem. After three or five days
some mild fertilizer may be applied. Insect pests are the worst
enemy of tobacco. Besides the t'u ch'a erh, which eats the
[825] roots, green hoppers eat the leaves. So, in tobacco growing
a great deal of labor is spent in catching insects, which has to
be done in the early morning, for later the t'u ch'a erh dig
through the earth and it is difficult to find them. The tobacco
plant is never allowed to grow too high, and has to be clipped
from time to time to ensure the growth of more full and firm
leaves. During harvest time the tobacco leaves are cut down
leaf by leaf, /Illustration 36 on p. 68/ /69/ and stacked up for
one or two nights. Then they are tied up with straw ropes and
hung up to dry in the sun, being taken indoors at night. If a
good color is wanted, then in good weather they should be ex-
posed outside overnight to absorb the dew. The resulting color
will be a beautiful, golden yellow.

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp
248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat
[262] sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching
[231] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and
[439] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo
[227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair.
[171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi-
[825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces
[227] of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[836] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the
elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry
the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider.
Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the
time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to
perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set
date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be
opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters
by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and
again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her
household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
843 son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter
placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is
placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with
her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping
the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on
a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then
she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can
easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat
ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an ex-
perienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract
the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb,
it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

/143 cont./

755
*782

(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple
[753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con-
[776] sidered that the [nɑŋ˨ ŋuei˧ pi˧nu˧] and [nɑŋ˨ nu˧ pi˧ ʂɛ˥˩] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /pɑŋ˧ pi˧ nu˧/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called [ia˧ ʂʰio˧ tʰɑ˧ lieŋ˧] in the Miao
787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate
[825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then
[791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/.
*782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

/146 cont./

*782 mountain, behind is the slope; in front are soldiers, behind is the general. Up the hill is a path; down the stream is a boat. Each word and each phrase is to be listened to. Being in the same place, any time I may call your name. The host is sitting at peace, not going to the fields to swear oaths. At the temple he does not swear oaths, nor at home. He does not swear oaths with cold water, and when beating his wife /and children ?/ does not swear oaths. The host is willing to feed others, and does not take advantage of others, nor laugh at other people's sons and descendants. He does not act unjustly, but observes litigations all around him."

At this point he once more burns beeswax, makes a gesture of leading down the Kuei. His incantation continues:

"If the ta kan lo paper banners and their staffs become disarranged, we ask the kan lo kuei to please set them right. These are the strange occurrences caused by the kan lo kuei: the pig goes mad; the dog jumped on the roof; the pig ran up to the entrance; the hen entered her nest to eat her egg; the pig went up the stairs to eat a small child; the hen can crow like a cock; the cock can hatch chickens; the hen laid a soft-shelled egg; the bitch had only one puppy; the pig had a litter of two piglets; the crops ripened in the third month; a dead thing was seen when coming out the entrance; two snakes were seen together; two tigers hid in the house; a rat made a squeaking sound; a snake was seen in the house; a snake shed its skin in the house. The host had a terrible dream, dreaming he was in rain and snow, dreaming he was in the midst of a deep forest. He therefore went to the diviner. It was found that no other kuei was causing these calamities, only the kan lo

*782 787 825

*782 776

/151 cont./

*782 783 sorcer-priest holds the chiao and rings the bell, standing in front of the table, and the words of the incantation he utters are to the following effect:

> "Now we have prepared well wine, meat, a cock, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, clean water, and ready money to cleanse the house. First we invoke the ancestors of the host. When you hear my call, please hurry down and receive the objects of sacrifice. Next we invoke the ancestors of the previous tenant. The host, fearing that he may not be at peace here, has asked me to come to cleanse the house. I have come with many soldiers and horses. With water I cleanse the house, first cleanse the fire bed, next the fire pit. I cleanse the right and the left of the house; I cleanse the front and the back doors. After I have cleansed three times, the host may live in it with great prosperity, resources abundant, prosperous harvests of the five grains, and the increase of the six kinds of domestic animals. The trouble-making kuei have now been sent out the door, hereafter peace will be everlasting."

[769]

[787] After the incantation has been completed, he then divines with the chiao. If either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao appears, it is auspicious, and paper is burned to send off the kuei. But if the yin chiao appears, then the incantation has to be said again, until he divines and gets either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, when it is the end. After the sorcerer-priest has completed his performance, he drinks the wine on the table and takes the cock, meat, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, and copper yuan offered in sacrifice to the kuei, home with him.

[152/ (10) Cleansing the Cat

•[825] The Miao consider that a cat dying in the house is an ill omen, and it is then necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to purify the house in order to expel harmful emanations. In Miao this is called

/152 cont./

*782 [t[illegible] [illegible]-mang]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kuei mang
783 jen tiang] and [kuei mang jen piang]. The time is in broad
daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only
●825 necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are
[776] placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows.
The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in
his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in
general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao
or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already
gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in
house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again un-
til the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the
paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some
627 matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is
[578] wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which
he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and
taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [pi[illegible] t[illegible]
[778] n[illegible]]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine
[776] for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is
necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1)
to drink blood.

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

/152 cont./

*782 627 to drink blood. They may be treated separately as follows:

A. Drinking at the shrine of the local divinity of the soil.

Drinking blood at the local shrine is also called "drinking [825] chicken blood." During the day or at night they prepare a cock and some paper money. First they kill the cock, and its blood is allowed to drip into wine. This is then carried to the local shrine and offered to the kuei. The names of the kuei are [nang nea [776] xiny bu4] and [nang mon xi7 teng]. A Miao sorcerer is asked to utter an incantation to the following effect:

> "This sorcerer-priest has arrived at a forked road and cannot think how to decide. Formerly, without any business I dared not recklessly mention the local kuei's names, but today these two parties are involved in a dispute over land boundaries, each insisting on his version of the case, and not able to reach a settlement. [825] Therefore, we have made /153/ this bowl of chicken blood, and the two sides have come before the kuei to drink blood and take a vow. After the drinking, then a settlement will result."

At this point the parties of the dispute each has a swallow of blood. The sorcer-priest burns paper and continues the incantation:

> "The wrong party after drinking this blood will then die, dying nine times and becoming nine times extinct."

After the incantation, they disperse. The cock is taken by the sorcerer-priest, to whom each side also has to give one or two, three or four, strings of cash. There being no set number.

B. Drinking blood in the T'ien Wang Temple.

[825] Drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple is also called "drinking cat's blood," because it is necessary to stab a cat, and its blood is dripped into wine to drink to make a vow. When drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, one must have a witness, who is called the "blood supervisor." There are many designations for blood drinking, and there are three kinds, drinking one tube of blood, two tubes of blood, and three tubes of blood. Because there are many cases, the number of occasions for drinking blood also are numerous. There is also substitute blood drinking, when the witness or a relative of one of the parties may be allowed

/158 cont./
After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

776 In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity
791 of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during
778 the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples
[787] were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines, generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He
*[782] said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his shrine. (Illus. 68).

*782 /159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that
[776] the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by
[825] sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts. Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity. The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all arranged on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest. Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand
[787] and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[178] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became conscious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[828] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

[167 cont.]

684 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must
586 refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general
548 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather
778 easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon
548 see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously ob-
764 served among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like
[769] the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then
[825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

/86 cont./

A M 145 125 532 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the M [825] children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

M 832 883 123

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days addi- [775] tional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, [554] women, and children, with no differences other than that the sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

39: Bernatzik--170 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/120/

M 764 [114] [789] Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

1. II, p. 229.

M [787] [775] [825]

A 764 628 [203] [765] The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in the mourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764 Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

/161 cont./

775 not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of
[761] apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one.
787 Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not
775 feared either. There is one exception, however. During the
776 three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected, so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen
825 that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling
825 neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the
[648] Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nah have the
[763] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person
[177] is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

/162 cont./

M 774 825 Trees, rocks, and the like do not have a soul, but some animals do, such as some tigers, but also dogs, which will be discussed in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

M 775 614 The souls of the ancestors exert an influence upon the lives of their descendants. They protect them against evil spirits, help wherever they can, as in case of sicknesses, which are usually caused by evil spirits, and promote the growth of field products and the well-being of domestic animals. Their most important function, however, is their concern for the perpetuation of the sib. They do this by inducing the spirit which is next in the succession of deaths to let itself be reborn as a child. There is a striking contradiction in the fact that, on the one hand, the ancestors are regarded as helpful spirits, while, on the other hand, they are reborn. Under normal circumstances the members of a sib multiply, so that more children are born than individuals of the sib die. If the ancestors are reborn in the children, the lack of further ancestors would bring about a cessation of births, or some of the children born would have to come into the world without souls. Moreover, if all the ancestors were reborn as babies, no one would remain to carry out the important functions of ancestors. I explained my doubts to various informants. Each one answered without further deliberation that there were many more ancestors from former times than could ever be reborn, for in ancient times the Meau were much more numerous than they are today. I had no reply to this logic.

A 761 Like the Meau, the Akha regard sickness as a cause of death, but they also view old age and not least the effects of black magic as causes of death. The Akha, too, believe in a soul, ne, which likewise /163/ leaves the body during sleep in order to wander about. Therefore, dreams are the experiences of the soul, to which, consequently, special importance is attached. One therefore does not fail to visit the shaman to have the dream experience interpreted if such an occasion arises. In any case upon awakening one must see to it that the soul is

A 774 [828] [787] [756]

/166 cont./

776 The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pīn. It is his function
●825 to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to
step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by
[372] sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)
[626]
[171]

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth
[844] of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property.
[778] Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their
[756] houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the un-
[177] buried dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of
[829] this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pě dŏ. Savina (1)

[114 775]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. [931] The animals [825] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high [224] Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[973] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. [626] They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great number is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails, since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
787 careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above, since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
[825] to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
[776] that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
825 omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occupants will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
825 the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes that he cannot expect to bag any game.

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
[821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[763] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is
[171] interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
[782] at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured, there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved, and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
[846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[164] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
[626] birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/224 cont./

539 was beautiful and yielded fruits without labor. It was covered with flowers as large as baskets. The Lord created ten suns and nine moons and many stars. The people regarded the stars as luminous stones and feared that they would fall down and kill them. They therefore asked the Lord of Heaven to remove them. This he did not do; instead he spread a tremendous blue veil over the earth in order to protect the people against the falling of the stars. The suns were female, and the moons male. The Lord gave them a soul and blew breath into them. For seven years they dried out the earth, and during this period it was always day; there was no night. Then the Lord created the plants, the animals, and, finally, human beings. At the same time, he created forests in the moon. The trees grew in large flooded plains. The people took the tops of the fallen trees and made arrows out of them, with which they shot at the suns and the moons. Nine suns and eight moons were extinguished. One sun and one moon fled and concealed themselves; during this period eternal night prevailed. For seven years the people lived in darkness; then they asked the sun and the moon to return. They would not, however. The tiger, too, begged in vain. After seven years they appeared again, after the seventh [825] crowing of the cock. Since that time cocks wear a comb as a reward."

The Meau in Thailand similarly told me that formerly there were many suns and moons on the firmament, that the stars arose from the union of the male moons and the female suns, and, furthermore, that the suns and the moons had died in the course of time. /225/ The other statements given by Savina are unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

Then I was told about an earlier age of happiness. The description coincides almost literally with that given by Savina (1):

1. II, p. 180.

/431 cont./

805 114 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a [527] division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97). 1 For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at [825] night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up [221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use [824] any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that [825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1 [see dat 116, p 663- ANALYST]

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[987] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/198 cont./

2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five constituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

[671] [683] [776] [724] [753] [787]

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

576 Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the [516] Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of [554] greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

/173 cont./

*782 755 place on a mountain slope at an intersection of paths where there is wind. For this ritual the articles required are a cock, a sheng of uncooked rice on which some coins are placed and three sticks of incense, stuck in, a bowl of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/ on which there is a little salt and a pair of chopsticks, five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money. Except for the cock, all articles are in a winnowing basket. A knife and a pot also have to be brought up there beforehand. The sorcerer-priest waving the ritual knife in his left hand and holding the chiao-tzu in his right, utters an incantation, divines with *[787] the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. The helper kills the chicken, cooks it, fills the bowl with the meat, and puts it in the winnowing basket. At the same time he puts out a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck five pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer utters an incantation and burns paper to send off the shen. He and the helper eat the items offered in sacrifice right there.

(17) The Tea Shen

[776] For eye trouble the Miao seek a cure by sacrificing to the tea shen. There are three kinds of sacrifice according to the time at which it takes place. If it takes place in the early morning, it is called the Early Tea Shen. At noon it is called the Day Tea Shen. At night it is called the Night Tea Shen. At the time of sacrifice one must not laugh, because it is said that this [776] shen is shy. It is also said that he wears tattered old clothes. If [82] anyone laughs /174/ he will not come. Therefore, if it takes place in the daytime outside the house, the winnowing basket must be enclosed by a bamboo screen. Except for the helper, no outsider is allowed to watch. When the performance takes place at night inside the house, all lights must be extinguished.

For the ritual for the Early Tea Shen a thin stick of wood, burnt at one end to be a stick of incense, is stuck in the ground. A winnowing basket is also used, and in it are placed five bowls of

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/93 cont./

M 114 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said,

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 [163] Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [513] [833] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yā. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[847] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kā, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

177 In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role;
278 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
832 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/133 cont'd/

dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

/134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and we joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had a good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
* [782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ia] piaʏ]. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pienʏ] and a body [koʏ-ʂʿienʏ]. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pɛʏ tsʿəɹ]"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋʏ
[824] ʂoʏ] and trees, tree kuei [kueŋʏ ndu̯ʌ]. When there is a
* [782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

791 177 the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon, but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored. Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao. But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

791 787 There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called *yin yang kua*. This fortune-teller is called a so bʌu. So means first or previously and bʌu means to know or understand. Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods. They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person q os ɐ sɐʌɪƐ ʌna present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits, money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao believe in the so bʌu and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

828 787 Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey, a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill; if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horse, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a parent will probably die.

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was
[828] no explanation for fainting.

769 When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they
114 have been informed of the change of location through a special
[775] ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in

II, p. 319.

case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is
774 commonly assumed, as ~~was said~~, that evil spirits prevent it from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes
[761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead
761 body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

[147 cont.]

5. In the above three stories, there are intimations of the
773 enmity between the various tribal groups and the origin of the ill-feeling between them. For instance in the first version the sons of the Miao king and the Han king struggled for the possession of land; the former who were clumsy and ignorant were taken advantage of by the latter, who were shrewd and cunning. In the second and third versions, the story of the brothers Thunder and En fighting repeatedly for the field, the former violent and belligerent, and the latter wicked and deceitful, possess the same significance. The most interesting
773 part of the first version has to do with the acquisition of a large
●829 area of land by the Han king and the subsequent convention at Tu-shan, in which the Chinese acquired a pen and was able to read, write and become officials, whereas the Miao king lost ground and retired to the mountains with the chicken feet left over from the meeting, and could only work hard by ploughing the field in the mountains. This is given as the reason why at present the Chinese are successful and the Miao are retarded.

6. The amusing section in the second and the third versions
773 as to how the different tribes began to talk should interest the linguists. When En tossed the pieces of flesh around, the human beings coming out of them were at first unable to speak. In the second version En happened to burn the bamboo. In the third version he broke wind after a bean meal; both the noises of breaking wind and cracking bamboo stirred the human beings into talking. They spoke three different languages which became those of the Tung, the Miao and the Chinese. I wonder whether this would explain that at the time of human origin the differences between the races were due to the differences in languages. Furthermore, the earliest vocabulary of all races was related to food matters. In the third version, [148] the first words they uttered such as "ch'ih-fan" by the Chinese, "chi-kou" by the Tung, and "no-nüeh" by the Miao all have the same meaning of "eating rice" in different pronunciations. This is just like our teething infants who upon learning to speak, first learn the words "ch'ih-fan." How thought-provoking all this is!

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/28 cont./

great migratory tribe has visited almost all the mountains of Asia. Even today one would look in vain for Meau in the plains. The Meau of Kwangsi, of Kweichow, of Szechwan, of Yunnan, of Tonkin, of Laos are all mountain folk."

A 101 361

The Akha, too, always live in the high parts of the mountains. In addition to the regions named in connection with the Meau, the state of Kengtung should be added as the chief settlement area of the Akha. Telford divides the levels occupied by the various tribes as follows: the Lahu live highest, below them the Lisu, and below them the Akha. "The latter often settle in markedly steep mountain areas, though they prefer mountains of medium height."

A M 829

This pronounced preference of the mountain tribes for high settlement areas is very striking.

Under these circumstances it is understandable that the question of the reason for this strange fact has occupied other authors. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "If one asks them

1. II, p. 174.

why they live in the mountains and why they abhor the plains, they give various answers:

'In the mountains it is less hot, humid, and unhealthy.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because we are afraid of the water, the leeches, and the buffalo.'

'We cannot live in the plains because we were born in the mountains. Transplanted trees never thrive.'

'How can we leave the mountains where the graves of our ancestors are?'

'The inhabitants of the plains are accustomed to the work and the cultivation of the plains, we Meau to the work and the cultivation of the mountains.'

'The people of the plains do not speak our language. How could we understand them?'

'If we were to descend into the plains, our girls would marry people who do not belong to our race.'

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/29/

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'In the plains there are too many wars, duties, soldiers, and mandarins!'

'If we were to settle down among the people on the plains, they would steal our herds.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because there we could not cultivate opium and maize or plant fruit trees.'

'The soil of the mountains belongs to the Meau; the soil of the plains does not belong to them'."

Savina states that only one answered: "Because the other tribes do not want us to live in the plains with them." Savina is of the opinion that this is actually the true reason. There can be no doubt, however, that he is mistaken about this.

A M 164 361

In my opinion, the reason lies much deeper. It lies outside the realm of human volition and is based upon the constitutional nature of the mountain tribes. In contrast to the valley peoples, such as the Thai tribes, the Chinese, or the Annamese, the Meau and Akha, and presumably the majority of the tribes occupying this area today and known as "mountain tribes," are not capable of becoming acclimatized to the tropics, as is true, for example, of all the members of the white races. These tribes show an amazingly low resistance in particular to the tropical diseases, above all to malaria. In this connection Abadie's further statement is of special interest: "The Meau came to Tonkin long after the 'Thai' and 'Man.' With the latter they had many local battles over the arable land, which sometimes were long and fierce. Stronger and more energetic than their opponents, they would perhaps have driven them out of Upper-Tonking altogether had they been able to acclimatize themselves to the lower altitudes." In the chapter "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "The Territories of the Mountain Peoples," I shall discuss at some length the extraordinary importance that this lack of ability to acclimatize has for colonial-ethnological affairs.

A M [174]

/166 cont./

776 The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function
825 to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to
step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by
[372] sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)
[626]
[171]

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth
[844] of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property.
[778] Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their
[756] houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of
[177] this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese
[829] influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/167 cont./

776 know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither
[829] fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient
[773] times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank, even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231/ There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created
776 by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of
[775] the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits. In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a
[782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation of a guardian spirit.

1 [See cat. 116, p 666 - ANALYST]

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
[821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[763] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is
[171] interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

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Chapter VIII. Songs and Legends

(1)

533 Singing is an important aspect of Miao life. Regardless of sex and age, almost all of them are talented singers. When we were traveling in the Miao mountains, the clear voices of Miao singers always struck our ears. In the deep woods of the high mountains with no one in sight, it usually gave us the poetic feeling that,

"The singing has ended; no one is in sight;
Only some mountain peaks remain green above the river."

831 Singing is the most natural medium of communication between
152 human hearts. The Miao have made full use of it. When a man
533 and woman fall in love, they sing to each other in order to express their mutual admiration. Inexpressibly happy at a reunion after a long separation, they sing to each other to express their happiness. Bidding farewell at a crossroad, they sing to express their sorrow at parting. Worn out during the busy seasons of agricultural work, they sing for physical relaxation. On festive occasions, they sing to add to the gaiety. In short, all their emotions—misery and happiness, grief and joy—are frankly expressed by singing.

533 Usually they sing their songs in dialogue style—such as between a man and a woman or between a host and a guest, etc. Due to long use, many of the songs have become formalized, so that the words of the replies are fixed. The ability to sing is very important in Miao social relations. For instance, their marriage is usually
584 based upon love. And singing is the principal means of courting.
533 /71/ On the fine spring days, Miao boys and girls usually go out in groups to sing to one another on the neighboring slopes. As the singers gradually draw closer, at this point, if you are a talented singer capable of answering your counterpart in the proper way,
533 victory will be yours. Otherwise, if the singing beauties move
[571] away because of poor answers, how depressed you would feel! At a fine banquet, when the hosts and guests sing alternately to each other, the good singers are always admired by the audience while

1: Wang--70 S-8 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/72 cont'd/

Bringing in the Crops Song

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Bringing our grain crops home,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti* are with us as we bring our crops home,

* Shen Nung was a legendary emperor
who is the supposed teacher of husbandry.
T'u-ti is a term for a local divinity.

Escorting us all the way home to their shelter.
Safely placed in the granaries, these crops will draw the envy of the emperor.
Thank you,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti,
For escorting and protecting the crops all the way home.
When the emperor bestows his attention on us, we'll think of you.
From the palace in the capital, a messenger will be sent us,
And much glittering gold will accompany him.
The tenure of a hsiu /title of government office/ is only three years,
But riches and honor come to an official.
For all this we will be much indebted to you,
And your kindness will be borne in the mind of the emperor forever.

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539 (2) Songs connected with social activities, such as the one cited in Chapter IV; "The Song of the Old Villager."

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539
831 (3) Songs related to love between the sexes. For example, when an unmarried man and woman happen to run into each other in the street, the following is frequently sung:

First admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
Show how you feel according to your heart's desire.
What you desire is seen by others,

/72 cont'd/

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Just as plainly as the sun on the east and the sky on the west.
/73/ Second admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If one drinks as much as one wants at a feast,
People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water—
Drinking as much as one wants is a waste.
Third admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you are willing, for 10,000 autumns,
We'll join hands together;
On the bridge over the tangling rivers, we'll walk side by side.
Fourth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you find someone to join you at romantic eighteen;
You can live happily up to sixty.
Unhappy and middle-aged, that is a waste.
Sixth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When your brother comes here to stay for a while.
If he is against me, I will not please him even if I slaughter a dragon to treat him.
If he is agreeable, he will be pleased with a glass of cold water.
Seventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you hide a man in your room, that is a waste.
Moreover, I fear your man will be killed.
His life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Eighth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
You should not loan your money too freely, if you are rich.
You should be satisfied and not press, even if you cannot get back your principal.
Otherwise, you will feel regretful if someone kills himself.
Ninth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When you are in possession of a cow and a piece of land,
You should not hesitate to consider the coming of spring.
When you have no cow you cannot get an early start, even if spring is here;

/73 cont'd/

533 And a home without a cow is lost.
539 Tenth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
631 You should not stay idle when you see others learn to write,
/74/ Someday should you get involved in a lawsuit,
You'll know the difficulty of getting someone to write for you on a blank sheet of paper.
Eleventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
[161] Don't curse and utter foul words to your parents.
You are indebted to your parents for raising you.
Otherwise, your life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Twelfth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When the immortals come to fetch you to the king of the wheel,
You will be referred to the renowned king to receive judgment;
He may decided that you are to be reborn in your youth.

The following songs are frequently sung during such occasions as when a man and woman meet in a rendezvous, or when they bid each other farewell, feeling lost and sorrowful on seeing the loved one depart.

539 I. Seeing off my flower,
631 As the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky—
The dark clouds are escorting the moon, and in a little while will escort you,
Back to your melancholy land and melancholy home.
Farewell!

II. First farewell to my precious flower who will soon be returning home,
Like the clouds I see leaving the sky.
Looking at the clouds leaving the sky, how sad my humble heart is!
I am hiding my sadness at parting from my love.
Second farewell to my precious flower, from the dragon's noble land,

/74 cont'd/

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●631

Who is leaving this noble land to return home.
In tears I am seeing my flower off;
My tears are hidden in my heart.
Third farewell to my young, romantic sweetheart,
Leaving this noble land, unmindful of herself.
Fourth farewell to my young, noble sweetheart.
Seeing my flower glib and clever, I cannot bear to let her go.
/75/ If you feel sick at heart.../obscure/
Why not come back when halfway, and you'll not have to worry any more!
Fifth farewell to my angel from heavenly T'ao-yüan /an Arcadia/.
With sad thoughts, my tears are falling on my breast.
For you, angel flower, I remained alive.
For you, my flower, I'll end my life.
Sixth farewell to my romantic one— with great pain in my heart.
My grief is piercing my heart like a sharp knife.
There is much danger on the road;
Take care of yourself, while you are far away.
Seventh farewell to my precious dragon flower—with great pain in my heart.
It is like fire burning in my breast.
If fire burned my breast, I would not wish to die.
But if I did not need you /?/, my dragon pearl, I would wish to die.
Eighth farewell to my precious flower, take care on the road.
Pairs of teardrops flow down my breast.
I feel pain in my heart that you are risking your life.
Come back when halfway, and you'll not need to worry anymore.
Ninth farewell to drake and duck*, wealth and fortune are split and scattered.

/75 cont'd/

/* Symbol of conjugal fidelity and happiness. —Ed./

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831

Every step forward on the road step by step separates us.
Dark leaves are falling off the flowers, birds are leaving the trees.
Thinking sadly of my flower, I cannot bear to let her go.
Tenth farewell, the clouds and rain and the singing are drifting away.
Together we happily dallied here in this place;
Now I am returning to my gloomy house, with tears in my eyes.
Sorrow and depression will be found in the flowers and trees.
Farewell!
I think of our meeting again in the future.
I am staying here in my own native place.
I will wait for you for the next two or three years.
Farewell!
/76/ One day apart means ten thousand days' thinking of you.
After three years' waiting, heaven cannot bid over our wills:
The tie which our former lives predestined will bind us to no more.

III. Riding through Wu-chou Fu on horseback,
Turning my head, I met the fairest one.
Together we were so happy after I met my fairest one with goose-shaped brows.
At night I looked at the five planetary gods /i.e., the stars/, and bowed,
That wealth might befall heaven's gate before the trip,
And gently drop thirteen points better than my own wish.
Water flowed down our faces as we parted /?/,
Separating from my flower, we shall not meet again in this age.
Best wishes to you, my flower, the Goddess of Mercy,

/76 cont'd/

539
831

Like the clouds drifting and turning away from the hills.
Clouds leaving the hills, my thoughts are endless.
Thinking of you, I feel empty and lost that we shall meet
no more.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Hsien-pei seeing off Ying-t'ai,
Ying-t'ai returned to the Jen-ch'a mountains.
But Hsien-pei grieved to death for his flower.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Tou-nü /"bean girl"/ bidding farewell to Mi-shen
/god of rice/,
Mi-shen was bewitched by Tou-nü;
But Tou-nü changed her heart and married another.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Shih-nü /"tenth girl"/ bidding farewell to T'ang-hsien,
T'ang-hsien went to the capital and was appointed to the
office of hsiao-kuan.
And on the way back he met Tuan-yang-ch'un.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like San-nü /"third girl"/ bidding farewell to Han-p'ing.
/77/ Han-p'ing died for San-nü,
As Tsung-huang lost his head because of covetousness.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Shao-nü /"young girl"/ taking leave of Wen-lung,
I hope that you will remain as fair as Shao-nü.
Like Tung-yung taking leave of Yang-ch'un,
Who sold his body to bury his parents.
I wish I could sell my body at my precious one's native
place.
Farewell, my fairest, the autumn lotus.
We shall pursue different roads on our way;
" " " " " " " ".
The moon splits into two parts to return to her path.
Farewell!
With the brush in my hand I'll paint you;

/77 cont'd/

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The picture will be so exactly like you, your face and your brows.
Thinking of you, I'll look at it from time to time.
Farewell!
I'll write about my deep feelings on the Pa-hsien desk;
Writing often will somehow quiet my feelings.
I will not write my verses in double lines.
Clouds and rain bid my autumn lotus away;
Like drawing the knife to cut through the binding vines.
Cutting the vines into two will not cut my fairest from me—
The autumn lotus will resist the cutting without anyone knowing it.
Farewell!
They say my flower hastens past the mountain,
/The next two lines are too obscure to be translated. —Ed./
Farewell, my flower!
Seeing my flower off past Shih-huang,
/78/ Seeing my flower off just past Shih-huang,
Shih-huang draws his hands and does not turn his head.

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(4) Songs sung and answered by the hosts and the guests, taking reciprocal turns, at wedding feasts, are showin in the following several sections:

I. Many thanks to the p'ing-tung /go-between/ who matched this couple.
They have come here today and have met in front of this table.
Carried by ts'ai-huo from Tien-men, village,
They arrived at the bridge; their arrival was announced by the eight carriers.
They passed over the bridge without turning.
Their horoscopes were destined by Heaven.
The alliance was checked in the Wen-ch'ü-an, /?/
They did know that it was stated that they too should meet.
They were not then drake and duck /yüan-yang/ at the House of Yüan-yang.

/107 cont'd/

539 He took out silver cups to cover the container tops.
584 /108/ Eight hundred men carried the wealth of gifts,
On the way to the betrothal of Meng-wo.
831 But not half a month after the betrothal was made,
539 Yen Hui fell ill and lay on the high bed.
First they wrote a letter reporting that he was ill.
Second they wrote a letter reporting that he was dead.
The letter arrived while she was eating.
Tears blowed in her eyes, dropping in pairs.
She put down her chopsticks and read the message.
Read it once, then read it again.
In the message there were no idle words.
There was but sad news that the two were parted.
Meng-wo undid her coiling dragon hairdo and put on the mourning sign.
She took off the gold hairpins and put them inside the dragon box.
Mr. Chang went to the Upper Village to borrow a big horse;
Meng-wo went to the Lower Village and borrowed a sedan chair.
Mr. Chang mounted the horse and went with bowed head.
Meng-wo was behind him still proud and fine.
Mr. Chang turned his head and scolded his daughter:
"Whose family ever brought up a girl to go looking for a man?"
Meng-wo answered her father, saying:
"I am going to the house of Yen to burn filial incense.
Where has there ever been an ox yoked with two yokes?
A horse saddled with two saddles?
A bow fitted with two arrows?
Or a girl who married two husbands?
It is difficult for a horse with two saddles to carry passengers on his back.
A girl married to two men would be the laughing stock of all."
They arrived and were seated in the main hall of the house of Yen,

/108 cont'd/

831
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They opened up the coffin and took a look at the corpse within.
/109/ Meng-wo's tears flowed in streams.
Then she said to Mr. Yen:
"With the heart to raise your son you did not have the heart to save him.
Now my feelings are in a turmoil.
Livestock, big and small, must not have been slaughtered.
White paper and incense must not have been burned.
Who did not make wishes before the gods?
Who did not burn incense before the altar?"
Hearing Meng-wo's words, Mr. Yen replied:
"Little girl, please listen to my words.
We raised our son with our whole hearts to provide against old age:
To store up grains is to guard against famine in the distant future.
Livestock, big and small, have been slaughtered.
Thousands of pieces of white paper, gold and silver have been burned.
In the morning we killed pigs and sheep as offerings to the ghosts.
At night we killed chickens and ducks as offerings to the five shang /persons who died young/.
Containers of wine were continuously placed on the altar.
Wine was poured before the shrine to make a paste.
Everything was done, but our good wishes were of no avail.
'I'll never get out of bed.'
We replied to our son, saying:
'My son, what has caused your ailment?'
Yen Hui replied to us, saying:
'Please listen to my words now:
I am now struck with a serious illness.
My life will shortly end, and I'll see Yen Wang (king of hell).
When the oil is burned up the light in the lamp coldly dies.
Giving up life, I shall shortly come to Yen Wang.'

/109 cont'd/

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To this we replied, saying:
'Son, why do you utter these words?
/110/ You have been betrothed for only half a month on this earth.
Why do you give up life and go to the place of the departed?'
Yen Hui replied to us, saying:
'Father and mother, please listen to my words.
When death arrives, there is no distinction between old and young.
The breath in my throat is getting short--I cannot bear it for long.
Everyone in the world wants to live a hundred years.
I am unlucky, and my life cannot be long.
Yen Wang does not care whether a person is old or young.
He does not think of it when he marks with his pen in the register.
Everyone wants to be a son of heaven.
My luck is short, and I cannot desire so much.
Please send word to my betrothed:
I pray that Meng-wo will marry another man.'
Then his body was bathed with scented water,
And placed in a coffin of red silk.
Before yellow leaves have fallen, a green one has dropped.
We sent cassocks everywhere for people to wear.
We know that Meng-wo's gods have taken his life away.
We know that our son's life was short."
When Meng-wo heard these words
She meditated for a long time.
Then she took a key and opened a basket.
She took a key and opened a box.
She took out red silk cloth two changs long.
She took out red silk cloth two changs long.
At the first night watch she hung herself, at the second night watch she was dead.
Husband and wife both lay dead in the hall.

/110 cont'd/

M 831 539

Then they bought a long plank of wood,
For Meng-wo to be put upon.
/111/ When the Taoist priests had finished the funeral ceremony,
Husband and wife were sent up the hillside.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
On the left there was the Green Dragon, on the right the White Tiger.
From behind the Jade Goddess protects their grave site.
In front the scarlet bird* comes to pay its respects.

/* A position in geomancy./

At the back were fierce tigers facing spotted leopards.
Sing to the end the ancient tale of Meng-wo.
So that it will be spread over the five lakes and the four seas.

M 538

In addition to the above, there are the Song of San Pe Ying T'ai /"the three heroic elders"/, the Song of Chiu Niang /"the three girls"/, the Song of T'ang Hsien Chang Shih Niang /"the ten women of T'ang Hsien Chang"/, the Song of Mai Ch'en, etc. All of them are well engraved in the heart of every Miao. Because they are all lengthy pieces, space does not permit us to include them in the present report.

/112/ Chapter IX. Intergroup Relations between the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao.

(1)

M H 648 121

The Chinese constitute the majority of the inhabitants of Hainan Island. Next are the Li and the Miao. The intergroup relationship of the three ethnic groups—the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao, particularly the first two—has constituted an /important/ part of the history of Hainan, and naturally it still will be at the core of problems

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

534 Jointed bugles and cymbals and brass gongs are more rarely used but they can be played at almost any time.

574 The Ch'uan Miao are very hospitable. A friend can stay in a home for a week or ten days and he will be given food and a bed and charged nothing for them. Chickens are considered especially good and appropriate for entertaining guests. Sometimes both a cock and a hen are killed and some of the meat may be left for the guest to take home with him. The greatest hospitality a Ch'uan Miao can show is to kill a young grown cow or bull and to give a feast to which other friends are invited. Next in importance to a cow is a sheep or goat, then a pig and then a chicken.

572 Friendship among the Ch'uan Miao is sincere and deep and they respond to friendship and kindly treatment. By the very tones of the voice it can be discerned whether the Ch'uan Miao is very friendly and familiar with the person to whom he is speaking, or only fairly so, or not at all, or is an enemy.

V. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

831 Friendship, fellowship, appreciation, sympathy, love and marriage between the sexes is as natural as eating, and they are craved by most people of both sexes. The sex appeal may be one of the most powerful influences for good or for evil. If satisfaction cannot be had in normal and approved ways it will often be sought in ways that are irregular and harmful.

The life of the average Ch'uan Miao, who lives in a simple hut on a high mountain, with no pictures or ornaments in the home, no schools or books, meager furniture, much hard work, few neighbors, simple food, no theatricals and little or no play, is humdrum. It is not unnatural that aside from eating sexual love and sexual intercourse are among the primary enjoyments of life.

The Ch'uan Miao customs in the past have apparently been such that affection between men and women resulted in sexual intercourse, generally illicit. Nearly all the love songs tell of love affairs between men and other men's wives or between women and men to whom they were not married but with whom they enjoyed sexual relations. Some of the legends express disapproval of parents who raised objections because young men were spending the nights in the bedrooms of their daughters and others mention with approval the fact that parents purposely had outside doors for the bedrooms of their daughters so that their lovers could easily enter and spend the night there.

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli,"
774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies
793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so
796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere-
[527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo"
[157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The
[831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The
[533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing
[535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving
524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] M 832 883 123 In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

/200 cont./

754 On the basis of the above data we can say in general that the art of ku is a form of black magic. Today, there are still a number of primitive societies where people take a pointed bone, stick, or arrowhead, or the wing bone of a certain kind of animal to pierce, thrust at, or point at the victim they wish to harm, in an imitative ritual, and then they reckon they will die. (1) This is very much like letting out ku by thrusting

1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li An-che's Chinese translation, page 77.

one or two fingers to cause a person to get sick and die. Per-
[832] haps, the art of ku is also a kind of love magic. It is said among the Miao that ku women are good at making their husbands happy. The Kwei-shun Chi-li Chou-chi of Kwangsi states: "When a woman cannot win her husband's love, she asks for a magical formula from the magician in order to gain love. In time she practices ku. During the time of the full moon she sends it out to poison someone else, otherwise it would hurt her. /201/ Along Cheng-pien area this practice is
[832] most prevalent." That ku witchcraft is a form of black magic or love magic is only our speculation, because we do not know the incantations and rituals nor the gestures and acts of the performer while carrying out the rituals. Therefore it is not easy to know what it actually is.

[199 cont.]

(III) The Moon Dance. The moon dance in the fourth month
535 is the nocturnal meeting of the Miao-I in the An-shun area. Ac-
832 cording to Miao-I customs, whenever the moon and the stars are bright, young men and women may go out at this period of the year in groups of a few persons or a dozen or more each to some quiet, lonely spots in the vicinity of the village to play music and dance. The steps for the dance are the same as those for the flower dance. Young girls who are attracted by the music are not prevented by parents from running out to watch the dance. A man's glory is to extract a smile from a girl, and when her parents are not taking notice he may take her to the woods to whisper to her honeyed words of love. Therefore, the moon dance is an occasion for love-making by the Miao-I youths.

(IV) The "Kan-piao." The moon dance described above
517 provides night recreations and scenes of love serenades for the
832 Miao-I. The "kan-piao" is another form of recreation that gives men and women a chance to fall in love, but it may be pursued during night or day. The "kan-piao" is also known by various names such as "ta-ma-lan," "yao-ma-lang," "ta-piao," and "ling-piao." To perform it, the man would first whistle
[534] by means of some leaves in the mouth or play the flute as a signal to entice the lover to some shaded nook to exchange lovers' vows. An ideal place for "kan-piao" is a deep forest out of reach of human footsteps. In former times, in isolated places outside the village, there were erected little sheds called "flower chambers" for the rendezvous of young men and women. These flower chambers, however, are now nine out of ten destroyed. Ordinarily, when they carry on "kan-piao," the man would take the girl home, otherwise he would be accused of kidnapping. If a girl takes a man home, her parents would
[574] not only leave them alone, but are also obliged to kill a chicken and provide wine in order to show the graciousness of their daughter in receiving guests. The custom of "kan-piao" is most popular with the Chung-chia in the An-shun district. They have comparatively fewer forms of recreation than the Hua Miao, and the young people among them often indulge in "kan-piao" as a
[579] happy pastime. Often in "kan-piao" a man gets into a fight

[199 cont.]
517 with weapons over a girl. Such brawls, known as "seeking
832 enemies," are not infrequent.
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[200] (V) Musical Instruments. The Miao-I within the
534 district are fond of playing musical instruments. These include the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument], wu-sheng [five-pipe bamboo wind instrument], k'ou-ch'in [mouth organ or harmonica], hsiao-ti [flutes and fifes] and so-na [clarinet-type wood-wind instrument], of which the liu-sheng is the most common among the Miao-I. Each family, no matter how rich or poor, owns one. The instruments are described as follows:

(a) The liu-sheng. This instrument is called liu-sheng 六笙 because its bamboo tubes can give six [liu 六] tones. It is also called lu-sheng 盧笙. from the word "lu" 盧, meaning "bamboo-reed." It is made of six bamboo tubes of varying lengths, one end of which is inlaid with a brass plate as a metallic tongue. The bamboo tubes are inserted into either a round or square wooden case, at one end of which is a wooden handle. Each tube has a hole, through which the player blows and sucks, and which he stops at will with his fingers, thus issuing different sounds. The varying lengths of the bamboo tubes make it possible to have both high and low pitches.

The use of the liu-sheng is very extensive. At the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance and other gatherings this is the most important musical instrument. During the funeral ceremony the liu-sheng renders the most solemn music. Young men who wish to excel others have no regard for the time con-
[832] sumed in mastering the art of playing this instrument, for it is the best recommendation to the fair sex. The following are two com-
533 mon tunes for the six-tube bamboo wind-instrument. Its music, simple and clear, is used to accompany songs that are widely sung in the Miao-I area.

[152 cont.]

538 lot is otherwise so hard. Below are given two extracts from "Méo" songs, borrowed from the work of P. Marabail (op. cit., pp. 296 and 298):

539 1. Love song:

832 The Young Man. — One is born only once. As the bee and the butterfly go far off in search of flowers, so human creatures are obliged to make long journeys to seek out those beings with whom they should unite. In like fashion we two are of different villages and yet we are about to wed. It is Heaven that has so willed it, He who is just and is never mistaken.

The Young Woman. — No, we are like the reed and the plum tree, which are separated by long distances. Don't make fun of it in that way. But since you tell me of the example of the bees, we have only to follow it. Wait for me then this evening at nightfall and I shall take care not to miss the rendezvous.

2. Prayer:

May we have an abundant harvest of maize! May the
539 wind blow with moderation and the rain fall with regularity! Then
782 more than a hundred plants will give rich harvests. Thus the mandarins will have a tranquil people to rule. Oh, that these desires may be completely realized! Let us beat the drum to celebrate autumn.

The costume of the men scarcely varies from one tribe to an-
291 other (see photo 204, Plate 38, in which representatives of various "Méo" tribes of Upper Tonkin appear). It consists of a jacket which buttons [153] usually in front of the right shoulder as well as on the side, and goes down just below the hips, a long pantaloon falling to the feet and held up by a belt, a turban of variable size, wrapped in a haphazard fashion.

Among those tribes which are in direct contact with the Chinese,
[177] the masculine costume approaches that of the Chinese, the jacket buttons in front by means of a variable number of braided loops and buttons and the turban is often replaced by a small skullcap.

The "Méo" usually go about barefooted. Some wear sandals with soles of rattan or bamboo fiber, or even the Chinese heelless

/87 cont./

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M 832 883 123

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/88 cont./

M seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao
● 832 interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together.
883 Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the
morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They
123 tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because,
they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love,
and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels
himself very much the center of attention and declares that
if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends
M with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the
[515] girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to
cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces
and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma
M sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love
[533] songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief
joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the
same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where
do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

A That purely materialistic considerations play only a
M minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that
836 prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never
[548] yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is
customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver
[431] necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him
a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the
chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-
25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a
matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love
have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a
young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes
him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her
partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes
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836

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported,
without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[776] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
[688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/139/

b) Music and Musical Instruments

A M 533 The basic music is the same among both peoples; both peoples know singing and the use of musical instruments.

Singing

Singing plays an important role among the Meau as well as among the Akha; both sexes sing on various occasions. I found no confirmation for the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn that the Meau make music only in connection with burials. To be sure, the Akha enjoy singing even more than the Meau, for whom singing while working in the rice fields is prohibited by M [243] [784] a taboo (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), whereas the Akha sing unhindered and by preference at just such work.

Among both peoples there are a few traditional songs of old whose texts are unalterable. The dance songs of the Akha girls belong to this group. The great majority of song texts, however, are improvised and depend on the situation and the singer. There are, for instance, many variations of the songs with which the mother sings her child to sleep. Hopes, wishes, M [854] and admonitions are woven into these lullabies of the Meau in which are repeated innumerable times and always to the same melody:

M [539] "Sleep well, my child, I shall cover you to keep you warm and go into the rice field to get fodder for our animals."

"Sleep, my girl, and do not cry, otherwise the dogs and the pigs will bite you."

"Sleep well, my boy, and do not play with knives and do not lose your covering."

"Sleep, my child, I shall go into the rice field and cut sugar cane for you and bring you good food."

A M 533 •832 Singing is very important for lovers; it gives them a chance to express the intensity of their emotions, knowledge, mental ability, ready wit, and humor. It is significant that

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/139 cont./

A M 533 832 [621] [186] among both peoples good singers always find special approval among the girls. It should also be pointed out that /140/ a pronounced love for one's native village runs through many of the love songs, which would not be expected among either the Meau or Akha, since both, as seminomadic peoples, often change their habitation sites. One might assume, therefore, that no special attachment to their villages would develop, but since the opposite is the case, it seems to indicate that the nomadic inclination of these peoples is only a secondary development (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "Causes of the Migrations").

M 539 832 The most impressive are the love songs of the Meau, which sometimes betray a really lyrical feeling:

"I came to your village in order to love you, but you would not even speak to me; this has made my heart sick with pain."

"I am a strong young man. Oh, why will you not hold my hand?" (Here the singer complains that the girl came to the rendezvous, but now is unwilling to surrender.)

"I visited you in your house, but you did not love me, so I am leaving."

"Now I have come to you, and if you will only stroke my neck, I shall be happy for several years, even if you do not grant me anything else."

"Speak only two words, and I shall be happy for a long time" (the "two words" mean a confirmation of love in return).

"I came to your house; why did you not offer me a cold drink?" (Girls present a "cold drink," that is, water, to the friend toward whom they are favorably inclined. Liquor is regarded as a very obvious invitation.)

M [273]

"I came to your house, in front of which there is a tree with three fruits. Eat only one fruit, the others are poisonous!" (The singer has heard that his sweetheart has two other friends and warns her.)

/140 cont./

539 The lover also often assures the girl of his faithfulness with a song: "If someone offers me two oranges, I shall eat
●832 only one!"

"If two cups of clear water are offered to me, I shall drink only one!" (This indicates that he will not accept a "cold drink" from another girl.)

[836] /141/ Keepsakes are also cherished by the lovers, as is shown by the following definitely lyrical songs:

"If you give me a kerchief, I shall take care of it as I would of you. Whenever I see it, I shall think of you." -- The girl, to whom the boy has given a neck-ring, replies: "When I look at your neck-ring, your embraces will be present to me and I shall think of you."

The following song has particularly fervent words:

"I shall press your kerchief to my breast. If I remain alive, I shall return, and if I should die, my soul will hover around you as a good spirit."

Marabail (1), too, published love songs of the Meau:

1. Pages 296 and 298.

"The young man: 'Man is born only once. Just as the bee and the butterfly seek out the distant flower, so are human beings forced to cover long distances to find those with whom they are to unite. We two are from different villages, yet we want to marry. It is heaven that wishes this, heaven that is just and never errs.' The girl replies: 'Like the reed and the plum tree we are separated by endless distances. One should not jest so. Since you give me the example of the bees, however, we need only imitate them. Expect me then in the evening at nightfall, and I shall not fail to come.'"

539 Savina (2), too, is one of the authors who mention and

2. II, p. 197.

[533] record such alternate songs: "Most of the songs consist of questions and answers." He then gives the song of a mother who mourns for her deceased children: "The little children to

/141 cont./

539 whom the mothers sing in the evening awaken in the morning with the first light. Why then do mine, who have already slept so long, never awaken anymore?

"Every spring when the peach trees bloom by the houses, the little swallows return and again fill their old nests on the smoky roofs with eggs. Why do my children never return anymore to look at their poor little beds?

"Every year when the maize is in bloom in the fields, the cuckoos return to see once more the lonely trees on the mountains and the rocks on the banks /142/ of the turbulent river. Why then do my poor children never return to see their old mother?

When the fruits fall from the tree, they sprout and come up beside it. Why do my children, who sank down at my side, never rise again?

"The grains of rice send out shoots in the water of the rice fields, as do the kernels of maize in the fields surrounded by rocks. Then why do the children of poor mothers never grow up again out of their cold graves?"

114 533 The texts of these songs show that Abadie's statement (1),

1. Page 169.

"The songs in the language of the Meau are always humorous and even erotic," corresponds as little to the facts as the report by Lajonquière (2): "Their songs are always erotic and almost

2. II, p. 312.

never depart from the following theme: the singer addresses a woman who is passing by, asks her what the news is, invites her to sit down beside him, becomes obtrusive. When she continues on her way, he scolds or mocks her."

539 832 To be sure, there are songs which have such a content: "I have come to you in your house, and now you do not want to grant me your favors. Now I shall go to another house and there buy water for my money. The water there is colder than your's. When I drink it, I am happy, for then another girl loves me."

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Miao AE5

/142 cont./

M 539 832 A lover to whom favors were granted often sings of his luck in many successive sentences: "Now I have to leave your village, and whenever I remember your embraces, my soul will be happy. Now I must leave, but I shall think only of returning. My soul wanders in the clouds (meaning: you have bewitched me) and not on earth. And when I return and hold your hand, I shall not be able to stop the flow of words until the end of my life (meaning: he will take her as his wife for life). What are you going to give me then to fill my soul and to stop the flow of my words? (a clear allusion to the sexual act, the only moment when the lovers are silent). Whatever you give me I shall give back to you all my life long."

M 533 In these songs rhythm plays no role, and melody only a minor one. The words are produced in a high-pitched voice with wholly /143/ unrelated high notes. Even while traveling M [484] no rhythm is maintained and marching in our sense is unknown to these peoples. There is singing, however, on every occasion: upon setting out to hunt, in connection with the preparations for the caravan when it is necessary to look for new village sites, in connection with bringing in the harvest, and in connection with housework. Lajonquière (1) reports similarly on the Meau.

1. II, p. 311.

There are no professional singers or bards, and similarly no epics heroic songs, or war songs, which formerly, at least among the Meau, were probably present. In any case, however, they cannot be found today. On the other hand, I was able to A [533] find two melodies among the Meau and one among the Akha to which texts similar to our Alpine "ditties" are sung. Often, however, the performer only sings words which happen to come into his head.

M [171] The sound of the songs of the Meau is very reminiscent of the "joiken" of the Lapps (2), although in the case of the

2. Bernatzik, VI, pp. 78 ff.

A M 533 832 joiken there are no words. Alternate songs to which texts are

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/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] A M [177] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When M 114 533 538 Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

1 [see cat 116, p124 - ANALYST]

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
461 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
784 observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers
[626] would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yǎ. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mǎ tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[842] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kǎ, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role;
177 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
278 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For
●832 example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/237 cont./

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.

832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
757 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
278 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
114 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine! It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.

752 They are most skillful, however, in the treatment of bone fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing
[845] trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.

278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manufacture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of certain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way
[514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per-
form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to
[264] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals.
[832] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in
public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters.
[521] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name
[602] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic
conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for
[562] women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at
[609] all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before
[125] the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward
us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their
presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant.
Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor
enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many
peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires
about the wife and children of the host. As has already been
pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section,
"Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no
[562] case the women before the men, since that is regarded as im-
proper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left
over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed
[264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only
then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series
of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man
[273] may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female
against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise
[832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man,
if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it.
This also applies to married women who therefore may pour
brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo
regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the
chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage
Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

584 fifth moon, or at some other convenient time, or attends one of the Miao feasts or festivals, or joins those playing on the mountain-sides at New Year time. Either the boy or the girl can make the first advances. The methods are to look lovingly
584 with the eyes, to squeeze hands and to speak loving words.
833 This is inconvenient if there are many people about. A boy may take a girl's handkerchief or a girl take a boy's. Then the person who gets the handkerchief goes away and the other says, "That person has taken my handkerchief. Stay here and I will go after him (or her)." Then in a quiet secluded place they make love. They say loving words, squeeze each other's hands, and embrace. A very great evidence of love is when one spits and the other swallows the spittal. Copulation often follows after which a handkerchief or a ring may be given by the boy to the girl or *vice versa* and they make a vow such as, "If you do not marry me and marry another, you must take this engagement present and eat it and then I will make no trouble." It is believed by the Ch'uan Miao men that copulation is one of the surest ways to a woman's affection.

584 Later the parents must be informed and they must secure go-betweens and arrange engagement presents and so on. If the parents do not agree, then the young people run away together or the man carries away the girl. Then all the neighbors and friends urge the parents to consent and if they still do not agree the neighbors and friends practically compel them to do so. The gifts to the girl's parents are generally less than they would have been if the young people had been engaged and married in the usual way.

Marriage by capture is not unknown among the Ch'uan Miao. Sometimes the girls are quite willing to get married in this way, and it is said that happy marriages often result. Sometimes a man uses this method because he is in love with the girl.

Parents generally desire to marry off their daughters, for it is the custom of marrying daughters into other homes that makes possible the securing of daughters-in-law to labor in the home and to give birth to descendants. Besides, the girl's parents receive engagement gifts and these are sometimes very valuable.

585 The bride generally weeps before leaving her parental home. Sometimes the sorrow is pretended but at other times she is sad and unwilling to go and the parents and friends and relatives have to use persuasion and even cocrcion. There is an old custom by which the parents actually push the girl out of the house. It is customary for the girl and her parents to weep, either as a matter of form or because of sincere sorrow.

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

M 832 883 123

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[776] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
[688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
● 833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/90 cont./

833 scratching, biting the eyelashes, nose-rubbing, in brief, the elements that play such a significant role among some inhabitants of the South Seas.

In contrast to the complicated overtures, the sexual act itself is simple and almost primitive. This is all the more strange in view of the fact that, unlike other peoples, there are no religious prohibitions to compel limitations in this respect, and otherwise the Meau are very imaginative. Nevertheless, they definitely reject all variations, in which, as is known, their Chinese neighbors are so unrivaled. The woman always lies on her back with her legs extended or slightly bent; the man lies on top of her, body against body, and their cheeks touch. Other positions are in part unknown and in part rejected. The Meau say of the Yau, who prefer the reverse position of [186] the woman: "They copulate like dogs, this is not good for human beings." -- After the ejaculation both partners sleep a while, and then the girl gets up softly and prepares a meal for her friend from provisions that she has brought along; they eat, and the love play begins anew.

836 The settlement of love intrigues is interesting and characteristic of the attitude of the Meau. If it becomes known that a girl has several lovers, the latter ask her jointly whose love she enjoyed first. The others then withdraw without protest, and a young man would never think of competing with another for his girl.

577 As long as sexual intercourse does not result in pregnancy
836 no one thinks of marriage. An attempt is made, only for the sake of public opinion, to keep all love affairs secret. In such matters no one will censure a lie, which is otherwise so strictly condemned by the Meau. Now, the villages of the Meau in northern Thailand are small, moreover, the members of the village community are subject to the marriage prohibition, since most of them are related by blood or belong to the sib. Hence, the young men must often walk for hours or days to reach their beloved. If a young man then returns home dead-tired and his father, as is unlikely, should ask him where

/90 cont./

577 836 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] [143] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] [614] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 833 513 Married people customarily have sexual intercourse at night in their bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
[562] whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must [834] be recorded that though married women expose their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women 292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after 302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after 301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men, as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear- 292 rings, and on gala occasions every one, man or woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and harmonises beautifully with the mountains on which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary to be presented with a gala gown. English friends are highly amused when they are told that such a gown was grown in a village garden. Like Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet, the woollen texture is made from wool sheared from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is obtained from plants and roots gathered on the hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music. 534 The musical instrument par excellence is the *ggeh* which is played by the young men, who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A *ggeh* is made of bamboo pipes,

A M 857 123 [126]

/58 cont./

watched us everywhere, while we had difficulty persuading them to continue their activities or their games in our presence. Finally, we had no other choice but to make our observations, as well as my Contax snapshots, with Zeiss-Tessar and Tele-Tessar lenses from carefully prepared concealments, such as house walls with holes in them and the like, for as soon as we had disappeared from sight, the children went back to their usual activities or romped about.

1. Children at Play and Work

A M 857

As soon as the children have outgrown babyhood, their activities during their free time are usually separated from those of the adults. No one stimulates the children at play; at most they are watched with amusement, but never interfered with, and the play of children is by no means regarded as a useless activity. They are made to work, but during their free time they are allowed to do as they please.

The children of the Meau, as well as those of the Akha, are very fond of play and very active. They never loiter about; as a rule one can say that an inactive child is sick. Otherwise they are altogether enterprising and v[illegible], and in this respect there is no change in the various stages of childhood. There are, to be sure, groups of boys and of girls, which I shall come back to later on, but there is no strict separation among the Meau; boys and girls often play together. This is the natural result of the fact that children, regardless of sex, must take care of their younger siblings. /59/ A seven-year-old boy, for example, takes care of his three-year-old sister, whom he carries about with him in the child-carrier, just as readily as a little girl takes care of her younger brother.

M 834 857

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II, p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II, p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
● 834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

764 "One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
775 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse,
is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

M 832 883 123

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/110 cont./

A 582 648 563 114 [609] [535]

Among the Akha, on the other hand, the strict tribal endogamy is not relaxed even theoretically. As a rule strangers to the tribe may not even appear at the dancing places as spectators! The Census of Burma (1), however, speaks of a

1. Vol. XI, p. 183.

strong mixture with the Chinese, which I myself was unable to verify anywhere. Scott (2), too, mentions that the Akha women

2. II, p. 270.

are instantly willing to marry any stranger," and that the "girls are inexpensive and not particular." To be sure, these reports say nothing about what region they are dealing with, so I was unable to ascertain whether or not these were perhaps tribal splinter-groups that more or less voluntarily were subject to the Chinese.

A M 582 835

Besides the above-mentioned and practiced tribal endogamy, among the Meau, as well as among the Akha, blood relationship up to the third generation /Glied, "member, rank, generation"/ is viewed as an obstacle to marriage. Beyond that, however, among both peoples bearers of the same name may marry.

A 835 614 178

Though the incest rules are strictly applied -- Telford (3)

3. Page 149.

even writes that incest is punished by being buried alive -- nevertheless among the Akha there is a custom that relaxes these regulations. It is of special importance particularly in the mountains of Thailand, where there are small enclaves of the very prolific Akha, who are able to maintain only loose connections with the compactly settled groups. If in such enclaves there are especially many offspring, even for the Akha, within a sib, the two oldest family heads, who are usually brothers, organize a great festival in which all the members

A [574]

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
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784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

● 836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [517] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would [533]

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

514 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
• 836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
684 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
[837] they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[836] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
843 son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow, for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. 857 517 [535]

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836 [496]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

883 It might have been of the sort that existed in An-lung Hsien. There between the time 836 of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

883 THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

836 For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
539 If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the 535 young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one 533 heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an evening after work — at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was also called the *liu sheng* because it had six [50a]

174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 579 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being distilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

836 The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House", where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

8: Graham E.-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

836 On the second or third days of the second moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men
837 and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But sometimes a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men other than her husband objects to her husband's doing likewise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love affairs.

At the *tso chai* 做齋 ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 超度
837 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring
593 out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests, old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that he will beat that person and if the person does not run away or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the house where the guests are being entertained, or in another house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife afterwards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has given them good complexions. Women who are popular with men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers or good at playing the *liu shêng* and dancing, or have money. Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great difference, and generally but not always ability to work is
533 esteemed. It is said that the most potent music of all in making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the musician.

[18 cont.]

301 two silver bracelets and two or three finger rings. But when they put on their best embroidered clothes, then they would wear a kind of silver headgear with different kinds of silver pins in the chignon, and at least two or three solid silver necklaces, sometimes as many as a dozen; the number of bracelets and finger rings they wear is also doubled. They would have still more silver jewelry on the dress or attached to the waist. The [556] quantity of silver worn is an index to the wealth of the family, and so during festivals the women become exhibits in every family.

3. Marriage

584 Marriage among the Miao is mostly the result of love, but the mediation of the match-maker and the engagement ceremony are necessary before fixing the date of marriage. Young men and women [19] at the "liu sheng [reed-wind instrument] dance" in the first lunar month may openly fall in love with each other without the intervention of parents or brothers of the family. In ordinary times, especially during the holidays, they may also court each other at will. So on the mountain slope or in the field we often observe scenes of "yao-ma-lang" (i.e., love-making), when they sing songs to each other in questions [533] and answers. One party would ask a question in a song, and if the other party is willing she sings back the answer. These songs are extemporized, full of freedom and naturalness. Such serenades last till sunset when they begin to return home. After a suitable period of time, if their feelings persist then the parents would find a go-between to arrange the engagement. 836 This system of love and marriage seem very free, yet there is no promiscuity. Their conduct is regulated by unwritten laws and they all have a high sense of decency. For instance, yao-ma-lang is carried on out of sight of old people, and yet it has to be within sight of passers-by. Furthermore, men and women must remain at least five feet apart, and necking and embracing are taboo. (The Long-skirt Miao not far away from them permit

[19 cont.]

836 embracing.) So, pre-marital relations between men and women are rare if not altogether absent. The following are some of the love songs they sing to each other in free translation:

539

I

You seem not to care for me,
But with you I'm in love.
It is as keen as a dagger,
For you are too beautiful.

When I scale the mountain peak,
Day and night my thoughts wander,
Your image they continue to seek.
What magic have you yonder?

II

Ye maids who marriage have not known,
How many are there in your village?
One of you I wish to call my own
To share my route and tillage.
In the village we shall sit, you and I,
For shortly we shall be two genii.

III

In that village there are pretty flowers,
In that village there are pretty maids;
Their faces are like snow flakes on the bowers,
Their brows, a crescent moon that never fades.
Please, send me one to adore,
And I shall never ask for more.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

Besides the Meos' predilection for mountain tops they have other claims to distinction. They are utterly independent and quite fearless. Their passion for freedom compels them to live in the smallest of villages and, apart from such rare events as the invasion of 1860, they will not tolerate chiefs or leaders. If forcibly brought to lower altitudes they are soon taken ill and die. They are normally pacific, but if compelled to fight are apt to eat the livers of slain enemies. M 181

The Meos are the only people in Indo-China who are not in the slightest concerned with evil spirits, although they admit their existence. Their complete indifference to all the ghouls and devils that plague the races surrounding them has invested them with enormous prestige, which they are careful to cultivate. They like to encourage the belief, prevalent among the Thais, that they are were-wolves and can turn into tigers at wish. They have no funerary cults but celebrate a funeral – or any other event providing the slightest excuse – with orgies of drinking. Husbands and wives keep their own property. Children are given the greatest degree of freedom; and sexual promiscuity before marriage – even with strangers – is general. 'Sacred groves' exist – there is a celebrated one at Dong-Van in Tonkin – to which Meo girls resort, and offer themselves freely to all comers. It is said that large-scale maps, upon which the locations of such groves have been scrupulously plotted, are the prized possessions of most French garrisons in Tonkin. Besides breeding fine, white dogs, they are experts at taming monkeys and birds, particularly a kind of minah which they teach a wide repertoire of imitative sounds. The Meos will only part with their animals for an enormous price – payable in solid silver which they immediately convert into massive jewellery. M 771 M 836 M 231 435

But the first village beyond Muong Kassy, perched on a bare hill-top and reached laboriously up a long winding path, proved not to belong to Meos but the 'black' Thais – so called from the distinctive dress of their women. It was like climbing up to an eagle's eyrie and finding crows in possession. A rare species of crow though. Check- ST 361

[151 cont.]

157 the strang r who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[621 361] The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

[774] This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [756] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here [755] on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes 836 out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home,

[Text Continues on P. 112]

/86 cont./

A M 145 125 532 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the M [825] children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] M 832 883 123 In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/88 cont./

M 832 883 123 seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together. Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because, they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love, and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels himself very much the center of attention and declares that if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

M [515] M [533]

A M 836 [548] [431] That purely materialistic considerations play only a minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes

A 114 548 836

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported, without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and . . . the rest. . ."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[772] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
[688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/90 cont./

833 scratching, biting the eyelashes, nose-rubbing, in brief, the elements that play such a significant role among some inhabitants of the South Seas.

In contrast to the complicated overtures, the sexual act itself is simple and almost primitive. This is all the more strange in view of the fact that, unlike other peoples, there are no religious prohibitions to compel limitations in this respect, and otherwise the Meau are very imaginative. Nevertheless, they definitely reject all variations, in which, as is known, their Chinese neighbors are so unrivaled. The woman always lies on her back with her legs extended or slightly bent; the man lies on top of her, body against body, and their cheeks touch. Other positions are in part unknown and in part rejected. The Meau say of the Yau, who prefer the reverse position of [186] the woman: "They copulate like dogs, this is not good for human beings." -- After the ejaculation both partners sleep a while, and then the girl gets up softly and prepares a meal for her friend from provisions that she has brought along; they eat, and the love play begins anew.

836 The settlement of love intrigues is interesting and characteristic of the attitude of the Meau. If it becomes known that a girl has several lovers, the latter ask her jointly whose love she enjoyed first. The others then withdraw without protest, and a young man would never think of competing with another for his girl.

577 As long as sexual intercourse does not result in pregnancy
836 no one thinks of marriage. An attempt is made, only for the sake of public opinion, to keep all love affairs secret. In such matters no one will censure a lie, which is otherwise so strictly condemned by the Meau. Now, the villages of the Meau in northern Thailand are small, moreover, the members of the village community are subject to the marriage prohibition, since most of them are related by blood or belong to the sib. Hence, the young men must often walk for hours or days to reach their beloved. If a young man then returns home dead-tired and his father, as is unlikely, should ask him where

/90 cont./

577 836 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would [732] [143] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the [585] [614] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 833 513 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
[562] whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
[626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's
[684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going, "as my informants said. On the other hand, if the seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter
[851] is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/97 cont./

A 582 Among the Akha, the marriage age for both sexes is between the sixteenth and twentieth year.

e) Courtship and Betrothal

M 583 183 For a Meau boy there are several ways to marry a girl. A common way taken is probably the one whereby a boy loves a girl, she bears a child, and later the parents of both give their consent. This way does not conform to the demands of "public opinion" and is therefore not customary among respectable families. M 584 A second way is to go out looking for a wife. The young man visits the various villages and selects a girl. Then he goes to his father or to the head of his large /extended/ M [787] family and asks for his advice. The ancestors are queried about it by way of an ordeal (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). If the outcome of the ordeal is unfavorable, the young man drops the idea, but if the result is auspicious, he visits the girl's village again and asks her whether she consents to the proposed M [836] marriage. If the girl agrees, she leaves her parents' home in great secrecy and sleeps with the young man in the house of his parents. The next day, the young man's parents visit the parents of the bride in order to inform them of the fact, and M [574] they send them a pig. The latter for their part also now slaughter one and invite the relatives of the bridal couple to a feast. The two animals are eaten, rice liquor is copiously served, and the day for the wedding is set.

It often happens, however, that the girl refuses to leave her parents' house without their consent, that is to say, secretly. In this case, the young man /98/ asks his parents to visit the parents of the bride and ask for the girl. If the bride's parents give their consent, then everything is in order and the wedding day can be set. If the bride's parents do not give their permission, however, it is up to the girl to make the decision. M [836] She can still decide to spend a night secretly with the boy in his parents' home or simply to have intercourse with him until

/98 cont./

584 she becomes pregnant. In both cases, the parents of the girl
[836] will immediately withdraw their opposition.

583 It also happens in practice that the young people disregard all formalities and begin with cohabitation without consulting their parents. In this case, too, the parents of the girl can do nothing but belatedly approve of the accomplished fact.

584 When one considers all the various ways, it is apparent
593 that the girl's parents cannot assert their will against that of the daughter. The father of the young man, on the other hand, into whose sib and, in most cases, household community the girl is to be received, can exert extensive influence upon the decision of his son. If the father or head of the family does not like the girl, he can ultimately give the refusal of the ancestors as a pretext, and no son will dare to undertake anything against their will.

583 In contrast to my observations, Lajonquière reports of the
584 Meau in Indochina, as does Abadie (1) in almost the same words:

1. Page 166.

"It happens that marriages are concluded against the will of the parents. In this case the young people flee and, if they are found, pay an indemnity to the father of the girl. A small
[574] feast is celebrated, and everything is settled."

584 Marabail (2) makes the following statements on this

2. Page 459.

subject: "If a Meau wants to marry, he tells his father, without asking him for permission, for he is completely free. The father then sends two friends to the house of the girl's father. When they arrive, they plant two incense sticks in the ground in front of the door and light them. The master of the house then comes out and asks what they want. He listens to them,
[574] invites them to his room, and gives them something to drink. This is the sign that he has accepted the offer. As soon as the

/140 cont./

539 The lover also often assures the girl of his faithfulness
832 with a song: "If someone offers me two oranges, I shall eat only one!"

"If two cups of clear water are offered to me, I shall drink only one!" (This indicates that he will not accept a "cold drink" from another girl.)

/141/ Keepsakes are also cherished by the lovers, as is
[836] shown by the following definitely lyrical songs:

"If you give me a kerchief, I shall take care of it as I would of you. Whenever I see it, I shall think of you." -- The girl, to whom the boy has given a neck-ring, replies: "When I look at your neck-ring, your embraces will be present to me and I shall think of you."

The following song has particularly fervent words:

"I shall press your kerchief to my breast. If I remain alive, I shall return, and if I should die, my soul will hover around you as a good spirit."

Marabail (1), too, published love songs of the Meau:

1. Pages 296 and 298.

"The young man: 'Man is born only once. Just as the bee and the butterfly seek out the distant flower, so are human beings forced to cover long distances to find those with whom they are to unite. We two are from different villages, yet we want to marry. It is heaven that wishes this, heaven that is just and never errs.' The girl replies: 'Like the reed and the plum tree we are separated by endless distances. One should not jest so. Since you give me the example of the bees, however, we need only imitate them. Expect me then in the evening at nightfall, and I shall not fail to come.'"

539 Savina (2), too, is one of the authors who mention and

2. II, p. 197.

[533] record such alternate songs: "Most of the songs consist of questions and answers." He then gives the song of a mother who mourns for her deceased children: "The little children to

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/283 cont./

M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.

Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [353] M [513] M [231]

Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M 883 [243] M [836] [533]

The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

A 361 166 [241] [623]

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
684 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
[837] they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor. 618

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔʒʌu Ma· and the guest-husbands are called ndᵃʌu la·. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb, 837

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials. 837 178

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along. 186 476

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

836 On the second or third days of the second moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men
837 and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But sometimes a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men other than her husband objects to her husband's doing likewise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love affairs.

837 At the *tso chai* 做齋 ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 超薦
593 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests, old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that he will beat that person and if the person does not run away or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the house where the guests are being entertained, or in another house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife afterwards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has given them good complexions. Women who are popular with men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers or good at playing the *liu shêng* and dancing, or have money. Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great difference, and generally but not always ability to work is
533 esteemed. It is said that the most potent music of all in making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the musician.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

538 clear whether the two stones were two round pieces of a stonegrinder or not. The Ch'uan Miao assured me that they
773 were not two round pieces of a stone grinder but merely two round stones and that they rolled down from opposite hill-or mountain-sides, the opposite sides of a canyon.

Another kind of legend is that which gives an explanation for Ch'uan Miao customs. There are many of them and not a few of the customs here described were first learned about in a legend. As an illustration I will tell the story of the origin of raising chickens.

A man was walking through the woods. A pheasant flew out cackling and the man found some pheasant chicks. These he took home and fed and gradually they became very tame and grew up as pets. The family liked them so much that they did not kill them and eat them. When these chicks grew up they laid eggs and hatched out more chicks which in turn grew up. This family gave some of the fowl to other families and gradually people learned to raise chickens.

538 There are many love songs or songs that relate the experiences of lovers, for the Ch'uan Miao have had their
837 share of Romeos and Juliets. Some of these songs tell of love between men and their wives or between men and women whom they love and wish to marry, but probably ninety percent of the love songs tell of love affairs between married men and women who are not their wives or between married women and men who are not their husbands, or between unmarried people who do not expect to get married, and in nearly all of these cases it is stated or implied that there was sexual intercourse between them. It seems to be assumed that love between the sexes will result in sexual intercourse and the pure love song that plays such a large part in the literature of the world is hard to find.

IX. RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

In my opinion the Ch'uan Miao are a very religious people,
771 but they have no religious organization, no images of gods, and no temples. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and through their religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a satisfying life in which the basal needs of food, sex, protection or security, and play and amusement are satisfied. Two of the fundamentals in the Ch'uan Miao religion are belief in demons which cause disease and other calamities and for whose exorcism ceremonies are required, and the ancestral cult with its ceremonial offerings and commemoration.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors

837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the 000
groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between
a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's hus- 837
band. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to 583
obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about 755
medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet
been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other 753
calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange 165
that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness
between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely 769
to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to 775
return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open
the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the 764
ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly 764
cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by 765
the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

/33 cont./

A 597 Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase A [435] price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all.

M 608 Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is M [273] slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both go to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper M [776] that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is [782] burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded.

The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support M [428] each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled [837] to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other.

A 608 572 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends," without any special rights and duties.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/108 cont./

A even the clothes of the secondary wives, belong to her.
595 Among the Akha, the position of the daughter-in-law, who is
[422] the first to be called upon for assistance in all the difficult or
[606] unpleasant work of the women, is similar to her position among
[179] the Meau, and presumably has likewise been influenced by the Chinese. Among the Akha, as among the Meau, after the
A wedding both sexes are required to observe marital fidelity,
M which among the Meau at least is not always followed. If a
837 man commits adultery with a girl, it is considered unimportant,
684 provided that there are no consequences. If there are, the man must marry the girl or pay an indemnity agreed upon. It is different if a man commits adultery with a married woman and the affair is discovered. In this case, the seducer has to pay the deceived husband the entire bride price or he will be punished by the village chief. Moreover, the disclosure of
A such a case is a terrible disgrace for the seducer, whose prestige
M in the community suffers greatly (see the section, "Dissolution
[558] of Marriage," in this chapter).

The obligation for marital fidelity for both sexes is stricter among the Akha than among the Meau.

A Telford (1) reports that among the Akha of Kengtung
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837

1. Page 108.

a married, but childless woman may have sexual intercourse now and then with an unmarried man. If she becomes pregnant, her husband has to /109/ slaughter a pig and give it to her lover. I assume that the reference to a slaughtered pig means that a sacrificial feast must be arranged.

A Wife exchange, the lending of wives, and outright wife-
M purchase, under which I do not include the indirect purchase
837 for marriage described above, are equally unknown among the
432 Meau and Akha. It can be assumed, I think, that in former
583 times among the Meau a purchase of wives in some form as
M yet unknown might have been practiced. In any case this is
174 indicated by the fact that the Meau believe it is not proper
583 to sell the household broom, because this would be tantamount
432

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
578 easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such
595 sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
[583] know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

/118 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
[583] price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
• 837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same
[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of
the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),
[184]

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

M 832 883 123

/87 cont./

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M 892 889 123

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
787 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/438 cont./

A 462 The division of men's and women's work is quite similar among the Akha, who are not inferior to the Meau in industriousness. Among them, however, housebuilding is exclusively a task for the men, whereas the preparation of firewood, for which large trunks must often be chopped up, is one of the tasks reserved for the women. Cooking and the hulling of rice in the mortar are, to be sure, tasks of the Akha women, but the men very commonly help them.

[342] [313] [252]

A 461 No differently than among the Meau, there are scarcely any tasks for the Akha children that are to be performed exclusively by them; the situation in this respect is the same as among the Meau.

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/439/

Chapter 27

Anthropology

M 165 When one considers the poor hygienic conditions in association with the hardest physical labor (see the chapter, "Medicine"), it is truly astonishing that one comes across relatively many old people among the Meau. Also, I cannot agree with Marabail (1) who in his work advocates the view that the

M 145 [114]

1. Page 463.

Meau grow old prematurely. On the contrary, I often marveled that the women, in spite of their work load, which was too hard for them physically, and even though no notice was taken with regard to the menstruation periods, actually do not lose their bloom any earlier than among our own people and in any case much less rapidly than among the southern Europeans.

M [841]

A M 141 The Akha as well as the Meau are definitely small in stature. From the 20 women and men measured, the average heights amounted to:

/98 cont. /

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[836] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the
[765] elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry
the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider.
Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the
time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to
perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set
date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be
opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters
by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and
again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her
household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
843 son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter
placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is
placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with
her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping
the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on
a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then
she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can
easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat
ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an ex-
perienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract
the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb,
it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [842] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [177] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" [755] to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "wash- [783] ing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange [777] phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seeking resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning [842] the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/140 cont./

755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
[787] to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kuen ɲiei/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is
•842 the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[787] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
[776] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is pre-
[231] venting the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

/177 cont./

(22) Putting up an Earth Bridge

*782 842 If after a childless Miao has made a vow to the shen for a son, and still a child is not born, then the ceremony of Putting up an Earth Bridge is performed in order to make a bridge down to earth for the son in heaven, so that he can descend.

[785] The host selects an auspicious day and regulates his thoughts, fasts, and bathes. Before the date he prepares a stone slab about 60 cm. long, 3 cm. wide, and 5 cm. thick. Four perpendicular lines are chiseled on the slab, dividing it into five sections. He also uses five branches of a fruit-bearing tree, the size of each branch being equal to that of one section on the stone slab. On the principal day the stone slab and the tree branches are buried inside the door near the middle of the threshhold. A square table is used, on which are

*782

Illus. 74. Sacrifice to Lu Pan.

*782 842 placed five stacks of paper money, a sheng of uncooked rice in which are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of cooked tofu, and five cups of wine. There are also a

/177 cont. /

*782 few coins inside the sheng of rice. The sorcerer-priest in plain
● 842 clothes and holding the ritual knife and chiao-tzu utters an in-
*[787] cantation and divines, pours the wine and states the reason. After having divined again for when a son is to be born, he burns the paper to send off the shen. After the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, he next performs the Nuan No.

(23) Nuan No

[776] /178/ When the No shen /a god who drives away pestilence/ has been offended, (for details see "Huan No Yüan") if the time for Huan No Yüan is still far away, then they must do this. Also every ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the day when the No shen comes down, and the third day of the third month is the day when this shen goes up to heaven, and some people hold the same ritual on either one of these two dates. Also the ritual of Putting Up an Earth Bridge has to be followed by the performance of Nuan No. It is held during the daytime, with a square table placed in the back half of the main house. On the table are set five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and a sheng of rice on which there are some coins, incense, and candles. There are also two stacks of paper money, a bowl of meat with a little salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. The sorcerer-priest wears plain clothes and a red head kerchief, and, holding the ritual knife and the chiao-tzu, he utters the same incantation as that for Putting Up an Earth Bridge. After he has finished he burns the paper to send off the shen.

(24) Huan No Yüan

175 Huan No Yuan /"fulfilling the No vow"/ is fulfilling a
*782 vow to the No shen. The origin of No is very ancient. The
776 "Hsiang Tang" chapter of the Lun Yü says: "When the villagers drove away the demons of pestilence /no/, they dressed in formal robes and stood on the eastern steps." After the Ch'in and Han

/178 cont./

175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is
776 uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

[113]

1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke
[773] No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen;[1] and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

[1 [for this ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280.- ANALYST]

/183 cont./

*782 drum are beaten and the horn blown. The sorcerer-priest, candle in hand, faces the No shen. After he has once more uttered the k'ai-kuang incantation, he sticks the candle in the candlestick, takes up two hsien-feng banners, blows the horn and waves the banners, three times in all. When the waving of the banners and the beating of gong and drum cease, he sings out magic words invoking the shen before the Peach Spring. cave. After one passage is sung, he beats the drum and gong, blows the horn, and waves the banners, three times. Then the drum and gong are silenced, and facing the Peach Spring cave he continues to sing, accompaning the singing with the gesture of sweeping something outdoors and sweeping something in. Raising the banners with both hands, he also makes the gestures of opening doors to the right and left, and then he deposits the banners in the hands of Duke No and Mother No, followed by gesticulating along with the phrases sung. When this is over, he does the three-step walk; facing outside, next facing inside, he recites and gesticulates, and does the three-step walk. Afterward facing the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, utters incantations and does the three-step walk. Then he uses the whip to draw the character for a well in the eastern corner, and then turns to the Peach Spring cave to lay down the whip and pick up the chiao-tzu, inviting the shen to dismount. Lighting three sticks of incense, he leads the host to worship the shen. Next he utters *[787] another incantation and divines with the chiao. When the yin chiao appears it indicates Duke No has dismounted. The yang chiao indicates Mother No has dismounted, and the sheng chiao, the dis- [776] mounting of the San Ch'ing /the Taoist trinity/. Then he invites the ancestors of the family and other shen to dismount, following with the incantation to disrobe, and the ritual terminates.

*782 The tenth part is the seeking of a son. (This is performed only for a host without a son.) In front of the Peach Spring cave ● 842 is set up a long table about ten chang long, spread with blue or green cloth, red and white being avoided. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, fancy headgear, and the willow towel on his back. Standing before the long table in front

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*782 of the Peach Spring cave, he sings the secret words to seek a son, announcing at the same time the eight cyclical characters ●842 appertaining to the date and hour of birth of the host. After the singing, the gong and the drum are sounded, and the sorcerer-priest blows the horn three times, after which he holds a cane and utters the incantation for hiding the body. After every two sentences, he blows the horn once and moves up forward one step; after another sentence he gives another blow of the horn and again moves up forward another step. Thus, uttering a sentence then blowing the horn, he walks up to the table. He does the three-step walk on the table and recites the incantation for "building the bridge." After one passage, the sorcerer-priest takes the ritual knife which is in his right hand, and hangs it on his right wrist, while the horn leans against the crook of the arms, and continues the incantation, gesticulating at the same time according to the meaning of the words of the incantation. He recites a passage and makes gestures in each of the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. On finishing each passage, he must blow the horn once. After the five directions have been done, he again faces the Peach Spring cave, and raps the horn with one chiao-tzu held in the right hand, while the gong and drum are also sounded, and utters an incantation. After a passage, holding the willow towel in his left hand and the ritual knife in his right hand, he waves three times with both hands upward, downward, left, and right. /184/ The gong and drum are then silenced and the incantation for pledging in wine is said. After the incantation, the host and the hostess, carrying prayer boxes on their backs, kneel down separately at both sides of the long table, the man to the left and the woman to the right. The sorcerer-priest kneels on the table, reading a petition asking for a son, the couple paying respects along with the sorcerer-priest. After the petition has been read, the sorcerer-priest picks up the chiao-tzu in his right [787] hand and utters one more passage of an incantation, and then divines with the chiao-tzu. After seeking and obtaining the the sheng chiao, he utters another passage, and divines again,

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*782 seeking the sheng chiao, to recognize that the shen have ac-
842 cepted the petition. Further incantations are recited by the
*787 sorcerer-priest, who kneels and makes obeisance after every sentence, with the host and hostess following suit. He divines again to inquire the date when the son will be born. Then he utters the chiao-na /"to entertain"/ incantation, after which he divines again, either the sheng chiao or yin chiao being considered satisfactory. If the yang chiao appears, he must divine again. He then utters the kow-hsiao /"cancelling/ incantation and requests the shen to heed the incantation. After the sheng chiao is sought and obtained, the gong and the drum are sounded, and the host and hostess kneel on the ground while the sorcerer-priest stands up and blows the horn. The helper burns the petition as well as the prayer boxes carried on the backs of the host and hostess. A face basin is provided, filled with clear water and on which there is a board. The burning petition and prayer boxes are placed on the board to let the ashes fall into the water. The sorcerer-priest throws the willow towel on his shoulders; his ritual knife hangs on his right wrist, and the horn leans in the crook of his arms; the fingers of his two hands are together, with the two thumbs turning in circles, which means wheeling in wealth for the shen. Then he does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After the incantation he divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is obtained, he blows the horn, after which he picks up a bowl, in which he throws several grains of rice. Then he deposits 12 previously written tickets for drawing lots in the bowl with the rice and puts a bowl cover on it. This is called the yin-yang bowl. The sorcerer-priest holds the bowl with both hands, shaking it as he calls out the names of the various shen. After this, he puts a large winnowing basket under the long table, and another man opens a parasol, and rotates it from left to right above the tray. The sorcerer-priest lifts the cover a bit and shakes it incessantly above the parasol to let the tickets and rice fall out on the parasol and then run down the parasol to fall into the winnowing basket. Then the host and the

/184 cont./

*782 hostess are each asked to draw a ticket. The sorcerer-priest
● 842 then divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is ob-
*787 tained, he looks at the characters on the ticket to decide whether it is auspicious or inauspicious, disaster or good fortune. If the yin chiao or yang chiao is obtained, then the tickets are thrown back into the yin-yang bowl to be shaken again and drawn again. The characters written on the tickets are generally as follows: 1) five males, two females, 2) seven sons all united, 3) five sons will pass the examinations, 4) long life, wealth, honor, 5) sons and grandsons will fill the hall, 6) all requests will be granted, 7) the five grains will be fruitful, 8) the six domestic animals will increase, 9) the melon vines will spread continuously, 10) I alone will be denied, 11) whatever is sought is not granted, 12) what difficulties! When a ticket showing sons is obtained, the helper immediately gets a little No on a small chair to the right outside the door, names the No child, wraps it to make a bundle, and with both hands lifts it up and walks across the yin bridge to bring it to the hands of Mother No, and then carries it in his arms to the hostess. The host and the hostess both pay their respects to it and rise. The hostess carries the No child in her arms to the bed. The sorcerer-priest blows the horn facing out the door, /185/ and utters the incantation for locking and shutting the door. As he recites he gesticulates and after blowing once on the horn, he grasps a cane and lays it crosswise on the ground, utters an incantation, and divines. After he gets the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, he blows the horn. His helper gathers up the items on sacrifice, and after some more reciting by the sorcerer the ritual ends.

*782 The eleventh part[1] is Ch'üan Chiu /"pledging in wine"/.
273 The sorcerer with his head wrapped in a red kerchief and wearing the willow towel on his back, sits in front of the Peach Spring cave and sings the magic words for pledging in wine. After singing two sentences, he beats the gong and drum seven or eight times. After one passage is sung, two helpers each brings up to the Peach Spring cave a small winnowing basket, which contains roasted corn, soy beans, and an item of silver jewelry as well as

1 [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

[27 cont.]

756 all diseases are caused by evil spirits, and to expel them is to
755 rid oneself of the diseases. In case of slight indisposition one's family members would burn incense and paper to drive away the wild ghost. But in case of serious sickness [28] the evil workings of an important ghost are presumed and it is necessary to get hold of a priest to slaughter an animal and to employ magic in order to achieve the desired end.

2) To pray for a son. If man is without a child at the age
756 of forty-three or forty-four he can ask a priest to appeal to the
842 Jade Emperor for a son (the Miao do not believe in the Son-awarding Bodhisattva), or to enter the mountain to pray to a huge rock, the spirit of which is said to be able to award a child. So, in the second and the tenth month, incense is burned continuously to the rock spirit. At the time of worship two bowls of glutinous rice, five or six sticks of red incense, eight to sixteen fish as well as candles and paper money are used.

3) To arrest the soul. If a person is pale, thin and
756 dispirited or overtaken by serious sickness without being able to
774 get up, the conclusion is that it is an omen of the impending
[787] departure of the soul. A priest is engaged to appear before Yen-wang (the king of Hades) to arrest the soul and bring it back. In so doing, it is necessary to slaughter a pig for sacrifice before Yen-wang. After the soul is arrested all the relatives contribute from ten or twenty cents to a dollar or two toward a fund for the making of a necklace or a bracelet, called respectively the life-preserving chain or the hundred-family lock, for wear by the stricken person. At the same time a string of bamboo rings is hung crosswise at the gate together with a piece of charm to indicate that the soul is locked in and prevented from escaping again. Sometimes, a bad harvest is also attributed to the disappearance of the soul, and the priest is asked to slaughter a duck to summon it back.

4) To arrest the ghost. In cooking rice, when the pan
756 shrieks, or when the bucket in which the rice is steamed issues
[787] a shrilling sound, it indicates the presence of a ghost. The priest is asked to slaughter a cow for sacrifice, because this ghost is the thunder demon, the greatest of all ghosts, and to

[196 cont.]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
527 Flower Dance Hill 535 Outside North Gate	First month, 4th, 5th, 6th	Hua Miao
[?] -chou in the Third District	First month: 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th	Ch'ing Miao
Chiang-chia-Ma-lung in the Fourth District	First month: 6th	Hua Miao
Ping-chai in the Fourth District	First month: 8th	Hua Miao
Chung-yü-shan in the Fourth District	First month: 10th	Hua Miao

Among the above locations the dancing areas at the Flower Dance Hill belonging to the Hua Miao and the Upper Village belonging to the Ch'ing Miao are the largest. The dates set for such occasions are not subject to change, wind or rain notwithstanding. On the day of the dance all the community, without regard to wealth, age or sex, go to the appointed place in groups. The festivity of the occasion can well be imagined. The following is a detailed description of the flower dance.

A. The Method of the Flower Dance. 1) The Flower Slope
527 and the Flower Tree. When the Miao perform the flower dance
535 they use the flower slope and the flower tree. The flower slope
842 is the place where they dance, also called the "Hua-ch'ang" [flower yard], located on a hill in the neighborhood of a village, or half-way up a hill, or on level ground. The owner of the land where the dance takes place is known as the "flower host," generally a very influential person of the area. The land chosen for the flower slope has a quality of permanency. Before the flower dance is held, the slope is decorated with a tree of about a dozen feet in height, known as the "flower tree." One day before the event the flower host, blowing a trumpet, would welcome the tree to the flower slope, preferably a tree with green branches and leaves on the top. It is best when the tree is stolen from

[196 cont.]

535 somebody else's land and duly cursed by him. The flower trees in
527 the various flower slopes are changed either once a year or [197]
342 once every few years, depending upon whether some family would receive the tree after the dance. If a childless couple in the Miao village near the flower slope should give a feast for the guests to receive the tree into their home, the host would be happy to have the tree removed. The following year a new flower tree would be found for the slope. At the same time the family receiving the tree would make its timber into a bed. When the childless couple sleep in this bed they would become fertile and produce a son.

535 2) Participants. When a certain area holds a flower dance,
527 men and women, old and young, from all the villages nearby would come in bands. Young men and women would carry bundles on their backs, and on approaching the flower slope the men would open them and change into new clothes and nailed boots, with short flutes dangling around the waist, and leather or wooden bags hanging behind. As headgear they use pheasant
[301] feathers adorned with strips of colored cloth streaming in the air. They carry in their hands five-pipe or six-pipe bamboo-wind instruments [lu-sheng]. The women also change into new clothes,
[292] new skirts and jackets of bright patterns. The Chinese merchants of the area would establish stalls to sell candies, fruits and toys. Arriving at the flower slope the men would surround the flower tree in a circle, dancing as they move along and playing the bamboo-wind instruments. Listening to the music, the dancers would make noise by stamping their nailed shoes on the ground as they dance along in a rhythmic din. After circling a few times, the paired dancers fall into line, making the steps now left, now right, and now making a break as they follow the cadence of the music. First the men play bamboo wind instruments and later the women play mouth organs. The crowd dances around the tree a few times or as many as a dozen times. Outside the slope still others would play clarinets [so-na, a type of clarinet], bamboo wind instruments, and flutes, forming bands by themselves. The women often form groups of their own. Some

[197 cont.]

527 535 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 535 241 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain [648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 535 842 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates childbirth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 535 584 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
596 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organiza-
M tions are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the
571 Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the
114 existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans.
614 Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also
592 the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves.
[736] In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
[842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

/48/

Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 The day on which a child is born is an important day in
[842] the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

844 Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of
[556] some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and
[846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not
[178] taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition.

/49 cont./

M 853 [842] The suckling period lasts from three to four years, an observation also confirmed by Lajonquière (4). The ability to

4. II, p. 317.

conceive, however, cannot be decisively influenced by this, for I have frequently seen children three years old and older push aside a smaller sibling in order to get at the mother's breast.

/50/ Wet nurses are unknown. On a number of occasions I saw mothers who did not have enough milk desperately try to feed their children with all kinds of additional foods, especially rice and sugar. There was never any thought of using a wet nurse. Since the Meau do not drink animal milk (cf. the M [272] chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), such children die of starvation in all such cases.

A 842 527 Among the Akha, too, the birth of a child is awaited with joy, but a celebration of the birthday in later years is unknown.

A 844 Childbirth takes place, as among the Meau, in the dwelling, but on the bed itself. The husband, however, plays no role. Instead, the woman in labor is assisted by the mothers of the married couple. Other women are excluded, midwives are likewise unknown. While giving birth, the Akha woman squats in an erect position and is supported by the two older women. The umbilical cord, after it is tied, is severed with a bamboo knife.

A 844 846 [825] The afterbirth and the umbilical cord are buried under the bed of the woman in confinement, and, to be sure, under the head end of the woman. Once a day for ten days hot water is poured over the spot in order to prevent insects and especially termites from consuming what has been buried, for the Akha believe that, if this should happen, the newborn child would die.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/51 cont./

A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

A M 858

M [164] [123]

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

Akha A04
Miao AE5

A. /55 cont./

551 [553] In addition to the name which every person receives at the time of admission into the family community, every man is given a second name by his father-in-law after the birth of his first child. Telford (3) /see footnote 3 above/ writes: "He is given part of the father's name."

Among the Akha, too, a definite distinction is made between names for boys and for girls, but unlike the situation among the Meau they do not have any special meaning and are merely names:

Boys' names are: tšǒpǎ, tšǒnium, tšǒnkǒ.

Girls' names are: minyu, tšopyǒ, mǐnǎ.

/56/ c) Children

M 855 [842] The villages of the Meau and even more those of the Akha are teeming with children, which is not surprising in view of the fertility of these peoples. True, the hygienic conditions, especially in the villages of the Meau, are as unfavorable as can be imagined (cf. the chapter, "Medicine"), in striking contrast to the impression given by the well-fed, contented children.

As soon as the little ones begin to crawl and to walk and thus come in contact with soil, dust, and soot, they are permanently covered with a thick crust of dirt, so that their true skin color is no longer recognizable. Their little noses run, their hair is unkempt and dirty, the remains of food stick M [515] [291] to their little fingers -- but all this does not prompt the mother to wash the child. Meau children are usually clothed only in faded rags which once were part of the clothing of adults (Ill. 67 and 68). Even the articles of clothing made especially for the child, however, are soon entirely in a state of neglect due to the liveliness of the children and the complete lack of repair and scarcely fulfill the purpose of covering the body. Only a M [291] festive day provides an occasion for every child to have new [527] clothing, to be washed, and to be combed, but this only happens

[see cat. 116, p511- ANALYST]

/76 cont./

A 157 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 183 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
[626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's
[684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter
[851] is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/93 cont./

M 114 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said,

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 [163] Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [513] [833] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

39: Bernatzik--607 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/449 cont./

114 212 [175] mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

/450/ Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 175 648 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven out of their original homeland and in places were completely destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an [163] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and [842]

/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.

[163] [842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."

131 [167] [648]

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[836] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
843 son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

/156 cont./

(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ɕi¹ zoŋ⁴] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother/chiu-mu; [203] [602] is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress [292] [493] [843] (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

/157 cont./

*782 his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accom-
[292] panying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is
[843] allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests
[788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the
777 Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʐiɤ˧ ɕio˧˥ ba˧
731 loŋ˧ ʐie˧˥]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss, they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mpʰa˧˥
[776] tsu˧˥ lio˧˥ tɕɤ˧˥] and [ʐi˧˥ tsu˧˥ lio˧˥ ntɕʰi˧˥]. The time of this ceremony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar, On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

/98 cont./

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elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry
the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider.
Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the
time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to
perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set
date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be
opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters
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(3) Birth

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[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
843 for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter
844 placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is
placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with
her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping
the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on
a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then
she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can
easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat
ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an ex-
perienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract
the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb,
it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[987] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case 123
because the *hsien* judge found that his wit- 685
nesses had not told the truth at other points.
Another case was that of a Miao who had 661
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her re- 684
leased so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and
could not be found to ask him to change his
mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next
hsien, and after his condition that some mer-
chant in the city go surety for her was met,
she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed
money from his brother. This brother later
brought suit for the return of some of the
loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the
day set, but the brother did not appear to re-
ceive it. Later the family who had received
the loan sued the brother for the expense to
which they had been put because of his failure
to come and receive the payment on the day
set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most 671
small matters were settled among themselves.
Much of the old man's time was taken up with
such cases. Sometimes others of the village
elders were called in for consultation. This
was according to the Chinese Government
system, though in effect this formed the vil-
lage government, or council. If matters could
not be settled by them, they were taken before
the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the
hsien magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific
economic institutions. Families formed eco-
nomic units, and as such carried on trade with
Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie
Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting
country kinfolk to gather before they re-
turned to their villages from market. The
shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as
well, and much of their trade was really a
form of family visits. In their shops, as well

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Childbirth. After a girl was married she returned to her parents' home. There she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. Sometimes, but not always, when a woman was in labor a priest was asked to chant and cast lots in her behalf. This he did in a room adjacent to the one in which the mother was confined, or out-of-doors nearby. There were no midwives. The mother was assisted by other women who had borne children, either from her husband's or a related household. 844 591

The next morning after a child was born the mother might appear with the baby on her back, even in the kitchen where food was being prepared. There was no idea of impurity and she was not required to keep closely at home for a month or forty days, as in the case of Chinese in the vicinity and among some other groups of Miao. She might rest for three or four days, during which other women came to see the baby, but after that she worked as before at even the hardest of labor, with the baby on her back. I am not sure whether she was expected to refrain from certain foods, or not. I offered one mother an orange which she said she could not eat. She gave it to an older son. 846

Announcement Gifts. After the second grandson was born in the family where I was living, the father prepared gifts to send to the village from which his father had migrated, to the household in which an uncle still lived. First in the procession came two men playing the small trumpet. One of them led a black goat. This was a play on words, as the name of a goat (*yang*) has the same sound as the family name (*Yang*) and a word meaning "increase, growth." Then came two men bearing two poles, to which was fastened a whole dead pig, beautifully cleaned and white. After them came two men bearing a similar frame but empty. Last came a man bearing two baskets on a carrying pole. One of the baskets contained red candles and the other a 852

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages. 165 163

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual. 844 788 791

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground. 788 793

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

[847] [846] 791 844 When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a nearby road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.[12] 846

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placenta of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house. 844

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons. 852

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kuan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult. 881 791

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony will not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

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12. I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practiced by the Ch'uan Miao. 846

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852

[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

● 844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

/48/

Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 The day on which a child is born is an important day in
[842] the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

• 844 Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of
[556] some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and
[846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not
[178] taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition.

/166 cont./

776 825 [372] [626] [171] The spirit of fire is called tǎ hǒ lǔ pín. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 [844] I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yén.

[778] [756] The spirit sǔ kǎn is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." [177] [829] In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[836] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[765] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
843 son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow, for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eats
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/49 cont./

846 After the delivery the mother remains on her bed, and the husband cares for her in the same manner as at the end of her pregnancy. The husband tries to relieve her of all work. The length of the confinement depends on economic circum-
[556] stances. Among poor people it often lasts only a few days, among prosperous women it sometimes extends up to thirty days. In any case, among the Meau, it is prolonged as much as possible, since it is believed that the longer the confinement the healthier and stronger the woman will become and the more children she will therefore be able to bear.

I was unable to find any traces of the couvade among the Meau. On the other hand, Abadie (1) reported that the custom

1. Page 165.

occurs among some Meau tribes in China. He adds that in Tonkin this custom is not practiced, but that one could observe practices that seem to be derived from it. The author then mentions as such practices: "Vegetarian diet for the husband; a prohibition against his being absent or crossing the heights that form the boundary toward the neighboring valleys." Much more convincing is an illustration of the couvade given by Chang-Kong Chiu in his Kultur der Miao-tse (2) and the illustration in

2. Page 59.

the Album Gotha (3). In these cases, however, it is not en-

3. Reproduced in the Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift, 1916, p. 281.

tirely certain whether these illustrations actually refer to the Meau or perhaps to another Chinese mountain tribe.

845 The Meau are especially happy about the birth of twins
[777] and regard it as an omen of good luck. They even try to raise
[732] weaklings, deformed children, and cripples. The hard struggle for survival, however, almost always prevents their growing up.

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yǎ. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[840] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kā, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

177 In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role;
278 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
832 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/237 cont./

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.
832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious
ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
757 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
278 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
114 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine! It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.

752 They are most skillful, however, in the treatment of bone fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of
[845] abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.

278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manufacture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of certain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
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[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
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853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[987] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/156 cont./

243 *782 have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the chiao, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the chiao in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

"Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[797] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the chiao, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The yang chiao and the sheng chiao are auspicious. The yin chiao is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five [946] grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the [755] same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

4:Michey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended. 462 846

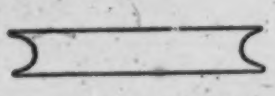

FIG. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there. 462

Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewod, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the beating out of grain in the field 462 241 [313]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Childbirth. After a girl was married she returned to her parents' home. There she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. Sometimes, but not always, when a woman was in labor a priest was asked to chant and cast lots in her behalf. This he did in a room adjacent to the one in which the mother was confined, or out-of-doors nearby. There were no midwives. The mother was assisted by other women who had borne children, either from her husband's or a related household. 844 591

The next morning after a child was born the mother might appear with the baby on her back, even in the kitchen where food was being prepared. There was no idea of impurity and she was not required to keep closely at home for a month or forty days, as in the case of Chinese in the vicinity and among some other groups of Miao. She might rest for three or four days, during which other women came to see the baby, but after that she worked as before at even the hardest of labor, with the baby on her back. I am not sure whether she was expected to refrain from certain foods, or not. I offered one mother an orange which she said she could not eat. She gave it to an older son. 846

Announcement Gifts. After the second grandson was born in the family where I was living, the father prepared gifts to send to the village from which his father had migrated, to the household in which an uncle still lived. First in the procession came two men playing the small trumpet. One of them led a black goat. This was a play on words, as the name of a goat (*yang*) has the same sound as the family name (*Yang*) and a word meaning "increase, growth." Then came two men bearing two poles, to which was fastened a whole dead pig, beautifully cleaned and white. After them came two men bearing a similar frame but empty. Last came a man bearing two baskets on a carrying pole. One of the baskets contained red candles and the other a 852

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of large numbers of the people. They can usually afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers, the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government, [436]
and for money they use whatever is in currency amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour- [624]
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task. The women have very much more work to do than men. They weave the clothes, carry the water, collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress. A man wears sandals, which he himself has made, short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a loose-fitting upper garment which is between a jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth. The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and, scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

847 848 795 844 When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a near-by road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.[12] 846

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placenta of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house. 844

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons. 852

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kuan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult. 881 791

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony willl not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

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12. I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practiced by the Ch'uan Miao. 846

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
● 846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

39: Bernatzik--75 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/48/

Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 The day on which a child is born is an important day in
[842] the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

844 Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of
[556] some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and
[846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do
[178] this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition.

/49 cont./

846 After the delivery the mother remains on her bed, and the husband cares for her in the same manner as at the end of her pregnancy. The husband tries to relieve her of all work. The length of the confinement depends on economic circum-
[556] stances. Among poor people it often lasts only a few days, among prosperous women it sometimes extends up to thirty days. In any case, among the Meau, it is prolonged as much as possible, since it is believed that the longer the confinement the healthier and stronger the woman will become and the more children she will therefore be able to bear.

I was unable to find any traces of the couvade among the Meau. On the other hand, Abadie (1) reported that the custom

1. Page 165.

occurs among some Meau tribes in China. He adds that in Tonkin this custom is not practiced, but that one could observe practices that seem to be derived from it. The author then mentions as such practices: "Vegetarian diet for the husband; a prohibition against his being absent or crossing the heights that form the boundary toward the neighboring valleys." Much more convincing is an illustration of the couvade given by Chang-Kong Chiu in his Kultur der Miao-tse (2) and the illustration in

2. Page 59.

the Album Gotha (3). In these cases, however, it is not en-

3. Reproduced in the Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift, 1916, p. 281.

tirely certain whether these illustrations actually refer to the Meau or perhaps to another Chinese mountain tribe.

845 The Meau are especially happy about the birth of twins
[777] and regard it as an omen of good luck. They even try to raise
[732] weaklings, deformed children, and cripples. The hard struggle for survival, however, almost always prevents their growing up.

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured, there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved, and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
[846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[164] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[626] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[164] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
765 member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[262] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
[834] have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
846

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well
[756] as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yǎ. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎń, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[842] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kā, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

177 In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role;
278 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
832 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[987] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

769 the family must buy a buffalo way ahead of the date so that it can grow fat for the occasion. On the vacant ground outside the village a small straw pavilion is erected as the altar of sacrifice. The offspring of the deceased would lead the buffalo to the altar, and waving a large butcher's knife, shout several times: "Let no one rob our buffalo!" Inside the pavilion, incense and candles are lit and placed alongside such sacrificial items as chicken and duck. Standing beside the straw pavilion, the Kwei-shih would pray to the dead: "Your descendants so-and-so send you a buffalo and wish you would watch over them always." The man then brings the butcher's knife upon the buffalo's head. If the animal is killed with one stroke, then the greatest luck would attend the household. The head of the buffalo is placed in the pavilion as a sacrifice and the beef is cooked in a huge cauldron. Those friends and relations, who have come with five measures of rice and one jar of wine as gifts, now partake of the feast. After it is over, each one carries home three pieces of beef on a pointed bamboo stick.

751 (9) Hong Ma and Hong Pa. In the Miao-I
847 village one often sees abandoned butchered children lying around. The heads and legs of these dead children are severed with a kitchen knife by their own parents, the same knife thrown beside the body with blood strewn all over, - the whole presenting a gruesome spectacle. This happened because the dead child's parents had brought to this world several sons who had died of the same illness, and so they believed that an evil spirit must have possessed them and been reborn several times to "hong ma and hong pa" (to deceive the parents). Therefore, this child is now decapitated and slaughtered so that the headless and limbless spirit of vengeance would not be able to come to

the womb again. After this any child born is 751
sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and 847
butchering have to be done before the child
breathes his last. When the parents perceive
that the illness of the child is identical to
that of the other deceased children, /92/ they
expect him to die, and taking advantage of his
still being alive they cut off his head and
legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention
would not be effective. It is said that some
ignorant Chinese in the same locality also fol-
low this custom.

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of 787
the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a 852
fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If 856
his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed
to grow until he is six or twelve years old when
he has his first haircut. The long unshaved
hair is said to help preserve the life of the
child. The first haircut is an occasion for
great celebration: every household in the vil-
lage would hang out red and green festoons and
send greetings to the parents, who in turn would
give a party, killing chicken and pig for a
great feast.

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child 755
among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without 753
stop, the parents would attribute the cause of
the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse",
a colloquial name for the locust. They would
hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled
with rice and water, and little images of horses
cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop
the cry of the child.

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-
I first becomes ill, the general assumption is
that he has run into some starving ghost. The
family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked
rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of
rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

[847] [848] 791 844 When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
●847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

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[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
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In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

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A 864 [513] [833] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

The most common punishment is whipping, which the
681 village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection
[622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad-
[683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made
[689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver,
685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100
693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright
567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

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/248 cont./

c) Criminal Law

673 Regarded as crimes among the Meau are: theft, robbery, manslaughter, lying, bodily injury, and offense by assault, whereas verbal offenses are not ordinarily punished. Furthermore, kidnapping, especially of children, is regarded as a crime. In former times, treason was added to the list of possible crimes which were punished.

684 [769] [626] Incest, on the other hand, is punished exclusively by the ancestors; the people do not interfere. If it becomes known, however, it is regarded as the utmost disgrace.

At first it seems surprising that rape generally remains unpunished. Since, however, in the life of the Meau a girl can hardly be taken unawares without some co-operation on her part -- there are always female companions or family members nearby when a girl leaves a village -- it is assumed that a girl who goes off alone with a boy is prepared for every eventuality. If a case of rape should occur, however, the girl's father demands two or three pieces of silver from the culprit, who will pay without opposition. The case is different if the girl becomes pregnant. Then no distinction is made between rape and voluntary surrender. Even then, however, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," no pressure is exerted for marriage. /Ills. 46-51 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /249/ although the girl's parents in particular will make every attempt to bring about the marriage.

[848] If a girl who is pregnant as a consequence of the wrong done to her should give birth to a stillborn child, the culprit must pay the same price for the stillborn child as is charged for children who must be turned over to a creditor in lieu of payment, namely, 70 pieces of silver for a boy, and 50 pieces for a girl.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
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/32 cont./

[illegible].

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children; no limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and [582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child [428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qualified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but [851] are received into the family community with the same ceremony as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights for this child from its former family.

597 184 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this, [595] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named, must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these statements.

/51 cont./

A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as A M 858 some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, M [164] [123] for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M ● 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to [782] [775] the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/53 cont./

851 787 Meanwhile the shaman has finished his conjuring, seizes the chickens, and cuts them up in order to examine the omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"). First he takes out the tongues of the chickens and observes the hyoid bones for a long time; then he strips off the skin from the front of the heads and likewise carefully observes it. Finally, he takes the feet of the animals, holds them in the smoke of the incense candles, and also studies these omens. If they are unfavorable, it means that evil spirits are close by, from which the ancestors cannot protect the newborn child. In this case, the shaman must first drive away the evil spirits, and then the whole ceremony must be repeated. If the shaman discovers that only part of the ancestors have appeared, the conjuration must be performed again in the same way at the end of the month. This is repeated until the omens are favorable.

851 608 If the omens are favorable, however, as in this instance, the sponsor steps forward, and the child's mother addresses him as follows: "May my child one day be as great and powerful as you are." If the sponsor has special characteristics, they are also appropriately mentioned. The sponsor now ties a piece of string first around the right wrist and then around the left wrist of the child. This is supposed to protect the newborn [789] child against evil spirits and at the same time signifies that the sponsor assumes the sponsorship. With the same piece of string one of the child's wrists is tied to his own, whereupon he makes a little speech in which he expresses his good wishes for the child and promises to fulfill his duties as a sponsor. Then the sponsor hands the mother the first clothing for the child or silver amounting to the price of the clothing so that it can be bought by the parents. A modest festive meal in which all those present, including the shaman, participate, concludes the ceremony.

The completed ceremony means that the sponsor will always receive the child /54/ in his house whenever he visits him, and that he will help him as much as he can. Conversely, the same obligations are incurred by the child toward the sponsor. The children of distinguished persons sometimes have two sponsors.

/54 cont./

851 608 123 [787]

During my visit to the Meau village of Nam Fa in northern Thailand I was asked by the Meau Tua Sen Kun to assume sponsorship for his newborn son (1). I was told that it

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 188 ff.

was regarded as an auspicious omen that I, a powerful foreigner, was present in the village at the time of the birth.

551 As names for boys those of famous ancestors are preferred on the ground that boys continue the family. The child may also be given the name of the sponsor. For girls one chooses at will a name which, like all names, has a special meaning. A sharp distinction is made between names for boys and those for girls.

	Names	Meaning
Boys:	lū	pure
	pǎu	surety, guarantor (2)

2. Cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law."

	tšü	has everything
	fō	to have many children to care for him
	tšǎn	to grow
	pǎn	to flourish
	tsuṅ	bud
Girls:	tšǎy	slender
	yí	round
	ltšay	fearful
	tšá	plain
	mǎy	good
	ltšóa	green leaf

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families
[626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's
[684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter
[851] is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/111 cont./

M 587 "Courtship and Betrothal" in this chapter); if the husband dies, however, among the Meau the oldest of the younger brothers of the deceased usually takes the widow or widows into his house as his wives. It is up to each individual, however, to choose whether or not he wants to take this course. Matters are usually arranged so that the widows who are old and have many children become the wives of the brother of the deceased; the young and pretty widows, however, who do not as yet have many children, marry an outsider. The brother does not have to pay a purchase price for the widows, but the outsider must pay approximately the sum paid for a girl, with the price adjusted according to the number of children and their youth; M [614] the fewer and the younger the children of the widow are, the higher the price, which is shared by the membersof the sib.

A 587 [292] /112/ Among the Akha the widow again goes to the dancing places with the young girls, after she has removed the veiling of the bamboo cover of her head adornment (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); and henceforth her behavior does not differ in any way from that of the girls. In general, however, it is about six to twelve months before she decides to enter another marriage, in which case she must leave her children with the family of the deceased. If she does not want to do this, she has no other course but to renounce any new marriage. As A [589] a consequence, Akha women who are somewhat older and are richer in children usually do not marry again, whereas young women with few or no children usually take the course of re- A marriage. Among neither the Meau nor the Akha, however, M do widows return to their original sib; if the widow was [614] pregnant at the time of the death of the husband, the post- [851] humous child belongs to the sib of the deceased, but later children belong to the new husband.

M 586 [769] Aside from the dissolution of marriage through the death of one of the spouses there is such through divorce. It is rare, however, because among the Meau it is regarded as unacceptable to the ancestors. Savina (1), too, writes that divorces are

1. II, p. 226.

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
[684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /118/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
[578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common.
[595] The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
[583] know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

/191 cont./

787 If a Meau dreams that his house is on fire or that he is fleeing, it bodes ill fortune for the inhabitants of the house in which the sleeper is resting. It is likewise unfavorable to dream of tigers or an inundation. Misfortune is likewise imminent if in a dream a tree, a horse, or a cow falls.

If in a dream one sees people engaged in pounding rice, /192/ then all depends on the color of the rice. If it is white, it is regarded as a good omen, whereas black rice is regarded as a bad omen.

Special good luck is indicated by dreams in which one sees a hen with many chicks or people in new clothes, or shallow water, or if one dreams that a new year has begun.

787 Besides the attention given to the omens described and others, and to dreams and soothsaying, an oracle /Ordal, literally
851 "ordeal," but used here in the sense of "oracle"/ is also consulted among the Meau, as was described above in connection with the conjurations by the shaman in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community."
[123] It will be recalled that in every case my presence in the village, as that of an influential stranger, was regarded as a good omen, and, after the oracle had been consulted, I was asked to be the sponsor of the newborn little boy. At that time, the chicken oracle was used, whose procedure I have already described. If the skin on the head of one or both animals of the sacrificed pair of chickens had been black or spotted black, if the hyoid bones of one of the animals had not been parallel or if the chickens' toes had not run together toward the front, but instead had stood out sideways, especially the first or third toe, everybody would have been convinced that the ancestors would not be able to protect the child against the evil spirits that were present and that these would have to be exorcised before the child could be received into the family community. On the other hand, if two of the omens had been good and one bad, this would have been regarded as a warning sign, indicating that great caution was needed. In
[609] such case any stranger would have been denied entry into the
787 house of the newborn baby. Thus, as this witnessed example indicates, among the Meau there is a direct connection between

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

●852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 651 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- 583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [31] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in- 608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Childbirth. After a girl was married she returned to her parents' home. There she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. Sometimes, but not always, when a woman was in labor a priest was asked to chant and cast lots in her behalf. This he did in a room adjacent to the one in which the mother was confined, or out-of-doors nearby. There were no midwives. The mother was assisted by other women who had borne children, either from her husband's or a related household. 844 591

The next morning after a child was born the mother might appear with the baby on her back, even in the kitchen where food was being prepared. There was no idea of impurity and she was not required to keep closely at home for a month or forty days, as in the case of Chinese in the vicinity and among some other groups of Miao. She might rest for three or four days, during which other women came to see the baby, but after that she worked as before at even the hardest of labor, with the baby on her back. I am not sure whether she was expected to refrain from certain foods, or not. I offered one mother an orange which she said she could not eat. She gave it to an older son. 846

Announcement Gifts. After the second grandson was born in the family where I was living, the father prepared gifts to send to the village from which his father had migrated, to the household in which an uncle still lived. First in the procession came two men playing the small trumpet. One of them led a black goat. This was a play on words, as the name of a goat (*yang*) has the same sound as the family name (*Yang*) and a word meaning "increase, growth." Then came two men bearing two poles, to which was fastened a whole dead pig, beautifully cleaned and white. After them came two men bearing a similar frame but empty. Last came a man bearing two baskets on a carrying pole. One of the baskets contained red candles and the other a 852

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

piece of gray cloth with the Chinese character meaning "to inform" on it. The father accompanied this procession. When they got to their destination a feast was held, at which the pig was made into the chief dishes. 852

Naming of Children. Miss Li said that boys were named after animals and girls "Mei" (daughter, or younger sister) with a number or other designation to indicate their position in the family. I did hear one boy given the Miao word for Rooster as a name; but most of the boys had Chinese names of good meaning. In one family all the five boys except the youngest had names in which one of the two characters was the same for all. When the oldest boy went to middle school in Lung-li he took a "school name." The names I heard for girls were "Mei" with some word of pleasant meaning, such as "Happiness," "Treasure," "Purity." 553

In the case of boys a "generation name," chosen before the child was born, was also given. He was not called by this name, however, until he had his own wife and family. It was kept in the family records and in those of the *lien pao*. In the village of Yang-chia-sai the oldest generation had the generation name "Heng," with an individual one, the next generation "Cheng," and the third "Tan." But several men of the second oldest generation were still called by their "baby names," and none of the third generation by anything but the familiar names or nicknames. Girls kept their childhood name until they entered their husband's homes permanently, after which they were known as XXX (husband's surname) XX (maiden name) Family; that is, XXX of the XX Family. After her husband died she was known as Widow XX (maiden name) and, if, as almost always happened, in the same village there were several widows with the same maiden name, she was known as Widow XX whose eldest son was named Y. For instance, if a man in Yang-chia-sai, whose surname, of course, was Yang, married a woman from the Wu family, she would be known after she entered his family 551 562

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The bridal party spent that afternoon getting to the groom's village. At the village they played and sang all night. The next day the bride's party was feasted by his relatives. On one occasion I saw, feasting took place about noon. The bride's party sat on two rows of benches facing one another on one of the threshing floors. The food was set in bowls on planks between them by women of a related household. 585

On the third day, after another night of singing and playing the *lu sheng*, the bride and her attendants returned to her village, accompanied by the groom, who brought gifts of meat and rice and spent the night there. When the bride and her attendants left the groom's village to return, the women of the village accompanied them, some stopping at the entrance to the village and some going a little way. At a point where the bride and her attendants were about to disappear from view they stopped and sang a song antiphonally with the other groups. Then they went on and the nearer group rushed after them to watch them out of sight. When they left they were still in ceremonial array, except for plainer blouses. They reached home dead tired and slept from the time of their arrival until the next day.

Tso Chia. After a girl was married she returned at once to her parents' home, where she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home, during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. When the first child was twenty-two days old girls from the mother's village were invited to "drink wine" in honor of the event. They called this "*tso k'ai.*"[2] Some said it was the same as "*tso chia.*"[3] Others said that it was the same as "*ch'ih chiu*" or "*tso chieh*"[4] — a time of rejoicing, calling, of course, for wine in abundance. Among the local Chungchia this was a combination of "*man yüeh*"[5] and the setting up of the permanent household in the groom's home. The bride's village sent with the guests at this feast among the Chungchia a red cupboard and clothing. 591 852 593

[4] This means to drink wine, or to attend a feast.
[5] The first month feast — The feast also given by the Chinese when a baby is a month old.

the womb again. After this any child born is 751
sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and 847
butchering have to be done before the child
breathes his last. When the parents perceive
that the illness of the child is identical to
that of the other deceased children, /92/ they
expect him to die, and taking advantage of his
still being alive they cut off his head and
legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention
would not be effective. It is said that some
ignorant Chinese in the same locality also fol-
low this custom.

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of 787
the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a 852
fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If 856
his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed
to grow until he is six or twelve years old when
he has his first haircut. The long unshaved
hair is said to help preserve the life of the
child. The first haircut is an occasion for
great celebration: every household in the vil-
lage would hang out red and green festoons and
send greetings to the parents, who in turn would
give a party, killing chicken and pig for a
great feast.

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child 755
among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without 753
stop, the parents would attribute the cause of
the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse",
a colloquial name for the locust. They would
hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled
with rice and water, and little images of horses
cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop
the cry of the child.

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-
I first becomes ill, the general assumption is
that he has run into some starving ghost. The
family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked
rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of
rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a nearby road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.[12] 846

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placenta of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house. 844

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons. 852

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kyan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult. 881 791

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony will not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

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12. I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practiced by the Ch'uan Miao. 846

[10 cont.]

585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight,
591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first
852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would
431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs.
[804] Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their
[755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775]

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

/208 cont./

769 As has already been described in detail in the pertinent
782 sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices
are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a
[852] child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and
[764] at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the
death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the
oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If
[437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but
782 also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I
[461] was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces
[787] of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

●853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852

[775] 1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
[527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

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/49 cont./

M 853 [842] The suckling period lasts from three to four years, an observation also confirmed by Lajonquière (4). The ability to

4. II, p. 317.

conceive, however, cannot be decisively influenced by this, for I have frequently seen children three years old and older push aside a smaller sibling in order to get at the mother's breast.

/50/ Wet nurses are unknown. On a number of occasions I saw mothers who did not have enough milk desperately try to feed their children with all kinds of additional foods, especially rice and sugar. There was never any thought of using a wet nurse. Since the Meau do not drink animal milk (cf. the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), such children die of starvation in all such cases.

M [272]

A 842 527 Among the Akha, too, the birth of a child is awaited with joy, but a celebration of the birthday in later years is unknown.

A 844 Childbirth takes place, as among the Meau, in the dwelling, but on the bed itself. The husband, however, plays no role. Instead, the woman in labor is assisted by the mothers of the married couple. Other women are excluded, midwives are likewise unknown. While giving birth, the Akha woman squats in an erect position and is supported by the two older women. The umbilical cord, after it is tied, is severed with a bamboo knife.

A 844 846 [825] The afterbirth and the umbilical cord are buried under the bed of the woman in confinement, and, to be sure, under the head end of the woman. Once a day for ten days hot water is poured over the spot in order to prevent insects and especially termites from consuming what has been buried, for the Akha believe that, if this should happen, the newborn child would die.

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to [782] [775] the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/56 cont./

M 855 [515] [527] a few times during the year. Even the older children are not brought up to be clean and orderly. It is not until the beginning of puberty that they develop a natural desire to keep themselves clean and to dress properly.

A 855 [515] [296] In the villages of the Akha, on the other hand, the children give the impression of being better cared for. They are washed once a day, in the morning or in the evening, and their clothes are also washed and kept in order. Moreover, the children of the Akha are lovingly adorned (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") and are a very charming sight (Ill. 7).

A M 853 854 Definite nursing hours are unknown among both tribes. The small baby is fed as soon as it cries, and since the children are as a rule healthy, they usually cry only when they are hungry or tired. Then the mother lifts the child up, puts it in a nursing position, with its back on her arm, and gives it her breast. When it is satisfied, /Ills. 14-17 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /57/ it is fastened again with a carrying cloth to her back, and, if it does not fall asleep immediately, the mother sings it to sleep.

The child-carriers (Colored Pl. II, No. 11)[1] are the universe in the lives of babies. They are tied on the back constantly until they are able to crawl, and they are taken out for a short time only to be fed. Otherwise the baby, fastened in its carrier, accompanies the mother while she works in the fields, watches her do the housework (Ill. 66)[2] and is even taken along to a dance. Among the Akha I often saw young widows, with their children fastened in the carrier, dancing on the dance ground and disappearing into the forest with young chaps.

The small baby soon learns to raise himself up in the carrier and, like a little monkey, to cling fast to the mother's neck. Not only the smallest ones are carried about in this manner, however; even children three to five years old are often placed on the back of the mother or the father, either because they have grown tired on the march or because their small legs are unable to master the difficult terrain.

A M [855]

[1] [See cat. 116, p 240 - ANALYST]
[2] [see cat. 116, p472 - ANALYST]

/72 cont./ They reared the

231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[335] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases. The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers, or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Different from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance" would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life,

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

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round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monogamous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the sun and rain from the child.

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4 Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

511 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife
562 were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Edu-**
292 **cation.** While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long, two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

[160 cont.]
415 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
482 often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo"
[492] of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women
[854] place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

155: Abadie--240 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
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[231]
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103. "Peu-Méo" Women.

105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.

419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.
(Pakha)

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

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/56 cont./

M 855 [515] [527] a few times during the year. Even the older children are not brought up to be clean and orderly. It is not until the beginning of puberty that they develop a natural desire to keep themselves clean and to dress properly.

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A M 853 Definite nursing hours are unknown among both tribes. The small baby is fed as soon as it cries, and since the children are as a rule healthy, they usually cry only when they are hungry or tired. Then the mother lifts the child up, puts it in a nursing position, with its back on her arm, and gives it her breast. When it is satisfied, /Ills. 14-17 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /57/ it is fastened again with a carrying cloth to her back, and, if it does not fall asleep immediately, the mother sings it to sleep.

A M 854

The child-carriers (Colored Pl. II, No. 11)[1] are the universe in the lives of babies. They are tied on the back constantly until they are able to crawl, and they are taken out for a short time only to be fed. Otherwise the baby, fastened in its carrier, accompanies the mother while she works in the fields, watches her do the housework (Ill. 66)[2] and is even taken along to a dance. Among the Akha I often saw young widows, with their children fastened in the carrier, dancing on the dance ground and disappearing into the forest with young chaps.

The small baby soon learns to raise himself up in the carrier and, like a little monkey, to cling fast to the mother's neck. Not only the smallest ones are carried about in this manner, however; even children three to five years old are often placed on the back of the mother or the father, either because they have grown tired on the march or because their small legs are unable to master the difficult terrain.

A M [855]

[1] [See cat. 116, p 240 - ANALYST]
[2] [see cat. 116, p472 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/57 cont./

M Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,
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[482]

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

M 114 855

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/139/

b) Music and Musical Instruments

A M 533 The basic music is the same among both peoples; both peoples know singing and the use of musical instruments.

Singing

Singing plays an important role among the Meau as well as among the Akha; both sexes sing on various occasions. I found no confirmation for the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn that the Meau make music only in connection with burials. To be sure, the Akha enjoy singing even more than the Meau, for whom singing while working in the rice fields is prohibited by a taboo (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), whereas the Akha sing unhindered and by preference at just such work.

M [243] [784]

Among both peoples there are a few traditional songs of old whose texts are unalterable. The dance songs of the Akha girls belong to this group. The great majority of song texts, however, are improvised and depend on the situation and the singer. There are, for instance, many variations of the songs with which the mother sings her child to sleep. Hopes, wishes, and admonitions are woven into these lullabies of the Meau in which are repeated innumerable times and always to the same melody:

M [854]

M [539]

"Sleep well, my child, I shall cover you to keep you warm and go into the rice field to get fodder for our animals."

"Sleep, my girl, and do not cry, otherwise the dogs and the pigs will bite you."

"Sleep well, my boy, and do not play with knives and do not lose your covering."

"Sleep, my child, I shall go into the rice field and cut sugar cane for you and bring you good food."

A M 533 832 Singing is very important for lovers; it gives them a chance to express the intensity of their emotions, knowledge, mental ability, ready wit, and humor. It is significant that

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

A M [177]

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

M 114 533 538

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

[1] [see cat 116, p124 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--240 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between 176 and 177/

Color Plate II

Clothing of the Meau

(Description, Vol. II, pp.432-436). About 1/15 nat. size.

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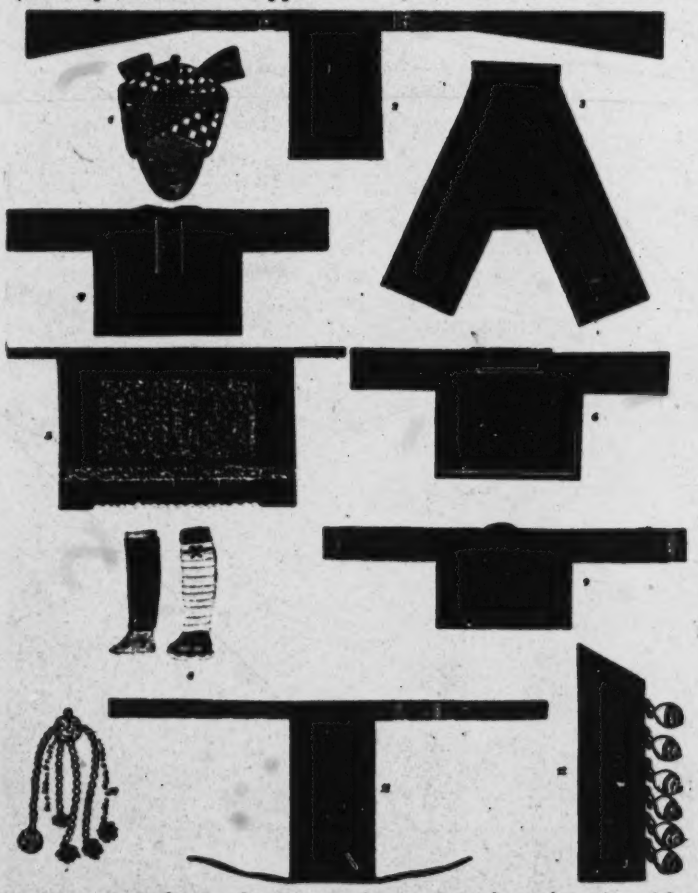

[301]
[854]

1. Women's turban. 2. Women's apron with embroidered bands. 3. Men's trousers. 4. Women's blouse from the front. 5. Pleated batik skirt from the front. 6. Women's blouse from the back. 7. Everyday leggings for women. 8. Wrap-around leggings for women's festive attire. 9. Men's jacket from the front. 10. Turban tassel for women. 11. Child-carrier with embroidered bands. 12. Side decoration of the men's jacket, with silver bells.

/321 cont./

291 184 [101] The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 531 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 482 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 531 [552] [292] The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

39: Bernatzik--469 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 346/

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Ill. 63. Meau father taking care of his two sons.

39: Bernatzik--472 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 347/

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Ill. 66. Child-carrier of the Meau. The children are tied to their parents' backs by means of special cloths and are not put down even during work.

E-5
39: Bernatzik--511/(1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 378/

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Ill. 67. Nine-year-old Meau girl at the drawing test.

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Ill. 68. Meau children make chains out of fragrant blossoms.

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [939] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

593 [875] eat. The older nephew was teacher in the *lien pao* school when it was in session. The son acted for the old man in business matters, though subject to his father's decisions. The oldest nephew became head of the family after the old man's death and the second nephew took his old sitting room. I got a Chinese newspaper, which I shared with the teacher and his uncle, a keen old man with remarkably able opinions and quite a bit of knowledge of the world, which he liked to discuss at length.

The son's first wife spoke less Chinese than any of the other women of the family except the old man's first wife, who spoke almost none. They were, therefore, harder to get to know well, but the more I saw of them the better I liked them. Others I found a bit trying because they wanted so much for their immediate family or close relatives, and I am almost certain that the married daughter of the old man or the second nephew's wife took for herself two large sheets of mine. I never learned to share everything I owned as they did within the family group.

The wife of the second nephew made up for him in spunk and energy. She did a great deal for me, often prepared dishes to eat with the rice and would then bring over her own large portion of rice and eat at least half of what she had prepared of the dishes, for which I had furnished the ingredients from market. Once I bought a piece of cloth in market, for which she hinted so strongly that I had to give it to her. She insisted upon doing my washing, brought me firewood and water, but in the end expected a handsome reward. Generally speaking, all of them wanted everything for their immediate family and close relatives. They showed no community spirit in the sense of sharing good things with others who were remotely related to them. Her oldest daughter, twelve, was very like her. In fact, she seemed to be a model Miao girl, pleasant, capable, and able to do only a little less than the older women in both field work
855 and embroidery. The second daughter was made responsible for two baby sisters and seemed to have a very jolly time with them, doing everything for them, after they were past the age when they required their mother much of the time, amusing them and teaching

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

them songs. The only boy was badly spoiled, 855
but attractive when he willed to be.

The two wives of the oldest nephew were about equal in ability and attractiveness. One had three sons, the oldest of whom was a fine lad in middle school in Lung-li, the others two little imps. Heaven to one of them would have been all the good things to eat in the world in a pile and himself in the middle of it. The second wife had two sons, one who was usually set to watch ponies, cows, or water buffalo as they grazed and an adorable baby who was his father's delight.

These children all liked to try to teach me words and sentences. The boy and his cousin from Yang-niu-ts'un who were in middle school wanted me to help them with their English, which was a required subject, and would have given up school to study with me entirely.

The old man who lived in House 16 also 596
had two wives, one much older than the other. This older one had married sons and grandchildren, while the children of the second were mere babies. It was the old man and his family who moved back to their old home in Ting-fan Hsien and whose two married sons returned to Yang-chia-sai to live. I could not discover why this old man had taken a wife of the age of his sons, for the first wife had several sons and was still very vigorous and capable. The reasons for taking second wives in the other family were various. The old man needed someone more vigorous to serve him and manage the affairs of the household. The oldest nephew married a girl betrothed to a brother who died. The son married a second time when his two sons, the only children by the first wife, had both died.

One household contained a grandmother and two grandsons, one of whom had a family. Thirteen households consisted of one or more elderly persons and a married son with his family. Six of them had other grown sons or a son and daughter at home. In at least two other cases another married son and his family lived in separate houses. There was one case in which the parents were dead; two brothers lived in different parts of the same house in Hsia-sai and the third with his family in Shang-sai until one of the brothers built a house in Shang-sai, leaving the oldest

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
622 gent than the mothers, and the children en-
875 joyed being with them. Contacts with the outside world, other than a certain amount of
648 buying and selling and social visiting with other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

4: Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

511 562 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 292 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Education.** While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long, two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

855 more than two years old. However, then the mother seldom continued to take it with her, 855 for it could be left with older children in the 857 same part of the village if there was no one in the family to look after it. Often it was the sole duty of an older child to be responsible for the little one. Thus, in the second nephew's family, while the oldest girl helped her mother away from home, the next one took care of the baby, played with her on her back when the baby wanted to be carried, had to be within call when the baby woke up from her nap if she was put to bed in the house, sang to her until the little one began to sing the most commonly sung songs — farewell to the bride when she left her husband's village, lament for the dead, and the shamaness' song — and amused her in other ways. When this baby was about two and a half years old another sister was born. Then the older one had to play with those of her own age while the same older sister took care of both the baby and herself. The one boy in the family, who was five, either followed his father around or played with the other children. In general, the children in each of the two parts of the village, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, played together. There were nearly twenty in each group.

857 Much of the play of children was imitative of the activities of their elders. They made little loads to carry on miniature carrying poles, pushed the grain around on the mats, and so on. Children of six and older brought in small loads of garden stuff for the animals or small bundles of faggots and cypress sprays for the fire. But for the most of the day they were free to amuse themselves, fishing, gathering fruits, berries, or nuts in the village or nearby, or playing games. Certain of their games and activities were seasonal. In the fall boys played a game in which one boy tried to pull a stone out of a knot in a thong, with his own thong and stone. In the spring they made and whipped wooden tops. When the boys were playing with thongs and stones the girls were plaiting iris leaves and rushes into overpieces like the embroidered ones, pushing the pith out of plants to make neck loops and bracelets, and making pendant earrings of fern crosiers. I have also seen boys and girls together in a game like "Hawk and Chickens."

241 The second type known in Tonkin is that of the Embroidered Meo, who are sometimes called Hoa Meo. They are subdivided into two groups, Red Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Len), and "Meo of the comb" (in the Meo tongue, Mong Soa). The costume of Embroidered Meo women consists of a short skirt embroidered in five colors, a jacket open on the bosom in the style described above but trimmed with embroidered borders and armbands, and without the sailor collar, a blue apron, and enormous leggings, which make the leg look like an elephant's foot.

The turban is rather characteristic. It is formed of a long string wound around the head, together with the hair hanging down, which is bound together and carefully gathered up on the head. The jewelry is similar to that of the White Meo women.

/136/ The third variety of the Meo ethnic group is the Black Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Du). Among them the women's costume consists of a skirt as pleated and short as that of the White Meo, but of black material, a dark blue jacket with a border of an insipid light blue and provided with double sleeves ending in light blue cuffs edged with white piping. This bodice comes to a point at the throat and reveals the upper part of the breast-covering which has horizontal embroidered stripes. It is held in at the waist by a light colored belt whose fringed ends fall down in back. A deep blue turban is knotted around the head rather irregularly. The leggings are not wrapped around the lower part of the leg. It is a kind of cylindrical gaiter of blue material which is put on like a stocking and is fastened by garters whose fringed ends are left hanging.

301 A wide necklace and the usual jewelry adorn this curious costume.

Section 5

Social Organization--The Family and the Tribe

593 The family is firmly established among the Meo. As among all the neighboring races, the authority of the father of the family is absolute within the home, and the wife is the first servant of her husband. She takes an active part in work in the fields, cares for her children, cooks for her household and for the animals, and still finds time to make all the articles of clothing for the entire household.

855 Children are brought up austerely. From their earliest years
857 they have to look out for the herds, then they are initiated into the

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[621 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

/55 cont./

A 551 [553] In addition to the name which every person receives at the time of admission into the family community, every man is given a second name by his father-in-law after the birth of his first child. Telford (3) /see footnote 3 above/ writes: "He is given part of the father's name."

Among the Akha, too, a definite distinction is made between names for boys and for girls, but unlike the situation among the Meau they do not have any special meaning and are merely names:

Boys' names are: tšǒpa̰, tšǒnium, tšǒnkǒ̰.

Girls' names are: minyu, tšopyǒ̰, mǐnā.

/56/ c) Children

M 855 [842] The villages of the Meau and even more those of the Akha are teeming with children, which is not surprising in view of the fertility of these peoples. True, the hygienic conditions, especially in the villages of the Meau, are as unfavorable as can be imagined (cf. the chapter, "Medicine"), in striking contrast to the impression given by the well-fed, contented children.

As soon as the little ones begin to crawl and to walk and thus come in contact with soil, dust, and soot, they are permanently covered with a thick crust of dirt, so that their true skin color is no longer recognizable. Their little noses run, their hair is unkempt and dirty, the remains of food stick to their little fingers -- but all this does not prompt the mother to wash the child. Meau children are usually clothed only in faded rags which once were part of the clothing of adults (Ill. 67 and 68). Even the articles of clothing made especially for the child, however, are soon entirely in a state of neglect due to the liveliness of the children and the complete lack of repair and scarcely fulfill the purpose of covering the body. Only a festive day provides an occasion for every child to have new clothing, to be washed, and to be combed, but this only happens

M [515] [291]

M [291] [527]

[see cat. 116, p511- ANALYST]

/56 cont./

M 855 [515] [527] a few times during the year. Even the older children are not brought up to be clean and orderly. It is not until the beginning of puberty that they develop a natural desire to keep themselves clean and to dress properly.

A 855 [515] [296] In the villages of the Akha, on the other hand, the children give the impression of being better cared for. They are washed once a day, in the morning or in the evening, and their clothes are also washed and kept in order. Moreover, the children of the Akha are lovingly adorned (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") and are a very charming sight (Ill. 7).

A M 853 Definite nursing hours are unknown among both tribes. The small baby is fed as soon as it cries, and since the children are as a rule healthy, they usually cry only when they are hungry or tired. Then the mother lifts the child up, puts it in a nursing position, with its back on her arm, and gives it her breast. When it is satisfied, /Ills. 14-17 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /57/ it is fastened again with a carrying cloth to her back, and, if it does not fall asleep immediately, the mother sings it to sleep.

A M 854

The child-carriers (Colored Pl. II, No. 11)[1] are the universe in the lives of babies. They are tied on the back constantly until they are able to crawl, and they are taken out for a short time only to be fed. Otherwise the baby, fastened in its carrier, accompanies the mother while she works in the fields, watches her do the housework (Ill. 66)[2] and is even taken along to a dance. Among the Akha I often saw young widows, with their children fastened in the carrier, dancing on the dance ground and disappearing into the forest with young chaps.

The small baby soon learns to raise himself up in the carrier and, like a little monkey, to cling fast to the mother's neck. Not only the smallest ones are carried about in this manner, however; even children three to five years old are often placed on the back of the mother or the father, either because they have grown tired on the march or because their small legs are unable to master the difficult terrain.

A M [855]

[1] [See cat. 116, p 240 - ANALYST]
[2] [see cat. 116, p472 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

/78 cont./

A M 596 A M [595] [608] A M [614] A M 855 596 M [595] A [603]

a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation concerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family").

Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the children. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is primarily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the boys, that of the men (Ill. 63).[1] I also saw fathers, however, who spent hours with their two- and three-year old daughters, letting them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child, took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting, which meant a separation of several days.

A M 868

The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64).[2] There are only a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes connected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns -- which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils their mistakes.

[1] [see out 116, p469 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p470 - "]

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[987] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

the womb again. After this any child born is 751
sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and 847
butchering have to be done before the child
breathes his last. When the parents perceive
that the illness of the child is identical to
that of the other deceased children, /92/ they
expect him to die, and taking advantage of his
still being alive they cut off his head and
legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention
would not be effective. It is said that some
ignorant Chinese in the same locality also fol-
low this custom.

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of 787
the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a 852
fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If 856
his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed
to grow until he is six or twelve years old when
he has his first haircut. The long unshaved
hair is said to help preserve the life of the
child. The first haircut is an occasion for
great celebration: every household in the vil-
lage would hang out red and green festoons and
send greetings to the parents, who in turn would
give a party, killing chicken and pig for a
great feast.

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child 755
among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without 753
stop, the parents would attribute the cause of
the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse",
a colloquial name for the locust. They would
hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled
with rice and water, and little images of horses
cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop
the cry of the child.

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-
I first becomes ill, the general assumption is
that he has run into some starving ghost. The
family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked
rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of
rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/59 cont./

A 857 [834] [881] The situation is similar among the Akha. A conscious separation of the sexes does not take place until the beginning of puberty.

Nevertheless, there are games that are preferred by the one or the other sex. Boys, for instance, do not play with dolls, and girls avoid games requiring strength, since they would always lose to the boys. Similarly, girls automatically avoid games involving the use of weapons, which they do not learn how to handle. In such cases there is a natural separation into definite groups. Other games, however, such as the game of cooking, are equally popular among both sexes.

A M 524 The first toys given to infants when they are from six to eight months old are generally small bells, coins, or colorful fruits. Among the Akha there are in addition tassels made of wool or monkey hair, which the mother dangles enticingly before the eyes of the child and then gives to him when he has become aware of them. Already at the age of three years, the children of the Meau and Akha, who develop earlier than A M [856] European children, look for all kinds of toys for themselves. Utilitarian objects used by the adults are preferred, but they also play with little sticks, which are collected in the forest by older children, attached to strings, and swung back and forth.

With the exception of the toys for infants, the Meau parents rarely make playthings for the children, but under the guidance of their older siblings or other relatives the children are soon in a position to make their own toys, especially wooden tops and cloth balls. Both Meau and Akha children like to knead clay into animal and human figures (Ill. 65)[1] and to use the same material to build doll houses, in which the clay dolls or simply little sticks live. The little four- to six-year-old Meau girls like to plait wreaths of flowers with which they adorn themselves (Ill. 68),[2] or they make themselves necklaces out of the colorful dried berries and fruits of the forest for the same purpose.

A 524 The Akha children are given toys by their parents. /60/ The father carefully carves a small crossbow (Ill. 17) or bow and arrow; the mother makes dolls out of old rags and wood. The

[1] [See cat. 116, P471 - ANALYST]
[2] [See cat 116, P511 - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/82/

7. Mental Development

A M 114 125 145 Unfortunately I was unable to test adequately either the children of the Akha or those of the Meau. A number of difficulties blocked this, especially the shortage of porters, which did not permit moving our test material. Moreover my test forms were designed for the mental world of primitives and could not be applied without further ado to a mountain people of Farther India with the mental capacity of the Akha, much less that of the Meau. It would have been necessary to revise my test forms, but we did not have the time to do this, especially since our funds were limited.

A M 157 856 According to our observations, however, the children of the Meau are more highly developed and surpass those of all the mountain tribes of Further India, including the Akha. Particularly striking among the Meau is a marked individualism, or rather a strong differentiation in comparison with the other tribes mentioned, which is already apparent even in small children. A M 153 856 At the age of four or five distinct differences of character and talent are already evident. The Meau children begin to talk when they are one year old, those of the Akha somewhat later; at this age they are already able to say "father" and "mother" and a few other words. There are, however, some gifted children who speak even earlier and some without talent who are hardly this far at the age of two. One can say, however that at an average age of three and a half years the language of the children is almost equal to that of the adults.

At the age of two the children are not yet able to eat by themselves; they learn this during their third year. The A M 153 861 157 Meau children begin asking questions at the age of five, those of the Akha at the age of six. The children of the Meau do not bother to think up explanations of their own for things that are unknown to them, but rather in each and every case ask their parents or other adults of their community, and in this respect they are decidedly vivacious and active. The children of the Akha are less persistent in this questioning than those of

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but there are also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Lao at the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are precious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

/233 cont./

*535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow. [533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated, making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25 centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, [533] two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung— tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

● 857 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/ gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttlecock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese [177] children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on P351]

/235 cont./

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(1) Firing Mud Guns

A number of children gather together, each getting soft mud from a field and molding it into the shape of a bowl or basin, with a hole or several holes at the top. After they are finished, each child picks his up and smashes it on the ground, producing a resounding noise like the report of a gun (Illus. 117). When a mud gun falls on the ground and breaks without popping, then its owner is counted as losing and is eliminated from the contest, and helps the winner to make more guns. There are several kinds of mud guns, as in Illus. 118.

(2) Making Mud Coins

A quantity of clean clay earth is used. Water is added and molded into a small lump. Two large copper coins of the K'ang-hsi or Ch'ien-lung reign periods are used to press the earth to make a number of "coins." A thin stick is used to thread through the holes of the coins. These are rolled over a few times on the ground. Afterwards they are separated one from the other and dried in the sun. They are used in place of money to pay off losses in games. Each copper coin is worth 50 clay coins.

(3) Tattooing the Wrist

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Boys and girls about 12 or 13 years old, when having nothing else to do, often collect in groups of three to five in one place to amuse themselves by tattooing designs on each other's wrists. The method is as follows; First a long piece of hemp string is tied around the wrist, exposing the part to be tattooed, above which is tied another piece of string. At these two places the blood is stopped by being bound with the hemp string. Then the exposed part is hit with a piece of wood or bamboo until the skin becomes red, then purple. Then the desired design is lightly tattooed on it, causing the skin to bleed. Then color

/235 cont./

857 304 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away, revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 526 [177] [411] The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/, /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 [527] Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around with the wheel (Illus. 120). [533] Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not translated/). 539 773 526 The following song is about the origin of the swing:

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

262 people waded from one end of the pond to
252 the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about
252 dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was al-
574 ways on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

24 Children seemed always to have something
857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

261 market without some small treat for them.
857 Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

261 When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

252 For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yünnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

291 Clothing. The Cowrie Shell Miao men all wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of them could afford cloth shoes and therefore
292 wore straw sandals. For special occasions such as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear a new, long garment, belted in with a long blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth to form a large turban (fig. 18, *f*). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

[246]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

442 It has already been noted that men and women worked together in such things as
241 the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai, Kou-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

855 more than two years old. However, then the mother seldom continued to take it with her, 855 for it could be left with older children in the 857 same part of the village if there was no one in the family to look after it. Often it was the sole duty of an older child to be responsible for the little one. Thus, in the second nephew's family, while the oldest girl helped her mother away from home, the next one took care of the baby, played with her on her back when the baby wanted to be carried, had to be within call when the baby woke up from her nap if she was put to bed in the house, sang to her until the little one began to sing the most commonly sung songs — farewell to the bride when she left her husband's village, lament for the dead, and the shamaness' song — and amused her in other ways. When this baby was about two and a half years old another sister was born. Then the older one had to play with those of her own age while the same older sister took care of both the baby and herself. The one boy in the family, who was five, either followed his father around or played with the other children. In general, the children in each of the two parts of the village, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, played together. There were nearly twenty in each group.

857 Much of the play of children was imitative of the activities of their elders. They made little loads to carry on miniature carrying poles, pushed the grain around on the mats, and so on. Children of six and older brought in small loads of garden stuff for the animals or small bundles of faggots and cypress sprays for the fire. But for the most of the day they were free to amuse themselves, fishing, gathering fruits, berries, or nuts in the village or nearby, or playing games. Certain of their games and activities were seasonal. In the fall boys played a game in which one boy tried to pull a stone out of a knot in a thong, with his own thong and stone. In the spring they made and whipped wooden tops. When the boys were playing with thongs and stones the girls were plaiting iris leaves and rushes into overpieces like the embroidered ones, pushing the pith out of plants to make neck loops and bracelets, and making pendant earrings of fern crosiers. I have also seen boys and girls together in a game like "Hawk and Chickens."

4:Mickey E-5 (1949-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

When they were a little older they watched 857
animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches.

Children were indulged as far as the family 862
could afford to do so. The choicest bits were 865
often given them. Mothers brought back little packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Ssu-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that.

Only a few of the boys, and almost never 872
a girl, went to the school less than half a 177
mile away, and then only for a few years (fig. 18, *d*). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao

[49a]

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. 857 517 [535]

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836 [496]

241 The second type known in Tonkin is that of the Embroidered Meo, who are sometimes called Hoa Meo. They are subdivided into two groups, Red Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Len), and "Meo of the comb" (in the Meo tongue, Mong Soa).. The costume of Embroidered Meo women consists of a short skirt embroidered in five colors, a jacket open on the bosom in the style described above but trimmed with embroidered borders and armbands, and without the sailor collar, a blue apron, and enormous leggings, which make the leg look like an elephant's foot.

The turban is rather characteristic. It is formed of a long string wound around the head, together with the hair hanging down, which is bound together and carefully gathered up on the head. The jewelry is similar to that of the White Meo women.

/136/ The third variety of the Meo ethnic group is the Black Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Du). Among them the women's costume consists of a skirt as pleated and short as that of the White Meo, but of black material, a dark blue jacket with a border of an insipid light blue and provided with double sleeves ending in light blue cuffs edged with white piping. This bodice comes to a point at the throat and reveals the upper part of the breast-covering which has horizontal embroidered stripes. It is held in at the waist by a light colored belt whose fringed ends fall down in back. A deep blue turban is knotted around the head rather irregularly. The leggings are not wrapped around the lower part of the leg. It is a kind of cylindrical gaiter of blue material which is put on like a stocking and is fastened by garters whose fringed ends are left hanging.

301 A wide necklace and the usual jewelry adorn this curious costume.

Section 5

Social Organization--The Family and the Tribe

593 The family is firmly established among the Meo. As among all the neighboring races, the authority of the father of the family is absolute within the home, and the wife is the first servant of her husband. She takes an active part in work in the fields, cares for her children, cooks for her household and for the animals, and still finds time to make all the articles of clothing for the entire household.

855 Children are brought up austerely. From their earliest years
857 they have to look out for the herds, then they are initiated into the

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons,
all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind.
This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the
weak, but those who resist s regimen are then able to withstand
any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[621 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

Miao AE5 ●
Akha AO4

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M ●857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

A /58 cont./
M watched us everywhere, while we had difficulty persuading
857 them to continue their activities or their games in our presence.
123 Finally, we had no other choice but to make our observations,
[126] as well as my Contax snapshots, with Zeiss-Tessar and Tele-Tessar lenses from carefully prepared concealments, such as house walls with holes in them and the like, for as soon as we had disappeared from sight, the children went back to their usual activities or romped about.

1. Children at Play and Work

A
M
857 As soon as the children have outgrown babyhood, their activities during their free time are usually separated from those of the adults. No one stimulates the children at play; at most they are watched with amusement, but never interfered with, and the play of children is by no means regarded as a useless activity. They are made to work, but during their free time they are allowed to do as they please.

The children of the Meau, as well as those of the Akha, are very fond of play and very active. They never loiter about; as a rule one can say that an inactive child is sick. Otherwise they are altogether enterprising and [redacted] and in this respect there is no change in the various stages of childhood.
M
834 There are, to be sure, groups of boys and of girls, which I shall
857 come back to later on, but there is no strict separation among the Meau; boys and girls often play together. This is the natural result of the fact that children, regardless of sex, must take care of their younger siblings. /59/ A seven-year-old boy, for example, takes care of his three-year-old sister, whom he carries about with him in the child-carrier, just as readily as a little girl takes care of her younger brother.

/60 cont./

A 524 children of the Akha also have a special fondness for the tobacco pipes and knives of the adults (Ill. 18).[1] They are serenely entrusted with these objects, and it would make a European mother's hair stand on end if she could see how the little children handle the large, keen-edged knives. I never saw an accident, however. On the contrary, the children showed themselves to be surprisingly skillful and soon learned to be masterfully adept at using the dangerous implements.

A M 857 Play-acting of all kinds is very popular. In this I noticed that both the Akha and the Meau children frequently include their smaller siblings. The larger child, for instance, is the animal, the smaller one, the owner or shepherd. I repeatedly observed the children at "pig-driving" or "cattle-saddling." Another such game is the "father-and-mother game"; if dolls "play," too, the children are the parents and the dolls the children. These doll-children are usually made of pieces of wood or fabric twisted together. The father-and-mother game in particular is happily played by boys and girls together. The hunting game also seems to be very popular. One child is the hunter, and the other children form a herd of deer or pigs. One child skins and cuts up the booty; another cuts the meat in strips in order to dry it in the air. The children have a great deal of imagination and are tireless in inventing such games.

A M [524]

A M 857 868 In these acting games the children attach no importance to facial expression, but more to an exact imitation of the sequence of events and the correct execution of the activity portrayed, which from their earliest years they have observed in adults. In this manner the children at play imitate all the activities of the adults. Long before they acquire the physical strength to do real work, they have an astonishing command of an activity. The girls, for example, learn all kinds of housework, such as cooking, sewing, wood-gathering (Ill. 15),[2] work in the fields, and the like, while the boys learn to hunt (Ill. 17 and Ill. 78),[3] set traps, chop wood, plait, and likewise field work. In short, the children learn all the work which

1 [See cat. 116, p 108 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 87 - "]
3 [" " ", p 576 - "]

/60 cont./

A M 857 868 befits their sex. The doll, for example, is fed in the same manner as the mother /61/ is seen feeding the younger siblings at meals. These same meals are prepared for the dolls. The returning "hunters" are served liquor, and the world of the adults is incorporated in the play activity. The most popular games, however, are the "ball game" and the "laying out of a rice field," in which all the procedures, from the clearing away of the trees to the burning, from planting to harvesting, are carefully imitated.

Differences in the games according to age groups or sex cannot be established among either the Akha or Meau, because all age levels and both sexes play these games together. It can be said, however, that technical games are played only by the boys. To be sure, it never occurs to them to build a water wheel, but they are very skilled at making small traps, with which they catch smaller animals, such as birds, lizards, and the like. In only one instance did I see an Akha boy, about eight years of age, with a small windmill.

A M 857 524 532 The children look for materials for their toys in their environment and therefore use stones, sand, loam, clay, bark, wood, grasses, and bast (Ill. 16).[1] They work with this material and use it to make their toys. In this manner they turn out representations of small houses, animals, human beings, implements, weapons, and the like in play. Among small children the representation is not very true to life, but beginning with the sixth year the characteristic features are gradually brought out more. Boys at the age of eight are already able to model quite realistically in clay, and even riders on horseback are clearly recognizable. The Meau children dress their clay dolls in palm-leaf skirts, to indicate the pleated skirts; in place of the turban small colorful pieces of cloth are used. In accordance with their own attire, Akha girls equip their dolls with a "girl's bonnet" made of leaves.

1 [See cat. 116, p 88 - ANALYST]

/61 cont./

A M 857 532 In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67).[1] I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

A M 526 [533] There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

M 526 628 584 the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such, I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [See cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

/68 cont./

A is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can
M there be any thought of influences coming from Europe.
524 Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the fre-
526 quent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect
171 a common origin.

There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha
A and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are some-
M times arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks,
541 as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples.
171 Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often
[525] lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between
crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring
Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these
fights.

A Children begin to perform work at the age of four among
M both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect fire-
857 wood (Ill. 38), which they carry home in their own small wood
561 /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields,
[252] carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93),
and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour
the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend
the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard
A the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers,
M a particularly important task in a country where there is neither
[203] mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the
latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest
help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned
to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the
exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys,
both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are
always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud
of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having
complained about work that was too hard.

A Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games,
M there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but
857 rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing
561 children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in
461 the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[See cat. 116, p 272- ANALYST]
[" " ", p 643- "]

/69 cont./

A is first of all adjusted to their physical strength; in short, the
M playful imitation of adult activity is automatically replaced by
857 actual work as soon as the necessary strength is there. Secondly,
561 the work depends upon the seasons since, in general, the work
461 of the Meau is conditioned by them.

Otherwise, there is no regulation of activity, either within the work group or with respect to the time that is to be spent at work and at play. Everything is arranged according to the work of the adults, into which all the children are always drawn. At the time when the fields are cultivated or when new villages are to be laid out, everyone must work uninterruptedly according to his strength from dawn to dusk, but during the period after the harvest there are long stretches of leisure, and the days are then filled with laughter and games. In any case, there is no more importance attached to a child's reaching the working age than to his completion of the sixth year, which is so significant for our children.

/70/ In general, it can be said that both sexes at about the age of sixteen are fully able to perform the work of the adults.

2. The Children's Group

A As soon as the children of the Meau and Akha are three
M or four years old, they are admitted into the children's group
857 (Ill. 14). Even earlier, however, they are taken along by
[156] their older siblings, on whose backs they participate in the games. There seems to be hardly any eccentrics among the children; at any rate, I never saw a child going about by himself.

M The composition of the children's group varies greatly
857 and depends on which children happen to have free time.
157 Among the Meau, the leader of the group is always the child present at the moment who is physically the strongest, although there is no noticeable competition for the position of leader. All of them, however, know exactly who is the strongest, and accordingly they submit to him without demur. Sometimes there are scuffles within the group. Competition

/70 cont./

M 857 157 is noticeable in the children's groups of the Meau only in those games already described in which great emphasis is put on performance. Vying in speech, however, the so-called "showing off," does not seem to be customary.

A 857 157 Among the Akha things are done in a somewhat more brutal way, as the games described show. Accordingly, two children's groups more conspicuously separated by sex are formed here. The one includes all boys from three to thirteen years of age who happen to be "off duty," who are led with sheer force by the physically strongest boy. In this group there is intense rivalry for the role of leader, and there are often wild fights until the strongest has asserted himself.

A 573 157 [857] [589] A second group is made up of small girls, and a third of all older girls, widows, and divorced women who want to marry again. The leader of this third group is usually a merry widow. In this group there is no particular rivalry for leadership, which is not attained through mere strength, but through /71/ special intelligence. Nothing like a test of intelligence plays any role in this, but rather the woman to whom the rest naturally defer in the course of time becomes the leader.

A 857 These children's groups of the Akha are numerically very strong. This follows merely from the aforementioned size of the Akha villages and the extraordinary fertility of their inhabitants. One scarcely finds a group of less than twenty members. The activity of these groups begins chiefly in the evening, after the day's work has been done, and reaches its peak after sunset. Even as late as 10 o'clock we frequently heard these children shrieking and shouting at their games. After sunset, A [535] some of the Akha girls set out for the dance places, to which a few precocious boys also come, sometimes accompanied by smaller comrades (see also the section on "Sexual Development" A in this chapter). Like the children of the Meau, but to a much M [157] greater extent, the Akha children live in the present; they talk a great deal and are very active.

/74 cont./

A 881 of sexual enjoyment, all their thoughts are now concentrated upon sexual life, which is enjoyed to the full. The only [883] difference as compared to the earlier state is a purely external [291] feature in the clothing. In place of the children's caps, the girls now wear the bamboo covering and the boys the turban as a sign of maturity (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Fig. 228 and Fig. 229 and Colored Pl. I, Nos. 7 and 8).[1]

A M 881 Otherwise, puberty does not bring about any change in the way of life among either the Akha or Meau. They perform their duties in the same manner as before (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"), are not secluded, and speak little about their past childhood.

5. Attitude toward Animals

A M 231 Although the same conditions seem to prevail among both peoples, there are basic differences between the Meau and the Akha in their attitude toward animals.

M 231 857 The children of both peoples come into contact with animals a good deal. In general, the children of the Meau love animals very much and like to spend their time with the domesticated animals. Only the pigs are definitely /75/ disliked. This is explained by the fact that the children of both peoples have to tend the pigs, and carrying their food is heavy work that is sometimes almost beyond the strength of the children (Ill. 44).[2] Dogs, on the other hand, are especially well liked. The children play tussle, and frolic about with them, and sometimes the children amuse themselves by exchanging roles with the dogs. Then the child plays the part of the dog, and the dog, whose hair is combed up like that of a child, represents the child. They talk to them, and until they are seven or eight, the children believe that the dog understands every word. They like to have the dog join various games in which parts are played; he will represent a cow or bull, is saddled, and the like. Compared with the importance of the dog, that of the other animals caught for play, such as mice, birds, butterflies, small beetles, is very little. The insects caught are allowed to fly around within the range of a

1 [See ect. 116, p296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , p 120 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, A M [262] eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly A observed that they tortured the animals without interference [857] on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

1 [See Cat 116, p 334- ANALYST]

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but there are also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Lao at the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are precious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

/83 cont./

A M 857 [534] [538] may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, however, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M 533 M [868] [535] The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A 535 857 868 It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A M 532 Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

[1] [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--47) E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 346 and 347/

Ill. 65. A favorite game of Meau boys is modeling animal and human figures in clay.

Miao AES
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/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools.
[278] It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60
[285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the
[857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At
[165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to
[136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets,
[227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

E-5

39: Bernatzik--511 /(1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 378/

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516

Ill. 67. Nine-year-old Meau girl at the drawing test.

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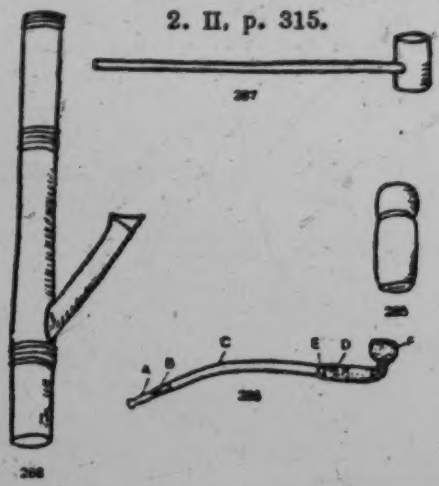
Ill. 68. Meau children make chains out of fragrant blossoms.

/380 cont./

276 [171] The Meau know of no other form of enjoyment of tobacco, such as the rolling of cigars or cigarettes, which is customary among the Lao and Schan /Shan/. Other plants, such as the hemplike ones, are not smoked either. Savina (2), 2. II, p. 315.



Figs. 285-288. Equipment for Tobacco-smoking among the Meau.

[415] Fig. 285. Tobacco box of bamboo, with cover, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 286. Tobacco pipe of the chief, about 1/7 nat. size: A = mouthpiece of porcelain; B = silver mounting; C = stem; D = brass; E = sealed with wax. Fig. 287. Tobacco pipe of bamboo, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 288. Water pipe of bamboo, 1/7 nat. size.

[857] however, reports that the Meau children in Tonkin smoke discarded hemp-stalks. It seems, however, that this is more of a game, rather than real enjoyment of the drug. The chewing of betel is unknown, which Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ confirms for Indochina.

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning, weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[241] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)
[248]

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
● 857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

39: Bernatzik--723 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AES

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.

/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day
784 of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from
the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day
of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any vio-
lation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and
pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope
to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit
of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often
the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced
fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones
and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once.
Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep
gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread
unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has
a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance
every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature
fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take
dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear
on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
[161] a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance
by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a
few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former adminis-
trators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/51 cont./

A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. A M 958 Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, M [164] [123] for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

/77 con./

M 595 596 with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

M 596 M [614] [736]

A M 596 [858] The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A M [858] The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

/79 cont./

A M 868 The small child is first taught how to speak, beginning with the words for father and mother. Later comes the simple housework, and only then the aforementioned more difficult spheres of work. For the latter the parents on the one hand select those children who exhibit special talents for the one or the other sphere; on the other hand, the educators and parents naturally seek to train the children in those crafts which they themselves as teachers and models have mastered extraordinarily well. One Meau father, for instance, who was an excellent hunter, said to me: "I would have liked to make a hunter out of my oldest boy, but he is only interested in my smithy.

A M 867 869 Besides these things which are required to master the material aspects of life, the educators and parents also instruct the children in religion and medicine, since this is not the business of the shaman, as well as manners and good behavior, which is very important in view of the traditional politeness of the Meau! In short, education includes everything that will enable the child to master life later on and to become a respected member of the community. For the rest, all the wishes of the children are complied with as far as possible. To be M [868] sure, among the Meau they are not trained to dance, but they are not prevented from dancing.

A M 861 From earliest childhood punishment and reward are used as a means of education. Disobedient children are reprimanded, and if this does not help, they get a beating, along with references to their duties, up to the age of eight, as parents explained to me. Actually I never saw adults actually beat a child. As a reward, on the other hand, a father may carve a small crossbow for his eight-year-old son, or, among the Meau, ask the blacksmith to make a small gun for his well-behaved son.

A M 593 858 The children are brought up remarkably well. They obey promptly, and one rarely sees it happen that a child has to be punished. The children are treated equitably, but there are always special favorites. As a rule, it is the ailing or weak upon whom /80/ the affection of the parents is obviously bestowed, or upon the youngest, who naturally are also the weakest. The older children do not mind this, and siblings are generally not jealous at all as soon as they have

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [425] [758] [276] [185] [614] [736] The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

M 185 eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450- ANALYST]

Akha A04
M.120 AE5

M 185 858 /81/ One blacksmith was trying to educate his son to become an even better man at the same trade. One mother wanted her daughter to develop into a good batik designer. Another father wanted his son "to be made into a brave and industrious man"; a third father wished him to be "capable and clever." As was said, among the Meau the ideal factor always came before the material one. Only once did I receive the answer: "May he become clever and rich." In the case of girls, little value was placed upon intelligence and beauty; it was hoped that they would best master women's work and become industrious women who would have many children.

A 185 858 The Akha are much more materialistic than the Meau. They, too, love their children tenderly, and what was said about the Meau in this respect generally also applies to them. Nevertheless, when I also questioned as many Akha as possible, they often replied that children were needed since they could help with the work, an answer which, as was pointed out, I received only once from my Meau informants. Accordingly, materialistic considerations are always in the foreground in the plans for the future of the children among the Akha. Among them the mothers usually declared that they wished their sons to become so industrious and skillful that they would be able to support a family well. The idea of security was thus the foremost consideration in these replies, as well as in the ones which I shall not specifically quote. In only one case did an Akha father wish that his son would become a good physician, "because health is the most important thing in life." Despite their obviously happy youth, the adult Meau talk of it only rarely, the Akha almost never. Men might perhaps describe how they obtained their first gun or how they shot their first muntjac and the like, and women remember as an impressive moment of their childhood how they cooked alone for the first time or how the mother explained batik work or the use of the loom to them.

A M 159 868

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
●858 In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[567] ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[736] creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[597] children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to
[435] his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

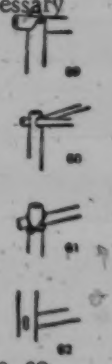
426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family withouthis knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head, even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

Miao AE5

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangullar and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children,
[858] that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Nevertheless, a pervasive uniform style of
342 construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
[353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the
[251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

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/79 cont./

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Akha A04
Miao AE5

/82/

7. Mental Development

A M 114 125 145 Unfortunately I was unable to test adequately either the children of the Akha or those of the Meau. A number of difficulties blocked this, especially the shortage of porters, which did not permit moving our test material. Moreover my test forms were designed for the mental world of primitives and could not be applied without further ado to a mountain people of Farther India with the mental capacity of the Akha, much less that of the Meau. It would have been necessary to revise my test forms, but we did not have the time to do this, especially since our funds were limited.

A M 157 856 According to our observations, however, the children of the Meau are more highly developed and surpass those of all the mountain tribes of Further India, including the Akha. Particularly striking among the Meau is a marked individualism, or rather a strong differentiation in comparison with the other tribes mentioned, which is already apparent even in small children. At the age of four or five distinct differences of character and talent are already evident. The Meau children begin to talk when they are one year old, those of the Akha somewhat later; at this age they are already able to say "father" and "mother" and a few other words. There are, however, some gifted children who speak even earlier and some without talent who are hardly this far at the age of two. One can say, however that at an average age of three and a half years the language of the children is almost equal to that of the adults.

A M 153 856

At the age of two the children are not yet able to eat by themselves; they learn this during their third year. The Meau children begin asking questions at the age of five, those of the Akha at the age of six. The children of the Meau do not bother to think up explanations of their own for things that are unknown to them, but rather in each and every case ask their parents or other adults of their community, and in this respect they are decidedly vivacious and active. The children of the Akha are less persistent in this questioning than those of

A M 153 861 157

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but thereare also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Laoat the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chaper, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are pecious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

/86 cont./

A M 145 125 532 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the M [825] children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

/87 cont./

M told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the
● 864 primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the
[825] babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions
M are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most
838 instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts
839 to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only
M to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage
836 Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly
626 observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the
[835] natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and
[831] spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the
M initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept.
836 It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the
[832] arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she
[833] most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We fre-
M quently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My
832 wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May,
883 the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is
123 a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

When they were a little older they watched 857
animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches.

Children were indulged as far as the family 862
could afford to do so. The choicest bits were 865
often given them. Mothers brought back little packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Ssu-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that.

Only a few of the boys, and almost never 872
a girl, went to the school less than half a 177
mile away, and then only for a few years (fig. 18, *d*). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao

[49a]

/71 cont./

3. The Refractory Age

A M 865 157 The refractory age of the children among both the Akha and the Meau is very pronounced in both sexes at the age of from three to five. The defiant child, screaming, will strike out at adults and try to beat them or throw himself down on the ground, howling and kicking. The adults of both peoples do not pay much attention to these tantrums. Sometimes they speak to the children, but kindly, and try to divert them by giving them something to eat or the like. Such an attitude presumes, however, that the child's behavior is not a reaction to orders he has been given. If such is the case, the children are punished and, I was told, also beaten and forced to carry out the order in spite of their resistance. The parents, however, never complain about such outbursts of defiance on the part of the children and accept them as something to be taken for granted. In answer to my question as to whether the behavior of the child did not seem serious to them, the Meau told me: "This happens only with small children."

/72/

4. Puberty

A M 881 [884] Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha does the beginning of puberty mean the slightest outward change in the normal life. Neither people has any ceremonial initiation in connection with it or an accompanying celebration of adulthood, since the latter, among them, does not coincide with the beginning of puberty (cf. the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family"). Similarly, tattooing, masking, or circumcision in any form does not occur. Only the attainment of the age when one is capable of bearing arms plays a role (see the chapter, "Army and War").

A M [304]

A M [145] Depending on the nutritional level of the family, boys reach puberty at the age of fourteen to sixteen, girls somewhat earlier; in general this time point for both is considerably later than, for instance, for European Mediterranoid children. The behavior of the young people of the two tribes differs, however, as soon as they reach puberty.

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

/79 cont./

A M 868 The small child is first taught how to speak, beginning with the words for father and mother. Later comes the simple housework, and only then the aforementioned more difficult spheres of work. For the latter the parents on the one hand select those children who exhibit special talents for the one or the other sphere; on the other hand, the educators and parents naturally seek to train the children in those crafts which they themselves as teachers and models have mastered extraordinarily well. One Meau father, for instance, who was an excellent hunter, said to me: "I would have liked to make a hunter out of my oldest boy, but he is only interested in my smithy.

A M 867 869 Besides these things which are required to master the material aspects of life, the educators and parents also instruct the children in religion and medicine, since this is not the business of the shaman, as well as manners and good behavior, which is very important in view of the traditional politeness of the Meau! In short, education includes everything that will enable the child to master life later on and to become a respected member of the community. For the rest, all the wishes of the children are complied with as far as possible. To be sure, among the Meau they are not trained to dance, but they are not prevented from dancing. M [868]

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/194 cont./

1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted
Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
789 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
531 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
294 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather
868 primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
317 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
439 against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
226 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
262 (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

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Akha AO4

/57 cont./

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39: Bernatzik--93 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Akha A04
Miao AE5

/60 cont./

A 524 children of the Akha also have a special fondness for the tobacco pipes and knives of the adults (Ill. 18).[1] They are serenely entrusted with these objects, and it would make a European mother's hair stand on end if she could see how the little children handle the large, keen-edged knives. I never saw an accident, however. On the contrary, the children showed themselves to be surprisingly skillful and soon learned to be masterfully adept at using the dangerous implements.

A M 857 Play-acting of all kinds is very popular. In this I noticed that both the Akha and the Meau children frequently include their smaller siblings. The larger child, for instance, is the animal, the smaller one, the owner or shepherd. I repeatedly observed the children at "pig-driving" or "cattle-saddling." Another such game is the "father-and-mother game"; if dolls "play," too, the children are the parents and the dolls the children. These doll-children are usually made A M [524] of pieces of wood or fabric twisted together. The father-and-mother game in particular is happily played by boys and girls together. The hunting game also seems to be very popular. One child is the hunter, and the other children form a herd of deer or pigs. One child skins and cuts up the booty; another cuts the meat in strips in order to dry it in the air. The children have a great deal of imagination and are tireless in inventing such games.

A M 857 868 In these acting games the children attach no importance to facial expression, but more to an exact imitation of the sequence of events and the correct execution of the activity portrayed, which from their earliest years they have observed in adults. In this manner the children at play imitate all the activities of the adults. Long before they acquire the physical strength to do real work, they have an astonishing command of an activity. The girls, for example, learn all kinds of housework, such as cooking, sewing, wood-gathering (Ill. 15),[2] work in the fields, and the like, while the boys learn to hunt (Ill. 17 and Ill. 78)[3] set traps, chop wood, plait, and likewise field work. In short, the children learn all the work which

1 [see cat. 116, p 108 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 87 - "]
3 [" " ", p 576 - "]

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Miao AE5

/60 cont./

A M 857 868

befits their sex. The doll, for example, is fed in the same manner as the mother /61/ is seen feeding the younger siblings at meals. These same meals are prepared for the dolls. The returning "hunters" are served liquor, and the world of the adults is incorporated in the play activity. The most popular games, however, are the "ball game" and the "laying out of a rice field," in which all the procedures, from the clearing away of the trees to the burning, from planting to harvesting, are carefully imitated.

Differences in the games according to age groups or sex cannot be established among either the Akha or Meau, because all age levels and both sexes play these games together. It can be said, however, that technical games are played only by the boys. To be sure, it never occurs to them to build a water wheel, but they are very skilled at making small traps, with which they catch smaller animals, such as birds, lizards, and the like. In only one instance did I see an Akha boy, about eight years of age, with a small windmill.

A M 857 524 532

The children look for materials for their toys in their environment and therefore use stones, sand, loam, clay, bark, wood, grasses, and bast (Ill. 16).[1] They work with this material and use it to make their toys. In this manner they turn out representations of small houses, animals, human beings, implements, weapons, and the like in play. Among small children the representation is not very true to life, but beginning with the sixth year the characteristic features are gradually brought out more. Boys at the age of eight are already able to model quite realistically in clay, and even riders on horseback are clearly recognizable. The Meau children dress their clay dolls in palm-leaf skirts, to indicate the pleated skirts; in place of the turban small colorful pieces of cloth are used. In accordance with their own attire, Akha girls equip their dolls with a "girl's bonnet" made of leaves.

1 [See cat. 116, p 88 - ANALYST]

/66 cont./

A 526 bóytsěŭ is likewise a game of the Akha. Strips of bamboo are placed in a row upon the ground, thus dividing the area. On either side of the bamboo line a group of players, equal in number, take their positions. The point is to seize the head of the opponent, which the person attacked naturally tries to prevent by quickly turning and ducking. The winner is the one who finally succeeds in seizing the head of his opponent.

ŏkŏbĭŏ is the Akha name for a game in which a boy throws his cap at the playmates running past him, who try to dodge. /67/ The one who is nevertheless hit must take the place of the first thrower.

tsăytsăy is another Akha game. Bamboo strips are used to form a circle in which the players stay, except for one. This one runs around outside the circle and tries to hit someone in the group. As soon as a player is hit, the two exchange places, and the game starts anew.

dăkŏyŭă is an Akha game. A small pile of wood is heaped up, which a watchman with a stick in his hand must guard. The "robbers," however, come from all sides and attempt to steal the wood from the one who is trying to defend it. He kicks and strikes out and sometimes plants proper blows. Nevertheless, he cannot prevent the theft, and the winner is the one who succeeds in getting the last piece of wood.

pătsĕtsŏ is a gentler Akha game. The children form a row, each child hooks one leg into one of the child in front of him, and then they hop around in a circle (Ill. 21).

M 526 Competitive games and the determination to achieve record performances are familiar to the children of the Meau, very much in contrast to primitive peoples. For example, they know and like footraces and shooting matches with their little guns (Ill. 78)[1] or the crossbow (Ill. 79)[1] (see also the chapter, "Weapons"). To be sure, these are games played mostly, the M [168] shooting matches exclusively, by boys, who have already mastered the use of the weapons at the age of eight. In Tonkin competitive games seem to be even more widespread among the Meau. Lajonquière (1) reports that the Meau

1. II, p. 315.

[1] [see cat. 116, P576 - ANALYST]

/78 cont./

A M 596 A M [595] [608] A M [614] a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation concerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family").

A M 855 596 M [595] A [603] Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the children. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is primarily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the boys, that of the men (Ill. 63).[1] I also saw fathers, however, who spent hours with their two- and three-year old daughters, letting them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child, took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting, which meant a separation of several days.

A M 868 The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64).[2] There are only a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes connected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns -- which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils their mistakes.

1 [see out 116, p469 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p470 - "]

/79 cont./

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M 185 858 /81/ One blacksmith was trying to educate his son to become an even better man at the same trade. One mother wanted her daughter to develop into a good batik designer. Another father wanted his son "to be made into a brave and industrious man"; a third father wished him to be "capable and clever." As was said, among the Meau the ideal factor always came before the material one. Only once did I receive the answer: "May he become clever and rich." In the case of girls, little value was placed upon intelligence and beauty; it was hoped that they would best master women's work and become industrious women who would have many children.

A 185 858 The Akha are much more materialistic than the Meau. They, too, love their children tenderly, and what was said about the Meau in this respect generally also applies to them. Nevertheless, when I also questioned as many Akha as possible, they often replied that children were needed since they could help with the work, an answer which, as was pointed out, I received only once from my Meau informants. Accordingly, materialistic considerations are always in the foreground in the plans for the future of the children among the Akha. Among them the mothers usually declared that they wished their sons to becom so industrious and skillful that they would be able to support a family well. The idea of security was thus the foremost consideration in these replies, as well as in the ones which I shall not specifically quote. In only one case did an Akha father wish that his son would become a good physician, "because health is the most important thing in life." Despite their obviously happy youth, the adult Meau talk of it only rarely, the Akha almost never. Men might perhaps describe how they obtained their first gun or how they shot their first muntjac and the like, and women remember as an impressive moment of their childhood how they cooked alone for the first time or how the mother explained batik work or the use of the loom to them.

A M 159 868

/83 cont./

A may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute
M /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life
857 of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I
[534] did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, how-
[538] ever, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so
533 tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially
M the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old
[868] do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the
[535] cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing
535 plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly
857 saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the
868 adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the
M chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation").
532 It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

1 A [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

/320 cont./

291 especially artistic. On the dark-blue background there are
531 yellow squares, and in them red squares set on the points are sewed. Similarly, all the other red parts of the pattern, as well as the narrow, white and colored stripes, are strips of material sewed on. Pattern 3 of Colored Plate IV is also produced in the same manner; only it should also be mentioned here that four lines in white silk, crossing one another, are embroidered on the black squares of cloth that are sewed on.
[868 This embroidery in stripes is extremely laborious work. As
[294 soon as the young girl has learned it from her mother, she starts on the embroidery of her future festive attire and often works on it for many years during all her free time. It must also be pointed out that the sailor collar is often worn reversed so that the beautiful embroidery is not visible. I noticed this among almost all the women of the Black Meau and trace it back to their thriftiness, which perhaps prompts them to protect the beautiful embroidery from the sun and rain.

184 The pleated skirt reaching only to the knees is very be-
291 coming to the women. It consists of a strip of material six
531 meters long, which is closely pleated and, by means of a binding holding the pleats together, to which narrow bands are fastened, is tied open in front around the middle. The skirt of the Black or Flowery Meau has three different longitudinal stripes (Ills. 58 and 61).[1] The upper one is plain blue, and the lower one is likewise dark blue, but with a strip of colorful cross-stitch embroidery sewed on (Colored Plate II, No. 5); the middle stripe is batik work (chapter, "Art," Figs. 8-13). The colorful strip of embroidery sewed on the rear edge of the skirt (Colored Plate III, Nos. 4 and 6) is provided according to the taste of the wearer, with the most varied /321/ cross-stitch patterns. One sees young girls embroidering on it
[294 whenever they have a minute of time (Ill. 87).[2]

[1] [See cat 116, pp 447 + 449 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 620 - "]

39: Bernatzik--470 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miro AE5

/Between pp. 346 and 347/

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868
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Ill. 64. Meau boys learn how to make a rope.

/394 cont./

702 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns
868 as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the
701 region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn koăn) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

726 Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the
[202] tă lĕn tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the
[714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war.
[251] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which
[484] will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/430/

A M 802

The numbers are called:	Among the Meau in Thailand:	Among the Akha:
1 000	ty kyŭn	ŭ mŭ
10 000	kŭŭ kyŭn	ŭ oŭ
100 000	pŭn kyŭn	ŭ lŭm
many	mŭ mŭn dam	yŭm yŭ

In the case of numbers higher than twenty, various aids are used for further counting. Rice kernels, for instance, may represent the tens and maize the hundreds, for which I have given a practical example in the description of the division of the estate after the death of a family head (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Right of Succession").

A M [211] On the other hand, other counting aids, such as knotted cords and the like, are unknown, as are notched sticks, which serve exclusively as a promissory note, and, to be sure, only among the Meau, but not among the Akha (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law"). Savina (1) reports differently

M [211]

1. II, p. 322.

concerning the Meau in Tonkin: His entire mathematical knowledge is restricted to the counting of notches in a piece of wood, in order to fix the most important events of his life. There are notches for births, deaths, marriages, drought, rain, and the harvest."

Neither the Akha nor the Meau have any special expressions for quantitative concepts such as threescore, dozen, or the like, but rather pronounce all numbers, even the highest. In this connection, the Akha know how to count up to about 100,000, the Meau far higher.

A M 803 868 Among both mountain peoples, I was unable to find any special arithmetical method or system. Also, no arithmetical instruction is given; the appropriate knowledge like all other knowledge, is picked up in daily life.

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delcuses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /73 cont./
883 consider which partner they could marry, and, in short, no longer live only in the present. They are entirely satisfied
M with the way of life prescribed by the sib laws. There are
[578] never any disputes between the generations. On the contrary, the young people treat the older ones with veneration and respect, and it never occurs to them to criticize existing institutions.

M
869 Similarly, their attitude toward religious matters does not change. Since early childhood these matters have played
755 a major role in their lives (see the chapter, "Religion and
771 Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). They have re-
[883] peatedly seen the shaman drive away evil spirits and believe that in doing so he has freed other children, and perhaps themselves, of these spirits and therefore of sicknesses (see the chapter, "Medicine"). Moreover, they have heard that in case of the death of a child, the shaman was weaker than the evil spirits. They do not doubt for a moment the existence of such spirits, whose activity and effect have been so strikingly and obviously demonstrated, for the death of a child always makes a lasting impression upon his playmates.

A /74/ Things are somewhat different among the Akha.
881 Probably as a result of premature sexual intercourse (see the
[886] section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter), the actual beginning of puberty brings with it only slight psychological changes.

A The pubescent Akha give no thought to the past or the
881 future. They do not criticize, but rather are completely satis-
883 fied with the way the adults regulate life. Similarly there is no criticism among them concerning the traditions and even less about religious matters, which in general do not play
A nearly as decisive a role as among the Meau. An exaggerated
[776] fear of the spirits is as unknown to the adolescents as to the
[781] adults. There is no period of passivity or of intense activity, no withdrawal or shame on the part of girls menstruating for the first time. The pubescent Akha for the most part have long been informed, and they therefore expect the advent of puberty with all the accompanying circumstances. There is no daydreaming or introspection among them. With the increase

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/79 cont./

A M 868 The small child is first taught how to speak, beginning with the words for father and mother. Later comes the simple housework, and only then the aforementioned more difficult spheres of work. For the latter the parents on the one hand select those children who exhibit special talents for the one or the other sphere; on the other hand, the educators and parents naturally seek to train the children in those crafts which they themselves as teachers and models have mastered extraordinarily well. One Meau father, for instance, who was an excellent hunter, said to me: "I would have liked to make a hunter out of my oldest boy, but he is only interested in my smithy.

A M 867 869 Besides these things which are required to master the material aspects of life, the educators and parents also instruct the children in religion and medicine, since this is not the business of the shaman, as well as manners and good behavior, which is very important in view of the traditional politeness of the Meau! In short, education includes everything that will enable the child to master life later on and to become a respected member of the community. For the rest, all the wishes of the children are complied with as far as possible. To be sure, among the Meau they are not trained to dance, but they are not prevented from dancing.

M [868]

A M 861 From earliest childhood punishment and reward are used as a means of education. Disobedient children are reprimanded, and if this does not help, they get a beating, along with references to their duties, up to the age of eight, as parents explained to me. Actually I never saw adults actually beat a child. As a reward, on the other hand, a father may carve a small crossbow for his eight-year-old son, or, among the Meau, ask the blacksmith to make a small gun for his well-behaved son.

A M 593 858 The children are brought up remarkably well. They obey promptly, and one rarely sees it happen that a child has to be punished. The children are treated equitably, but there are always special favorites. As a rule, it is the ailing or weak upon whom /80/ the affection of the parents is obviously bestowed, or upon the youngest, who naturally are also the weakest. The older children do not mind this, and siblings are generally not jealous at all as soon as they have

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
● 871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
648 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

/120 cont'd/

181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
●871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

H
M /123 cont'd/
648 economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and
439 the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

H
M In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought
177 about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading
191 position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest
H
M way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both
[87] the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

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M We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems
648 exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

194 this point — including "singing tones" similar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sen-
193 tence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

● 871 When a family can afford it one or more
177 boys — rarely a girl — receive some education. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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go beyond the local primary school. In the family in which I lived, for several generations one or more boys have graduated from middle school. There is one now in the *hsien* city of Lung-li, but formerly they had to go to Kweiyang. This family has furnished the teacher of the local school for two generations. Most of the men and many of the women speak Chinese, especially those who go to market a great deal. One of the priests in the village told Miss Li that he had a book of the ritual for "opening the way" written in Chinese, but he never showed it to us. A well-educated Miao often insists that he is Chinese (Han) and those in Kweiyang are sinicized.

[10b]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

212 from them the art of writing their own language.

[193] The Miao language, like the Chinese, is syllabic, unencumbered with conjugations or other inflexions, and it would be very easy to represent Miao words by Chinese characters 871 which are not phonetic but ideographic. At the present time there are schools in the Miao villages where Chinese literature is taught. Probably from earliest times there have been some Miao, as there are now, who could read and write Chinese, and yet not one of them, as far as we know, ever attempted to put down their own words in writing. If such an attempt was ever made, it evidently met with no acceptance among the tribesmen, who remain to-day as illiterate as their ancestors in the days of Yao and Shuen.

872 When we opened a school at Panghai some 212 years ago, and offered to teach the scholars to write their own language in the Roman script, the parents would not consent, but wished their children to learn to read and write Chinese. Their way of looking at the matter is not hard to understand. What writing they have to do must be done for them in Chinese. Any Miao 212 who can read and write passably may easily make his living among his neighbours by doing

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

● 871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[13 cont.]

871 corrupt and did untold harm. Since the coming of the mission-
797 aries to the Miao area, churches and schools were established,
871 and those who were converted to the Christian religion were given an education. Today there are quite a few Miao who have received a higher education with the help of the church. However, it is regrettable that under the influence of the church, the religious element is too strong. In the 14th year
871 of the Republic [sic. It should probably be the 24th year of
648 the Republic, or 1935.] when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as head of the government came to Kweichow, he saw with his own eyes the low cultural level of the Miao-I and planned to assimilate them through education. The next year the government issued an order to encourage Miao-I education and appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose. In the same year the Provincial Rural Normal School was established at Ch'ing-yen, but its students were not all children of the Miao-I, sixty or seventy percent being Chinese who pretended to be Miao-I. Again, in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] when General Yang Sen was stationed at An-shun he promoted Miao education through his army by establishing three elementary schools with some good results. But not long afterwards his troops were transferred to the front and his education program was abandoned. Aside from these attempts, the provincial
872 government established an elementary school in each of the
648 twelve hsien at Kweiyang, Huang-p'ing, Li-po, T'ai-kung, Wei-ning, An-nan, Kuan-ling, Tan-chiang, Shui-ch'eng, Ting-fan, Lo-tien and Pa-chai, where the Miao-I congregate. In other hsien areas there are short-term elementary schools that also admit Miao-I children. The educational system for the Miao-I in Kweichow is rudimentary at best and with the extensive distribution of the Miao-I over a wide area the work is like extinguishing a wagonful of burning fuel with a cup of water -- not at all effective or enough.

3) Occupations. The Miao-I people, being retarded in
241 cultural development, have just entered the stage of agricultural community, and so their chief occupation is farming. [14] Those Miao-I living in the northwest of the province have high

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share
562 in the most difficult labor.

The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue,
836 but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of
526 skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe
197 used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
[198] commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are
[871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
538 tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous,
[533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but there are also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Lao at the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are precious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

/142 cont'd/

755 disappointed. We were later told by the villagers that ever since this old woman had become sick the year before, several cows and numerous pigs had been slaughtered for the performance of the t'iao niang ritual.

Third month, eleventh day. (Thursday)

008 After breakfast at ten o'clock, a resident of the center, a certain Ch'en, took us to Fu-an village to look around. After walking about two hours we reached the village. This village had been a piece of wasteland before, but after Mr. Wang Chao-i had invited some Li and Hsiao to move here several years ago, it has become a beautiful place, excelling any of the Li villages we have so far visited. In the village there is a school, the Fu-an Primary School. The building and equipment seemed pretty good. The residents of the village looked cleaner than those of other places, and they had very good manners. This was certainly a model Li village. The consequences of education and acculturation clearly could be seen. At this time most of the men and women had gone out to catch fish in a stream near by. We thought we would observe how they fished, and so we went upstream, and in about half an hour, we caught sight of several hundred people crowding on the banks of the narrow stream. A strikingly large variety of fishing gear were displayed during the fishing, and we watched for a long time, fascinated by the scene, before we went back.

At night Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing served a big banquet for us. The food was delicious, more so than any we have had since we came into the Li area.

/148/ Third month, twelfth day. (Friday)

A wedding took place today in Ang-chi village. In the morning Headman Lu sent a man to take us down there, and we stayed in the same little reed hut we occupied last time. It was only a few days 0872 since we had been there last, but, when we came this time, we saw

/143 cont'd/

872 that a primary-school building had been set up—a concrete manifestation of their pressing desire for education. A teacher, a native of Wan-ning had also been hired and had arrived. However, the question of his salary was still being negotiated.

585 The bride was a niece of Headman Lu, she had been brought up in Lu's family after having lost her parents in childhood. The bridegroom was also of the same village. We knew the families of both from before. We had bought several boxes of firecrackers at Wenhua center, which we had brought along as a wedding present. The wedding took place right after sunset. This time it was the groom who was to be married to the bride and who was taken into the latter's home. The groom covered his face with a red kerchief and was carried over on a man's back, followed by a procession of men serving as "bridemaids." The females on the bride's side began to shower extravagant jokes on him; some teased him with words, and others pushed him when he was not on guard to knock him down.

585 171 The groom stood there stiffly like a wooden cock, completely enervated, afraid even to take the red kerchief from his face. Onlookers sweated for him at the sight, and several companions came to his rescue and tried to get him away from the siege of these mischievous women. The series of jokes played on the groom reminded me of the Chinese custom of carrying on horseplay at weddings except that here the object was the groom instead of the bride. There were a great many more ceremonies and practices after the groom arrived at the bride's home. We watched till one o'clock in the morning before we went home to go to bed.

Third month, thirteenth day. (Saturday)

In the morning the groom presented a cup of wine to the bride's parents, to whom he showed great respect in his conduct, a custom closely resembling that of the Chinese, in which the bride presents wine to her parents-in-law with great ceremony, At noon the bride visited the groom's family for the first time. She had barely come in when a Taoist priest was asked to perform the simple ritual of ch'ü sha /"expelling baleful influences"/.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

When they were a little older they watched 857
animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches.

Children were indulged as far as the family 862
could afford to do so. The choicest bits were 865
often given them. Mothers brought back little packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Ssu-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that.

Only a few of the boys, and almost never 872
a girl, went to the school less than half a 177
mile away, and then only for a few years (fig. 18, *d*). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao

[49a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. 857 517 [535]

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836 [496]

7; Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

212 from them the art of writing their own language.

[193] The Miao language, like the Chinese, is syllabic, unencumbered with conjugations or other inflexions, and it would be very easy to represent Miao words by Chinese characters 871 which are not phonetic but ideographic. At the present time there are schools in the Miao villages where Chinese literature is taught. Probably from earliest times there have been some Miao, as there are now, who could read and write Chinese, and yet not one of them, as far as we know, ever attempted to put down their own words in writing. If such an attempt was ever made, it evidently met with no acceptance among the tribesmen, who remain to-day as illiterate as their ancestors in the days of Yao and Shuen.

872 When we opened a school at Panghai some 212 years ago, and offered to teach the scholars to write their own language in the Roman script, the parents would not consent, but wished their children to learn to read and write Chinese. Their way of looking at the matter is not hard to understand. What writing they have to do must be done for them in Chinese. Any Miao 212 who can read and write passably may easily make his living among his neighbours by doing

[13 cont.]

871 corrupt and did untold harm. Since the coming of the mission-
797 aries to the Miao area, churches and schools were established,
871 and those who were converted to the Christian religion were given an education. Today there are quite a few Miao who have received a higher education with the help of the church. However, it is regrettable that under the influence of the church, the religious element is too strong. In the 14th year
871 of the Republic [sic. It should probably be the 24th year of
648 the Republic, or 1935.] when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as head of the government came to Kweichow, he saw with his own eyes the low cultural level of the Miao-I and planned to assimilate them through education. The next year the government issued an order to encourage Miao-I education and appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose. In the same year the Provincial Rural Normal School was established at Ch'ing-yen, but its students were not all children of the Miao-I, sixty or seventy percent being Chinese who pretended to be Miao-I. Again, in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] when General Yang Sen was stationed at An-shun he promoted Miao education through his army by establishing three elementary schools with some good results. But not long afterwards his troops were transferred to the front and his education program was abandoned. Aside from these attempts, the provincial
872 government established an elementary school in each of the
648 twelve hsien at Kweiyang, Huang-p'ing, Li-po, T'ai-kung, Wei-ning, An-nan, Kuan-ling, Tan-chiang, Shui-ch'eng, Ting-fan, Lo-tien and Pa-chai, where the Miao-I congregate. In other hsien areas there are short-term elementary schools that also admit Miao-I children. The educational system for the Miao-I in Kweichow is rudimentary at best and with the extensive distribution of the Miao-I over a wide area the work is like extinguishing a wagonful of burning fuel with a cup of water -- not at all effective or enough.

3) Occupations. The Miao-I people, being retarded in
241 cultural development, have just entered the stage of agricultural community, and so their chief occupation is farming. [14] Those Miao-I living in the northwest of the province have high

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

593 [875] eat. The older nephew was teacher in the *lien pao* school when it was in session. The son acted for the old man in business matters, though subject to his father's decisions. The oldest nephew became head of the family after the old man's death and the second nephew took his old sitting room. I got a Chinese newspaper, which I shared with the teacher and his uncle, a keen old man with remarkably able opinions and quite a bit of knowledge of the world, which he liked to discuss at length.

The son's first wife spoke less Chinese than any of the other women of the family except the old man's first wife, who spoke almost none. They were, therefore, harder to get to know well, but the more I saw of them the better I liked them. Others I found a bit trying because they wanted so much for their immediate family or close relatives, and I am almost certain that the married daughter of the old man or the second nephew's wife took for herself two large sheets of mine. I never learned to share everything I owned as they did within the family group.

The wife of the second nephew made up for him in spunk and energy. She did a great deal for me, often prepared dishes to eat with the rice and would then bring over her own large portion of rice and eat at least half of what she had prepared of the dishes, for which I had furnished the ingredients from market. Once I bought a piece of cloth in market, for which she hinted so strongly that I had to give it to her. She insisted upon doing my washing, brought me firewood and water, but in the end expected a handsome reward. Generally speaking, all of them wanted everything for their immediate family and close relatives. They showed no community spirit in the sense of sharing good things with others who were remotely related to them. Her oldest daughter, twelve, was very like her. In fact, she seemed to be a model Miao girl, pleasant, capable, and able to do only a little less than the older women in both field work
855 and embroidery. The second daughter was made responsible for two baby sisters and seemed to have a very jolly time with them, doing everything for them, after they were past the age when they required their mother much of the time, amusing them and teaching

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
622 gent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a nearby road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.[12] 846

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placenta of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house. 844

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons. 852

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kuan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult. 881 791

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony will not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

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12. I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practiced by the Ch'uan Miao. 846

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/71 cont./

3. The Refractory Age

A M 865 157 The refractory age of the children among both the Akha and the Meau is very pronounced in both sexes at the age of from three to five. The defiant child, screaming, will strike out at adults and try to beat them or throw himself down on the ground, howling and kicking. The adults of both peoples do not pay much attention to these tantrums. Sometimes they speak to the children, but kindly, and try to divert them by giving them something to eat or the like. Such an attitude presumes, however, that the child's behavior is not a reaction to orders he has been given. If such is the case, the children are punished and, I was told, also beaten and forced to carry out the order in spite of their resistance. The parents, however, never complain about such outbursts of defiance on the part of the children and accept them as something to be taken for granted. In answer to my question as to whether the behavior of the child did not seem serious to them, the Meau told me: "This happens only with small children."

/72/

4. Puberty

A M 881 [884] Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha does the beginning of puberty mean the slightest outward change in the normal life. Neither people has any ceremonial initiation in connection with it or an accompanying celebration of adulthood, since the latter, among them, does not coincide with the beginning of puberty (cf. the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family"). Similarly, tattooing, masking, or circumcision in any form does not occur. Only the attainment of the age when one is capable of bearing arms plays a role (see the chapter, "Army and War").

A M [304]

A M [145] Depending on the nutritional level of the family, boys reach puberty at the age of fourteen to sixteen, girls somewhat earlier; in general this time point for both is considerably later than, for instance, for European Mediterranoid children. The behavior of the young people of the two tribes differs, however, as soon as they reach puberty.

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [774] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [756] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 836 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home,

[Text Continues on P. 112]

/74 cont./

A 881 [883] [291] of sexual enjoyment, all their thoughts are now concentrated upon sexual life, which is enjoyed to the full. The only difference as compared to the earlier state is a purely external feature in the clothing. In place of the children's caps, the girls now wear the bamboo covering and the boys the turban as a sign of maturity (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Fig. 228 and Fig. 229 and Colored Pl. I,[1] Nos. 7 and 8).

A M 881 Otherwise, puberty does not bring about any change in the way of life among either the Akha or Meau. They perform their duties in the same manner as before (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"), are not secluded, and speak little about their past childhood.

5. Attitude toward Animals

A M 231 Although the same conditions seem to prevail among both peoples, there are basic differences between the Meau and the Akha in their attitude toward animals.

M 231 857 The children of both peoples come into contact with animals a good deal. In general, the children of the Meau love animals very much and like to spend their time with the domesticated animals. Only the pigs are definitely /75/ disliked. This is explained by the fact that the children of both peoples have to tend the pigs, and carrying their food is heavy work that is sometimes almost beyond the strength of the children (Ill. 44).[1] Dogs, on the other hand, are especially well liked. The children play tussle, and frolic about with them, and sometimes the children amuse themselves by exchanging roles with the dogs. Then the child plays the part of the dog, and the dog, whose hair is combed up like that of a child, represents the child. They talk to them, and until they are seven or eight, the children believe that the dog understands every word. They like to have the dog join various games in which parts are played; he will represent a cow or bull, is saddled, and the like. Compared with the importance of the dog, that of the other animals caught for play, such as mice, birds, butterflies, small beetles, is very little. The insects caught are allowed to fly around within the range of a

1 [See art. 116, p296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 120- "]

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788] dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
[562] purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and
is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The
Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not
[177] perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of
dances.

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411

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with
simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18
nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze,
1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
57 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.
The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits,
they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but
not images.

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M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

294 finer cloth, of which they also made blouses, was already dyed when bought.

283 Hemp thread was made as follows: The stalks were cut close to the ground and stripped of the leaves, which were put back on the hemp bed as fertilizer. The bark and fiber were stripped from the wands and the bark loosened and stripped from the fiber with a knife, one end of the strip being held with the toes and one with the left hand. The long fibers were hung in the sun to dry and bleach. They were then boiled and sunned again. For the cloth they made a coarse thread by twisting the split fibers with the fingers and then rolling them against the leg or thigh. The split fibers had previously been twisted in bunches into a darning ball shape, and as the thread was made it was wound in a figure eight around a loop of bamboo. From this it was made into skeins, which were boiled and then wound into balls like those of cord (fig. 18, *e*). When weaving was to be done the balls were set into a tub of water and reeled from it onto the shuttle.

301 For married women the better turban was put on as follows: The hair was braided in two braids to the front, being pieced out with thread if the hair was scanty. One of a pair of chopsticks was laid across the head above the forehead and these braids wound around to hold it securely in place. A piece of blue cloth was fitted lengthwise over the stick and fastened with a needle or two, or sewed. Over the stick was put another piece of blue cloth with the ends folded on top of the head, and a longer piece of white was wound around the head at the height of the base of the stick. Another white piece was wound around the head at the line — high forehead, tips of ears, nape of neck. Finally a longer strip of dark blue cloth was wound around the outside of the white, but higher in the back, and the ends were tucked in. The ends of the white cloth were pulled out to stand up like the ends of a bow. If the family was in mourning, the outer strip was white. For special occasions a second, usually bright blue strip was put on in such a way that about half an inch of the lowest white cloth showed below it.

302 882 Unmarried girls shaved the head except for the crown and braided the hair from that

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

302 882 forward in one braid. One short piece of white was set on across the forehead and tips of the ears and crossed at the nape of the neck. A similar piece of bright blue cloth was put on over it to show about half an inch of the white. These were secured with a narrow

[294 30]

FIG. 9. Embroidered design on narrow strip of white cloth.

strip of cloth. A piece of cloth, six feet long, was folded six times lengthwise and wound around the head with the two ends tied to stand up in the back like the ends of a bow. A piece of dark blue cloth, ten feet long, was folded in the same way, wound on the outside of the white one, and tucked in at the back. These two pieces formed a wide, flat, horizontal cartwheel turban with the braid lying inside.

301 A still more elaborate turban called for more strips in addition to the white and bright blue ones, which were sometimes lavender, black, other shades of blue, and white. This was worn by unmarried girls when they went to visit in other villages. More lengths of white cloth were also put on sometimes to make the turban that much wider. For such occasions as a bullfight they sometimes wore, instead of the plain dark blue outer strip, one of dark blue embroidered on the ends in white and lines of color, and for the length of two hand-spans in white so that when it was put on the design showed all around the head outside of a plain band of dark blue, and on the bow ends.

The front apron was embroidered in lines of colored silk thread and spaced rows of a design in white cotton thread. The overpiece (figs. 8; 20 *a*, *d*) on the blouse was made up of several pieces, each with its special name, method, and order of making, and design, and the stitches were so carefully taken that it could be worn with either side out. First, two long strips of dark blue cloth were covered an inch and a half wide down the center with an over-and-over stitch diagonally across two threads in coarse white thread. A narrow strip of white cloth of the same length was

/72 cont./

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[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

[774] This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [756] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the [755] shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

●887 836 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home.

[Text continues on p. 112]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. 857 517 [535]

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836 [496]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

883 It might have been of the sort that existed
836 in An-lung Hsien. There between the time of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

883 THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

836 For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
539 If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the
535 young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one
533 heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an evening after work — at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was [50a]
also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise [572] instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [774] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [756] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here [755] on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes 836 out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

• 883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home.

[Text continues on p. 112]

M /73 cont./

M 883 consider which partner they could marry, and, in short, no longer live only in the present. They are entirely satisfied with the way of life prescribed by the sib laws. There are M [578] never any disputes between the generations. On the contrary, the young people treat the older ones with veneration and respect, and it never occurs to them to criticize existing institutions.

M 869 Similarly, their attitude toward religious matters does not change. Since early childhood these matters have played 755 a major role in their lives (see the chapter, "Religion and 771 Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). They have re- [883] peatedly seen the shaman drive away evil spirits and believe that in doing so he has freed other children, and perhaps themselves, of these spirits and therefore of sicknesses (see the chapter, "Medicine"). Moreover, they have heard that in case of the death of a child, the shaman was weaker than the evil spirits. They do not doubt for a moment the existence of such spirits, whose activity and effect have been so strikingly and obviously demonstrated, for the death of a child always makes a lasting impression upon his playmates.

A /74/ Things are somewhat different among the Akha. 881 Probably as a result of premature sexual intercourse (see the [886] section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter), the actual beginning of puberty brings with it only slight psychological changes.

A The pubescent Akha give no thought to the past or the 881 future. They do not criticize, but rather are completely satis- 883 fied with the way the adults regulate life. Similarly there is no criticism among them concerning the traditions and even less about religious matters, which in general do not play A nearly as decisive a role as among the Meau. An exaggerated [776] fear of the spirits is as unknown to the adolescents as to the [781] adults. There is no period of passivity or of intense activity, no withdrawal or shame on the part of girls menstruating for the first time. The pubescent Akha for the most part have long been informed, and they therefore expect the advent of puberty with all the accompanying circumstances. There is no daydreaming or introspection among them. With the increase

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

M 832 883 123

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/88 cont./

M seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao
832 interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together.
883 Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the
123 morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because, they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love, and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels himself very much the center of attention and declares that if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends
M with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the
[515] girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma
M sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love
[533] songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

A That purely materialistic considerations play only a
M minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that
836 prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never
[548] yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is
[431] customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes
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836

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported, without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/150 cont./

M 114 535 796 [769] I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A 535 The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example, but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the A [832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the A [832] Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A M 535 883 The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only the young people take part in these dances, no married women of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both

1 [see cat 116, p 131- ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 132- "]

/151 cont./

A M 535 [883] [887] [532] the Akha and Meau. Old people of either sex do not dance under any circumstances, whether or not they are now widowed or unmarried. I have already discussed the participation of children at the dance entertainments in the sections, "Art in the Life of the Children" and "Sexual Development," in the chapter, "Life in the Community." Masks and masked dances are unfamiliar to both peoples.

A 123 535 609 Although the Akha are strictly endogamous, it is said, as my interpreter maintained, that on rare occasions they do not object to the participation of guests in their dances. I wanted to verify this statement, however, and suggested to my wife that she make an attempt to dance with the Akha women when the opportunity arose. On one of the following evenings my wife stepped into the circle of dancers. At first no one wanted to take her hand; a few even fled into the forest. Then my wife promptly seized by the hands two of the women taking flight, pulled them back to the dancing place, and soon all had lost their shyness before her, and even those who had fled returned. Two of the older girls then took my wife into the circle and taught her the dance steps. This visibly broke the ice. They found the khaki trousers and blouse of my wife abominable, but my wife had to confess that she had no festive garb. Nothing could be simpler! They gladly wanted to help her out with their clothing. Of course these garments of the Akha, among whom my wife looked like a giantess, did not fit at all. To be sure, /152/ nothing could be done, but the girls at least decked out my wife with ornaments and chains of beads made of dried fruits, and they were not satisfied until she was adorned with a great number of these chains, and then they all laughingly began to dance. All this had taken place without any ill-humor at all, and from this day on the Akha women, who before that had been very distrustful, lost all their shyness before us, which greatly facilitated our investigations.

A 123 535 [541] [177] To be sure, among the Akha, too, there may be a dance to honor someone, or the festively adorned dancers may invite him to accompany them to the dancing place, but even with all the good understanding we had not counted on belonging to this select group. One evening, however, it was about nine o'clock and we were already in our beds in the tent, when shots

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M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.

Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [353] M [513] M [231]

Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M 883 [243] M [836] [533]

The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

A 361 166 [241] [623]

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.

/31 const./

M 593 618 if it is qualified. On the other hand, the observations of the author named (2) agree with my data concerning the position of

2. Page 169.

the woman: "The parents' authority over their sons ends only at death, over the daughters on the day of their marriage. Even if the married daughter were to commit a crime, it would not be permissible for the parents to punish her, nor would they be responsible for the deed of their daughter."

A 884 As among the Meau, the thirtieth year as the attainment of a man's majority also plays an important role among the [574] [556] [782] Akha. It is therefore celebrated. Rich people slaughter several pigs on this occasion, and the guests, usually relatives and friends, are also served rice and liquor; among poor people everything is done on a correspondingly smaller scale. No M [884] sacrifices, however, are offered in connection with the coming-of-age celebration.

A [589] Among the Akha the girls are regarded as being of age at the time of their marriage, and an unmarried girl is treated as a minor as long as she lives.

A 591 For the most part among the Akha, too, the married sons live in the house of their father for several years, although they are allowed to stay in a small sleeping house for the night (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Courtship and Betrothal"). Sometimes they may even build a house of their own immediately, but with the consent of the father. A [589] [884] The unmarried sons remain in the paternal home until they reach their majority, but there are also exceptions, for the father may permit an unmarried son to make himself independent even before he comes of age.

M 597 608 Aside from natural kinship, kinship through adoption or blood brotherhood is recognized among the Meau.

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/71 cont./

3. The Refractory Age

A M 865 157

The refractory age of the children among both the Akha and the Meau is very pronounced in both sexes at the age of from three to five. The defiant child, screaming, will strike out at adults and try to beat them or throw himself down on the ground, howling and kicking. The adults of both peoples do not pay much attention to these tantrums. Sometimes they speak to the children, but kindly, and try to divert them by giving them something to eat or the like. Such an attitude presumes, however, that the child's behavior is not a reaction to orders he has been given. If such is the case, the children are punished and, I was told, also beaten and forced to carry out the order in spite of their resistance. The parents, however, never complain about such outbursts of defiance on the part of the children and accept them as something to be taken for granted. In answer to my question as to whether the behavior of the child did not seem serious to them, the Meau told me: "This happens only with small children."

/72/ 4. Puberty

A M 881 [884]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha does the beginning of puberty mean the slightest outward change in the normal life. Neither people has any ceremonial initiation in connection with it or an accompanying celebration of adulthood, since the latter, among them, does not coincide with the beginning of puberty (cf. the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family"). Similarly, tattooing, masking, or circumcision in any form does not occur. Only the attainment of the age when one is capable of bearing arms plays a role (see the chapter, "Army and War").

A M [304]

A M [145]

Depending on the nutritional level of the family, boys reach puberty at the age of fourteen to sixteen, girls somewhat earlier; in general this time point for both is considerably later than, for instance, for European Mediterranoid children. The behavior of the young people of the two tribes differs, however, as soon as they reach puberty.

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/151 cont./

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/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lūn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gē. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tóă, noon, nū tĭe ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kău, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next [264] day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women [517] settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

[134 cont.]

773 the Miao, and this mythology is therefore the oldest and the most important.

As far as the present writer is aware, the ancestral myths of the different Miao tribes vary slightly, but that of the Sheng Miao is especially interesting. Disregarding the irrationality of these strange events, we have to recognize the fact that with the simple, ignorant people mythology is their living history. This kind of myth came from an unknown period in ancient times, that is, the mythical period. If we ask the Sheng Miao about their myth, they would say that they "do not understand" or that "it was handed down from generation to generation by their ancestors since the remotest times." They have long since forgotten [135] its origin. Some of the Sheng Miao are specially 773 entrusted with the duty of preserving and passing on such tales, 888 and they are generally well-known leaders or aged people with good memories. Young men and women know a little about these stories, but cannot tell them entirely. These mythical tales are not told for recreation, as ordinary stories and as a rule they are not commonly heard. We know that with the primitive people experience is very important. The young people usually listen to the words and warnings of the aged, who become automatically their guardians and leaders. With the Sheng Miao it is the same. The old people are the custodians of all their knowledge and wisdom. The fact that they can recount their ancestral myths entitles them to special respect. The telling of myths is a special occasion, from which outsiders are not often excluded. If we compel them to tell the stories, they would find excuses or else would not do a thorough job for fear that they may be ridiculed.

In every Sheng Miao village there is a set of rules and 627 regulations which are voluntarily observed. In case of violation 773 the offense is quickly adjudged by the public and an elder is invited to execute the punishment. Before it is carried out, however, he would tell the accused in a solemn manner the myths of their ancestors. Also in the case of a serious dispute the elder would summon both parties together, and first tell them the story of their ancestors before settling the dispute.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 888 [596] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

A M [782] [775]

M 764 775 Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of Indochina: If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

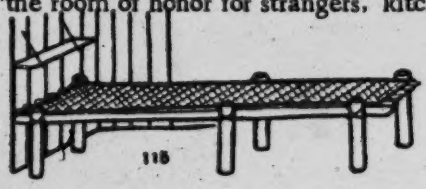
M [789]

1. Page 461.

/299 cont./

342 partitioning. The hearth is in the middle of the room opposite
513 a sleeping place which is reserved for the old people. The
younger men, women and children sleep anywhere on the bare
[354] floor or on an underlayer of straw."
[888] /300/ Only in the "most complete type" of Meau house could the author cited find a tripartite division of the rooms into "the room of honor for strangers, kitchen, and private

[352]



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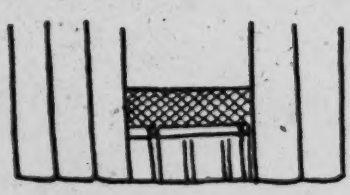

116

Fig. 115. Bed of the Meau.
About 1/38 nat. size.

Fig. 116. Entrance to the sleeping room of
the Meau. About 1/50 nat. size.

rooms," the latter probably referring to the sleeping rooms.
/Fig. 117 appears here./

354 Every house of the Meau has a hearth for cooking and an
open fireplace. The hearth for cooking (Fig. 117) is square
252 and made of mud. The wood fire is maintained under the
immovable hearth-plate, in which a depression is made for
the cooking pots. If the family is very large, there may
be two hearths (Fig. 118).